

The Conflict With Pakistan

IN an interview to the Special Representative of the *Statesman* in Madras on August 25, Rajaji fully supported the Government's action in sending security forces across the Cease-fire line and said such effective action was the only way to deter further armed incursions from the other side. He was referring to our occupation of Kargil and a few other strategic posts to cut off the lines of communication through which Pakistani raiders infiltrate into Kashmir. "I am sorry to have to speak the language of terror," said Rajaji "but unless we strike terror, we cannot deter them." While deploring anything that reduced the sanctity of the Ceasefire line, Rajaji observed "when our friends on the other side of the border organise repeated excursions of armed men into Indian territory, the first thing to decide is whether to complain about it and await developments or whether this calls for immediate action to deter such excursions. It is fairly clear that the case today is one calling for the latter action."

At the same time, Rajaji reiterated the Swatantra Party's position *vis-a-vis* relations with Pakistan. While clarifying that what he had stated related to immediate action, Rajaji said "our long-term policy of working for friendship and cooperation with Pakistan should be kept intact."

On August 26, when the conflict was still confined to forays across the ceasefire line, the Party's General Secretary, Mr. M. R. Masani, while replying to the debate on the Motion of No-Confidence on August 23 unambiguously stated the Party's position: "Let me assure the Prime Minister", he said, and the House and through them the country and the world that there can be no misconception about where we stand in regard to the attack and infiltration from Pakistan. When I opened this debate I said to the Prime Minister: I agree with you that defence involves the right to retaliate, the right even to cross the frontier and attack the enemy in his own territory; and the whole House with one voice has supported that point of view. On that issue, there is no difference between us. Whatever the fate of this motion of no-confidence, let India and the World know that on that point we are all at one with Government, and the Prime Minister will get the fullest cooperation he wants on that issue."

Soon thereafter, the dimensions of the conflict spread beyond the boundaries of Kashmir and, for all practical purposes, India and Pakistan were locked in dangerous conflict.

On September 6, at a meeting of Party leaders called by the Prime Minister at which our President, Prof. Ranga, and Mr. Masani were present, the following points were made by Prof. Ranga:

1. We must make it clear to the world and to ourselves what we want to achieve through our present activity and campaign in Pakistan in reply to her calculated, mischievous and pre-arranged aggression as demonstrated through the continuous process of infiltration into Kashmir.

Cease-Fire

As we go to press a Cease-fire has been declared thus bringing hostilities to an end.

Welcoming the Cease-fire, Rajaji said that the hot war had now stopped but the cold war would continue.

The Chinese, he said had tried to conspire with Pakistan to prolong the conflict. The Government could not afford to take a complacent view of the Chinese Communist threat.

Rajaji suggested firm defence treaties with the Western powers and with an Asian power like Japan and a two-million army reserve as an effective means of fighting Chinese threat.

2. Ours must be a limited objective, mainly to teach Pakistan to learn to become and behave as a good and peaceful neighbour and not to continue as during all these years to irritate, trouble, obstruct and harass us and to interfere with our national affairs and our social and economic development. Therefore, our present campaign should be taken to be a police action, with all its limitations in time and also in action. We should not run the risk of arousing impossible and impractical hopes and ambitions on the part of the people as to our objectives. We have made it perfectly clear that we do not want to gain any area or any group of people from Pakistan. We have no ambitions for any conquest.

3. Any war means suffering for all concerned. Even

if we come out victorious, it can only mean that we would have suffered less than the vanquished. Both parties would have suffered terrible losses and postponement or prevention of their progress and development. So, let us always be ready to hasten to take advantage of any move towards peace whenever it may offer itself.

4. We must not depend too much upon the present wave or atmosphere of people's enthusiasm and satisfaction over our decision to retaliate vigorously against Pakistani aggression because such a wave can only be short-lived and it is due to impatience during all these years against Pakistan's continued campaign of irritation caused to our people. We must take care to be prepared for facing the inevitable discontent and dissatisfaction of the people as the war continues to cause more and more suffering and to worsen our parlous economic conditions.

5. We cannot afford to ignore world opinion, and have to carry on a campaign to enlighten our aims. Our aims are (1) to assure ourselves of a peaceful neighbour and (2) to ensure that we do not have to suffer as we have suffered during the last 18 years from military intervention and irritations.

Writing in *Swarajya* of September 11, Rajaji said:

"Our gallant young men have demonstrated their grit and courage. The congratulations and gratitude of the people go to them. While we have repelled aggression and shown our determination not to tolerate mischief, the inevitable sequel of the escalating conflict, viz., the irresistible pressure of the United Nations Secretary-General and of friendly Powers and the Security Council for a cease fire has come. The adventure of guerilla warfare foolishly undertaken by Pakistan and the consequent readjustment of the cease-fire line has complicated the situation for a cease-fire. The involvement of Pakistan in the infiltration of a large body of armed soldiers in disguise, in the hope of raising a violent revolt in Kashmir, has been well established though not admitted explicitly. This was a concealed violation of the international cease-fire line. India's resistance to this dishonest infiltration and her efforts to block it were defence of the cease-fire line. The appeals of U Thant and the friendly Powers and the Security Council cannot be given anything less than the highest regard and respect. India's commitment to peace is unaltered and firm. But the cease-fire can be on a firm basis only if there is a frank and full admission on the part of Pakistan of its offence besides restitution for damage done and a pledge of non-repetition of the tactics and activities that led to the present unfortunate open conflict....."

