

THE CHINESE OFFENSIVE

Ten years of vacillation and appeasement of Communist China has resulted in the present situation when the communists have thrown off their mask and revealed to all concerned the real nature of their intentions. While the element of 'surprise' which official quarters attribute as the reason for our reverses may be valid up to a point, it cannot be denied that the Chinese had started nibbling away at our frontiers since 1954 and that those who tried to point out the dangers from Chinese expansionism since 1950 were scoffed at as "alarmists".

Right from its birth, the Swatantra Party never minimised the threat to our integrity and independence from the Chinese Communists. The General Council of the Party, when it met in Hyderabad on December 11, 1960, unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a "firm and vigilant policy" in dealing with Chinese Communist aggression against India. The resolution called for a reversal of the policy of non-alignment and suggested measures for ensuring the country's security and defence. Among these were the settlement of outstanding issues with Pakistan, consultations with countries of South and South-east Asia with a view to concerting measures for the security of the region, vigilance against infiltration and fifth column activities, and finally abandonment by Government of ideological adventures in domestic policy.

The Central Organising Committee, meeting in Bangalore on Friday 5th February, 1960, expressed the hope that the Government would not water down the conditions for negotiations with the Chinese.

The Statement of Policy and the Manifesto of the Party also clearly delineated the Party's attitude towards meeting Chinese Communist aggression and suggested concrete measures for meeting this menace. The relevant extracts are reproduced in Annexure A.

The Party has thus stood consistently for firm action against aggression and demanded of the Government of India positive measures to counteract it.

In the last Parliament, members of the Party repeatedly warned the Government of the disaster that would befall this country if the Government persisted in its policy of appeasement and advocacy of China's admission into the United Nations. Leaders of other democratic Opposition parties were also critical of the Government's China policy and demanded a more realistic policy. The present offensive has therefore not come as a 'surprise' to the Swatantra Party.

The Parliamentary Board of the Party is meeting in New Delhi on November 6 and 7 when guidance

will be given to our Members of Parliament in both Houses as well as to the Party's units throughout the Country.

In the meanwhile, the Central Office has in the course of two telegrams to State Units, given interim guidance regarding cooperation with the Government and joining united fronts. The telegrams have advised members of the Party not to make any commitments in the way of giving unconditional support to the Congress Government and to await formulation of the Party's attitude by the Parliamentary Board. Members of the Party who are invited to join officially sponsored committees have been cautioned to do so only with the permission of the State unit of the Party and not to serve on committees which include communists. State units have been asked to organise public meetings to explain the Party's basic stand against Chinese aggression embodied in the Party's Statement of Policy and Election Manifesto.

Prof. N. G. RANGA'S VIEW

Professor N. G. Ranga, addressing a news Conference in Lucknow on October 16 demanded a change in the leadership of the Defence Forces and the External Affairs Ministry with a view to creating confidence amongst the people of this country as well as the people of the neighbouring countries.

He stated, "they" (the neighbouring countries) must be assured that we are determined to vacate the Chinese aggression on our northern borders and get a fair deal for the Tibetans and other Himalayan people. He regretted that the uncertain attitude of the Indian Government towards China had resulted in undeclared war between the two countries.

Prof. Ranga advocated the setting up of a separate Himalayan Army consisting of recruits from the people of NEFA, Ladakh, Bhutan and Nepal. He argued that the Himalayan people are best suited to operate at the heights wherefrom the Chinese have been thrown back and India's Defence Forces are to be guarded.

Later, in Ahmedabad he reiterated his stand that the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister who were responsible for the appeasement must pass over their portfolios of External Affairs and Defence to others in the interests of pursuing a correct policy with regard to China.

MR. M. R. MASANI'S STATEMENT

On October 21, the General Secretary, Mr. Masani issued a press statement on the subject. He stated

among other things, that the country was now facing the nemesis of neutralism and appeasement of Chinese communist expansionism over a decade.

