

SWATANTRA PARTY.
(CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE)

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106, Armenian St.,
Madras-1,
24th November 1959

NEWSLETTER No. 2.

30

ANDHRA.

The first workers meeting of the Party was held at Nidubrolu under the presidency of Prof. N.G. Ranga when it was decided to start work in rural areas. The membership enrolment campaign has begun in right earnest; 70,000 forms have been distributed; District and Constituency conveners have been appointed. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party decided to merge with the Swatantra Party. The members met on the 8th October at Vijayawada and declared their decision to merge with the Swatantra Party. This has added considerably to the strength of the Party in Andhra Pradesh. Subsequently, the leaders and workers of the Party met on the 14th October in which this merger was declared officially. A further decision was taken to enrol two lakhs of members and this work is proceeding apace. A complete list of all the Organisers for the entire State was drawn up under the guidance of Sri N.G. Ranga and it has since been published in all papers. There is a great deal of enthusiasm for the Party both in the towns and in the villages. The people welcome the leadership of Sri Rajaji and Sri Rangaji and they are happy that a proper platform has been made available for ventilating their genuine grievances.

ASSAM.

The Ad hoc Committee of Shillong met on 9-10-59 and confirmed the selection of the members of the Committee. The Committee resolved that an intensive campaign should be commenced for the enrolment of members and that the enrolled members should be exhorted to take interest in Party work. The Committee also resolved to meet once a week to review the progress made in the previous week. Arrangements have also been made to translate the Statement of Principles of the Party in the regional language. The membership campaign in other districts where Party units have been organised is proceeding.

BIHAR.

The question of the merger of the Janata Party with the Swatantra Party was discussed at a meeting of the Working Committee of the former Party on the 20th September. Considering the fact that the Congress Governments at the Centre and in the States have departed from the Gandhian ideology and also that the other parties are raising the same slogans as the Congress, the Janata Party decided that the Swatantra Party under the powerful leadership of Rajaji has come to fulfil a historical necessity to salvage the freedom of the individual in all sectors of life. They therefore merged themselves with the Swatantra Party. Subsequent to this, the Raja of Ramgarh held a Press Conference. This has been briefly referred to in Newsletter No. 1. A meeting of the State Committee was held on the 25th October when it was decided to enrol 60,000 members within three months. It was also decided to form District Committees immediately. The President gave his consent to advance Rs. 200/- per month to each District Committee for three months as a loan to be returned at the end of that period. The meeting further decided to hold a Convention at Hazaribagh in the middle of December. The Bihar Party has also invited the all-India Swatantra Party to hold the annual Convention in Patna. It is reported that there is great response from all parts of the State.

BOMBAY.

Bombay has all along been taking a leading part in the activities of the Party. It has a regional committee with Mr. Masani as Convener. It has also an Organising Committee consisting of 19 members. For the purpose of organisation, the City has been divided into six different zones which cover the 23 Assembly constituencies of the City. It contemplates forming Zonal Committees, Ward Committees and Area Committees as dependable workers from these areas become available. At present the Committee has, on the active list, about 200 workers. The main work on which attention is now being concentrated is the enrolment of members.

N.B. The division of the City into compact working units has to be commended and may well be copied by other City units of the Party.

In addition to the Organising Committee

In addition to the Organising Committee, Bombay has formed a Funds Raising Committee. It is arranging Musical concerts and it proposes to raise money in other ways also. This again is worthy of being copied elsewhere and will be referred to in the paragraph regarding Finance.

A LADIES' COMMITTEE has been formed. The members of this Committee propose to work through a Swatantra Service Centra which will be divided into a Civic Grievances Bureau and a Youth Service Centre.

N.B. Here again Bombay's example is worthy of being copied elsewhere. It must be admitted that the Party's work amongst the women has not made much progress. Women voters exercise a great influence over the destinies of the nation. They feel the present pinch of the rise in prices day by day as they have to run the households. This is the right time to appeal to the women of India. It is therefore suggested that separate Women's Committees should be formed in every area and arrangements made where those aspects of the Party's programme which will appeal to them be specially discussed. Examples are, rise in the cost of living, the need for freedom in education, especially for children, the mounting prices of cloth, and such like subjects.

The Central Office invites suggestions under this head from the Branch units.

The Bombay Party has opened a Legal Grievances Bureau. Two lawyers who are members of the Party have volunteered to spare some time every day and work for the Legal Grievances Bureau. This Bureau will give normally free advice and assistance to those who cannot afford to engage the services of Attorneys and Advocates. It will give advice on the following points affecting:

- (1) Fundamental Rights of the citizens;
- (2) Civil Liberties;
- (3) Cases of harassment at the hands of officials and Government authorities.

N.B. Here again the example of Bombay is well worthy of imitation. Legal Grievances Bureaus can be formed in all urban centres and the services of lawyers utilised. In addition to the three items listed above by the Bombay office, it should be possible to give advice and help on other matters also which generally have a principle attached to them, apart from individual grievances.

Bombay is requested to intimate to the Central Office all cases of general interest so that they may be brought to the notice of the other units of the Party in the rest of India.

DELHI.

Delhi promises to become one of the important centres of the Party work. An influential Committee has been formed with Sirdar Bahadur Lal Singh as Chairman. Membership campaign is proceeding satisfactorily. It is reported that several honorary workers have been recruited and that some of them have not only offered to work for the Party, but also to contribute to its funds.

GUJARATH.

Gujarath has been suffering under a physical disadvantage. Due to heavy rain in several districts the roads were damaged badly and the rail and motor services were suspended. In spite of it, District Committees have been formed at Baroda, Khaira, Rajkot and Broach. Members of the Regional Committee have more recently arranged tours all over Gujarath. The Gujarath Committee proposes to hold its first Convention in the middle of December.

An interesting development which was referred to in the first Newsletter is the enthusiasm shown by the villagers at Pipalia. The villagers held a meeting under the presidency of Sri Patil Vithaldas Kalabhai Kaneria and passed several resolutions — one against the Bombay Government's Land Ceiling Bill and against the increased levy of rates on the groundnut crop. The most important resolution is reproduced below:

"Resolution No.4: Our this Gram Sabha having been disappointed by the policy of the Congress and as protested in the above two Resolutions this village which was counted as a fortress of the Congress resigns from Congress and goes in the Swatantra Party from today. The whole village should be counted as Rajaji's village; and whenever Swatantra Party requires the whole village takes vow to give their heads for it. Declares the boycott of Congress. And joining joining into the Swatantra Party from today. The Congress Government should take note of this. Declared by the whole village and unanimously passed."

