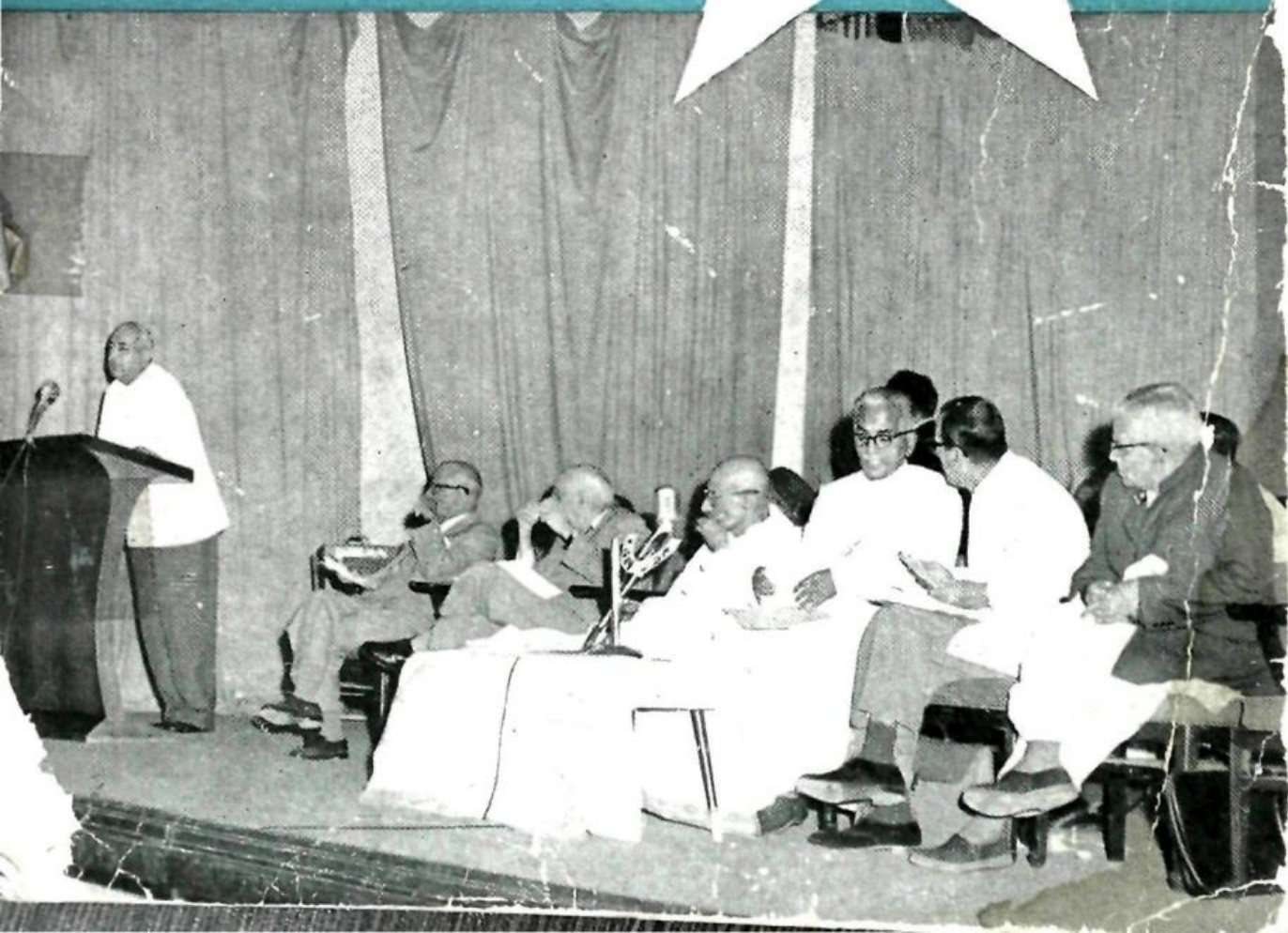


The Swatantra Party

Third National Convention

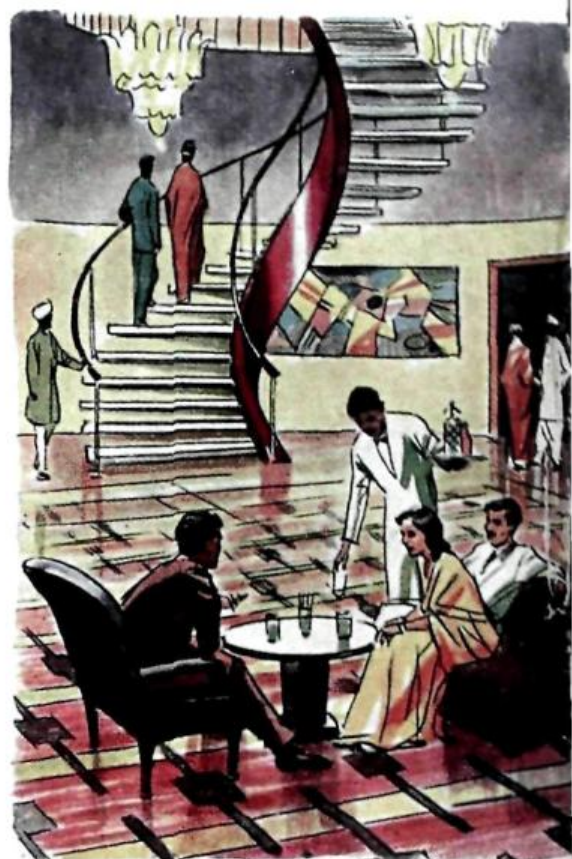
Bangalore, February 1 & 2, 1964





To brighten up school buildings, class-rooms, laboratories, lecture-halls... Silvicrete

For pleasing surface textures, wall-panels and colourful floors in cinemas... Silvicrete



For pleasing interiors or exteriors, for tiled or terrazzo floors specify:

Silvicrete
ACC WHITE CEMENT



For cleanliness in hospitals—especially in operation theatres, patients' wards, floors, kitchens... Silvicrete

Silvicrete is the basic material for the production of Snowcem and Colorcem

The Associated Cement Companies Limited
The Cement Marketing Company of India Limited

The Touchstone of Success

At the foot of the Himalayan ranges dwelt Suka the learned Rishi, and to him came from far and wide many seekers after knowledge.

To him there came, one day, a thoughtful man with a question in mind and he asked of the Rishi, "Of all things on this earth what takes the longest to grow?"

Suka mused awhile then answered: "Confidence. Whatever is tried and tested in the crucible of time and found to give complete satisfaction—only then does confidence come to be reposed in it! That is the touchstone of its success".

ALEMBIC CHEMICAL WORKS
COMPANY LIMITED, BARODA 3

*Manufacturers of
ethical pharmaceuticals and fine chemicals since 1907*



The Industrial Credit Company Ltd.

Registered Office

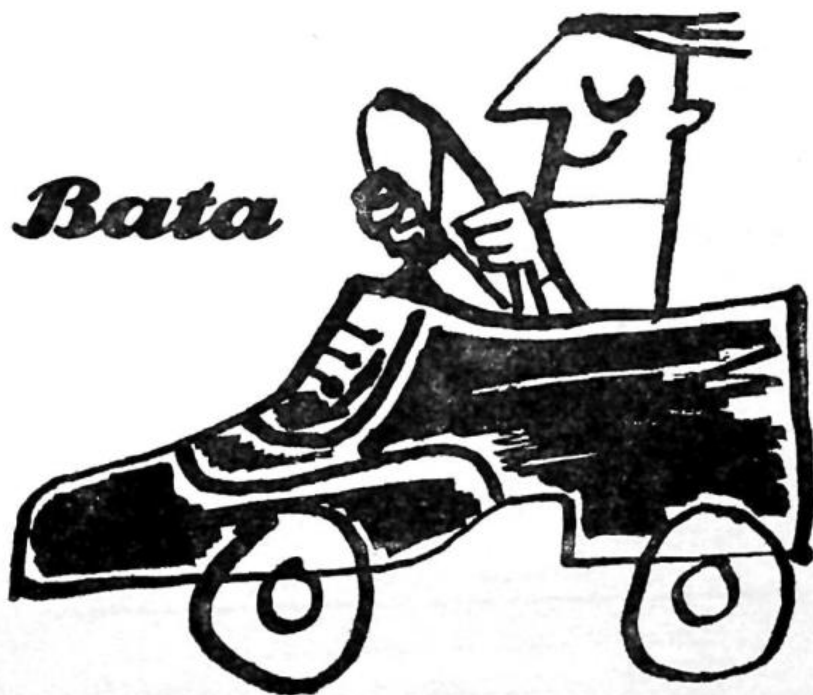
4, Scindia House, New Delhi

offers

ALL FACILITIES AND FINANCE for HIRE PURCHASE of Trucks
and other MOTOR VEHICLES, RADIOS AND RADIOGRAMS,
REFRIGERATORS AND AIR CONDITIONERS, OFFICE EQUIPMENT
AND FURNITURE

Telephone : 40121 (8 lines)

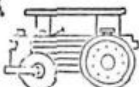
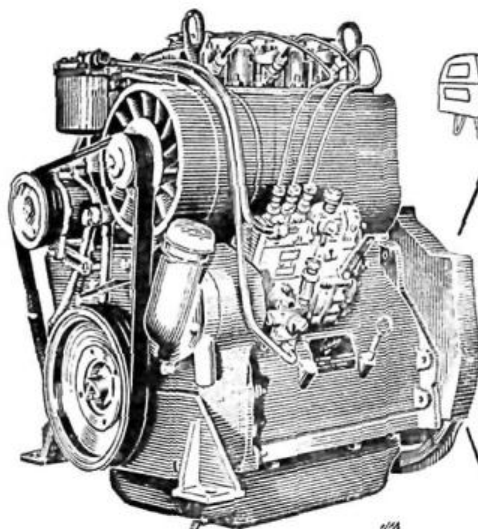
Bata



Kirloskar

AIR COOLED DIESEL ENGINES

RA TYPE



KIRLOSKAR RA SERIES

TYPE	CONTINUOUS OUTPUT		
	1500 RPM	1800 RPM	2000 RPM
RA2 2CYL.	H.P. 17	H.P. 20	H.P. 21.5
RA3 3CYL.	25.5	30	32
RA4 4CYL.	34	40	43
RA6 6CYL.	51	60	64

Distinguished features:-

- High Quality Workmanship
- Interchangeability of common Parts between RA2-3-4-6
- Sensitive Governing
- Easy to operate and Service
- Light and Compact
- Easy Starting
- Electrical Starting Arrangement
- Fixed and Variable Speeds
- Portable Application

wide range of applications:-

- COMPRESSORS • ROAD ROLLERS
- GENERATORS • TRACTORS • TAR MIXERS
- DRILLING RIGS • PUMPS • MARINES

For further technical details write to:-

KIRLOSKAR OIL ENGINES, LIMITED

ELPHINSTONE ROAD, POONA-3 (INDIA)

MADE BY TELCO

to speed up the nation's industrial progress

LOCOMOTIVES — Over 700 steam locomotives for goods and passenger traffic on metre gauge supplied to the Indian railways.

INDUSTRIAL SHUNTERS — Diesel driven, specially designed for steel, cement and power plants, tube, paper and textile mills, and for collieries, mines, docks and railway marshalling yards. Suitable for both broad and metre gauges.

TATA MERCEDES-BENZ — Trucks and buses —

transport leaders on Indian highways — over 75,000 on the road.

TATA - P & H EXCAVATORS — Sixty already supplied to major projects in India. Available with diesel or electric power.

FOUNDRY PRODUCTS — Castings of steel and alloy iron made in India's most modern foundry — up to 10 tonnes individual weight, to customer's specifications.

All TELCO products are available for export.

1. QUALITY STEEL CASTING FROM TELCO
2. TATA INDUSTRIAL SHUNTER
3. TATA - P & H DRAGLINE
4. TATA - P & H SHOVEL
5. TATA MERCEDES-BENZ TRUCK
6. TELCO MADE BUS
7. TELCO STEAM LOCOMOTIVE



TATA ENGINEERING & LOCOMOTIVE CO. LTD.

Works: Jamshedpur, India • Sales Office: Army & Navy Bldg., 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1, India.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY

Third National Convention

Bangalore

February 1 & 2, 1964

A REPORT



A SWATANTRA PARTY PUBLICATION

Price : Rs. 2.75

Printed by S. R. Krishnan at Inland Printers,
55 Gamdevi Rd., Bombay 7 and published
by S. V. Raju for the Swatantra Party,
143 Mahatma Gandhi Rd., Fort, Bombay 1.

Contents

Introduction	9
Welcome Address: Smt. S. Neelaveni	11
Inaugural Address: C. Rajagopalachari	13
Presidential Address: N. G. Ranga, M.P.	16
General Secretary's Report: M. R. Masani, M.P.	29

RESOLUTIONS

Condolence	54
International Relations & Defence	55
Termination of Emergency	56
Electoral Reform	56
Electoral Understandings	57
Swatantra Alternative	57
State Monopoly of Banking	59
Board for Licences & Permits	60
Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill	60
Constitutional Amendments Sub-Committee	62
General Secretary's Report	63
States Rights	63
Gold Control	63
Amendments to Party's Constitution	64

MESSAGES

K. M. MUNSHI	66
B. R. SHENOY	66
GIOVANNI MALAGODI	66
MOSHE KOL	69

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Bhubaneswar Pattern of Democratic Socialism	70
<i>Prof. Amul Desai</i>	
A Swatantra Approach	75
<i>Dr. Kersi Doodha</i>	
Press Comments	81
List of Delegates	98

Introduction

"The Swatantra Party is a Party with a difference" asserts our Statement of Policy **To Prosperity Through Freedom** adopted at the first National Convention in March 1960. Through the years since then it has been the privilege of the Party to blaze a pioneering trail by its pronouncements and policies. Although the Party has sometimes had as a result to plough a lone furrow, subsequent events have more than adequately vindicated its position.

This is true not only in the field of policy but also in that of organisation. The Congress Party has set up unfortunate patterns of political behaviour which have been blindly emulated by others in the field. One such was its manner of holding annual conferences. The Bhubaneswar Session of the Congress Party would have put a Moghul durbar to shame. The fanfare and trumpetry that accompanied Congressmen meeting to discuss the country's future made many sit up and wonder if in reality the country was passing through an "emergency".

The Bangalore Convention of the Swatantra Party was an altogether different affair. The usual appendages to a political convention were deliberately eschewed. The Central Organising Committee of the Party specifically rejected the idea of a shamiana. There was no procession in which animals brushed with humans in a demonstration of a universal outlook. The Convention was held in the impressive Town Hall. Everything was done in a businesslike manner. Elsewhere in this Report we reproduce a chart which was the basis of the Convention's organisation. The Convention convinced sceptics within our Party of the efficacy of proceeding in a businesslike manner. In the context of the national emergency, when no one ever misses an opportunity to emphasise the need for economy, the Third National Convention of the Swatantra Party was a concrete illustration of how this should and could be done.

The Organisation Sub-Committee, the Central Organising Committee and the General Council of the Party met in that order from January 30 to February 1. Largely devoted to discussing the business coming up before the Convention these bodies also discussed and took decisions on organisational matters.

The Convention itself was divided into three sessions. Two of these sessions were open to the Press.

The inaugural session began on the afternoon of Saturday, February 1, with an address of welcome by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Smt. Neelaveni.

Rajaji's Inaugural Address was short, incisive and a call to the Party to gear itself to fight the war for the preservation of individual liberties. It was a moment charged with emotion when he concluded: Let us gather more and more strength quickly. I cannot wait for much longer, friends."

Prof. Ranga followed with his Presidential Address. Packed with many a sally and thrust against the ruling party, the address was marked by its panoramic sweep of the Indian political scene.

The General Secretary's Report was then presented to the House. Mr. M. R. Masani had prepared a document which surveyed the Party's development since the last Convention in Agra in November 1961. Matter of fact and without any attempt to gloss over the Party's inadequacies, the Report called for a more purposive approach to the problem of organising the Party along lines that would not belie the people's growing faith in it. It was encouraging when a lengthy debate ensued on the Report especially regarding the section dealing with Trade Unionism. It was encouraging to see so many young trade unionists, who had come as delegates, mounting the rostrum to speak their minds.

There were thirteen resolutions in all which were discussed at length and adopted. The discussions on these resolutions, spread over the three sessions, were characterised by wide participation on the part of the delegates.

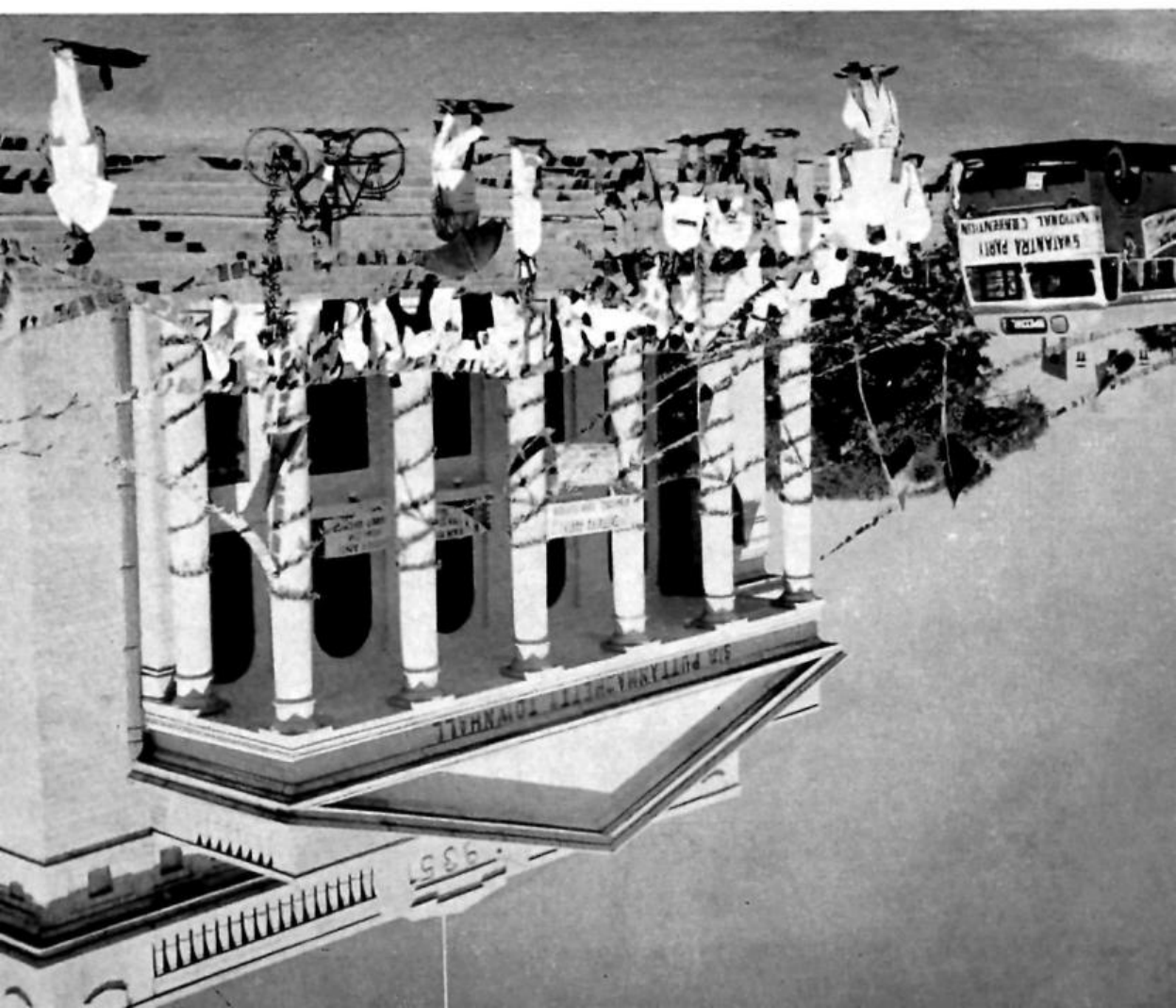
Perhaps the most important business before the Convention was an amendment to the membership clause of the Party's Constitution. This amendment has fundamentally transformed the character of the Party from a mass-Party to a cadre-Party. A system of dedicated card holding workers and pledge-signing members was introduced. This change will no doubt be a milestone in the Party's emergence as a reckonable factor in Indian politics.

Amidst the strains of the National Anthem, the Convention came to a close.

The Indian Press was fair with its coverage of the proceedings. Editorial comment on the proceedings provide a mixed bag. A representative selection of comments has been included in this volume.

A word of appreciation of the excellent work done by the office-bearers and members of the Mysore unit of the Party will not be out of place. With economy, but not at the cost of efficiency, they performed a big task in a praiseworthy and unassuming manner. Mr. V. P. Menon, the man behind the decision of the State unit to invite the National Convention to Bangalore, deserves a special word of thanks and remembrance.

TOWN HALL—VENUE OF THE CONVENTION





V. P. MENON AND JINARAJA HEGDE WELCOMING RAJAJI



V. T. SREENIVASAN
ESCORTING RAJAJI
TO THE ROSTRUM

Welcome Address

Smt. S. Neelaveni

On behalf of the Reception Committee I have to welcome you all to Bangalore, and hope that your stay here will be comfortable, enjoyable and fruitful. It has been a new experience for us to collect the funds and make the other arrangements necessary for a conference, and we have not been able to call in any part of the official machinery to help us. We have not been able to build a new township for you, nor have we brought you here in specially chartered planes, or even trains, nor saluted you with a salvo of guns. Our preparations are on a humble scale, suitable to a poor country, and we hope that you will excuse the inevitable imperfections.

Some of us were active participants in the great movement for national freedom led by Gandhiji, and the rest of us admired and sympathised with it. I am sure all of us would have been only too glad to let the men who fought the fight for freedom carry on the administration of the country with our continued sympathy and support. But it was not to be. They have gradually dissipated the good-will which they gained in those days, just as they have dissipated the country's financial assets. They have allowed the standards of administration and of public rectitude to crumble away. They have embarked on reckless and destructive policies at home, and have met with defeats and disasters abroad, until many of their old colleagues and large numbers of hitherto non-political citizens have felt it their duty to come together and try to bring back some propriety and sobriety into public life.

What has weakened the ordinary man's old loyalty to the Congress more than anything else is his daily experience of the increasing difficulty of ordinary life. Prices never cease to go up. Common necessities are often scarce. The water supply becomes more of a problem every year. The state of the roads gets worse and worse. The nationalised bus service becomes less efficient. The children are not being properly educated. Going to a hospital is a nightmare. All this is true here in Bangalore, and I dare say that most of it is true in other towns.

The ordinary man does not pay much attention to foreign affairs, but everybody had heard that China was our great friend. Then one day we learnt that China had occupied a big area of our land, and not long after that, Chinese troops made an attack on our army and drove it back, killing and capturing thousands of our soldiers. The ordinary man is a patriot, and he

rushed to support the Government in the emergency. Many of our boys joined the army. But even the most ignorant and thoughtless people wondered and questioned. "Was it not strange that our great leaders never guessed what China was going to do?"

We Indians are patient folk. We do not expect perfection. But we did expect better than this. *What grieves thinking people most of all is the fall in moral standards.* India is first of all a religious country. We believe in moral values. We believe that there are standards which ought to be upheld, but the men now in authority, though they followed Gandhiji, the man of God, are not observing those standards.

We are also a practical people, who use our common sense, and we doubt whether progress can be made by defying the laws of economics and spending money that does not exist. *We doubt whether progress can be made by defying the laws of human nature and expecting men to exert themselves for no commensurate reward.*

We all look up to the Government as our father and mother which will take care of us, but we are also a bit afraid of it and do not like to see it expanding in all directions, continually building huge new offices, employing thousands of men who ought to be producing something, taking more and more power, and *doing many things that people ought to be left to do for themselves.*

We also believe that it is not good for a government to stay in power for many years and never have to fear the normal penalty of error and failure.

But our present rulers are ignoring all these simple basic principles. This is what has made many of us, non-political citizens, come out of our seclusion to do what we can for our country.

This conference is being held at a time when the public are becoming aware of the disastrous consequences of ignoring these principles. But the party in power has just now met and resolved to persist in all these wrong courses. At its session at Bhubaneshwar the Congress laid down in greater detail its mistaken policy of Socialism. Undeterred by the failure of Socialism in other countries, and by the failure of its own planning and the misery it is causing to the people, the Congress has reaffirmed its faith in Socialism and its Socialist plans.

Dictators can go on and on, but Democracy is possible only if from time to time there is a change of Government to remind the rulers that the people are the ultimate masters. But even after seventeen years in

power, through the Kamaraj Plan and at the Bhubaneswar session the Congress has been trying to reorganise itself and to maintain its hold over the people.

The people are tired of this Government. But the people cannot act without a lead and an organisation. I believe I am speaking for the ordinary suffering people of Bangalore and the whole country when I say that we are looking to the leaders assembled here to change the political face of India, and to give us hope. We welcome you, we expect much from you, and we pray for your success.

Inaugural Address

C. Rajagopalachari

The external feature by which democracy is recognized in modern conditions is the holding of periodical elections. Elections have one purpose in democracy, quite another purpose in socialistic regimes. In democracies the people give their votes nominating who shall work for them in government offices and occasionally guide them. In socialism the people vote to decide under whom the majority would like to be indentured labourers. This is so because socialism is state ownership and control of the means of production and state ownership and control also of the results of production. This being so, in between, who do the production? Who but indentured workers under indentured discipline, as in all cases where everything is owned by another and the workers only work? If socialism has not been completely but only partially put in force, i.e., in a mixed economy, to that extent the Government are masters and the people slaves—slaves because they cannot opt out as free men could do. The Constitution is itself the indenture. In “democratic socialism”, the ballot will be periodically held as before, but to decide who will be your masters—a new idea in elections. Your status is settled, the only choice left is as to who shall be your masters.

The Swatantra Party's dedicated task is to oppose this loss of freedom that is proposed and is being imposed by a group of people who have

adopted this plan after being placed in power by Gandhi. The task is to rouse a hypnotized people to a sense of the danger, and to action to avert it. We have been at this work these four-and-half years. We have not achieved much, some may say. Achievement is not an easy thing when those ranged against you have seized all authority and economic power such as a state-socialist regime gives to those in authority. A new party has to make each brick of its construction out of intelligence and courage and self-sacrifice. Intelligent men alone can see the fraud in the socialist claims, but intelligent men are more often indifferent than active. Our recruiting campaign is necessarily a difficult one. It is not like the Congress Party getting people to join it. "You have no mass following. You have only sophisticated people gathered under your flag." This is told to us not only by our opponents but also by some of our over-eager well-wishers who themselves keep away out of fear but wish us well in their hearts. This must be so; only intelligent, courageous men, self-sacrificing men, daring men, sophisticated men in the best sense of that Greek word, can form a dissenting party, where the opponent is a party entrenched in power and authority and more than all well protected by the hypnosis and the superstitious hero-worship of an uninformed nation.

The ruinous results of the policies followed by the ruling party are taking rapid shape in taxes, in prices and in failures. This helps us to some extent. But the party in power is clever enough to find false excuses and explanations and the people are gullible enough to swallow them. The work of our party is a hard task, but it is worth while, it is necessary, it is patriotic; it is a mission which calls for devotion in the best religious sense, faith and application and prayer.

Assessed with all this in mind a great deal has been achieved. We have shaken the enemy into a holy fear. We have given him big defeats and many more are in store for him. Let us not recount these successes of ours too often, lest the evil eye fall on us! Let us draw courage from them without boasting.

We have to educate the people to realize that it is not good to hand over the responsibility of wealth production to Government, that individuals working as free individuals hoping to gain something out of that work will alone work steadily and arduously, and vigilantly guard the results of that work against being lost or stolen. We have to educate not only the innocent members of the ruling faction, but all the people to realize that national prosperity is not made in the secretariat or in the Planning Commission's office but in the field and the factory and that too only when it is managed by some one personally interested in it. We have to make people realize that concentration of economic power in the hands of a

private party is bad, but it is no less bad but a little worse if it is concentrated everywhere in the hands of the Central Congress Party or in those who regularly supply funds to it. We have to educate the people to realize the danger in letting all economic and political power concentrate in the hands of a single political party and make them see that democracy will disappear if that should happen, leaving only the crust of external forms, the reality gone.