"If the Cabinet has realised that the situation is grave owing to Pakistan's misguided and continued aggression, compelling India to protect the cease-fire line by crossing it and going forward to prevent the infiltration of guerillas, the leaders of Government ought to do something more than meeting at night

and organising their party votes against censure motions. Instead of whipping up unconvinced speakers of their party to make a good enough show in Parliament, they should ask the Opposition to co-operate in bringing into being an emergency national government and relieve the present Party regime of its responsibility, in order the grave situation may be met on a national basis. They have not done this but they appeal for 'unity'—whatever that may mean. This is not how government engaged in an escalating conflict with an obstinate and proud enemy would behave, if the situation were really assessed as grave and so realized. It does not appear that they are pretending either. It seems it is just the drift of incompetence or what is even more dangerous, the haughtiness that is rebuked in the proverbs of all nations. Voluntarily to invite a national government to take over charge from oneself, requires a kind of courage that is not common, a bravery that is not merely haughty confidence but a type of detachment together with calm courage, partaking of the quality of religious faith, which I suspect Sri Lal Bahadur has, but is prevented from shaping itself in action by the pride of his colleagues, pride which is ever the millstone round the necks of small men placed in high charge."

In a Circular to Party Units throughout the country, Mr. Masani conveyed the position of the Party as it emerged out of a discussion at a meeting of the Party's Parliamentary Group: "Broadly, the position is that we support the President and the Prime Minister in their definition of the nature of the hostilities and the readiness they have expressed for the suspension of hostilities subject to the pre-conditions laid down by the Prime Minister in his letter to U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations of September 4 and by the President in his broadcast on September 11."

Referring to Civil Defence and cooperation in the Defence Effort, the General Secretary stated: "State Units should actively cooperate with the authorities in Civil Defence measures and in all matters connected with the Defence effort. In this connection, I might mention that the Bombay Unit of our Party has been taking active interest not only by way of collecting money, clothes etc. for relief of distress of the people in Kashmir and elsewhere who have suffered on account of the hostilities but also by co-operating in Civil Defence measures, persuading the public to donate blood, etc. Incidentally, I represent the Party on the Kashmir Committee set up by the Citizens' Central Council in Delhi as well as on its Relief Sub-Committee. Any collections made, whether in the form of money or material, should be sent to the Kashmir Committee, Citizens Central Council, Rashtrapathi Bhavan, New Delhi."

Mr. Masani responded to an invitation to broadcast on A.I.R. on September 20 at 9.40 p.m. The text of the broadcast forms the subject matter of the column

"From the General Secretary's Desk" elsewhere in this issue of the Newsletter.

A full report of the Party's participation in the defence effort in various parts of the country will be published in the next issue of the Newsletter. Meanwhile Party leaders have been expressing their solidarity with the Government in resisting aggression.

On the floor of the Gujarat Assembly, the leader of the Opposition and President of the Gujarat State Unit of the Party Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel assured the Government of the Party's support.

At an all-Party rally held in Delhi on September 10, Mr. Dandeker, who spoke on behalf of the Swatantra Party, said: "Let us stand united with determination and confidence in our Prime Minister and the Government and our gallant forces who are entrusted with the heavy responsibility of protecting our freedom and territorial integrity."

Meanwhile, in Bombay, on September 12, Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Party's Vice-President, also speaking at an all-Party meeting, called for complete support to the Government from all sections of the people in meeting the Pakistani aggression.

✓ **Parliamentary Sub-Committee Meets in Delhi**

The Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Central Parliamentary Board met in New Delhi on August 28 to transact business connected with the nomination of prospective Parliamentary candidates for the 1967 elections.

The meeting expressed its deep regret and sense of loss at the demise of Maharaja S. P. Singh Deo of Dhenkanal and a member of the Party's Group in the Rajya Sabha. Recommendations in regard to the nomination of six prospective Parliamentary candidates from the States of Andhra, Gujarat, Mysore and UP were approved.

The Orissa State Unit's recommendation that the Party should contest the by-election to the State

Assembly from the Hinjlicut by-election was approved, with Mr. Sribatsa Mahapatra as the Party's candidate. It may be recalled here that the by-election has been necessitated as a result of the Sitting Member Mr. Brindaban Nayak, a Minister in the State Government, being unseated by the Election Commission on a petition by Mr. Parikhrit Biswal of the Swatantra Party.

The Resolution adopted by the Orissa State Council of the Party at its meeting in Bhubaneshwar on August 7 and 8, opposing the move to postpone the elections in Orissa scheduled next year, was welcomed by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and it was decided that the Party in Parliament and elsewhere should support the Orissa Unit's stand.

Orissa Assembly Elections

The State Council of the Orissa Unit met in Bhubaneshwar on August 7 and 8. Mr. N. Dandeker, Joint Secretary of the Party was present at the meeting convened primarily to discuss the State Unit's attitude to the Assembly elections scheduled next year. The State Council unanimously adopted the following resolution:

1. As a matter of constitutional principle and democratic propriety, the State Council of the Swatantra Party in Orissa is strongly opposed to any move to postpone the general elections to the State Assembly in Orissa to 1967, and thereby deprive the right of voters to exercise their choice on any plea. In view of rampant corruption (as partly exposed by C.B.I. report and opinion of Election Commission against a Minister) and continued inefficiency, wastage and mis-government in Orissa and persistent demand of opposition parties for early dissolution of the present Orissa Ministry, any move for postponement of the general elections by Legislation under the permissible provisions of the Constitution on any ground or even on the plea of the existence of an Emergency would be undemocratic and unjustified as in fact there is neither any war nor armed hostilities and there is no real emergency in the true sense of the term. The Council recalls that the by-elections to the State Assemblies and to the Lok Sabha which had

been postponed at the beginning of the promulgation of Emergency are now being held in the regular course and opposition parties have been pressing for the withdrawal of the declaration of Emergency.