M A D H Y A P R A D E S H .

Shri Agni Bhoj has been active on behalf of the Party organising units in all the districts. Party units have been formed in 23 districts, due mainly to the indefatigable efforts of Shri Agni Bhoj who has spared no pains and has toured in all these areas and organised the units.

M A H A R A S H T R A .

The office of the Poona District Swatantra Party was inaugurated on Vijayadasami Day on 11th October 1959. A membership enrolment drive has been started and a Propaganda Week was observed between the 11th and 18th November. Public meetings were held by prominent local social workers. Units of the Party have also been started at Sholapur, Sangli, Nasik, Amraoti and Jalgaon. The work in Maharashtra has just started and bids fair to progress well. Sri Ambadas Rao Dixit has been doing very good work in organising the Party in the Vidharbha Region.

M A D R A S .

Madras has been doing active work right from the commencement. A meeting was held on the 29th August with Rajaji in the chair. It was decided that the Party leaders should tour Tamilnad and form District Committees, issue membership books and explain the procedure to be adopted for carrying on the party work. Accordingly, Sri K.S.Venkatakrishna Reddiar, Sri T.G.Krishnamurthi and Sri S.S.Marisani toured in Madura and organised the Party there. From there, they went to Tinnevely, Ramanad and Trichinopoly districts. On the 10th September 1959, a special meeting of the workers was held at Tanjore; on the 12th Rajaji and Ranga visited Madura. The visit was a huge success and has given a great fillip to the Party in Madura and Trichinopoly. From Trichinopoly all the leaders went to Coimbatore where, apart from public meetings, the party was organised for the entire district. During October the Secretary has been busy in other parts of the State, notably North Arcot. A series of public meetings were also held in Madras City. A Convention of the City Branch of the Party was held on the 11st October, presided over by Sri Masani. It was a great success. Copies of the resolutions passed at that Convention are given as an Appendix to this Newsletter. They may be used with suitable modifications during District and State Conventions held elsewhere. The Tanjore District Convention was held on 1st November 1959. It was addressed by Rajaji, Sri Masani and Sri Ranga.

All the Tamil districts, except three, are engaged in actively enrolling members. The general reports from Districts are very encouraging. The organisational setup in Madras is given below:

Every village has to have a party unit with a minimum membership of ~~500~~ 50. This is the Basic Committee and is constituted with the object of having our Party men in all polling stations. If there is any difficulty in forming committees at village level, it has been suggested that committees should be formed for each polling station unit. On top of the village committee, Firka committees have been organised with a minimum membership of 500. A number of Firkas joined together form the constituency unit, for which the minimum membership is 1,500. This is the Primary Committee for all elections. In between the Firka Committee and the Constituency Committee major Panchayats and Municipal towns have been asked to form themselves into separate units. This organisation is being given here so that it may be adopted with modifications elsewhere.

M Y S O R E.

A District Conference for South Kanara was held on the 26th October. It was inaugurated by Sri Masani and presided over by Sri J.M.Lobo Prabhu, I.C.S.(Retd.). Arrangements have been made for holding conferences in Hassan and Coorg. A Press Conference was held on the 18th October, ~~presided over by Sri V.P.Menon~~ addressed by Sri V.P.Menon. It is reported that good progress is being made especially in the Hassan District.

O R I S S A.

Orissa has just started work. Forms are being sent to the different District Committees. District offices have been opened at Balasore and Berhampur. During the Durga Puja festival when several thousands of people gathered from far and near at Cuttack, propaganda was carried on with the help of a mike by going round the entire town; hand bills containing the main principles of the Party were also distributed.

N.B. This procedure may be followed by other States. At all festivals where people gather, it is worthwhile holding meetings and also distributing pamphlets.

P U N J A B.

A Convention of the Punjab State Swatantra Party was held at Patiala on 21st October 1959. It was attended by about 2,000 delegates from all parts of the State. Sardar Nagaoke in welcoming the delegates criticised the economic and anti-agricultural policies of the Government, especially their incursion into the field of co-operative farming which will be disastrous to the agriculturists. The Convention criticised the prevalent corruption in Government machinery. The Convention passed several resolutions hailing the emergence of the Swatantra Party criticising the foreign policy of the Government, condemning aggression by China etc. It approved the formation of a State Committee and called upon the people to enrol themselves in large numbers. The Convention was presided over by Sri K.M.Munshi. His speech at the Convention contains a great deal of useful material and expresses the point of view of the Party on certain basic principles with great vigour and clarity. It is being reproduced in this issue separately. The membership campaign is proceeding apace.

R A J A S T H A N.

Several meetings have been held in Rajasthan. The Committee has distributed membership forms widely. A special Convention was held at Jodhpur which was presided over by Sri Munshi. Sri Munshi received great ovation from the public and it is reported that the Convention was a great success and has helped in furthering the cause of the Party.

U T T A R P R A D E S H.

After the Bombay Convention of the Swatantra Party in August, the Gramraj Party in Uttar Pradesh decided to merge with the Swatantra Party. The State Convention of the Swatantra Party was held on the 29th and 30th August at Lucknow. It was attended by about 600 delegates from 46 districts of Uttar Pradesh. The Convention was inaugurated by Sri K.M.Munshi and presided over by Sri S.K.D.Paliwal. It unanimously adopted the 21 Principles of the Party. About 500 members were enrolled on the spot. The delegates who attended the Convention were called upon to form ad hoc committees in their respective districts. Conveners have been appointed for all the districts represented in the Convention. Interim District Committees have been formed and membership campaign is proceeding satisfactorily. The State organisation has so far distributed 1,22,180 membership forms. The reports from the districts about the membership drive are extremely encouraging. Gonda and Jalaun districts are doing particularly well. District Conventions have also been held at Gonda, Bijnaur, Aligarh and Moradabad. Sri Paliwal has been addressing largely attended meetings public meetings in various places. The workers who have joined the Party by now include veterans who have resigned from other parties. The 33-year old popular Hindi daily 'SAINIK' has become the mouth-piece of the Swatantra Party. In several districts about half-a-dozen local Hindi weeklies are also publishing news and articles about the Party. In this connection special mention should be made of the Hindi weekly 'Gaunki Pukar' (Call of the Village) which is doing extremely useful work.