Immediately, we ought to take active steps to bring about a united front to defeat the Congress at elections and reduce its illegitimate power. I suggest, in this connection, that we should unite with other opposition parties on one specific issue, viz., the desirability to instal a wholly non-political independent board to be in supreme charge of the administration of all licences, quotas, permits and other incidents of the controlled economy both in the Centre and in the States, so long as that is to prevail. *This board should be kept safe from political pressures and influences* by investing it with the same independent status as the Supreme Court, the Public Services Commission or the Auditor-General and severely penalizing any attempt to bring such pressures or influence to bear on it. The need for independence and a wholly non-political character is not questioned in the case of the Supreme Court. It is equally necessary for good and just Government in the field of the administration of controls, licences, permits and monopolies created under powers taken in modification of the fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed in Part III of the Constitution. If this is done, it will greatly reduce if not do away with political corruption. The Congress Party will not, I am certain, agree to this. All parties can unite on this issue and obtain a mandate from the electors. The issue is of the greatest economic as well as political importance. I suggest we formulate an immediate demand on this subject which, if accepted, would be a significant victory for us and for the people. It would be within the range of what would be tolerable for the enemy and not make him lose face and therefore induce him to reconcile himself to it.

We want a cadre of devoted Swatantra Party workers, men and women who have no fear in their hearts and have faith in the Party's mission for freedom. The Congress Party has become a permanent enemy of freedom. The Swatantra Party's future is, according to intelligent international assessment, bright. Let us gather more and more strength quickly. I cannot wait for much longer, friends.

Presidential Address

N. G. Ranga

We have met here to reaffirm our faith in humanism and Dharma; in the U. N. Charter of Human Rights and the pre-eminence of the Fundamental Rights of the people.

It is in pursuance of this faith and these "Freedom First" approaches, that the Gandhi Peace Mission and Rajaji have made their contribution to the Test Ban Treaty and the protection of humanity although temporary, from Nuclear Fall out.

We have made it abundantly clear, in our Election Manifesto, that we stand by the Directive Principles also as adumbrated in the Constitution.

We are keen on making our utmost contribution, "within the limits of the Country's economic capacity and development" towards the fulfilment of these principles. We are equally keen that these principles are to be understood and honoured consistently and not in conflict with the charter of Fundamental Rights. We, therefore, warn the Country against the Congress efforts to set these, one against the other and destroy the socio-economic bases so essential for enabling the people to enjoy the Fundamental Rights and for the progressive realisation of the Directive Principles.

We are convinced that the chapter on Fundamental Rights, in our Constitution was so shaped, in the light of the World's successful struggles over centuries against the tyranny of Governments of all types and under different tyrants from the Roman Caesars to modern Imperialists and from Hitler to Stalin. The fathers of our Constitution have felt the need for assuring every human being in our society that the Government, which was being created would be allowed to function and exercise its powers and functions only subject to the Fundamental Rights. Indeed this chapter is India's charter of humanism. It has once and for all ended India's unhappy but age-long subjection to the blights of untouchability and social inequalities, in the eyes of the Law. Therefore, it was never the intention of the Fathers of the Constitution that this charter for humanism should be placed at the mercy of whimsical majorities in Parliament and the sweet will and pleasure of the Executive. Hence the incorporation of Article 32, which has assured every citizen the right to appeal to the Supreme Court against the Executive, complaining of any and every felt-infringement of any of these Fundamental Rights.

We believe that one of the most basic and beneficial incentives, needed to inspire toilers of all kinds, in all phases of history, is their acquisition, accumulation, possession and enjoyment of individual and family property. Human history has demonstrated the efficacy of this lever to induce people to display their best productive abilities, to offer their maximum efforts and to save, invest and utilise their surplus earnings to the advancement of their social progress.

We are all witnesses to the travails of the Soviet countries and peoples, in their vain and costly efforts to reconstruct their social economy after having denied the right to property of their peoples. Socialism considers private property as one of the great social evils. So the communists have been trying to preface their socialist regimes by destroying private property. But even that cruel Stalin had had to make so many concessions to the natural passion of people for private property. Khrushchev has made greater concessions so that Soviet citizens can now look forward to owning houses, cars and drawing interest on their loans to Government and even leaving some property to their children. The Chinese Communists who are still hugging the pre-war Russian partiality to Proletarianism and Communes are being chided by Khrushchev for their primitive and out-moded shibboleths and futile experiments.

While thus even the Soviet socialists are forced to recognise the progressive and inescapable need for private property, Nehru's Government is trying to undermine the "Right to Property" guaranteed by Article 31 of our Constitution through the Seventeenth (Constitution Amendment) Bill. The Constitution has laid down that "no person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of Law". Once before, this Article 31 of the Constitution was amended, so as to enable legislatures to abolish Intermediary Zamindars and acquire their Zamindari (Tax or rent collecting functions) by paying nominal compensation. That first violation of the real spirit of the Constitution and Rule of Law or Dharma was permitted by Parliament under the impression that the system of "Estates" created by British and Mughal Governments served no useful function, and proved to be no longer necessary. In its haste to abolish that unnecessary intermediary, Parliament committed the grave blunder of making the quantum of compensation and mode of its payment "non-justiciable". It stands to the eternal discredit of the Nehru Government that it should have decided to overcome the grave warning of the Supreme Court against the unconstitutional aspects of the legislation for the abolition of the system of Intermediary Zamindars and Jagirdars and advise Parliament to co-operate with it to strike the first blow against the third most essential pillar, The

Supreme Court, on which the edifice of Parliamentary democracy rests. It is now seeking the aid of Parliament to strike in a conspiratorial manner, yet another blow—this time it may prove fatal—against the Judiciary; the third prop of our Constitution through the 17th Amendment Bill.

Once this Bill comes to be passed, 124 laws will come to be incorporated in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution and together with the earlier 20 laws insured by that Schedule, as many as 144 laws will be kept beyond the pale of the Supreme Court and all the 80% of the rural masses and many others too will be denied the protection of the Supreme Court.

From house-sites to cattle grounds, from Kilns to Smithy sheds, from orchards to small peasant holdings and all agricultural properties—big and small, will become liable to be compulsorily taken over by the fiat of any one of the millions of Government servants for any of the ever expanding purposes, which are being enshrined as public purposes by the Five Year Plans of the Congress Government. The Government, through its millions of agents, who are to lay down the law in their Socialist fervour, is the final authority to decide when, what property is to be taken over, for what purpose or with what intent and by paying whatever compensation it deems fit and in how many instalments and in whatsoever a shape and manner.

All this confiscatory authority is sought to be appropriated by Government, with the co-operation of Parliament, under the very nose of the Supreme Court. Is it not a violation of the principle of balance of powers, so cardinal to parliamentary democracy to give the "authority of law" to the Nehru Government to perpetuate Communist-wise confiscation of the property of the overwhelming majority of our masses, when the Supreme Court is denied the right to interpret that law and its implementation, in terms of the original Constitution? Is it not an immoral negation of the Rule of law, which is the life-spring of parliamentary democracy to put the Supreme Court itself out of Court and prevent it from protecting our people in the enjoyment of their Fundamental Rights? This is why Rajaji has castigated this Bill as the "lawless Law"; so many Daily papers called it as the "Immoral Law".

The Congress Government may succeed in getting this Bill passed, but cannot escape the charge that thereby it perpetrates a rape on the Constitution. Hitler established his Nazi dictatorship after exploiting the Constitutional machinery to become the Chancellor. But that did not save that Constitution nor had it saved the Weimar democracy. De Gaulle has become the President of France, as had Napoleon the third, by perverting the

Constitutional means but that did not save French Parliamentary Democracy. Similarly what Nehru's Government is seeking to do by this Bill and by other means to achieve its Socialism, by seemingly Constitutional means, is truly unconstitutional and violative of the true spirit of our Constitution.

The Government has sponsored this Bill to subvert our Constitution through treacherous and name-sake Parliamentary methods. When the Supreme Court struck down the Kerala Act, on the ground that Article 31-A did not embrace Ryotwari lands as the term "Estate" was intended to apply only to intermediaries like Jagirdars, Zamindars and Talukdars and not cultivating Ryotwari Pattadars, the Nehru Government wanted to bow before that judgment. So it advised the Orissa Government, before the 1962 General Elections to reshape its Land Bill in the light of that judgment. Why? Because it did not dare seek the authority of the electorate to upset the Supreme Court's Judgment. This is clear proof of its intention not to jeopardise its political fortunes by consulting the people over such a bill as this 17th Amendment. Again when a Communist leader urged the Government on 2nd May 1963 to introduce some such Bill, and I warned it against any attempt at weakening or attacking peasant proprietorship, it did not indicate that it was going to introduce this Bill only two days thereafter, and that too, on the last day of that long Budget session.

It did not give adequate notice to Parliament, not to speak of the Press or Public about its intention to hurl such a challenge to the most fundamental right of the principal section of our toilers. We have charged the Government that it has not asked for and obtained any specific mandate from the electors to initiate such a reactionary challenge against the basic feature of our National Dharma.

It is now an after-thought for it to claim that this and such measures are all comprehended in its omnibus offer of achieving land reform. By land reform, our people have been led to believe that intermediaries would be removed, the proprietorship over land holdings of peasants would be reinforced by Governmental measures of assistance; and security of tenure and reasonable rents would be assured to temporary tenants and Government lands would be granted to landless workers. Never were the land reforms meant, either by positive exposition or by implication, to give power to Government to take away, compulsorily, on payment of nominal compensation, the lands of every type of peasantry and that too, by depriving them of the protection of the Courts. The Congress has played itself into the hands of the Communist Party. This Bill is indeed conceived by Communists and fathered by the Congress. It is the Joint

Product of their combined political perfidy. Thus this Nehru Government is guilty of seeking to perpetrate the most unconscionable fraud and crime against both the Constitution and the peasant masses of our Country. I therefore appeal for a nation-wide campaign, including Satyagraha, to maintain the inviolability of Fundamental Rights in their original shape and independent Judiciary and thus protect our peasants and all other people.

The Congress has sought to commit another fraud on the people by declaring its faith in Socialism, to be achieved through parliamentary democracy. Let it be realised by all that Socialism of the Marxian vintage is opposed to private property and Nehru is wedded to it. On the other hand, the Indian Constitution which is based on Parliamentary democracy guarantees the fundamental right to property. This Congress Government cannot remain truly loyal to both Socialism and Parliamentary democracy, if it is to support the Seventeenth (Constitution Amendment) Bill and implement its confiscatory provisions. So, either its Bhubaneswar declaration or this Bill is a fraud on the people. Rajaji's warning that democracy and Socialism of Nehru's conception and Soviet-inspiration are incompatible is being exemplified by this Bill and Bhubaneswar Congress declarations.

We have therefore inaugurated a nation-wide campaign against this unholy Bill. All our State units and the Kisan Sammelans have tried to arouse peasant masses, assembled in their conventions, conferences and committees to this grave threat to their creative means of freedom and independent employment. More than two lakhs of peasants have personally sent their protest by way of Post Cards and other petitions to the Lok-Sabha—a unique demonstration in the annals of that Sabha. Our Party in Parliament refused to join the Joint Select Committee appointed by Parliament and walked out to mark our strongest protest against this Bill. I warned Government that our Party would pursue every legitimate means to fight this Congress betrayal of the peasantry. Peasant conferences were held in U.P., Punjab, Gujerat, Orissa, Andhra, Mysore, Tamilnad, Kerala and even Pujya Rajaji addressed a number of them.

I am convinced that if anything can be considered as characteristic of our social economy, it is this self-employed economy, comprising as it does peasants, artisans, merchants and entrepreneurs, which enables the overwhelming majority of self-respecting toilers to live freely, work independently on their farms, in their workshops, factories and offices. These people have no need to exploit others. Such of them as have to employ others are prepared to conform to the standards set by the I.L.O. in their dealing with those workers whose co-operation is necessary.

I feel that it is the imperative duty of parties like us to develop a more vigorous campaign, calculated to rouse and energise the national conscience and to persuade Premier Nehru and the Congress Government to realise the enormity of their crime against the Constitution and our masses. I am glad to say that the Jan Sangh and Socialist Parties have also decided to do their best to oppose this Bill. I therefore appeal to you, my fellow delegates, to sustain us in whatever legitimate steps we find it possible to take during the coming months and years to arraign this Government before the conscience of the nation. The least we can demand of it is to withdraw this Bill and order a special General Election for Lok Sabha alone and seek the verdict of the voters on this Bill.

Socialism was conceived of, as a social approach by the Western thinkers during the nineteenth century as a protest against the then uncontrolled capitalist exploitation of workers. It stood for principles and standards of social justice for ensuring humane treatment and social securities for industrial and other workers. It also stood for devising and pursuing ways and means to enable workers who have lost self-employment and ownership and control over their means of production and livelihood to regain that economic self-employment or democracy.

The social conscience, philosophy and practices have progressed all over the world during the past century, so that whatever was urged by Socialists and humanitarians in the name of Social Justice has come to be accepted by all the nations as the indispensable norm of industrial relations in this century. The International Labour Office has been giving concrete shape to the universally accepted right of workers and obligation of the employers in this twentieth century. Our Constitution has incorporated these obligations of our Society in the chapters on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles.

There is the other aspect of Socialism, that is, to regain for workers what was lost by them in the transition of the Western World from self-employed economy into industrial society. It was in pursuance of that goal that the Socialists of the West devised their theories of Revolution and techniques of armed revolts calculated to destroy capitalism and achieve workers' control over their industries.

For a long time, humanitarians of the East who desired all round Social Justice and who have come under the influence of the Western Socialists have failed to recognise the true nature and significance of the self-employed economy that has survived the onslaughts of Western imperialism and its capitalist weapons of large-scale plantations, and cheap

industrial production. Mahatma Gandhi's bold and prolonged stand against this aggressive and destructive challenge of Socialism and my own devotion to the causes of peasantry and artisans have helped me, and my colleagues, despite our decades long attachment to Socialist ideas and techniques of social revolution, to re-examine our ideological position, in the light of the failures of Soviet economy. We then realised that these hundreds of millions of self-employed peasants and artisans, whose economies have survived two centuries-long competition from industrialism and unjust terms of trade imposed on them by capitalist-imperialism have a message to give and a lesson to teach us.

We have realised that their self-employment has built-in-itself all the incentives needed by human beings to achieve highest efficiency, work hardest and produce most in their daily activities and utilise all their own resources and production to the best advantage. This economy utilises all the spare labour and talents of all the family members. It also leads to the widest distribution of property, managerial skills and most non-exploitative productive activities. These self-employed people are enjoying just that economic self-governance and social independence which the Soviet proletarians are unable to attain and the Socialist workers in Western democracies are yearning for but in vain.

Our self-employed peasants ought to be assured of a fair deal in their relations with markets and large scale industrial economy by evolving a just price-policy and equitable terms of trade. Co-operative Servicing has to be developed to compete with and check the private services. The latest in the *infra-structure equipment has to be provided*. So we pleaded with Gandhiji and he agreed that any national plan, if it were to be humane and progressive, ought to give the highest priority to the protection, promotion and prosperity of agriculturists. But this is just what the Congress plans have failed to do; and the latest confession of Premier Nehru bears witness to this failure.

We have accepted Gandhiji's advice and we are bent upon giving priority in our planning to the self-employed sectors and developing the much needed servicing and *infra-structure*. This is called by Rajaji as the *Mantra of self-employment*.

We certainly are keen on building all the modern basic and key industries and become self-reliant, as far as possible, in all the various power and fuel, electro-chemical, iron and steel, and machine building and other industries. So, the significance of industrial workers and managers will continue to grow and their impact upon our social structure will assume

increased importance. Yet they and all those who would be ministering to their service and domestic needs cannot come to form more than fifty percent of our vast population even by 2000 A.D., what with the progressive use of automation and even attenuated population growth. Thus more than half of our population will continue to be self-employed. The noblest and greatest responsibility of our Government would be to brace itself to this stupendous responsibility of protecting, servicing the social needs and developing the economic opportunities of these vast millions of self-employed masses. The Swatantra Party has undertaken this sacred duty, as its special mission.

Therefore the Swatantra Party takes its stand on this Mantra of self-employed economy and offers it as its positive alternative to the Soviet-oriented Congress planning.

The servicing section of modern economy occupies an honourable place in every civilised democratic society. In India, it is manned mostly by self-employed millions of traders and merchants, most of whom possess their inherited skills and equipment. They deserve considerate and helpful treatment at the hands of Government. Their services may be supplemented by Co-operative Service Societies. But their self-employment is so valuable and so rich in built-in incentives and wholesome competition that it will be most harmful to Society to plan as the Congress does, for their replacement by either Co-operatives or large-scale State-owned shops.

That the Congress regime is bent upon implementing such disastrous plans is demonstrated by its cruel Gold Control Order which has deprived the five million goldsmiths and others of their traditional and self-employed means of livelihood. Now that the Bhubaneswar Congress has given the line clear to nationalisation, Socialism and Co-operativisation, all under the aegis of the power-mad Congress regimes, none need be surprised if on any day any one or more trades or industries come to be as uncereemoniously and quietly taken over by any of these processes as the General Insurance was taken over the other day.

They have not even scrupled at the unconscionable misuse of the word "Estate", which had never been applied in India's long history to any but intermediary landlords, to bring within its mischief the peasant holdings as well as house-sites of agricultural workers and artisans, for the malicious purpose of confiscating them all by payment of nominal compensation, if peasants do not agree to join Co-operative farms.

I wish to repeat our warning that the Congress Planners have begun to devise invisible and indirect means to subvert and destroy the founda-

tions of our free economy. Their latest attempt is to take over compulsorily the Rice Mills either on hire or through nationalisation and thus by controlling this Key Service as well as the Railway monopoly, they can force peasants to sell their food grains at any prices they choose to pay. They have already begun to control the cane producers and sugar factories and stifle the safety-valves of gur and Khandsari production. They are turning the Co-operatives into willing instruments of their policies, thanks to their administrative powers over their elections, finances, management and auditing.

Through the recent Company Law Amendment, Government has gained powers over the Board of Directors of Joint Stock Companies and their enterprises. The Banking Law Amendment has also given similar powers to Government through the medium of The Reserve Bank, over the management of Banks.

Through all such means, Congress Government is aiming at throttling peoples enterprise, hold the Damocles' sword over its head and bend it to subserve its purposes. What those plan purposes are, have been indicated so clearly by the Bhubaneshwar Congress resolution. I wish to warn the leaders of industry, commerce and general trade that it is high time for them to see the writing on the Congress Wall and realise that their protection and progress can be assured by consciously ranging themselves on the side of the peasants and artisans in their legitimate struggles for the protection of their self-employed economy, properties and social freedom.

The Swatantra Party has come into existence, thanks to the initiative and foresight of Rajaji, in order to safeguard national Dharma, as exemplified by the self-employed, independent toilers and Indian tradition of non-exploitative and competitive industrial and commercial economy and to help our masses to progress towards a humane, self-governing social democracy.

The intellectual, industrial and commercial leaders realised the timeliness of the lead given by Rajaji and the Party and rallied to its call. Some of the far-sighted among them generously extended valuable aid. But most of them eventually yielded to the tradition of financing the Ruling Party. During the 1962 General Elections, we found that our organisational equipment and funds were not strong enough to cope with the electioneering responsibilities. Our Party's platform has, however, won the support of more than 80 lakhs of voters and emerged as the second largest in the Country. We have 30 seats in Lok Sabha and function as the largest Opposition in Bihar, Gujerat, Orissa, Rajasthan and as important Opposition in Andhra, U.P., Madras, Mysore and Himachal Assemblies.



CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE IN SESSION





GENERAL COUNCIL IN SESSION



SMT. GAYATHI DEVI AT WORK



V. T. SREENIVASAN, K. H. SREENIVASAN,
SMT. GAYATHI DEVI AND V. P. MENON



Our experiences in the General Elections and bye-elections have justified the warning sounded by Rajaji that election campaigns under adult franchise and with illiterate voters forming the overwhelming majority and when the Ruling Party is unscrupulous enough to exploit Governmental Machinery, funds and privileges for electoral advantages are too costly, and need immediate and radical reform. All who desire to prevent the further degeneracy of our democracy have to work out practical means for making electioneering and collection of votes more democratic, cheaper and less subject to blandishments of the Ruling Party. The following are some of the remedies suggested.

- (1) Under the special circumstances of India and her illiterate voters and traditions of their Ma-Bap attitude towards Ruling Party, the Ministers should resign six months before the elections and the President should take over the Administration and Election Commission should conduct the elections with the aid of the administration;
- (2) The Votes should be collected at the doors of the voters by the Election Authority.
- (3) Proportional representation, in the simplest form, suited to our illiterate voters may have to be devised and introduced, in order to prevent the present anomaly of an overwhelming majority of seats going to a Party on an over-all minority vote and all the minorities in all Constituencies going unrepresented or running to waste.
- (4) Election Manifesto of each contesting Party together with its symbol, as it is formulated by the concerned parties should be supplied freely by the Election Commission to all voters.
- (5) The General Elections to Lok Sabha should be held separate from those for local Assemblies, so that the voters can be educated more clearly about Central issues viewed and as represented by various political parties than at present and the Lok Sabha elections be held two years after the elections for Assemblies are held.

I wish to express my gratitude to Rajaji and all our leaders and workers and well-wishers for their support in our election campaigns in Chittoor and Rajkot and Dohad. The success of Shri Masani, Bhil and myself was largely due to their comradely help. The heroic voters of these Consti-

tuencies deserve the gratitude of our Party, for, they withstood all the temptations displayed by the Ruling Party and the misuse of their powers and privileges by the Congress Ministers.

Our Party in both Houses of Parliament has been expounding the Party's philosophy and political stand on national and international issues, coming before both the Houses. I am glad to say that our Party has played a noteworthy role in awakening the nation to the threats posed by the 17th (Constitution Amendment) Bill, the Banking Amendment Bill and the Gold Control Bill. We have also exposed the anti-national policies of the Government regarding the Chinese aggression. We have assailed the inflationary and deficit budgetary policies and wasteful expenditure. Our Party's opposition to Nehru's Planning was so effective that the Government concentrated its reply on our points of attack.

Our Swatantra movement and Kisan cause have sustained grievous loss in the sudden death of Sardar Bahadur Lal Singh, the doughty champion of our peasants. It was on his invitation, as the President of All India Agriculturists Federation, that the Madras meeting came to be held on 4-6-1959 under the chairmanship of Pujya Rajaji. It was that meeting which laid the foundation for the Swatantra Party.

We also mourn the death of Shri Muthuramalinga Thevar, a member of our Parliamentary group. He was one of our outstanding freedom fighters and also a devoted colleague of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. He led a saintly life.

We have sustained another heavy loss in the death of Shri Baria, M.P., who was our outstanding leader of the Bhils and a loyal member of our Party in the Lok Sabha.

Shri K. M. Munshi drew pointed attention of the people of our Country in 1960-61 to the need for taking effective steps to stem the forces that were eroding National unity, so assiduously built up by Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel. Premier Nehru then realised this danger and began building up the National Integration Committee. Unfortunately the same Nehru Government, which had been responsible for the earlier trends of disintegration, has resumed its destructive activities, instead of postponing its controversial policies and programmes, based upon ideological predilections, as is naturally to be expected during the Emergency caused by the Chinese Invasion. The Congress Government is using just this prolonged Emergency to disrupt the peasantry through the Seventeenth Amendment,

weaken peoples Enterprise by the renewed threats of Socialisation of processing industries and nationalisation of Banking etc. It has also set in motion, the inflammable but conflicting emotions over languages through the Constitution Amendment. It has doubled—in some cases—trebled the Land Revenue, and enhanced Excise and other tax-burdens. The Bhubaneswar Congress has added fuel to these fires.

Our national economy is admittedly stagnant. The favoured State sector is proving a drain. The Government is busy devising plans for weakening our industries and commerce through ever more licenses, permits, regulations and controls. The national income goes down, industrial and irrigation potentials run into waste and even the educated are condemned to unemployment. The Bhubaneswar threats are calculated to demoralise our entrepreneurs and drive investible funds into wasteful expenditure. Our increasing dependence upon foreign loans and gifts and Nasik Press can only land this and the next generation into National insolvency.

India's prestige in the World has been seriously damaged by the humiliating defeat suffered at the hands of Communist China, both diplomatically and militarily. Our Government has not tried to retrieve the position by at least recognising the Dalai Lama as the Political Chief of the Tibetan peoples. Our relations with other neighbours have only become further worsened. We have been reduced to humiliating dependence upon the goodwill—based more on their grace than on our national strength—of the great powers.

By their frantic offers—however belated and inadequate—to devise various means to put down corruption in all ranks of administration as also in the midst of Ministers, Nehru's Government is confessing to the whole World, despite the vaunted certificates to the contrary proffered by foreign guests, that the Post-Swaraj governance has become weak, inefficient, wasteful and corrupt. The consequence is the alarming fall in the Public morals and enormous losses of Public Funds and growing disillusionment about Government and distrust of all Public Workers. Such is the legacy of this Nehru regime.

All the national leaders in the democratic opposition in Parliament and State Legislatures have rightly begun to feel that unless something effective is done urgently and with determination to mobilise all the democratic Opposition forces, this process of national demoralisation may, if not arrested, prove disastrous to our democracy. Therefore there is a

growing awareness of the need for somehow achieving the consolidation of the democratic opposition, based on the most immediate and mutually agreeable democratic platform.

For various reasons, we have all been marching separately but towards the same goal of Social Justice. Welfare Society to be, achieved through Parliamentary Democracy and the fulfilment of our national Dharma by protecting the Self-Employed masses and competitive and non-exploitative entrepreneurs and service-minded and self-reliant proletariat.

By working together in the bye-elections at Amroha, Farrukhabad and Rajkot, all these forces have succeeded in returning to Parliament, well-known democratic leaders Shri Acharya Kripalani, Lohia and Masani. These successes have aroused hopes of better performance by Parliamentary opposition, if only they can devise ways and means for stabilising such processes and habits of whole-hearted mutual adjustments and Co-operation. Once again Rajaji has given the lead in exhorting us all to explore the possibilities for effective and wholehearted consolidation of all our forces into one United Democratic Party or Front pledged to protect and promote our National Dharma, Protection of the Original Constitution and Peasant Proprietorship and fight against Statism.

General Secretary's Report

M. R. Masani

This Report covers a period of just over two years from the Second National Convention of the Party in Agra in November 1961 till the end of 1963. It is largely a factual statement. Even so, responsibility for whatever is contained in this Report is entirely that of the General Secretary, since it has not been found possible to place this Report before the Central Organising Committee owing to the absence of any meeting in advance of the Convention and the fact that it is due to meet right on the eve of the Convention on January 30.

The Second National Convention

The Second National Convention was held in Agra on November 25 and 26, 1961. Around 730 delegates from all parts of the country participated.

Led by Professor N. G. Ranga, the Party's President, a mile-long procession wended its way through the bazars of Agra and finally terminated at Swatantra Nagar, the venue of the Convention.

The main business before the Convention was the adoption of the draft Election Manifesto prepared by the Central Organising Committee. After being placed before the General Council of the Party, the draft Manifesto was discussed for five hours at the Convention and finally adopted unanimously.

Among resolutions adopted at the Convention were those on the renewed Chinese aggression, on the democratisation of Union Territories, on the protection of the rights and special interests of the Hill Tribal peoples and their adequate participation in governmental institutions, and on the General Secretary's Report.

Considerable enthusiasm was demonstrated at the announcement of the merger of the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa in the Swatantra Party and at the presence on the platform of the Ganatantra leaders, led by Mr. R. N. Singh Deo and Mr. P. K. Deo.

