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SWATANTRA PARTY

PREPARATORY CONVENTION

BOMBAY

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"Real Swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused."

—Mahatma Gandhi.

"I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress."

—Mahatma Gandhi.

"The Swatantra Party has faith in the people."•

"The Socialist State is like a dog in a barn-yard. It cannot lay eggs itself, but it stops the hens from laying the eggs."

—Graham Hutton.

"The Swatantra Party Stands for bread and freedom."

"We talk of democracy but actually power and responsibility have got concentrated in the hands of a few at the apex. Today, a handful of people, not more than five or six, have all initiative and power in their hands. The rest are just yes-men. Just a mere mistake of judgment on their part can destroy and bring misery to countless individuals. Government has power over the entire life of the people. This is a dangerous state of affairs."

—Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

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INTRODUCTION

As a result of the growing tendency of the State to enter into the lives of the Indian people it was felt by certain independent free-thinking people that the time had come to fight political dogma and reinstate Reason in the counsels of the Nation.

For the preservation of our freedom, won through the toil, sweat and sacrifice of so many, a few individuals met in Madras on June 4, 1959 to draw a Statement of Principles which was to form the basis of a political freedom movement leading to the formation of the Swatantra Party. Amongst them were:

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. N. G. Ranga, Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. H. Kanoongo, Mr. Ramachandra, Mr. J. Amin, Mr. Dadubhai M. Amin, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, Mr. Krishna Raj, Mr. P. Rajagopala Naidu, Dr. M. Ruthnaswamy, Mr. V. P. Menon, Mr. Khasa Subba Rao, Mr. P. Medappa, Prof. T. K. Doraiswamy Iyer, Mr. V. Rajagopalachari, Prof. M. A. Venkat Rao, Mr. K. Muthuswamy Gounder, Mr. N. V. Naidu, Mr. Krishna Devarayalu, Mr. R. N. Seshadri, Mr. M. A. Sreenivasan, Mr. Keshab Lal Trivedi, Mr. G. S. Subbaratnam, Mr. B. V. Hanumantha Rao, Mr. P. K. Sarangapani Mudaliar, Mr. S. Narayana Swamy, Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddy, and Mr. K. B. Jinaraja Hegde. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan attended by special invitation.

The news of the formation of the new Party was greeted with great rejoicing all over the country and many prominent people joined the movement. Amongst them were Sir H. P. Mody, Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. S. K. D. Palival.

To inaugurate the Party and to adopt its Statement of Principles a preparatory Convention was held in Bombay on August 1 and August 2, 1959, in the grounds of the Central Studios, Tardeo, where a pandal for the occasion was erected. Over two thousand people bought tickets and braved the inclement weather to attend the two open sessions. Approximately 600 representatives from Madras, Karnatak, Andhra, Kerala, Bengal, U. P., Delhi, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Punjab, Gujarat and Saurashtra, Bihar, Orissa and Bombay gathered to participate in the proceedings.

The convention considered the Statement of Principles of the Party tentatively adopted at Madras on June 4, 1959, discussed the structure of the Party

Organisation and settled the basis of enrolment of members, pending the approval of the Constitution of the Party at a later convention in January, 1960. A Central Organising Committee was nominated to function till the next convention.

There were four sessions in all. The inaugural session, which was open to the Public, at 10.30 a.m. on Saturday, August 1, 1959 started with a devotional song by Shrimati M. S. Subbalakshmi, the famous vocalist. The main speakers were Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who delivered the inaugural address, Prof. N. G. Ranga, who presided and Mr. M. R. Masani, Chairman of the Organising Committee in Bombay, who welcomed the participants.

On the afternoon of 1st August, 1959, there was a closed session for the participants at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan at 3-00 p.m. This was a business session which was not open to the Press and was followed by a get-together over tea in which the participants and members of the Reception Committee had an opportunity to meet.

There was a second closed business session on the morning of Sunday August 2, 1959 at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m. The closed sessions were addressed amongst others by Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. T. G. Krishnamoorthy, Mr. Harilal Doshi, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, Sardar Lalsing and Mr. B. P. Singh.

On the afternoon of Sunday August 2, there was again a public session at 3 p.m. at the Central Studio Grounds when the decisions arrived at in the two business sessions were placed before the plenary session for formal adoption. Sympathisers and leading members of the Party including Sardar Udham Singh Nagoke, Sir H. P. Mody, Maharajkumar Hukum Singh, Prof. Ruthnaswamy, Dr. N. S. Bakshi, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. S. S. Mariswamy, Mr. Nabakishoredas, Mr. V. P. Menon, and the Raja of Ramgarh addressed the Convention.

Attendance at the public sessions was open to the Press, to members of the Reception Committee and to members of the public who bought tickets.

The Convention ended with the singing of the National Anthem.

P. M.

OPENING REMARKS by
M. R. MASANI, M.P.

THIS is a historic occasion and I feel honoured to play my humble part in it, which is, on behalf of the Reception Committee and the Organising Committee of the Party in Bombay, to welcome all of you here to this City of Bombay for the first Convention of the Swatantra Party. By your presence and the long distances you have taken the trouble to travel, you have given expression to the widespread relief and joy with which the coming to birth of the Party has been hailed by people throughout the country.

Bombay is the birth place of great movements. It was in this City that, in 1885, the Indian National Congress was established, and once again a new national movement, this time not for national liberation but for democratic liberties and personal freedom, takes shape here.

The coming into existence of the Swatantra Party marks, in a way, the end of the post-Independence era into which had over-flowed the agitational politics of the struggle for Independence, in which so many of us here actively participated under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It marks the beginning of the functioning of normal parliamentary democracy in a country whose freedom has been well and truly founded on the rock of a democratic Constitution and which now turns to utilise that freedom for the well-being and happiness of its people. The emergence of the Swatantra Party is a sign of the growing political maturity of our country.

Judging by the letters received by leading spokesmen of the Party and its Secretariat and the warm welcome extended to it in all quarters, the Swatantra Party has come into existence in response to a widely felt need. The Congress adventures in joint-farming, land ceiling and State monopoly in the foodgrains trade are calculated seriously to injure food production and the harmony of rural life. The evils of interference by political bosses in the administration of the country and the pressure they bring to bear on officials in regard to such things as licences have demoralised the officials and destroyed public confidence in the government of the day. Most people hold the view that this has established itself as a malignant growth in the body politic. We have, for every one of us to see, the parade of the public sector, with some notable exceptions, achieve the double distinction of being expensive and inefficient. The middle class is being pulverised by the inevitable consequences of excessively high taxation which affect not only those directly taxed but every consumer below and by an inflation that is steadily creeping over them. The investors are being taxed out of their investable surplus. The poor are made to pay more for the necessities of life through heavy excise duties. The expansion of our Plan and the shrinking of our resources make simultaneous progress. New constraints on

the people's enterprise are systematically imposed and justified by reference to a doctrine. Intolerance does not simply occur; it is being elevated into a principle. In the result, the main features of our economic life today are fear, hesitancy and uncertainty as to what the government will do next. For the first time, a political party has come forward to say openly these things which were already in people's minds.

The groundswell against State Capitalism—misalled socialism—and against collective farming misalled joint cooperative farming—has found an effective channel of expression and there is every sign of its becoming a tidal wave. Many who felt suffocated by the pall of silence that seemed to have descended upon the country during the last few years are able to breathe freely once again. Among such people are to be found numerous members of the Congress Party, the bulk of whom think along Gandhian and liberal lines but who have been intimidated in recent years by a few confused Marxists at the head of the Party. The Swatantra Party will endeavour to break the spell of fear of established power, the thrall of ideology.

A Clear Alternative

At last there is a broadbased political party in India which provides a clear alternative to the policies of the ruling party, by putting the individual right in the centre of the picture and rejecting lock, stock and barrel the methodology, as opposed to the ideals, of Socialism, which is more accurately described as State Capitalism.

There has been, since the achievement of Independence, a double imbalance in our polity. By reason of there being no acceptable alternative at the elections, the ruling party has in Parliament and in the Legislatures of the States been so numerous and so powerful that there has been no opposition worth the name. In the House of the People, for instance, the Congress Party has around 365 members while no opposition group numbers more than 30. Such a state of affairs does not conduce to the health of a parliamentary democracy. It is bad for the government, because it creates arbitrariness on the one side and flabbiness on the other. It is bad for the opposition because it breeds irresponsibility caused by lack of hope in ever achieving power.

nh All the parties in existence hitherto have adhered to socialism or communism of one brand or another. Communist and Socialist parties cannot by their very nature function as an effective opposition to the government of the day because, ideologically, they are merely satellites of the ruling party. The most they can do is to egg the government on to slide faster down the slope of collectivism. The result has been that, at the last elections, in most constituencies the voters did not have an opportunity to vote for any way of life other than the communist or socialist. To a man who believed in any other ideology, the choice between the Congress, the Praja Socialist Party, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party candidates was Hobson's choice. For all political purposes, a large part of the electorate was thus disfranchised. It will now be possible for the country and the electorate to have before it a clear alternative.

As I have said earlier, the discontent against "Socialism" and the pattern of planning have been gathering momentum during the past few years and more and more people are coming to realise that the country is being led in the wrong direction. The immediate provocation for the formation of the Swatantra Party was, however, the adoption of the Nagpur resolution by the Congress Party. The attempt to commit the country to collective farming, a State Monopoly in the foodgrains trade and to ceilings which would reduce the peasant permanently to economic helotage by denying him a monthly income of more than Rs. 300 for himself and his family, has produced a lively reaction, which shows that the peasantry of India is aware of its interests and is not prepared to be liquidated in a fit of absent-mindedness. A large number of people in the Congress rank and file are not only not in favour of joint cooperative farming of the Nagpur pattern, but are deeply disquieted and concerned at the thought of such a development. The days have passed when the Prime Minister could brush aside opposition to joint farming as confined to a "few incorrigible persons". The latest, most welcome and significant note of warning against a hasty, doctrinaire approach of this nature has come from none other than the esteemed President of the Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, than whom India possesses no more seasoned and far-sighted statesman.

A Challenge

Affecting as it does the possession of land by no less than 52 per cent of the Indian people, the Nagpur Resolution presents both a challenge and an opportunity. It is not an accident that the move for the establishment of the Swatantra Party should have taken place at a meeting convened in Madras on June 4 by the All India Agriculturists' Federation and that Professor Ranga should be nominated its leader. This is as it should be. India is, and will remain, for many generations to come, a peasant country and a broad-based democratic party cannot but have firm roots among the peasantry.

