

RAJAJI'S MISSION ABROAD

Rajaji left for New York on 25th September via London. He was leading a three man delegation from the Gandhi Peace Foundation which would visit Washington, London and Paris to confer with the heads of the State and Government on the issue of Nuclear Tests and Disarmament. The other members of the delegation were Mr. R. R. Diwakar and Mr. B. Shiva Rao.

Arriving from Madras after a rousing send-off, Rajaji received an enthusiastic welcome from members of the Party in the city. Among those who were on hand at the Santa Cruz airport to receive him were the Party's General Secretary, Mr. M. R. Masani, the Vice-Chairman of the Bombay Unit, Mr. Piloo Mody, the General Secretary of the City Unit, Mr. R. V. Moorthy, Mr. Murarji Vaidya, Maharajkumar Him-matsingh M.P., Mr. Narendra Singh Mahida, M.P., and active members of the State Unit.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY A FAILURE

Addressing press reporters in Bangalore on September 8, Prof. N. G. Ranga M.P., declared that India's international policies had led to her isolation not only from the Western countries but from the uncommitted countries as well.

He stated that the recent exhibition of ill-temper by Indonesia was a measure of the failure of the policy pursued by our Government.

India had found it difficult to maintain good relations with Nepal. The Chinese were continuing their aggression and gaining more and more ground, whatever the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister might say.

PARLIAMENTARY GROUP CALLS FOR CABINET'S RESIGNATION

The Swatantra Party in Parliament in a statement issued in Delhi on September 15 commenting on the fresh Chinese incursions in the N.E.F.A. area demanded that the Government should resign in view of its utter failure to discharge its elementary obligation of protecting India's frontiers.

The statement, issued following the entry of some Chinese troops in the Kameng Division of the NEFA

earlier that week, said that recent information gave definite indication that the Chinese had advanced into our North-Eastern Border areas by crossing over the McMohan line.

'It adds to the deep humiliation and sense of sorrow that the country has already undergone by the loss of large chunks of our territory in the North Western Ladakh areas.

'The Swatantra Party in Parliament cannot but register its strongest possible protest against the utter failure of the ruling party to discharge its elementary obligation of protecting our well-established international frontiers,' the statement said.

GENERAL SECRETARY AMONG LIBERALS ABROAD

The General Secretary of the Party, Mr. M. R. Masani, returned from abroad on 23rd September 1962. On August 22 he read a paper on "Governmental Policies and Capital Formation in Developing Countries" at a Conference organised by the National Conference Board of Turkey, in which he participated from August 18 to 25.

From September 11 to 15, Mr. Masani attended at the Hague in Holland a meeting of the Council of the Liberal International, of which he was elected a Patron in June 1958. Among those present at the meeting were Mr. G. Malagodi, leader of the Liberal Opposition in the Italian Parliament, Don Salvador de Madariaga, Mr. Rene Mayer, former Prime Minister of France, and representatives of Liberal Parties in Germany, U.K. Holland, Denmark, Israel, Belgium, Canada, Norway and Switzerland.

The two themes of the Conference were the attitude of Liberals towards the European Community and Common Market and towards the Cold War. The text of Resolutions adopted by the meeting are to be found in Appendix A to this Newsletter.

While addressing the Council on September 12, Mr. Masani took note of the statement made by Prime Minister Nehru on the previous day at the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference, in which he had raised the objection that the European Common Market and Community might increase tension between the West and the Soviet bloc. Mr. Masani rejected this line of thought, which would

give the Kremlin a veto on all constructive and positive developments in any part of the world. He expressed the view that the coming together of the countries of Europe should be looked upon as a strengthening of the forces of peace and freedom and a step towards the world order for which humanity was now groping. At the same time, he hoped that the economic hardships of India would be taken into consideration.

