

We apologise to readers of the Newsletter for the gap in its publication during the last few months which was primarily due to the preoccupation of the Central Office with the General Elections and the numerous tasks that had to be attended to in connection with the campaign. Even this might not have been necessary were it not for the fact that the Central Office is woefully short of staff as a result of its having to function on a shoe-string.

We now hope, however, to ensure that the Newsletter is published regularly and once again request State units to send in their reports to the Central Office by the fifth of every month in order to ensure that activities in their State are reported in time.

An interesting detail has been the numerous enquiries that have come in for copies of the Newsletter. This shows the interest with which it is read as a bulletin giving information in regard to the Party's activities.

THE ELECTIONS AND AFTER:

The performance of the Party in the General Elections was generally appreciated as a creditable achievement for a Party only two years old. Elsewhere we have dealt with press comments on this subject (Annexure A).

In the Lok Sabha, we now have 26 members whose names we give below:

1. Mr. C. L. Narasimha Reddy — Andhra
2. Dr. Basant Narain Singh — Bihar
3. Smt. Shashank Manjari Devi — Bihar
4. Mr. P. K. Ghosh — Bihar
5. Smt. Lalita Rajya Laxmi — Bihar
6. Thakur Bateshwar Singh — Bihar
7. Mr. David Munjni — Bihar
8. Smt. Vijaya Raje — Bihar
9. Mr. Himmatsingh — Gujarat
10. Mr. Narendrasingh Mahida — Gujarat
11. Mr. Pravinsingh Solanki — Gujarat
12. Mr. H. K. Baria — Gujarat
13. Mr. P. K. Deo — Orissa
14. Mr. Yagnya Narain Singh — Orissa
15. Mr. Rajendra Kohor — Orissa
16. Mr. Hrishikesh Mahananda — Orissa
17. Sardar Kapur Singh — Punjab
18. Sardar Buta Singh — Punjab
19. Sardar Dhanna Singh Gulshan — Punjab
20. Smt. Gayatri Devi of Jaipur — Rajasthan

21. Mr. Kesar Lal — Rajasthan
22. Mr. Prithviraj — Rajasthan
23. Mr. Krishna Pal Singh — Uttar Pradesh
24. Mr. Ram Singh — Uttar Pradesh
25. Smt. Basant Kunwari — Uttar Pradesh
26. Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar — Madras (Associate member)

We have eleven members in the Rajya Sabha viz.

1. Mr. Jagat Kishore Prasad Narain Singh — Bihar
2. Mr. Kamta Singh — Bihar
3. Mr. Mirza Ahmed Ali — Delhi
4. Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel — Gujarat
5. Mr. Anandchand of Bilaspur — Himachal Pradesh
6. Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy — Madras
7. Mr. Bairagi Dwivedi — Orissa
8. Mr. Loknath Misra — Orissa
9. Mr. Sundarmani Patel — Orissa
10. Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman — Punjab
11. Mr. Ramgopal Gupta — Uttar Pradesh

Mr. P. K. Deo has been nominated Acting Leader of the Party's group in the Lok Sabha for the first session and Messrs. Narendrasingh Mahida and Dr. Basant Narain Singh as Secretaries, while Mr. C. L. Narasimha Reddy acts as the Chief Whip. In so far as the Rajya Sabha is concerned, Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel is the Leader, Mr. Loknath Misra Secretary and Mr. Jagat Kishore Prasad Narain Singh Chief Whip, for the duration of this Session.

In the State Assemblies, the Swatantra Party comes next only to the Congress in the number of seats held. There are 210 members of the Party in the State Legislatures, against 185 members of the Communist Party, the next largest. The following is a breakdown of our membership in the various State Assemblies:

Andhra	19
Bihar	50
Gujarat	26
Himachal Pradesh	4
Madhya Pradesh	2
Madras	9
Mysore	10
Punjab	3
Orissa	36
Rajasthan	36
Uttar Pradesh	15

We are the Official Opposition in the State Assemblies of Bihar, Gujarat, Orissa and Rajasthan, where Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo and Mr. Laxman Singh of Dungarpur are the respective Leaders of the Opposition.

We shall, from the next issue of the Newsletter, report significant speeches delivered by our Members in both Houses of Parliament and in the various Assemblies and for this purpose we trust our Members of Parliament and State Assemblies will send us copies of speeches delivered by them.