General Elections

The period immediately after the Agra Convention was marked by the General Elections of February 1962 to Parliament and the State Assemblies.

The Swatantra Party's candidates for Parliament and State Assemblies stood for election on the basis of the Party's Manifesto adopted at the Agra Convention, which set out its own positive philosophy and way of life and its criticism of the policies of the government of the day.

The principles of the Party and the issues it desired to raise were brought to the notice of the electorate by means of speeches, posters, leaflets, film slides exhibited in a thousand cinemas, a series of five press advertisements, and a cartoon strip book. The propaganda material put out by the Central Office of the Party maintained throughout a high ideological level.

Over 1000 candidates were nominated for the State Assemblies and around 170 for election to the Lok Sabha.

The performance of the Swatantra Party in the General Elections was hailed by most sections of the press in India and abroad and by people generally as satisfactory and as a notable achievement for a Party then barely two and half years old. Taking the rough with the smooth, the Party had every reason to be satisfied with the progress recorded.

Perhaps the most encouraging comment in the world press was to be found in the editorial in *Life* of March 16, 1962, which said:

"A strong Swatantra opposition looks like the best hope for India. Its platform is anti-statism, pro-Bill of Rights, strongly in favour of small business and independent farmers and free labour unions, pro-private capital both domestic and foreign, and against shilly-shallying with Red aggression. Above all, in this campaign it stood for a clean and efficient government that puts first things first, which in India's case means roads and education instead of industrial 'gigantism', inflation and over-planning. . . . The free world can wish this little party a big future."

A significant feature of the election results was that, as far as can be ascertained, every single seat in Parliament and the State Assemblies carried by our Party was a predominantly rural one, thus testifying to the validity of the Party's claim to be predominantly a peasant's party.

State Assemblies

The results of the elections to the State Assemblies released by the Election Commission showed that the Swatantra Party had emerged as the

second biggest Party in the country though, naturally, it trailed a long way behind the ruling party. The Swatantra Party won 207 seats in the State Assemblies as against 153 won by the Communist Party, 149 by the PSP and 115 by Jan Sangh. The breakdown of Swatantra representation in the various State Assemblies was as follows:

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

The Swatantra Party became the official Opposition in four States—Bihar, Rajasthan, Orissa and Gujarat.

Parliament

In so far as elections to the Lok Sabha are concerned, the Swatantra Party polled about 10,257,000 votes, or around 9 per cent of the total poll. Its share in the proportion of votes secured in several States was significant. The Party obtained 25 per cent of the votes polled in Gujarat, 18.57 per cent in Orissa, 18.21 per cent in Bihar and 18.10 per cent in Rajasthan. In these States, the number of votes polled by the Swatantra Party was around half of that polled by the Congress Party.

The Swatantra Party in the Lok Sabha numbered 25 members as compared with the Communist Party which numbered 29. In the Rajya Sabha, the Party's strength went up from seven to eleven.

In order that the achievement of the Swatantra Party may be suitably assessed, it is necessary at this point to mention that the popular vote for the Congress Party in the parliamentary poll shrank to 44.72 per cent. So too, in the States, the Congress Party secured a majority of votes in only three States—Gujarat, Maharashtra and Mysore. These figures are encouraging. At the same time, they indicate the extent of the ground still to be covered by the Swatantra Party before it can hope to win power at the Centre and in the States.

The Campaign

It may not be out of place to mention some features of interest about the election campaign. The first of these was the very widespread popular response to the Party's Manifesto and policies. Very little resistance was encountered in putting across our point of view to the electorate. The way in which Mr. Nehru directed almost all his fire at the Swatantra Party showed an awareness on his part that the only serious challenge to his regime came from our Party.

Whatever deficiencies emerged were due to weaknesses in our own organisation and its inadequacy to carry out the task of conveying our message to the electorate and of garnering the response in the form of votes for our candidates. Several elements combined to contribute to this absence of an adequate 'conveyor belt'. The first was the short time we had been in existence. Secondly, the limitations in the way of our resources in trained and devoted workers and in finance. The response to our appeal for funds was disappointing. It was a story of "too little and too late". Even the modest contributions we received could have been put to much better use if they had come six to twelve months earlier.

Our new and sketchy organisation had not only to contend with the overwhelming predominance of money power in the hands of the ruling party, its well-oiled and well-greased machine built up over generations in the course of the struggle for national independence and now utilised for an altogether different purpose but also, in many places, against the weight of official patronage and displeasure and the misuse of the administrative apparatus. If we did not do much better, it was not for lack of popular response to our policies but because we were faced by a much superior machine and by the conservatism of large sections of the electorate who had got used to 'voting Congress' since the days of Mahatma Gandhi.

Some Lessons

It would not be correct to evade the task of drawing appropriate conclusions and lessons from the experience of the General Elections, even though this might involve a certain measure of *self-criticism*.

The most outstanding of the lessons to be learnt is that, while ideas do count, it is organisation that counts a great deal more, particularly in a large country like ours with an electorate which in large measure has yet to acquire literacy and political experience. The moral is simple. Our Party has to build its structure on a sound and more broad-based social basis.

The Party has, in particular, to devote specific attention to massive sections of the people like Harijans, Adibasis, small farmers, industrial and agricultural labour, shopkeepers, youth and women. Specific attention to the needs of these classes of our people, many of whom are underprivileged in social and economic terms, is called for. For a Party which has put the needs of the Common Man in the forefront of its programme and Manifesto, such a task is a moral and political imperative.

Since, in a controlled economy, the Party can never hope to compete with the ruling party in obtaining financial support from those in business or others possessing the necessary means, the Party will have to work in order to overcome this handicap by relying on the small man for the material resources with which to build its organisation.

Another task that the General Elections showed we have to face is to improve discipline within the Party. During the General Elections, certain candidates were nominated in more than one State without the sanction of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, and not every candidate behaved in a disciplined manner. While in a country as big as ours a certain amount of autonomy must be allowed to the units of the Party at State, District and Constituency levels, the need is for a greater measure of cohesion and discipline to be achieved.

The need to deploy our limited resources of men and money to maximum effect and not to dissipate them too widely is another lesson that emerges from the 1962 Elections. The fact that many more candidates were put up than was in the Party's interest is shown by the fact that no less than 516 of the Party's Assembly candidates and no less than 75 Parliamentary candidates forfeited their security deposits. The fact that the Communist Party won a slightly larger number of seats in Parliament though they had fielded 137 candidates as against our 170 might also be worth pondering. Over-enthusiasm is, however, a fault which in an infant party like ours might well be forgiven.

We have also to learn from the sound practice of democratic parties in other parts of the world of adopting their candidates well in advance of elections. In Britain, the Labour, Liberal and Conservative Parties adopt prospective candidates right through the life of the existing Parliament so that the person so nominated is given a chance to nurse his constituency over a number of years to show progress. In the 1962 elections, our Party emulated the bad example set by the Congress Party of adopting practically the whole list of candidates a few weeks or days before nomination day. There was competition between all parties in the clever-clever game of first seeing the other fellow's list and then choosing one's own candidates!

Since the Swatantra Party believes in incentives as part of its economic thinking, it would be well for it from now on to select its prospective standard bearers in good time and give them ample opportunity and incentive to show results before they are finally nominated a few weeks before nomination day.

At the Centre and in all the States except three the country has minority governments with deceptive majorities. For this punishment which the people have to bear, the Opposition parties and the voters are alike responsible. Needless inter-oppositional contests between democratic opposition parties, which could and should have been avoided, enabled the ruling party's candidates to get elected in numerous cases on a split vote.

There are two solutions for this. The first is a reform of the electoral law by which some system of proportional representation, or the second ballot, making a clear majority necessary, might be established. Till, however, some such reform is brought about, the only way out is for electoral adjustments or understandings to be reached between Opposition parties loyal to the Constitution and the free way of life. For failure to achieve this, the Swatantra Party at least cannot be blamed, for it was the only Opposition Party which endeavoured vainly before the General Elections to bring about such an understanding or adjustment (as distinct from an alliance or united front) with all other Opposition parties except the Communist Party.

Candidates' Convention

Soon after the General Elections, the Party called a Candidates' Convention in Bombay on April 7 and 8, 1962. Over 200 candidates who had fought, successfully or otherwise, as our Party's nominees attended. Many of the candidates present related their own experiences during the proceedings and made suggestions for the better functioning of the Party. The Convention concluded with all present standing to take the following 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."

Recognition by Election Commission

On August 4, 1962, the Election Commission communicated a draft notification it proposed to issue in regard to the recognition of the Parties and the allocation of symbols to them on the basis of their performance in the General Elections. While proposing to give recognition to the Swatantra Party along with the exclusive use of its symbol, the Star, in the eight States of Andhra, Bihar, Gujarat, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, the right of parties, in States where they did not enjoy such recognition, to have the first option of using their own symbols was done away with. On August 14, the General Secretary wrote to the Election Commission protesting against this decision and suggesting the restoration of the Star and other party symbols to the list of free symbols in States where the respective parties were not recognised along with the first option to their use, as was the position during the last General Elections. It is a matter for regret that the Election Commission on September 24, 1962, in its official notification decided to discontinue what it described as "a system of partial reservation of symbols for some Parties in some States." That is where the matter stands at present.

General Council

The General Council of the Party met only once during this period on February 10, 1963, in Bombay. Seventy members, including Presidents and General Secretaries of State Units who are *ex-officio* members, were present.

The General Council adopted a comprehensive resolution on the National Emergency.

Another matter considered by the Council was an appeal that had been addressed to it by some members of the Party in Bihar against a decision of the Organisation Sub-Committee and the Parliamentary Board at a joint meeting in Madras in July 1962. The Council took note of the fact that the appeal had been withdrawn on the previous day. The Council unanimously adopted a resolution reaffirming its confidence in the Central Organising Committee, the Organisation Sub-Committee, the Parliamentary Board and their members including Mr. K. M. Munshi, Vice-President, and Mr. M. R. Masani, General Secretary, against whom unjustified allegations had been made in the appeal.

Central Organising Committee

The Central Organising Committee of the Party met four times during the period under review. The first meeting was in Agra on November 27, 1961, immediately after the Second National Convention had ended. It discussed publicity and other plans in connection with the impending General Elections.

The second meeting took place in Bombay on March 15, 1962, when the results of the General Elections and the Party's performance in it were reviewed. A Parliamentary Board was set up to supervise, guide and co-ordinate the activities of the Party in Parliament and State Legislatures.

The third meeting took place in Bombay on February 9, 1963. An important decision taken by this meeting was to authorise the preparation of a scheme for a revised basis for Party membership.

The fourth meeting was held in Madras on August 4 and 5, 1963. It was decided that the Party's members in Parliament should support a motion of no-confidence during the forthcoming session of the Lok Sabha in the light of discussion with other non-communist opposition groups.

The meeting discussed and approved a scheme for a radical change in the structure of Party membership by dropping the 25nP. membership adopted by the Party from the Congress Party and placing membership of the Party on a serious and modern basis common to democratic parties throughout the world. Readiness to work for the Party was to be one of the essential elements of membership. There was to be another category of Associates of the Party who would indicate their adherence to it but pay no subscription. The meeting appointed a Sub-Committee to draft necessary amendments to the Constitution to be placed before the General Council and next National Convention of the Party.

It was decided that the National Convention should meet towards the end of the year and that it should be held at modest cost in a hall and that excessive expenditure on items such as a *shamiana* should be avoided.

The final meeting of the Central Organising Committee before this Convention is scheduled to take place in Bangalore on January 30 and 31.

Organisation Sub-Committee

The Organisation Sub-Committee of the Central Organising Committee met on six occasions during this period.

On March 14, 1962, it met in Bombay and took action in connection with the merger of the Ganatantra Parishad with the Party. It also took various decisions in connection with the need to strengthen the Party organisation.

At its meetings in Bombay on April 7, 1962, in Delhi on November 7, 1962, in Delhi again on January 12 and 13, 1963, in Bombay on February 10, 1963, and in Madras on August 3 and 4, 1963, the Sub-Committee took various decisions of an organisational nature.

There was a joint meeting of the Parliamentary Board and the Organisation Sub-Committee in Madras on July 21 and 22, 1962. The meeting reviewed the functioning of the Party in both Houses of Parliament and dealt with various queries raised in this connection. It also gave guidance to Members of Parliament in regard to issues coming up before the impending session. The meeting also reviewed the functioning of the Party in the various State Assemblies.

Parliamentary Board

The Parliamentary Board held five meetings during the period under review.

At its first meeting in Bombay on April 7 and 8, 1962, the Board considered the functioning of the Swatantra Party's group in Parliament. Office bearers for both Houses were nominated. It was decided to support the candidature of Dr. Radhakrishnan as President of the Union and that of Sardar Hukam Singh as Speaker of the Lok Sabha. It was also decided that the Party should give similar support to the candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the Union.

Professor N. G. Ranga was nominated as the Party's candidate for the Chittoor by-election.

The Parliamentary Board met on November 9, 1962 in Delhi and reviewed developments concerning the Chinese attack and the National Emergency. A statement which would act as a guide to our members in Parliament and outside was issued. The Board called for the banning of the Communist Party under the Defence of India Ordinance and Regulations as a Fifth Column of communist imperialism in this country. The Parliamentary Board also gave guidance to members of the Party in regard to their participation in joint defence committees.

Another meeting of the Parliamentary Board was held in Madras on January 12 and 13, 1963. Developments in connection with the Cease-fire and National Emergency were considered.

The Board met again in Madras on April 23, 1963, and nominated Mr. M. R. Masani as the Party's candidate for the Rajkot Parliamentary by-election. It approved the U.P. unit's support to Acharya Kripalani's candidature in Amroha and that of Mr. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya in Jaunpur.

The final meeting of the Parliamentary Board was on August 3 and 4, 1963, when issues coming before Parliament during the forthcoming session were considered and it was decided to support a motion of no-confidence in the Government which should be tabled by the Party's members in the light of discussion with other non-communist opposition groups.

Finances

The finances of the Party have been in a most disheartening state since the last General Elections. Owing to the drying up of contributions during the period, the small subventions that were being made by the Centre to the various State units have had to be discontinued since March 1962.

Even the Central organisation, sketchy as it has been, has been starved of funds. As against the budget of Rs. 10,000/- per month sanctioned by the Central Organising Committee, the Treasurer, despite his best efforts, has found himself unable to provide more than Rs. 44,300/- over a period of twenty-two months from March 1962 to December 1963 (inclusive).

It will be seen from this that the Party apparatus has to continue to function on a shoe-string. Considering that the Party functions over an area as large as the whole of Western Europe and with a comparable population, that it should be expected to do so with such insignificant resources would be looked upon as a laughable proposition in any part of Europe. The British Liberal Party, our counterpart in the U.K., which covers an area negligible in comparison to our own and which has only seven members in Parliament, spent during the year 1963, according to its published accounts, £87,713 or Rs. 1,169,506. The Liberal Party in Israel, even a smaller country, which has a strength in Parliament comparable to our own, collects a yearly subscription of Rs. 50 from each member and has a secretariat which is magnificently staffed. In this context, the General Secretary would like to thank the altogether inadequate staff of the Central Office for the hard and devoted work put in by them under such difficult conditions. The General Secretary would at the same time like to thank Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Party's senior Vice-President, for his unfailing readiness to be of help to the Central Office whenever approached for it.

There are two basic reasons for our distressing experience. The first is the supine and cowardly attitude of the larger part of Big Business in

India which, aside from a few honourable exceptions who practise enlightened free enterprise, continues to turn its back on a Party that stands for a way of life in which free enterprise can flourish, while lavishing its financial support on the ruling party which is progressively engaged in destroying a free economy.

All one can do is to deplore the fact that fear of reprisals from those in office under a highly controlled economy and the short-sightedness of those who wish to make a quick rupee through obtaining permits and licences should thus combine with an inadequate awareness of the need to make sacrifices for the way of life in which one believes. The Party must persist in its work in the strong conviction that, however unworthy the attitude of many of those in business may be, it has to work for the cause of a free society of which competitive free enterprise is an integral part.

The second reason for the Party's financial plight is the failure of Party members to contribute adequately from their own pockets by way of subscriptions, as members do in other countries, and to collect small contributions from those in their respective towns and villages. Small contributions in the way of the poor man's mite spread over a large number of people can give just as much money and in a manner much more satisfying to all concerned than dependence on a small number of people with means.

Literature

Notwithstanding these limitations, the Central Office was able during the period under review to bring out the following publications and to make a certain number of copies available to the various State Units:

1. **Swatantra Souvenir**, 1961
2. **To Prosperity Through Freedom**—Swatantra Party Election Manifesto (in English, Hindi & Urdu)
3. **Your Questions Answered**
4. **You Are In The Soup All Right** (Cartoon booklet in English, Hindi and Urdu)
5. **Swatantra Answer To Chinese Communist Challenge**
6. **Time For A Change**
7. **Swatantra Alternative To Third Plan**

The *Swatantra Newsletter* continues to be published and distributed monthly, having reached its fortieth issue in December 1963. An average of

2000 copies is distributed to State Units, fraternal organisations and sympathisers in India and abroad. Keen interest has been evinced in the *Newsletter* in academic circles, both within the country and elsewhere.

Organisational Developments

On April 7, 1962, a meeting of the Presidents and General Secretaries of State units was held in Bombay with Prof. Ranga in the chair and various organisational problems were discussed.

The Party's position in regard to panchayat and municipal elections was clarified in the course of a circular to State units which announced the following decision of the Parliamentary Board in the light of this discussion:

- (1) that the Party should adhere to its stand not to contest elections to Gram Panchayats in the name of the Party, and
- (2) that a decision in regard to whether or not elections to zilla parishads, panchayat samitis or municipal bodies should be contested in the name of the Party should be left to each State Unit.

Trade Union Work

In view of the need to evolve a clearer picture of Swatantra Party policy in regard to Labour and to offer better guidance to members of the Party functioning in Trade Unions throughout the country, the Central Office convened an informal meeting of Trade Union workers on July 28 and 29, 1962, in Bombay. The meeting was attended by twenty-six Trade Union functionaries and workers from thirteen industrial centres in the country.

The meeting discussed ways and means of creating greater interest within the Party on problems of labour and in the development of Trade Unions on sound lines. While reiterating the Party's stand that Members of the Party should help the workers to organise Trade Unions controlled and managed by themselves in a spirit of service rather than of leadership, it was felt that the Party should seek to educate workers about the evils of political exploitation and domination which are so widely rampant in the Trade Union movement in India today.

The Conference endorsed the Party's policy not to seek to establish yet another central organisation of Trade Unions inspired or dominated by the Party and advised that members of the Party should seek to establish or develop independent Trade Unions unaffiliated to one or the other of the

existing politics-ridden Trade Union Federations. Members of the Swatantra Party should carry on their political propaganda among the working classes in the name of the Party, while those functioning in Trade Unions should devote themselves to redressing the economic grievances of the workers concerned.

The Conference decided to recommend to the Central Organising Committee of the Party the establishment of a Labour Advisory Committee, which would advise the Central Organising Committee of the Party on matters of policy concerning labour; encourage and guide members of the Party in the formation and development of Trade Unions; encourage members of the Party to serve the working class through the amelioration of their problems such as housing, education and medical relief; organise the training of members of the Party functioning in Trade Unions in the principles and practice of genuine Trade Unionism; act as a liaison between Trade Unions and Swatantra Party members of Parliament and State Assemblies with a view to ensuring that their problems are ventilated and the grievances of workers are brought to the notice of the legislature; and prepare and publish literature explaining the Party's Statement of Policy in regard to labour.

The Organisation Sub-Committee considered the report of this meeting when it met in New Delhi on November 7, 1962. It was decided that, as advised by the meeting, a Labour Advisory Sub-Committee should be formed with the General Secretary as Chairman and the following members: Mr. G. Latchanna M.L.A. (Andhra), Mr. V. N. Raghavan, (Mysore), Mr. A. P. Das (Orissa), and Mr. Subramanian (Madras).

Swatantra Forum in Calcutta

During the past few months, a welcome development has been the birth in Calcutta of the Swatantra Forum. This is a group of intellectuals, business executives and professional people, who are primarily interested in the philosophy of the Swatantra Party and its development and projection among the intelligentsia. Such a development was badly needed and is to be welcomed.

Meanwhile, the Swatantra Club established in Delhi in September 1961 continues to function alongside of the Swatantra Party in Delhi, usefully complementing the latter's activities.

It is to be hoped that similar developments may take place elsewhere.

Another development which needs to be encouraged by the Party is the formation of Sections for women and youth.

International Contacts

The Liberal International, with which the Party has maintained informal contacts, sent messages of good wishes to the Party on the eve of the General Elections of 1962 and of solidarity after the Chinese Communist attack in October 1962.

The General Secretary, in his capacity as a Patron of the Liberal International, attended its meetings at the Hague in Holland in September 1962 and at St. Gall in Switzerland in September 1963.

Mr. Masani also attended the opening session of the Assembly of the British Liberal Party at Llandudno in North Wales on September 19, 1962, and a message of greetings from the Swatantra Party, which was read by the chairman of the Assembly, was warmly applauded.

In January 1963, the General Secretary visited Israel at the invitation of the Liberal Party of Israel to participate in a meeting of world liberals there. The statement adopted by the Conference referred *inter alia* to the progress made by the Swatantra Party in India as one of the most encouraging developments in Asia.

In November 1963, Mr. Masani visited Tokyo, where he had discussions with leading functionaries of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, the ruling party in the country. He then visited the Republic of China in Taiwan at the invitation of the President of the Taiwan National University to deliver a lecture there. It was this visit which provoked a diplomatic protest to Delhi from the Chinese Communist Foreign Ministry.

By-Elections

Parliament

The Swatantra Party put up candidates in four by-elections to the Lok Sabha since the last General Elections.

The first of these was in Chitoor where the Party's President Professor Ranga, emerged victorious by a majority of 1553 votes over his Congress rival in August 1962. Considering that the seat had been held by the Congress Party since Independence, the following result is a matter of gratification to the Party:

N. G. Ranga (Swa.)	132,209
T. N. Viswanatha Reddy (Cong.)	130,656

The next by-election to be contested was that in Dohad where the Party successfully defended the seat that had been rendered vacant by the death of its sitting M. P. in the Lok Sabha in April 1963.

The voting was as follows:

Parshottamdas Haribhai Bhil (Swa.)	79,690
Narsibhai Kanjibhai Hathila (Cong.)	65,425

The Swatantra Party tripled its majority from 4,413 in the General Elections to 14,265 in the by-election.

Then came the bye-election in Rajkot in May 1963. This Congress stronghold had been carried by Mr. U. N. Dhebar by a majority of 41,033 votes in 1962, when the Swatantra Party had neither put up a candidate in the General Elections nor possessed any district organisation. The by-election resulted in the return to Parliament of the Party's General Secretary, Mr. M. R. Masani. The voting figures were as follows:

M. R. Masani (Swa.)	83,365
Jethalal H. Joshi (Cong.)	69,214
N. S. Bhalodi (Ind.)	3,425

As will be seen, the Congress majority of 41,033 votes was thus converted into a Swatantra majority of 14,151 votes, representing a swing in the electorate of as much as a third within a year.

The last of the by-elections was that in Cooch-Behar in December 1963. The result of the by-election was as follows:

Paresh Chandra Barman (Cong.)	1,22,205
Benoy Krishna Das Chaudhury (F.B.)	62,611
Dharamnarayan Barman (Swa.)	23,241
Dinesh Dakma (C.P.I.)	17,760
Ananda Barman (Ind.)	807

Assembly

State Units of the Party contested eight by-elections to various State Assemblies and won two of these.

Local Elections

While information in regard to the Party's activities in connection with local elections is very sketchy, some achievements may be worth

recording. The first is the resounding victory of the Swatantra Party in elections to the Jaipur Municipal Council in December 1963, when the Party won 30 seats out of 43 seats. The Party has also obtained an absolute majority in six other municipalities in Rajasthan—Dungarpur (11 out of 12), Abai, Newai, Chaksu, Nadbai and Bandikui.

The Swatantra Party captured all 15 seats in the Jasdan Nagar Panchayat elections that took place in December, 1963.

Obituary

Party leaders expressed their deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of former Union President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in March 1963. In a moving tribute to Rajendra Babu, Rajaji wrote:

"Death is rapidly thinning out the old guard. Rajen Babu's death reduces the number to two who are bitterly opposed to each other politically, the Prime Minister and myself. . . . Rajen Babu has left us, his example remains, than which there can be no better copy for the children of Bharat. His unostentatious grace, his utter simplicity, his charity of outlook, his deep humility and his broad humanity, to quote the noble words that were used by Parliament when they welcomed him as first President of India, are ineffaceable by death and remain for our inspiration for all time."

Sardar Bahadur Lal Singh

The Party suffered a serious loss in the passing away in December 1963 of Sardar Bahadur Lal Singh, a founder member of the Party. A former member of Parliament, Sardar Lal Singh was President of the All India Agriculturists' Federation. It was largely the efforts of the Federation that resulted in the formation of the Party and Sardar Lal Singh played no small part at the informal meeting in Madras in June 1959 which gave birth to the Party. He was throughout a member of the Party's Central Organising Committee. Rajaji has said about him:

"He was a champion of the peasants of our land and exposé of many fallacies that served to keep them down in the scale of national prosperity. He was more than any one else responsible for the founding of the Swatantra Party and for my being in it."

Mr. Kalyan Singh of Bhinai

The Central Organising Committee in particular and the Party in general lost a valuable colleague in the sad demise of Mr. Kalyan Singh of Bhinai in April 1962. A soft spoken gentleman, Kalyan Singhji was nevertheless firm when the situation demanded it. He was responsible for the establishment of the Party unit in Rajasthan and its present strength in that State is in no small measure a result of his pioneering efforts.

Mr. H. K. Baria

The Party's group in the Lok Sabha suffered a loss when, less than a year after his election, Mr. H. K. Baria passed away in December 1962. In a message of condolence, the Party's leader, Prof. Ranga, observed: "It is tragic that he should have died in the prime of life, just when his services through Parliament and outside are so badly needed during the present national crisis."

Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar

The Group received a second blow when Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar, an Associate Member of the Group in the Lok Sabha, passed away in November 1963. Mr. Thevar was an eminent leader from Tamilnad and President of the Forward Bloc.

Party Activities

The attention of the Party organisation has, from time to time, been focussed on important issues of the day. Thus, from January 3 to January 10, 1962, a week was observed to mobilise public opinion against "excessive taxation and wasteful expenditure" and considerable activity in this connection was reported by State Units in Delhi, Rajasthan, Bombay, Bengal, Mysore and Madras.

Defence Effort

The Chinese attack on India in October 1962 and the lead given by the Party in resistance to it resulted in a great deal of activity by members of the Party.

Members of the Party throughout the country took an active part in Defence Committees, whether official or unofficial. In Madras, our members

found it difficult to cooperate with the Citizens' Committee in view of the Chief Minister, as Chairman, insisting on Communist participation in its work. A similar difficulty was experienced by our State Units in Mysore and in Rajasthan.

Swatantra Party members of Parliament decided to contribute a month's salary to the National Defence Fund. Members of the Party in the various State Assemblies also made their contribution. Former ruling princes in the Party, including Mr. R. N. Singh Deo of Patna, Mr. Lakshman Singh of Dungarpur, Mr. P. K. Deo of Kalahandi and several others, came forward to make contributions from their privy purses and allowances.

Many members of the Party donated blood for despatch to the front.

In Bombay, the Women's Committee of the Party organised a drive on November 4 to collect woollen clothing and men's shoes for our jawans. The Women's Committee handed over to the Indian Red Cross over 1200 woollen coats and trousers, 900 pullovers, 100 overcoats, 100 sheets and 300 blankets apart from hundreds of pairs of shoes and other apparel. Money donated was used to make garments to be used at the front.

Gold Control Order

The Gold Control Order enacted in January 1963 came in for heavy criticism from Party spokesmen all over the country. Rajaji promptly labelled the present government as a "14-carat government" since the making of gold ornaments above 14 carats was banned. Rajaji said that the Order would deprive the poor people of their savings in gold which he said was the self managed bank which the poor carried on their persons.