WEST BENGAL.

In Bengal the call of the Swatantra Party has been most encouraging. The slogan 'protect farms and families' has made a special appeal to the peasants, while the middle-classes, students and youths find the much-needed alternative in the Swatantra Party to the vague idealism of the socialistic pattern. Mr. Alak Ghosh has been entrusted with the responsibility of spreading the message of the Party among the youth; and many teachers in schools and colleges have rallied round the Party programme. Greater Calcutta has been divided into five separate regions and group meetings are being held at the respective zones and a special Organiser also has been entrusted with the work of organising the zones. Party units have also been formed in 11 out of the 15 districts of West Bengal. The Secretary of the Party is touring the districts frequently. The Secretary of the Party made a special tour of the flood-affected districts of the State and advised the local party workers to take to relief work together with the Bharat Sevashram Sangha. This type of work is to be commended as it will not only be an act of service to the people but also help to bring the workers of the Party into intimate contact with the difficulties of the poorer sections of the community.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

1. Definition of Municipal and non-Municipal areas:

A query was raised by Madhya Pradesh on the subject and it has been answered as follows:

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"As regards Municipal areas, it is better not to over-define them but proceed on the idea that any area listed as a Municipality may be treated as such. If, however, a member insists on coming under the rural quota, we need not argue about it but may accept his choice."

2. Opening of Bank Account.

The Andhra Unit has raised a question about the procedure to be followed for opening Bank Accounts. The relevant portion of the reply is extracted below:

"For the present you may open an account in the names of yourself and one other person of your choice, jointly. It may be an either or survivor account, with the right to operate for yourself. This is the arrangement that we have prescribed for all the State bodies, pending the passing of a Constitution for the Party. The idea of the ~~Joint~~ E. or S. account is that there may be no trouble with the authorities as to its being a Party and not a personal account."

3. Constitution of Finance Sub Committee.

The question of constituting a Finance Sub Committee was raised by Madras. The answer given to Madras is reproduced below:

"It is suggested that a Finance Sub Committee may be constituted for the Madras ~~Madras~~ State. The composition of the Committee will be left to the Madras Executive. No doubt, the President and the Treasurer will be members of the Committee. The Committee will meet at least once a month and frame an effective Budget both of resources and of expenses and as far as possible try to keep within the limits of the Budget."

As regards expenses, the monies required for running the office can be estimated more or less for a one year period. Expenses for travel, however, will be difficult to estimate in detail. So it may be necessary to make a lump sum provision for it within which changes can be made as and when necessary. A working rule should be framed by which amounts should be drawn only as and when necessary and not in lump advances. It is also necessary that all purchases of equipment should be sanctioned by the Sub Committee before actually being incurred."

4. Newsletter - Restrictions re: publication.

Question of making copies of the Newsletter available to other persons than members of the Party was raised by West Bengal. Rajaji, who has been consulted in the matter, is of the view that while other propaganda material may be given to non-members, the Newsletter is for the use of Party members only.

FINANCES OF THE PARTY.

Want of adequate funds continues to present a serious problem. Organisation requires money and unless sufficient funds are available, it will not be possible to organise the Party all over the country. The following suggestions are for consideration:

(1) Sealed Hundi boxes should be taken round for contributions to the Party at every meeting:

(2) An appeal for funds should form part and parcel of every speech made on these occasions.

(3) Cinema houses, dramatic troupes and musicians should be approached for free concerts and money collected for the Party therefrom. (Bombay has already arranged one such concert).

(4) At every meeting of the Party it should be announced that membership enrolment will take place on the spot and arrangements should be made therefor.

(5) A Small Donations Campaign should be started, ranging from Rs.5 to Rs.100. It will be possible to collect quite considerable sums from merchants, professional men and others in this way. A suggestion has been made that those who are willing to pay higher subscriptions may be allowed to do so. It seems better to keep the subscription at a uniform level and to take the rest of the money in the form of contributions.

(6) In certain places many persons have come forward with monthly contributions. This should be encouraged..

The Central Party welcomes suggestions from the various units as regards other possible methods for raising funds.

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE.

This is proceeding satisfactorily. It has already been suggested to the State Organisations that they should themselves hereafter undertake printing of the forms. This is the invariable rule. But, Bombay has a few forms left and those who are unable to print their own forms may apply to us.

The time has come to make an assessment of the results of the membership drive. Rajaji has made the following suggestion:

All the State units are requested to call for the books issued, check the work done and return the books. A target date may be fixed, say, the middle of December, for this purpose. It is very necessary that the Central Committee should have an idea of the membership on the rolls before the all-India Convention meets. Since this work will take some time, the date is being fixed sufficiently in advance. If the middle of December is taken as the date of checking, then the report may be made available to the Central Party before the end of that month.

1. The following news appeared in the 'Mail' (Madras), of Saturday, 21st November 1959:

"Two Ministers of the Andhra Pradesh Government, the one in charge of agriculture and the other cooperation, yesterday expressed differing views on the feasibility of applying cooperation in agriculture.

Mr.P.Thimma Reddi, Minister of Agriculture, said cooperation was good by itself but he had doubts as to how far it could help increase food production. He was interested in cooperatives of artisans, but he had got his 'troubles' if it was extended to land.

Mr.Reddi who was participating in a symposium on 'Cooperative Farming' said already new problems were being created following the talk of land reforms. A number of people had gone out of land, and some being evicted. He was doubtful of the introduction of cooperative principle in farming at this stage.

Cooperation would not be worthwhile if farmers had to be tempted to join co-operatives with offers of machinery and technical assistance at concession rates and certain tax exemption.

He,however, said he would not mind experiments in cooperative farming. If the experiments proved successful, bigger areas could be brought under cooperative farming.

Political Propaganda: Mr.Mehdi Nawaz, Minister for Cooperation, who presided over the symposium, referred to Mr.Thimma Reddi's interest in artisans co-operatives and said if artisans' co-operatives could be expected to succeed, so also farmers' cooperatives. There was a number of cooperatives and joint farming societies in the State which were working well.

Mr.Nawaz said politicians had been "wasting" their time talking sense and non-sense about cooperative farming and it is time this is stopped." The matter should be considered seriously and in practical terms. Working of cooperative farming societies elsewhere should be studied, necessary data in India collected, and then decisions taken as to how to proceed in the matter. "To exploit this issue for political propaganda is deplorable."

