

THE RAJKOT TRIUMPH

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Coming in the wake of Farrukhabad and Amroha our Party's victory in Rajkot was a grim warning to the Congress Party that their days were numbered and that the people could not be fooled all the time. But this by itself cannot explain the Congress debacle in Rajkot. What led them to defeat and how did the Swatantra candidate emerge victorious? There is a story behind it—a story that has confounded the pet theories of many politicians in our country, the story of the anger of a disillusioned and disenchanted people, a story of a stupendous organisational effort by our Party on the one hand and of the supreme self-confidence and smugness of the Congress on the other.

The Swatantra Party had little or no organisation in Saurashtra, least of all in Rajkot district. Its policies were not known. Its flag and symbol were unknown. On the other hand, the Congress claimed Rajkot as their citadel in Saurashtra. In every General Election since independence, the candidates of the ruling party had swept the polls. Mr. U. N. Dhebar had only last year been elected by a majority of 41,000 votes. They had an organisational machine which had spread into the villages. They had the advantage of unlimited resources and the power of patronage.

When the Swatantra Party first announced its decision to nominate its General Secretary, Mr. M. R. Masani, as its candidate in the Rajkot by-election, the Congress treated it as a big joke. In fact a leading Union Minister is reported to have said that in so many words to one of our Members of Parliament. But there was one person in our Party who never had any doubts about the ultimate outcome—Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel. He had correctly gauged the extent of the people's dissatisfaction. The Party's recent achievement in successfully defending our parliamentary seat from Dohad and actually getting our candidate, Mr. Purshottam Bhil, elected by a tripled majority convinced him that with the proper effort, victory could be ours.

Mr. Masani was not from Rajkot. He did not belong to any of the dominant communities. In fact his candidature was an acid test of the cosmopolitanism of the Rajkot electorate.

The Rajkot Parliamentary Constituency comprises of seven component Assembly constituencies. There are about 900 villages and for purposes of polling there were 444 polling stations. The Constituency itself is over 200 square miles in area.

In the absence of an established Party unit, it became necessary to rally together the genuine democratic opposition forces in the Constituency. Moreover numerous electoral successes had been

achieved by the Congress over the body of a divided opposition. It is a tribute to the wisdom of the democratic opposition elements in Rajkot that realising this they banded themselves together in presenting a united front. In fact, Mr. Masani was always described as the "Swatantra Party candidate supported by all the national democratic opposition parties".

What were the forces involved in the Rajkot by-election on the side of the Opposition? There were individuals like Mr. Narottam Shah, Editor of the influential Saurashtra Daily, *Jai Hind*, Mr. Babubhai Vaidya, the independent M.L.A. from Rajkot city, Yuvraj Manoharsinh of Rajkot, M.L.A., the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Praja Socialist Party, the Saurashtra Khedut Samaj, the numerous Goldsmiths' associations, and numerous others. The only allies the Congress had, were, naturally enough, the Communists.

When the campaign was inaugurated, Mr. Masani made it clear that he would campaign on issues of policies and keep personalities out of the contest. In fact at the inaugural meeting in Rajkot city on 5th May, he invited the Congress candidate, Mr. Jethalal Joshi to a public debate on the same platform. The offer was totally ignored. What were the issues on which the campaign was based.

1. Excessive burden of taxation.
2. The inflationary policies of the Congress leading to spiralling prices and economic hardships of the people.
3. The Government's criminal unpreparedness in defending the country from Chinese Communist aggression.
4. Opposition to collective farming masquerading as joint cooperative farming.
5. The Gold Control order.
6. Increasing corruption in public life.

Mr. Masani put forth the Party's alternative programme based on our Election Manifesto. The slogan of Freedom, Farm and family found a ready echo in the hearts of a harassed people. But, a question may be asked and quite legitimately, "how is it that with the very same Manifesto the Swatantra Party's candidates were unable to do equally well in the General Elections of 1962?" And therein lies the crucial answer: A first-rate organisational apparatus. In the short span of a month, the Swatantra campaign was a model of organisation—a good fighting machine which made the maximum use of available resources and was able to put across to the people the issues

of the election and the imperative need to put a brake on the runaway policies pursued by the Congress. If anything, our campaign proved that whatever the odds may be, a sound organisation run on businesslike lines was bound to deliver the goods. Every component Assembly constituency had an office and a telephone. Constant two-way communication was maintained between the headquarters in Rajkot and the offices in the Constituency. Requirements were speedily met well in advance of polling day. Voting slips, polling agent forms, even papers and pencils were on time where they were needed. Dummy booths were set up on time and care was taken to ensure polling agents in every one of the 444 polling stations. There was a judicious mixture of local initiative and central control. The central headquarters was generally well-informed of what went on in the different areas of the constituency. By discouraging the "general leadership" complex—an unfortunate malaise among Indian politicians—those in charge of the seven constituencies were able to concentrate on a smaller area with much greater effect. Consequently the Swatantra message generally succeeded in reaching the masses.