2. In a federal type of Constitution, synchronisation of General Elections at State and Parliamentary levels cannot be ensured for all times as the possibility of earlier dissolution of any of the State legislative Assemblies or even of the Lok Sabha at different times cannot be prevented, nor is there any constitutional necessity for them to be synchronised. The extra expenses and strain on the administration and on political parties is a price that has to be paid for the preservation of Parliamentary Democracy and should not be an argument for deviation from the normal course. Membership of the Legislature is a responsibility and an opportunity for public service rather than a perquisite. Hence, it would be improper to view the holding of timely elections, or even the dissolution of the Assembly a

few months earlier than the full five year term, from consideration of vested interests of the Legislators and objections on that ground should not be entertained. The only practical consideration that should enter into the decision regarding the timing of the general elections to the Orissa Legislative Assembly is the suitability of the season and convenience of the electorate.

3. The State Council of Swatantra Party, Orissa Unit, while endorsing the resolution of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee dated 11-7-65 regarding unsuitability of holding elections in Orissa during rains and hot summer, is of the view that the proposal of the Orissa Congress in favour of holding such elections in Orissa in May, 1966 is unfair, unrealistic and illogical. Statistics prove the percentage of polling has been so low as ten percent in some districts of Western Orissa during the June 1961 elections and has been low also in the by-elections held between the later half of April to June in those areas. The Ruling Congress Party favours low percentage of poll as it facilitates use of undue influence by it. Moreover, experience has shown that the administration has failed to make adequate arrangements for covered rest sheds and drinking water for the voters at the polling booths during the last elections and other by-elections held in Orissa during the hot summer. The State Council is, therefore, emphatically of the view that holding of elections for the Legislative Assembly in Orissa later than the first half of April, 1966, will not be convenient and will virtually

amount to dis-enfranchising large number of voters, particularly in the Western districts of the State where the temperature goes as high as 123°F.

4. In accordance with the provisions of the Representation of the People Act, there is no bar on calling on the electorate to vote for the Assembly General elections within a period less than six months of the date of expiry of the term of the Assembly. Hence, as the five year term of the present Assembly expires on the 21st August, 1966, under proviso to Sec. 15(2) of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, it would be permissible for the Governor to issue a Notification for the general election to the Orissa State Legislative Assembly on the recommendation of the Election Commission on any day after the 22nd February, 1966, even without dissolving the Assembly. As it is the usual practice for the out-going Assembly to adopt an On-Account Budget in a General Election year in a one or two days session of the old Assembly, there would be no regular budget session — before the commencement of the next financial year, and in these circumstances, therefore, there is no reason why the next General Elections for the Orissa Legislative Assembly should not be completed by the end of March, 1966, or the middle of April, 1966, at the latest.

5. The State Council, therefore, recommends to the National Executive of the Swatantra Party to oppose any move to postpone the General Elections to the Orissa Legislative Assembly and also to insist that the same be concluded by the end of March, 1966, or the middle of April, 1966, at the latest."

Towards Bankruptcy

Party leaders within and outside Parliament have been warning the country of the economic crisis generated as a result of wrong economic policies pursued by the party in power. During the debate on the Motion of No Confidence in Parliament moved by the Swatantra Group, both Mr. Masani and Mr. Dandekar highlighted the precarious economic condition of the country. The full texts of the speeches are the subject matter of a booklet entitled 'Voice of the People' recently published by the Central Office. Opportunities provided by various organisations like the Commerce Graduates Association of Bombay, the Ahmedabad Economic Association, the Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary Club of Bombay were utilized by the General Secretary and Mr. Dandekar to try and explain to the people the dire straits to which India's economy had been reduced.

A Malayalam Daily *Kerala Kaumudi* commenting editorially on one of the General Secretary's speeches said among other things in its issue of July 30:—

"Mr. Masani, Swatantra Party leader, told a Chamber of Commerce Conference that India is on the verge of bankruptcy and the cause for it is the

present policy of the Government. We can say, if necessary, that Masani's opinion is an echo of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's statement. Krishnamachari had said recently that the country will not go bankrupt so long as he is Finance Minister. The hint is that India will go bankrupt if Krishnamachari ceases to be the Finance Minister. It is not however wrong if we consider Masani's opinion as an answer to Krishnamachari's statement. Mr. Masani is fully correct when he says that the present policy of the Government is the cause of bankruptcy. Facts fully support him....

"... Socialism is the goal of the Congress and the Government. Five Year Plans are mooted to achieve socialism. But experts opine that through these plans the poor have become poorer and wealth accumulated in the hands of the rich. The Common man's experience do not differ from this observation.... The Government controls everything in the name of democratic socialism..... under the rigid controls imposed in the name of foreign exchange it is not possible for industrialists other than Tatas and Birlas to increase their activities....."

Arrivals & Departures

Mr. A. Subramanyam, a Congress member of the Madras Legislative Council, has resigned from the Congress Party. In his letter of resignation sent to the President of the Tamilnad Congress Committee, Mr. Subramanyam said that he proposed to join the Swatantra Party.

Mr. Rayaneni Veeraswamy of Warangal, a member of the State Executive of the Praja Socialist Party in Andhra, has resigned from that Party and joined the Swatantra Party. In a statement issued by him on the occasion, he said that the Plans formulated under the name of socialism have, instead of elevating the common man and improving his social and ethical conditions, resulted in converting him as a slave of society and into starvation. He said that the experience gained in 14 years has proved democratic socialism to be a myth. Therefore the statement says that "with

the firm faith and belief that in India, Swatantra is the only real democratic party with the ideals of progress, I decided to resign from the Executive and primary membership of the Praja Socialist Party Andhra Pradesh and to join the Swatantra Party."