MEETINGS AND DECISIONS

CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE

The Central Organising Committee met last in Bombay on March 15. The meeting nominated a Parliamentary Board consisting of the following members to supervise, guide and coordinate the activities of the Legislature parties:

Prof. N. G. Ranga
Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Mr. K. M. Munshi
Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh
Dr. S. K. D. Paliwal
Sir Homi Mody
Mr. Laxman Singh of Dungarpur
Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel
Mr. R. N. Singh Deo
Mr. Raghavendra Pratap Singh
Mr. M. R. Masani

The Committee also decided to set up a Swatantra Research Bureau in Delhi to do research, to serve the Swatantra Party groups in Parliament and State Legislatures and generally to help the propaganda of the Party. The following constitute the Bureau:

Prof. N. G. Ranga
Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Mr. K. M. Munshi
Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy
Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu
Mr. N. Dandekar
Mr. M. R. Masani

Another decision was one to hold a Convention of Candidates who contested the elections as Swatantra Party candidates. A report of this Convention, which was subsequently held in Bombay, is published elsewhere in this Newsletter.

Of considerable organisational importance was the decision of the Central Organising Committee in regard to the enrolment of members and the holding of elections to the various Committees of the Party.

It was decided that the enrolment of members should be taken in hand immediately by the State Units and should close any time between June 30 and September 30, as may be fixed by the Executive Committee in each State.

On the closing of enrolment, elections to Constituency, District and State Committees would follow, to conclude by the end of October 1962. This would be followed by the constitution of the General Council and the National Executive in the months of November and December so that the new bodies could commence functioning from 1st January, 1963. Pending this, the *ad hoc* bodies at present functioning were permitted to continue and the existing State Executive Committees were given permission to add to their strength in order to enable fresh blood to be brought in and to reconstitute District Committees where that was found necessary.

Another decision of interest was calling upon State units to collect data in regard to corruption, administrative improprieties and irregularities in connection with the General Elections, and to make the data available to the Central Office.

It was also decided to convene at an early date an informal meeting of members of the Party who were active functionaries in Trade Unions to evolve a detailed programme of work.

The Committee also authorised State Units to enrol "permanent members" on a subscription of Rs. 10/-. Such members would continue to be permanently on the rolls and their names would be carried over in the register from year to year without re-registration.

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The Parliamentary Board meeting in Bombay on 7 and 8th April approved the candidature of Prof. N. G. Ranga, the Party's President, to contest the by-election to the Lok Sabha from the Chitoor Parliamentary Constituency declared vacant as a result of the resignation of Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

It also recommended that the candidatures of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Zakir Hussein as President and Vice-President of the Union be supported by the members of our Party in Parliament and the State legislatures.

MEETING OF PRESIDENTS AND GENERAL SECRETARIES OF STATE UNITS:

A meeting of Presidents and General Secretaries of State Units was held in Bombay on April 7. The meeting discussed at length the problems relating to the enrolment of members and the holding of Party elections.

CANDIDATES' CONVENTION:

Bombay was the venue of the Candidates' Convention held on April 7 and 8. Over 200 candidates who had fought the elections as our Party nominees attended. An open session was held on the afternoon of the 7th when speeches by various leaders of the Party included Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Prof. Ranga, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, Mr. Laxman Singh of Dungarpur and others were made. Mr. Masani, the General Secretary of the Party, presented a report to the Convention.

The following day, in the closed sessions, many of the candidates present related their own experiences and offered suggestions for the better functioning of the Party in the years ahead.

The Convention then adopted a Pledge which was taken by everyone present. It was decided that this pledge would be circulated to State Units and the signatures of all our members on the Legislatures obtained. Annexure "B" of this Newsletter contains the Pledge.

EXCESSIVE TAXATION AND WASTEFUL EXPENDITURE WEEK

The Swatantra Party will observe a Week from June 3 to 10 to mobilise public opinion against the excessive taxation and the colossal expenditure in the current Budget of the Congress Government. During the "Week" public meetings will be organised by Party units throughout the country. A report of the manner in which the "Week" was observed will be published in the next issue.