Almost every State unit of the Party, in some form or other, drew the attention of people to the pernicious effects of the Gold Control Order. The Party has come to be recognised by the goldsmiths, whose very livelihood was affected by this measure, as their staunchest champion among political parties.

17th Amendment

The 17th Amendment to the Constitution has become a major agitational issue on the part of the Party. The first major protest against this obnoxious measure was made by the Conference of Southern States in Bangalore on August 6, 1963, convened jointly by the Mysore Unit of the Party and the All-India Agriculturists' Federation. Inaugurated by a prominent lawyer, Mr. M. K. Nambyar, and presided over by Mr. K. R. Karanth,

a former Congress Minister, the Conference was addressed by Rajaji, Prof. Ranga, Mr. Jinaraja Hegde and Mr. V. P. Menon.

Earlier, on July 31, the Swatantra Legislature Group in Andhra had waited in deputation on Dr. Radhakrishnan, President of the Union, in Hyderabad, to request the withdrawal of the Amendment.

At Junagadh, in Gujarat, the Party's General Secretary presided over the Saurashtra Kutch Peasant's Conference on August 24, 1963, and charged the Congress Party with having gone back on the assurance given by the former Law Minister, Dr. Ambedkar, that no such measure would be allowed to touch *ryotwari* farmers.

Throughout the country, State and local units of the Party contributed to the campaign against this measure in a variety of ways; training camps, seminars, conferences, visits to villages and the signing of petitions to Parliament were among the activities reported from one State or another.

Largely as a result of the Party's and in particular our President's dynamic initiative taken in cooperation with peasant organisations, nearly two lakh petitions have poured into the Lok Sabha secretariat protesting against the Bill.

Parliamentary Activities

The Swatantra Party group in both Houses of Parliament has, by and large, given a good account of itself. The initial gap caused by the absence of the Leader and the Deputy Leader of the Group in the Lok Sabha has now been filled as a result of the Party's successes in by-elections and the new members in both Houses have been gradually acquiring the necessary experience and parliamentary instinct. In the meantime Mr. P. K. Deo had, as Acting Leader in the Lok Sabha, ably shouldered the responsibility. Participation of members of the Group in debates in both Houses has been getting increasingly frequent and assertive. Members of the Party are also increasingly active during question-hour and are making themselves felt. In the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel has given good leadership to the Party.

The Swatantra Party is represented in the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament by Mr. Dahyabhai Patel and Sardar Kapur Singh. The Party is represented on the Estimates Committee by Mr. P. K. Deo. It is also represented on all Standing Committees and informal Consultative Committees attached to different Ministries. In Select Committees also our members have played an active part.

The Group in Parliament has throughout taken the initiative in developing closer cooperation with other democratic Opposition groups. In this context, it may be recalled that it was Prof. Ranga, our Leader, who took the initiative in calling a meeting of Party leaders a day before the commencement of the Session of Parliament in August 1963 which led to the tabling of a motion of no-confidence in the Government supported by all democratic Opposition parties.

Among the highlights in the life of the present Parliament have been the Union Government's Budgets in 1962 and 1963. While on the first occasion Mr. P. K. Deo assailed the excessive taxation and wasteful expenditure, in the following year Mr. Dahyabhai Patel and Prof. Ruthnaswamy denounced the Finance Minister's proposal in the Rajya Sabha while Prof. Ranga, Mr. P. K. Deo and Sardar Kapur Singh exposed the attack on the standard of life of the people in the Lok Sabha.

The Chinese Communist attack in October 1962 and its aftermath provided many opportunities to the Party's spokesmen to give a lead to patriotic resistance to aggression, while exposing the policy of appeasement and its humiliating consequences.

In November 1962, a large number of our members in both Houses, while supporting the official resolution on Chinese aggression, spoke in support of the Party's amendments. Similarly, while supporting the Defence of India Bill, Prof. Ranga explained that our Party did so with a heavy heart because of the sacrifice of civil liberties involved.

In December 1962, Prof. Ranga and Mr. P. K. Deo sponsored a substitute motion during the discussion on the Cease-fire, which called for the severance of diplomatic relations with Peking, the refusal to negotiate till the Chinese Communists withdrew from Indian territory, the establishment of viable relations with Nepal and Pakistan, and the securing of massive military aid from friendly countries.

In January 1963, the Party moved an Amendment to the motion on the President's Address. Prof. Ranga, Smt. Gayatri Devi, Dr. B. N. Singh and Mr. Yashpal Singh in the Lok Sabha and Mr. Dahyabhai Patel in the Rajya Sabha voiced the Party's viewpoint. The leaders of our group in both Houses called bluntly for the rejection of the Colombo Proposals when they came up for discussion.

August 19, 1963, was a red letter day in Parliamentary history when the democratic Opposition united to press a Motion of No Confidence in the Government. The attack on behalf of the Party was led by Mr. Masani and Mr. P. K. Deo.

In September 1963, our members in both Houses disassociated themselves from the Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill and declined to serve on the Joint Committee to which it was referred. On September 19, despite our Party's reluctance to indulge in a walk-out, our members had to resort to this step in protest against the refusal of the Government to agree to this far reaching measure being circulated for eliciting public opinion.

The last Session of Parliament in November-December was mainly concerned with economic policies. The mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan produced two effective speeches by the Leader and the Deputy Leader of our Party in the Lok Sabha. Commenting on this discussion, the weekly journal *Commerce* in its issue of December 14 wrote:

"On going through the full text of the speech of Mr. Masani, for instance, one does not find him opposed to planning as such or to State participation in economic development. This is also true of Prof. Ranga. But both Prime Minister Nehru and Finance Minister Krishnamachari persisted in their game of trying to create a wrong image of these two Opposition leaders by repeatedly stating that they were against planning.... It is time that such responsible leaders as Mr. Nehru and Mr. Krishnamachari refrained from indulging in half-truths."

The debates on the Companies (Amendment) Bill, the Banking (Miscellaneous Clauses) Bill and the Unit Trust Bill found the Swatantra Party members in both Houses leading the opposition to these measures directed towards over-regulation and State Capitalist monopoly.

The present office-bearers of the Swatantra Party in both Houses of Parliament are:

Lok Sabha

<i>Leader</i>	Professor N. G. Ranga
<i>Deputy Leader</i>	Mr M. R. Masani
<i>Secretaries</i>	Mr. P. K. Deo
	Sardar Kapur Singh
<i>Treasurer</i>	Dr. B. N. Singh
<i>Chief Whip</i>	Mr C. L. Narasimha Reddy
<i>Whip</i>	Mr. Himmatsingh

Rajya Sabha

<i>Leader</i>	Mr. Dahyabhai Patel
<i>Deputy Leader</i>	Prof. Ruthnaswamy
<i>Secretary</i>	Mr. Loknath Misra
<i>Whip</i>	Mr. J. K. P. N. Singh

The Challenge

So far this Report has been a recital of a mainly factual nature. Before it concludes, the General Secretary may be permitted to make a few observations about the organisational challenge to the Party and how it can be met.

The gulf between the people on the one side and the ruling Party on the other is constantly widening. Among the common people, there is seething discontent. The country's disastrous military defeat resulting from the Nehru Government's foreign policies and the almost complete failure, in the economic field, of its pattern of planning are opening the eyes of more and more people. There is widening cynicism and a lack of faith in the honesty of purpose of the Congress Party and its Government.

On the other hand, the proceedings of the recent session of the Congress Party at Bhubaneswar have revealed a perverse desire to persist in policies that have proved an unmitigated failure. Guilty men, wedded to communism and removed from public office for dereliction of duty, were allowed to strut about preaching "democratic socialism". Never has so much nonsense been talked within a period of some four days as from that platform enveloped in a fog of Marxism and neutralism. Congress ministers have travelled back from Bhubaneswar to Delhi carrying the ideological junk of past decades in their baggage.

Faced with a Government operating with the dead hand of the past lying heavily on it, the people desire a change. But no alternative government presents itself to their eyes.

The crying need, therefore, is for the emergence of an effective Opposition between now and 1967, providing the people with an alternative government to which they can give their mandate in the next General Elections.

While the policies and programme of the Swatantra Party undoubtedly respond to the needs and interests of the vast majority of the Indian people, the question arises whether the Party is organisationally geared to the task of displacing, single handed, those in office. To those who know the facts, the inadequacy of our resources in men and money is obvious. The 'conveyor-belt', as I have described it earlier, of devoted and dedicated men equipped with the Party's message and able to reach the thousands of our villages has still to be set in motion. The Party's General Secretary, by reason of his position and the nature of his functions, has unfortunately more than a fair share of awareness about this lack as also about the deficiencies in the way of organisational competence and discipline which

only too often mark the Party's functioning. Membership books are often neither efficiently distributed nor collected. During the past year, only two units of the Party, the Delhi State Unit and the Rajkot District Unit (with the consent of the Gujarat State Unit), have remitted to the Central Office the Centre's quota of membership subscription. Repeatedly, State Units overlook the necessity of getting the approval of the Parliamentary Board to the nomination of candidates in by-elections or belatedly seek approval to nominations already filed when it is too late to withdraw them. Not all members of Parliament and State Assemblies pay their modest subscription to the Party which is intended to facilitate the effective functioning of their legislature group.

No Short Cuts

In an article entitled 'Our Mission' in *Swarajya* (republished in our Newsletter of August 1962) our discerning leader, Rajaji, had placed before us some thoughts about the appropriate role and functioning of our Party. He had pleaded for an avoidance of shortcuts and had urged that "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..... 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."

In a speech on *Party Politics in India* delivered under the auspices of the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science in Ahmedabad a little earlier, in June 1962, the General Secretary of the Party had taken the liberty of stressing the need for organisational competence and discipline as pre-conditions to success. He had pleaded for creating "in the minds of the electorate the image of the Party as one that is made up of good men and true animated by a desire to serve the country and working hard for the cause. Such an image can be created only over a period of months and years by the good sense of the policies of the Party, the energy, enthusiasm, intelligence and unity with which those policies are advocated and the discipline by which they are supported. When political power and economic patronage are concentrated in the hands of the ruling party, as they are at present, only an Opposition party which is accepted as morally superior by the people at large can hope to make the grade. In the absence of such moral superiority, all talk about the corruption of the ruling party and all promises to provide good government will meet with scepticism."

Commenting on these two statements, *Mysindia* of Bangalore, a journal which has been a consistent supporter of the Party, wrote in its issue of November 4, 1962: "Rajaji and Masani have correctly grasped the problem, viz., the problem of leadership. If the leadership of the party is not able to create a superior image in the public mind, it is certain that the ruling party will continue its rule. In fact one of the common arguments of Congressmen is: 'Where are the men who can take the place of these experienced Congressmen?'"

The General Secretary wishes he could claim that there has been any appreciable improvement in regard to efficient organisation or maintenance of discipline during the year that has since elapsed.

Preparing for 1967

In such a context, it becomes necessary to face the fact that if the Congress Government in New Delhi has to be displaced in 1967, considerable progress will have to be made between now and then in the direction of increased and closer cooperation between democratic Opposition parties. While, of course, there can be no truck with the Communist Party of India in view of its totalitarian creed and its Fifth Column character, there is no reason why all other opposition parties should not adjust their activities to the common purpose which they have at heart—that of offering to the country an alternative government which would provide clean and efficient administration, social justice and the defence of the country against Chinese Communist imperialism, in which task they can be joined by those Congressmen who follow Gandhi and not Marx.

During the year preceding the General Elections of 1962, the Swatantra Party made repeated efforts towards the achievement of an electoral understanding with the other major Opposition parties. It was a matter of disappointment to us that these efforts did not evoke adequate response. The result is that today India is ruled by a Party which secured no more than 44.72% of the parliamentary vote and that all States of India, except three, are similarly saddled with minority governments.

The Swatantra Party has kept up its efforts for closer cooperation with other opposition parties since the General Elections. It is gratifying to note that there has been a certain measure of unity in action developed since the Chinese Communist attack on this country in resistance to which the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh, the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party found it possible to make their efforts converge in Parliament and outside. The first fruits of this inter-oppositional unity in action

were to be found in the results of the Parliamentary by-elections in Dohad, Amroha and Rajkot last year when the object lesson was provided of what can be achieved when there is a single opposition candidate facing that of the Congress Party. Similarly, the motion of no-confidence in the Government moved in Parliament in August 1963 by Acharya Kripalani on behalf of all democratic opposition parties and groups provided an impressive spectacle of solidarity in furtherance of a common purpose.

The concern caused to the enemies of democracy and freedom in India by these developments was recently brought out in an article in the *New Times* weekly of Moscow of January 1964, published over the signatures of three senior researchers of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, USSR Academy of Science, which analysed the sequence of events leading to the Jaipur and Bhubaneswar sessions of the Congress Party. These communist analysts bewail the fact that "the ideological bloc led by Swatantra includes not only jingoist parties like Jan Sangh, but also Right-wing socialists and, on a number of issues, even Congress supporters. This reactionary inter-party alliance encouraged the Rightists directly to challenge the Government.... The consolidation of the Rightist forces has compelled Congressmen anxious to bring their party programme to realization to reflect on the situation." Mr. Nehru's view that "many who agree with its (Swatantra Party's) views have refrained from taking the logical step of joining it" is also quoted.

Disappointing though the response may have been and ready though the Swatantra Party must be to 'go it alone', if necessary, its efforts at forging a broad-based National Democratic Front need to be continued in the wider interests of the country and in the hope that these efforts will sooner or later be rewarded by the support of intelligent public opinion.

There is no reason why, as is sometimes feared, the Party's initiative in this direction should be a reason for any slackening in our organisational efforts, which should enjoy the highest priority among our tasks. The Swatantra Party provides the only clear-cut alternative to the present Government's policies. The youngest of the major political parties, it has *made an impact on public consciousness out of all proportion to its short term of existence*. While enjoying a solid peasant base, the Party evokes increasing response from all other sections of the people. In Rajaji, the Party has a leader beyond compare. It can show its regard for him in no better way than by meeting its obligations to the people through hard, sustained and disciplined work inspired by devotion to the Party's philosophy and policies.

Resolutions

Condolence

1. This National Convention of the Swatantra Party records its deep-sorrow at the passing away of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, free India's first President, at a critical moment in the nation's history. His was a life of dedication in the service of the country and to the values cherished by all free men. His unostentatious grace, his utter simplicity, his charity of outlook and his broad humanity are inefaceable by death and remain to inspire us.

Death has claimed the lives of two members of the Party's Central Organising Committee and two of its Members of Parliament.

In the death of Sardar Bahadur Lal Singh last December, the Swatantra Party and the peasantry of India suffered an irreparable loss. As President of the All India Agriculturists' Federation, it was Sardar Bahadur Lal Singh's efforts which in a large measure were responsible for the founding of the Party. A stout champion of the peasants, he was till the end concerned over their welfare.

Raja Kalyan Singh of Bhinai passed away in April, 1962. The establishment of the Party in Rajasthan was in no small measure a result of his pioneering efforts. Fate decreed that he should not live to see his efforts bear fruit.

Mr. H. K. Baria, M. P. suddenly passed away less than a year after his election to the Lok Sabha from Dohad in Gujarat, a Tribal Constituency.

Death also claimed an Associate member of the Party's group in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar, M.P., eminent leader of Tamil Nad and President of the Forward Bloc. Returned to Parliament in the last General Elections, Mr. Thevar campaigned from his sick bed.

This National Convention is deeply grieved at the loss of these stalwarts and conveys its sense of sorrow to their bereaved families.

2. With the rest of the civilised World this Convention records its sense of deep grief at the loss to the cause of peace in the World by the assassination of President Kennedy of the United States of America.

Moved from the Chair

International Relations and Defence

The Swatantra Party records with pride the patriotic upsurge among the Indian People in the face of the Chinese Communist attack and pays its grateful tribute to the members of the armed forces who battled with the invader under extremely difficult conditions. The Military reverses sustained by India and the national humiliation involved in the acceptance of the Chinese unilateral ceasefire and the Colombo proposals are the result of many years of wrong policies in the realm of international relations and defence.

2. Among the most tragic and disastrous of these mistaken policies was the concept of 'non-alignment' and the double standards of judgement to which it led; the persistent appeasement of Communist China the cold-shouldering of our neighbours in South and South-East Asia. The betrayal of Tibet to Chinese Communist imperialism in 1950, the infamous vote in the U.N. in support of Soviet Russia in the suppression of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and the continued refusal to have diplomatic relations with Israel are all illustrations of these double standards.

3. As far back as March 1960, the Swatantra Party had urged that a firm and vigilant policy should be followed in dealing with Chinese Communist imperialism. It had then been pointed out that when our territorial integrity had been violated and our soil occupied by a Communist Power, the policy of non-alignment had lost its meaning and our policies needed to be reviewed. Among the measures then urged for the strengthening of the country's security stress was laid on collaboration with the countries of South and South-East Asia, with a view to concerted measures for the security of the region; vigilance against infiltration and Fifth column activities; and the importance of keeping the Armed Services free from political influence and manipulation. Unfortunately this advice was ignored.

4. The Party is convinced that if right policies had been followed, the Chinese Communist invasion of India and the humiliating military defeat sustained by us could have been avoided.

5. The Swatantra Party notes that the disastrous fundamental policies of non-alignment and appeasement still continue, with the result that India has lost considerable prestige amongst its neighbours and in the world and that, instead of the Chinese Communist regime being isolated, it is India that is in danger of finding herself in that situation.

6. The Swatantra Party is convinced that so long as this Government, with the dead hand of past policies lying heavily on it, continues in office,

there can be no hope of a solution of the problem of recovering our lost territory or of ensuring the country's future security.

7. The Party calls upon the people of India to maintain vigilance against the possibility of further appeasement and capitulation to the claims of Communist China.

Mover: Sir H. P. Mody

Second: Smt. Gayatri Devi, M.P.

Termination of Emergency

The Third National Convention of the Swatantra Party is of the opinion that there is no justification for the continuance of the Emergency and demands the immediate withdrawal of the Declaration of the state of Emergency, the repeal of the Defence of India Act, and the restoration of the Fundamental Rights of citizens suppressed under the provisions of that Act.

Mover: Mr. P. K. Deo, M.P.

Second: Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke

Electoral Reform

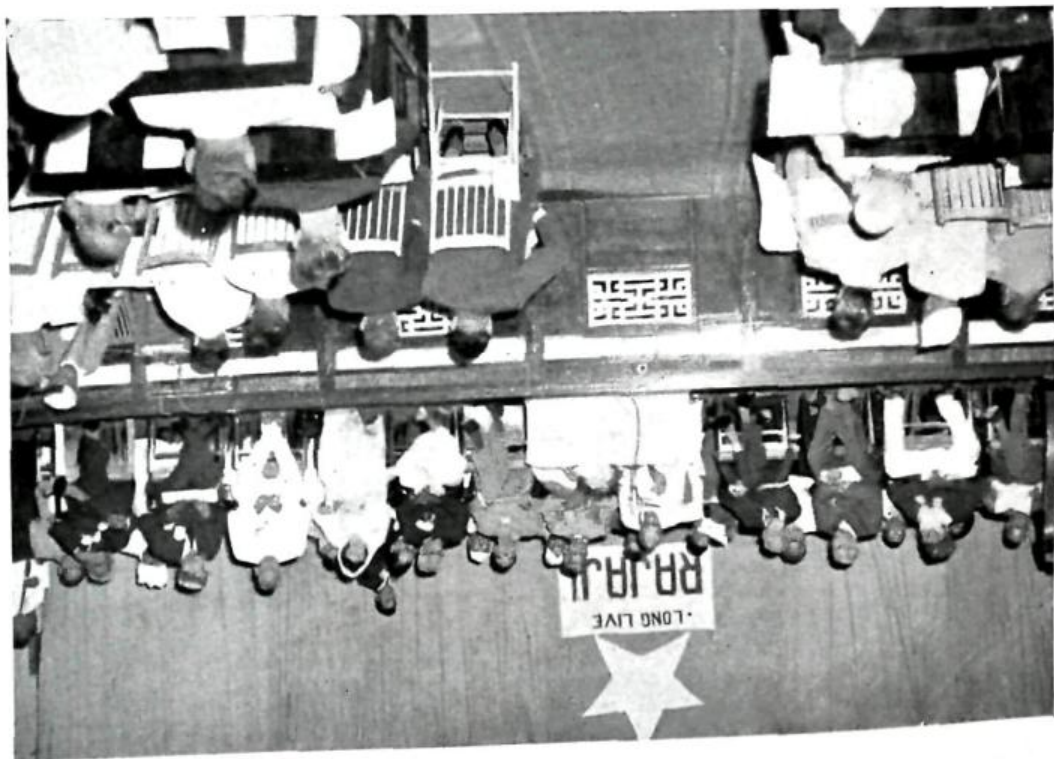
The Swatantra Party is of the view that a reform of the electoral system has become necessary as a result of the experience so far gained, the coming to light of many abuses, the exorbitant cost of elections ruling out the possibility of success of individuals and groups without considerable financial resources, the abuse of authority by those in office in high position and the composition of Parliament and Legislative Assemblies failing to reflect correctly the popular will, as a result of which the country is being subjected to a minority government at the Centre and in almost all the States.

The Party, therefore, suggests the appointment by the President of the Republic of a Commission to examine the working of elections to Parliament and State Assemblies with a view to ascertaining methods of securing clean elections free from abuses and illegitimate advantages taken by the Party in office, the reduction of election expenses by measures such as the



The Delegates

The Dais





RAJAJI DELIVERING THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

RAJAJI, RANGA, MASANI



preparation by Government of voters' slips or cards and the provision of mobile polling booths, the elimination of administrative interference and partiality, the question of holding Union and State elections at separate times and suitable measures of proportional representation.

Mover: Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, M.L.A.

Second: Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh, M.L.A.

Electoral Understandings

Although insuperable difficulties stand in the way of all democratic opposition Parties evolving a United Front to oppose the Congress, the Swatantra Party will continue to try its utmost in all elections to secure the cooperation of other democratic Opposition Parties to avoid multilateral contests which give undue advantage to the ruling party. Such efforts should be no reason for any slackening in building up the Party's own organisation, which should enjoy the highest priority among our tasks. The Swatantra Party provides today the only clear-cut and effective alternative to the present Government's policies. Its policies evoke increasing response from all sections of the people. The Convention, therefore, calls upon members of the Party to concentrate in the coming months, on hard, sustained and disciplined work inspired by devotion to the Party's philosophy and policies to spread the Party's message.

Mover: Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P.

Second: Mr. Lakshman Singh of Dungarpur, M.L.A.

Swatantra Alternative

1) The Swatantra Party believes that planning should aim at abundance, that this should be effective immediately and not prospectively, that it should begin with the poorer and not the richer classes, that it should not substitute State help for self help and that it should not increase the power of government but the prosperity of the people.

2) The Five-Year Plans of the present Government have failed in their professed objectives. The only things they have succeeded in producing

are higher taxes, rising prices and growing indebtedness. The people of India have shown their disillusionment and discontent with the present pattern of planning by the way they have voted in recent by-elections to Parliament.

3) The proceedings of the recent sessions of the Congress Party in Bhubaneswar show that there is every intention of perversely persisting in policies that have already proved a failure. In the Party's view, nothing less than the scrapping of the Third Plan and its replacement by an altogether new policy will save the country from widespread distress and national bankruptcy.

4) The Swatantra Party is not for *laissez-faire* nor is it opposed to all planning. It reiterates its stand that all planning must be devised and carried out within the framework of the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution and calculated to achieve the welfare of the people.

5) The Swatantra Party's approach to the problems of economic development and planning would be to apply to each policy and measure the test suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, namely to ask if the step contemplated is going to be of any use to the poorest and the weakest members of the Community. In the light of such a test, the Swatantra Party believes that the present approach to planning needs to be replaced by one which provides for the following:

- (a) A proper order of priorities starting with the increase in production and the provision of elementary necessities such as pure drinking water, food, clothing and shelter and employment.
- (b) A reallocation of the role of State and Free enterprise so that the State may perform its proper function of providing the infrastructure through the provision of roads and railways, efficient communications, facilities for the peasant such as irrigation and easy credit, cheap electric power and education, both technical and general; while all other economic activity should normally be left to competitive enterprise.
- (c) The incentive of legitimate gain under conditions of competition among producers.
- (d) The elimination of monopoly in both State and Free sectors so as to provide maximum efficiency and service at minimum cost to the consumer.

- (e) Reducing to a minimum governmental controls and regulation to foster economic expansion and minimising corruption.
- (f) The maintenance of stable prices through the observance by government of measures of monetary discipline.
- (g) The revision of policies relating to taxation including land revenue so as to foster saving, investment and employment opportunities.
- (h) Remunerative prices for agricultural producers.

Mover: Mr. N. Dandekar

Seconder: Mr. Murarji J. Vaidya

State Monopoly of Banking

The Swatantra Party takes note of the fact that in recent months there has been in certain quarters ill-informed talk about the nationalisation of the banking industry in the country.

2. It therefore becomes necessary for the Swatantra Party to express its conviction that any attempt to trifle with the functioning of the banking industry in India will be fraught with grave consequences for the country's delicate credit mechanism and economic development and would impair confidence in the country's financial institutions and credit on which the economic assistance and capital investment which India has received from abroad is based.

3. The banking industry is already more than adequately subjected to regulation and control of Government and the Reserve Bank to guard against misuse of their powers by the managements of banks. By such a move a State monopoly will be established over all the liquid assets of the people and will force people to waste, secrete or hoard their money, thus minimising the funds available for productive investment.

4. The Swatantra Party therefore declares its outright opposition to the attack that has been launched against the banking industry which, by and large, has given a good account of itself, and to the establishment of a State monopoly of banking.

Mover: Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, M.P.

Seconder: Mr. S. Narayanaswamy

Independent Non-political Board for Licences and Permits

The National Convention of the Swatantra Party records its conviction that, apart from many other grave issues, the confidence of the people in the administration cannot be secured and maintained unless the supreme control of the distribution of licences, permits and quotas in exercise of powers obtained in violation of the Fundamental Rights guaranteed in Part III of the original Constitution adopted in November 1949 is vested in an independent, non-political statutory Board free from all influences and political pressures and enjoying the same independent status as the supreme judiciary.

This Convention appeals to all democratic parties to unite on this demand and compel the ruling party to accept this reform.

Mover: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari

Seconder: Mr. Anandchand, M.P.

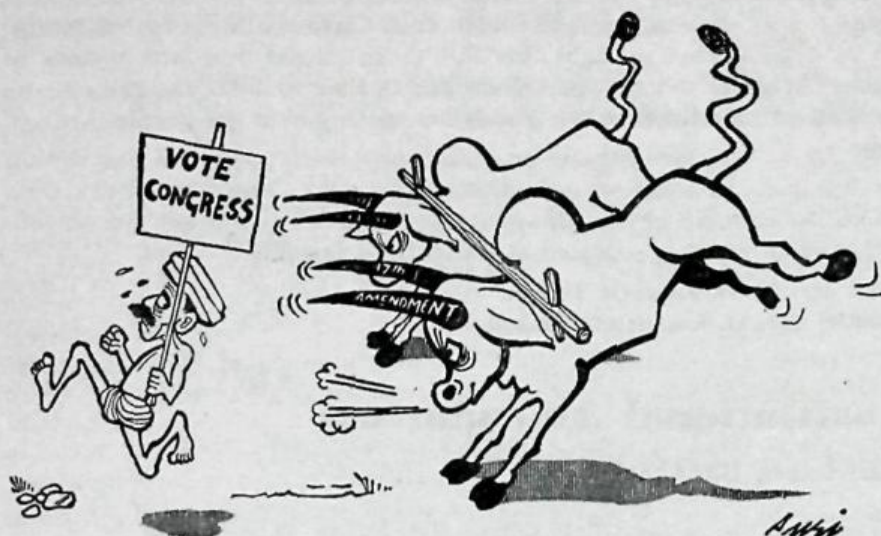
The Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill

The Swatantra Party considers the Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill to be a dangerous attempt further to erode the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution. By extending the word 'estate' to include every form of landed property owned by the most humble peasant in full freehold right, the Bill seeks to hold the sword of Damocles over the majority of the population of India in respect of their most sacred possession. The expropriatory principle so far applied to Zamindars and other feudal landlords is now sought to be extended to *ryotwari* holders who are full owners of the land as well as to every other type of land ownership. The attempt to give retrospective effect from 26th January 1950, to this distorted definition of 'estate' makes this Amendment a gigantic fraud on the Constitution and on the people of India. The fact that this amendment to the Constitution is sought to be made in order to undo a recent judgement of the Supreme Court of India makes it all the more reprehensible, being unabashed disrespect of law and the independence given by the Constitution to the Judiciary.