Regarding the popular demand for national unity, Mr. Masani emphasised that such unity could not be mobilised behind those who appeared to cling to the very policies which had brought the country to this pass. He suggested several measures that ought to be taken by the Government in order effectively to combat the aggression. Among them were the severance of diplomatic relations with Communist China, the entrusting of the Defence portfolio to someone enjoying the confidence of the country and the Armed Forces, the arming of our men at the front with the best arms and equipment available from friendly countries, recognition of the Dalai Lama as the head of the Government of Tibet and the calling of a Conference of the South and South-east Asian Countries to concert measures for regional defence against the common threat.

MR. K. M. MUNSHI'S APPEAL

Mr. K. M. Munshi, who also issued a statement that day, called upon people to support the Government, "whatever its sins of omission and commission". He said all patriotic opinions should unite at this critical juncture.

RAJAJI'S ANALYSIS

In a statement to the Press in Delhi, Rajaji said that the Prime Minister should drop the present Defence Minister and take up the responsibility himself.

"Certain people are interested", Rajaji said, "in playing up the border situation and make out of it a war in order to raise a dust cloud over past faults of omission and commission. We have to call those responsible for this ugly situation to account and do what is necessary to save national prestige. But we should not get alarmed and talk the language of Churchill when the second world war started."

Continuing he added: "Whether the foreign policy and defence administration of the present regime were right or wrong is no longer an academic issue. The pudding has proved to be bad. There can be no further doubt about it. All our neighbours are either against us or have lost confidence in us. We have failed in our foreign policy by any test."

Referring to the Defence Minister, Rajaji stated: "Whether the Defence Minister is a good and capable person is not the issue. A large section of the people of this country have grave doubts about him. Since the question was publicly discussed during the Bombay election, nothing has happened to remove the doubts."

Rajaji concluded by saying "the meaningless talk about carrying on with the Plan in spite of the so-called war situation must be dropped. The world situation is worse than ever before and our Plan is far too bound up with the world situation to be any longer called a Plan."

Later, on October 28, addressing a meeting in Madras, Rajaji repeated his conviction that the happenings on the northern borders did not really amount to war.

While welcoming the decision of the Union Government to secure arms from friendly countries to fight the Chinese, Rajaji hoped that the Government would accept magnanimous offers from friendly countries. He regretted that "we have not been giving hitherto the treatment which these friendly countries deserved from us. We have been taking friends as enemies and enemies as friends."

DELHI UNIT'S INDICTMENT OF COMMUNISTS

Information has been received, meanwhile, from various State Units of resolutions having been adopted or initiative taken in getting democratic opposition parties together on this national issue.

The Delhi State unit strongly condemned the "highly equivocal and dubious resolution" passed by the Communist Party of India "throwing doubt on the fact of the invasion by the Chinese as well as slyly equating the statements of the Government of India and China in relation to the facts of the invasion." The resolution doubted the loyalty of the Communists to the country and said that they should be treated as fifth columnists for the duration of the hostilities with China.

The Convenor of the Delhi unit of the Party, in the course of a letter in the *Hindustan Times* of October 19, criticised the continuance in office of unreliable persons. The letter which has evoked considerable interest and appreciation, has been reproduced elsewhere in this Newsletter (Annexure B).

PUNJAB

In Chandigarh, the Swatantra Party's unit took the initiative in forming an "Anti-China Front". In a statement issued by the Front on October 22, it appealed to the USA to assist India with atomic and other weapons to push back the Chinese and to ensure the survival of freedom and democracy in the Eastern Hemisphere.

UTTAR PRADESH

A State political conference of the Party meeting in Agra, on October 21, adopted a resolution demanding the immediate replacement of the Defence and External Affairs Ministry personnel "to tackle the grave threat to the country in an effective manner."

MAHARASHTRA

The Bombay City and Maharashtra State units jointly organised two meetings in the City on October 26 and 31, on "The Answer to the Chinese Challenge."