In the symposium organised by the Osmania University College of Agriculture in connection with "Farm Day" celebrations, Mr.Madhavarao Anvari, President of the Hyderabad Central Cooperative Union and Prof.S.V.Ayyar, Director of the Indian Institute of Economics, also participated."

2. The following appeared in the "INDIAN EXPRESS", Madurai, dated Novr.23, 1959;

"Mr.Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Labour Minister said here today (Kanpur,Nov.21) that he was opposed to Socialism if it meant nationalisation which made man soulless, lifeless and regimented.

Mr.Nanda who was inaugurating the 28th session of the General Council of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, said that he favoured neither Socialism nor Capitalism for 'man' had no place in either set up.

The Union Labour Minister is also understood to have analysed the cause of the Labour Party's debacle in England in the recent election and said that the party was for nationalisation but the trade unions backing the party had learnt from experience that nationalisation did not benefit the workers much. They believed that the workers in the private sector were able to bargain successfully to greater advantage to themselves but the same was not possible in the public sector. The workers, Mr.Nanda said, had, therefore, voted for the Conservative Party which stood for preservation and consolidation of private enterprise.

Mr.Nanda is stated to have pointed out that trade unions in England did not find Socialism in their interest. This called for loud thinking in India, he added."

3. The following news appeared in SALIVATI NEWSLETTER (Bombay) dated, November 20, 1959:

"Elections to the Panchaya Samitis and Zila Parishads held in the Jaisalmere division of the Rajasthan State reveal astounding results. All the seats in the Samitis and Zila Parishads have been captured by independents, and the Congress candidates were wholly routed. Congress failed to capture even one seat..... The extent of disappointment and disgust this part of Rajasthan has developed against the Congress administration was clearly reflected in the rousing reception accorded to Mr. K. M. Munshi, one of the leaders of the Swatantra Party from Bombay. A large number of people turned up at the railway station on his arrival to garland him. A still larger gathering attended the public meetings that he addressed. The local Congressmen have grown panicky. Pin pricks were resorted to by these Congress Party members to inconvenience Mr. Munshi."

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We reproduce below a new suggestion made by Rajaji for the non-aligned Governments of the world to join together for the elimination of harmful warfare. Rajaji has been almost alone in this country in the fight against nuclear warfare. He now goes a step further and makes a positive suggestion --- the best yet made so far --- for the consideration of nations who do not possess the atom bomb, but nevertheless suffer from its effects.

"The progress of the Disarmament proposal with accord from both East and West to a resolution in the General Assembly of the United Nations to join in sponsoring it should under normal conditions make us all shout with joy. But what is happening round about us is spoiling the weather for confidence or congratulation.

In spite of the hopeful colour in the international horizon that has dawned just now, we must be prepared for every eventuality and keep our policy seaworthy.

It appears the time has come for the governments and nations of the world not aligned with the East or West, to enter into a positive union and take the responsibility not for defence or offence, but for the elimination of all nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons that threaten human civilisation and will throw mankind back to savage status. An organisation of the non-aligned governments of the world ONAGOW as it may be called may now be a union of small unimportant and poor nations as compared with NATO or the U.S.S.R., but it will represent a force of higher spiritual authority than either of the other two cold war blocs. India can and is morally bound to take a lead in forming this passive world force against the present balance of terror, and against all the new barbarities invented in this century which threaten to envelop civilisation and even now have undermined international law. The non-aligned governments of the world must do more than mere red-cross work, when some nations of the world who having repudiated peace, still in their own interests call for such services as they ruin themselves. The neutral governments should cast aside the impotent role of serviceable mediators to be called in only when belligerent governments find it convenient to accept their services. They must unite and generate an independent moral force and fight for peace and civilisation with as much vigour as the powers who have ranged themselves in two opposing armed blocs and are every day preparing to destroy each other and along with it the world and its civilisation. These non-aligned nations have an immediate duty of resisting the trespass on the neutral world and the misuse of 'trust' territories by the nuclear powers with test explosions and intercontinental missiles. ONAGOW will have the great and ininterrupted work of opposing and neutralising the cold war itself. There is no lack of moral or intellectual power in the non-aligned nations if only they throw off the hypnotic spell that the cold war belligerents with their achievements in the field of physics have cast on them. Physics is not everything. The spirit is stronger than all physics.

Coming to India in particular, if our financial obligations to the West or East make our government hesitate to take any such step, or if such considerations tend to warp our judgment, then indeed the strings attached to these transactions have begun to work. It would be a warning to us that we must resist the implications in time and break those strings before they grow stronger by prescription. Later, the strings will become too long to be ever cut asunder. If we must challenge the crisis let us do it in time and not put it off until it hardens against us and becomes impossible of being grappled with.

Let us remind ourselves that freedom is too precious to be lost for calculations of prosperity or even for the certainty of it. Let us be poor people and humble in our way of life if it be necessary but let not our non-aligned deteriorate under the pressure of these loans into a double dependence, a two-fold satellitism, a worse state than being a satellite to one side only to one side. ~~*Our non-aligned would then indeed be a~~ Our non-alignment would then indeed be certain that one side or the other will some day claim whole-hog homage by dint of relative superior strength. Bandung, thanks to China, has lost vitality. We must bring into being a peace force of non-aligned governments which will have the mass backing of their respective nations and not be a mere diplomatic machine working behind the office doors."

(Reproduced from "SMARAJYA", (Madras) dated Nov. 7, 1959)

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Our non-alignment would then indeed be a status of total insignificance. Our fate

RESOLUTION 1

This CONVENTION welcomes and endorses the Principles of the Swatantra Party, and more especially, the emphasis on individual initiative, enterprises and energy, the need for basing the politics of the Government on faith in the people instead of a legislative compulsion; and of sustaining the values that are inherent in Gandhian democracy by fostering spiritual values and preserving what is good in our culture and tradition, and avoiding a purely materialist philosophy of life.

RESOLUTION 2:

This CONVENTION views with alarm the increasing incursion of the State into the lives of the people in every sphere under the cloak of creating a Socialistic society and the growing centralisation of authority which seeks blindly to iron out the rich variety of regional cultures; and the inevitable emergence of an omnipotent state, controlled by a political Party voted to power and clinging to it by using the powers of the State for the purposes of the Party.

RESOLUTION 3.