2. In view of the extended interpretation of 'public purpose' to cover doctrinaire experiments in land reform, such as collective and co-operative farming, the Swatantra Party cannot help coming to the conclusion that this Amendment is designed as an instrument held *in terrorem* over the peasants

of India by which the collectivisation of the land envisaged by the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress Party could be legally enforced. The failure of the Nagpur Resolution to secure voluntary acceptance of joint co-operative farming has evidently made those in authority decide to move on to coercive methods. If this Amendment becomes law, the smallest peasant can be faced with the brutal alternatives of surrendering his land to a so-called co-operative farm or of being expropriated by law on payment of nominal compensation which he cannot challenge in a court of law.

3. Even after the decision of the Supreme Court declaring the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act *ultra vires* as it was sought to be applied to *ryotwari* land, this Amendment to the Constitution did not form part of the Congress



—Courtesy: Hindustan Times

Party's Manifesto for the General Elections of 1962. The present Government has therefore no mandate from the electorate to carry through such a far-reaching change. Indeed, this Amendment violates a solemn assurance given to Parliament and the people by the Law Minister of the Congress Government, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, during the discussion in Parliament on the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill on 1st June, 1951, that the provisions contained in Article 31A would not be employed for the purpose of dispossessing *ryotwari* tenants. The Law Minister had further assured the House that whenever any such measure comes before the President of the Republic for consideration, the undertaking given by Government would be binding upon the President in considering giving his sanction so far as

any such measure is concerned. The Swatantra Party expresses its confidence that, should the Government seek to press this Bill through the present Parliament, the President will desist from giving his assent to it.

4. The Party deprecates persistence by the Government in this matter which would certainly lead to action in the nature of Satyagraha upsetting the harmony of normal government.

5. The Swatantra Party was established in 1959 to defend Farm, Family and Freedom in this country. This amendment which seeks to destroy the Farm, and through it the Family and Freedom, cannot but meet with the strongest opposition from the Party. The Party calls upon its members to develop an intensive campaign throughout the country so that public opinion may be educated and the implications of this Amendment explained and understood. The Party calls upon its Members of Parliament in both Houses to fight the Bill to the bitter end and appeals to members of other democratic Opposition Parties to join this Party in its resistance to this attack on the Fundamental Rights of the people.

6. The Party assures the peasants and others concerned that it will stand by them in resisting any attempt to snatch their lands away from them on the strength of this unlawful law and will strive to get this Amendment, even if enacted, repealed at the earliest possible moment. /

Mover: Mr. K. B. Jinaraja Hegde

Seconder: Mr. G. Latchanna, M.L.A.

Constitutional Amendments

Sub-Committee

The National Convention refers the Notice of Amendments to the Party's Constitution given by various delegates in respect of other matters than the membership provisions in the Constitution to a Sub-Committee consisting of:

1. Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P., President
2. Mr. K. M. Munshi, Vice-President
3. Mr. Anandchand of Bilaspur, M.P.
4. Mr. Lakshmansingh of Dungarpur, M.L.A.
5. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, M.P.
6. Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh, M.L.A.
7. Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh, M.L.A.
8. Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P., General Secretary

who will consider them along with other proposals for amending the Party's Constitution and will report within three months.

2. The National Convention authorises the General Council of the Party at its next meeting within six months to consider the report of the sub-committee and to make such modifications in the Party's Constitution as are accepted by a 3/4th majority of those present, provided that such modifications are placed for ratification before the next National Convention of the Party.

Mover: Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy, M.P.

Seconder: Mr. V. T. Sreenivasan

General Secretary's Report

The Third National Convention of the Swatantra Party takes note of the General Secretary's Report submitted to it and resolves that it be recorded.

Mover: Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, M.P.

Seconder: Mr. K. B. Jinaraja Hegde

States Rights

The Swatantra Party records its conviction that there should be re-distribution of power and responsibility so as to give the States larger responsibilities and that the resources of the States should be enlarged by a revision of the system of taxation. The Party is opposed to the tendency, through the Five Year Plans and otherwise, to convert the Union into a rigid unitary System.

Moved from the Chair

Gold Control

This Convention fully supports the general demand that the Gold Control Order should be withdrawn.

Moved from the Chair

Amendments to the Party's Constitution

1. Clause 4. Membership

Substitute for the existing clause the following:

Every person above the age of 18 who subscribes in writing to the principles of the Party, pays the prescribed fee and expresses his readiness to work for the Party will be eligible to be a Worker of the Party.

Work for the Party may be any of the following activities:

- (a) Enrolling new members;
- (b) Introducing new workers;
- (c) Campaigning for the Party;
- (d) Attending to public grievances on behalf of the Party and securing their redress;
- (e) Functioning, when called upon, as prospective candidate of the Party to an elective public body;
- (f) Collection of funds;
- (g) Acceptance of executive responsibilities in the Party;
- (h) Preparation of literature;
- (i) Distribution of literature;
- (j) Organisation of study circles and meetings;
- (k) Helping to run Party offices;
- (l) Any other approved activity.

The State Executive Committee shall be competent to frame rules in this behalf.

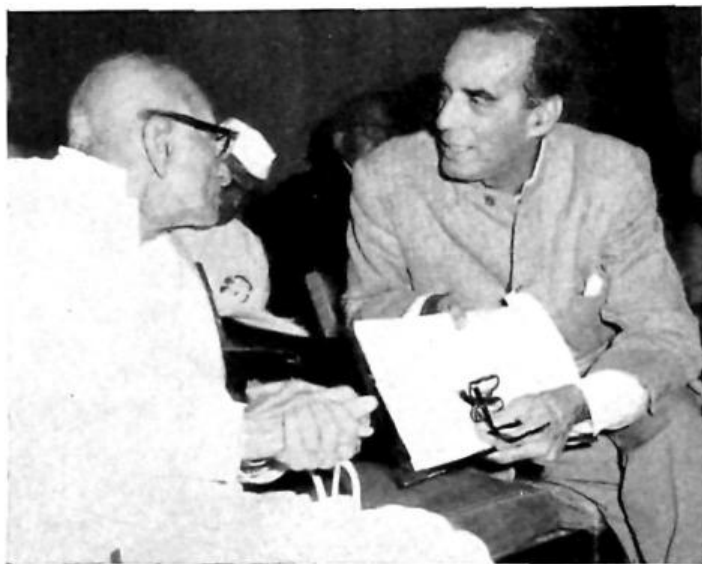
Decisions in regard to enrolment of workers shall be taken by the State Executive Committee either on its own initiative or on the recommendation of Constituency and District Committees.

Whenever the State Executive has doubts as to the desirability of enrolling a Worker, it shall forward the application with its comments to the National Executive, which shall, after considering the application and the comments directly or through an appropriate body, decide whether or not the Worker should be enrolled, and such decision shall be final.

Only Workers shall have the right to vote in Party elections or to serve as office bearers or members of the elective committees.



N. G. RANGA DELIVERING THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS



RAJAJI AND MASANI



RAJAJI SPEAKING DURING
THE DISCUSSION
ON THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT.
OTHERS IN THE PICTURE:
JATHEDAR UDHAM SINGH NAGOKE,
LAKSHMAN SINGH OF DUNGARPUR
AND SIR HOMI MODI.



SIR HOMI MODY AND RAJAJI



SARDAR BASANT SINGH
DAHYABHAI PATEL
AND P. K. DEO

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM—THE CONVENTION CONCLUDES



Clause 5. Subscription

The clause shall read as follows:

- (i) Each Worker of the Party will pay a subscription of Rs. 3.00 per year, or a Life Worker's fee of Rs. 100.00. Persons already enrolled as permanent members of the Party by the end of 1963 will be entitled to claim exemption from paying any further fee as Life Members with the right to vote.
- (ii) A Worker of the Party will continue as such as long as he pays his dues. Each Worker of the Party will be issued a Party Card.
- (iii) The National Executive of the Party will have the authority to expel a Worker or a member if in its opinion, which shall be final, his continuance as a Worker or member of the party is undesirable.
- (iv) The subscription for membership shall be divided between the various bodies of the Party in the following manner: Constituency 20 per cent, District 50 per cent, State or Region 25 per cent, Centre 5 per cent. Provided that the State or Regional Council may modify the proportion in which the membership subscription is to be distributed within the State or Region.
- (v) Every unit shall maintain appropriate accounts of the receipts and expenditure, which shall be audited.

Clause 5 A: Members:

Add a new clause 5 A as follows:

Every person above the age of 18 who subscribes in writing to the principles of the Party will be eligible to be a member of the Party. No fee will be payable by a member. Meetings of such members may be convened from time to time by the State, District or Constituency Committees so that they may be given opportunities to be consulted and associated with the work of the Party.

Clause 6: Primary Units

In sub-clause (b), substitute for the words "250 members" the word "20 Workers".

Moved from the Chair

Messages

K. M. MUNSHI

I shall thank you to convey to the C.O.C. and the Convention how much I regret my physical inability to undertake the journey and take part in the Convention.

I hope the Convention will take stock of the whole situation and try to provide a bigger base to the Party and select spheres of influence from now on to prepare for the next General Elections.

I wish the Convention every success.

B. R. SHENOY

Your letter of 2nd January inviting me to the National Convention of the Swatantra Party at Bangalore reached me here today redirected from Ahmedabad and London...

I need hardly say that it would have been a pleasure to attend the National Convention of the Swatantra Party. As you are aware there is hardly any difference between the major items of the Party's economic programme and the philosophy of the liberal school of economists, to which I have the honour to belong....

(Extract from a letter to the General Secretary written from Washington on January 18, 1964)

GIOVANNI MALAGODI

My dear Masani,

As president of the Liberal International and as leader of the Italian Liberal Party I would like to address a few words to you and to your friends on the occasion of your Third National Convention. In all lands, under all circumstances the fight for the freedom and the initiative of the individual is the key to a better future. The perennial task of all liberals is to set free the individual from all restraints to the full development of

his personality not in order to pit the individual against the community, but because we believe that a community of free personalities is the best and highest and develops within itself, without forcing them upon the individual but by his consent, those bonds of common faith, of friendship and justice, of mutual exchange of spiritual and material gifts which are the essence of a real community—a community in which the natural and necessary restraints are born out of the liquidation of all unnatural, hurtful, artificially imposed restraints; where the common faith is the faith in the unifying force of diversity—and therefore all Churches and parties are free to preach and none is made to sin against the spirit by being able to force its creed on anyone by any other means but persuasion; where, really, there is neither man nor woman, neither master nor slave, neither white nor black, where apartheid is anathema.

Such a dream is the highest which man has been able to dream. It implies the destruction of traditional, petrified aristocracies, not in order that there should be no aristocrats but in order that every man should be an aristocrat, capable—as the word says—to govern by the excellence of his virtues.

In the course of three centuries, between the English revolution and today, we the liberals have learned a lot—learned from a reality fast changing under the tremendous impulse of freedom of research and creation in all fields—we have learned from our own mistakes, from the criticism of our political enemies and the hostility with which they have steadily confronted us.

We have learned, above all things, that a free community is not born or maintained automatically by a multitude of individuals operating as it were in the void. If the operation of individuals is to provide the maximum benefit for all, it must be guarded against the tendency of each individual to overwhelm the others—against the danger that a free community may poison itself by the concentration of excessive power or wealth or social status in a few hands—and by the refusal of these hands to let go their excessive power under the excuse of liberty, but in fact against liberty.

We started by realising this danger in the spiritual and in the political field—which are and will always remain fundamental. We went on to realise that the same danger existed in the economic field, with its obvious direct repercussions on the social structure and on political freedom. We have realised that freedom is not to be found outside the rule of law, but that the rule of law, in a free community, implies guarding against that concentration and petrification of economic power which we call monopoly, no less than against that concentration and petrification of political power which we call oligarchy—in both cases guarding against the tyranny of

the few on the many—against the reestablishment of the closed structures which we liberals were born to destroy.

But—and this is a great **but** of our times—we also know that the fear that private property and private enterprise may be misused as a basis for monopoly must not be made an excuse for the destruction of private property and private enterprise—in the same way as the fear that the universal franchise and the institutions of democracy may be misused by power-seeking groups or degenerate into a medley of warring factions where the general good is lost sight of, must not be made an excuse for their replacement by the totalitarian police state, be it fascist or communist.

If we allowed any of these things to happen, we would destroy freedom in freedom's name. In an attempt to do away altogether with the inequalities through which competition works for the progress of all, we would re-introduce in their grossest form the inequalities against which we have been fighting all the time and which are far from being entirely eliminated anyhow. Nor can we be deluded into this mistake by arguments of a so-called technical nature, concerning the need for unity of command in the military or in the productive field, or the perils arising out of the use of mass-media of communication and so forth. We know that these things have been produced by man and that it is man's responsibility to use them as means towards more freedom or as instruments of more oppression. Therefore we recognise the need for a conscious community effort towards a more equal spreading of the resources and the risks of life—we put more emphasis than our forefathers did on the social institutions of freedom, on the community aspects of liberalism—but we refuse to renounce our faith in the worth and capability of the individual as the corner-stone of our house, in all its parts, spiritual, political, economic.

It is in this spirit, which unites men and women of a liberal faith all over the world that I formulate the heartiest wishes for the success of your Convention and for your further struggle.

Rome
8th Jan. 64

Yours sincerely,
Giovanni Malagodi

The Hon. Giovanni Malagodi is the Leader of the Italian Liberal Party, Member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies and President of the Liberal International.

MOSHE KOL

Esteemed Convention,

I am very sorry that I can't be with you at the third convention of your party. The presence of a Liberal representative from Israel at this convention would have symbolised the consolidation of the contact between the Liberal Parties in Asia.

Therefore it causes me great pleasure to send at least in this way, a message of greetings to your convention.

Your Party, and the blessed activities of my friend, Mr. Masani, accomplish a great historical deed in laying the foundation for the extension of the development of Liberalism in Asia.

I remember Mr. Masani's most interesting speeches on this subject at various conventions of the Liberal International, and especially his words at the meeting which took place last year in Tel-Aviv and which was wholly devoted to the problems of Liberalism in Asia.

Asia, the origin of the religions and faiths, needs in this generation, a strong Liberal stimulative, if it wishes to base its future on freedom and liberty.

While following the activities of your party I see that — regardless of the existing difficulties — you succeed in the furtherance of this object.

We, the Liberals in Israel, have yet an additional and very special reason for wishing you success in your undertakings.

Your attitude in favour of establishing proper relations between the great India and Israel, the land of the Bible and the birthplace of Judaism and Christianity — had a vast echo in our country. And it is no wonder that a Liberal Party advocates this line.

I wish you success in your deliberations. May your convention contribute towards freedom and liberty in Asia, the strengthening of India and the prosperity of all the aims and projects of the Swatantra Party.

With hearty greetings and in friendship,

Yours truly,
M. Kol

Mr. Moshe Kol is Chairman of the Liberal Party of Israel and Vice-President of the Liberal International.

Bhubaneswar Pattern of Democratic Socialism

Amul Desai

This paper tries to examine the implications of the debate on Democratic Socialism held at Bhubaneswar. Its purpose is to indicate the alternatives which, by laying the emphasis on the crux of the problems, would go a long way in remedying the ills of the country. From the outset it must be clear to any sane mind that economic growth is accelerated only by high rate of Savings and Investments out of current income. Formal ownership of either banking or food grains trade for that matter will not increase the resources of the community.

Economic growth without reasonable degree of price stability distorts the economy and creates bottlenecks, which again cannot be removed by any of the proposals made in the name of democratic socialism.

It is in this context that we need to examine the case for nationalisation of banks, imposition of ceiling on urban incomes and property, State trading in food grains and take-over of rice mills.

Nationalisation of Banks

There is no *prima facie* case for nationalisation of banks in this country. The branch expansion programme of the commercial banks compares favourably with the performance of the State Bank in this direction. The banks have played an important role in meeting the short term financial requirements of industry and there has been a continuous shift in giving loans and advances to industry rather than trade although there is nothing wrong even if banks help movement of goods by providing financial facilities to the traders. In a developing economy any bias against financing of trade by banks itself is erroneous. Industry and trade are com-

Professor Amul Desai is Head of the Economics Department, Bhavan's College, Bombay. Prof. Desai is not a member of the Swatantra Party. This paper was prepared at the request of the Central Office.

plementary sectors. One cannot exist without the other. Moreover if the Government wants banks to invest their funds in public sector, all that the banks can do is to increase their purchases of securities of the Government and Government companies. This can be achieved by a simple directive of the Reserve Bank. So far as banks profits are concerned, a sizable amount goes back to the Government through taxation and out of the remaining amount a considerable sum is spent on wages, salaries, provident fund and other emoluments to the employees. Even if Government takes over the banks, this expenditure cannot be decreased. On the contrary with nationalisation, there will be pressures from employees to improve their pay scales. The rest of the profits are ploughed back to reserve funds, from which expansion of banking facilities is financed. It should also be noted that against the benefits of securing bank profits by nationalising them, Government will have to incur the burden of compensation payment to the existing shareholders who hardly get at present adequate dividend. The benefits to the States in the form of tax revenue or the employees in the form of various emoluments far exceeds the amount of dividend which the shareholders are paid at present. Therefore concentration of ownership of shares if at all exists, does not create either concentration of income in terms of dividend or concentration of managerial power (since voting right of shareholders is severely restricted). Moreover the key power of appointment and dismissal has been vested in the Reserve Bank. Bogey of concentration of income or economic power is entirely baseless. Those who invest their saving in Government loans are paid 4 to 4½% interest. Is it not fair and equitable that those who invest in the shares of banking companies and take a little more risk are paid a little more for the extra risk involved?

The charge that bank funds are not utilised properly, that the bank directors get more bank facilities that the poor farmer is not being helped financially by the banks and that on the whole there is a diversion of resources to wrong channels is also besides the point. Under the existing law no bank director can obtain a clean advance without offering adequate security and the Reserve Bank is empowered to put a ceiling on such secured loan. So far as finance to agriculturist is concerned, the very nature of banking business is such that banks have to be cautious in their loan policy. They lend out of the funds which the depositors place with good faith at their disposal. These are short term funds. They cannot be utilised to grant long term loans to farmers whose credit worthiness does not come to a standard acceptable to prudent bankers. Even state Bank and Co-operative institutions have been conservative in this direction. And so far as diversion is concerned, it is the Government — both at the Centre and in the States — who is guilty of this charge. In 1961-62, the

State diverted 11% of the funds earmarked for agricultural programmes to other purposes. The corresponding percentage for the year 1962-63 is 15%. The Central Government year after year, having taxed the people for avowed purpose of financing the plan, has been diverting increasing tax revenue to finance non-plan, non-productive expenditure.

What the country needs to-day is more banking facilities. Let the resources of the commercial banks be utilised in opening more branches in smaller towns and semi-rural areas in order to mobilise savings needed badly for pushing the investment rate. In this task, wise policy on the part of Government would be to subsidise these banks in the initial losses which they have to incur in the beginning.

Ceiling on Urban Income & Property

Similarly, the proposal to impose a ceiling on Urban incomes and property stems from utter ignorance about the adverse effects of such a measure. It will discourage incentives to work and save as well to invest in new risky enterprises. A ceiling on income is a tax on income at the rate of 100%. Risky enterprises are such that there are equal chances of making high profits and great losses. Since the State will not share in the losses but take away extra profits resulting from such investments, a diversion of funds towards safe established industries giving modest returns, would take place. Professional occupations offering a high and steady income will be affected by a disincentive to work hard and earn more. A preference for leisure would be created at a time when the task of nation building requires every individual to contribute his best. Even from the point of equity, it is unjust to treat unequal people equally, which the ceiling on income and property implies. As the noted economist L. Robbins puts it "From the point of view of expediency it is surely clear that a system which guaranteed the same reward to the industrious and to the idle, to the clever and to the stupid, would be a system which would be very much less productive than, in our state of comparative poverty, any sensible person would regard as satisfactory. and that you cannot assume that the workday business of the world will get done very well without some connection, direct or indirect, between effort and reward. I think that the experience of the Russian experiment shows that this is at least as true of collectivist societies as it is of societies based on private property and the market."

As a matter of fact there is self contradiction in a society like ours which depends on market mechanism by and large and which believes in accumulation of private property. Is it not absurd that the Society through

the market forces offers a reward and then through the tax machine takes away a large part of it? This urge to level down the incomes of the industrious and the intelligent, is "often associated with a state of mind which I find ethically unappealing". (Robbins). All that we need to do is to level up the real incomes of the unprivileged, so that equality of opportunity may effectively be established, so that the poor can give higher education to their children. This increase in real income of the poor can be brought about by adequate supply of cheap food, clothing and shelter. What we find to-day is that during 1956-62 prices of food articles rose by 48%, cereals by 53% and textiles by 23%, at a time when prices of luxuries and semi luxuries remained more or less constant. This was the direct result of transfer of resources into non-consumer goods industries coupled with large scale deficit financing and increasing doses of indirect taxation. Leveling down of the income of the well-to-do by itself will not level up the income of the unfortunate. Provision of necessities of life at a low price will meet the needs of the people much more effectively than empty proposals of nationalisation and ceilings on income and property. For this, monetary and fiscal weapons to hold the price line must receive a top priority; more resources should be directed towards the production of basic necessities of life.

Holding of price line will become more difficult if ceiling is imposed on accumulation of property. Current income will be spent rather than saved, since savings and accumulations above a certain limit will not be permitted. This diversion of funds towards consumption — funds which would have been otherwise saved — will add to the inflationary pressures.

This bias against urban incomes does not take into account some of the basic facts. Urban areas generate 4000 crores of income, whereas the share of the rural income is 12000 crores in a total of 16000 crores of national income. Thus the rural incomes are three times the total urban incomes. In spite of that the total tax revenue from urban areas is almost equal to the total tax revenue from the rural areas. Whereas 33.8% of the urban incomes are syphoned back to government authorities, only 11.4% of rural incomes form the tax revenue of the state authorities. In view of the crushing burden of taxation on urban incomes, the bias against the urban sector (at a time when the rural Sector's share in tax revenues needs to be increased) is unfortunate and undesirable.

State Trading In Foodgrains

Equally faulty is the renewed proposal for State Trading in Foodgrains. The idea was not a new one. It was tried by several states and was

given up. In 1959 West Bengal and Bihar and in 1960 Madras and Mysore gave up procurement designed under State Trading. Thus in 1959-60, only six States continued with the procurement of rice. State Trading, in the real sense of the term, will lock up large amounts of financial resources of the State Government in buying operations, it will entail upon them the task of constructing warehousing facilities on a huge scale, it will compel them to impose additional responsibilities on the administrative machinery which is already overburdened and it will involve them in the task of transporting large amount of food grains from the rural areas to the urban areas for sale and distribution. It is doubtful whether all this would be possible even for the States which are considered to be administratively efficient and financially strong. On the other hand the benefits from State Trading are dubious. The proposal assumes that by State Trading price spread, between the price which the producer receives and the price which the consumer pays, would be narrowed down so that the benefits of such an economy in cost could be passed on to both the parties. This ignores the fact that in place of middlemen's charges, there will be administrative costs of handling food grains trade. Past experience does not warrant that the latter will be smaller than the former. Marketing costs are high, because services are inadequate. With the deplorable conditions of rural roads and lack of transport facilities coupled with inadequate warehousing facilities, the farmer has to bear the burden of these costs. They can be reduced by provision of these facilities.

Even in fair price shops run under Government authority prices are not fair to the consumer because these marketing costs have to be covered even by the Government. State Trading cannot reduce these costs.

It is the well-to-do farmers who sell their surplus food grains. The subsistence farmers who have no excess food to sell and who form the bulk of the farming community will benefit from State Trading in no way. It is the problems of these small farmers which should receive top-priority. Their problems remain unsolved when funds are diverted away from agriculture or when State revenues are utilized to finance dubious schemes like State Trading. The problem of the unemployment of the food-grain dealers and their rehabilitation will increase the responsibility of the State still further.

The attack on food prices can be effective only through increasing the marketable surplus out of agricultural production. The farmer is induced to sell his food grains only if cheap consumer goods are available to him in exchange for his food grains. This requires emphasis on the production of consumer goods which is entirely lacking in the Five Year Plan. The position to-day is such that terms of trade are filled much in

favour of agricultural commodities, so that a sale of small quantity at a high price enables him to buy whatever little he wants from the industrial sector. These distortions and imbalances in the price structure is responsible for insufficiency of marketable surplus needed to feed the urban sector of the economy. State Trading is no answer to these imbalances. A proper price policy with a definite commitment to hold the price line is one of the answers to the problems.

Rice Mills

Finally, take over of rice mills suffers from the same faulty diagnosis of the problem. The magnitude of the problem involved in taking over rice mills appears to be stupendous when we find that there are about 43,000 mills in the country employing about 500,000 workers. The problems of management would be difficult in view of the fact that these units are scattered all around the country. The problem of compensation would be complicated because there would be no objective criterion of valuation of the assets of these units. If the Government fails to run them efficiently and arrange for the procurement as well as distribution of the rice, both the farmers and the consumers will suffer.

Thus the resolution and the debate on Democratic Socialism lays emphasis on issues which are of doctrinaire nature. But doing so it bypasses and ignores the basic problems of the economy.

Background Paper — 2

A Swatantra Approach

Kersi Doodha

After successfully shedding the colonial yoke, the task before this country is to throw out of power their equally oppressive successors. The force of the franchise which the multitudes in this country possess was utilised by a minority of our population to vote in the Congress Party in

Dr. Kersi Doodha is attached to the Department of Economics, University of Bombay. Dr. Doodha is not a member of the Swatantra Party. This paper was prepared at the request of the Central Office.

the last election. This was because the voters were not given a real choice. Ever since the inception of the Swatantra Party, an alternative that can fill the vacuum in Indian politics is made available.

Economic Weakness

The Swatantra Party starts from the premise that the immediate problem facing the country is to remove poverty and eradicate the misery of the people. As the mid-term Third Plan appraisal recently showed, it has taken all the running that we could do to remain in the same position. Lack of progress within the country is to be attributed to the failure of economic policy pursued by the party in power. What is amazing is that it has taken 13 years for the nation to realize that the economic policy adopted by the Congress has failed.

Actually, the basic fact of our economic weakness was fully recognised and exploited to the hilt by the treacherous neighbour China. The unwarranted, unprovoked, calculated Chinese adventure imposes an additional burden upon this nation of not only throwing out the aggressor, but preventing such future adventures being perpetrated by other like minded neighbours. This can only be done if the wealth of this country is raised quickly. The Swatantra Party further believes, along with the Preamble of our great Constitution, that the benefits of this rise in prosperity shall percolate to the lowest levels of our society. The Party sincerely believes in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked and providing a roof to the destitute. It further believes that this goal is well within the compass of the Indian people. It holds that it is realisable not by pretense or hypocrisy, but by *hard work* on the part of every Indian. It will therefore be the bounden duty of this Party, when it comes to power, to guarantee work to every individual who seeks work.