The fight of the peasant for his land cannot, however, be carried on in isolation. Nor can the businessman or industrialist hope to survive for long if he stands by and sees the peasant dispossessed of his farm. The principle for which the peasant proprietor stands and the free way of life of which he is the backbone he has in common with other sections of our people, such as the artisan and the worker, the doctor and the lawyer, the businessman and the industrialist, the writer and the teacher. Each of these classes can thrive only in a society where there is freedom of expression and freedom of choice for the producer, the investor and the consumer, where a man gets a fair return for hard work and for enterprise, and where the fruits of his labour may not one day be snatched away from him by a bureaucratic despotism of the type we see in the communist countries of Russia and China and the captive countries of Eastern Europe.

Broadbased Coalition

The Swatantra Party can succeed in giving effective opposition to the State Capitalist policies of the present government and in providing the country with an alternative government only if it can mobilise a broad-

based coalition of these various elements in our national life. The middle classes of the cities and towns must join hands with the peasants in the villages in defence of their rights and property. If they do not hang together, they will assuredly hang separately.

We, of the Swatantra Party, judge the patriotism of the Indian citizen not by the vocation he follows or the level of life in which he is born, but by the spirit that animates him, his love for his country and his desire to serve his fellowmen. We accept no caste system in our political life. In our scheme of things, there are no new untouchables. Such discriminatory practices we leave to those who now hold the reins of authority.

We certainly do not turn our backs on businessmen just because they are businessmen. They are as welcome in our ranks as any other section of the community. I am sure they are too intelligent to imagine that a Party as broadbased as this and led by such men as Shri C. Rajagopalachari and Professor Ranga can ever become the stooge of Big Business.

Who are the "Vested Interests"?

My reply to the Prime Minister's charge of "vested interests" is that the only vested interest today in this country is that of the politicians in power, the bureaucrats in office and the businessmen who hang on to their coat-tails. I am inclined to think that, if a year from this Convention, a census is taken of the businessmen who support the Swatantra Party and the businessmen who secretly if not openly support Mr. Nehru's Party, it would be found that those in the Swatantra Party happen to be clean and enlightened exponents of the principles of free enterprise unlike some of those who, no doubt, will continue to be found on Mr. Nehru's "socialist" bandwagon.

It has been suggested that the Swatantra Party is depending on large funds from Big Business. Not only our opponents but many of our supporters are under that wrong impression, and it therefore becomes necessary that I should say a few words on that subject. At a meeting in Bagalore on May 29, with Rajaji in the Chair and even before this Party was formed, I had said that it would be futile for us to wait for Big Business to make up its mind to give us support and that the job of establishing and building the kind of Party we were thinking of would, and must, fall on the shoulders of the common man, whether in the town or the countryside. Rajaji has already stated publicly that he wished it were true that large funds donated by businessmen were coming into the Party's coffers. The reason for this state of affairs is not far to seek. It lies in a controlled economy, where business tends to become the hand-maid of the State and a selfish scramble for licences and permits obscures the capacity to stand up for one's own way of life. At this point, may I be permitted, without hurting the susceptibilities of my business friends, to say that the lack of imagination and vision, the supine attitude to government and the pathetic desire to clutch at any straw that may come their way in the shape of soft words thrown at them occasionally by government spokesmen, displayed by certain sections of Business are not qualities that are calculated to help them fill the important role they have in the country's economic life.

I have sounded this candid note of caution so that the thousands of our supporters throughout the country, men in the shops and bazaars and fields, may know that the Swatantra Party relies on them and on their small contributions for its functioning. This is a broadbased freedom Party and it is right that while welcoming support from all, it should, by and large, rely on the small man's mite.

The Fight Against Communism

There are two criticisms made about the Party to which I would like to offer a brief answer. One doubt or fear that has been voiced by some good people is that the Swatantra Party might, by dividing the democratic forces of the country, unconsciously help the Communists. There is a plausibility about this argument that makes it necessary to consider it.

I hope its worst critics will not deny that the Swatantra Party is clearly and categorically committed to a frontal opposition to Communism in a way that no other party in India can claim. Its Statement of Principles is such that there can be *no reconciliation between it and the ideology of communism*, and its leading spokesmen have a long and distinguished record of struggle against communist totalitarianism. In the past few months we have seen Communist imperialism destroy the freedom of the unarmed and defenceless people of Tibet. As we meet here, we witness the people of Kerala battling bravely to throw off the communist yoke. More than ever is it necessary to guard the country against the communist menace, whether from within or without.

If today the Swatantra Party comes out in all-out opposition to the government of the day, it is precisely because the policies of the Congress Government are preparing the ground for communism. In many ways that I do not have the time now to list, the policies of the Prime Minister and his supporters, whether on the international or the domestic plane, have made communism respectable in this country. The moral barrier that Gandhiji had erected against communism has been eroded and a fog of confusion has been allowed to spread in the country. The economic policies of the Nehru government, and in particular those of collective farming, justify one in using about it a phrase of which the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was fond, that it is in some ways playing the role of the "Sappers and Miners of the Communist Party".

Is it suggested that, in the face of the unfortunate inability of the majority of the Congressmen to assert themselves in the councils of their government and their Party, the rest of us should stand by helplessly and watch this erosion of democracy for fear of splitting the non-communist vote? The drift to communism implicit in governmental policies, though slow, is sure. It would appear that many estimable members of the Congress Party, who would react violently if the threat of communist dictatorship were directly round the corner, do not seem to mind very much if the process is not quite that rapid.

The whole world, including the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, is moving away from the shibboleths of collectivism, and we are not prepared to allow our country to be committed to outmoded dogmas which the rest

of the world is discarding. By rallying the country against communism, by educating public opinion about the moral gulf between communism and the free way of life, and by presenting an alternative to the Congress, the Swatantra Party will eliminate the danger of the Indian people drifting towards communism without being aware of it. By our uncompromising opposition to State Capitalism which leads to communism, we shall put heart into the broad ranks of the Congress Party who have been overawed into silence during the past few years. To adapt Rajaji's celebrated phrase of many years ago, communism will be the Swatantra Party's "Public Enemy Number One."

Perhaps our greatest service in fighting communism will lie in the fact that we shall stop the polarisation which has been taking place between the Congress on the one hand and the communists on the other. Till now, there was a danger that all discontent would be funnelled into Red channels. Such a polarisation took place in China in the '40s, with what tragic results for the Chinese people we have seen. If the Swatantra Party takes away one vote from the Congress, it will at the same time divert several potential votes away from the Communist Party. Let me give a personal example of this healthy process. A friend of mine in Bombay, many years my senior, told me about a year ago that at the next elections he would vote for the communists, much as he detested them, because that was the only way to remove the "corrupt and anti-democratic Nehru government". I pleaded with him that this would be a tragic mistake on his part, but to no purpose. Last month, the very first donation that came into the Swatantra Party's office in Bombay was one of Rs. 100/- from the same man who wrote that new hope had come to him and he could see a bright future for the country.

"Negative" and "Positive"

Another criticism, to which the Prime Minister has made himself a party, is that the Swatantra Party has not come forward with a "positive" programme and is only confining itself to criticism of the government. This is a peculiar statement, coming as it does from someone who has claimed all these years that he would welcome the emergence of a strong opposition. Now, the first duty of a party in opposition in a democracy is to oppose. Its primary function is to draw attention to the mistakes and mismanagement of the party in office. If the history of democratic parties throughout the world is examined, it would be found that normally they came into existence as a reaction or revulsion against policies that were considered to be contrary to the public interest. It is in the process of such opposition that a new Party evolves its own positive policies and features. Criticism of the government of the day is a necessary overture to the thrashing out of a new constructive programme. Such a programme will be found in general terms in the Statement of Principles as it emerges from this Convention.

It is interesting, however, to note how these words 'negative' and 'positive' are used. One would imagine from the Prime Minister's comment that the destruction of private enterprise, the elimination of the farmer, the liquidation of the trader in the foodgrains business, and the taxing out of existence

of the investor are all 'positive' policies. We may be forgiven for considering them totally negative and destructive. By contrast, the Swatantra Party's broad policies are to help the peasant proprietor by giving him fertilisers, implements and credit, to encourage the entrepreneur by assuring him of the possibilities of a fair return, to assure the worker that he would get a higher wage provided there is increase in productivity, and to promise each of them the freedom of choice appropriate to his function. This cannot be called a negative policy simply because it seeks to reverse the destructive processes on which the present government is engaged. It is time we cease to be deceived by such semantic jugglery. Whatever enlarges individual liberty and the dignity of the individual, whatever enhances the area of a man's freedom of choice, and also whatever limits the dangers of bureaucratic despotism, whatever limits the concentration of political and economic power in a limited number of hands is a positive policy.

I trust the participants in the Convention will not spend too much time in arguing the pros and cons of alternative drafts of items in the Party's Statement of Principles. As H. G. Wells once observed: "No passion in the world, no love or hate, is equal to the passion to alter someone else's draft"! Let us rather concentrate our intellectual fire on the task of planning the Party's future and building its organisation in such a way that it can, in the shortest possible span of time, win the people's confidence and obtain a mandate to implement its policies in the governance of this great country. That, and no less, is the task before the Party.

Eternal Verities

Under Rajaji's inspiring leadership, the Swatantra Party will seek to adhere to the eternal verities. We shall seek to guide the country back from Nehru to Gandhi. We draw inspiration from our own country's great cultural heritage and her spiritual traditions, but, just to show that humanity is one and men are the same the wide world over, I wonder if you will forgive me if I end with a quotation from a very great world figure who, every one will agree, had a positive philosophy, even though he contributed towards the destruction of Negro slavery. That man was Abraham Lincoln; and his words, from which I shall quote to you, are so startlingly relevant that they almost appear to have been drafted as a message to this first Convention of the Swatantra Party in Bombay a century after his time:

"You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift.

You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.

You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich.

You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money.

You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than you earn.

You cannot build character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence.

You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could do for themselves."

INAUGURAL ADDRESS by
C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

BEFORE I begin I, along with you all, must tender our grateful appreciation of the splendid work done by Mr. Masani and his colleagues for making this eventful gathering possible in this inclement season of the year in Bombay.