On the other hand, the Congress machine, supremely self-confident and smugly looking on at the Swatantra Party campaign, waited for the opposition to wear itself out and to move into the fray in the last few days preceding polling. They have generally been able to get away with this tactics because their opponents have worn themselves out and are incapable of retaining their enthusiasm till polling day. When the Congress finally started working, they found themselves a little too late. They frantically tried to retrieve the situation. Even the Union Home and Defence Ministers and Mrs. Indira Gandhi were summoned.

Mr. U. N. Dhebar, unmindful of the fact that he was now the Chairman of the Khadi Board went about campaigning for the Congress thus establishing an unhealthy precedent. The Home Minister of Gujarat Mr. Rasikhlal Parekh went about brandishing threats to people to vote for the Congress or else. These activities did not particularly endear the Congress to the people.

Rajaji, Prof. Ranga, Mr. & Mrs. K. M. Munshi, Maharani Gayatri Devi, Maharawal Laxman Singh of Dungarpur and Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke were on hand to help in the campaign with their speeches from the public platform. Acharya Kripalani fresh from his Amroha victory, and Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee of the Jan Sangh also spared time to campaign for our candidate.

And when in the early hours of the morning of May 28, Mr. Masani was declared elected with a majority of 14,151 votes, the tumultuous scenes witnessed in Rajkot reminded one of the scenes on 15th August, 1947. Over 25,000 people paraded the streets, placing Mr. Masani on the roof of an automobile and rending the air with slogans and exploding crackers. So great was the joy that one would have thought they had just been delivered from tyranny. The fact was that the myth of Congress invincibility had been broken. The ballot-box war for a cleaner and more efficient government was on.

PRESS COMMENTS ON RAJKOT BY-ELECTION

The Swatantra victory in Rajkot hit the headlines in almost all newspapers throughout the country. There were a spate of comments, both editorial and otherwise, on the subject. Reproduced below are extracts from some of them.

Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, May 29, 1963

"NOW RAJKOT"

"If Amroha and Farrukhabad were two slaps on the face of the Congress, Rajkot had been a rapier thrust into its heart. This Gujarat constituency had been a traditional Congress stronghold. It was thus no mean performance on the part of Mr. Minoo Masani, a former Congressman himself, to have wrested the seat from the ruling party which had left no stone unturned to inflict a crushing defeat on the Swatantra Party General Secretary..."

Indian Express, Bombay, May 29, 1963

"THREE IN A ROW"

"Mr. Minoo Masani's victory at Rajkot drives yet another nail into the Congress coffin. Howsoever the Congress apologists might explain that Party's recent reverses—and there have been some curious and contradictory explanations—it is clear that Amroha was no fluke and Farrukhabad no flash in the pan. The cumulative effect of the Rajkot election should jolt the most self-satisfied Congressman out of his complacency.

"... Mr. Masani's victory will greatly strengthen the Opposition in the Lok Sabha now no longer mesmerised by Congress personalities, however exalted, or by Congress policies, however disguised or garbled".

Times of India, Bombay, May 29, 1963

"RAJKOT"

"Though the margin of Mr. Masani's victory in the Rajkot parliamentary by-election is very much smaller than Mr. Kripalani's in Amroha and Dr. Lohia's in Farrukhabad, the General Secretary of the Swatantra Party has in fact scored a more impressive success than either the Acharya or the Socialist leader. Three General elections had shown that Rajkot, unlike Amroha or Farrukhabad, was a formidable Congress stronghold. In the first General Election the Congress captured Rajkot, getting 61 per cent of the votes, it increased its share of the poll to 71 per cent. in 1957, though its hold on Rajkot weakened by 1962, Mr. Dhebar nevertheless won the constituency by a margin of 41,000 votes and with more than 55 per cent. of the votes cast..."

"... on the basis of the previous voting record the Congress could have reasonably expected to defeat in Rajkot even a candidate supported by all the opposition parties. But in the event, more than 53 per cent of the electorate voted for Mr. Masani in a contest which for all practical purposes was a

straight fight between the Congress and the Swatantra Party. This is a remarkable achievement for a candidate who geographically is an "outsider" and who moreover belongs to a minority community.

The Hindu, Madras, May 30, 1963

"CONGRESS DEFEAT AT RAJKOT"

"The Congress has sustained a clear defeat at Rajkot. . .

"The Rajkot election was a well-fought contest in which the issues dividing the Congress and the Swatantra parties were posed in a straightforward manner and there were hardly any external irrelevant considerations like caste or community to influence the voters. It is a tribute to the growing political maturity of the Indian electorate that irrational appeals are no longer carrying the same weight. . . Even if one swallow does not make a summer, the fact that a constituency, which elected a Congress candidate by a majority of 40,000 votes barely a year ago, has chosen to elect a candidate opposed to the Congress by a majority of 14,000 votes in a straight contest, is sufficient evidence of a shift in electoral opinion of which the Congress must take note. . . ."

