

Swatantra 323 Newsletter

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TRIBUTE TO A GRAND OLD MAN

The weekly *Opinion* in its issue of November 12 pays this handsome tribute to Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, President of the Gujarat Unit of the Party and Leader of the Opposition in the Gujarat Legislative Assembly on the occasion of his 75th birthday. "To Bhailalbhai Patel, India and his own state of Gujarat may justly say on his seventy-fifth birthday, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant'. Unassuming, unselfish, energetic, courageous, public-spirited, practical with common-sense in an uncommon degree, he has wrought greatly and has achieved mightily. Certainty of vision, ability to plan and capacity to make plans come true, have always been his, and he has used them invariably in the public interest. Vallabh Vidya-

nagar and all its institutions stand as an abiding monument to him, his patriotism, his recognition of the real needs of the people and his love for the countryside. Throughout the years he has gone about whatever work lay in front of him quietly and unostentatiously, performed it skilfully and economically, caring little for reward or praise, finding both in the doing itself. Right deeds, not the fruits thereof, have been his motive; he has lived in action and made his acts his piety, facing good and ill equably. *Opinion* congratulates him and wishes him many interesting years of good health for the service of the people."

We of the Swatantra Party wholeheartedly endorse *Opinion's* estimate of Bhaikaka.

Peking's Wrath

The Communist Chinese foreign Ministry in Peking launched a strong protest with the Indian Embassy against the visit of Mr. M. R. Masani to Taiwan and Quemoy where he, according to the Communists, "engaged in anti-China activities".

Dated October 31, the protest note states that Mr. Masani while in Taiwan made statements on many occasions "viciously slandering the People's Republic of China and clamouring for an alliance between India and the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan against the People's Republic of China." Moreover, the Note said, Mr. Masani went to Quemoy and visited the KMT installations to boost the morale of the KMT forces. Now comes the humorous part of this protest note reported in the *Times of India* of November 4: "Masani is a member of the Indian Parliament. His trip to Taiwan and all his scheming activities there were carried out with the connivance of the Indian Government. The Indian Government cannot shirk its responsibility for all this. This is further proof of the Indian Government helping the U.S. in the latter's plot to create two Chinas."

Promptly, on the day following this report, Mr. Masani issued his rejoinder. Expressing his amusement at the protest by Peking, Mr. Masani referred to the 'charge' that he visited Taiwan with the connivance of the Indian Government and said: "This is, of course, a ridiculous allegation. I neither needed nor asked for our Government's permission or approval to my visiting Taiwan which I did as a private citizen enjoying the liberties guaranteed by our democratic Constitution."

"What has angered Peking", opined Mr. Masani, "is the fact that President Chiang Kai-shek authorised me to quote him as reaffirming the acceptance by the Government of the Republic of China of the right of the people of Tibet to self-determination as soon as circumstances permit them to exercise that right, as also the declaration of President Chiang's continued warm friendship for the Indian people which has not been affected by the attitude of our own Government."

Mr. Masani continued, "When I reached Hong Kong from Taipei, the Chinese communist press was already attacking President Chiang for 'selling out' Chinese territory to India and suggesting that the name of the Kuomintang should be changed to that of the 'Indian National Party.'"

Giving reasons for his visit to Taiwan, Mr. Masani added: "Mine was a private visit with the modest purpose of delivering an address at the National Taiwan University in response to an invitation extended to me as far back as February this year by the President of the University. I am glad however, that, judging by the diplomatic note from Peking, I appear to have succeeded in removing some of the barriers to friendship and understanding between the Indian and Chinese peoples and in isolating the bandit regime in Peking which is the enemy of both."

On his visit to Taiwan itself, Mr. Masani had a lot of interesting things to say in the course of an address to the Indian Council of World Affairs in Bombay on November 5. A summary of his speech forms annexure 'A'.

"The Swatantra Party is Presented"

Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu, a member of the Party's General Council and a Vice President of the Mysore unit has, in the course of a brief but illuminating

article on the Party in his weekly *Insight* of October 19 projected the Party's *raison de etre*. The article has been included as Annexure 'B' in this issue.

DMK Gives up Secession Demand

In an interview to *The Mail* of Madras on October 25, Rajaji referred to the decision of the DMK to abandon its secessionist demand and said: "I am glad to note that Mr. Annadurai and his party have decided to drop the secessionist demand. Whatever the reasons may be, the conclusion is good."