Mr. Nandigam Suba Rao, a prominent leader and former secretary of the District Congress Committee of Adilabad, has resigned from the Primary membership of that Party. In a statement issued to the Press on the occasion, Mr. Suba Rao has charged the Congress with adopting totalitarian and communist methods. He said that "with the strong and firm belief that the Swatantra Party is the only party with real democratic ideals, I resign from the Congress Party today and join the Swatantra Party to serve the public in a much better manner."

There are no departures from the Party to report.

Rajaji and Masterji

The meeting last month in Madras between Rajaji and Master Tara Singh gave rise to needless speculation as to the purpose of his talks. Rajaji cleared the air through the columns of *Swarajya*. He said: "Although I do not share the view that asking for a Punjabi state within the Union is a crime any more than asking for a Telugu or a Malayalam speaking State was, I impressed on Master Tara Singh the

importance of the Sikh community putting smaller issues aside now and taking its full part in saving the country from the Congress Party and its ruinous economic policies."

"Referring to Mr. Kamaraj's recent speeches about Rajaji-Tara Singh discussions, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that he was amazed at the degree of distortion and untruthful propaganda."

Swatantra and Labour

The Party's Labour Organiser, Mr. G. B. Sukhee, toured Gujarat, U.P., Bihar and Orissa and contacted various members and leaders of Independent Trade Unions, held group meetings to discuss methods by which the ideal of keeping labour free from the domination of political parties could be furthered.

At Kanpur a majority of Trade Unions believe that great damage has been caused to workers by leaders of the C.P.I., the Congress and the Socialists. It was now being realised that Trade Unions could not build up their own strength for collective bargaining because of domination by political parties. The rivalries and groupism existing in the Trade union movement due to politicalization of Trade Unions had killed the spirit of harmonious industrial relations.

In Ahmedabad a strong group of Independent Trade Unions are now taking steps to formulate a new approach to the workers of Gujarat.

In Bihar about eight Unions in addition to the group of Unions guided by Mr. T. Parmanand, a prominent labour leader at the state are working along similar lines.

In Orissa the North Orissa Workers Union is

making efforts to combat the influence of the A.I.T.U.C., I.N.T.U.C. and other politically oriented trade union federations.

In Madras a Committee has been formed to fight the intrusion of political parties in Trade Unions.

Bank Employees throughout the country have realised the evils of political control and intend forming a strong Trade Union of their own and reject the Communist dominated All India Bank Employees Association.

A Seminar of Independent Trade Unionists is proposed to be held in Bombay on the 16th and 17th of October to discuss the following:

1. Independent Trade Union Movement and its problems,
2. Nationalisation and effect on Labour Movement,
3. The New approach to Industrial Relations,

The Co-ordinating Committee for Independent Trade Unions which is dedicated to the ideals of an independent trade union movement, proposes to start a monthly bulletin from 1st of October. The Swatantra Party has welcomed this effort.

Around the State Assemblies

ANDHRA

Congress and Opposition Benches were sharply divided over the admissibility of a privilege motion on August 10, accusing the retired Indian Commander-in-Chief, General Cariappa of contempt of the House. The motion preferred by 13 Communist and Independent members, arose out of an article in the English daily in which the General is reported to have referred to "mud-slinging" and "dog-eating-dog" in Parliament and the State Assemblies. The leader of the Swatantra Group, Mr. G. Latchanna and Mr. Ramchandrarao Deshpande, also a member of the Group, expressed the opinion that the article in question was general and it would be wrong to take exception to remarks "torn out of context."

Earlier, in the course of a discussion in the State Assembly on August 9 on a Bill referring the Andhra University (Amendment) 1965, the Sri Venkateswara University (Amendment Bill) 1965 and the Osmania University (Amendment Bill) 1965 to a select Committee, Mr. P. Rajagopal Naidu (Swatantra) said that the Government had drifted from election to select-

tion and thence to ejection. He was referring to a provision in the Bill to give the Chancellor powers to nominate Vice-Chancellors.

Mr. Rajagopala Naidu said Vice-Chancellors should be elected. It was wrong to fill up the Senate and the syndicate with nominated people. The four akademies in the State were proposed to be represented on the academic council, but then the akademies were creatures of the Government.

MADRAS

Mr. K. Cheemaichami, in a discussion in the State Assembly on August 6 of the State's proposals for the Fourth Plan, said it was significant that the plan draft was silent on the question of fresh taxes. Agriculture, instead of being promoted, was being hindered by such acts as export of oilcakes and fixing maximum prices of paddy.

He suggested a plan 'holiday' for a year or two. It was not necessary to have successive plans. The plans worked so far had only given rise to inflation.

NEWS FROM STATE UNITS

ANDHRA

Addressing a public meeting at Warangal on August 1, the President of the State Unit, Mr. G. Latchanna, denounced socialism and the Soviet type of planning in India which had resulted in heavy taxes, soaring prices and heavy debts. Referring to a speech by Mr. S. K. Patil in which Mr. Patil had suggested that the country "must pause for a while to think anew as to where we were as far as planning is concerned....." Mr. Latchanna reiterated the need to convert the 3rd Five-Year Plan into a Seven-Year Plan.

Mr. N. Vijayraj Kumar, a member of the State Executive, also addressing the meeting dealt at length on the evils of inflation, artificial scarcity of food grains and the various faces of socialism. Among others who addressed the meeting were Mr. K. B. Siddaiah, Mr. N. Patchaiah and others. Mr. Kashinadham, President of the Warangal District Unit presided.

Mr. Latchanna who was on a tour of the district, also addressed District Workers of the Party. The Workers' meeting resolved to accelerate enrolment and to call the next meeting of the District Workers on 5th September.