Thought (Delhi Weekly), June 1, 1963

"THE LESSON OF DEFEATS"

"Judging from the reactions already noticed it would seem that when a sober self-analysis and an objective assessment of the situation in the country are called for the Congress leaders have angrily begun searching for scapegoats. If at Amroha it was a combination of reactionary forces that brought about the defeat of their nominee, in Rajkot, where the Swatantra Party General Secretary, Mr. Minoo Masani, has humbled a veteran Congressman, the Congress leaders have been found prone to ascribe their misfortune to local causes such as inefficient electioneering, factionalism and apathy in the ranks of their organisation. They do not seem to realise that while true in parts or fully these were but symptoms of the disease cultivated partly by them and partly given to them by circumstances including reaction and resentment among the voters against their bookish policies. . . ."

Statesman, Calcutta, June 3, 1963

LESSONS OF THE BY-ELECTION AT RAJKOT —BY MR. INDER MALHOTRA

"The first and the foremost lesson, in my opinion is that the Congress leaders should stop trading on Mr. Nehru's name on the least provocation and in every little by-election. The magic no longer works. So many people have hung on to the Prime Minister's coat-tails for so long that they are becoming rather shiny.

"... They (the Congress) merrily went on with the slogan that the people should vote for the Congress candidate and strengthen Mr. Nehru's hands,

an appeal they tried to buttress with the blithe declaration that Mr. Masani was a confirmed Nehru-hater. But these tactics failed miserably. The Swatantra Party had little difficulty in convincing the electorate that the best way to strengthen the country, and therefore its Prime Minister, was to send to the Lok Sabha an able and outstanding critic rather than one more supporter, even if he the latter were the locally respected Mr. Jethalal Joshi. . . ."

MASANI ON RAJKOT VICTORY

Fresh from his victory Mr. M. R. Masani answering questions from press representative said that his victory at the Parliamentary by-election was a vote of 'no-confidence' expressed by the public in the Government's policies. In fact, his victory was the victory of the united, patriotic opposition forces. He hoped it would foster the growth of a "national democratic front of all patriotic parties".

Speaking at a public meeting on June 4 at Bombay, Mr. Masani said the decisive shift from a 41,000 Congress majority last year to a 14,000 Swatantra majority this year denoted a well-marked trend in public opinion which the results in Dohad, Amroha and Farrukhabad also underlined. On the early hours of May 28, after the result of the election had been declared at Rajkot, nearly a quarter of a lakh of people joined in a procession and demonstrated in such a tumultuous manner that one would have thought that they were celebrating their liberation from a hated regime.

In so far as Gujarat was concerned, the Dohad and Rajkot by-elections meant that the door was now wide open to the Gujarat Swatantra Party, one of the best units in the country, to move on to take power in 1967. In this context, Mr. Masani paid a tribute to Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, leader of the Swatantra Party in Gujarat, at whose insistent invitation he had stood in Rajkot and whose optimism and faith had thus been vindicated.

Addressing a meeting at Ahmedabad on June 14 Mr. Masani said: "Those who had hoped that after the defeats sustained in the Amroha, Farrukhabad and Rajkot by-elections to the Lok Sabha, the Congress leadership would have learnt a lesson and would revise its policies will be disappointed by the speech made by the Prime Minister in Madras on June 12 which shows that, like the Bourbons, Mr. Nehru has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing."

Mr. Masani added: "The man who has brought the country to the frightful mess that it is today blames others for being intoxicated with success, but that fault is at least more excusable than to allow failure and defeat to go to one's head as appears to be the case with Mr. Nehru."

The Swatantra party leader said he had no doubt that in the coming months and years the wish of the people for a change of Government would be brought home to Mr. Nehru in an unmistakable fashion.

Referring to Mr. Nehru's criticism of the electoral alliance of the opposition parties to defeat the Congress, Mr. Masani said that there was no motley crowd in the country comparable to that in the Congress Party itself. The only thing that held to keep the Congress Party together was the desire to

continue to enjoy the fruits of office. It was this that made the emergence of a clear-cut party system in India so difficult.

Refuting the Prime Minister's charge that the Swatantra Party showed weakness in wanting to cast the burden of defending the country on others, Mr. Masani said, in that event, Sir Winston Churchill, the great British war leader, could also be accused of weakness for having told the United States during World War II "Give us the tools and we shall finish the job". Mr. Masani said that was precisely the position of the Swatantra Party, and added that, on the other hand, by saying that defence potential could only come from a strong industrial base, Mr. Nehru was seeking to postpone the war against the Communist invaders for several decades.

SWATANTRA PARTY AND THE PEASANTRY

Professor Ranga, President of the Swatantra Party and of the Bharat Kisan Sammelan, in a statement from Rajkot on May 11 said that the Swatantra Party stands for the abolition of land revenue *in toto* and for the absolute ownership rights of peasants over their lands and is thus opposed to the Congress policy of eroding the *ryotwari* system in Gujarat and elsewhere.

The Swatantra Party will not allow the interests of the peasantry to be sacrificed for the interest of the urban classes. The Swatantra Party does not want "either the agriculturist or the industrialist to exploit each other, it actually wants the two to be co-related."

The Gold Control Order passed by the Government has put five million self-employed craftsmen out of employment.