This CONVENTION reiterates the faith of the Swatantra Party in the economic and social necessity of protecting the self-employed peasant and the self-employed artisan, and condemns any policy which converts one into a managed labourer employed in a collective farm which is camouflaged as a cooperative, and the latter into a paid worker without freedom or initiative; it, therefore, stresses the need for maintaining a rural economy built on the basis of an independent peasantry and an industrial economy in which the self-employed craftsman has his due place and function.

RESOLUTION 4

This CONVENTION is of the view that the present plans of the Government involve excessive taxation, abnormal deficit financing, and foreign loans which are beyond the capacity of the country to repay; it is therefore opposed to this kind of planning which only leads ~~one~~ to excessive inflation, high prices which reduce the value of saving, fixed incomes, and endowments and creating in their wake misery for the present generation for the sake of the remote likelihood of benefit for posterity.

RESOLUTION 5.

This CONVENTION considers that industry and trade should be free and competitive 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; and it holds that State enterprises should be restricted to heavy industries and not on all services and new enterprises such as are difficult for private initiative. It strongly condemns the attempt of Government to nationalise bus transport in spite of the manifest inefficiencies displayed by State-run buses; and also notes with deep regret the attempt of the Government of Madras to nationalise the publication of Text Books leading to the teachers and students being deprived of the right of selecting higher standards of books and ultimately to such indoctrination as may be desired by the Party in power.

RESOLUTION 6

This CONVENTION shares in the general feeling of anxiety over Chinese activities on our borders. While fully maintaining our attitude of non-alignment in the cold war, and whatever may be the motives of the Chinese Government in encouraging such activities, it feels strongly that more effective steps consistent with national dignity should be taken to forestall and prevent these acts of aggression on the border; and further that more effective diplomatic steps be taken to secure our Foreign Policy and the respects of other Nations towards India against deterioration.

RESOLUTION 7.

This CONVENTION is of the view that there should be a fair deal for Labour in fields, factories, shops and offices, and reiterates the workers' right to organise for the purpose of collective bargaining; and it is further of the view that the interests of Capital and Labour which are inherently the same

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should be promoted by harmonious cooperation and understanding and by the preservation of the freedoms necessary for such harmony which will be seriously jeopardised under a system of State Capitalism in an atmosphere of class hatred generated by the policies and pronouncements of the leaders of the Party in power.

RESOLUTION 8.

This CONVENTION demands that Government should immediately give up State Trading and Control of commodities which have led and will lead to further high prices and the creation of artificial shortages.

RESOLUTION 9.

This CONVENTION gives expression to the widespread feeling against the interference of Congress Party members in the normal course of administration and in the discharge of the duties of officials. This evil has most injurious consequences in an administration which holds vast powers under the policies of the present Government, to distribute favours or hurt the interests of private individuals in their occupation.

RESOLUTION 10.

This CONVENTION condemns the practice of the Congress Ministry using the services of the Government Intelligence Police to get information about the progress of the Swatantra Party, membership campaign and its affairs. Subversive or criminal activities real or suspected can form the legitimate subject for police attention and the present practice in respect of the Swatantra Party is a clear misuse of Government servants for Party purposes.

RESOLUTION 11.

This CONVENTION considers that the interests of the Handloom Weavers require to be specially protected by suitable measures being taken to reserve the traditional lines of their production in their favour, subsidies and other forms of assistance given to cooperatives do not help weavers but only the smaller section absorbed by the cooperatives. The Government is fully aware that the cooperatives with their special privileges are unwilling and financially unable to admit the vast majority of weavers to membership.

RESOLUTION 12.

This CONVENTION records the deep concern of the people of the South India over the hardships to which the people of Indian origin in Ceylon are subjected and expresses its hope that a firmer attitude will be taken in this matter by the Government of India and leaders of Parties so as to put pressure on Ceylon leaders to bring racial discrimination to an end and inaugurate a just and enlightened outlook in dealing with the people of Indian origin to whom rights of citizenship are now denied.

RESOLUTION 13.

This CONVENTION is of opinion that steps should be taken to remove the feeling among the minority sections of the community that while the Constitution rightly enjoins non-discrimination the actual administration is not satisfactory in this respect. This Convention holds that the Swatantra Party should stand for complete justice and elimination of all discrimination in actual administration and the generation of a feeling of security and full citizenship among the members of all minority communities.

RESOLUTION 14.

This CONVENTION views with deep concern the deterioration and instability of the Water Supply position of the City, and is of the view that suitable arrangements should be made with the Andhra State to ensure the supply of drinking water to the City and suburbs by diversion of the waters of one or more of the major rivers north of Madras.

RESOLUTION 15.

This CONVENTION is concerned over the failure of the Government and its subordinate agencies to improve the living conditions of the slum dwellers of the City in spite of the expenditure of large sums of money which has led only to an increase of house building for other types of citizens without any benefit to the dwellers in the slums and stands for a more realistic policy in regard to the provision of houses for the poor in the City making use of the powers taken by Government under the Slum Acquisition Act.

Speech delivered by SHRI M.R.MASANI at the Madras Convention of the Swatantra-Party on 31st October 1959.

"Mr.Nehru's reported surprise at the size of the Conservative majority in the British general elections will, unless he is prepared to move with the times, be nothing compared to his surprise at the size of the Swatantra Party poll in 1962," remarked Mr.M.R.Masani, M.P. while presiding over the Madras District Convention of the Swatantra Party here today. The number of surprises which the Prime Minister was encountering these days, including those on our northern frontiers, showed, according to Mr.Masani, that he must be getting out of touch with current trends in the world.

Giving his impressions of a recent quick visit to Europe to attend the Congress of the Liberal International, Mr.Masani observed that the biggest single phenomenon was the prosperity achieved by the peoples of Western Europe through reliance on the dynamic of free enterprise and the consequent swing away from Socialism. In this context, many British and European observers of the Indian scene had referred to the emergence of the Swatantra Party as the biggest thing that had come out India since the achievement of Independence. In contrast to Mr.Nehru's denunciation of the Party as 'reactionary' the Liberal International had, at its conference at Gardone in North Italy on October 1, passed a resolution welcoming the emergence of the Party and expressing the confidence that it would prove a staunch and successful upholder of the values and policies of liberalism.

A most startling development was the new manifesto of the German Social Democratic Party which was issued in the middle of September by which Marxist socialism was discarded lock, stock and barrel and the Party declared itself for 'free competition as far as possible, planning only as necessary'. The Party also referred to Christian ethics, the family and the encouragement of private initiative and property as elements in the new programmes, all of which were to be found among the Principles of the Swatantra Party. The Japanese Socialist Party had split earlier this month through the break away of an influential section which had refused to toe the line of State Socialism any longer. Indeed, throughout the world socialist Governments were now only to be found in the tiny corner of Scandinavia.