I have been asked to inaugurate this convention of the Swatantra Party. I do it with great pleasure as well as with a due sense of responsibility. I am not inaugurating merely a party. I think we are inaugurating a movement of freedom. Forty years ago, when I was forty years old, after twenty years' practice at the Bar, and twelve years of political life in connection with the Congress and the Nationalist Party of that time and the Home Rule Movement, I joined the Non-Cooperation Movement in close collaboration with and under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Now when I am twice that age, I am leading a revolt against what I have come to believe to be a fatally wrong direction taken by the Indian National Congress in the governance of this great country. I have come to the conclusion that a movement for freedom, as important and as serious as the movement for independence against British rule, has now to be inaugurated against this misconceived progress of the Congress towards what will finally end in the suppression of individual liberty and the development of the State into a true Leviathan. The State is becoming a giant entity by itself menacingly poised against the citizen, interfering with his life at all points, mistrusting the people, imposing restrictions, introducing a series of controls and regulations, stepping into the fields of agriculture, industry and trade, creating an army of officials, tremendously increasing the cost of administration and therefore the taxes paid by the nation, hypnotising the people with slogans that are mistaken for thought and wisdom, a scheme of Government in which it is taken for granted that the citizen is ignorant of what is his own interest. My criticism of the Congress policies and tendencies and their inevitable consequences is strong but not exaggerated.

My criticism of the ruling party's present policy is this: You begin with a false conception and make promises on that basis which are necessarily incapable of performance; then your sympathetic critics want you to be more efficient than you are and to do the impossible and you are led to make more promises in place of the old promises. The whole business which is faulty at the base and in the superstructure leads to the people being made victims of one deception after another. For example, you promise to put ceilings on land holdings in the hope of making by compulsion what **bhoddan** is trying to make by willing surrender. Then it is pointed out that you cannot have sufficient land to meet the land hunger of the landless



Rajaji and Prof. Ranga arriving at the Convention.

Srimathi M. S. Subbalakshmi sings as Rajaji Prof. Ranga and Mr. Menon listen.





C. Rajagopalachari inaugurating the Convention.

From r. to l. Mr. Bhailclbhai Patel, Mr. V. P. Menon, Sir H. P. Mody, Mr. M. R. Masani.

A Section of the audience.



peasants. You give up the idea of making gifts and in view of the criticism of agricultural experts you propose to substitute co-operative farming for individual cultivation. Then you meet objections to compulsory collectivisation by announcing that it will all be voluntary and will not be enforced collectivisation. In order to overcome popular objections you plan subsidies and other inducements at the cost of the nation in order to build up a case for successful co-operative farming. I have illustrated what I said first in strong and general terms. There is no morality in creating an impression that the landless will get land as a result of the policy of land ceilings and yet that deception is the basis of whatever hold the Congress has now in the rural area.

The Attorney General's recent speech at Bombay is a scathing indictment clothed in the language of a trained lawyer and gentleman, addressed to an enlightened audience, in an atmosphere charged with gentleness. He has exposed the fatal weakness in the present regime and has made out an unanswerable case for an opposition party such as ours to come into being. He has not expressly welcomed the emergence of this party but what he has said amounts to it. He finds fault with the public and the professions for their apathy and silence. He could have gone deeper down and explained the reasons for this silence and absence of opposition. The secret lies in the octopus-hold which the ruling party has secured on men and their lives and occupations in the name of Socialism and a march towards the socialistic goal. He said that the officials are not doing their duties properly. Why? For the same cause. We should remove the cause and not hope to achieve anything by treating the symptoms. We all know how power corrupts. It is a cliché but it is true. There are two types of this corrupting power in action. At the top the ruling party and its chiefs have secured position and power to make or attempt to make basic changes in the structure of society, imagining that they can achieve revolution without revolution. Illusion and megalomania are the consequences of this corruption produced by power at the top. They attempt to change the personal laws as to succession making fundamental changes which must totally dislocate the structure of life at the very base. At one stroke, for instance, they have made laws to double fragmentation of real property and scatter the fragments by offering to the daughter an equal position with the son without taking into account the social and economic and family changes involved in a woman's life by reason of marriage which is still an universally prevailing institution in our country. This is a capital example of exhibitionism and thoughtlessness. They desire to banish religion and God from Indian life. They seek to regulate life in fields where regulation was unknown. They seek to disturb the fundamental agricultural economy of our country.

The party system and the totalitarian position of the ruling party deprive the Government of all effective checks in the implementation of these unwise programmes. I attribute the unwisdom to the corrupting influence of power and want of faith in the people, the assumption that they are ignorant and are not likely to do the right thing unless compelled.

The second type of corruption by reason of power is at the lower levels of the party, where bosses and important elements in the political machine interfere with justice in the executive administration. Officials have lost their

old courage in standing up to political pressure. I need not expatiate on this. It is one of the most widely felt evils and if there is one reason more than another which has brought the Congress into disfavour, it is this.

The ruling party must be replaced by a party that will respect the freedom of the individual. The Swatantra Party stands for this freedom. It stands for individual initiative and enterprise. State initiative, except where it is conceded to be necessary, amounts to compulsion. Compulsion kills initiative, and regulation kills interest and responsibility. We want all policies to be based on faith in the people as the moral foundation of government, discarding compulsion. Taxation is not, as some persons wrongly imagine, ruled out by our doctrine of freedom. Taxation may be high, though not excessive, according to the amount of the welfare activities taken up by the state. What we object to is taxation that cripples private initiative and kills the goose which we expect to lay eggs of gold. There is a wide spectrum between absolute freedom and socialist regulations or state capitalism. We stand for a pull towards private initiative and the liberty of the citizen to live a free life. We are against any form of deception intended to deceive the poorer sections of the people. There is no morality in promising the people what cannot be performed, just to strengthen your party.

In the recent past the press had lapsed into an uncritical mood and if I may say so, into an attitude of even adulation of the ruling party. It has, however, now begun to be critical. It has thrown away the reserve that prevailed till very recently. We are very grateful for this. But for that very reason, the ruling party is now angry with the Press. This is yet another proof of the unfitness of the party to continue in their position.

The new party and its adumbrated programmes are criticised from two different angles. One class of critics display an incorrigible faith in state compulsion as necessary for progress and an equally incorrigible want of faith in the people. Their desire for compulsion and regulation is incompatible with faith in the people, with faith in democracy. It is incompatible with the principles of freedom for which we stand. In fact, these critics should hope for the reform of the Congress Party from within, which hope I have lost.

The other angle of criticism is from all those whose ambition is for a place in the sun. They enquire and reflect whether this new party will succeed. They wish to know what its chances of strength and victory are. It is needless for me to tackle this type of criticism. The only question that we should put to ourselves is this: Is a new party, a party standing up for **Swatantra** necessary? If it is necessary, we must work for it steadily and bravely. If there is moral and political justification for the party, the nation will not allow it to fail. **Satyameva jayate**. It does not matter how old I am. It will grow irrespective of me from strength to strength.

We cannot fight oppression if we continue to be afraid of oppression. We cannot fight and remove the cause of fear if we do not throw off fear. To be afraid is to be more and more victimised.

The convention will presently consider and settle the programme of the Party. But I can say even at this stage that the Swatantra Party is pledged to social justice and equality of opportunity for all people without distinc-

tion not only of religion, caste or occupation but even of political affiliations. The Party is based on the truth that the progress, welfare, and the true happiness of the people of our country, as in other countries, depend on individual incentive, enterprise and energy. The state is merely an aggregation. We hold that state interference and state management destroy individual incentive, individual freedom and energy. We therefore stand for the great principle enunciated by Gandhiji and constantly emphasised by him, of maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State. We hold, as I have said before, that our fundamental article of faith for the policies of government should be founded on faith in the people and not on state compulsion and certainly not on the encouragement of hatred and conflict between class and class or on expropriation of lawfully held property, repudiation of obligations and on the conferment of more and more powers on the officials of government at the expense of the freedom of the citizen. We hold that the state should foster and utilise the sense of moral obligation felt by individuals to serve others and the pride and satisfaction such service gives, which are inherent in our tradition rather than adopting legislative or executive compulsion. We hold that every effort should be made to foster and maintain spiritual values. We hold that the present policies and trends of the ruling party lead to the increasing dominance of a purely materialistic philosophy.

There is a pervading sense of uncertainty in the country. We hold that this is fatal to progress. The Swatantra Party should keep as its immediate goal the aim and the sense of stability and incentive for individual effort. This can only be done by strict adherence to the fundamental rights and guarantees specified in the Constitution as originally adopted in respect of freedom of property, trade and occupation and that if any property is to be compulsorily acquired by the State for public purposes, just compensation should be given.

Whatever principles are laid down as a result of deliberations at this convention I feel that we should make it clear that on any matter not covered by those principles every member of the party should be completely free to hold his own views and to express them and to organise for carrying them into effect without being deterred or restricted by party whips. This is not intended to rope in all kinds of people but it is intended to create a sense of freedom instead of the present prevailing sense of suppression in the atmosphere of political parties. Just as we desire to have minimum government and maximum freedom for the citizen we ought to have minimum party restrictions and maximum freedom so that if and when we get into a position of responsibility we shall not be interfering with the essential principle of democracy that, on all issues, outside the fundamentals of the Party, the real majority view of Parliament on those matters should prevail and not what is really a minority opinion happening to be the majority view of the ruling party. These restrictions and whips and rules of discipline that are deemed so sacred in the present climate of political parties, really convert the parties into mere cliques. In the fundamentals of the Party, there should be no swerving from accepted principles. In all other matters, we should be free and we should feel free. Otherwise, there can be no progress through the Parliamentary system.

We should definitely turn our eyes away from the temptations of dictatorial governance. We may be relieved of a great deal of burden if we transfer all responsibilities to a dictator. But that is not the way to true happiness either for the citizen or for the people as a whole.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not say how grateful we are to the Agricultural Federation of India for the inspiration they gave us for the formation of this Party and to the Forum of Free Enterprise that helped us so greatly in the preliminary work. Prince and peasant, captains of industry and the toilers in the factories, the small shopkeepers as well as the wholesalers, all who prize the liberty of the individual and in particular the poor who are losing their occupations, all those who wish to resist the inroads of the State and its machinery on liberty we welcome in this our Party of Swatantra.

With these words, I conclude, invoking the blessings of Providence and of the rishis on our deliberations.

**CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS by
N. G. RANGA, M.P.**

WE meet here on this day in sacred memory of our great national leader of indomitable courage, Sri Bala Gangadhar Tilak, who enunciated the inspiring principle "Swaraj is my birthright." It is in the fitness of things that we should be gathering here today after having had these twelve years of Swaraj India's experience of growing encroachments of the State upon what we enshrined in our original Constitution as the fundamental rights and the traditional socio-economic freedoms and privileges, to make the complementary declaration that "Swatantra India is also the birthright of every individual in Swaraj."