During the Budget session the Swatantra Party opposed most vehemently both the Super Profits Tax,

which discourages large and small industrialists, and the Compulsory Savings Scheme, the Gold Control Order and the steep increase in the Central Excise duties, especially on kerosene oil, diesel oil and non-edible oils, all of which hurt the agriculturists, the labourers and the middle classes.

RAJAJI'S TRIBUTE TO POPE JOHN XXIII

Pope John XXIII, 'The Pope of Goodness' and the 'Pope of the people,' as he was fondly known passed away into eternal peace on June 3. Rajaji, writing on this great servant of God and the human race, said:

"Pope John initiated remarkable policy changes in the Catholic Church, which holds great promise for world welfare and harmony. He gave a new image to the papacy and projected his warm personality upon the global stage. The Catholic Church emerged from relative isolationism into an open conciliatory relationship with the rest of the world. Non-Catholic clergymen were for the first time in history invited as observers at the Ecumenical Council of Catholic bishops which met in Rome last autumn. Pope John dropped the traditional derogatory phrases for other denominations and called them 'departed brothers'.

"Since the Vatican lost most of its temporal powers, Popes rarely ventured to go out of Vatican territory. But this Supreme Pontiff made more than a hundred visits outside, by foot, train and car. He appointed the first Negro and Japanese cardinals in Church history and called 2,500 bishops together in a Council in order to achieve 'modernization'. He suggested the dropping of Latin from religious services in Asia and Africa.

"His successor, whoever it may be, takes over the leadership of a Church which bears the strong personal imprint of a great and much-loved predecessor."

CONTROLS

"Controls give rise to fraud, suppression of truth, intensification of the black-market and to artificial scarcity. Above all, it unmans the people and deprives them of initiative; it undoes the teaching of self-help they have been learning for a generation. It makes them spoonfed."

— MAHATMA GANDHI

"The authority directing all economic activity would control not merely the part of our lives which is concerned with *inferior things*; it would control the allocation of the limited means for all our ends. And whoever controls all economic activity controls the means for all our ends, and must therefore decide which are to be satisfied and which not. Economic control is not merely control of a sector of human life which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all our ends. And whoever has sole control of the means must also determine which ends are to be served, which values are to be rated higher and which lower, in short, what men should believe and strive for."

— F. A. HAYEK in 'Road to Serfdom'

good cause. In this election, unlike that at Tiruchengode, all the Congress power and influence was exercised to the full. Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and very much the Party boss of the area, threw his personal influence fully into the fray. At the same time, Mr. Kamaraj Nadar and Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari threw in a mighty last-minute effort to sway the Tamil vote.

Undoubtedly, Congress power and money were deployed on a bigger scale than was possible with the Opposition candidate. The Communist Party identified itself with the Congress. It was also a seat which in the last election had a significant margin of 24,000 votes over a Swatantra rival. The elimination of the advantage, in the circumstances under which it has occurred, presents a serious setback to Congress complacency."

Economic Times, 31st August.

"As for the Swatantra Group a new spirit is visible... In the divided opposition it could not make enough impact... But even though it failed to make the headway expected earlier, it contributed some good speeches to important debates. However, the usual punch, cut and thrust associated with Prof. Ranga and the subtle analysis of Mr. Minoo Masani had been missing so far."

Thought 8th September

PARTY'S "BOLD MOVE" PRAISED

The *Indian Nation* of Patna carried on 2nd September an Editorial article commending the Madras resolution in regard to the Party organisation in Bihar. In view of the fundamental issues raised in that article, it is being published as Appendix B to this Newsletter.

NEWS FROM STATE PARTIES

BOMBAY

The Bombay Unit has set up Primary Units at the following Constituencies:

<i>Name of the Constituency</i>	<i>Name of the Organiser</i>
1) Colaba	Prof. P. J. Shroff,
2) Walkeshwar	Mr. Piloo Mody,
3) Mazagaon	Mr. K. B. Mohite,
4) Bandra	Mr. Fred Fernandez,
5) Matunga	Mr. R. V. Murthy

Enrolment of members has already been started in all the above-mentioned primary constituencies.

On 1st of August the Walkeshwar Unit opened a Reading Room at Khetwadi 10th Lane and similar reading rooms will be started in other constituencies as well.

The 15th of August was celebrated this year at the Party Office when Mr. Piloo Mody, Vice-Chairman of the Party hoisted the National Flag. Among those present and who spoke were: Mr. M. R. Masani, General Secretary of the Party, Mr. Murarji J. Vaidya, Maharajkumar Himmatsinghji and Prof. P. J. Shroff.

On the 17th August, the Colaba Unit held a Public Meeting at the Party's Headquarters when Lady Rama Rau spoke on the role of family planning in India. This is the first in a series of educational lectures that the Colaba Unit will be arranging every month.

The Unit celebrated Prof. Ranga's victory in the Chittoor bye-election by distributing sweets to the public and to party workers and also by putting up flags in certain parts of the city.

The Bombay Unit has decided to organise a group Active Workers who will start working immediately

for the coming General Elections. Workers from various constituencies have come forward to join this Group and a strict disciplinary code is being maintained by them. Shri Madhu N. Mehta and Shri Piloo Mody are attending to the organisation of this Group.