SWATANTRA PARTY AND YOUTH

There appears to be some misunderstanding about the attitude of the Party towards youth. While the Party's policy in regard to students is clear viz. that since the primary duty of students is to their studies, it will not sponsor the formation of student bodies within educational institutions or outside in competition with other political parties, the Party has no objection to the formation of Youth groups comprising of young men and women with the aim of popularising the Party's principles and policies among the younger generation.

The need for this clarification has arisen in view of a news item in the *Hindu* of April 22, in which it was reported that a member of the Party in Coimbatore who was Chairman of the District Youth Front had resigned from membership of the Party as a protest against "a directive from the party headquarters (in Madras) to abolish the Youth Front". We have learnt on enquiries made of the Madras

office of the Party that they had issued no directive of this nature.

ASSEMBLY BY-ELECTION VICTORIES:

KUTCH-MANDVI ASSEMBLY SEATS

Mr. Hariram Nathubhai Kothari (Swatantra) defeated Mr. Premji Bhavanji Thakkar (Congress) in a straight contest by a majority of 8,027 votes. The by-election was caused by the resignation of Mr. Himmatsingh of the Swatantra Party who had been elected both to this seat and to the Cutch Parliamentary seat. With this victory, the Party in Kutch retains its distinction of having captured all the five seats in the area.

BARKAGAON ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCY

Mr. Akhasayabat Dayal Singh (Swatantra) defeated his Congress rival, Mr. Rameshwar Prasad, by a majority of 12,000 votes in a three cornered contest. The by-election was due to the resignation of Smt. Shashank Manjari Devi (Swatantra) who had also been elected to the Lok Sabha from the Palamau Parliamentary Constituency.

SWATANTRA PARTY AND BHOODAN

In response to a letter received from a Sarvodaya leader of Rajasthan, Rajaji has clarified the Swatantra Party's stand vis-a-vis the Bhoodan movement. Stating that he had always liked people making gifts of property and likewise to deserving people Rajaji said that the Bhoodan movement had achieved wonderful results and/hoped that no one belittled the movement although he felt it would be wise not to expect too much from it.

Rajaji further stated that he 'revered' a person like Vinobaji whom he regarded as a class apart.

It is further reported that the Bihar Sarvodaya Mandal has sent a copy of Rajaji's letter to Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh President of the Bihar unit of the Party, and has requested his and the State Unit's active support and cooperation in the Bigha Katha campaign already launched in that State since April 15.

MINISTER ADMITS TO CENSORING OF LETTERS:

In reply to an interpellation by Mr. Saw Ganesan, leader of the Swatantra group in the Madras Legislative Assembly and President of the State Unit of the Party, Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Finance Minister,

admitted that interception of letters was resorted to when the Government wanted to gather confidential information about certain individuals.

Actually, the Minister refused to answer the question in "the public interest" but made his admission in reply to supplementaries.

Mr. Saw Ganesan questioned whether the Government had ordered the interception and scrutiny by the CID of letters addressed to and emanating from the offices of and important persons belonging to opposition parties like the Swatantra Party.

"MR. SWATANTRA 1962"

Mr. Bhailalbhai, President of the Gujarat Unit of

the Party and leader of the Opposition in the Gujarat Legislative Assembly, was described as "Mr. Swatantra 1962" for his achievement under very difficult conditions during the recent General Elections. The occasion was a reception accorded to him by a Committee of hosts in Bombay.

Mr. Murarji Vaidya, former Chairman of the Bombay Unit of the Party, in his speech said that the success of the Swatantra Party in Gujarat had destroyed the myth that the Congress had a stronghold in the State. It had also proved that the Party could achieve substantial results by hard work in rural areas.

NEWS FROM STATE PARTIES

DELHI

The Delhi unit of the Party has now a new interim Executive, with Col. H. R. Pasricha as Convenor in place of the old Committee. This follows a decision to that effect taken by the Organisation Sub-Committee of the Party at its meeting in Bombay April 7 duly announced in the Delhi press by the General Secretary on April 15. The newly reconstituted Committee began its activities with a reception to the Party's newly elected Members of Parliament that very evening. Apart from a majority of our M.P.s, the President and General Secretary of the Party, Prof. Ranga and Mr. Masani, were also present. Col. Pasricha welcomed the guests and Smt. Vijaya Raje, M.P., thanked the organisers on behalf of her colleagues.