In this context the British elections marked only a further drop in the ebb tide and a warning for socialists the world over. The Conservative victory was a most unnatural reaction, considering that it came at the end of an unbroken period in office of ten years. The pendulum simply refused to ~~shrink~~ ^{swing} this time and, to the extent it did, it was the Liberal Party that benefited by doubling its votes and eating into the Labour vote. It has been estimated that not less than 40 per cent of the workers had voted against socialism.

Analysing the reasons for this phenomenon, Mr.Masani considered that prosperity was one factor, but he pointed to the existence of socialist governments in Scandinavia, one of the most prosperous regions in the world, to show that this could not be a decisive reason. According to him, the main factor was the failure of socialism to raise living standards and the fact that Free Enterprise alone had delivered the goods. Under a Conservative Government, the British had torn up their ration books, burnt their identity cards, decimated the number of farms and as Mr.R.A. Butler had put it, 'now we have red meat instead of red tape'. Perhaps the most striking illustration of how free enterprise had delivered the goods was to be found in West Germany, where now one-third of the families own their homes, 17 per cent of the people own their car and where the gross National Product had gone up by 5.2 per cent during 1958. Hence the acceptance of defeat by the German socialist.

Another reason for the Labour defeat in Britain was that, as Mr.Douglas Jay, a former Labour Minister had put it, "the word 'nationalisation' has become damaging to the Labour Party". Mr.Jay had urged that "two fatal handicaps must be removed - the class image and 'the myth of nationalisation'. This was because the British worker had found out that nationalisation had not solved the problem of relations between management and workers. It had also been established that State ownership gives no greater control over

capital investment than can be secured otherwise. The craze for planning thus showed signs of exhaustion. Similarly, the class war and the concept of an equalitarian society were losing their glamour. Trade Union affiliation was proving more of a handicap than a help. The British elections were above all a Middle class victory. Then again, it had been observed that thousands have been repelled by the materialistic lion of the Labour Party.

Altogether, as the Manchester Guardian put it, Labour presented 'a dusty, old-fashioned picture'. Youth, in particular, found socialism boring and was turning to the Liberal and Conservative Parties. In order to show how Labour had become a Party of old men while youth was against socialism, Mr. Masani analysed the membership of the British House of Commons to show that while there were nine Conservative M.P.s. and only one Labourite between the ages of 20 and 29, there were 20 Socialist M.P.s. over the age of 70 as against only 3 Conservatives.

These trends, which had made such rapid advance in other parts of the world, were also beginning to take shape in India and even Dr. Lohia had conceded that 'orthodox and organised socialism was a dead doctrine and a dying organisation'.

In this context the Prime Minister's talk about the Swatantra Party being out-dated could only evoke amused pity. Mr. Nehru's stand recalled the story of an old lady who, when watching her sons' regiment in parade, remarked: "Everybody is out of step except my Johnny". While every Party had a lunatic fringe, the trouble with the Congress Party was that it was that fringe that ruled the Party today.

Mr. Masani was sorry that the Praja Socialist Party had, at a recent meeting of its Executive Committee, reiterated its adherence to the sterile programme of State Socialism. He wished the leaders of the P.S.P. who were his good friends, would have the courage to tell their followers the truth about the facts of life and follow Jaya Prakash Narayan in turning away from the barren path of Stateism. It was time our democratic socialists realised that in no part of the world was the issue one of socialism versus capitalism and joined hands with other lovers of freedom in building a strong front against the encroachments, both ideological and across the borders, of totalitarian Communism. Otherwise, history would pass them by.

It was no good, Mr. Nehru repeatedly expressing his astonishment at the fact that there were people to be found in this country who would have none of socialism. It was time he stopped being 'astounded' and got used to it, since there were millions who felt that way and their number was not going to diminish. It would be much more worthwhile if the Prime Minister would join in a serious dialogue regarding the main issues facing the country.

According to Mr. Masani, the main issue was as to 'which is the way to produce the largest expansion of output with the minimum social strain'. The Swatantra Party claimed that the mechanism of competitive enterprise, with the incentives to higher production and expansion which were inherent in it, was the best foundation on which the industrial structure could be raised. Alongside of it was the self-employed peasant proprietor who could obtain the highest yield from his land. Once these fundamental truths were faced, the removal of shackles on the people's enterprise and the building of incentives into the tax system would follow automatically.

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Inaugural Address by Shri K.M. Munshi at the Swatantra Party
Convention, Patiala, on October 25, 1959.

We are meeting today under the shadow of a crisis. For the first time since the advent of independence, the territorial sovereignty of India is violated and national integrity is threatened. The people of this country, should, therefore, offer a united front and the Swatantra Party pledges its fullest support to Government in any strong action that they may take to dislodge the aggressor from the sacred soil of the Mother Land.

We welcome the Prime Minister's assurance that no further parleys will be held with the aggressor until he vacates. But the nation has a right to demand that it be taken into confidence as regards the government's plan of action, to be followed if the Chinese refuse to do so. If the Chinese do not withdraw from our territory, say within six months, are we going to wait till another aggression takes place? It is unfortunate that our Government should have been so long blind to the implications of what was happening.

This development is the culmination of a decade of foreign policy based on 'Bhai-Bhai-Isim'. 'Bhai-Bhai-Isim', as you know, is a doctrine invented to spread among the people a pathetic faith in delusive slogans of friendship; it is intended to keep back the realities of the international situation from them, so that they may not discover the ineptitude of the present Government in handling foreign problems. By the application of this doctrine, the Congress Government took a vigorous stand on the Suez question and expressed a belated and timid disapproval of the Hungarian suppression. They cheerfully submitted to the Chinese claims over Tibet and are now trying to stifle national indignation over the rape of that unfortunate country. Before the U.N.O. they made the humiliating exhibition of their impotency by not raising even a feeble voice against such brutal action.

In order to hypnotise our people that 'Bhai-Bhai-Isim' is a ^{valid} doctrine they staged rousing receptions to foreign visitors. They gave currency to the fiction that India and China were always friends — at best a historic equivocation which attributed intention to what was due only to inseparable physical barrier. For long years, these democrats in the best tradition of totalitarians, kept back from the Parliament and the people the fact that there has been wanton aggression on our soil.