Progress Through Industry of the Individual

The Swatantra Party believes in the *industry of the individual* as the factor that leads to rapid economic development. Providence has endowed this country with immense man-power which, for want of the power to produce, is wasted. This not only pulls down the rate of growth of the economy but also acts as a serious drain on the limited availability of scarce resources. In the eyes, therefore, of the Swatantrite the wholesome task facing the country is to promote the industry of the individual. How can we achieve this goal? History has shown unfailingly, that he best achieves in life the fulfilment of his birth, who selects his own vocation. The freedom of choice enjoined upon us by nature hence leads to the optimisation

of national welfare. What is consequently necessary for us is to create an enlargement of the area in which the freedom to work may be exercised, assuring at the same time equality of status and of opportunity.

Janata Raksha Samitis

The increase in the scope of employment can occur only if encouragement and guidance is provided. It is in this capacity that we shall function when we form a government. The Swatantra Government will provide every encouragement to any individual irrespective of his birth, caste, creed or social standing—in the form of cash or kind, to improve materially his standing. The Swatantra Party realises that what an individual requires is not direction from the top, but guidance from below. It is suggested that the Swatantra Party be, through a chain of *Janata Raksha Samitis*, prepared to provide a service that the public most requires. In other words, the Swatantra Party should do only what the people will it to do, since it believes that Government is not the master of the people, but that Government is the vehicle through which the will of the people shall manifest itself. The role of the *Janata Raksha Samitis* would therefore be to point out the fields in which opportunities are open in any part of the country. If this involves migration from one place to another, the cost of mobility should be borne by the State and thereby fraternity and the unity of the nation would be permitted. If, on the other hand, a person wishes that he be trained for a vocation of his choice, the Samiti would administer to his need.

Consumption — End of All Activity

In which area will the maximum opportunity presumably occur? If it is assumed that the end of all effort in life is to consume, then only those things must be produced which are demanded. The visible index to this is the unfettered operation of the price mechanism. If the people demand that a particular good or a service be produced in greater quantities than is being currently produced, the price of such a good or service will rise. This will result in unexpected returns to its producers, who in their turn will be lured into increasing its supply. In our system there can be no technical shortages, because the price movements will always ensure a balance between potential demand and potential supply. There will hence be no black markets, no need for worrying about allocating resources, nor the nightmare of tracing the so called 'unaccounted' money!

Reward Equal to Effort

Further, the Swatantra creed holds that merely indicating channels of occupation is not a sufficient condition for realising the industry of the individual. It is only a part of the whole; the other aspect is to provide a mechanism which will ensure an *equality between effort and reward*. It is only when an individual is sure that the greater part of the fruits of his labour will be permitted to be retained will he work hard. It is quite likely that not all individuals will work equally hard. It is also quite probable that some will be endowed by nature with certain advantages which other individuals in society may not possess. As a result such persons are likely to receive a higher reward than others. But this should not prove a source of pessimism. Ultimately, this is a blessing in disguise for society. Nature has so devised man that he cannot but be avaricious. The more material requisites of well-being that a man accumulates, the greater is he motivated into possessing more. This he can do only by saving more and consuming less. But this is exactly what the country wants; for savings are the catalyst that sparks the molecules of industry in a growth stockpile. And once this reactor is set to work, the forces of energy released are sufficient to heat up the economy and generate sustained national progress. By the same token, it may very well be that the element of avariciousness itself may contain the seed of destruction. For if the new enterprise should fail, it would serve to reduce the wealth that individual has cornered. It is interesting to observe, from the evidence of industrial failures, that when a man falls a prey to greed, it is not a small dent that is created in his wealth, but that his whole financial empire collapses round his head. Such observations fortify our belief that it is wise for an individual to exercise restraint, or else nature will take its own revenge! *In covetousness lies the germ of self-annihilation.*

Population Warning

The sum of the multiple efforts of industrious individuals will lead to a rate of progress never before witnessed in this country. In this otherwise optimistic picture, the population explosion becomes a cause of severe introspection. The expected rate of 2.5 per cent per annum growth in population staggers one's imagination when this figure is placed in juxtaposition with the prevailing absolute size of the population in this country. Unless this expansion in the size of the population is kept in abeyance, the country's democratic system will be jeopardised. In the interest of our nascently independent society, the growth in the rate of population needs to be curbed and even successfully reversed. For this purpose, positive direction will

need to be given by the *Janata Raksha Samitis*. All manner of publicly acceptable means of practicing family planning should be made available at a subsidised cost to those who wish to avail it. The benefits of family planning should be widely publicised through audio-visual-printed mediums.

In connection with the rapid increase in population, what pains one most is the rendering of countless millions destitute in their hour of need. This is a direct outcome of the policies pursued by the Party in power. Its ill-balanced attempt to force the pace in industry, while neglecting agriculture has resulted in the destruction of sacred family ties. The ancient joint family system is disappearing. With it is vanishing the built-in system of social security. For example, in case of loss of employment experienced by one member in a joint family, the other members would automatically come to his rescue. Likewise, if an illness in the family occurred, the cost of treatment would be borne jointly.

Aged and Infirm

Now, so long as an individual comprising the family unit is provided with work, the loosening of the joint family is not likely to cause serious damage to the welfare of that unit. As such it would not be a centre of our watchfulness. But what will require our close attention is the state of the old people, such as the aged and the infirm. With an improvement in sanitation, hygiene and availability of patent drugs and medicines at competitive prices, the longevity of the population under our benevolent influence is bound to rise. This will add to the group of persons already living in the higher age brackets. For them the Swatantra Party should guarantee a basic standard of life. A system of old age pensions will be worked out ensuring that such persons acquire two square meals per day, as well as a roof and decent clothing. The welfare measures enumerated in the foregoing text will be implemented through the encouragement of private endowments.

Lower Taxes

Resources provided for such endowments, either in lump sum or on a recurring basis, will be fully exempted from all kinds of taxation. If individuals fail to live up to the expectations of the Party, then a subtle moral pressure will be exerted. Even if that fails, then alone will the Swatantra Party act in directly fulfilling this social need. In order that such creative welfare activities may multiply, the level of taxation will be kept at a much lower plane than prevailing in the country today. A reduction in taxes will lead to a decline in prices, as the high level of taxes are in our

opinion directly responsible for the rise in the cost of living. That there is a link between the level of taxes and the level of prices was seen in the last fiscal year. An overall increase in the budgetary resources of the Government of India by 10 per cent led within a month to a 10 per cent rise in the level of wholesale prices, all other factors remaining constant at that time. If the rise in taxes and the rise in prices have been the chief claims on which the Congress Party can rest, a fall in taxes and better standards of living will be the major achievements of the Swatantra philosophy.

Greater Foreign Aid

A major outcome of reduction in taxes will be the increased inflow of foreign capital. Disillusioned by the policy of the Congress Party, the major aid donors to India are gradually reducing their commitments. The World Bank which was one of our most enthusiastic supporters has noticeably cooled in its ardour and has even become sorely critical. On the other hand, the economic philosophy of the industry or of the individual underlying the present resolution will not only win back old friends, but fetch new ones and influence people. A greater inflow of foreign funds will supplement the already growing stock of savings within the country. This will provide solid fuel to the multistage boosters of the Indian economy. An increase in commerce and industry, at prices below the current levels, will enable us to raise our exports. This will assist us in dismantling the complicated mechanism of subsidies clandestinely provided to our export industries. It will further result in the prevalence of wages and profits in line with our industrial structure and in line with international specialisation. All these measures will lead to the maximisation of the use of available resources in those directions where they are bound to prove most productive.

A Digest of Press Comments

Practically all national dailies editorially expressed their opinion on one or the other of the issues dealt with by the National Convention. There were bouquets as also the inevitable brickbats. The Convention's proceedings also came in for attention in periodicals published in different parts of the country.

In the firm belief that any responsible organisation will benefit by constructive criticism, we are giving short extracts from a cross-section of the Indian press irrespective of the validity or otherwise of their comments.

From the Dailies

THE MAIL (Madras) February 1

Rajaji's Proposal

"Rajaji is nothing if he is not original. His suggestion at the National Convention of the Swatantra Party in Bangalore for a board to be in charge of 'all licences, quotas, permits and other incidents of controlled economy', cannot be set aside even by Congressmen as not practicable..."

The proposal is worth a trial whether it emanates from Congress or non-Congress sources. That it does from the latter should not be an inhibiting factor in the consideration it ought to be given. National affairs, especially in a matter like preventing corruption, should not be considered the preserve of the ruling party...."

TRIBUNE (Ambala) February 3

C.R.'s Address

"...The Swatantra Party leader has made one excellent suggestion. He has proposed that a wholly non-political independent board should be put in charge of the administration of all licences, quotas, permits and other incidents of the controlled economy both at the Centre and in the States. It is in the interest of the Congress itself that such a body should be created.

.... The greatest failure of the Congress lies in its inability to implement its promises as witnessed in virtual stagnation in agricultural production growing unemployment, increasing disparities of income, mounting prices, intolerable tax burden on the common man and slow progress in Industrial growth. The Swatantra Party's indictment of Congress policies may exaggerate the weaknesses, but there is no denying the fact that it represents a large element of truth."

"... The Swatantra Party has a point of view which needs to be emphasised—the view which cautions us against the dangers of over-centralisation of power. But the extreme form in which it is being presented detracts from its validity...."

AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA (Calcutta) February 3

Double Standards

"... In clear and firm language the National Convention has enunciated the Party's views on all national and international issues. It has condemned outright the policy of non-alignment which is said to have led to the 'appeasement of China' and to 'double standards of judgment'. It has demanded the scrapping of the Third Plan, the withdrawal of the State of Emergency and the repeal of the Defence of India Act. It has not also failed to reiterate its strong opposition to the nationalisation of banks. Not without reason, the Chairman of the P.S.P. recently asked the Socialist Party to redefine its attitude to the Swatantra Party.

"More surprising than the views the Swatantra Party has expressed on various issues is its conspicuous silence on Pakistan and the recent distressing events in that land. ... It may not be irrelevant to ask the Swatantra Party what has led it to judge China by one standard and Pakistan which is the older aggressor by another standard..."

TIMES OF INDIA (Bombay), February 4 & 5

Immoderate

"That the Swatantra Party serves a very useful role in national politics must be readily conceded even by those who are unable to see the issues of the day through Mr. Rajagopalachari's eyes. From the very beginning the Party has fearlessly challenged the widespread belief that the only way to tackle the country's economic problems is through centralised

planning and it has not hesitated to proclaim the virtues of private enterprise. At a time when there is so much facile talk about democratic socialism there is something refreshing about the Swatantra Party's voice of dissent. Yet as the proceedings of the party's third national convention show, the Swatantra leaders have yet to formulate a programme which could be considered a positive alternative to the Congress party's policies and programmes. It is true that no opposition party is in a position to draw up as detailed a programme of action as the ruling party is compelled to do by the very fact that it is in power.... It is one thing to take exception to the proposed 17th amendment to the Constitution and to find fault with the Gold Control Order (even in its revised form) and the loose talk of nationalisation of banks; but it is quite another thing to accuse the Congress of trying to establish 'dictatorship' and 'tyranny'.

"...Both on domestic issues and on issues of foreign policy the Swatantra Party's criticism of the Congress would be more effective if it were less immoderate."

In Perspective—The Swatantra Party

by Nandan B. Kagal

"The Third National Convention of the Swatantra Party has ended in Bangalore on a note of high optimism. The self-confidence exuded by the Party leaders is by no means unjustified. It springs largely from the success which the party had in the third general election and from its subsequent victories in a number of crucial parliamentary by-elections. The party's performance at the polls in 1962 was truly remarkable.....

"...Whatever one might think of the Swatantra Party's political platform, it will not do to underestimate the strength of Rajaji and his followers. The Congress in particular would be making a grave mistake if it dismissed the self-confident speeches heard at the Bangalore convention as so much whistling in the dark.

"Nor will it do to minimise the importance of the Swatantra Party's role in maintaining the structure of Indian democracy. If democracy is to survive in this country it is essential that the voices of dissent be loud and clear. Before the Swatantra Party came on the national political scene these voices came mainly from the left. One result of this was that the Congress itself began increasingly to speak in leftist accents. It is possible to suspect that when the Swatantra party was founded Rajaji and his immediate col-

leagues did not think in terms of providing the electorate with an alternative government. . . . But after their success at the polls the Swatantra leaders have raised their electoral sights. They can now think in terms of capturing power in at least two or three States if not at the Centre. . . .

"If the Swatantra party wishes to capture substantially more than eight or nine per cent of the national vote it will have to soften its public image. The Bangalore convention projected the image of a party which oversimplifies economic and political issues and which relies far too much on demagogic appeals to the public. . . ."

ECONOMIC TIMES (Bombay) February 4 & 5

Swatantra Convention

"Whatever its accomplishments in practical terms, the Swatantra Convention has squarely dealt with some of the unrestrained socialistic aberrations that were lately witnessed in Bhubaneswar. . . . To the extent that the leftist slogans raised at Bhubaneswar still uneasily ring in the public ear, Bangalore has certainly done well in putting the record straight, particularly on such issues as the threatened bank nationalisation, the widening area of State ownership and controls and some of the avoidable miseries that have been in the name of development heaped on the common man through excessive taxation and high prices.

"The keynote address by Mr. Rajagopalachari was itself remarkable for its frankness and clarity although it was unfortunately not devoid of the customary element of hyperbole. . . .

"The Party has undoubtedly given a constructive lead to public thinking on such far-reaching issues as the proposed 17th amendment of the Constitution and the bank nationalisation threat and also in pinpointing major areas of economic distress. But much of this diagnostic capability is marred by ideological inhibitions, a shortcoming in which the Swatantra party seems to be no less guilty than its more powerful political opponent, the Congress party. . . . There is certainly much sense in the Swatantra platform that can be buttressed and strengthened with more labour and toil in the party secretariat."

Masani's Claim

"Mr. Masani claimed at the Bangalore convention of the Swatantra Party that his party is the only one that can provide a clear-cut effective alternative to the Congress. Part of this claim may be conceded as valid. The

Swatantra Party does have a clear cut policy up to a point, a policy that stands out in sharp contrast to that of the Congress.

"The Swatantra Party thus stands out as the typical representative of a conservative — in the modern sense of the word — outlook on politics and economics. And there is no gainsaying the fact that in a situation in which everyone is trying to jump on the leftist band-wagon there is ample room for a party, that advocates more freedom for a party, that advocates more freedom for private enterprise, less intervention by the State in the country's economy, a greater respect for individual civil liberties; a party that insists that the profit motive is still the mainspring of economic progress, fights high levels of taxation and large State investments — there is not only plenty of room for such a party but its existence may be necessary for a healthy political life. An election in which Congress and Swatantra are opposed to each other is an election in which everyone would know what the issues are and what is at stake. And at the end of the elections when the one or the other has emerged successful one would also know what the country has voted for, and what it has voted against. A straight and clear contest between these two parties would make possible an ideal test of public opinion in the country. And that, after all, is the whole purpose of a general election."

STATESMAN (Calcutta) February 4

Swatantra Strategy

"...The Swatantra Party found it expedient at its third national convention at Bangalore to make some constructive alternative proposals to the policies it dislikes most...

"...The Party has clarified its attitude to planning by declaring that it objected only to the 'Soviet type', the difference being mainly in the Congress emphasis on the public sector in industry and mining. ..."

INDIAN EXPRESS (Bombay) February 4

Swatantra to the Fore

"If the third national convention of the Swatantra Party at Bangalore was marked by an air of optimism and confidence, there were good reasons for it. The successes it scored in the last general election have been followed by victories in by-elections and municipal elections, notably Jaipur. The

Swatantra Party is attracting to itself a large number of thinking and sober people and the very fact that it is being subjected to increasing fire from the Congress rank and file shows that it is making its presence felt.

"There is a good deal of justification for the party's claim that it provides the only clear-cut and effective alternative to the Congress policy of democratic socialism which speakers at the Bangalore convention equated with democratic tyranny. At the same time it was made clear that the Swatantra Party was not opposed to planning as such. It was certainly opposed to the Soviet-type centralised planning....

"In his inaugural address to the convention, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari made a timely appeal for the formation of a united front to defeat the Congress at the election and reduce its illegitimate power... On one far-reaching suggestion made by C. R., however, there is scope for all parties to come together. It is the constitution of a wholly non-political independent board to be in supreme charge of the administration of all licences, quotas, permits and other aspects of a controlled economy both at the Centre and in the States.....

"That the ruling party will not welcome this proposal which would end its power of patronage goes without saying. More the reason why the opposition parties should unite on this specific issue and seek a mandate from the electors. Similarly the proposed campaign against the 17th Amendment to the Constitution should bring together all those who are opposed to the confiscation of lands from ryotwari holders and to the abolition of other forms of land ownership. It is to the credit of the Swatantra Party that it has not enveloped its policies in ideological verbiage. It lays a practical plank before the country and asks all intelligent and patriotic men to judge it on merits... Sixteen years of increasing privations and hopes deferred have shattered the hypnotic spell of the ruling party. The time, therefore, is ripe for the consolidation of a strong and level-headed opposition such as the Swatantra Party provides."

DECCAN HERALD (Bangalore), February 5

Swatantra Strategy

"What influence the Swatantra Party, which has just concluded its third national convention in Bangalore, will impart to the public life of this country in the immediate, let alone distant, future is an issue which

presumably is exercising the Congress High Command much more than it may care to admit... The Swatantra Party, which its hostile critics may today dub a Dutch army comprising only officers and no men, is a party of talent; and because of that, its leaders must know full well that the demand for the institution of a non-party statutory board free from all influences and political pressures and enjoying the same independent status as the supreme judiciary... is foredoomed. Adoption of this resolution in spite of this awareness deals a powerful political blow at the Congress; for it exposes the main source of the unequal political advantage being derived by the Congress today through the unfair use of the administrative machinery in the interests of the party as against those of the country. This particular resolution also holds up for all to see the wide vista of patronage the Congress commands and which is being ruthlessly exploited for party and personal benefits. A Government that stoutly opposed a ban on corporate contributions to political parties in face of the united demand of all Opposition parties in Parliament that such a statutory ban be imposed is not going to comply with the Swatantra party resolution and it is precisely this refusal on which the Swatantra leaders shrewdly hope to capitalise. In the context of the big imponderables of the situation in our country today, the Swatantra party seems preparing for a leap-forward with the massive aid of those who for various reasons cannot yet come out and identify themselves in the open."

HINDUSTAN TIMES (Delhi), February 5

Welcome

"Two of the resolutions adopted by the Swatantra Party Convention at Bangalore can have an unusually important bearing on the political and economic future of the country. They relate to the party's willingness to come to an electoral understanding with all non-communist parties and the demand for an independent non-political board for distributing licences and permits.... After three popular general elections the electorate is showing greater sophistication and in future it will only be satisfied if an understanding is based on some broad principles. How can the Swatantra Party, for instance, ally itself with the Socialist Party when their economic programme and political methods are so dissimilar? ... The only party with whom Swatantra can come to a firm electoral understanding is the Jan Sangh, but even here the rational and liberal approach of Swatantra will come into conflict with the emotional outlook of the Jan Sangh..."

"In this context, Mr. Rajagopalachari's suggestion for an independent non-political body to look after the distribution of licences and permits has relevance....The Swatantra Convention has done well to raise the issue and suggest a forthright and unexceptionable remedy.

HINDU (Madras), February 7

The Swatantra Convention

"It is a far cry from Bhubaneswar to Bangalore — from the Congress session where the new credo of Democratic Socialism was proclaimed to the Swatantra Party's Convention at which uncompromising war was declared on practically every item in the Congress programme. And yet, both Bhubaneswar and Bangalore are an inextricable part of the democratic process. On the surface it appears as a struggle for power between rival political parties — one, long entrenched in office, and the other seeking to dislodge it — in which ideological professions are the tools of the game. But at a deeper level what is involved is a struggle for men's minds. Mr. Rajagopalachari said at the Convention that unless the people are constantly educated about the dangers to individual freedom, from whatever quarter they may come, the drift to 'democratic tyranny' cannot be averted. 'We have to educate the people to realise', he said, 'the danger in letting all economic and political power concentrate in the hands of a single political party....' There can be no illusions about the magnitude of this educational task, because for years the masses have been led to look up to the State for solving their problems. In the maturer democracies, ideology is being increasingly subordinated to the practical tasks of getting the economy grow within the framework of a free society. In India the debate has hardly begun though increasingly the public are beginning to realise that there are no automatic virtues in State ownership and that centralised planning is not an unmixed blessing. The Swatantra Party, by declaring its faith in a type of planning which will not do violence to the fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the original Constitution, is seeking to persuade people that economic progress or social justice should not be achieved at the expense of personal freedoms and that it is possible to reconcile a large measure of State intervention — especially in the building up of an efficient 'infra-structure' which an undeveloped country so badly needs—with the development of a large self employed economy and the provision of basic necessities for the mass of the population."

From the Periodicals

COMMERCE (Bombay weekly), February 8

Swatantra Party's Economic Policy

"Even fiction can be made to appear as a fact through constant and consistent propaganda, much more so these days, when people are preoccupied with their means of living, having little time to think or verify. The leaders of the Congress Party have often been saying that the Swatantra is a party of rightist reactionaries, bent upon establishing a capitalist society, and that it does not believe in economic planning or in State ownership of industries. The Swatantra Party has, therefore, done well to reiterate, at its third National Convention held at Bangalore last week-end, that it does not believe in *laissez-faire*, nor is it opposed to planning. What it is opposed to is the type of planning done by the Congress Party, which has necessitated frequent amendments to the Constitution to the detriment of the freedom of the individual and violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed in Part III of the original Constitution adopted in November 1949. The substance of the resolution adopted at Bangalore is that Swatantra's planning will be confined to the four corners of the fundamentals rights before they were abridged by the powers-that-be in the past 13 years. The touchstone of its plans for economic development is whether they will achieve the welfare of the people and will be of any use to the poorest and the weakest members of the community...

"By implication, the Swatantra leaders mean that, under their system of planning and order of priorities, economic development will be more rapid and less painful, if not totally painless. They will have to do a lot of explaining, if one is to believe what they say.

"All along the Swatantra Party, however, has only been talking in broad general terms. This is not sufficient to carry conviction even to those who concede the need for an Opposition party like the Swatantra, in order to ensure the survival of democracy. It must come down to brass tacks and show in detail that the priorities indicated by it will lead to a more rapid increase in gainful employment, will result in less stress on balance of payments position and will mean less hardship to the people than has been the case under Congress planning. It must work out and show how much steel, fuel and power, cement, textile fibres, housing materials, capital goods, fertilisers and transport facilities will be required to provide the basic amenities needed by the people, according to its conception, and how

it will find them. It must also show how it will raise the necessary resources. In other words, it will have to draw up a counter plan on the assumption that it will be in power one of these days. It is no use merely saying that all this will be done when the Party is returned to power with a majority...

"The Swatantra Party must also evolve a policy for tackling employer-employee relations. The lower middle class and the working class are sceptical of this Party and are being increasingly attracted by trade unions which believe in communism. It must play an active part in inculcating among employers the philosophy of trusteeship and try to convince workers that their interests will be safer in a mixed economy of the type it has in view and not in that of the Congress Party or that of any other leftist party. This will be one way, in fact an effective way, of minimising the risks of nationalisation. The absence of any reference to employment and labour policies is a perceptible lacuna in the economic programme of the Swatantra Party.

"In contrast to the nebulous character of the Swatantra Party's attitude to planning and economic development is its vigorous and forthright opposition to some of the specific policies and programmes of the Congress Party. A typical instance is provided by its stand on the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution now before a Select Committee of both the Houses. This is a dangerous measure, in that it exposes the entire peasantry to the risks of serfdom. There is no overemphasis or exaggeration in the Swatantra Party's criticism of this latest attempt of the Congress Party to whittle down further the fundamental rights of the people. Every one who cares for the future of democracy in this country must read the Swatantra Party's clear analysis of the implications of this unwarranted new assault on the already attenuated Constitution. Equally impressive is its line of reasoning against nationalisation of banking. Although the Congress Party has not officially accepted the demand for nationalisation of banks, its stand on this issue is vague. Many leading Congressmen still swear by it and the others who have said "no" have done so only on the ground that the time is not opportune for enforcing this "reform." Now that the Swatantra Party has opposed it on grounds of principle, the Congress Party will have to reckon with the fact that at least one of the Opposition parties is not in favour of this mischievous demand, designed to perpetuate the one party rule in this country."

This comment evoked rejoinders from Rajaji and Mr. M. R. Masani. The comment and the rejoinders have been reprinted in full in the Swatantra Newsletter of March, 1964.

INSIGHT (Mangalore weekly), February 8

The Impact of the Swatantra Convention

"The Bangalore Convention of the Swatantra party may have historic significance. It has received very generous publicity in the press, probably because the press is sensing the popular anxiety, 'After Congress, Who?'..."

"The most important resolution was on the alternative Plan of the Swatantra Party. This ends the insinuation that the Swatantra Party is against Planning... The Party may gain most if it stresses on Planning for the poorer classes because not only are they the forgotten people but their prosperity will be the foundation of a richer economic development. The nine priorities stated are also a challenge to the Planning Commission which must now accept or refute them. . . "

MARCH OF THE NATION (Bombay weekly), February 8

Bhubaneswar Bubble Bursts at Bangalore

"The bubble of Bhubaneswar was burst at Bangalore where the Swatantra Party held its Third National Convention on February 1 and 2.

"The Convention accepted the challenge thrown by the Congress, removed certain popular misconceptions about the party, redefined the Swatantra objective, and took steps to strengthen the organisation so as to win the support of the electorate at the next general elections."

MYSINDIA (Bangalore weekly), February 9

The Swatantra Party conference drafts a programme for the small man who prefers to prosper in independence.

"There seemed to be few visitors, but there were quite a number of pressmen at the Swatantra Party Conference, and it is to be hoped that they have written about the people there as well as the business. Of the much-publicised former rulers, we noticed only three or four. There were a dozen or two businessmen, retired service men and urban intellectuals in Western dress. The rest of the five or six hundred delegates looked and were dressed like villagers...."

"The General Secretary's Report revealed that for the past two years the Party's central office has enjoyed an income of Rs. 2,000 per month as contrasted with Rs. 10,000 budgetted and sanctioned by the Central Committee. It speaks with justified bitterness of 'the supine and cowardly attitude of the larger part of Big Business in India...aside from a few honourable exceptions...'

"Mr. K. M. Munshi has related an experience of his which explains this phenomenon. He asked a certain business man why he had paid a large sum to the Congress election fund but only a small sum to that of the Swatantra Party. The businessman replied: 'If a dacoit enters your house at midnight and makes a demand, you will give all the ornaments of your wife. But when you go to a temple, you give only what you want to give.'

"In view of the composition of the party it was natural that a large part of Mr. Ranga's Presidential Address, and the strongest speeches from the floor, were devoted to the 17th Constitution Amendment Bill.

"That Amendment is intended to destroy the security of ryotwari property, and this was an assembly of ryots — though owners of non-agricultural land, including urban sites, should be aware that the amendment will destroy the security of their property too."

"Mr. Ranga and the resolution...recall that the occasion for this amendment viz. the decision of the Supreme Court that the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act was *ultra vires* of the Constitution so far as it applied to ryotwari holdings, arose before the General Election of 1962. Nevertheless the proposal to amend the Constitution in this way was not made public before the election. Indeed at that time the Government advised the Orissa Government to modify its Land Bill to conform to the Supreme Court ruling.

"The reason for this change of policy by the Congress is of course that it would be difficult to persuade an electorate containing a majority — probably 55 per cent — of property owners to vote for the abolition of property rights. The Congress High Command therefore decided to get back power on other issues, not mentioning this subject, and then to proceed with its constitutional amendment abolishing the right of property. Whether the purpose is good or bad, such deliberate deception of the electorate is highly improper and the Swatantra Party is right to argue that the Govern-

ment has no mandate to effect this very important change in the fundamental law of the land...."

"The general resolution on the economic policy is a succinct and bold condemnation of the planning pursued in the past ten years and evidently to be continued despite its failure, and a demand for the alternative which the resolution sets forth. The principal points of difference are: priority for the production of the primary consumption goods instead of the present priority for producer goods; general restriction of the State to the provision of the economic infra-structure; the general elimination of monopoly, both public and private, and reliance on competition and the profit motive; reduction to a minimum of State regulation and control; stable prices; and reduction of taxation so as to permit of saving and investment.