Visiting Kurnool, the State President addressed a District Workers meeting on August 8. Urging the Party Workers to strengthen the Party at the grass

roots level, he called for a masscontact drive. He wanted at least a Primary Unit for every Panchayat area and Training Camp for Party Workers in the village. Mr. Gadalingana Gowd, presided over this Workers' meeting.

A District Election Committee was constituted to study the Party's chances and to secure good candidates for the 1967 elections.

A meeting in Hyderabad on 10th August of the Party's Legislature group adopted a number of resolutions. Among them was one protesting against the decision taken at the Chief Minister's Conference to enforce statutory rationing in the cities. Advocating de-control, the Resolution asserted that the food position would be very much improved by the removal of food zones and restrictions now existing on the movement of food grains from one part of the country to another.

Two other resolutions were critical of certain measures in regard to irrigation contemplated by the State Government.

The General Secretary of the State Unit in a statement to the Press expressed the apprehensions of the State Unit in regard to the 4th Five-Year Plan. The press statement entitled "Who Is Leading the Country and Where" wondered whether it was the Prime Minister and the Central Cabinet or the Planning Commission or was it the Congress Party which was leading the country? The statement stated that

the Prime Minister seems to think differently at different places. It further added: "He thinks in one way when he comes to the people and when some in the Congress ranks on whom some realization seems to dawn warn about the unrealistic and ambitious plan outlay of the 4th Plan he even expresses suggesting a plan holiday for a brief period. He thinks about the Plan in a different way when he presides over the planning commission to accept a plan outlay of Rs 21,500 crores. The Central Cabinet and the Prime Minister, as such do not appear to think that the Central Government is the sole responsible authority that should think and decide the economic fate of the country which fate has been fatally handled all these 14 years of planning.

The statement concluded with the hope that the National Development Council consisting of the Chief Ministers will take a realistic attitude in relation to the day-to-day difficulties of the people in balancing their household budgets and the non-feasibility of additional taxation and revise the Plan outlay, if they do not feel courageous as to think aloud as does our Prime Minister for giving a plan holiday of one or two years to the Fourth Plan.

At a public meeting held in Sangareddy in Medak District, on August 20, under the Presidentship of Mr. Ramchandra Rao Deshapande, MLA, Mr. Latchanna warned that the Government was taking the country towards tragedy. The economic policies were detrimental to the country's economy and said that unless the people changed the Government in the ensuing elections, there was no hope of any salvation. Mr. Rajgopal Naidu, MLA and Deputy Leader of the Party's Group in the State Assembly speaking on the occasion explained in detail the causes for the rise in prices.

Mr. Vijayraj Kumar said that the real ruler of this country was neither the Parliament nor the Central Cabinet but the extra constitutional body called the Planning Commission. Earlier, Mr. Latchanna declared open the office of the District Unit.

Prof. Ranga addressed a Press Conference at Hyderabad on 10th August. Since the report of the conference has not yet been received, we shall report on it in our next issue.

BIHAR

Lal Jagadhatrinath Sahdeo, MLA, a member of the Swatantra Party in the Bihar State Assembly in a statement issued on 11th August condemned police firing on students and innocent people. He said that arson and looting of Government and public property which resulted in the firing was engineered by politically-motivated leaders. These leaders, he said instigated school students to create rowdyism but left them to the tender mercy of the police when the worst happened. "I am fully in agreement with the sentiments of people with their acute food difficulties

and rising prices which has affected our daily life and growing day by day beyond our imagination. The increase in tuition fee in schools is said to have further incited the students community. But the students, however burdened they might have been, should not have resorted to violent activities. They are the future hope of the Nation, the economic burden on them in the shape of additional tuition fee is a part of the faulty economic policy of the Government. But that has to be fought in a disciplined way."

Mr. Ram Binod Singh, presided over the meeting held at the Bihar Branch of the Central Office on 13th August, to take note of the serious incidents of arson, loot and police firing in Patna and other places in Bihar. The meeting was of the opinion that Government had failed to foresee the danger ahead through a complete lack of imagination. While upholding the fundamental rights of the people of peaceful demonstrations for ventilating their legitimate grievances the meeting appealed to the people to realise that the country was in a state of foreign invasion of an undeclared war and the fifth columnists are very active to sabotage our vital lines of communications and development. The meeting further advised students to be alert and avoid falling in the hands of political exploiters.

GUJARAT

200 Swatantra Party volunteers undertook a fast at Ankleshwar to protest against high prices and shortage of essential commodities. The fast was broken after five days when the Mamlatdar conceded their demands viz., that 500 grams of oil and one kilo worth of sugar should be given per person. After the fast was broken, the volunteers were taken round in procession through the streets ending in a public meeting addressed, among others, by Mr. Maganlal Vidyarthi and Mr. Ambalal Gandhi.

On August 15, a batch of 11 Swatantra Workers commenced a 24-hour fast in front of the Nanded Taluka Mamlatdar's office to protest against the disparity in the distribution of ground-nut and sugar. Among those who participated in the fast was Mr. Padmakant Thandar, Secretary of the Nanded Taluka. In Broach, a ten-day satyagraha by the Swatantra Party in protest against the inequitable distribution of sugar, edible oil and foodgrains ended on August 19 with an assurance by the Civil Supplies Minister that the disparity in the supply of essential articles would be eliminated.

Swatantra volunteers had gone on hunger-strike in front of the Collectorate in batches during the satyagraha. Mr. Trivedi assured that one kilo of sugar per head per month would be given in the district. The Swatantra Unit in Ahmedabad as well as the Party's Legislature Group boycotted the Independence Day celebrations on August 15 in protest

against the calculated insult to the President of the Party and leader of the Opposition in the Gujarat Assembly, Mr. Bhailalbhai D. Patel. The Governor of Gujarat, Mr. Mehdi Nawaz Jung was leaving Ahmedabad and Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel was not given his rightful place as the leader of the Opposition at the reception in the Railway Station. No satisfactory explanation being given to our protest to the Government, the Party's legislators and workers decided to boycott all official functions organised by the Gujarat Government in future.