We are grateful to Rajaji, the sage statesman, the closest collaborator for long of Bapuji and the ablest of our national leaders, for having roused our nation to the menace of Soviet inspired Statism which has been gaining its stranglehold so rapidly, through the all-enveloping tentacles of the Plan. We are also grateful to the peasants' organisations for their courageous revolts against Congress plans to impose ceilings and, unilaterally on the agriculturists, introduce cooperative farming and also for their political initiative in convening the Madras Conference which gave birth to the Swatantra Party to champion the causes of freedom and independence of

our masses. When crores of self-employed masses, artisans, traders, professional peoples as well as the proletariat of the towns and villages are in danger of being overwhelmed by the New State of the Plan and the New Class born out of nineteenth century socialism and Soviet inspiration, Rajaji has come forward with his clarion call to our masses to band themselves together to work and fight for the protection and furtherance of our birthright, Swatantra.

These twelve years of Swaraj Government have brought to the fore certain dangers inherent in planned economy and the prevailing political atmosphere of Sovietism that has unobtrusively come to influence our planners and Government. Our friends of the Congress who have come into power after long decades of striving and who have been enjoying it for so long without any effective fear of losing it, have fallen very much in love with it. So they have forgotten the historic evils and dangers of that power if allowed to go on making such inroads into the basic freedoms and rights of individuals, groups and masses, and have failed to have any second thoughts as to the dangers of its uncontrolled exercise. They have become so intoxicated with the use of these powers of the post-war State, augmented as they have been by the war-time legacy of controls that they have mustered courage to seek to destroy the very foundations of our social economy. It is now for all lovers of India's traditional family economy, which has withstood many challenges from successive rulers, both Indian and foreign, to mobilise all their forces to arrest the mad rush towards Sovietism and destruction of every kind of freedom and independence that gives any meaning to our existence as human beings. The Swatantra Party has come into existence to shoulder this sacred responsibility.

We are being attacked, as being people of yesterday's thoughts by no less a person than Jawaharlalji because we dare take up this challenge of the Congress to the fundamental rights and the farm-family economy which is the very marrow of our Nation. But we are convinced ours is part of the world-wide movement, of liberation of the individual from the controls of Statism and uplifting of the personality of every human being. Ours is a challenge to the totalitarian tendencies and dictatorial parties masquerading as Governments which are threatening to overwhelm humanity.

This cause of Swatantra and the cry for Swatantra is an ageless one; it is as old as society in its relations with its individual members and their groupings. From the days of our Rishis, long before the age of Ramayana and Mahabharata down to the era of Socrates and Athenian democracy, sages and statesmen were obliged to debate and their peoples had to struggle with successive types of rulers, as to the nature and quantum of Swatantra the people in their homes, associations and citizenship should achieve for their spiritual and material progress, consistent with their need for the state to assure them of the basic national security, peaceful existence and social harmony. Plato and Aristotle argued from opposite sides over this essential question as to what should conduce most to the happiness of people; to give more power to the State or to allow more Swatantra to the

individual. The schoolmen of Europe of the Middle Ages had to reconcile themselves to what is known as pluralism in social structure in which various guilds of craftsmen, and city corporations were allowed to enjoy the freedom of corporate organisations free from interference by the State.

In India too the conception and practice of **dharma** were evolved through several centuries and popularised through the didactic treatises including the popular Epics and Bhajan Songs, and kings, their ministers and the whole hierarchy of officials had come to accept it as their inviolable code of conduct. According to that **dharma**, the rights and privileges of internal autonomy in almost all social and economic matters of self-governing guilds of craftsmen and professionals, and panchayats of peasants and villagers were fully assured and respected and peasant proprietorship and craftsmen's economic freedom were accepted as warp and woof of the fabric of our social economy. Almost all the people of our country were encouraged to achieve self-employment and thus attain social and economic independence irrespective of the personnel of the rulers. Whenever encroachments were sought to be made directly or indirectly by the rulers upon these individual and group freedoms there were revolts from the people concerned as well as others against the power of the rulers. The British Bill of Rights, the French and American Charter of Natural Rights of Man came to take their shape, as a result of such revolts and revolutions. We, of these two generations have been through the past seventy years of national struggle to achieve, once again, these rights and freedoms from the encroachments made by British imperialism. And European peoples of the Western and Eastern systems of governments made common cause, during the second world war to fight and defeat fascism. Those Europeans who fought for freedom in their respective countries were known variously as Liberals, Radicals, Republicans and Revolutionaries. In the inter-war period, the Champions of Freedom came to organise themselves internationally also and fight for national independence and human freedom for peoples of all countries and called themselves the anti-imperialists. Later on, they took up the role of anti-fascists, during the second world war. Ever since the Soviet powers have refused to accept the United Nations Charter of Human Rights and began to envelop countries after countries in Eastern Europe and Asia with their suffocating communist overcoats denying human rights and depriving the peasants of their holdings and self-employment and oppressing the intellectuals and the professionals by opposing their freedom of thought, speech and writing, all freedom loving people have been obliged to face upto this challenge and fight for the Swatantra of the Indian conception embracing human rights and freedom and the independence of people, as individuals and members of concentric circles of self-governing groups and associations. It does not need much display or heroism for rulers to retain power and expand their control over others. But to question their authority, arrest its expansion, to keep it under control, guide and regulate its use for the benefit of people and also for the expansion of their privileges, has always demanded all the moral and physical courage and material sacrifices from the noblest of all nations. This is the role that the Swatantra Party has now taken up. This is the mission it has chosen to

fulfil. It is unfortunate that Jawaharlalji should have mistaken this heroic role and noble mission for a lost cause of the nineteenth century. However, we shall continue to march ahead under the leadership of the Swatantra Party and Rajaji, with the full confidence that our mission will protect and promote the invaluable human rights, self-employment and other social and economic freedoms and privileges of our masses. This is an all-world embracing movement. I am glad to inform you that our valued colleague Sri Masani was recently chosen as one of the Patrons of the Liberal International.

It is surprising that Jawaharlalji who has made such a deep study of the history of these freedom movements and who has played such an important role in the league against imperialism and the fight against fascism should be repeating his unhistorical charge that the inauguration of this movement by the Swatantra Party and the Kisan Sammelan smacks of the nineteenth century. This is indeed the most progressive and the latest contribution to the ageless human struggle for freedom and independence against the equally ever-recurrent manoeuvres of those in power over the lives, freedoms and free associations of people.

We are today obliged to protest against the Soviet approach of our planners. There was a time, when I for one did much to promote the plan for the establishment of the Planning Commission and for the making of the National Development Plan. But never did I imagine that the Planners would try to subvert our National Economy in such a manner as to make me explain in Parliament, as I was obliged to when the First Five Year Plan was presented, that it was a pale imitation of the Soviet Plan and not at all a Gandhian plan. The Second Five Year Plan made a bolder approach to Sovietism while paying lip homage to the principle of decentralisation and the economy of cottage industries and peasant proprietorship.

Most of the people in our country have been so keen on rapid economic development that they allowed themselves to be hypnotised by the magnitude of the rupee values of the Plan Expenditure and the National Hydro Schemes, Iron & Steel Plants, chemical works and machine tool factories. So they did not care to pay much attention to what appeared to be didactic theses on agrarian and other aspects of our national life incorporated so cleverly by the Planning Commission in their **Neo Maha Bhagvata** (report on the plan). Now that the Planning Commission has begun to give concrete shape to several of the chapters in its theses on agriculture, industry and trade and the Congress Party wanted to toe the line through its preparatory resolution at Avadi and Amritsar and its greatest Nagpur declarations of the preparatory steps proposed to be taken to enable the Planning Commission to give practical effect to its schemes, that large sections of our people have begun to realise the real intentions of the planners and their Government.

We know now, thanks to the Nagpur exposition, that the Congress and the Planning Commission which, too, deprive our peasants of their much-cherished self-employment. They want to induce them by direct and indirect means at the disposal of the Government to accept the position of wage-earning members of cooperative farming under the guise of the farm

managements being amenable to their democratic control. They want to deprive them of their peasant proprietorship and control and utilisation of their holdings. They desire to exploit the need of peasants for the service cooperatives to cajole and coerce them into embracing cooperative farming. Similarly they wish to draw millions of our artisans into the embraces of the small factories tied up however loosely, to the growing large-scale economy as is evident by their plans to replace the whole of the handloom weavers of more than one crore by the introduction of five lakhs of power looms through the sugarcoated weavers' power looms cooperatives. They want also to replace crores of small shopkeepers and their family economy of trading by introducing state-controlled, regulated or owned grain shops (whether cooperative or otherwise), manned and supervised by so-called educated and qualified employees. All these evil possibilities have become patent only after the Congress passed its Nagpur resolution.

The people of our country do not approve of these objectives, plans, schemes and intrigues against their cherished social, economic freedom based on their family economy. This has been demonstrated through the nation-wide protests voiced from the platforms of the peasants, artisans and traders. The Swatantra Party has arisen as an answer to the challenge of the Congress and the Planning Commission to those precious liberties and freedom of the great majority of our nation to find self-employment and a modicum of social security in the family economy in agriculture, cottage industries and trade. The Swatantra Party is the political champion of these peoples and their freedom-laden family economy.

It is no satisfactory answer even to those sections of the freedom loving Congressmen to say, as some of the top-most Congress leaders, are saying, that the Nagpur resolution has not said anything new but only tried to amplify what had been already stated in 1945, 1951 and 1957 election manifestoes. The Nagpur resolution was like the last straw that breaks the camel's back. It brought into relief what had not earlier been so clearly noticed. Surely that last straw cannot be justified because the earlier leads had been borne patiently. Similarly, the Nagpur resolution cannot be imposed upon loyal Congressmen and those sections of the public who have reposed for so long their confidence in the Congress just because they had so patiently and confidently accepted the earlier manifestoes which had contained some of these things along with so many other hopes and aspirations. In fact so many of us took early steps to protest against those proposals in the Congress manifesto which were capable of weakening our present economy and replacing it by cooperative farms and state farms. In 1945 the Congress talked of making experiments in cooperative farming and state farming when it was not in power and when our knowledge of the working of such farms in Soviet country was so meagre and one-sided. In 1951 when the Congress wanted to meddle with the peasant family economy and suggested the possibility of depriving the peasants of small and uneconomic holding from their self-employment without offering any alternative many of us broke away from it and organised our rival political parties and protested against it. I am sure that most Congressmen did not attach as much importance to that suggestion contained in the election

manifesto as their traditional craftsmen might have intended. Otherwise, they would have protested against it, at least as ineffectually as was done at Nagpur. Now that this great issue has come so fortunately to be presented in the country all by itself in the form of the Nagpur resolution, the masses of our country have begun to bestir themselves against this menace to the basic feature of our economy.