"In view of the success which policies of this character are achieving in a number of countries, from Japan to Spain, and of the growing evidence that the Soviet style of total planning is not maintaining its early momentum, this proposal should have a wide appeal...."

"The resolution on foreign policy denounces non-alignment, the appeasement of China and the aloofness from the other countries of South and South East Asia which are in danger from the Chinese policy of expansion..."

"When it was founded the Swatantra Party restricted the commitment of its members to certain subjects, and explicitly allowed them freedom of speech and voting on other subjects. This accounts for the few conspicuous omissions—the language problem, for example—which the party considers should be settled by discussion in a democratic way but does not commit itself.

"On those subjects, principally economic, which fall within its statement of principles, it is bold, clear and convincing. To the policies now in force, which have been found defective, it presents a definite alternative which is succeeding well in other countries and if tried out ought to succeed here. The problem is now to put it before the public in an effective way, and by pressing the 17th Amendment Bill, the Government is giving adventitious help in that matter. The prospects are good: all who sympathise must throw off their lethargy and help."

Swatantrites in Sanguine Spirits

"The two-day deliberations of the Third National Convention of the Swatantra Party at Bangalore were a notable success not only because of the large number of delegates that were present but also because of the refreshingly businesslike manner in which the work of the Convention was conducted as scheduled. It is not surprising, therefore, that the assembled Swatantrites dispersed from Bangalore in a significantly sanguine frame of mind. One even sensed a perceptible change—almost a transformation—in their attitude from that of an opposition party that did not seriously believe it could even come into power into that of one that would be ready to step in if the people were to demand it. There is however a feeling, in certain still non-aligned sections of the public that the unsparing attacks of the Swatantra Party on the Prime Minister were avoidably ruthless, even personal, and that, because of this, the Swatantra Party has possibly lost quite a few prospective additions to its ranks. But the defence of the Swatantrites seem to be that inasmuch as the Prime Minister is all in all and that nothing can happen in this country without consent, overt or covert, this seemingly personal attack on the Prime Minister cannot be avoided.

"Whatever or however dim or distant the prospects of the Swatantra Party coming into the power may be, there is no gainsaying the contention that, given certain prerequisites, Swatantra will emerge as the main opposition party both at the Centre and in the States...

"...In their resolution on the Swatantra Alternative, the Party has not only refuted certain allegedly wrong assumptions about the Swatantra stand on planning but has also clearly indicated its own approach to the problems of economic development. The test it proposes to apply in each case is one to which even Gandhites cannot take exception, for it is a test that had been suggested by the Mahatma himself, namely, 'to ask if the step contemplated is going to be of any use to the poorest and the weakest member of the community'. Considering that it is these members, in whose interests the party in power is supposed to be doing everything, but, at the same time, these happen to be the very people who are the least benefited, the very thought of such a fresh approach must be heart-warming to those concerned....

"There is then the resolution on electoral understandings...Until and unless all these parties agree to forge a common front will they be able to put an end to the prevailing anomaly of a party which has not got even 50% of the total votes polled ruling the country as though it has been

returned by an overwhelming majority, as Mr. M. R. Masani, General Secretary of the Party, has pointed out in his Report to the Convention.

"...As things stand today, the Swatantra Party, despite all that it has achieved, thanks to its Founder's incisive thinking and intensive campaigning cannot by itself dislodge the Congress. But if it should get all other Rightist parties such as the Jan Sangh jointly to declare at least a *common* economic policy which everyone of them agrees to stand by, the people of this country would be able more clearly to identify the different ideological groups and to make their decision as to whom they should support. If the goal is orderly progress and stability, it is evident, there is not very much more time left in which to achieve such a consummation.

THOUGHT (Delhi weekly), February 15

"As a new political party the Swatantra did not do badly in the last general elections when it faced the electorate for the first time. And the return to Parliament of Mr. M. R. Masani and Prof. N. G. Ranga, if not also of Acharya Kripalani, in the recent by-elections suggested it was not in wilderness. The proposal to form a united front with the other democratic Opposition parties to oppose the Congress has become the foremost aim of the party. ...How the Swatantra Party would be able to overcome policy clashes with parties it seeks adjustment with remains to be seen..."

SWARAJYA (Madras weekly), February 15

A Young Visitor's Impressions

"I belong to no political party. I think political parties become more often than not, enemies of democracy because of their tendency to constitute themselves into something like *sovereign bodies relegating the House of the People* to the position of a mock parliament....But if at all I were to join any political party, I would without hesitation join the Swatantra Party, because that is the only party to allow *members freedom of opinion* on all objects not covered by its brief foundational document,' observed Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, in the course of a lively, hour-long conversation that we had at his residence in Bangalore....My own experience of the discussions that took place in both the closed as well as the open sessions of the Swatantra Convention held recently at Bangalore fully confirmed Mr. Kodanda Rao's assessment of the intrinsic worth of the Swatantra Party, and I, for one, am convinced that a party of this kind *cannot cease to exist*

so long as people do not like to be driven as dumb cattle but want to live as honourable citizens.

"...The delegates were drawn from almost all walks of life, from wage earners, small traders and trade unionist labourers, to doctors, industrialists, and lawyers. The seriousness, patriotic fervour and earnestness of the delegates in finding solutions for our varied problems, which characterised the two day Convention, was specially noteworthy. Mr. M. R. Masani, the General Secretary, combined in himself extraordinary dynamism with sympathetic understanding of others' difficulties. In spite of the frantic efforts of the Reds and their fellow travellers in the Congress resorting to *mudslinging at him on every conceivable occasion*, Mr. Masani has retained the confidence of the active workers of his party. It would be an additional asset to Mr. Masani if he should try to personally contact the leaders of the State units of the Party as often as possible besides giving his ear to some of the more eager spirits among the younger members of the Party....

"Particular mention may be made of the attempt of certain enthusiastic delegates to curb the tendency towards what they call the 'centralisation' in the party itself in regard to organisational matters. Prof. Ruthnaswamy's reply to them was very convincing, but all the same, it was refreshing to find how jealous were some of them of their rights as members of the Party and how vigilant they were to guard against trends which have led the ruling party to its present plight. It augurs well not only for the future of the party but also for the future of democracy in India, which has now come to be inalienably linked up with the prospects of the Swatantra Party in the 1967 General Elections."

FREEDOM FIRST (Bombay monthly), March 1964

Bangalore Convention of Swatantra Party

by M. R. Pai

"One distinct impression I got from the Convention was that the party had been institutionalised. While Rajaji pleaded, towards the end of his inaugural address, that, "Let us gather more and more strength quickly; I cannot wait for longer, friends", he seemed to be well aware that the hard work which he and his colleagues had put in the last four years had institutionalised the Party.

"The second impression is that the philosophy of the party had crystallised now in more definite terms. The party must thank the Government for this.

"Though Compulsory Deposit, Gold Control, mid-term Plan appraisal and other concrete instances, the Government has given the Swatantra Party an opportunity to illustrate its own philosophy in concrete terms. But what has helped the Swatantra Party most is the Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill. Free enterprise, freedom and other elements in Swatantra Party philosophy are appreciated by a large number of people in the light of the threat to land.

"The third impression was the changing character of the party, and one wishes, a new trend in Indian politics. One could scarcely find the professional politician in the party convention. In earlier days, there were dissident Congressmen and a left-over of the pre-Independence day professional politicians in the party. But this time, one found small businessmen, executives and self-employed like farmers, doctors and lawyers in large numbers. That this important class which had withdrawn itself from politics after Independence is re-entering into the field is a happy and healthy sign for our young Republic.

"It was also interesting to note a large number of young faces in the gathering. Perhaps most of them were in the 25 to 40 age group. The party would *do well to make a survey of age and profession groups.*

"The businesslike manner in which the session was conducted and arrangements had been made — take for instance, the transport arrangements for delegates, in charge of a retired D.S.P. — and the lack of pomp so usual with political parties were also impressive factors. . . ."

Delegates

Andhra (93)

Ahmed, Shaik Kamal
Aswathappa, D.
Atchayya, Thatikonda
Azeez, N. S.

Chetty, C. Thirupal
Chinmayam, Kasireddi

Dasarathmireddi, K.

Eluru, P. B. Ramachari
Hussainappa, G.

Jammunaidu, Dolla

Kommareddi
Krishnamurthy, D.
Krishnamma, T.
Krishnappa, K. J. Bala

Latchanna, G.

Mohanrao, C. R. K.
Murthy, C. V. Siddiah
Murthy, P. R. Srinivasa
Murthy, V. Suryanarayana

Nagabhushanam, C.
Narasimhan, D.
Narayana, Vijaya
Narayanarao, Nittur
Narayanareddi, K.
Naidu, A. Srinivasulu
Naidu, Anjenyulu
Naidu, Bhaskara
Naidu, C. D.

Naidu, D. Govindaswami
Naidu, Doraiswami
Naidu, D. Ramakrishna
Naidu, G. V. R.
Naidu, J. C. Subiah
Naidu, K. Venkatapathi
Naidu, Muniratnam
Naidu, S. Chinappa
Naidu S. P.
Naidu, Srinivasulu
Naidu, Venkatakrishna
Naidu, Venkatapaty
Nipani, R. R.

Palamner D. Subramanian
Pati, S. Lakshmi

Raghutachari
Raju, Alilutharama
Ramamoorthy, M.
Ramanna, D.
Ramesh, K.
Ranga, N. G.
Ranganayakulu, K. B.
Ramkottaya, K.
Rao, A. S. Vijayendra
Rao, D. Appa
Rao, G. B. Appa
Rao, G. Hanumantha
Rao, M. V. Prabhakara
Rao, R. Jaganmohan
Rao, T. C. H. Kameshwara
Reddi, B. Ramachandra
Rao, Vemuri V. Krishna
Reddi, C. L. Narasimha
Reddi, C. Sanjiva

Reddi, D. S.
Reddi, Gonda
Reddi, K. B. Chenna
Reddi, K. Narasimha
Reddi, K. Narasimha
Reddi, K. Ramakrishna
Reddi, N. Ranga
Reddi, N. Sankara
Reddi, P. Narayana
Reddi, P. Varada
Reddi, Pellakur
Ramachandra
Reddi, S. Subba
Reddi, Tirupal

Satyanagesh, P. V.
Satyanarayana, A.
Satyanarayana, C.
Satyanarayana, G.
Seshadri, H. R.
Sharma, B. Venkateshwara
Sidiyah, K. B.
Subbiah, V. Venkata
Sundaram, Kalyana

Varma, Venkatesa
Veeraragaviah, G.
Venkiah, Kavoori
Venkatakrishniah, G.
Venkateswara, P.
Venkatiah, M.
Venkatrao, J.
Venugopalanaidu, R.

Yadav, Govardhan.

Assam (3)

Deng, John

Narayan, Martin

Warjri, Alexander

Bihar (27)

Ali, S. Imam

Choudhary, Bimal Kaul
Choudhary, Raja Ram
Choudhary, Smt.
Choudhary, Yashwant
Kumar
Ghosh, Prasanta Kumar

Mandal, Pulkit
Mithakundu, Harsha
Chandra Misra

Ojha, Ram Deo

Rajyalakshmi (Smt.) Lalita

Shastri, Nageswar Misra
Singh, Badri Narayan
Singh, Bhairon Narain
Singh, Brij Mohan
Singh, Brij Nandan
Singh, Chandrika
Singh, Girja Nandan

Singh, Jagat Kishore

Prasad Narain
Singh, Janki Nandan
Singh, Kailash Pati
Singh, Kamakhya Narain
Singh, Kamta
Singh, Nripendra Narayan
Singh, Rajendra Narain
Singh, Ram Binod
Singh, Sardar Harihar
Prasad
Singh, Sita Ram

Bombay (24)

Bhatia, V. P.

Cooper, R. C.

Dandekar, N.
Dalvi, S. V.
Dave, Ramesh
Dotivala, Godrej

Kadam, M. B.
Kaneke, Datta

Koppikar, P. S.

Masani, M. R.
Mehta, M. H.
Mehta, Madhu N.
Mody, H. P.
Mody, Piloo
Mohite, K. B.
Murthy, R. V.

Panday, (Smt.) Sosan

Raghavan, R. V.

Raju, S. V.
Ramane

Sampat, K. H.
Srinivasan, K. S.

Vaidya, Murarji J.
Vatcha, Jamshed

Delhi (5)

Jatava, Mohan Lal
Joshi, P. N.

Kaushik, M. P.
Pasricha, H. R.

Sharma, B. C.

Gujarat (7)

Bhil, Purshottam

Desai, Ratilal

Mithiborwala, Kurban
Hussain
Nathubhai, Govindbhai

Patel, Dahyabhai P.
Patel, Dahyabhai V.
Patel, Kushalbhai M.

Himachal Pradesh (7)

Ajudharaj
Anandchand
Munshiram

Prakash, Budhi
Ramkishan

Sahuta, B. M.
Sadhuram

Kerala (12)

South Zone

George, P. J.

Thomas, P. J.

Warriar, Madhava

Central Zone

Iyer, A. S. Krishna

Kalapuracal, Joseph Kunju

Thomas, M. M.

Iyer, P. H. Sankaranarayana

Kurian, M. S.

Thampuran, Bharatan

Iyer, R. Narayana

Sebastine A. M.

Vaidyanathan, K. V.

Madhya Pradesh (3)

Kashive, R.

Rajoria, S. K.

Zamindar, N. C.

Madras (102)

Aravamudhan, T.

Kalameghan, R.

Pillai, M. Alagu

Avadhani, K. R.

Kalayanaraman, V.

Poosalingam, M.

Ayyamuthu, C. A.

Kannan, S.

Krishnamachari, A. C.

Radhakrishnan, M. M.

Bharati, G. Ramadass

Krishnamurthy, S.

Raghavan, C. S. V.

Bheeman, A. K.

Krishnaswamy, R.

Rajagopal, M. M.

Krishnamoorthy, R.

Rajagopalachari, C.

Chettiar, Ramaswamy

Laxminarayan, A. S.

Rajagopalan, R. V.

Chettiar, M. Govindswamy

Chettiar, T. M. Rangappa

Chetty, N. Chinna

Munuswamy

Moodranayagam, N.

Rajagopalan, S.

Manickavasagam, K. V.

Rajamannar, N. S.

Mariappan, V. R.

Rajan, N. Ranga

Mariswamy, S. S.

Raju, S. J.

Murugesan, K.

Ramabhadran, J.

Muthiah, N.

Ramachandran, K.

Myilswamy, M. M.

Ramalingam, O.

Devai, R. R.

Dhakshinamurthy, V. K.

Doraiswamy, R.

Gangaier, K. N.

Nair, U. Baskaran

Ramanathan, G.

George, A. V.

Naran, P. S.

Ramaswamy, D.

Gowda, M. K. Nanja

Narasimhan, S. S. Lakshmi

Rao, C. K. Srinivasa

Gounder, H. Bella

Narayanan, K. N. S.

Rao, S. Venkata

Gounder, J. Hiriah

Narayanaswamy, G.

Ramkumar, B. R.

Gounder, R. Krishnaswamy

Narayanaswamy, P.

Rathnam, V. R.

Gurumoorthy, P.

Narayanaswamy, S.

Reddiar, B. Chengiah

Iyengar, R. Ramaswamy

Padayachi, R. Saravana

Reddiar, M. Konda

Iyer, Ganthapodi

Parthasarathy

Reddiar, M. Kuppuswamy

Venkatrama

Pathasanker, S.

Reddiar, M. Srinivasa

Jagannathan, M. V.

Pattabhiraman, A. D.

Reddy, N. Ranga

Jagannathan, S.

Peddiar, M. Srinivasa

Ruthnaswamy, M.

Sadasivam, T.

Sampath, K.

Santosham, M.
Seshadri, R. H.
Shastri, G. S.
Ramchandra
Somu, R.
Sowcar, G. Kanyalal
Srikumar, V. S.
Srinivasan, K.
Srinivasamurthy, T. R.

Srinivasan, T. T.
Subramanian, G. S.
Subramaniam, K.
Subramaniam, P. M.
Subramaniam, S. R.
Suckoor, A.
Sundaraman, K.
Sundararajan, P.

Thevar, V. Rangaswamy
Thirumalai, K. S.

Varadachari, N. S.
Venkataraman, M. N.
Venkataswamy, R.
Vinayagam, P. K.
Viswanathan, P. V.

Maharashtra (9)

Desai, S. L.
Doshi, Suresh Motiram
Khandekar, Narayanrao
Koshti, K. R.

Kulkarni, R. D.
Lulla, N. S.
Pande, Kanhaiyalal
Babuprasad

Patil, V. N.
Sapre, N. V.

Mysore (83)

Appanna, C. P.

Basappa, D.
Benachannavar, Sadashiva
Devappa
Bhimayya, C. M.

Chandrasekhar, H. N.

Ganapiiah, N. K.
Girirajappanavar, B. B.
Gopalkrishna, B. S.
Gowda, B. Channabyre
Gowde, Chude
Gowda, M. Putte
Gupta, Rajaram

Habib, H. K. Mohammed
Hegde, A. M.
Hegde, K. B. Jinaraja
Hosmani, B. M.

Imam, J. Mohammed
Iyengar, N. N.
Iyer, K. Srinivasan

Jahagirdar, R. N.
Janardana, M. R.

Karegowda, S. S.

Kashimath, S. V.
Kemparaj, T.
Khan, K. G. Abdul Samad
Kini, B. Mohandas A.
Krishnaswamy, S.
Krishnayya, Subraya
Kulkarni, D. R.
Kulkarni, R. K.
Kulkarni, V. R.
Kumudavati, (Smt.) M.

Lakshmi, (Smt.) N. N.
Lakshmi, (Smt.) V.
Lakshminarayana, Kaval

Manjunathaya, G. M.
Masali, S. C.
Menon, V. P.
Muthappa, P. G.

Nadhan, T. N.
Nagabhushana, K. L.
Neelaveni, (Smt.) S.

Pai, P. D. Ram
Pasha, Haq
Patel, I. S.
Patil, B. L.
Patil, B. R.
Pattabhy, S. V.

Ponnappa, N. S.
Prabhu, J. M. Lobo

Raghavan, V. N.
Raghavan, (Smt.) Rukmini
Ramachandra, Venkatesh
Ramalingu, M. S.
Rao, A. Ganeshan
Rao, B. V. Hanumantha
Rao, C. R. Ananda
Rao, K. N. V.
Rao, L. Krishnaswamy
Rao, M. S. Shankara
Rao, P. H. Krishna
Rao, P. H. Seshagiri
Rao, Palure Laxminarayana
Rao, T. S. Subba
Reddy, B. V. Narayana
Reddy, N. V. Ramakrishna

Salenna, S. Gopala
Sastri, M. L. Sreenivasan
Sethuram, R.
Setty, K. Uggappa
Shankaranarayana, P.
Shetty, B. Thimmappa
Shiggaon, C. S.
Shivappa, N.
Sivappa, D.
Sonappa, T.

Sreenivasan, K. H.
Sreenivasan, M.A.
Sreenivasan, V. T.

Subbaratnam, G. S.
Urs, H. Ramaraj

Venkataramanan, S. M.
Visweswara, C. S.

Orissa (89)

Banchhor, Bhoondoo
Barai, Jitendriya
Bariha, Dhrubaraj Singh
Bariha, Mohanlal Singh
Bariha, Purnachandra Singh
Barma, Ananda Behari
Behera, Abhimanyu
Behera, Bidyadhar
Behera, Inkishi
Behera, Satyanarayan
Bhagat, Prem Chand
Bhanj Deo, Gour Chandra
Bhoi, Baroon
Bhoi, Biswambhar
Bhoi, Chandra Sekhar Singh
Bhoi, Himachal

Chand, Basant Kumar
Chopdar, Mahadeb

Dalai, Radhakrishna
Dalbehera, Bhikari
Darji, Minaketan
Das, Ghanashyam
Das, Harihar
Das, Indumati
Das, Karunakar
Das, Radhamohan
Das, Sadananda
Deb, Dharendra Nath
Deo, Birakeshari
Deo, Pratap Keshari
Devi, Indira
Devi, Shailabala
Dhir, Kanhu Charan

Gouda, Lakshman
Harichandan, Rajendra
Chandra Mardaraj

Jain, Debaraj Singh
Jena, Satchidananda
Jena, Satyanarayan
Joshi, Banamali

Kar, Sudhir Kumar
Kohar, Rajendra
Krishnamurthy, K.
Kundu, Sarat Chandra

Majhi, Ghasiram
Majhi, Kshatribar
Majhi, Samonath
Mallick, Nakul Chandra
Misra, Banshidhar
Misra, Harihar
Misra, Jagannath
Misra, Lokanath
Misra, Rajaballabh
Misra, Satyanarayan
Mistri, Markanda
Mohapatra, Sibaram
Munda, Govinda

Naik, Guru
Naiku, Gurucharan
Naik, Tankadhar
Nayati, Prahallad

Panda, Ganga Bhusan
Panigrahy, Bidhan Chandra
Parchi, Chandradwaja
Parhi, Krishna Ballabh
Parida, Sashi Bhusan
Patel, Harihar
Patel, Sundarnani
Pati, Bana Behari
Patnaik, Sisir Kumar
Patra, Binayak
Pradhan, Bipin Bihari
Pradhan, Rankanidhi

Roy, Girish Chandra

Sahu, Arakhit
Sahu, Jugal Kishore
Sahu, Krishnachandra
Sahu, Ramaswami
Sai, Tripurari Kumar
Sarangi, Balakrishna
Singh Deo, Artatrana
Singh Deo, Birendra Nath
Singh, Jadumani
Singh Deo, Kishore Chandra
Singh, Nruparaj
Singh Deo, Rajendra
Narayan
Soor Deo, Sarada Shankar
Subudhi, Gouri Shankar

Thakur, Bipin Bihari
Tripathy, Tribikram

Punjab (9)

Chand Nem
Nagoke, Jathedar
Udham Singh
Narang, Chaman Lal

Pheruman, Sardar
Darshan Singh
Singh, Jatheder Uttam

Singh, Sardar Basant
Singh, Sardar Gurmej
Singh, Sardar Harnath
Singh, Sardar Naranjanpal

Rajasthan (9)

Dungarpur, Lakshmansingh of Jaipur, Prithwi Singh of Jaipur, (Smt.) Gayatri Devi of	Jain, Gambhir Chand Mehrun, Bhimasingh Singh, Chossar	Singh, Madan Sharma, Kanti Nath Shastri, Madan Mohan
---	---	--

Uttar Pradesh (55)

Agnihotri, N. L. Ahmed Iftikhar	Maheshwari, Rup Kishore Mishra, Adarsh Kumar Murthi, Ram	Singh, Jaideo Singh, Jaigovind Singh, (Smt.) K. K. Singh, K. K. Singh, Layaq Singh, Mahendra Pratap Singh, Mahabir Singh, Mehroop Singh, Mulu Singh, Sardar Ram Singh, Satya Narain Singh, Shanker Singh, Tej Bahadur Sirullah, Shaikh Mustan Singh, Vijay Singh, Vishwambar Srivastava, Harikrishna Srivastava, Mahesh Prasad
Bajpai, Uma Shankar Bhushan, Brij	Nath, Kedar	
Chandel, Virendra Kumar Chandra, Ram Chowdhari, Raghunath Prasad	Ojha, Prakash Chandra Paliwal, G. D. Paliwal, Ramesh Prasad, Devi Prasad, Sarju	
Das, Suk Ram Devi, (Smt.) Saroja	Sewak, Ram Shah, Jitendra Shah, Virendra Shukla, Rama Kant Shukla, Ram Narain Singh, Banke Singh, Bhanu Pratap Singh, Drig Pal Singh, Chaitanya Raj Singh, Fundi	Trivedi, (Smt.) Indu Yadav, Devi Shankar Yadav, Ram Swaroop
Farooq Hussain		
Gupta, Ram Gopal		
Lal, B. B. Lal, Brij Behari Lal Narendra Bahadur Lal, Shyam Behari		

West Bengal (4)

Irani, C. R. Nandi, Satyananda	Patodia, R. P.	Rao, Hanumantha
-----------------------------------	----------------	-----------------

With the Compliments of:

Macneill & Barry, Limited



2, Fairlie Place

Calcutta 1

THE SWATANTRA PARTY

Third National Convention

BANGALORE

ORGANISATION CHART

Distribution

The distribution of goods is a central and vital function in the wide scheme of industrial activity. And, we at Voltas have developed over the years a unique distributive system. With branches, offices and dealers in every part of the country, our far-reaching facilities not only touch big projects and large establishments but also remote villages and 'bazaar' shops. In fact, India's nascent industries find in Voltas an expert, enthusiastic and efficient firm of distributors.

For dependable distribution down the line...

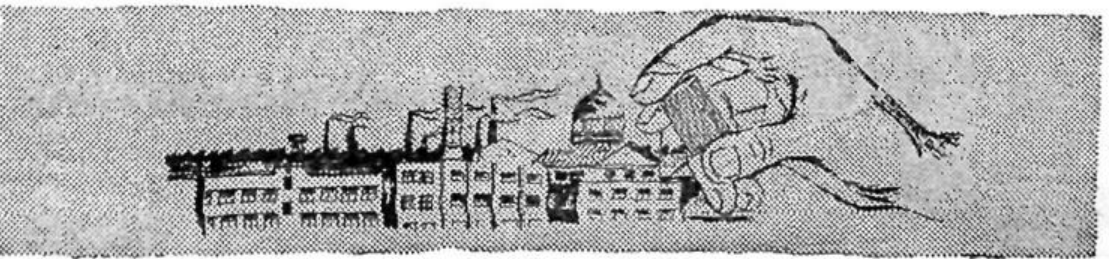
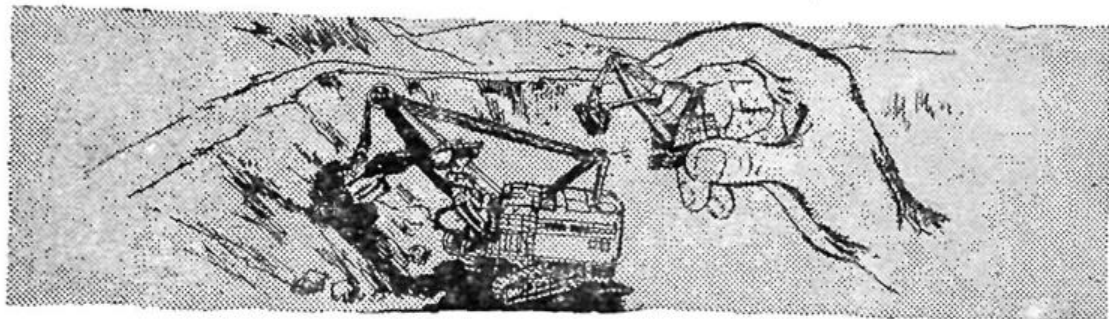
VOLTAS IS THERE

Briefly, Voltas' activities comprise:

Distribution and Marketing of goods: Voltas supply a wide range of goods: Electrical, Mechanical, Air Conditioning and Refrigeration, Textile Machinery, Agricultural and Construction Equipment, Machine Tools, Pharmaceuticals, Chemicals, Bulk Vitamins, Plastic Raw Materials, Processed Foods.

Manufacture and Development: Air Conditioners, Water Coolers, Switchgear, Farm Implements, Drilling Machinery...and the list is growing!

Service: Voltas after-sales Service is a by-word in India. Our sales are fully backed by a nation-wide service and spare parts organisation.



VOLTAS

VOLTAS LIMITED, Head Office: Bombay 1

Calcutta • Madras • New Delhi • Bangalore • Cochin
Ahmedabad • Secunderabad • Lucknow • Kanpur • Jaipur
Nagpur • Bhopal • Patna • Coimbatore • Madurai • Vijayawada



SWEET SEVENTEEN...

Ravalgaon Sweets come in more than
seventeen flavours to serve
individuals from seven to seventy.