All this was done lest 'Bhai-Bhai-Isim' might lose its hold over our people and the wisdom of its ~~artistic~~ architects debunked.

'Bhai-Bhai-Isim' has also left its baneful effect on our national life. The people have been kept in ignorance of the perils of Communism. The Communist Party of India was pampered and, like the tiger in the story, it would have eaten up the rider but for the brave people of Kerala.

With a Communist power violating our territory across the border, the Congress Government allows its Indian instruments to destroy the democratic freedom of this country by various devices; by coercive demonstrations, by destroying the democratic traditions of our Legislatures, by converting a constitutional Government into Soviet States, and by outspoken sympathy with a foreign power.

Now the Congress leaders loftily ask the Swatantra Party as to what it positively stands for. Like the Pilate, they ask the question and do not wait for the answer.

The Swatantra Party stands, first and foremost for the restoration of freedom and democracy in our country which the Congress is doing its best to undermine. We want to breathe freely. We want to possess and enjoy our earnings without Government dictation. We want freedom to organise ourselves without bureaucratic direction.

We want, in the words of Gandhiji, ⁶ 'fool that we are the makers of our own destiny' and not clay to be moulded at the will of the Congress supermen. We want independence which comes, as Gandhiji said, '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'. Again in his words, we want to 'educate the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority'.

The Congress has lost the right to speak as a democratic body. It has reduced all democratic processes to a farce. The Congress is no better than an inverted pyramid. Its annual session is a propaganda stunt like the regimented rallies in totalitarian countries; even the services of cinema stars are being requisitioned to buttress its attraction. The delegates have only one function: to admire the leaders and set the seal of approval on the A.I.C.C. resolutions.

The A.I.C.C., in its turn, dutifully rubber-stamps the resolutions of the Working Committee. The Working Committee is nominated by the President; the President is chosen in accordance with the wishes of the leader. We know the fate of a Congress President who a few years ago dared to think independently.

The Parliament is dominated by the Congress Party, the Party by its leader. The last irresistible and independent voice in the Cabinet was hushed when Maulana Abul Kalam Azad died. And the super-Cabinet of the country---the nominated Planning Commission -- is always there to bring errant Ministers to heel.

The National Development Council of Ministers -- many of them dependent on the Congress bosses for their tenure---has also arrogated to itself equal powers of a super-Cabinet. This was evident when the Council at its recent meeting swore by State Trading in food grains despite the fact that the out-going Food Minister had categorically admitted the failure of State Trading and the incoming Food Minister had expressed grave doubts about its suitability.

Democracy can only function through the existence of mutually-respected political parties with a national outlook. But ~~there~~ that is not the view of the Congress. Anyone who ~~disagge~~ disagrees with the rubber-stamped views of the Congress is dubbed a 're-actionary' or an 'obscurantist'. He is branded 'out of date', not modern, static, not dynamic. Any person even in the Congress or its Parliamentary wing who dares to differ is openly snubbed. Even an ex-Judge of the Supreme Court enjoys no immunity, though he may enjoy the luxury of a private apology. The P.S.P. is impractical; Jan Sangh is communal; the Swatantra Party is feudal; and the Press no sooner it dared to raise its voice against the vicious trends in the Congress, is the 'voice of the vested interest' or in the retracted version 'run for profits' and, in substance, therefore, venal. Only the Congress, entrenched in enormous power and patronage and with the resources of the State at its disposal can be right!

When climbing to heaven in mortal body, Sahadeva ~~was~~ one of the Pandavas, fell on the way, Dharmaraja said "he fell because he thought he was the wisest of men".

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The Swatantra Party next wants to restore the Fundamental Rights enshrined in our Constitution, which the Congress has whittled down. The right to property is on its way to become extinct; the Fundamental Right in this connection has been reduced to a shadow.

Even taxation is expropriatory. During the last seven years indirect taxation has been so oppressive that the common man is denied even the necessities of life through soaring prices. At several levels, the taxation far exceeds the income. A man with a dividend income of Rs. 1 lakh a year pays income-tax and wealth tax of Rs.82,471; has to live on his own capital and pay in addition an expenditure tax. The attempt in substance is to kill private industry and private property at the same time.

The Fundamental Right to carry on business is being extinguished under various pretexts. One has to be a businessman to know how at every step his right to business is circumscribed, crippled or throttled. The big business was the enemy so far; the small trade is now the enemy. State Trading is to substitute the bureaucrat for the trader and the latter will swell the ranks of unemployed helplessly seeking Government support.

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Gandhiji said: "Self-Government means continuous effort to be independent of Government control whether it is foreign Government or whether it is national Government."

The so-called democracy of the Congress would mean controls on all spheres of life. Everyone has to depend upon the State. Every property has to go into the hands of the State. Every man has to be helpless before the mighty State. We are fast approaching the Servile State of Fascism implied in the diktat of Mussolini: "Everything for the State; nothing outside the State; nothing against the State". And the State belongs to the political bosses.

Not an Act is passed by the multitude of legislatures in this country but imposes upon the people greater regimentation, operated through an over-increasing bureaucracy. Even education, culture and religion are threatened in State after State by a mad passion for improving us out of our national traditions, values and ideas. And for that purpose, octopus legislative measures, with well-drilled majority in the legislatures, translate the will of a few into a prison house for all.

Now has begun the invasion of the rural structure, the most powerful bastion of a free people. By one Bill after another now on the legislative anvil, the agriculturists are being reduced to a new shudra class of submerged people. Their income in most cases, whatever be the effect of inflation, and whatever be the cost of prices, will not exceed Rs.2,600 per year for a family of five working hard throughout the year.

In order to support these measures, even class hatred is openly declared to be inevitable by some Congress leaders. Gandhiji was emphatic: "In India, class-war is not only not inevitable but it is avoidable if we have understood the message of non-violence". But those who claim to wield power in his name have use only for his name but no use for his creed!

Punjab was once a highly deficit State. It has now become highly surplus in food grains due to the labours of its progressive farmers. They have contributed their initiative, drive and money mostly raised on the pledge of family ornaments to reclaiming waste lands, buying tractors, sinking tube wells and levelling lands. But they are now to be expropriated; their crime was that they responded to the call of the nation for producing more food. They will now be forced to give up their lands beyond the miserable minimum at which the ceiling has ~~fixed~~ been fixed and consign their tractors to a junk pile.