A largely attended public meeting was held under the presidentship of Shri Murarji J. Vaidya at Mandvi on Tuesday the 25th September 1962. Maharajkumar Himmatsinghji and Shri Narendrasingh Mahida spoke.

A Party Office has been opened in Mandvi and Maharajkumar Himmatsinghji has decided to attend this office regularly whenever he is in Bombay.

Shri Madhu N. Mehta addressed the Postal Employees Union on the subject of the role of Government Employees in trade unions on 30th September 1962.

MAHARASHTRA

The Maharashtra State Swatantra Party under the leadership of Shri N. Dandekar has set up the following District Committees:

<i>Name of the District</i>	<i>Name of the Organiser</i>
1) Wardha	Mr. B. G. Shende,
2) East Khandesh	Mr. V. N. Patil,
3) Nanded	Mr. S. L. Desai,
4) Sangli	Mr. D. G. Deshingkar,
5) Satara	Mr. B. J. Shinde,
6) Poona	Mr. N. S. Lulla

KERALA

The Central Zone Committee of the Party in Kerala at a meeting on August 23, decided not to set

up candidates to contest municipal elections in their region. Instead, they decided to support deserving independent candidates without party affiliations.

MADRAS

A meeting of the Swatantra Party members and others of the Krishnagiri Constituency was held at the residence of Sri T. Aravamudhan. Mr. C. V. Manickam, Vice President, of the Salem District Unit presided. Mr. N. Chinna Muniswamy Chetty, M.L.A., and Mr. T. T. Srinivasan, Secretary of the District Unit, were also present.

Office Bearers for the Unit were unanimously elected for the Krishnagiri Constituency. It was resolved to oppose the increase in land tax and work for its abolition.

The District committee conveyed its thanks to Mr. Chinna Muniswamy Chetty M.L.A., for the splendid work done by him in the Kuppam constituency in the recent Chittoor bye-election.

Under the Presidentship of Mr. V. Rangaswamy Thevar, President 10th Circle Unit, a function was held and an Association named Rajaji Manram, at 17, Veerasami Pillai Street, West Mambalam, was declared open by Mr. S. S. Mariswamy, General Secretary of the Tamil Nad Swatantra Party.

Mr. S. S. Mariswamy said that, he hoped, at the time of the next elections, there would not be any other parties besides the D.M.K., Swatantra and the Congress.

Unveiling the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Venkatram, the Secretary of the Coimbatore District Unit called on the people to adhere to the ideology of Gandhiji and Rajaji.

Mr. P. C. Satagopan, organiser of the Association, quoted from a conversation Mahatma Gandhi had with some Americans, in which he had said "I do not accept socialism as enunciated by present socialists." The Swatantra Party, Mr. Satagopan felt was trying to follow Mahatma Gandhi's conception of a well balanced Society.

Mr. G. Narasing Rao and Mr. M. S. Krishnaswamy were amongst the others who spoke.

MYSORE

Professor N. G. Ranga, who won a great victory at the Chittoor Bye-election over the combined efforts of the Congress and the Communist Parties, passed through Bangalore on his way to Madras. He was given a hearty reception at Bangalore Air-port, where he was smothered with garlands by the Executive Committee, Swatantra Party M.L.A's, and other enthusiasts. Later in the evening a tea-party was held, which was attended by the Press, and

numerous other members of the Party. Professor Ranga answered various questions asked by the Press and also spoke to the members of the Party in regard to the future programme.

The State Office and the Malleswaram Constituency-Executive Committee of the Swatantra Party, Bangalore, have been conducting a Study Circle every week by inviting competent public men to speak on some burning political and economic topic of the day. Since last month four such Study Circle meetings have been held and addressed at various places in the Constituency. The topics were:

Basic Principles of Economic Planning.

Ramachandra Rao Committee's Report on Economy and Resources (Mysore State)

The Proposed Raid on Gold.

An intelligent and discriminating public has been evincing keen interest in these gatherings and the increasing attendance has been very encouraging. These meetings will act as a media in educating the people on various problems.

ORISSA

Sri Harihar Patel, in his speech in the Orissa Legislative Assembly, when initiating the debate on Supplementary Budget Demands, made some interesting observations.

He said that the Government was discriminating between the dependants of the ex-Rulers, hoping it would break the morale of those ex-Rulers who formed a part of the Opposition.

Regarding the Demand in connection with the Police department Sri Harihar Patel stated that the Police Service had almost been made into a coercive force. It was used to impinge on personal freedom and gather information on matters outside its jurisdiction. Last summer during the Kendu-Leaves Agitation, police personnel are reported to have terrorised people with arrests on the flimsiest of excuses. He cited examples of rampant corruption amongst the Police. He also referred to the wasteful expenditure incurred on them for attendance on V.I.P.'s. At the meeting of the All India Congress Committee which is to be held at Puri, at the most about a thousand V.I.P.'s will come; three thousand Policemen are to be assembled for bando-bast. To meet this expenditure, the demand for Rupees one lakh is a waste, especially at a time when the people can ill-afford it.