I am confident that just as the world has emerged alive and kicking from out of fascism and peasants of the European Soviet Lands have been fighting their way out of what seem to be suffocating totalitarianism of Communist states, so also Indian peasants as well as proprietors and tenants working in alliance with such proprietors will continue to fight against the one sided ceilings that are sought to be imposed upon them without paying just compensation and also against the national campaigns for the organisation of cooperative farming to take the place of peasant family farm economy. They know only too well that the service cooperatives are avowed to serve to decoy sections of them into the other national campaign for cooperative farms. Fortunately Indian peasants have had 45 years of experience during this Gandhian Era, of struggling peacefully as well as through Satyagraha against many such intrigues hatched against them by the British, the old feudal order and capitalists. Some of us have grown grey through our participation in these battles. So we are confident of peasants' continued support in the present struggle also. We are equally confident of our ultimate success, hence the quick reaction against the Nagpur challenge.

It is, however, the duty of all political parties, who value the freedom of peasants to enjoy proprietorship of their holdings and who cherish the family economy and self-employment on the farm and in the shop and workshop, to strengthen this struggle of our peasants as well as artisans and others. I am very glad that Rajaji has given us the clarion call that the Swatantra Party has come into existence, especially to protect the Farm and Family; these are the two great social and economic institutions which are being menaced everywhere by communists, socialists and their fellow travellers. It is symbolic of the Congress leadership's divorce from the Gandhian way and liaison with the Soviet way that it should have chosen to menace the family economy of our Kisans and Kalakars. It is equally symbolic of the historic mission of our peasantry that they should have intuitively reacted to the challenge of Nehruism by being the sponsors of the Madras Conference which brought this party into existence with the Ashirwad and Namkarna ceremonies at which Rajaji officiated.

We are face to face with the danger of our masses being driven by this one-party dominated State into the long-long dark night which has been depressing the Soviet countries, if Jawaharlalji's drive towards indiscriminate cooperativisation of agriculture, trade and industry is not arrested in time. He may think that he is marching towards light and not darkness. But let him pause and see why the Soviet countries are yielding concessions after concessions to their peasants and in allowing them to recapture the enjoyment of their small so-called kitchen gardens of up to two acres per family. His own Labour Minister, Nandaji, had to admit that freedom and

liberalism are being introduced by small doses into their totalitarian Sovietism. Does that not hold a beacon-light to us? Is that not also a warning that we should not embrace their darkness, only later on to hanker after light? Are we to accept the dismissal almost to a political operation of the Kerala Communist Ministry only to sneak into their brand of darkness and steal their discarded clothes and put the trademark of Nehruism on the resultant grave of human freedom and farm family economy and the self-employment of Kisans and Kalakars?

I am glad to find that more and more of our masses are awakening to the need to fight against such plans of the government to subvert the major segment of our social economy. The Swatantra Party is placing itself in the vanguard of this growing revolt of the masses against these plans.

The Statement of Principles and various resolutions adopted at the closed Sessions of the Convention were formally presented, and after discussion unanimously adopted. The following speakers participated in the debate.

Sardar Udham Singh Nagoke from the Punjab spoke in Urdu:

"The formation of the Swatantra Party has become necessary because of the deviation of the Congress and its leaders from the righteous path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. I have every hope that the new party, under the inspiring leadership of Mr. Rajagopalachari, will take the country forward on truly Gandhian lines.

I am strongly opposed to the Nagpur resolution of the Congress on co-operative farming, land ceiling and collective farming, and call upon Mr. Nehru to scrap the resolution forthwith.

I challenge the Government to implement the resolution in the Punjab. If it is done, the entire Punjab will be converted into a Jallianwala Bagh. No Government in India will succeed if it acts contrary to the real interests of agriculturists. The Punjabis can never be dispossessed of their land.

"India's food problem will not be solved by tampering with the lands of the peasants. It can only be solved by bringing under cultivation a 100 million acres of land which still remain uncultivated throughout the country.

"I invite Mr. Rajagopalachari to visit the Punjab in January to see for himself the unrest and discontent prevailing among the peasantry as a result of the Nagpur resolution. The Punjabi peasants are prepared to sacrifice their lives in opposing the implementation of that resolution."

Sir H. P. Mody from Bombay:

"Many people have asked me what are we opposed to? We are opposed to every party, every group or every individual who seeks to curtail the liberties of the people of India. And it is significant in that connection that we should be against the Congress and the Communists precisely on the same grounds. Our friends, the Communists have no use for liberty at all, and our friends the Congress have set up an elaborate constitution in which the liberties of the people have been enshrined. But they are doing everything that they possibly can to cut down the tree of liberty and to reduce it to dust and ashes.

"The mass of people had great faith in the Congress and its leadership. But, that position is no longer there. Power has obviously intoxicated those who are in authority today. I am not going to talk about the top-leaders for whom I have profound respect. The trouble is with the little men invested with a brief authority who have started a mode of life which has disgusted the mass of the people. They have surrounded themselves with pomp and pageantry. And, therefore, on all these accounts, apart from their radical policies, they have created a revulsion of feeling which has made possible the foundation of this party and the enthusiasm with which it has been greeted by the mass of the people. But there is a positive content in our philosophy—we believe in the liberty of the individual and social justice, providing for a more equitable distribution of the wealth, talents and resources of the community. We stand for incentives because we believe that without incentives it is impossible to improve the economic position of the people. Who is working without a profit motive? Are those people who are finding themselves in power and who have entrenched themselves there, are they working without a profit motive? I am prepared to change my place any time with them. Here is a sporting offer.

"But above all, the party stands for the small man. It is the small man who has been ground down by the policies of the Congress. His life has been made hard with shortages, scarcities, high prices, chronic unemployment and so on. And it is the small man whom we are going to defend. Whilst the party holds certain fundamental principles as sacred, by which every member of the party is bound, it leaves a large field for individual expression of opinion. I think it is a move to subserve democracy in the best sense of the word.

Maharajkumar Hukum Singh from Rajasthan:

"I take this opportunity to congratulate Rajaji on giving the country a historical lead in this hour of spiritual crisis."

"It is because of the ideology of this party which suits us that we have come whole-heartedly, I would like to assure the hon'ble members of the Party and the delegates, that we in Rajasthan are slow in deciding, but once we have decided we whole-heartedly plunge into it and I can assure you that Rajasthan will not lag behind from any other State of the Country."

Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy from Madras:

"It is in the interest of the Congress Party and the Government that I ask for support of the Swatantra Party. Because no parliamentary government can be strong and efficient without a strong opposition. It tends to become careless, flabby, lazy. The Congress Party has told the country that the Swatantra Party is led by retired men. One would have thought that it would be better to be ruled by retired men than by the tired men who are trying to rule us in our country.

"Mr. Nehru has got a number of favourite phrases which he uses against people or things which he does not like. Unfortunately, he is a very busy man, he has so many trials and tribulations, mostly from his own Party, that he has no time to read any statement issued by the Swatantra Party. Let him study and let him deal with every word of these principles of the Swatantra Party and deal with them as a politician deals with a rival politician's statement. Good ideals, however good they may be, wait for the hour and the man. The hour was the Nagpur Resolution and the man was Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

"It is the peasants who have resisted communism and the communists. It may well be the peasants who are going to offer battle to the Congress and other socialist parties in the country.

Mr. M. H. Bakshi from Maharashtra spoke in Marathi:

"I am of the view that the formation of the Swatantra Party will be helpful in the achievement of Samyukta Maharashtra and Mahagujarat."

Mr. K. M. Munshi from Bombay:

I am today severing my connection with the Congress which started 57 years ago as a volunteer of the 18th session of the Congress.

For several months past I have been passing through a psychological crisis. I felt that I would be failing in my duty if I did not raise my voice to say that things were going wrong, hopelessly wrong, and that we are uprooting ourselves from the genius of our country.

I am very glad to be on this platform today. It is the same platform to which I devoted myself from the days I followed Mahatma Gandhi in 1930. Upto 1950, the Congress was loyal to Gandhian democracy and to the Constitution. Then came a swing, first towards Co-operative Commonwealth, then towards Socialistic Pattern, then Socialism, then I do not know what next. We are having a kind of socialism of which there is no objective criterion, of which there is no philosophic basis nor any indigenous technique. Bit by bit we are being led towards naked totalitarianism.

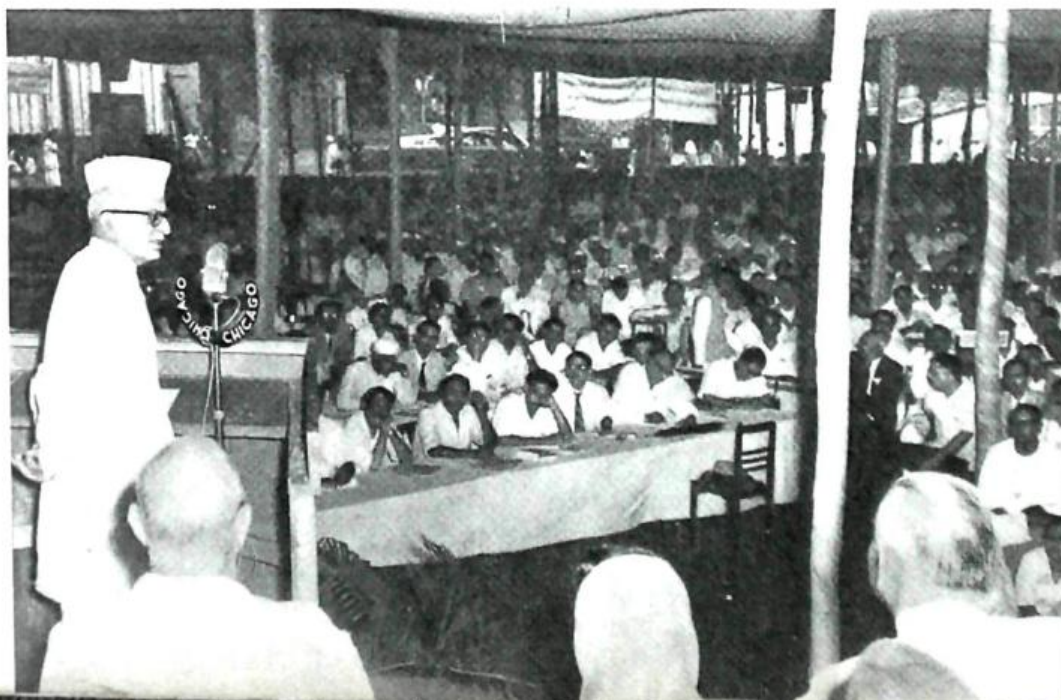
In 1950, the Constituent Assembly was a free forum of discussion. After a month's discussion and a strenuous one, the original Article 31 of the Constitution was accepted, giving the right of property to the citizens of this country. But then, later, the Constituent Assembly became the Parliament. The Congress Party became a parliamentary party with rigid control by the leader and the whip. Then came new amendments by which the right to property was whittled down. A clause was introduced by which laws were



Sardar Udham Singh Nagoke from the Punjab.