A report of Mr. Masani's speech at the Hague was published prominently in the *Daily Telegraph* of London on 13th September under the heading, "Nehru line on Six opposed—Tension dismissed" alongside of a similar dissociation by Mr. Lester Pearson, leader of the Canadian Liberal Party, from the position taken by Mr. John Diefenbaker, who had spoken at the Commonwealth Conference on the same day as Mr. Nehru. *The Daily Telegraph* in its column, "London day by day" on the same day mentioned: "Mr. Nehru's hostile words have not altogether pleased his own delegation. What Mr. Nehru said seems to contradict his own previous words supporting federal union".

Mr. Masani attended the opening Session of the Assembly of the British Liberal Party at Llandudno in North Wales on September 19. The Chairman of the session read a message of greetings to the Assembly from the Swatantra Party, which was warmly applauded. The message ran as follows:

"The Swatantra Party of India sends greetings and best wishes for a successful session to the Assembly of the British Liberal Party meeting at Llandudno on September 19.

"The recent Liberal revival in Great Britain has been a source of great encouragement to us in our own efforts to place liberal values before the Indian people and we hope your Party will go from strength to strength in the coming months and years".

NEHRU STANDS CORRECTED BY SWATANTRA M.P.

Mr. P. K. Deo raised a question in the Lok Sabha regarding a statement made by Prime Minister Nehru that India's non-attendance at the San Francisco Peace Conference "had nothing to do with China." This contradicted an entry made in the booklet *Leading Events in India-China Relations*.

Mr. Nehru referred to his papers and realized that a discrepancy had arisen because of his statement, as one of the reasons why India had refrained from participation in the Conference was that China had

abstained. He apologized to the House for his incorrect statement.

M.L.A. EXCLUDED FROM ANDHRA LEGISLATURE PARTY

The Swatantra Party in the Andhra Pradesh Legislature, which met in Hyderabad on July 29, decided to drop the name of Mr. C. Vasudeva Reddi from the list of its members.

Addressing pressmen, the Leader of the Group, Mr. G. Latchanna, stated that Mr. Reddi had been dropped from the list as he had not been conforming to the Party's rules and discipline.

THE PARTY AND THE PLAN

The Convenor of the Working Group set up by the Party, Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu, addressing a meeting of Party workers and sympathisers in New Delhi on August 28 said: "Our problems have arisen because planning has not been for what the people can do but only for what the Government can do. This is neither democracy nor good economics."

The enterprises in the public sector, he suggested, should be partially denationalised. To provide more employment, the Government should subsidise private investment on agricultural improvement and rural housing schemes.

He added that the 'political plan' concealed in the Third Plan should be disentangled and eliminated. Almost a third of the expenditure was on schemes which provided electoral machinery and support for the Congress.

MORE COMMENTS ON THE CHITTOOR VICTORY

Here are some more press comments on the significance of Prof. Ranga's victory in Chittoor:

"The Chittoor reverse is one more warning to the Congress that it can no longer take its hold on the electorate for granted. It is, of course, no secret that the party in Chittoor was woefully divided. But group rivalries within the party only partly explain its present defeat. At least part of the reason for its reverse lies in the popular discontent over some of its measures including the additional land levy."

Times of India, August 29.

"The victory of Prof. N. G. Ranga, Chairman of the Swatantra Party, over the Congress candidate, Mr. T. N. Viswanatha Reddi, at Chittoor has shaken the inner circle of the Andhra Congress Party with

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

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

Economic Times, 31st August.

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

Thought 8th September

PARTY'S "BOLD MOVE" PRAISED

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

NEWS FROM STATE PARTIES

BOMBAY

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

Name of the Constituency Name of the Organiser

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| 1) Colaba | Prof. P. J. Shroff, |
| 2) Walkeshwar | Mr. Piloo Mody, |
| 3) Mazagaon | Mr. K. B. Mohite, |
| 4) Bandra | Mr. Fred Fernandez, |
| 5) Matunga | Mr. R. V. Murthy |

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MAHARASHTRA

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

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

KERALA

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

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

MADRAS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MYSORE

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

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

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

Basic Principles of Economic Planning.

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

The Proposed Raid on Gold.