The first meeting was addressed by Sir H. P. Mody, Sir B. Rama Rau, Mr. Frank Moraes, Mr. M.R. Masani and Mr. N. Dandekar.

In his opening speech, Mr. Masani suggested that the Party may consider taking the initiative in inviting the cooperation of commercial and trade organisations and other voluntary Associations in the establishment of non-official vigilance organisations to keep an eye on and bring to light black marketing, profiteering and other antisocial economic activities.

Speaking in his personal capacity, Mr. Masani said that, while it was the duty of the opposition parties to give the fullest support to the war effort, they should retain the right of criticising those policies of Government which came in the way of the country's defence and the national interest.

Sir B. Rama Rao, who spoke as a "non-party man", stated that, whilst the country had rallied to the support of the Prime Minister, it was the duty of the latter to create an atmosphere which would enable everyone to give his wholehearted co-operation. He wanted the Government to drop its insistence on the Third Plan and the emphasis on ideological objectives.

Mr. Frank Moraes of the *Indian Express*, who spoke in his capacity as a "citizen of India," said that while there was today unity among the people, one could not say the same thing about Government.

Sir Homi Mody in his speech blamed the Government for the present situation and expressed his dismay at the utterances from the highest quarters in the last few days. Pointing out the Chinese offer of negotiations, Sir Homi affirmed that by showing their willingness to negotiate with the Chinese on the precondition of the latter withdrawing to the position they held on 8th September, the Government had actually made a political retreat. He pointed out that only two months earlier Government had turned down a Chinese offer of negotiations unless the latter restored the status quo boundary which had been altered forcibly since 1957.

In his speech from the Chair, Mr. N. Dandekar, Chairman of the Bombay Branch and Convenor of the Maharashtra Unit of the Party, remarked that the present situation had arisen either on account of stupidity, complacency or treachery.

Demanding Mr. Krishna Menon's removal, Mr. Dandekar added: "I do not want a post mortem, but I do want to point the finger at the guilty men. And above all, one guilty man. The first answer to the Chinese challenge, because you will never be able to get any other answers until you take the first answer, is to get Mr. Krishna Menon out of the Cabinet. Let him go where he belongs. He doesn't belong here."

The second meeting was presided over by the Vice-Chairman of the Bombay Unit, Mr. Piloo Mody. Mr. R. V. Moorthy, General Secretary of the Bombay Branch, Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. N. Dandekar and Mr. Madhu Mehta were the other speakers.

Mr. Masani in his address mentioned: "In defending our Ladakh and NEFA borders against the Chinese offensive, we are also defending the borders of Pakistan. At the same time, we can more easily achieve victory against the Chinese if we are assured of the goodwill of Pakistan."

He explained that Indo-Pakistani friendship had become a matter of considerable urgency for two

reasons. First, because with the great number of Indian troops deployed in and around Kashmir, India was fighting the battle against the Chinese with one arm tied behind her back. The link between Assam and the rest of India, which the Chinese forces were now approaching, was a very narrow one and East Pakistan lay between the two. This meant that, on the one hand, the defence of Assam was also the defence of East Pakistan and, on the other, that Assam could not be easily defended without a friendly Pakistan. In this context, the speaker expressed the hope that our Prime Minister would take the initiative in the matter and that President Ayub would prove to be a far-sighted statesman by assuring India that Pakistan would not take advantage of India's involvement with the Chinese and that Indian troops deployed on Pakistani borders could be withdrawn and shifted to repel the Chinese offensive without any fear.

Mr. Dandekar also emphasised the need for establishing friendly relations with Pakistan in this hour of national crisis. He advocated severance of diplomatic relations with China and appealed to the people to send at least one member of every family to fight the Chinese.

MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY FROM THE LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL

The Liberal International has given expression to its solidarity with the Indian people in the defence of Indian democracy against Chinese Communist attack. In a cable received by the General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, Signor Malagodi, leader of the Liberal Party in the Italian Parliament and President of the Liberal International, and Mr. Richard Moore, its Secretary General, say:-

"The Liberal International view with grave concern the Chinese Communist attack on India. It wishes to express sympathy for the Indian people in their struggle against aggression and recall to all Liberals the vital interest they share in the success of Liberal Democracy in India".

Prof. RANGA'S TOUR

Prof. Ranga undertook a tour stretching from Vijayawada in the south to Calcutta and Delhi. He visited among other places Calcutta, Lucknow, Kanpur, Agra, Ahmedabad and Bombay before returning to Andhra. The views expressed by him on the Chinese offensive have already been reported elsewhere in this issue.

Addressing a press conference in Calcutta, he warned the Congress Government against enhancing land revenues in any State and said that the Swatantra Party would mobilize public opinion to offer resistance to such a move. He met party workers and members of the State Committees in the course of his tour.

At Agra he addressed the State Unit's political conference.

Speaking to correspondents at Vijayawada at the

commencement of his tour on October 6, Prof. Ranga said that the "reintroduction of price controls" would not be justified so long as the Government resorted to deficit financing.

At Eluru, addressing a public meeting on October 8, Prof. Ranga said that though the Planning Commission lacked a statutory basis, it had been able to act like a super Government.

ELECTION TRIBUNAL REVERSES

Two members of the Gujarat Legislative Assembly belonging to the Swatantra Party have been unseated as a result of the verdict of the Election Tribunal going against them.

Mr. Lal Singh, Swatantra Party candidate to the Gujarat Assembly from the Bayad-Malpur constituency, has been unseated as his election has been held invalid by the District and Sessions judge of Banaskantha. The election was set aside on the ground that religious propaganda had been carried on by the Swatantra candidate during the election.

Earlier Mr. R. A. Patel of Uttarsanda constituency in Kaira district had been unseated by the Election

Tribunal on the ground that one of the other contestants in the election was not qualified to stand as he did not fulfil the minimum age requirements.

FRESH APPRECIATION OF PARTY'S DECISION ON BIHAR

In the course of an editorial article in the *Searchlight* of October 1 entitled "Glaring Indiscipline", the Party's resolution in regard to Bihar met with appreciative comment. The editorial has been reproduced in Annexure C to this Newsletter.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY IN INDIAN POLITICS:—

An Analysis by Norman Palmer

Reproduced as Annexure D is an extract from Mr. Norman D. Palmer's book, *The Indian Political System*. In the context of the Party's role in Indian politics, the analysis will be found interesting by readers.

NEWS FROM STATE PARTIES

BOMBAY

The Bombay unit of the Party along with other democratic opposition groups has taken a lead in mobilising public opinion and taking part in activities calculated to help our soldiers on the border.

A public meeting organised by them in cooperation with the Maharashtra Unit has been reported elsewhere and plans are now under way for the formation of Vigilance groups to tackle the problem of ensuring socially responsible behaviour on the part of the mercantile community.

Earlier under the auspices of the Colaba Branch of the Bombay Unit, Lady Rama Rao lectured on the role of family planning in India's economy. She stated that family planning was absolutely necessary to raise the standard of life of our people, and to bring relief to the suffering womanhood in the country. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Mrs. Shantabai Gulabchand.

A prominent Bombay industrialist, Mr. Lalchand Hirachand lectured also under the same auspices on "Indian Industries and Government Policies". He stated that the Government was interested in ideology rather than production, with the result that the industrial production of the country was being hindered.

Mr. Pashabhai Patel, another industrialist of the city, presided.

A discussion on "Government and the people" was held at the Party Office. It was initiated by the Vice Chairman of the City Unit, Mr. Piloo Mody. The

discussions revealed keen interest among members of the Party present on the occasion.

DELHI

The members of the State Unit warmly welcomed Professor Ranga on 3rd September. A reception was arranged for him on the 6th.