As regards the point made by certain critics that Mr. Annadurai, in his statement, had mentioned the right of persons, individually or collectively, to carry on propaganda on the issue, he pointed out that the fact "that freedom of thought and speech are still on the plank should not disturb us, for it is a good claim in a democracy."

Making his own position clear in this context, Rajaji asserted: "I am one of those who believe that centralisation of powers has gone too far, and it is

time the reverse process starts in favour of the Governments of the States. I do not like the States going down to the status of grant-receiving local boards."

However, Rajaji expressed his disagreement with the DMK's proposal to burn copies of the Article in the Constitution relating to the official language. Writing in *Swarajya* of October 19, he said: "The part of the Constitution which the DMK has programmed to burn as a gesture of protest is just that part which I too earnestly desire and want to be repealed. The burning operation is too much after the fashion of Sri E. V. R. Periar to appeal to me. But one quiet gesture is as good as another to express the claim that that part of the Constitution should be repealed so as to leave English in *status quo ante*."

THE 17TH AMENDMENT

The Swatantra Party is determined to educate people on the sinister 17th Amendment bill and agitate, within the framework of democratic action, for its abandonment. Reports that are coming in from the States indicate that determined efforts are being made by members of our Party to organise the people's protest against the pernicious Amendment.

ANDHRA

The State unit took the initiative in organising a State Convention on the 17th Amendment Bill on November 3. Inaugurated by Rajaji, it was presided over by Mysore State Unit president, Mr. Jinaraja Hegde. A resolution strongly opposing the Bill was adopted and a memorandum was submitted to the Joint Select Committee of Parliament. The memorandum emphatically asserts that the "Bill seeks to wipe out all the fundamental rights and property rights of the peasant." Pointing to the Government's hurry in rushing through the measure the memorandum states: "When a legislation of this type, covering several rights, principles and policies about the rural economy and the economy of the entire country which has to depend on agricultural production is involved...the Government should have taken the precaution of consulting public opinion...the opinion of the peasantry affected by the Bill, the profession of Law that can advise on such legislation, the Supreme Court that can properly examine and give its advice and the State Governments and Legislatures which should necessarily have a say in such administrative matters affecting 80% of the population and its economy and the opinion of Ex-

administrators of experience should have been invited..."

The memorandum concluded by appealing to the Joint Select Committee to advise Government to withdraw the Bill and suggested that the Committee would be well advised to tour the States and secure public opinion and its reaction to this measure before reporting on the Bill.

The resolution adopted at the Convention was moved by Mr. Ramachandra Reddi and seconded by Mr. G. Latchanna of the Swatantra Party. It was supported by Shri Tummala Chowdary (Socialist) and Sadhu Subrahmanyam (Sarvodaya).

The State President, Mr. G. Latchanna, in the meanwhile continued his tour of the district to campaign against the Bill.

DELHI

In October the Delhi Unit collected over 400 "Protest letters" against the Amendment from farmers on the outskirts of the Capital and forwarded them to Parliament. Sixty copies of a memorandum from the Swatantra Kisan Sabha was submitted to the Joint Select Committee.

On October 19 a public meeting was held at Najafgarh addressed by office bearers and members of the Delhi Executive Committee.

GUJARAT

The Saurashtra Khedut Samaj reports that over 90,000 peasants have submitted petitions to Parliament against the 17th Amendment.

Inaugurating the Party's district office in Amreli on October 3, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, State President, said that the proposed Amendment to the Indian Constitution would make the farmers landless and would harm them. He said that the Swatantra Party opposed this amendment because it was a Party of all and not of a particular group or mass of people.

KERALA

The Central Kerala Convention of the Party meeting in Ernakulam on October 20 adopted a resolution demanding the withdrawal of the Amendment Bill "in view of the growing public opinion against it and in the interests of establishing a healthy democratic convention".

MADHYA PRADESH

At Indore, Mr. N. C. Zamindar organised a Kisan Sammelan to protest against the 17th Amendment Bill on November 3. A resolution adopted at the Sammelan stated: "This meeting of Kisan delegates of Indore, Ujjain, Dewas, Ratlam, Dhar, Rajgarh, Mandsaur, Nimar (East and West) and Jhabua districts vehemently protests against the 17th Amendment of the Fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution. This is an attempt to bring in an anti-democratic statist regime. The ruling party has no mandate to bring about this change." The resolution concluded by warning that the Amendment will lead to "the mass uprooting of the self-employed Kisans".