The Committee had its first meeting on April 20 when it discussed a scheme for the reorganisation of the Party.

MADRAS

The Mylapore unit felicitated members of the Party who had been elected to the Madras Legislature at a function organised for the purpose on March 30. On the occasion, a purse of Rs. 1,001 was presented to the President of the State unit Mr. Saw Ganesan for meeting of expenses of work in the Legislative.

Giving a few words of advice to our Legislators, Rajaji said that membership of the Legislature gives freedom to speak boldly without of legal action but care should be taken to speak only on matters on which a member had personal knowledge, and that the members should speak with due restraint and a sense of responsibility exposing the mistakes committed by the Party in power and setting forth the

grievances of the people and seeking remedies for them.

On April 14, a public meeting held at Puraswaakam area was presided over by Dr. T. V. Kalyanasundaram. Among those who addressed the gathering were Dr. Santhosham, M.L.A., Mr. T. S. Govindaswamy, Pulavar Mani Ezhilan and others. During his speech Rajaji suggested that at the State and Central level non-Congress Parties could simply work unitedly whenever possible within the Legislatures, without shedding their own respective individuality.

Earlier, on March 23, a meeting of all candidates in Tamil Nad and of the members of the Madras State Committee was held in Rajaji's presence when various suggestions for the better working of the Party were discussed. The meeting decided to dissolve the existing District Committee and to reconstitute fresh committees, for which purpose one Convenor for each District was nominated. A Sub-Committee consisting of the State President, Vice-President and General Secretary decided to tour the Districts and reconstitute the Committees.

Following a meeting of Party members in Coimbatore on 29th April in the presence of the State President, Vice-President and General Secretary Mr. Saw Ganesan, Mr. G. K. Sundaram and Mr. S. S. Mariswamy respectively, a new District Committee was formed with Mr. V. P. Kandaswamy Gounder as President.

BOMBAY

Taking advantage of the presence in the City of members of the Central Organising Committee, and some members of Parliament and the State Legislatures, the Bombay unit of the Party organised a public meeting at Sunderbhai Hall on 15 March. The

meeting was packed to capacity and the enthusiasm displayed showed the warmth with which the Party's success in the Elections had been welcomed. Among those who addressed the meeting were Rajaji, Prof. Ranga, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh, Mr. Bhailalbai Patel, Mr. P. K. Deo, M.P., and Mr. M. R. Masani. The vice-chairman of the Bombay Unit, Mr. Piloo Mody, presided.

On March 16 a meeting of Party workers was addressed by Rajaji Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. Masani.

On April 7, Rajaji and others addressed a mammoth meeting at Mazgaon, which is a predominantly a labour area. The Chairman of the Bombay Unit of the Party, Mr. N. Dandekar, presided.

The Bombay unit has decided to organise the future work of the Party at the primary level and the Assembly Constituency has been taken as the primary unit. Candidates of the Party who stood from certain Assembly Constituencies in the General Elections were entrusted with the responsibility of organising the Party in their respective Constituencies.

The Swatantra Seva Sangh of Bandra organised a cultural programme on May 24 to raise funds for carrying on its activities of service to the citizens of the area. The programme was presided over by Mr. N. Dandekar.

ORISSA

The Orissa unit organised a Trainees' Training Camp at Bhubaneswar to train workers to organise the work of the Party in the various areas of the State. The Camp, beginning on April 23, concluded on the 27th. Among the subjects discussed at this Camp were *Mass Psychology and Publicity*, *The Role of the Opposition in a Democracy*, *the Swatantra Party's Manifesto*, *Democratic Decentralisation*, *State Trading versus Free Trade*.

The scant respect with which the Opposition in the Orissa Legislative Assembly, especially members of the Swatantra Party, are treated by the Chief Minister Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik has already been the subject matter of numerous newspapers comments and editorials. The dignified restraint with which Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, President of the Orissa unit of the Party and Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly answered Mr. Patnaik has been praised by many as an example of adherence to the best parliamentary methods of behaviour.

The Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Orissa Unit meeting at Bhubaneswar on May 12, constituted a Council of Action to conduct an agitation against Mr. R. N. Singh Deo as president and Shri Harihar Patel and Sri Rajballabh Misra as members.