The fortnightly meeting of the Swatantra Club was held on 21st September when Professor Gope Gurbax spoke on "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

A meeting held later under the same auspices was addressed by Swatantra M.P. Thakur Yeshpal Singh, who spoke on the 'Present Indian Parliament'.

A primary unit was inaugurated at Bapanagar, a Harijan Colony, when the following office bearers and members were nominated:

- President — Shri Munna Lal.
- Vice-President — Shri Prem Singh Nim.
- Secretary — Shri Mohan Lal Jatava.
- Jt. Secretary — Shri Ram Prasad Sagar.
- Treasurer — Dr. Gopal Dass Kapoor.
- State Representative — (1) Col. H. R. Pasricha
(2) Shri Ratan Lal Bhandal.

The Delhi Unit passed a resolution warning local workers against joining a demonstration organised by the Communists to protest against the expulsion of suspected Chinese from the Capital. It was explained to the workers that the Chinese were suspected of anti-Indian activities.

Another resolution stressed the difficulties caused to the people of the locality by the Delhi administration's decision to shift people from the present residential areas. A decision was taken to represent their hardships to the authorities.

HIMACHAL PRADESH

The Executive Committee of the Himachal unit adopted several resolutions at its meeting on 23rd and 24th September.

A resolution conveyed its congratulations to Prof. Ranga on his victory.

Another, "strongly disapproved" of the relevant articles of the Constitution 14th Amendment Bill, 1962, under the provisions of which the Union Government has tried to meet the democratic aspirations of the peoples of the Union Territories by providing for these areas elected or semi-elected bodies to function as Legislatures, with or without a council of Ministers responsible to them. By enacting this measure, Government have tried to re-enshrine in our Constitution the old Article 240 which the fathers of the Constitution gave to us way back in 1950 and which, owing to the passage of time and the great political awakening in the people since then, has become useless and obsolete, the resolution stated.

A resolution strongly deprecating the partisan attitude of the Himachal Administration during the last General Elections was adopted. Among other things the resolution stated "headed by the Lieutenant Governor who himself undertook a tour of those very areas in which the Swatantra candidates were fighting elections, barely a fortnight before the actual poll, the whole administrative machinery was geared up to help the ruling party in every way possible."

KERALA

The following ad hoc Committee has been nominated for the Southern Zone Unit of the Party in Kerala:

- Mr. Joy Mathew *Convenor*
- Mr. Madhav Warriar *Treasurer*
- „ K. K. Kuruvilla
- „ P. J. George
- „ Peter Sebastian
- „ S. Sattanathan

MADRAS

The State General Secretary, Mr. S. S. Mariswamy, undertook a three-day tour of Tiruchirapalli district. Addressing a public meeting at Trichy on the 2nd, Mr. Mariswamy explained the significance of the Chittoor bye-election victory.

At Musiri, a taluk centre, he addressed a meeting where he deplored the squandermania of the Congress administration.

A third meeting was organised at Manachanallur, where speakers dwelt at length on the dangerous inroads into the freedom of the citizens that would result on account of the persistence by the Congress in so-called socialistic policies.

The Chittoor victory has given a tremendous impetus to Party workers all over Tamil Nad, adds the report from the Trichy district unit of the Party.

MYSORE

Various Study Circle meetings were organised by the Party in Bangalore City. Mr. V. N. Raghavan who attended on behalf of the State Unit the informal meeting of Trade Union Workers who are members of the Party in Bombay City addressed the Study Circle on "Swatantra and Labour".

Mr. M. S. Sankara Rao addressed yet another meeting on "Fundamental rights and the Constitution."

A third meeting on the subject, "The Election Law in India" was addressed by Mr. G. S. Ullal.

Mr. Joseph Horne of the local U.S.I.S. delivered a talk to the Study Circle on General Elections in the United States. Several documentary films were also exhibited on that occasion.