KERALA

An interesting incident has come to light which indicates how with right leadership and good organisation, our Party with its undoubtedly good policies can make itself felt. In the panchayat of Karimanoor, the authorities proposed to levy a tax on profession and the peasants of the place were greatly disturbed over this measure. Our Unit though not represented in the Panchayat, formed a mass action committee and began a protest against the taxation proposal. Mass meetings throughout the area were conducted, thus creating a powerful public opinion. The result was that the authorities were compelled to withdraw their levy. The people of Karimanoor have found a firm friend in Swatantra.

MADRAS

The Tiruchi District Unit of our Party held a meeting near Keeranur at Killukottai village in Madras on 7th August. Mr. A. L. Natesan Chettiar, presided. The entire village turned out to hear the Swatantra speaker, Dr. R. Kalamegham, Vice-President of the Tamil Nadu Swatantra Party who appealed to all political parties to sink their differences and unite in this hours of national crises. He said that during an emergency like this, the majority party both at the Centre and the States should form a National Government and pointed out how England was saved during the last World War.

Explaining the Party's principles and policies, Dr. Kalamegham pointed out that the blame for the present bankrupt state of our economy should be laid squarely on 17 years of Congress misrule.

A village committee was formed on the occasion.

MYSORE

Leaders of different political parties expressed their full support to the people of Panambur village in their struggle against the acquisition of additional 1500 acres for the Mangalore Port by the Government. The Swatantra Party was represented at this public meeting on August 20 by the State President Mr. K. B. Jinaraja Hegde and Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu. Mr. Hegde suggested the formation of an influential

committee to go into the propriety of the proposed acquisition. Mr. Lobo Prabhu attacked the wisdom of an ill-planned harbour project on an unsuitable site like Panamboor. While explaining his cooperation for furthering the just cause of the people he advised them to demand a major share in the benefits accrued by the development of the port. Mr. M. Uggappa Shetty also of the Swatantra Party, was among those who spoke.

PUNJAB

An emergency meeting of the State Council was held at Sangrur on August 29, under the chairmanship of the State President, Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke. The meeting was primarily called to discuss the Party's contribution to the Defence effort in the State. The Party's Units at all levels were called upon to assist local authorities in programmes of Civil defence and other measures.

A public meeting held in the evening was presided over by Brigadier Pritam Singh, the district President. Among those who spoke were Sardar Basant Singh, Jathedar Gurmej Singh, M.L.A., Sardar Gobinder Singh and Bedi Gurbaksh Singh. The speakers jointly dwelt on the need to unite in order to throw out the aggressors. At the same time references were made to the failure of the ruling party to guard the Country against hostile aggressions, rampant corruption at all levels of administration, the miserable failure on the food front and the inability to provide people with the basic necessities of life after 18 long years of rule. A report received earlier speaks of a significant effort being made at the State level to strengthen the Party's organisation. Literature supplied by the Central Office in the local languages of the State are being distributed.

A regional office has been established in Jind with Ch. Inder Singh, Secretary of the State Unit and Ch. Ram Singh in charge. A report from the State office expressed the hope that the State would be in a position to open primary Units in several Assembly Constituencies as soon as the enrolment drive was completed.

RAJASTHAN

Study teams to investigate the Party's chances in the various Constituencies of the State were organised and are presently on the job. The State General Secretary Thakur Mandhata Singh toured Bikaner and Churu Districts in Bikaner Division and Bharatpur and Sawai Mandhopur districts in Jaipur Division. Mr. Man Singh Mahar as a member of the Jodhpur Study team visited Jodhpur Parliamentary Constituency. Mr. Kesri Singh, Joint Secretary, toured Sirohi and Jalore Districts. Mr. I. S. Bhargava, Joint Secretary toured Kota, Bundi and Jhalawar Districts in Kota Division and Tonk District in Jaipur Division.

A bonus arising out of the Study teams work has been the enrolment of a large number of Party workers and the holding of numerous group meetings of Party workers addressed by members of the Study teams.

UTTAR PRADESH

The State Executive of the U.P. Unit has called upon the Constituency and District Units in the State to mobilize cultivators and resist any scheme of compulsory procurement of food grains at arbitrary prices, if and when it is introduced by the Government.

The Executive in a resolution asked the Government to settle the question of prices first and then think of procurement. For compulsory procurement of food grains, in its view, was nothing but "confiscation" unless its rates were fixed on the basis of parity with the prices of other commodities.

Declaring that the party would fight it "tooth and nail," the executive said that any allurements in the form of a few bags of cement, a few pieces of corrugated sheets or even subsidized fertilizers and irrigation water would not fool the farmers. Instead of subsidizing the producers, the Government would do well to subsidize the food requirements of the poorer section of the society.

Opposing the proposal for introducing statutory rationing, the executive said that an average normal person could not subsist on 13 ounces of food grains per day, which was to be provided under the scheme. This would force the people to resort to smuggling and other corrupt practices.

The executive also expressed concern at the growing trend of communalism in the State. Calling for efforts to restore mutual trust and goodwill, the executive called upon the Government to deal with causes of violence sternly. But this should not be used as excuse for denying fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens under the Constitution.

The Vice President of the State Unit, Mr. Wahidur Rahman, has sent us the following report of a

training camp for Party workers held in Kanpur in August.