The State President informed the Committee that the monopoly in Kendu Leaves Trade, consisting of

the agitation had already been launched in different areas of the Western Districts of Orissa and reports were pouring in of the growing intensity of the peaceful and constitutional agitation from different areas. The President mentioned that, while people were fighting peacefully against heavy odds for the vindication and protection of their fundamental right, of property, free trade, and the unwarranted and unconstitutional law which is detrimental to the interests of the tenants and also of labour, the Government machinery was being misused in an undemocratic manner and in excess of the law to help the monopolist traders and demoralise the people.

PUNJAB

Several resolutions were passed at a meeting of the State Executive held on March 9 under the presidency of Jathedar Uddham Singh Nagoke. Among those was the denouncing of the illegal interference by the ruling Party and the Government in the General Elections. The resolution also denounced the means adopted by the Punjab Chief Minister in retaining his seat.

Jathedar Uddham Singh Nagoke, the State President, toured some areas in the districts of Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur. At Sarhal Khurd in Hoshiarpur district he addressed a rural gathering.

Jathedar Uddham Singh Nagoke and Sardar Basant Singh visited Amritsar and Delhi in connection with the preliminary meeting of the Save Democracy Committee to organise a Convention and Public Rally to protest against governmental interference in the recent General Elections.

Swatantra Series

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| 1 — Towards Doom? | .20 nP. |
| 2 — Why Swatantra? | .20 nP. |
| 3 — To Prosperity through freedom
(Swatantra Party's Statement
of Policy) | .30 nP. |
| 4 — Labour's Friend — Congress or
Swatantra? | .30 nP. |
| 5 — What's Wrong with the Third Plan? | .30 nP. |

The following publications are available free on application to the Central Office of the Swatantra Party

Socialism — An Ism That has Become a Wasm
Inflation — Your Hidden Enemy
Co-operation or Coercion?
The Congress Path to Communism

(Towards Doom is available in English, Hindi, Gujarati and Marathi. The others are available in English only). Copies can be had from the Central office of the Swatantra Party 143, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1.

ANNEXURE "A"

On the whole the press has noted that the Swatantra Party has made a very encouraging start. This is exemplified in the following brief extracts:

- i) *The Statesman*, Delhi, of 2-3-1962 says "The Swatantras who were embodied as a political party only recently, will be visible in some strength." (Mahesh Chandra in his article *Political Commentary*).

The same writer states further on: "In Bihar the Swatantras have forged ahead in convincing fashion."

- ii) *Tide*, Bombay, 3-3-1962 comments editorially: "Where, however, the voter has not been moved by perverse or narrow, partisan considerations, his quest has found an answer in the Swatantra Party, an assertive new entrant..."

- iii) Also commenting editorially, *The Hindu*, Madras, of 4-3-1962 says: "...undoubtedly the Swatantra Party has made a significant debut in four States—Bihar (48), Rajasthan (36), Gujarat (23) and Andhra (19)—and has secured representation in five other States..."

- iv) K. Rangaswami in "Letter from New Delhi", in *The Hindu*, Madras, of 5-3-1962 says: "The Swatantra Party has no doubt been routed not only in the State of its founder but also in that of its President. But taking an over-all picture, the Swatantra Party does not appear to have fared badly. It has captured the largest number of Assembly seats next to the Congress."

- v) Even the communist fellow-traveller, Romesh Thapar, writing in the *Economic Weekly*, (Bombay), of 3-3-1962, is constrained to observe: "It (the Swatantra Party) made its debut in this election with a programme which challenged the fundamentals of Congress Party policy both at home and abroad. Despite Shri Rajagopalachari's earlier admission of a 'rout', the fact remains that the candidates of the party have registered a sizeable triumph in the elections to the Vidhan Sabhas, particularly in Bihar, Rajasthan and Gujarat (also in Orissa, where it has merged with the Ganantantra (Parishad). What's more, within a short period, the Party is able to show strength all over the country." The writer goes on: "Denied solid representation in the Lok Sabha, Swatantra may still be able to make its presence felt in the Rajya Sabha."

- vi) *The Mail* wrote editorially: "For a party not three years old, and seeking the people's suffrage for the first time, Swatantra has done much better than its leaders had a right to expect. Its organisation was inevitably poor, the odds against it were almost impossibly heavy. Yet, numerically, it has scored more successes in the State legislatures than any other Opposition party." And concluded: "The Congress can be in no doubt that Swatantra has come to stay."