Prof. Otto Schiller, a world authority on co-operative farming, last week in an interview in the Statesman of 16th, condemned co-operative farming. He is the latest to add his expert voice to Charan Singh's unanswerable logic. But our power-intoxicated politicians remain unshaken in their resolve to reduce farmers to serfdom.

Though co-operative farming is being soft pedalled of late, it still remains the sinister end of Congress policy. We are told that no compulsion is going to be used to induce farmers to join farming co-operatives. This is either a cruel joke or a dangerous delusion. If all amenities are preferentially given to service co-operatives and denied to individual family farms, would it not be the most invidious form of compulsion?

Look at the facts. In Bombay, by law, 34 per cent of farmers could be expropriated if 66 per cent decide upon a co-operative society. There is also a Bill before the Bombay Legislative Assembly (Clause 30) providing that if any farmer is unwilling to surrender his land, the Collector, with the previous approval of the Government, will be entitled to acquire it. This is the non-compulsion of the Congress brand!

We are told that the farmer would be free to leave a farming co-operative even after he joins it. This again is a cruel joke. No sooner is ~~the~~ a farming co-operative formed, it will borrow large sums of money from the Government and the banks. In fact, the Government will be entitled to receive its dues like land revenue. How can an individual farmer, one out of a hundred, be free to take back his land so heavily burdened? In substance, he will become the serf of the supreme landlord, the State. There will be a new economic feudalism of the worst type, against which there is going to be no relief and no appeal.

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But that is not enough. The Conference of State Ministers of Co-operation which met at the end of July 1959, among other things, recommended:

'Prompt action should be taken to secure deterrent punishment to the delinquents. To ensure this, it is necessary that --

- (i) a small cell be created in the Registrar's office to look after this work;
- (ii) a Junior Co-operative Officer be posted in districts to look after this work."

And the 'cell' in this context can only be a cell of C.I.D. watching over the 'free and voluntary' co-operatives which the Congress Government will bring into existence.

The people are led into complacency by the promise that co-operative farming is not coming for three years. The reason is very clear. The service co-operatives handled by the Congress and lavishly supported by the State are expected to be the instruments for winning the next elections. Then, they believe, it will be easy to get a 'mandate' from the electorate to introduce universal co-operative farming.

If any one is foolish enough to think that the Nagpur resolutions have been given up, that the rural structure is out of danger, that family farming is going to have a chance under Congress rule, he is living in a fool's paradise.

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What is the Swatantra Party's economic programme?— they ask. It is laissez faire, says a Congress spokesman. The man who says so has not read our fundamental principles or does not know what laissez faire means.

The Swatantra Party's policy is based on the Gandhian dictum that "all administration should be done by popular will; everything should go from bottom upwards. Democracy will break under the strain of apron strings; it can exist only on trust".

The cardinal problem of India to which the Swatantra Party has addressed itself is how to make the basic needs of the people to make their lives worth living. We stand for an economic programme for the common man to secure his social justice and equality of opportunity; to fulfil the basic needs of the people, viz., food, water, housing and clothing, as the first charge on the State; and to provide adequate safeguards for the protection of labour and against unreasonable profits, prices and dividends.

The Congress claims to have been building up a social welfare State. But the stark fact is, it has hopelessly failed to provide the people with adequate food, water, housing and clothing. In spite of ten year's rule the Congress still asks us to tighten our belt so that 'unborn' generations can enjoy prosperity. Such an attitude is criminally heartless. It cannot help to expand our economy. It has naturally not evoked any enthusiasm among the people.

Let us have a closer look at the achievements of our social welfare experts since they embarked on socialising policies. The per capita income in 1957-58 showed a decline to Rs.276 from Rs.284 at 1948-49 price level, in the preceding year. It is far behind Ceylon which has a per capita income of Rs.500.

For a population of 400 million, we should have about 80 million houses, but we have only 15 million pucca houses. In spite of the demand for more and more houses the Congress Government could create conditions for having only 125,000 houses built per year. In U.S.A. with a population of 40 per cent of India's, a million and a quarter houses are constructed every year. In the last decade our socialists have seen to it that ~~we~~ we built not more than a million and a quarter houses. And ask any man who has built a house under what stifling conditions and regulations he has had to work.

What have these social welfare experts done with regard to clothing? We have a textile industry, the second largest in the world and yet our per capita consumption of cotton cloth (including handloom and powerloom production) is only 16.8 yds. against 60 yds. in U.S.A., 35 yds. in Japan and 29 yds. in U.S.S.R.

In their insatiable greed for taxes the Government raised the excise levy on cloth from Rs.45 crores in March 1956 to Rs.72 crores in September of that year. This led to the closure of mills and consequent large scale unemployment. It made cloth oppressively expensive for the common man.

What about food? It is the primary requirement of man; it forms 45 to 80 per cent of the budget of a family. Freedom from foreign food, therefore, is the only basis of our economic freedom. Our social welfare experts have, however, completely betrayed that trust.

The recent food situation in Bengal is a grim example of it, if one were needed. The food prices are soaring higher and still higher, thanks to the Nasik Security Press; the people are cheated in the value of their money to finance prestige projects of the State. But, whatever the oppressive nature of food prices, the Government must take their sales tax even from the poorest!

Between 1952 and 1959, the food imports have cost the nation as much as Rs.948 crores, and the quality of food available is far below the minimum standards required for the health of the nation. The only remedy which the Government know is to spend crores and crores of money on spectacular schemes and make us more and more helpless in the matter of food through controls administered by a corrupt bureaucracy. Is this social welfare?

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The aim of the Swatantra Party, therefore, is clear: It wants to restore free democracy and real parliamentary control to the people; to meet as the first charge, the elementary needs of the common people, viz., food, water, housing and clothing at easy prices; to stimulate private initiative to create employment opportunities; to destroy the woody growth of corrupt and inefficient ~~bureaucracy~~ bureaucracy; to place the security of India beyond the grasp of ambitious world powers, so that we can stand fearless before the world.

The Swatantra Party has to be made strong and effective to rescue the common man from being regimented, impoverished and enslaved by the totalitarian devices of the Congress.

To quote the words of our great poet Gurudev Tagore "A cause as great as India's should not be dependent on the will of a single master."

**These are the great economic achievements of the Congress Government, trumpeted on a hundred platforms. No wonder that the Congress, at the last elections, got only 32 per cent of the votes of the people. It will not get even that percentage next time.

Krc/20-11-59.