"A camp for the training of Swatantra Party workers of U.P., was organised by the State Party Office at Kanpur. The Kanpur Unit acted as host and made arrangements for boarding and lodging of the trainees. The training lasted for five days from 18th August to 22nd August and 134 workers from different districts of Uttar Pradesh attended. Sri B. P. Singh, President of the U. P. State Unit inaugurated the camp and Sri. M. R. Masani M. P., Gen. Secretary of the party, Sri. N. Dandekar M. P., Joint Secretary, Sri Dahyabhai Patel M. P., Sri G. B. Sukhee, Labour Organiser, Sri Ram Gopal Gupta M. P., Ch. Layaq Singh, General Secretary, U. P. Unit and others delivered lectures and guided discussion groups.

An important item of the training was a discussion of the present serious food situation in U. P. under the Chairmanship of Ch. Layaq Singh. After a prolonged discussion, which lasted from 9.30 p.m. to 2.30 a.m. the workers promised to awaken the people to the gravity of the food situation and take suitable measures. The trainees assured their fullest co-operation to the State Executive Committee in any measures which the Committee decided to take.

The trainees further decided to spread the party's organisation throughout the State. For the extension of the party organisation in the State the workers raised on the spot subscriptions in cash and kind of a total value of Rs. 1615/-. Those who had no ready cash, gave away their wrist watches and jewellery.

On the occasion of Mr. Masani's visit to Kanpur on August 21 the Kanpur Municipal Corporation accorded him a civic reception.

Speaking to newsmen at the Kanpur Press Club on August 21 Mr. Masani pleaded that India should enter into mutual security pacts with the Western democracies and break off diplomatic relations with Communist China. He declared 'India is not in a position to meet the joint challenge of Communist China and Pakistan without entering into such pacts.'

He said that mutual security pacts with Western democracies would act as a deterrent to China and Pakistan and it would place India in a relatively superior position.

Mr. Masani also pleaded that India should establish diplomatic relations with Nationalist China which, he said would help in opening up a second front against Communist China.

He described the arrest of Ram Manohar Lohia as a case of misuse of the Defence of India rules.

Mr. N. Dandekar who also spoke to the members said if the Congress representation in legislatures was reduced in terms of actual support enjoyed by it in the country, it would have to link up either with the Swatantra Party or the Communist Party. In this sense he opined the next elections were 'crucial' for the country to free it from the present hold of the Congress.

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from the General Secretary's desk

Dear Friend,

In response to an invitation from All-India Radio, I gave a talk which was broadcast by AIR on September 20, 1965, at 9:40 p.m. The following is the text of the broadcast, reproduced by the courtesy of All India Radio:

It was only this morning that I got back to Delhi from a visit to the front lines occupied by our Armed forces on the Lahore Front which I had the opportunity to make as one of a small group of Members of Parliament nominated by the Speaker. It was an enlightening and stirring experience. We were within range of gunfire and we saw both Pakistan and Indian planes in action. We were impressed by the quiet, competent way in which every one in the Armed Forces carried out the tasks allocated to him. Also to be admired was the way in which the civilian population in the cities of Amritsar and Jullundur and in the villages around carried on their normal avocations, taking air raids and the hazards of war in their stride. We also saw the darker side of war. It was not pleasant to see the wounded lying in stretchers carried back from the front.

But now, as I speak a new menace looms on the horizon. The Chinese Communist ultimatum, presaging the entry of Communist China in the current hostilities, creates a new threat to this country. So far, it has been a domestic dispute between two neighbours within the Sub-Continent. Once Communist China joins in the conflict, its very nature will change.

The Mao-Tse-tung regime is a bandit regime that has committed one act of aggression after another — first, against Korea, then Tibet, then Vietnam, and finally in 1962 against India. It is a government committed to the dogma of world domination. Our own bitter experience of an unwise attempt to co-exist peacefully with such a regime is now clear for all to see. We are suffering for our prolonged failure to understand the nature of this regime which has imposed its tyranny over the unfortunate people of China.

It is time we draw appropriate conclusions. In the fight against Communist China, we shall need allies and friends. We cannot fight all our enemies single-handed at the same time. We shall need help from those Democracies who came to our assistance so readily in October, 1962. We shall also have to come closer to others who are threatened by Chinese Communist imperialism, such as Malaysia, Thailand, South Vietnam, the Philippines, South Korea and Japan. It is high time we restore diplomatic relations with our old friends in the Republic of China in Taiwan.

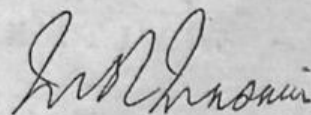
Almost as important as the military front is the home front. All the bravery and sacrifices of our valiant Army and Air Force will be wasted unless we on the home front sustain them in the fight. The maintenance of communal harmony and the vindication in practice of our claim to be a non-denominational democracy are of the highest importance.

The flow of food from the fields and the valleys, and of goods from the factories, the smooth functioning of our road, railway and our transport services, the efficiency of our tele-communications and other public utilities are the contribution that the civil administration and population have to make.

The maintenance of high morale and discipline on the part of the civilian population has great importance in modern warfare. Here, India has a great advantage over Pakistan and Communist China. In a Democracy at war, the Press continues to function freely, the Rule of Law prevails, free discussion and free opposition continue. These are valuable assets which a dictatorship, with its monolithic insistence on conformity or silence, does not enjoy.

It is only in a democracy that a leader of an Opposition Party like myself for instance is invited to broadcast on the official radio system. On the other hand, President Ayub's opponents are mostly in prison, while Chou-en-lai is constantly engaged in physically liquidating his opponents.