Mr. D. V. Gundappa, Hon. Secretary of the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, addressed the Study Circle on current topics dealing mainly with Chinese Aggression, and the manner in which the Govt. of India should revise its policies to throw the Chinese out.

PUNJAB

On September 2nd a meeting of District Convenors, Secretaries and other workers of the Party in various districts was held at the State Office in Patiala under the presidentship of the State President, Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke.

The State Secretary, Sardar Basant Singh, apprised the meeting of the political situation in the Punjab. The line of action of the State Unit was generally approved by those present.

Sardar Basant Singh urged on those present the necessity of completing membership enrolment before the date fixed for the purpose, i.e. 30th November and exhorted all present to endeavour their utmost to ensure maximum enrolment.

Proposals for holding the next annual convention of the State Unit were considered.

The jurisdiction of the Chandigarh unit of the party was extended to two tehsils from Ambala district with the approval of the representatives from that district.

Various meetings were held by the Unit between the 6th and 28th September in various parts of the State.

Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke presided over a largely attended meeting at Batala on the 6th. An audience of over fifty thousand people attentively listened to speeches criticising the Government's discriminatory taxation policy.

On the 12th Sardar Natha Singh, Secretary of the Gurdaspur unit addressed party workers of the district.

The State Party has been taking active part in the activities of the all-Party Co-ordinating Committee in the State. They participated in a public rally at Batala on the 17th organised by the Co-ordinating Committee and our Party was represented there by Sardar Basant Singh. Similarly meetings were held at Hissar and Dera Baba Nanak.

RAJASTHAN

In September, Maharani Gayatri Devi visited various villages of her constituency, met people who came to her with their grievances of harassment by the Police and authorities. She listened to them and assured them of her best endeavours to help in securing redressal of their grievances.

A Parliamentary Party office was inaugurated at Dausa by the Maharani on the 26th September. At Basco she addressed a public meeting.

Maharajkumar Shri Jai Singh, M.L.A., toured Kanota, Bassi, Dausa, Laisoth, Nagal and Talav Gaon during September, and addressed public meetings.

The Convenor of the Nagaur district of the Swatantra Party has in the course of a letter to the

General Secretary sent a copy of a letter addressed to the Minister for Local Self-Governing Bodies of the State as also a resolution adopted by the Nagaur district unit deploring the Congress policy of rewarding those who have helped them in the last General Elections. Congress supporters, according to the resolution, have been afforded an opportunity to grab Government lands at fabulously low prices. The matter has also been referred to the Leader of the Opposition in the Rajasthan Assembly, Mahara-wal Laxman Singh, in order that matter may be referred at the Assembly level.

WEST BENGAL

The State Unit observed Gandhiji's birthday on October 2nd with prayer meetings and distribution of leaflets referring to Principle 20 of the Party. Rajaji's message on the occasion stated:

"The human family is one; civilisation is one; and this planet with its surrounding atmosphere is our common mother. May all the Devil's invocations prove, one by one, their common worthlessness and be discarded and may what mankind under God has achieved be preserved from destruction shall be our prayer this Gandhi Day on October 2."

Annexure A

EXTRACT FROM THE STATEMENT OF POLICY ON CHINESE AGGRESSION

While the Party has yet to formulate its policy in regard to the various aspects of India's international relations, the aggression committed by Communist China against our country and the occupation of many thousands of square miles of Indian territory by a foreign power create a crisis in the field of national defence. The Swatantra Party urges that a firm and vigilant policy should be followed at least from now on in dealing with the Chinese Communist aggression against India. When our territorial integrity has been violated and our soil occupied by a communist power, the concept of non-alignment has little meaning. Our policy therefore now needs to be reviewed and brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation. In the Party's view, this is not the time for ideological adventures in domestic policy. The measures necessary for ensuring the country's security and defence include: the settlement of outstanding issues with Pakistan and serious consideration of the offer made by Pakistan for collaboration in the defence of the sub-continent; collaboration with the countries of South and South-East Asia with a view to concerted measures for the security of the region; and vigilance against infiltration and fifth column activities.