Mr. G. D. Gupta from Madhya Bharat.



*Mr. K. M.
Munshi from
Bombay.*



Informal discussion between Rajaji, Prof. Ranga and Mr. Masani.

Mrs. D. Lynn, garlanding Rajaji.



exempted from the operation of the Act, one of which laid down that if 66% of the holders of land in a village agree, the remaining 34% have to join a co-operative society. Substitution of a valueless piece of paper for the right to enjoy the property is nothing but expropriation.

We are told that in the matter of co-operative farming, there is going to be no compulsion. People who talk glibly about it should go round the country and see what is happening. The whole machinery of Congress propaganda and ministerial and official pressures are being brought to bring co-operative societies in existence on paper. Land-owners are being liquidated.

The claim that co-operative farming is going to produce more food is pure and utter nonsense. I know fairly well what kind of co-operative farming is going on in this country. In most cases they are run by a few people with a view to get loans and subsidies from the government. The money goes to the members of the co-operatives, but not necessarily for food production.

Nowhere in the world, where roots of farmers are embedded in the soil, has co-operative farming produced more food. What is obvious does not strike the Congress. If one steel mill less had been constructed, we might have got three fertiliser plants. If reckless and wasteful expenditure on vast irrigation plans had been curtailed and the monies diverted to minor irrigation projects, as I suggested in 1950, we would have more food by now.

After 1950, we were in a haste to forget Gandhiji. Instead of being the inspiring force, we enshrined him as the Father of the Nation. We are raising him a beautiful monument. But we have seen to it that his ideals and policies slowly disappear from the Congress. Truth and non-violence are forgotten. We have sacrificed Gandhian democracy based on moral and spiritual values.

Above everything, let us not forget that freedom is the breath of life. We, therefore, stand four-square against all forces of totalitarianism, whether they are called Communism or by any other name or appear in any other guise. That is the main platform of the Swatantra Party.

Mr. S. S. Mariswamy from Madras:

"I am the General Secretary of that Indian Democratic Party which was formed two years ago on the eve of elections to fight mainly against congress candidates. We contested 46 seats and we managed to capture 23 seats. Our party is now functioning in the local legislature as the major official opposition party. When the news came that Rajaji has started this party, all the members of the party unanimously agreed to join hands with the newly formed Swatantra Party. Our Party without forming an electoral alliance with any other party, was able to capture two major municipalities in Madras State and again we are now about to capture another four or five municipalities. We must all see that this mal-administration, this mis-rule, this corrupt regime is ousted and replaced by a good one. Therefore, we must have a genuine Government of the Swatantra Party.

"I am quite sure that the people who followed Bapuji would also without any hesitation follow Rajaji and see that the country is free, the Congress

is ousted from the Government, and a real Swaraj Government is established in this wonderful land by the Swatantra Party."

Mr. Nabakishoredas from Orissa:

We are not here to destroy the Congress, we are here to build Democracy. Congressmen must realise that the Swatantra Party will not only protect the Congress, but also it will build a healthy democratic tradition and a free democratic life in the country. That is the special mission which this party must fulfil.

The civilizations of Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome, they all have vanished. But the civilization of India survived Mogul rule, British rule, Maratha rule and even Congress rule. This is only a revolution, intellectual revolution, moral revolution and it is that which can survive the party. Our function is to bring a change in outlook and a form which is suitable to India and which is congenial to the Indian soil, the Indian mind and the Indian people.

I invite young men with vision, sacrifice, and a service motive to come and build the Swatantra Party.

It is only by your efforts, by your co-operation, by your collaboration, by your determination, we can build up a Party, and a culture.

Mr. V. P. Menon from Kerala:

When this country attained its freedom in 1947, we had in our midst leaders like Gandhiji, Sardar Patel and Rajaji. Within four years of time, we consolidated this country and passed a Constitution. Misfortune would have it, Gandhiji was assassinated and the Sardar died. Upto this stage, things were going on an even keel because these two great people stood for stability. Now the mantels have fallen on the shoulders of Rajaji. With the help of young men who I am sure will come forward in large numbers and with their co-operation and their dedicated sense of duty to the country, we will be able to show before long to Rajaji, that we mean business and will give him substantial results.

Raja of Ramgarh from Bihar:

I represent the Janata Party at this Convention.

We have in the Assembly today 23 members of the Party, and in Parliament we have four members. We feel that the Congress rule has been a tyrannical rule, to grab power and to harass the common man. It has been a Government with the sole intention, in the name of poor people, to take away whatever is left with them and to bother them in all sphere of life.

When I received the invitation, we were all very happy in Bihar, that the day has now come for a unified opposition, not only in one State but throughout the country. I have been sent here as an observer, and the views that have been expressed from this platform have really inspired me. I can assure you that the Janata Party of Bihar will decide to co-operate wholeheartedly with you and we shall be able to give you a Swatantra Party Government in the State of Bihar.

Mr. M. R. Masani's Appreciation of Cooperation:

As Chairman of the Organising Committee, Mr. Masani apologised to the participants in the Convention for the many inadequacies in the arrangements that had been made for their reception, some of which were due to inclement weather and the short notice at which the Convention had been organised. He proceeded to express the thanks of the Organisers to Shrimati M. S. Subbalakshmi and the Murthy sisters for their songs, to Mr. P. Pavri for the construction of the attractive pandal, to Mr. K. M. Mody for his generosity in offering the grounds of the Central Studio, to Mr. K. M. Munshi and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for the use of their theatre, to the Bhatia Volunteer Corps for their services and to the Press for their co-operation. He also thanked the Secretaries and Members of the Organising Committee for their cooperation in making the Convention a success.

In conclusion, Mr. Masani thanked an anonymous donor for the contribution of Rs. 10,000 to the funds of the Party which had come in since he had spoken the previous morning.

Concluding speech by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari:

I rise to give my blessings to all of you, especially to younger people.

Sardar Nagoke has said that the whole of the Punjab is ready to give us support. That shows that this is not merely the voice of a lone southerner. *The stronger voice of a Sardar in the Punjab gives expression to the hopes of the Swatantra Party.*

We want honest work, conviction, loyalty and steadiness of purpose, such as that of the Raja of Ramgarh. I hope that the Swatantra Party will have a large number of such men in course of time.

We feel that the Congress is becoming Communist. It is not the particular members of the Communist Party that we are against. If the Congress, which was so dear to us adopts a line which we think is the same as the Communist line, I feel exactly the same towards them as I feel towards the Communists.

I am not sorry because the Communists are going wrong. I am very sorry because the Congress is going wrong. If a person is temperamentally ready to admit his wrong, he would not have committed that wrong. But I make my charge though they may not admit it.

I make this charge that all they do is lowering the value of **dharma** and heightening the value of money and property. They raise the volume of greed in this country, by constant emphasis and concentration on the material value of life. Therefore, friends, don't be deceived by semantic jugglery. Let us see whether we are right or whether we are wrong. I think we ought to respect what is good and reject what is bad.

We want to raise **dharma** to the level to which it is entitled to and lower material values to the place to which it should be consigned. That is the philosophy of the Swatantra party.

I would like to draw your attention to two or three of the articles that we have adopted. We say that there should be no discrimination and the Gov-

ernment should help all institutions, **dharma** is common to all religion and all religions teach **dharma**. If good people wish to start institution and teach religion along with secular knowledge, we should encourage them.

I draw your attention to the article regarding the freedom of opinion and action in all matters other than the resolutions adopted as fundamentals. I am glad that political enlightenment has reached a level where they see the importance of this. In all countries in the world which believe in parliamentary democracy, I want them to restrict themselves to the basic articles of faith to which they give their homage. On all other matters, they should give complete freedom to their parties. If that is done, political parties will cease to be the cliques. If we give effect to this doctrine of democracy, which you have adopted, we shall have true parliamentary majority rule in the country. I give an immediate and striking example.

I am totally opposed to giving up English as the official language of our country. The majority of the Swatantra Party will be totally opposed to my view. The entire country will swear that English should be replaced. I would say we would be wrong in doing that, as long as my voice does not fail. But I want the majority opinion to prevail. I will fight against it. I have faith in your reason, in your judgment. But the party discipline and the party whip should not take the place of reason and conscience.

In the Congress Party today, there is a sense of oppression because of these whips and this kind of control over every act accompanied by fear. But here we are, we begin with a charter of freedom and absolute freedom from fear. It is a new window for democracy. I want democracy to be freed from cliquism and from idolatry and from the personality cult.

Nobody in the Swatantra Party, which adopts this article will lose any position, or place or prestige on account of his totally different view on matters not included in these articles.

I will give you another example. Mr. Mody will say I am against the prohibition of intoxicating drinks. He is not against abstention, he is against Government prohibition of intoxicating drinks. I am for State prohibition, because the State may allow a man to drink, but it should not provide the drink for him. That is my theory. But it is not in the Swatantra Party. You are free to hold any opinion on that. I have held no opinion more fanatically than on these two points and keeping them out of the Swatantra Party is a great sacrifice on my part. It is a sacrifice based on reason and on enlightened thinking. It is necessary that on these points people should be allowed to think for themselves.

I must now thank you all for the manner in which you have received the services that I have rendered. I do not think that you should stress that too much. As many friends have spoken before about my refusal to open the party and do anything for it so often, you may take them all as accurate statements of fact. I was very unwilling for various reasons, personal, physical as well as spiritual. But I felt that if I don't do it now it won't be done at all. I leave it in your hands and in the hands of God my dear friends. And as I utter His name I give you my blessings and invoke the blessings of Providence on you all.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

1. The Swatantra Party is pledged to social justice and equality of opportunity for all people without distinction of religion, caste, occupation, or political affiliation.

2. The Party holds that the progress, welfare, and happiness of the people depend on individual initiative enterprise, and energy. The Party stands for the principle of maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State, consistent with the obligation to prevent and punish anti-social activities, to protect the weaker elements of society, and to create the condition in which individual initiative will thrive and be fruitful. The Party is, therefore, opposed to increasing State interference of the kind now being pursued.