The Sammelan was presided over by Shri Dungarsinh of Barwaha. Messages from Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, Maharawal Laxman Singh of Dungarpur, Sardar Basant Singh, Mr. V. T. Sreenivasan and others were read out.

The Sammelan authorised Mr. Zamindar to organise district sammelans and start a signature campaign.

The Vidisha district unit of the Party organised a public meeting at Tilak Chowk, Vidisha, on October 29. A resolution was unanimously adopted calling up Government to withdraw the Bill which curtailed fundamental rights.

MAHARASHTRA

Armed with a jeep, a mega-mike and a handful of sincere workers, the Bombay unit, in cooperation with the Maharashtra unit, took to the villages. With a patience born of years of suffering and with a nimbleness of mind born of sturdy commonsense, the villagers in the State were quick to grasp the implications of the 17th Amendment Bill. Once they understood the threat it posed to their holdings, the peasantry expressed in no uncertain terms their anger

with the Government's attempt at highway robbery.

Baramati, Poona City, Lavle, Bhore, Shirur, Lonikand, Koregaon, Shirapur, Ganpatiranjangaon were among a few of the places visited by a band of volunteers which included Mr. Narayanrao Jagtap, Acharya Pendse, Mr. Sashikant Gawaskar and others.

Mr. Baburao Walwekar presided over a meeting at Bhore, while Maharashtra unit President Mr. N. Dandekar addressed a meeting at the Gokhale Hall in Poona City. By all accounts the meeting at the historic Shanwarwada grounds on October was very successful and reports put the attendance at this meeting at over 5,000 people.

MYSORE

The Coorg district unit organised three meetings in Hudikeri, Mercara and Gonicoppal, all under the presidentship of Mr. Jinaraja Hegde, the State President. Over 2,500 petitions were forwarded to the Lok Sabha last month. The campaign continues.

At Hoskote, 16 miles from Bangalore, Prof. Ranga addressed a public meeting on October 19. Explaining the implications of the Amendment to villagers who had gathered to hear him, Prof. Ranga said that the 17th Amendment would vest the Government with dictatorial powers to acquire any land for a public purpose. *Peasants would then have no right of appeal against the quantum of compensation given in lieu of the land. Lands might even be acquired for co-operative farms which might ultimately convert themselves into collective farms of the Soviet type.* He said that the Prime Minister was attempting to establish a Communist State in the country in a non-violent manner.

Prof. Ranga addressed another meeting at Bhashyam Park, Malleswaram.

Mr. N. K. Ganapiah, a member of the State Executive, has been touring Hassan district holding meetings of Agriculturists with a view to make them realise the grave danger which will overtake them if the 17th Amendment Bill was passed by Parliament.

On October 20, a Convention of Agriculturists was organised at Hassan with the assistance of the local district committee. Prof. Ranga inaugurated the Convention and Mr. Jinaraja Hegde presided. Speaking for over an hour and a half, Prof. Ranga received a standing ovation for his speech. A resolution passed unanimously on the occasion called upon Parliament to reject the Bill. If the Bill was passed, it was resolved to resist its imposition by every means open to the people.

The Hassan Town Municipality presented Prof. Ranga with a civic Address. From Hassan, Prof. Ranga proceeded to Mysore on October 21 and enroute met leading agriculturists at Holenarasipur, Saligrama and Hampapura. In the evening he addressed a public meeting in the Mysore Town Hall. Mr. K. H. Srinivasan, State Vice-President, was in the Chair.

UTTAR PRADESH

A joint meeting of the State Executive Committee and the Action Committee against the 17th Amendment was held on October 30 at Kanpur. The meeting decided to continue agitation against the Amendment in the form of sending protest letters to Parliament and holding Kisan conferences. A resolution directing the local units of the Party to organise parties of Kisans to meet local Members of Parliament and request them to oppose the Amendment was also carried.

The Kanpur unit organised a Kisan conference at

village Mohammadpur on October 31. Messrs. Bhanu Pratap Singh, M.L.A., Mr. Ram Gopal Gupta M.P., Sardar Ram Singh, Chaitanya Raj Singh, M.L.A., Choudhri Layaq Singh and others took part in this meeting. The Conference adopted resolutions unanimously denouncing the proposed Bill.