EXTRACT FROM THE ELECTION MANIFESTO

The Swatantra Party believes that, when the country's territorial integrity has been violated by

Communist China, abstract concepts of co-existence and non-alignment have lost meaning and that our foreign policy needs to be reviewed and brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation. The Party stands pledged to a firm and vigilant policy in dealing with China and for active steps to end its aggression at the earliest possible moment.

The Party will endeavour to rectify the unfortunate impression created in the world that India has a bias in favour of the Communist bloc.

Annexure B

"UNITY IN ACTION"

Sir,

The volte-face disclosed in your "Time for Unity in Action" (Oct. 17-18) is, to say the least, quixotic. No party in the country, to my knowledge, with the expected exception of the Communists whose loyalties are extranational, has denied support to the Government in its task of repelling the Chinese invader. A change of attitude on the part of the Communists is unthinkable, and, even if professed, would be a trap. Whom, then, are such appeals for unity in action addressed to? In addition to your frantic cry there have been other similar appeals from senility ensconced in authority.

Would it be unjustifiable to conclude that all such appeals are, in reality, efforts to hoodwink the gullible public into continued support of unreliable and guilty men who have, through doctrinaire beliefs in socialistic unity and gross misjudgment, brought on the in-

vasion of the country? Are they not meant to perpetuate the stranglehold on the country of these men?

Only in a stupid country is it possible for men in authority to conceal the fact of invasion from the people; to dither and hesitate and refuse resolutely to defend the country and even to minimize the hostile activity and still continue in power. Must nothing be allowed to interfere with their continued enjoyment of power?

In Great Britain, at the beginning of World War II, Mr. Chamberlain did not issue such appeals for himself; he quietly and decently faded out. Decency and self-respect can only be found now in backward people; the modern, socialistic leadership of this country pays scant respect to such outdated virtues.

No great commonsense is required to come to the conclusion that the unreliable will always remain unreliable, no matter how many times they change their faces, and a Communist cannot be expected resolutely to defend the country against Communist attack. Good sense and patriotism, while lending wholehearted support to measures of national defence, must insist on the removal of the guilty man.

H. S. Pasricha

(Reproduced from the *Hindustan Times* of Oct. 19)

Annexure C

GLARING INDISCIPLINE

The reported reluctance of the general secretary of the Bihar unit of the Swatantra Party to hand over charge of his office to his successor appointed by the Central executive committee may be a prelude to the revolt of a sizable section of the State Branch against the High Command. It may, on the other hand, be a part of some tactics to play for time. Whatever the case it does show great courage and determination on the part of the party High Command that it chose to take action against one of its strongest units in the country without caring for the consequences.

Some other major political parties are also facing more or less similar situation but with them discretion has been mostly the better part of valour. The Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh has been charged by the Central committee of the party with indiscipline. State leaders of some other parties have been found guilty of much graver offences but their party high commands have not mustered enough strength to touch them lest the organisations with which they are associated are weakened.

The Swatantra leadership is evidently prepared to face the prospect of total liquidation of the party in Bihar in the pursuit of certain well known and sacred principles. Most of the Swatantra legislators in Bihar are supposed to be personal followers of the Raja Bahadur though it is too early to say if they will make a common cause with him if he ultimately chooses to leave the Party.

Whatever the case, other parties will do well to emulate the Swatantra example which has kept its principles above expediency. Politically conscious people are bound to be profoundly impressed by the

firmness of the Swatantra High Command in enforcing discipline. It is possible that ultimately the differences between the Central committee and the State unit will be resolved, but it will undoubtedly enhance the prestige of the Swatantra Party among the people. It is unfortunate that the principal Opposition in this State should have to face internal dissensions when it was expected to be active on the legislative front and outside.

Searchlight, 1st October 1962.