3. The Party holds that the State should foster and utilise the sense of moral obligation, the pride, satisfaction, and fulfilment felt by individuals in serving others, which are inherent in our tradition, instead of adopting legislative or other forms of compulsion which commence with want of faith in the people and are consummated in the serfdom of the governed under the official machine, in an omnipotent State controlled by a political party voted to power. The Party, therefore, adheres to the principle of Trusteeship adumbrated by Gandhiji.

4. The Party holds that the policies of Government should be founded on faith in the people and not on State compulsion and the encouragement of hatred and conflict between class and class, expropriation, repudiation of obligations, and the conferment of more and more powers on the officials of Government at the expense of the freedom of the citizens.

5. The Party stands for every effort being made to foster and maintain spiritual values and preserve what is good in our culture and tradition, and avoid the dominance of a purely materialist philosophy of life which thinks only in terms of the standard of life without any reference to its content or quality.

6. The Party holds that steps should be taken to remove the pervading sense of uncertainty that has been created by the present policies of the Government and its varying forecasts of future plans, leading to the drying up of initiative and enterprise in land, shop, and factory alike. The Party holds that a sense of stability and incentive for individual effort can be restored only by strict adherence to the Fundamental Rights and Guarantees specified in the Constitution as originally adopted in respect of freedom of property, trade, and occupation, and just compensation for any property compulsorily acquired by the State for public purposes.

7. The Party holds that in the policies adopted for national development, priority must be assigned to the basic needs of the people, namely, food, water, housing, and clothing.

8. The Party believes that every citizen has a fundamental right to educate his children according to his choice and in a free atmosphere untrammelled by official directives and that the State should afford facilities for such education without discrimination.

9. The Party holds that the paramount need is for increasing food production and that this is best attained through the self-employed peasant-proprietor who is interested in obtaining the highest yield from his land.

The Party believes in an intensive programme of agricultural improvement by promoting the material and psychological inducement for greater production without disturbing the harmony of rural life. The Party holds that there should be no disturbance of ownership, management, and cultivation of land, but believes in a more effective programme than is being followed at present in respect of irrigation, and the supply of material, implements, credit and marketing facilities.

The Party believes in the need for giving every kind of help to agriculture, but is opposed to cultivation through organisations which reduce private ownership to an empty paper-title and which bring into being a loose kind of multiple ownership which is certain to sap the incentive of the farmer and his family, reduce output, and take us to a collective economy with official management. It is firmly opposed to collectivisation and bureaucratic management of the rural economy.

The Party takes note of the dissatisfaction amongst the rural population that adequate attention has not been paid to their needs. It holds that the level of life of the rural people should be improved by taking all steps necessary for the purpose, including the removal of all such impediments and in particular for maintaining a reasonable and steady price for agricultural produce, which is in parity with other prices.

10. In industry, the Party believes in the incentives for higher production and expansion inherent in competitive enterprise, with adequate safeguards for the protection of labour and against unreasonable profits, prices and dividends, where there is no competition or where competition does not secure the necessary corrective.

The Party stands for the restriction of State enterprise to heavy industries such as are necessary to supplement private enterprise in that field, such national services as Railways, and the starting of new enterprises which are difficult for private initiative.

The Party is opposed to the State entering the field of trade and disturbing free distribution, and introducing controls and official management with all its wastefulness and inefficiency.

The Party believes that in the field of production, the free choice of the producer and the consumer must be given basic place and importance.

11. The Party stands for the preservation of the freedom of the small and self-employed artisans, craftsmen, and traders, who are in danger of losing their occupational opportunities by reason of the policy of Statism. These persons perform a great, widespread, and inexpensive function in our society, and their gradual extinction will be a national misfortune and add to our unemployment problem.

12. The Party stands for greater thrift in public expenditure. It holds that taxation should be kept at such levels as will not interfere with reasonable living standards for the people, both rural and urban, and which, while being necessary and sufficient for the carrying on of administration and such social and economic services as are taken up by the State, is yet not so high and exacting of so ubiquitous as to prevent capital formation and private investment.

13. The Party is opposed to a programme of development based on crippling taxation, abnormal deficit financing, and foreign loans which are beyond the capacity of the country to repay.

14. The Party is opposed to all policies that lead to excessive inflation, high prices that reduce the value of savings, endowments, and fixed incomes, and which create undue hardship for the present generation in the hope of a distant gain.

15. The Party believes that the cost of Public Administration should be reduced considerably. It stands for integrity and efficiency in the services. It is against the expansion of the bureaucratic machine, with a hierarchy of officials asked to do work which is best done by citizens and private agencies, resulting in unproductive waste of national resources.

16. The Party believes that the State will best serve the nation by encouraging and affording facilities for a decentralised distribution of industry and by limiting its own regulatory function to the prevention and punishment of anti-social activities wherever called for.

17. The party stands for the creation of opportunities for full and lasting employment in all sectors of life. It stands for a programme of allround industrialisation with a view to developing national resources and reducing unemployment. It believes in a balanced development of capital-goods industries, organised consumer-goods industries, and rural industries that afford supplementary employment in the small-scale processing of the products of agriculture.

18. The Party stands for a fair deal for labour, whether in the field, factory or office, and for correlating wages to increased productivity and for the workers' right to organise for the purpose of collective bargaining. It stands for harmonising the interests of capital and labour when they get into conflict.

19. The Party is opposed to any form of political pressure being put on officials to deflect them from the course of fair and just discharge of duties without discrimination. It stands for the rule of law, an independent judiciary, and for the full play of the powers of judicial review given to the Courts by the Constitution.

20. The Party shall, in all matters, keep before itself the cardinal teachings of Gandhiji, maintaining faith in the people and in the efficacy of truth and non-violence.

21. The Swatantra Party holds that democracy is best served if every political Party allows freedom of opinion to its members on all matters outside the Fundamental Principles of the Party. It, therefore, gives its members, full liberty on all questions not falling within the scope of the Principles stated above.

MEMBERSHIP CLAUSE

Pending the adoption of the Constitution at the next Convention, resolved that members of the Swatantra Party be enrolled from among those who have completed 18 years of age and are in agreement with the Party's Statement of Principles and pay an annual subscription of Re. 1/- for membership if they reside in an urban area and 50 nP. if they reside in a rural area.

There shall be no bar to membership by reason of membership in any organisation working for special causes not inconsistent with the principles of the Swatantra Party.

RESOLUTIONS

1 RESOLVED that the Central Organisation Committee consist of Mr. N. G. Ranga, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Sir H. P. Mody, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. V. P. Menon, Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddy, Mr. Raghavendra Pratap Singh, Mr. Basant Singh, Mr. Bhailalbhair Patel, Mr. Venkitakrishna Reddy, and Mr. Hukum Singh.

2 RESOLVED that the Provisional All-India Council shall consist of the following.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Venkitakrishna Reddy, Mr. V. K. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Mr. N. G. Ranga, Mr. N. V. Naidu, Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddy, Mr. H. Kanungo, Mr. S. K. D. Palival, Mr. Raghavendra Pratap Singh, Mr. S. S. Shukla, Mr. Mirza Ahmed Alif, Mr. Basant Singh, Sardar Lal Singh, Mr. Raja Balindra Singh, Mr. Hukum Singh, Raja of Bhinai, Mr. Tyagi, Mr. Bhailalbhair Patel, Mr. Dadubhai Amin, Mr. Maganlal Joshi, Mr. Gandhi, Sir H. P. Mody, Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, Mr. Jinaraja Hegde, Mr. B. V. Narayana Reddy, Mr. Sarangapani Mudaliar, Mr. V. P. Menon.

Note: This list is not complete. As and when the Party is organised in various States, necessary persons will be included to represent other areas of the country.

3 RESOLVED that the manifesto of the Party be drawn up by a sub-Committee consisting of Mr. N. G. Ranga, Mr. M. R. Masani and Mr. S. Y. Krishnaswamy.

The following gentlemen, who are not members of the Party, have kindly agreed to give their expert advice and assistance in regard to any points on which the sub-committee might consult them:

(1) Sir B. Rama Rau, (2) Prof. T. K. Doraiswamy Iyer and (3) Prof. B. R. Shenoy.

4 THIS CONVENTION RESOLVES to institute forthwith a drive for enrolling members of the Party, and for this purpose it nominates the following Committee to make arrangements for the enrolment of members, including the selection of authorities therefor, issue membership forms and receipts, arrange for local and regional conventions and to do such other work as may be necessary for the purposes mentioned above:

Mr. N. G. Ranga, Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. V. P. Menon, Mr. Jinaraja Hegde, Mr. S. Y. Krishnaswamy (Convenor).

5 RESOLVED that the Leader of the Party be authorised to nominate a Committee for preparing a Draft Constitution for the Party to be placed before the next Convention.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

BOMBAY

1. Abbas, S. R.
2. Achar, R. D.
3. Ahmed Haji Noormohamad
4. Aluja Heman S.
5. Amin M. B.
6. Amroli Kamal
7. Bakar S. A.
8. Bakshi Dr. N. S.
9. Batadra N. M.
10. Bathena A. S.
11. Bhagia Khubchand
12. Bhatt Shantaram
13. Bhatt B. V.
14. Bhogilal Pratap
15. Bhogilal Bhagavati Pratap Mrs.
16. Billimoria J. S.
17. Billimoria Phiroze Dorab
18. Binnani M. K.
19. Bootwala Z. F.
20. Chadda I. D.
21. Chauhan Madhukar
22. Cherian P. C.
23. Chettiar Laxman
24. Chinai Mahesh R.
25. Cooper Dr. R. C.
26. Dabke K. B.
27. Dalal Ramanlal
28. Dalal Bhirajlal Sitaldas
29. Desai G. N.
30. Desai Ishwarlal N.
31. Desai T. M.
32. Desai K. D.
33. Desai T. D.
34. Desai Gunvantra
35. Dhobiwala J. M.
36. Diwan Miss Renu
37. Doraiswamy B. G.
38. Engineer Miss A. S.
39. Garudachar B. K.
40. Ghandi S. D.
41. Gujjar M. B.
42. Gulabchand Hirachand
43. Hansotia P. C.
44. Hathibhai P. C.
45. Hegde Dr. Rama
46. Huthesing Raja
47. Hussain S. G. K.
48. Ishwar K. C.
49. Iyengar S. K.
50. Iyengar S. R.
51. Jasdenwala A. A.
52. Joshi M. C.
53. Kabali P. M.
54. Kabali V.
55. Kaji H.
56. Kamdar B. M.
57. Kapoor Dr. R. P.
58. Kapadia Dhirubhai G.
59. Karaka F. K.
60. Kejriwala Paramanand
61. Khashyap M. K.
62. Khan Said Mohamed
63. Khambatta S. S.
64. Kittur A. A.
65. Korgonkar V. W.
66. Krishnan N. S.
67. Krishnakumar
68. Kulkarni R. D.
69. Kumana H. E.
70. Kusambi S. G.
71. Ladia K. K.
72. Lawyer J. S.
73. Lynn Mrs. C. F.
74. Mahadevia Niyogibhai
75. Mani M. G.
76. Mani G. R. S.
77. Mariwala Vallabhdas
78. Mapara M. N.
79. Marquis E. S.
80. Masani M. R.
81. Masani Mrs. M. R.
82. Matadar G. S.
83. Mehta Mrs. Jal
84. Mehta Dr. Meherji P.
85. Mehta Dr. C. A.
86. Mehta Jathubhai
87. Mendieta A.
88. Mistry Fali N.
89. Mistry B. K.
90. Mody H. P.
91. Mody K. H.
92. Mody N. R.
93. Mody Piloo
94. Moos H. B.
95. Mudaliar T. A.
96. Munshi Girish
97. Muthuswamy V.
98. Mruthy R. V.
99. Padia Chunilal V.
100. Palkiwala N. A.
101. Palkiwala N. A.
102. Pardiwala H. R.
103. Pardiwala Pushpa
104. Paranjoti Victor
105. Parekh R. H.
106. Parpia Mr.
107. Parpia Mrs.
108. Patani Yashwant M.
109. Parpia M. R.
110. Patel B. D.
111. Patel Bhanumati
112. Patel B. M.