Earlier last month, the State Committee adopted a resolution which, while protesting against the 17th Amendment appointed a Sub-Committee of 11 to carry on a state-wide agitation against the measure in the form of distribution of literature, holding Kisan conferences and persuading farmers to send protest letters to Parliament.

India—After Two Months Absence Abroad

The Kamaraj Plan, the Kairon affair, communist infiltration into the Congress and several other phenomena on the Indian political scene were part of a talk delivered by the General Secretary while addressing the Lions Club of North Bombay on

November 11. Naturally Mr. Masani's assessment of political events in the country was far from palatable to the ruling Party, and the press shied away from doing justice to his speech. We are therefore publishing a summary in annexure 'C', which we are confident readers will find stimulating.

NEWS FROM STATE PARTIES

While, naturally Party units have been preoccupied with agitation against the 17th Amendment, various other matters relating to Party organisation also received attention.

ANDHRA PRADESH

Utilising the opportunity of his tour of the various districts of Andhra Pradesh, the State President, Mr. C. Latchanna, took various steps to strengthen Party units at different levels. Apart from addressing public meetings, he had informal discussions in various localities and interested them in the Party.

Last month, floods ravaged many villages in Srikakulam District. The State President visited the flood affected areas and issued a statement calling for assistance. He said that over 3000 acres in Sompet Taluk and over 4000 acres in Ichchapuram Taluk were completely inundated and crops destroyed. Most of the irrigation works in these areas were breached and many people had to scramble for safety on trees to escape the floods. Mr. Latchanna called upon the Government immediately to appoint special staff to inspect the submerged areas and take up relief work among the people.

BOMBAY

The Unit organised a public meeting to oppose the proposed Bombay (Inam & Special) tenure Abolition Bill which aims at increasing the tax on Inam lands.

Prof. P. J. Shroff who was the principal speaker at the meeting said: "There will be a heavy increase in

the rents of residential premises which will affect people of all walks of life."

Presiding over the meeting, Mr. Murarji Vaidya said that so far the citizens of Bombay had shown little concern with the numerous amendments to the Constitution and legislative measures of the State Assembly. But the proposed Inami Bill brought the wolf right up to their door.

The President of the City unit, Mr. N. Dandekar issued a statement opposing the measure.

To mobilise public opinion against the Bill, the City unit has plans to approach cooperative building societies in the City and other non-exempt charitable trusts and elicit their views on the matter.

Two more offices in the urban areas of Dadar and Fort were inaugurated last month by Mr. Piloo Mody and Mr. P. J. Shroff respectively.

DELHI

The Executive Committee met on September 27 and adopted a resolution calling upon every patriotic Indian to abstain from participation in a function held by the Chinese Communist Embassy on October 1 to observe their 'National Day'. It expressed surprise that the Communist Chinese had the audacity to invite Indian guests on the occasion.

The Swatantra Club organised a public meeting on October 24. Mr. Y. A. Fazalbhoy addressed the gathering on 'Management Productivity In The Present Context'.

Dev Nagar at Karol Bagh was the venue of a public meeting last month under the Chairmanship of the President, Col. Pasricha. Mr. Bisaria, the

General Secretary, Mr. M. R. Arya, the Organising Secretary, and Thakur Yashpal Singh M.P. addressed the meeting, on current political developments in the country.

GUJARAT

Addressing a public meeting at Amreli on October 3, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel charged Congressmen with preaching simplicity to others while they were enjoying the luxuries of life.

He said that the Congress government had incurred huge foreign debts and was making the country dependant on others.

A report received from Rajkot in respect of numerous petty grievances that the District Office there has processed makes interesting reading. From pointing out to the District Collector the disparity in the issuing of licences for the sale of sugar, to protesting against the breaking up and removing of an idol by the PWD, the District Office finds no complaint too small to which it cannot lend a helping hand. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to note the appreciative comments its functioning has elicited from many friends in the city and district.

KERALA

The Central Zone Committee of the Party in Kerala held a Convention at Ernakulam on October 20. Rajaji inaugurated the Convention. Five resolutions were unanimously adopted. The first resolution declared the Communist Party of India an anti-national Party as a whole. It stated that there was no such thing as a pro-Moscow section or a pro-Peking section and that when the opportune moment comes the Communists in India would again be one with their mentors abroad.

Another resolution on the 17th Amendment has already been reported elsewhere.

Various other resolutions dealing with State issues were also adopted.