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

ORISSA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PUNJAB

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

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

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

UTTAR PRADESH

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix A

RESOLUTIONS OF THE LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL

I. *The EEC in a Wider World*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. *South Africa*

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

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

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

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

III. *Freedom For All*

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

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

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

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

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

REJECTS any appeasement of communism as an invitation to aggression;

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

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

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

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

Appendix B

A BOLD MOVE

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

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

Party. The Congress Party's majority went down, and the Jharkhand Party's strength was found to be on the decline.

As political analysts we noted that the anti-Congress temper in Bihar was growing. The shrunk majority of the Congress Party was traceable mainly to two factors, viz., inner-party bickerings on a group basis, and the isolation of the enlightened people from the Congress Party. The Swatantra Party being a new political party, it did not take roots in the different parts of the State. But tragically enough there was the erosion of democratic forces within the Bihar Swatantra Party. The leader, the Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh, asked for supreme authority. He is reported to have made the suggestion to the central organisation of the party that he must not be fettered from above and within if he was to function as the instrument of people's will. He wanted to stand aside if he was not given the requisite authority. This was a dangerous thesis in a democratic party organisation. The Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh chose to act on his own authority. Theoretically, he preferred to impose his scheme on the party organisation in Bihar in scorn of the wishes of the Central Organisation Committee. The undemocratic claim of the Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh proved galling to the High Command of the Swatantra Party. The Central Organisation Sub-Committee and the Parliamentary Board found that the interim State Committee, nominated by the Raja of Ramgarh, was "unrepresentative of the various elements in the State". Moreover, they could not swallow the thesis of the Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh which would disrupt the integrity of the party.

We are not interested in the apportionment of the blame. We note that the Central Organisation Sub-Committee and the Parliamentary Board of the Swatantra have no stomach for the undemocratic pill of the Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh. The Party's High Command recorded the view that every State unit was organisationally subordinate to the Central authority and that democratic forces must be given full play in the party organisation at all levels. No party leader of the State unit can be given unfettered authority to act in his discretion. The leader has to work with the active consent of party members. He is the servant, not the master, of the party.

It was undoubtedly a bold move that the Central Organisation Sub-Committee had revoked the authority given to the Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh, President of the Bihar unit of the party, to appoint an interim

State committee and office-bearers and to reconstitute the District Committees, pending their replacement by duly elected committees. The High Command nominated a new interim committee for the State. The old interim committee, nominated by the President, was dissolved. The Swatantra Party showed much courage in adhering to the principles of democracy. It did not hesitate to scuttle the authority of the President of the Bihar unit who planted firmly the flag of Swatantra Party in the 1962 general elections. In other words, the party did not permit the Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh to sacrifice the tenets of democracy in the organisation of the Bihar unit. It did not look at immediate gains for its long-range interests.

As students of liberal democracy, we compliment the Swatantra Party's move. The Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh may not easily give up his fight for power and authority. And the Bihar Swatantra Party may bleed if the President of the Bihar unit violently pecks at the authority of the Central Organisation Sub-Committee. But the Swatantra Party took all the risks. Mr. Minoo Masani, General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, in his lecture on "Party Politics in India under the auspices of the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science" at Ahmedabad stressed the central point that an Opposition party could not grow in a democracy with the help of men and women of undemocratic temper and dubious political morality. Those who believe in short-cuts may condone indiscipline, disloyalty, casteism and corrupt transactions. But that is not the way of watering the plant of democracy. Mr. Minoo Masani in the General Secretary's report to the Patna Convention of the Swatantra Party in 1960 argued: "We should be careful not to depend on dubious elements. It is less harmful to have no unit in a particular place or district than to have a bad one". The Swatantra Party thus chose to vindicate the process of democracy in the strengthening of the party organisation.

They say that jeeps and castes win elections in India. Mr. Minoo Masani says that the Swatantra Party is not caught by the slogan: "My party right or wrong". We quote with approval the following observations of Mr. Minoo Masani:

"When political power and economic patronage are concentrated in the hands of the ruling party, as they are at present, only an Opposition party which is accepted as morally superior by the people at large can hope to make the grade".

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