Criticising the Orissa Appropriation Bill, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, Swatantra Leader of the Opposition said, that it seemed that funds originally sanctioned for certain specific schemes were diverted to other schemes. Supplementary budgets with sketchy and inadequate foot-notes are presented to the House. He also referred to the various pro-

visions in the Appropriation Bill, regarding small scale industries, water-supply, sanitation, Forest Corporation, Fisheries Co-operation, and Orissa Construction Corporation. In the case of some the House was not properly notified as to their lay out of work.

He deplored Government's desire to spend over Rupees 32 lakhs for the All India Congress Conference at Puri. It is true that a part of the amenities provided would remain for the good of the State, but matters of long standing requirements were now being done hurriedly, thus involving colossal wastage of expenditure.

Regarding the creation of a Directorate of Cultural Affairs he said that an impetus to the finer arts is most desirable, but it is hoped that like the Nationalization of text books, Government would not endeavour to establish its hold, for these patterns would slowly tend to form a totalitarian ideology.

PUNJAB

The President, of the State Unit, Jathedar Udham Singh, and the Secretary, Sardar Basant Singh, have been actively participating in the State Co-ordination Committee, and the State Unit has vigorously joined in the campaign to rouse public opinion against the irrational taxation policy of the Government in general and the 'Temporary Taxation Bill' in particular.

Numerous rallies and meetings were held, of which the two largest were at Sirsa, and Praba, in District Hissar. Jathedar Udham Singh was amongst those who addressed these meetings. Other rallies were held at Meham, Rohtak, Narnaul, Rewari and Delhi. Sardar Basant Singh attended meetings at Chandigarh, Karnal and Sangrur. Brigadier Pritam Singh and other local representatives of the party also attended the meeting at Sangrur. The 'Temporary Taxation Bill', was discussed and explained. Its danger in driving a wedge between the Harijans and the other communities was referred to, and the Government's subtle policy in wooing a particular set of voters was also pointed out. The public was made aware of the fact that this Bill was rushed through the State Vidhan Sabha, just before it adjourned *sine die*, and this method of the Government was severely criticised. Various resolutions were adopted and passed on issues like high-taxation.

The meeting also passed a resolution, thanking the people of Sirsa Tehsil for their hand-work, in organising the mammoth meeting, and also for their very generous donations.

UTTAR PRADESH

The State Executive Committee held a meeting under the Presidentship of Sri S. K. D. Paliwal. The

President explained the measures adopted for membership drive. The Committee reviewed the activities of the party and requested the organisers concerned to expedite the membership drive, and add greater vigour to the other activities of the Party. It was also decided that both the zones should send 30% of membership fees—the share of the State Offices and Central Office—to the State Office of the Party, at Lucknow. The State Office, after remitting the share of the Central Office, should keep the balance intact till the time when the two zones are again amalgamated.

Further it was decided that all the Jeeps belonging to the Party should be registered in the Party's name and they should be under the charge of the President, of the State Party, Sri S. K. D. Paliwal, and the Treasurer of the Party, Sri Raghvendra Pratap Singh M.L.A.

The Constitution of the Uttar Pradesh Unit, which was prepared by a Sub-Committee in the light of the All India Constitution of the Swatantra Party, was put before the Committee and after some discussion and amendments was passed.

A meeting of the Executive Committee (Eastern Zone) was held at Lucknow. After reviewing the successful progress of the membership drive and Anti-Taxation Signature Campaign in the Zone, the Committee arrived at the following decisions:

1. Henceforth the meetings of the Zonal Executive Committee should be held at the Head Quarters of the District Units which invite the Committee.

2. A party Seminar should be held at Benaras in November.

3. Sri Raghvendra Pratap Singh M.L.A., Leader of the Swatantra Party group in the Uttar Pradesh Assembly, was authorised to initiate and carry on negotiations with the leaders of other opposition parties in the Assembly to form a joint front against the new Taxation measures of the Uttar Pradesh Government.

The Leader of the Swatantra Group in the U.P. Legislative Assembly, Shri Raghvendra Pratap Singh, has in the course of a communication stated that the Swatantra Group launched a signature campaign against enhancement in the land tax.

On 7th September, they submitted a petition to the Legislative Assembly to withdraw the land tax. This is the first time a petition of this nature has ever been presented in the U.P. Assembly on behalf of the peasants of Uttar Pradesh.

Among other things the petition stated that, in spite of the first and Second Five Year Plans, the income of the peasants had not increased, that school fees, railway fares, stamp duties etc. had risen and that it has become more difficult for the peasants to make both ends meet.

Appendix A

RESOLUTIONS OF THE LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL

I. *The EEC in a Wider World*

The Council of the Liberal International
RECALLING the leading part Liberals have played in the realisation of the European idea;

RECOGNISING that the EEC is only a step towards an ever-widening political and economic community of free nations throughout the world which are endowed with democratic institutions;

WELCOMING the views expressed by the President of the United States on interdependence and the proposals for trade expansion arising therefrom;

STRESSES the need for political development of the Community to evolve parallel with its economic development;

EMPHASISES the importance of pursuing the democratic development of the European institutions;

URGES the governments of the EEC to consult with other governments negotiating membership and in particular Great Britain in their discussions on the development of the political community;

URGES that in economic arrangements between the EEC and countries which for valid reasons do not become full or associated members, fullest consideration should be given to their special economic problems which arise for them from the creation of the Common Market;

EXPRESSES the conviction that neither the existence of the EEC nor association with it will in any way prejudice the independence and complete freedom of the newly independent countries.