Ravalgaon
sweets & toffees

The Ravalgaon Sugar Farm Ltd., Ravalgaon, Dist: Nasik.

(A Walchand Group Industry)

With Best Compliments from

**Bilimoria Bros.,
and
Bilimoria & Company**

Auctioneers & Contractors

**C/O GREAT EASTERN HOTEL,
1, 2 & 3 Old Court House Street,
Calcutta - 1.**

*With Best Compliments
of*

**The New India Industries Ltd.
BARODA**

Topmost manufacturers of Yarns,
Healds, Reeds, Wire Healds,
and
Agfa Cameras and Agfa
Photo Papers.

Telephones

265151/5

Telegrams

'INDOKEM'

Bombay

INDOKEM PRIVATE LIMITED

REGD. OFFICE

**Fort House,
221, Dadabhoy Naoroji Road,
Post Box No. 832,
BOMBAY — 1.**



BRANCH OFFICES AT :

**AHMEDABAD — MADRAS — KANPUR — DELHI — CALCUTTA
NAGPUR & SECUNDERABAD**



DISTRIBUTORS FOR :

'NAVINON'
Vat Dyestuffs

'ACRAMIN'
Pigment Dyestuffs

WITH COMPLIMENTS
FROM

Alembic Glass Industries Ltd.

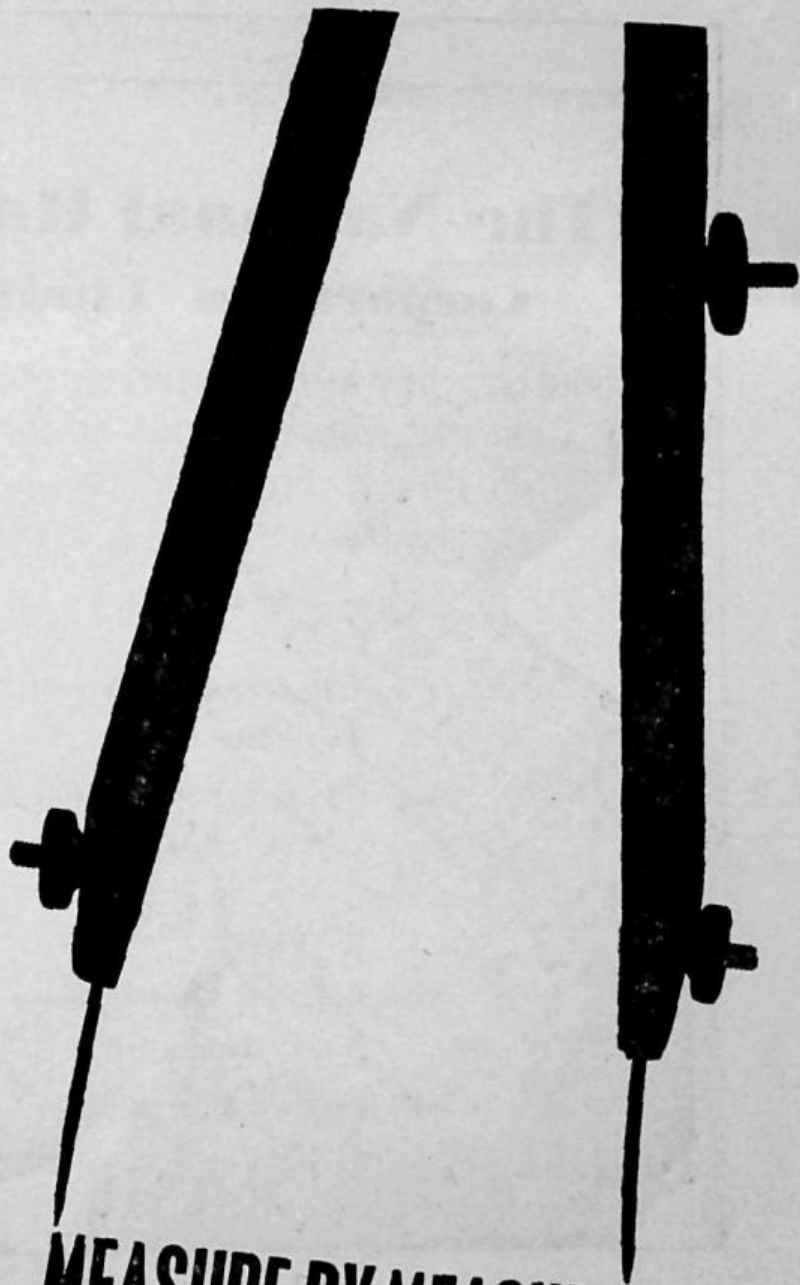
BARODA — 3.



for the best in fabrics . . . 2x2 BUTTAS

**SHREE RAM MILLS
LTD.**

FERGUSON ROAD,
BOMBAY-13



MEASURE BY MEASURE

designing, planning, building—tunnels, bridges, dams.

we build for tomorrow, for our children and
for their's—a strong enduring nation.

THE HINDUSTAN CONSTRUCTION CO. LTD.

A WALCHAND GROUP INDUSTRY/CONSTRUCTION HOUSE, BALLARD ESTATE, BOMBAY-1

The National Rayon Corporation Limited

WHERE QUALITY AND QUANTITY GO TOGETHER —
THE LARGEST AND LEADING MANUFACTURERS
OF RAYON YARN IN —
450, 300, 150, 120, 100, 75 & 60 Deniers.

HEAD OFFICE :

**Ewart House, Bruce Street,
Fort, Bombay 1.**

'Gram : "NARACORP" BOMBAY

'Phone : 259291 (5 Lines)

REGISTERED OFFICE :

**Eros Bldg., 42 Queens Road,
Fort, Bombay 1.**

'Phone : 245151; 245157

PLANT :

Mohone, Kalyan (C. Rly.)

'Phone : "KALYAN NRC".

The long trail of endeavour for over a century...the endeavour to make a new approach...to release a new force...to start a chain of events, and if necessary, in the interests of our nation, the endeavour to follow the footpath of the chosen in 'reaching the heart of the sun'.

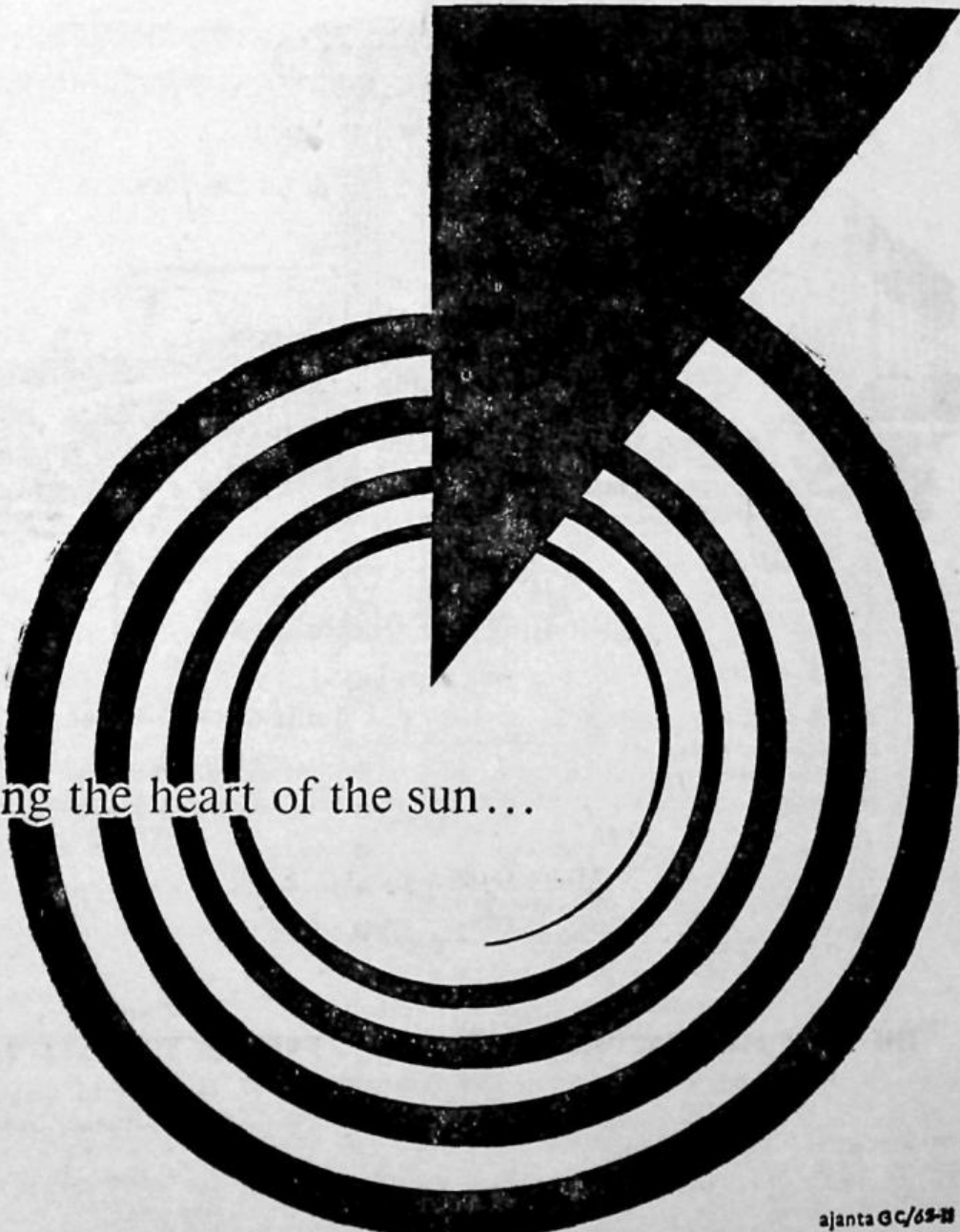
Today Greaves represents every possible facet of engineering, manufacture and distribution.

GREAVES 
COTTON

GREAVES COTTON & CO LTD

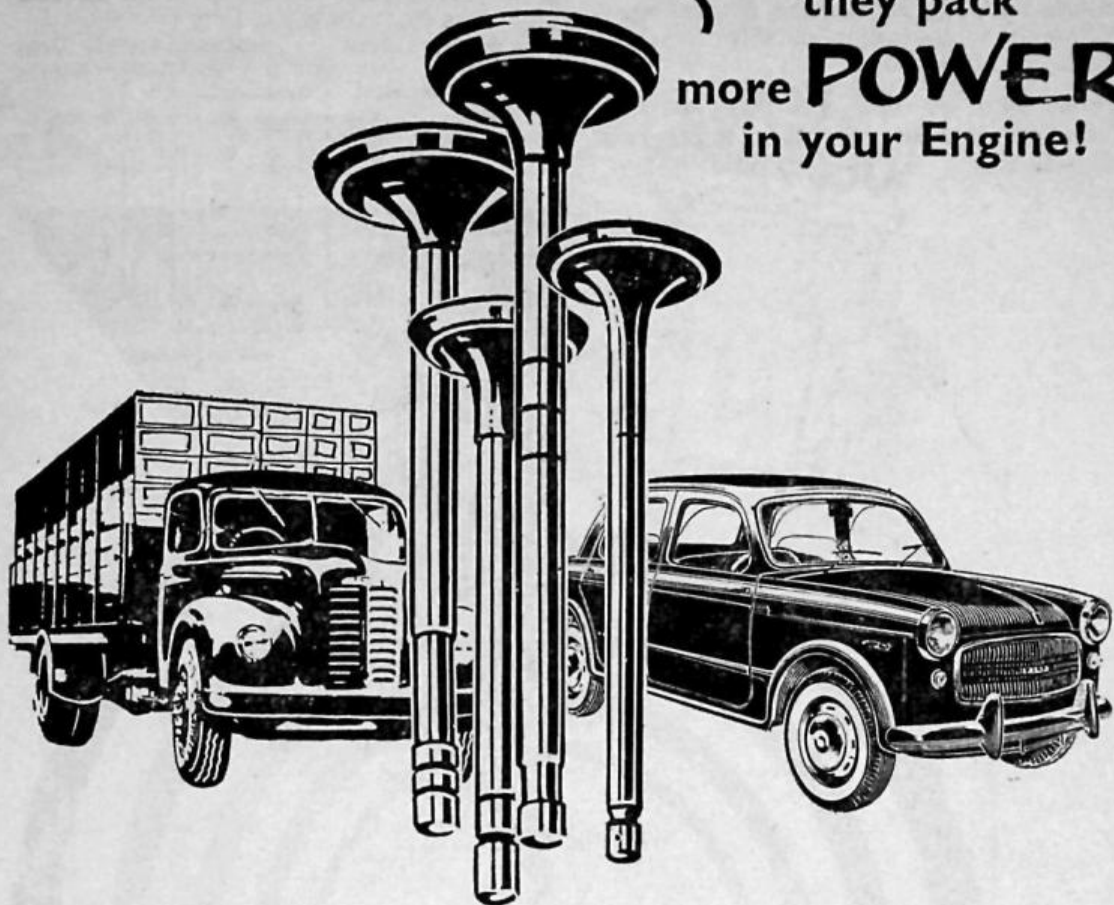
Bombay • Calcutta • Madras • New Delhi
Bangalore • Ahmedabad • Coimbatore • Kanpur
Ranchi • Asansol • Gauhati

ASSOCIATES: Crompton Parkinson (Works) Ltd • David Brown Greaves Ltd • Drayton Greaves Private Ltd • Greaves Cotton & Crompton Parkinson Ltd • Greaves Dronsfeld Ltd • Greaves Foundry Services Ltd • Kenyon Greaves Ltd • Mather Greaves Ltd • Ruston & Hornsby (India) Ltd.



reaching the heart of the sun...

Always Specify *Acme* Valves—
they pack
more **POWER**
in your Engine!



ACME valves are perfect for car and truck engines, as they increase compression, giving more speed and better performance.

They are being used to advantage on: Fiat, Dodge, Plymouth, DeSoto, Fargo, Willys Jeep and Tata Mercedes-Benz vehicles.

Insist On ACME Valves:

- made of high grade steel alloy
- with precision ground finish
- resistant to wear, heat, corrosion
- give longer service, greater reliability
- dipped in Plastipeel rust-preventive

Manufacturers:

THE ACME MANUFACTURING CO. LTD.

Antop Hill, Wadala, Bombay 31.

Distributors:

PREMIER AUTO ELECTRIC LTD.

69, Tardeo Road, Bombay 34

Branches: Calcutta • Madras • Delhi • Ahmedabad



A DCM Product

PANGHAT
VANASPATI

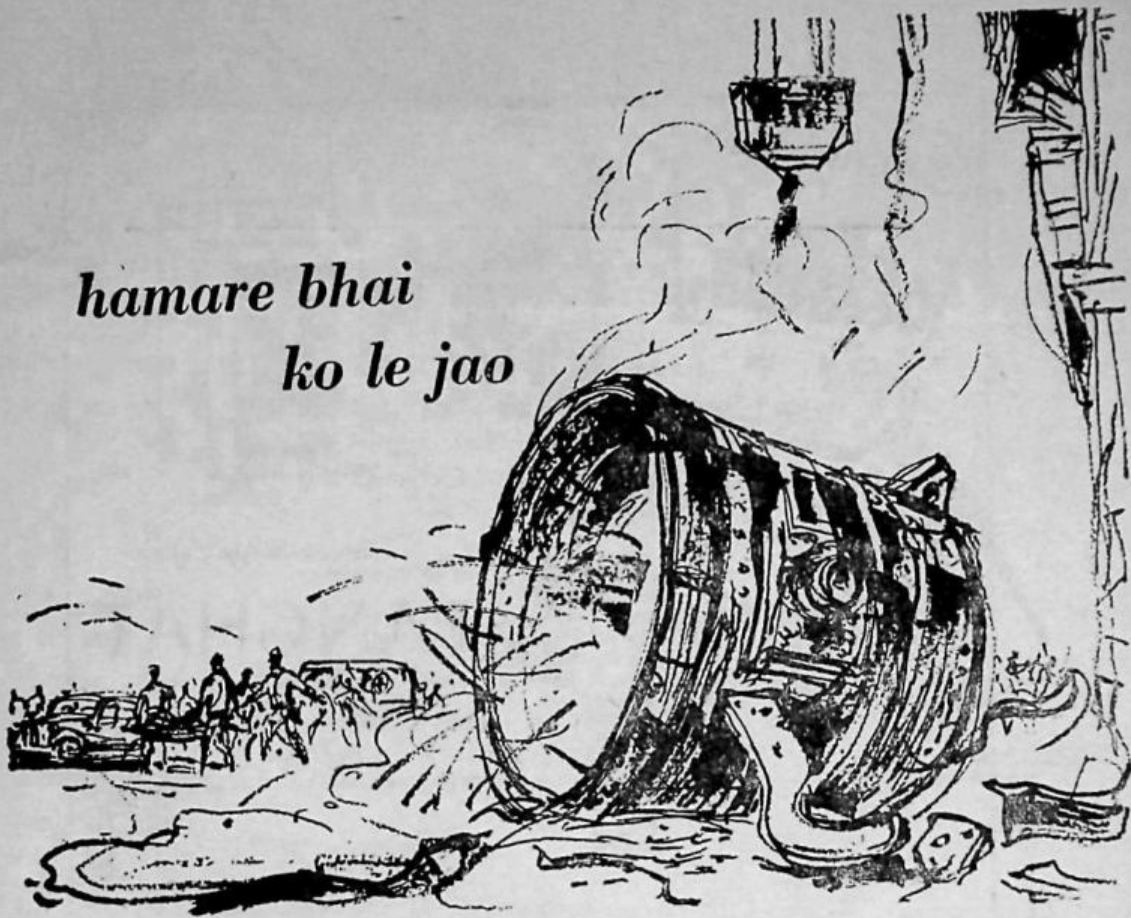
ADVITCO VS. 6

With the Compliments
of

The Indian Tube Company (1953) Ltd.

A Tata-Stewarts and Lloyds Enterprise

hamare bhai ko le jao



It happened in Jamshedpur some 30 years back. At the steel melting shops a mixer crane had been hoisting a large ladle containing 75 tons of molten pig iron. Nobody knows just what went wrong, but the ladle fell away from its supports and crashed to the ground with a deafening noise. The spattering sparks and red-hot metal seriously injured a number of brick-layers working at what had seemed to be a safe distance and the air was rent with the frenzied shouts of the men.

The first ambulance could remove only five of the injured to the hospital. The General Manager could take only three more in his car. He chose the three who seemed to have a better chance of survival than the rest. One of these men, a Hindu worker, how-

ever, refused to go. "Do not take me away", he said. Disregarding his own agony, he feebly nodded towards a half-burnt Muslim colleague, and said: "*Hamare bhai ko le jao.*" As Mr. J. L. Keenan, then General Manager, has recorded in his book: 'A Steel Man in India', "The Hindu who was in pain and danger of death remembered, not that the Mohammedan was of a different faith, but that he was his brother."

This feeling of comradeship, born of the common bond of labour, is the spirit that has characterised Jamshedpur.

JAMSHEDPUR
THE STEEL CITY

**TODAY'S
ENGINEERS
PREFER
HUME STEEL
PIPES
FOR
WATER SUPPLY
MAINS**

The growing use of Hume Steel Pipes in Water Supply Schemes indicates their undeniable superiority over cast iron pipes.

Steel and Concrete combine to make these pipes strong, elastic, rust-proof, longlasting, dependable in performance—and low in cost.

These pipes are concrete-lined and outcoated at the site of work—saving on transport expense and ensuring delivery according to specifications.

THE INDIAN HUME PIPE CO. LTD.

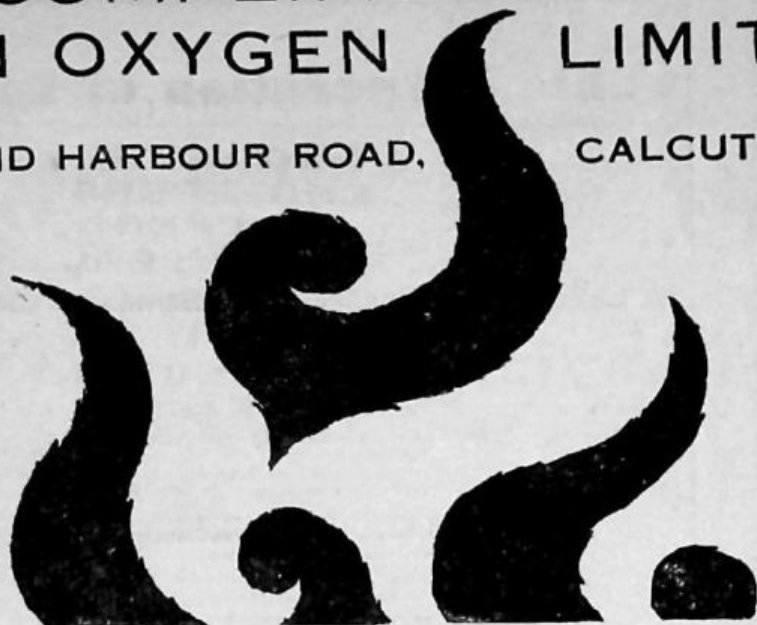
A Walchand Group Industry, Construction House, Ballard Estate, Bombay 1.



ENR/11/67/45-A

WITH COMPLIMENTS FROM INDIAN OXYGEN LIMITED

48/1 DIAMOND HARBOUR ROAD, CALCUTTA 27.



IOC-66

for Business and Pleasure... OBEROI



*"Am I the special guest?"
—an odd question at Oberoi Hotels.
Because you really are ...
and so is everybody else.
Choose any one of the
14 Oberoi Hotels.
See for yourself.
Service, comfort,
cuisine and entertainment
at their best—offered
as only Oberoi can.*



OBEROI HOTELS INDIA AND PAKISTAN

OBEROI GRAND Calcutta • HOTEL IMPERIAL New Delhi • OBEROI MAIDEN'S Delhi • OBEROI SWISS Delhi • OBEROI MOUNT VIEW Chandigarh • OBEROI MOUNT EVEREST Darjeeling • OBEROI PALM BEACH Gopalpur-on-sea • OBEROI CECIL Simla • OBEROI CLARKE'S Simla • OBEROI PALACE Srinagar • OBEROI CECIL Murree • OBEROI FALETTI'S Lahore • OBEROI DEAN'S Peshawar • OBEROI FLASHMAN'S Rawalpindi.

*1.08HJD

Cable Corporation of India Limited

REGISTERED OFFICE:

Laxmi Bldg., Ballard Road, Bombay 1 (BR).

FACTORY:

Borivli, Bombay 66 (NB).

**MANUFACTURERS
OF
'TROPODUR' WIRES AND CABLES
AND
PAPER INSULATED CABLES**

DISTRIBUTORS:

**M/s. SIEMENS ENG. & MFG. CO.
OF INDIA LTD.,**

**Stadium House, Veer Nariman Road,
Bombay 1 BR.**

M/s. TRINITY ELECTRIC SYNDICATE

**154, Princess Street,
Bombay 2 BR.**

M/s. EASUN ENGINEERING CO. LTD.,

**5-7, Second Line Beach,
Madras 1**

India has reached the goal of Self Sufficiency

in SUGAR MACHINERY

We manufacture, erect and commission the complete Sugar Plant of any capacity upto 4,000 TCD. The FIRST 1,000 TCD Sugar Factory made in India was manufactured, erected and commissioned by our technicians in the year 1961. By now we have installed **FIVE** such complete sugar plants. Also we are regularly supplying the machinery for replacement and expansion programme to most of the sugar factories in India. Worthy of mention is the supply of a **2000 TCD MILLING PLANT** and **3000 TCD CENTRIFUGAL STATION** to Mawana. Now, we are venturing on the **EXPORT** of Sugar Machinery.

To serve our esteemed customers with the **QUALITY PRODUCTION** and efficient after sales **SERVICE** we have a well equipped heavy engineering workshop, supported by a team of qualified and experienced technicians.

WE solicit all your enquiries in Sugar Machinery **ESPECIALLY** about:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Car Spotters. | 10. Modern & Efficient Evaporators with vapour Bleeding arrangements. |
| 2. Wagon Tipper. | 11. Low Head Calandria Vacuum Pans with or without Mechanical Circulators. |
| 3. Cane Carriers with variable speed drive. | 12. Multi Jet Spray Condensers. |
| 4. Milling Plants:
24" x 48", 28" x 56"
30" x 60", 33 x 66"
36" x 72" | 13. Air & Water Cooled Crystallisers. |
| 5. Cane Levelling & Cutting Knives. | 14. Magma & Masecuite Pumps. |
| 6. Improved type Chokeless Pumps. | 15. Rotary Molasses Pumps. |
| 7. Improved type Continuous Sulphur Burners. | 16. High Speed Centrifugals with automatic process controllers. |
| 8. Continuous Juice & Syrup Sulpitation Equipments | 17. Magma Mixers. |
| 9. High Velocity vertical Juice Heaters. | 18. Multi Tray Grass Hopper Dryers. |
| | 19. Sugar Graders. |
| | 20. Continuous Sugar Melters. |
| | 21. Water Tube Bolders. |
| | 22. Steam Accumulators. |



Walchandnagar Industries Limited

Works at: **WALCHANDNAGAR**, Dist: **POONA**, Maharashtra State, India
TEL: 35 Baramati Grams: "WALSAKHAR" WALCHANDNAGAR

Head Office: Construction House, Ballard Estate, Fort, Bombay-1.
TEL: 26-5471 (5 lines) GRAMS: "WALSAKHAR" BOMBAY.

A WALCHAND GROUP INDUSTRY

With Best Compliments from

NEI and IRC Group of Concerns

1. **THE NATIONAL ELECTRICAL INDUSTRIES LIMITED**
Industrial Estate, Lalbaug, Bombay-12, DD.
MAKERS OF: Power & Distribution Transformers, Electric Motors, Bench Grinders, Pedestal Grinder (NEI-CISCO), Monoblock Pumps (NEI-CISCO).
2. **THE CRESCENT IRON & STEEL CORPORATION LIMITED**
Industrial Estate, Lalbaug, Bombay-12, DD.
MAKERS OF: Metal-Cutting Hydraulic Band Saw Machines, Double-Action Precision Machine Vices, Quality Ferrous & Non-Ferrous Castings.
3. **WANDLESIDE NATIONAL CONDUCTORS LIMITED**
Industrial Estate, Lalbaug, Bombay-12, DD.
MAKERS OF: Paper covered Conductors, Enamelled Wires etc.
(Works: Nagar Road, Mile Post 4/4, Poona-6).
4. **THE INDIAN RAYON CORPORATION LIMITED**
United Bank of India Bldg., Sir P.M. Road, Bombay-1, BR.
(Plant at Veraval, Gujarat).
MAKERS OF: 'INDRAYON' YARN.
5. **THE BOMBAY SALES & AGENCIES (PRIVATE) LIMITED**
United Bank of India Bldg., Sir P.M. Road, Bombay-1, BR.
Exclusive Agents for DIA INVEST, Germany, for Industrial Abrasives and BIDCO, U.S.A., for package plants for various types of Industries.
6. **THE BOMBAY SILK MILLS LIMITED**
Mills & Retail Shop: Industrial Estate, Lalbaug, Bombay-12, DD.
for High Grade Silk & Rayon Piece Goods.

You'll be safe with

NEW INDIA

Whatever the special risk or liability that confronts you, there's a NEW INDIA policy to take care of it. NEW INDIA is the leader in all types of General Insurance, famous for prompt and liberal settlement of claims.

**Protect Yourself-
Insure with NEW INDIA**

★

**THE NEW INDIA
Assurance Company Limited**

Registered Office :

New India Assurance Building,
Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort,
BOMBAY 1

Our Recent Publications

★

Time for a Change

M. R. MASANI

**Swatantra Alternative
to Third Plan**

N. G. RANGA
M. R. MASANI

The Budget and You

N. G. RANGA
M. R. MASANI

Price 20 nP.

★

*Copies can be had from The Central
Office of the Swatantra Party, 143
Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1*