113. Patel B. S.
114. Patel Kantilal M.
115. Patel Manibhai H.
116. Patel N. H.
117. Patel N. R.
118. Pather D. V.
119. Paymaster Burjor S.
120. Rai Mustaq
121. Rai R. A.
122. Raghavan Mrs. S
123. Rao G. S. R.
124. Rashi M.
125. Samuel Shellin
126. Sampat Narottam
127. Saxena Smt. Sneha
128. Saxena C. B
129. Shaikh M. M.
130. Shah K. C.
131. Shah P. N.
132. Shah Shantilal
133. Shah S. D.
135. Sethna D. P.
134. Sethna Burjor Pestonji
136. Shelat Dr. A. J.
137. Sheth Sharad V.
138. Sitaram P. G.
139. Shantilal Maganlal
140. Shroff N. R.
141. Shroff Phiroze J.
142. Soares Principal A.
143. Sawhney L.
144. Solanki Mr.
145. Subramaniam S.
146. Srikantia S. N.
147. Tata Miss R. F.
148. Thacker K. R.
149. Thyagi Dr. R. K.
150. Trivedi A. A.
151. Vaidya Murarji
152. Vakeel H. F.
153. Vajlani A. M.
154. Vakil B. R. B.
155. Vimadalal S. D.
156. Yoganand

U. P.

1. Agarwal L. S.
2. Agarwal Ram Bharosay
3. Agarwal Shiva Narayan
4. Bhatnagar G. T.
5. Gupta Ramdutt
6. Hassan Mohamad
7. Jain Padamchand
8. Kaushall Dr. J. N.
9. Khan Said Mohamad
10. Kumar P.
11. Mukherji P. K.
12. Narendra
13. Paliwal C. D.
14. Paliwal S. K. D.
15. Pandya Umanath
16. Pandeya Umanath
17. Prakash Shree

18. Prasad S. K.
19. Prasad Shyamla
20. Punjabi Dr. K. G.
21. Rai Tileshtar
22. Rao Capt. Shanker
23. Rath S. S.
24. Shah Raja Virendra
25. Sheth Hariram
26. Shukla Pandit Sitaram
27. Siddique
28. Singh Kunvar Purshottam
29. Singh Raghavendra Pratap
30. Singh Haripal
31. Singh Manhar
32. Singh R. M. Chandrapal
33. Singh Lachman
34. Singh Bhanu Pratap
35. Singh P. P.
36. Singh Padam
37. Singh Raghu K.
38. Trika Balraj
39. Vidyarthi R. S.

ANDHRA

1. Achary
2. Ankanna L.
3. Bhangarao
4. Bhavanishankar N.
5. Chowdari D. Kondiah
6. Chowdary T. S. N.
7. Chowdhury K. B.
8. Chowdhury V.
9. Dasharadaramayya
10. Gopalakrishna
11. Gopalan T. S.
12. Gopalakrishnamoorthy A.
13. Gowda Shiling
14. Kottiah M.
15. Nagaiah A.
16. Nageshwararao G.
17. Naidu N. V.
18. Naidu P. Rajagopal
19. Naidu P. Rajagopalacharya
20. Pisolkar S. A.
21. Prasad P. L. N.
22. Rajkumar N. Vijay
23. Ragavaiah K.
24. Ramakrishna S.
25. Ramaiah K.
26. Ranga Prof.
27. Rao Venketeswara
28. Rao B. B.
29. Rao Rammohana
30. Rao B. Thatha
31. Rao T. V. Prasad
32. Rao G. Devlal
33. Rao Vishweswara
34. Rao T. Gopal
35. Rathiah M.
36. Reddy Bajwada Ramchandra
37. Reddy S. Rama
38. Reddy V. Ramgopal
39. Seshachalam S.
40. Seshadri

41. Shastri M. V.
42. Shanmukachari P.
43. Simhachalam L. P.
44. Sivaramakrishnaraju P.
45. Sundararamaiah C. C.
46. Subbarao Shankara
47. Sudarsham K.
48. Suryanarayana K.
49. Subbarao N. V.
50. Subbiah V. V.
51. Umamaheshwararao M.
52. Venketasubbarao R.
53. Venketasubbiah G.
54. Veeriah C.
55. Venkaiah N.
56. Venkayya Nagen

DELHI

1. Agarwal
2. Ali Mirza Ahmed
3. Amichand Bhagat
4. Aurora Sundra
5. Azad Lala Maniram
6. Bali S. L.
7. Bisaria A. C.
8. Dave Acharya K.
9. Gupta Bhairam
10. Gupta N. C.
11. Jain Ram Narain
12. Kapasi Bhaikalal P.
13. Katia Divanchand
14. Kher R. P.
15. Lalsingh Sardar
16. Mansingh Sardar
17. Mittal
18. Nand D. J.
19. Pai K.
20. Pandit H. M.
21. Permanand
22. Podar L. N.
23. Quashi Zuban
24. Sattar Abdul
25. Sharma Ramchandra
26. Shastri T. D.
27. Shukla S. S.
28. Singal L. C.
29. Swaroop Baldev
30. Tarachand

BENGAL

1. Bhanu Indra
2. Krishnamoorthy T. S.
3. Mitra Dilip Kumar
4. Murthy A. S. N.
5. Pandit V. K.
6. Roy Satya
7. Sabarwal
8. Vania A. A.

RAJASTHAN

1. Bhandare Ratan Rupchand
2. Bhandari Ram Raj
3. Bhandriprasad
4. Bhatnagar Bibbirpal
5. Bhatnagar B. P.
6. Durgaprasad
7. Galkot Mahavirsingh
8. Gandhi S. D.
9. Godhra Kyali Ram
10. Hukumsingh Mahara
11. Kalyamsingh Raja
12. Khan Wahibullah
13. Ranavat M. S.
14. Sanghvi N. K.
15. Singh Ganta
16. Singh Madam Prof.
17. Singh Mahavir
18. Vyas Narayanlal

MAHARASHTRA

1. Bhagia Khubchand
2. Dhole Narhar Rajaram
3. Dialani Humanai
4. Dialani Shewalkrai
5. Motiram Shyam
6. Patwardhan V. G.
7. Ravel R. A.
8. Rueben David E.
9. Sahasrabhudhe
10. Shelke Manohar
11. Topandas
12. Wagh J. S.

KERALA

1. Iyer Narayana K. S.
2. Mani S. S.
3. Mathew T. M.
4. Menon V. P.
5. Narayanan P. S.
6. Ramaling
7. Vallikkappan Boshey J.
8. Vallikkappan Johnson J.

MYSORE

1. Bathena N. S.
2. Bhatta Anantha B.
3. Desai G. K.
4. Desai Mutalik V. H.
5. Ganpaiah N. K.
6. Gopalakrishna H. R.
7. Gowda Linge N. C.
8. Gowda Putuswamy
9. Gubbiah K.
10. Hegde Jinaraja
11. Hoyasla S. R. S.
12. Iyengar Krishna M. R.

13. Karanth A. S.
14. Krishnappa M. R.
15. Krishnamoorthy S.
16. Kulkarni R. K.
17. Malgonkar M. D.
18. Manganathaya Mrs.
19. Manganathaya •
20. Mudaliar Sarangapany P. K.
21. Nagendra S.
22. Patel B. R.
23. Patil Rao Bahadur B. L.
24. Ramagowda
25. Rao Krishnaswamy L.
26. Rao Nagesa
27. Shetty Rajaiah
28. Shetty Sundararam M.
29. Sreenivasan K. H.
30. Srinivasan M. A.
31. Srinivasan V. T.
32. Subbarao T. S.
33. Subbarao B. V.
34. Subramania D.
35. Subratnam Mrs.
36. Subratnam G. S.
37. Venketachari A. R.

MADRAS

1. Abdul Kadar T. M. S.
2. Avadhani K. R.
3. Chettiar Munnuswamy M. R.
4. Chokkalingam R.
5. Dakshinamoorthy V. K.
6. Devanathan V. N.
7. Gangadharan V. Y.
8. Gopalan T. S.
9. Gopal K.
10. Gopalakrishnan V.
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14. Iyer Balasubramania K.
15. Iyer Natesa L.
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17. Iyengar Narayana K. S.
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21. Krishnan T. G.
22. Krishnamoorthy K.
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24. Krishnamoorthy T. K.
25. Krishnamoorthy A.
26. Krishnamoorthy T. G.
27. Krishnaswamy S. Y.
28. Krishnaswamy P. S.
29. Kuppuswamy A. S.
30. Kuppuswamy V. G.
31. Mariaswamy S. S.
32. Menon T. N.
33. Mudaliar Ramaswamy V. K.
34. Narayanaswamy A. S.
35. Narayanaswamy S. N. P.

36. Narayanaswamy S.
37. Naidu Ramaswamy S.
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45. Raghavan R. S.
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53. Sadasivam T.
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PUNJAB

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BIHAR

1. Prasad Rajeshwari
2. Prasad Shyamsunder
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1. Das Chittaranjan
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GUJRAT

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55. Narayan Dhirubhai
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