II. *South Africa*

The Council of the Liberal International
CONDEMNS the oppressive ideology and policies of the South African Government;

RECOGNISES the importance for the future of Africa of the South African Liberal Party's efforts to

secure and maintain the rule of law and fundamental freedoms for the people of South Africa and

DECLARES its full support for all who are engaged in winning these freedoms.

III. *Freedom For All*

The Council of the Liberal International
PROCLAIMS its belief that only by liberal principles and methods can freedom and independence for both individuals and peoples be established and maintained;

REAFFIRMS that liberal policies are the prerequisites for a free, prosperous and classless society;

WELCOMES the striving of African and Asian peoples for independence as a manifestation of the permanent liberal demand for self-government and equal rights for all men;

ASSERTS that totalitarianism whether of the Left or the Right is the enemy of all these aspirations and achievements;

CONDEMNS even the tacit acceptance of Soviet domination of countries behind the Iron Curtain;

REJECTS any appeasement of communism as an invitation to aggression;

WARNS against the mental attitude which in the name of neutralism condones violations of liberty;

EMPHASISES that military defence is no more than a necessary basis upon which we can effectively meet the totalitarian challenge in all fields;

REALISES at the same time the need for a strong military defence system to which each country must bring its fair contribution as long as a general and controlled disarmament has not been put into practice;

RECOGNISES that the conflict will be protracted and that time will work for the free world only so long as it develops constructive ideas and more energy, and has the courage of its own convictions.

Appendix B

A BOLD MOVE

"The Swatantra Party has taken a bold move in the reorganisation of the party unit in Bihar. The Bihar Swatantra Party attracted much attention in political circles. It gained considerable strength during the 1962 general elections. Today, the Swatantra Party happens to be the main Opposition Party in the Bihar Vidhan Sabha. The political reputation of the leader, Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh, shot up as the Bihar Swatantra Party gained a few important

key seats and gave a strong fight to some of the well-known Congress candidates. It was believed that the political influence of the Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh was confined only to the district of Hazaribagh. The 1962 general elections showed that the Bihar Swatantra Party, under the leadership of the Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh had made dents in other districts also. Both the Jharkhand Party and the Congress Party conceded seats to the Swatantra

which on a conservative estimate was a gathering of 50,000".

The following resolutions were adopted at this Conference:

1. "This Conference of the Madras State Swatantra Party is emphatically of the opinion:

(a) That the recent arrangements arrived at with the Soviet Government in Moscow will lead to communist infiltration in vital sections of the administration and the defence forces, opening out wide avenues for Communist China's subversive activities;

(b) This Conference records its sense of disappointment at the repetition by the Government of India of the same equivocal and unhelpful attitude as it displayed before, devoid of the condemnation which the Indonesian aggression on Malaysia calls for, from all peace-loving and just nations, and in particular from India. Recent statements made on behalf of the Government of India have not made any difference in this respect.

2. "This Conference emphatically condemns the project of minting coins with the effigy of the late leader of the Congress Party and Prime Minister of India as it would certainly be first-rate political propaganda for the Congress Party through the national currency, and points out that this step is wholly inconsistent with the law being enacted to prevent political slogans being written on currency notes.

Such proposed coinage should be dropped, unless the Government can secure the unanimous consent of all the Opposition members in Parliament. This Conference recommends that this question may be raised in Parliament through a suitable motion.

3. "This Conference of the Swatantra Party is emphatically of the opinion that the present food crisis and the soaring prices of all commodities are the direct and forewarned consequence of the policy of the Congress Government and they cannot be overcome by harassment of businessmen and processes of terror and intimidation, but only by a drastic change in the land policies of the Congress regime, and its inflationary programmes of public expenditure and deficit financing. This Conference reiterates the appeal of the party that all real Opposition parties should combine on this single issue of pre-eminent national importance and force the Congress regime out of its continued and obstinate policies, or out of office.

4. This Conference respectfully draws the attention of the President of India to the scandals and suspicions of corruption raised against one State Chief Minister after another, and in view of the integral connection with and control of the Congress Party over all these regimes, the President may consider taking effective steps to restore public confidence in the administration.

A HISTORIC SAMMELAN

Never in recent history has Saurashtra witnessed such a gathering of peasants as at Dhoraji in Rajkot district where almost a lakh of peasants gathered in conclave on September 27.

The Saurashtra Khedut Sammelan was primarily concerned with the highly unpopular ban on the movement of groundnuts imposed by the Government of Gujarat.

A resolution unanimously adopted by the Sammelan charged the Government of Gujarat with deliberately attempting to avoid considering the ruinous effect the State Government's policy in regard to groundnuts would have on the economy of Saurashtra.