We, of the Swatantra Party in Opposition stand foursquare with the Government and the Armed Forces in repelling aggression against our Country, but at the same time we maintain our right and duty to act as a corrective by criticising and opposing those political and economic policies and measures of Government which we do not think are in the country's interest or which impede production and weaken the home front. It is in the balanced but effective exercise of these functions of cooperation on the one side and criticism on the other that those in opposition to the Government of the day can best contribute to the Defence effort in which the entire country is engaged.



(For Private Circulation)

from the General Secretary's desk

"Our Mission"

Dear Friend:

The General Council of the Party meets in Bombay on May 26 and 27. Considering that the Council is the most important policy-making body, next only to the National Convention, and meeting as it does a mere nine months before the General Elections of 1967, the proceedings are bound to be interesting and the discussions significant.

It is perhaps appropriate that, on the eve of this meeting, we recall the very significant and touching message of Rajaji entitled "Our Mission" published in the *Newsletter* of August 1962:

"Well in time before the next occasion arrives for a trial of strength against the ruling power, it is necessary that those who are interested in the Swatantra Party should do some earnest thinking. Unless we realize wherein our strength lies and also in what respects we are, and must continue to be, weak or vulnerable, and on the basis of that analysis shape and build our work, we are likely to meet with depressing results and disappointments. Talking as to simple folks, a dog knows what it can do and what it cannot do and a crow, likewise, instinctively relies on what it can rely on. The crow does not give battle or defend itself where the dog is bound to prove the better of the two. The comparison should not be thought to be a complete simile. I have used it only to explain the point that those interested in the Swatantra Party should examine the principles on which the party is founded and the inherent nature of those principles, and adapt their work to that unalterable basis. The Party's work should conform to its anatomy and histology.

Examining the principles of the party, we shall see that our economic approach is based on reason and not on pleasing people's emotions. Our goal is the same as that of every other decent political party, viz., the happiness, prosperity and progress of our nation; but the means by which this result is to be attained vary from party to party. We lay stress on spiritual values because happiness cannot be procured otherwise, whatever be the material conditions. We lay stress, again, on the traditional basis of the lives of our people, the family and the farm, and the artisan's workshop. We put the individual's liberty of action in the forefront and seek to restrict the State's authority over him. Our party seeks to rest social service largely on voluntary action, because therein only is happiness associated with sacrifice of self-interest.

Now it is obvious that these essential principles are such as can appeal only to reason and intelligence. We cannot expect to rouse the emotions of the illiterate masses by such appeal. Our principles cannot make much of an appeal to those who would be lazy rather than active, who would like the State to do as much as possible for them, and relieve them

of responsibility for their own lives. We cannot therefore touch the mass mind as easily as other parties can, who offer free gifts from the Exchequer or from other people's properties robbed by 'legal' process. We cannot excite them with promises of egalitarian distribution of wealth, to be obtained somehow by somebody. We have to work hard and educate the educatable over the economics of freedom which we have adopted as our party's basis as distinguished from Statism and State capitalism for which the Congress and the communists stand. We have to make people see the spiritual losses and material defects inherent in the latter.

It is only reason that can appreciate the need for a voluntary element in social service. The mass mind will not easily perceive the evils of State coercion. We must however, face our own more difficult task because that is our mission, and not the acquisition of power somehow or other. Our party workers must, therefore, apply themselves to the intelligentsia and not seek to jump over them to the proletariat or the 'masses' as we call them in India, which the communists, and now the Congress, can do with their programmes and policies specially made attractive for them and based on class conflict although to the detriment of true national interest. We should not think of improving our party position by competing with the Statists on their lines.

The question arises, then, how can we hope to get votes to defeat other parties at the poll? Convinced that our principles are right, and that it is necessary in the national interest that we must put up an opposition on the basis of those principles, we must persevere in our mission not concerning ourselves with calculations of success or defeat. As the *Gita* teaches us, we should work patiently through the discerning elements of the population and look to the steady dissemination of ideas through that medium. We must believe more thoroughly in the motto of the State than does the ruling party: *satyam eva jayate*: Truth must ultimately win. The masses will not ultimately reject justice and truth and good administration although now they may be open to seduction.

For the same reason and consistently with the

fundamental principles of our party, we must lay stress on character and good example in all the ramifications of our work. If we adopt means of *adharma*, whatever be our motives, we shall build in haste and error and the structure must collapse.

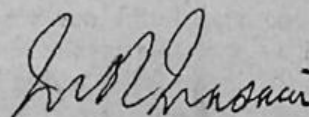
The movement towards democracy from other forms of government is a movement towards the wider distribution of the power of the State. It is not a reinterpretation of truth or reason in terms of democracy. There is no illusion or fallacy more harmful to the people than that truth or reason should yield to or be modified by, the installation of democracy. Democracy is not an adulteration of reason, but only a wider distribution of power that is involved in the system of governance to which that name is given.

Just as in our non-violent struggle for national freedom based on Ahimsa and Truth we did not at all stages and everywhere live up to the expressed principles, and yet the international situation and the hour came to help us to win our goal, so also our struggle for freedom against the statism of the Congress and the communists may with Heaven's grace—in spite of our failings—win more speedily

than we may expect. Extraneous circumstances such as the corrupt practices that have so rapidly developed out of statism and which stare the people in the face may help us. But we must ever stick to our main path, that of appealing to reason.

I have founded the party. I feel I have not done wrong. It was a good and necessary thing that I did. The nation stands in need of such a party of stiff opposition to the trends of the ruling party that is exploiting the glory of the Indian National Congress and going contrary to the principles advocated by Gandhiji. Our processes must necessarily be slow. They cannot run as fast as time runs against me. It is therefore for the younger people to remember what I have said herein and to carry on the work with a sense of mission and with faith in Truth and God."

Jai Swatantra!



(For Private Circulation)