- vii) *The Times of India* said in a leading article "In Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, the Jan Sangh has displaced the PSP as the main Opposition party; in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Bihar, the Swatantra Party has gained this distinction, which is surely a remarkable achievement for a party which came on the political scene barely three years ago."

2. An implied and perhaps unwitting compliment has been paid to the Swatantra Party by the *Free Press Journal* in a leading article in its issue of 3-3-1962 under the heading *The Alternative*. Castigating "those leaders who are now dissipating their energies in various mushroom organisations" and for whom "the founding of parties has been a hobby", the article goes on:

".....it was also inevitable that at some time or the other the 'generals without soldiers' were bound to come up against a dead end. Why, for instance, should the Praja-Socialist Party exist as the Praja-Socialist Party? Despite the socialism in its label, its top leaders have lately been betraying a tendency to be conservative and free-enterprise advocates. Cannot they join the Swatantra Party and stay there?"

In other words the *Free Press Journal* acknowledges that the Swatantra Party has general and soldiers.

3. However, there are luke-warm praise-mongers and critics also to be heard and read without which this survey would not be representative. Such are as under:

- i) *The Statesman*, Delhi, of 2-3-1962 in a leading article states that in U.P., M.P. and Rajasthan, "personal factors probably explain the Swatantra Party's considerable success."

- ii) In the *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, of 8-3-1962 there are two references to the Swatantra Party.

- a) In the Editorial it is said: "Indeed, its (Swatantra Party's) most spectacular gains

have been in places where it was not so much the attacker as the attacked. Mr. Nehru's furious denunciation of the "helicopter party, in Bihar and his scornful references to the feudalism resurrected by Swatantra in Rajasthan seem to have only brought it an unearned increment of popular favour, while the vials of wrath poured by Mr. Rajagopalachari on the Congress in Madras have produced nothing more than a blistering defeat for his own party."

b) In the article on the same page, "A Swing to the Right?" the author "S.M." (S. Moolgaoker) says that "On the whole, Swatantra has done rather worse than its champions had expected and about as well as the public had expected."

iii) There is a news item with a double column heading in Indian Express, Bombay, of 8-3-1962, which purports to be an assessment of the elections results by Mr. Sadiq Ali, General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. In this the success of Swatantra is partly attributed to what he calls "internal rivalries" in the Congress. He thinks "that Swatantra had, for the first time, provided a "secular form of leadership" to those elements in society which were adversely affected by the new pattern of things". The report goes on: "What was lying suppressed—the anger and discontent of some elements of

society—was expressed in the Swatantra Party and the policies it stood for, "he said". And further, "He was confident that the response to the Swatantra Party in the present election was not a stable factor in the political situation of the country. The conclusion was justified by the fading out of the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa after a short spell of charm and appeal."

iv) Finally, in the Hindustan Times of 10-3-1962 there appears an "Analysis of Election Results" which makes the following points:

- a) That "the Swatantra Party's first performance in an election belied its promise."
- b) That "the 7,337,017 votes it secured is not a record for a newcomer among parties organised on a national scale."
- c) That as against this the original Socialist Party had polled 11.21 million votes at its first appearance.
- d) That, however, "on the quantum of representation the Swatantra's 18 seats in the Lok Sabha is a record. The Socialists won 12 in 1952 and the KMPP only nine."
- e) That "on an average each of the 172 Swatantra candidates brought the Party 42,657 votes against the Congress candidates' mean return of 119,708. But it compares favourably with the averages of the PSP and the Jan Sangh."

ANNEXURE "B"

SWATANTRA PARTY CANDIDATES' CONVENTION

April 7 and 8, 1962

PLEDGE

I pledge myself to work for the implementation of the Manifesto of the Swatantra Party and for the establishment of a regime honestly and diligently promoting the welfare of all classes of people without discrimination.

I pledge myself to do everything to further the

development of a well balanced two-party parliamentary system and the restoration in full of moral values in public life and administration.

I dedicate myself to the national task undertaken by the Swatantra Party of opposing the Statism which the ruling party has adopted as the basis of its policies.

(For Private Circulation)