The resolution called for "Mungfali Bandh" (No sale of Groundnut) if the Government of Gujarat did not withdraw its price control and ban on the movement of groundnuts. The resolution affirmed: "No agriculturist in Saurashtra will sell his groundnut crop or bring it into the market. This Convention requests all traders in groundnut crushing industry, and all others concerned to refrain from purchasing groundnut and to support Agriculturists in this struggle."

To implement the "Mungfali bandh," the Sammelan formed an Action Committee under the President-

ship of Shri Bhagwanjibhai Patel who presided over the Sammelan.

The Sammelan further announced that if the Government of Gujarat failed to concede their demand within four days the farmers would go on satyagraha. Reports have since been received that volunteers have already been enrolled for the purpose.

The Party's State President, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, and Mr. Ramanbhai Patel, attended the Sammelan. Mr. Masani, M.P. for Rajkot, who could not be present owing to illness, sent a message of solidarity. Actively associated in the work of the Sammelan was Mr. Dharamsinh Patel.

Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel announced at the Sammelan that a march from Baroda to Ahmedabad would commence on October 2 and the number of marchers would increase considerably by the time they reached Ahmedabad to present a memorandum on groundnut oil to the Government.

Incidentally, a rival meeting convened by the Communist Kisan Sabha under the leadership of Mr. Indulal Yagnik at the same time less than a mile away was most meagrely attended and went almost unnoticed.

Around the State Assemblies

GUJARAT

Moving a motion of no-confidence in the Gujarat Ministry on September 1, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, Leader of the Opposition and President of the State Unit of the Party, accused the Government of showing "inexcusable callousness, timidity of execution, and weak leadership" in handling the food crisis in the State.

Bhaikaka asked the Gujarat Ministry to follow the advice given by Mr. N. V. Gadgil at the last AICC session that the Congress Party having failed to solve the food problem should quit the Government. The Gujarat Government had similarly failed to deliver the goods and hence should resign, he added.

Bhailalbhai reminded the Government that the

food crisis in the State has been developing since long, but the Government had failed, he added, to take sufficient care to prevent the emergence of the crisis. The Government had failed to heed the warnings repeatedly given by the Opposition members in the House.

The Leader of the Opposition attributed the failure of the Government's food policy on its socialistic agrarian measures such as Cooperative Farming and the Land Ceilings Act.

Lashing out at the Government for carrying on "Goebbels-like propaganda" that farmers were hoarding foodgrains, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel asked how the Gujarat farmer with an average holding of less than five acres, could have the capacity to hoard as alleged by the Government.

NEWS FROM STATE UNITS

Party units in most parts of the country are currently engaged in conducting elections at the primary and district levels. This is a very important aspect of the Party's activity and no efforts are being spared to ensure that the elections will result in the emergence of leadership from the primary to the national level worthy of a Party. A detailed procedure for the conduct of the elections has been issued by the Centre and it is hoped that early next year various Committees truly reflecting the will of the rank and file of the Party will settle down to the serious business of strengthening the Party organisation and preparing for the challenge of 1967.

A few of our units have found time to undertake other activities despite preoccupation with the elections. We report on these activities below:

ANDHRA

The flood havoc in Krishna District saw the Party's leaders and Workers in the State trying to lend a hand in the rehabilitation of the flood victims.

Addressing a press conference in Hyderabad on October 5, Prof. N. G. Ranga called for an immediate re-orientation of schemes for flood control at the State and national levels.

Prof. Ranga said he was "horror struck" to learn that the Irrigation Minister of Andhra Pradesh left for Japan "on some trip" just as it was becoming clear that the flood situation in the State was becoming serious.

He supported the demand for a full-fledged enquiry into the washing away of half of the Vijaypuri bridge over the Krishna river.

BOMBAY

Workers of the Party in Bombay passed the hat around and collected Rs. 2,000/- to be used for the relief of flood victims in Andhra.

Between August 15 and 31, Party workers met their respective members of the State Assembly, presenting to the latter a memorandum detailing immediate measures to control the food situation.

On September 6, Mr. N. Dandekar was felicitated on his being elected to the Lok Sabha by the Election Tribunal. Replying to felicitations, Mr. Dandekar alleged that Mr. Nehru had abused his office during his four speeches in Gonda during the general elections in 1962. He expressed his gratitude to the late Raja Raghavendra Pratap Singh of Mankapur for his help and encouragement during and after the election in 1962.

The presence in the City of national leaders of the Party was utilised by the Bombay unit in organising two public meetings on September 30.

The first was a well-attended meeting of foodgrain dealers at Kesarbagh. Addressing the traders Rajaji said he would like to tell the Government: 'You know nothing about the trade and yet you want to conduct it. It is like a man who does not know how to use a razor and yet wants to shave others.' The Government was unaware as to when to buy, store or sell grains. It imagined that grains, like vegetables could be bought every day of the year. It wanted to do away with big farms and encourage small ones because it was interested in buying votes and not grains.

All that the Government could do, he said was "ask for forms to be filled and nothing more." He said that the forms were useless, and added: "I think you were right in saying you will not fill forms." He