Annexure D

NORMAN D. PALMER

The Indian Political System (London, 1962)

In 1959 the first democratically oriented conservative party of any importance in India came into being The formation of the new party, it was reported, was hastened because of the opposition to the resolution in favour of farming co-operatives adopted by the Congress Party at its annual meeting in Nagpur in the previous January.

The Swatantra Party is conservative in its economic and social views, very anti-Communist, and is opposed to many of the policies and to social orientation of the Congress. It emphasizes the freedom of the individual. The importance of private enterprise, the ancient concept of *dharma*, and the principle of trusteeship, in the Gandhian sense. In foreign affairs it favours co-operation with Pakistan in the defence of the sub-continent.

One of the main promoters of the Swatantra Party was M. R. Masani, once a prominent founder-member of the Congress Socialist Party who has been critical of Congress and Socialist policies for many years. Masani has an important public relations position with the Tata industrial enterprises, the best known of all the private concerns in India. A smooth, polished, Western-educated man of the world, he was elected to the Lok Sabha in the general elections of 1957 as a candidate of the leading 'Tribal party, the Jharkand Party'. The President of the Swatantra Party is Prof. N. G. Ranga, a peasant leader from Madras, who was once General-Secretary of the Indian National Congress. Another prominent member of the new party is K. M. Munshi, a distinguished scholar-politician, at one time a leading figure in the Congress Party and a former Governor of Uttar Pradesh.

But the steller attraction in the Swatantra Party is C. Rajagopalachari, fortunately known as just C. R. or Rajaji — Indian Governor General of the Dominion of India. He is now a wizened old man in his eighties, but there is still magic in his name 'CR', is actually aware of his menseic role. He speaks to people as a biblical leader came to his people. (S. C. Malik "The Mixed Position of Swatantra" *The Radical Humanist* 22-5-60, p. 251) "After Gandhi is dead", he has said, we have socialism. Socialism is now preached boldly because now there is no Gandhi to answer it. I say the same things as Gandhi said if Gandhi had

been alive or Vallabhai Patel had been alive I would not have to do all this work." (Kakinada, 28-2-60). He charges that the Congress has "in effect accepted Communistic principles". In particular he regards the experiment in co-operative farming announced in the Nagpur resolution of the Congress in 1959 as "The royal road to Communism". The Swatantra Party, he proclaims, is "dedicated to saving India from the dangers of totalitarianism."

The Party to which Rajaji has given his blessing and which brought him out of his retirement into active life once more has attracted a great deal of attention and it has gained the support of influential businessmen and others who have little taste for socialism or who welcome the appearance of a non-Communal conservative opposition and also, paradoxically, been welcomed by many who are more liberally inclined, who are attracted by the appeals of the new Party to the Gandhian traditions or to ancient Indian ideals, or who for any other reason are not satisfied with existing Indian political parties. Jaya Prakash has welcomed the Swatantra Party, as a "balancing factor between conservatism and radicalism," and he has appeared on the same platform with Swatantra leaders, although he says he has no intention of

joining the new Party. The Party hopes to gain the moral support at least of Vinobha Bhave. Even Nehru has professed to be happy over the formation of the Swatantra Party, and he was most cordial to Rajaji when the venerable statesman came to Delhi in the spring of 1960 to promote the interests of the new movement, but Nehru has also denounced Swatantra as a "reactionary party, drawing into its fold various types of vested interests" and he has declared that if India "follows the policies of Swatantra Party India will be doomed."

The Swatantra Party, has already attracted more support than most political observers predicted, and it will probably be a sound one for some time. It may well become the nucleus for conservative opposition to existing policies of the Government. If the Congress Party itself should ever split up into, conservative and socialistic wings, the Swatantra Party might win the support of many conservative Congressmen, or it might merge with this group to form a really effective conservative party. It may serve as a catalytic agent, preserving a realignment of Indian political groupings. In view of the growing radicalisation of Indian politics, however, it is doubtful that any political organization openly opposed to socialism in any form will gather much momentum.

(For Private Circulation)