MADRAS

Madras City has a new Committee. Prof. Ruthnaswamy is its President and Mr. V. S. Srikumar its General Secretary. An office has been set up in a busy locality in the city and membership enrolment and the setting up of constituency committees has commenced.

MYSORE

The State Unit's Study Circle organised a few meetings. Mr. M. S. Shankar Rao, Advocate, spoke on 'Anamolies and Absurdities In Recent Legislation In India' and at another meeting organised by the same group he spoke on 'The Profile Of Five World Politicians'.

Mr. Abdul Samad Khan, a retired DSP, spoke on 'The Role Of The Police In a Welfare State.'

Prof. Ranga visited the State as reported earlier to participate in the campaign against the 17th Amendment (reported elsewhere)

Bangalore City Convention will take place on December 1. The Malleswaram Constituency Committee has undertaken arrangements for the Convention. Rajaji will inaugurate it.

Bangalore City now has another constituency committee at Basavanagudi where an office was opened on October 27.

RAJASTHAN

The All-India Congress Committee met at Jaipur and our Unit in that City got busy to point out some home truths to the visiting VIPs.

In a memorandum submitted by the inhabitants of Mallpura and Todaraisingh in the District Tonk, they pointed out that because they had 'dared' to elect a Swatantra candidate defeating the former Revenue Minister of Rajasthan, Mr. Damodar Vyas, the Government machinery in their tehsils were needlessly harassing supporters of the victorious Swatantra candidate, Shri Jai Singh; that a number of cases had been wrongly registered against innocent people on fabricated grounds, and that when the people sought a remedy, the authorities gave them the blunt answer that they the public should have known better than to have supported the Swatantra Party; that loans, taccavi and subsidies were refused to those suspected to be supporters of the Swatantra Party; and that this unfortunate situation was repeatedly brought to the notice of the State authorities, but to no avail. They, therefore, prayed very humbly that the gentlemen gathered at Jaipur might be good enough to look into the matter, set up a Commission to conduct an impartial enquiry into the charges and pending enquiry the officers concerned may kindly be kept under suspension.

The Rajasthan unit of the Party put out a few bulletins on that occasion. One such was entitled 'Analysis of the Kamaraj Plan'.

Mr. Devi Singh Mandava, Secretary of the Rajasthan unit, contested the by-election to the Rajya Sabha from the State Assembly but was unfortunate enough to lose by 61 votes to 79.

The Organising Secretary, Mr. Ayuwan Singh, toured Gangapur, Sawai-Madhopur and Jaipur districts.

WEST BENGAL

Swatantra activity on the intellectual plane appears to have made an encouraging start, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Cusrow Irani who, with the help of a few friends and sympathisers has organised a *Swatantra Forum* in Calcutta.

In a letter to the General Secretary, Mr. Irani shows

confidence that a beginning though small has been made and they are already attracting responsible members of the community in Calcutta.

A preliminary meeting of the Forum was held on September 20 and the proceedings of that meeting sent to the Central Office indicate the healthy approach the Forum has adopted in getting down to work. The following passage from a speech by Mr. Irani on the occasion will interest readers: 'We must go on to help the Swatantra movement develop a positive, constructive and essentially practical programme in which there must be something worth fighting for on the part of every section of our vast population. I am not advocating a bag of tricks from which every Indian should be able to pull out a something for himself; what I do urge is that we should help

the Swatantra movement develop a detailed and inspiring programme with a wide appeal, and which should then be driven home, insistently, relentlessly. All this will help to remove the ignorance and therefore the apathy and indifference with which our people accept even the most outrageous actions and policies. We should then help to develop a strong and vigilant public opinion, an indispensable attribute of any true democracy. How do we propose to achieve these objectives? By the establishment of an intellectual forum, disciplined and well-organised. Members or groups of members of the Swatantra Forum will prepare well-argued papers on the many matters which are of concern to us as citizens of a free and democratic republic.'

ANNEXURE A

Masani on Formosa

"As a result of my talks with President Chiang Kai-shek and other leaders of the Republic of China during my visit to Taiwan last month, I found that the impression widely prevalent in India that the positions of the Peking and Taiwan regimes in regard to Tibet and the Indian border are the same is unfounded," observed Mr. M. R. Masani, M. P., addressing the Indian Council of World Affairs, with Sir B. Rama Rau in the Chair.

Giving a gist of his conversation with the Head of the Republic of China, Mr. Masani disclosed that President Chiang was good enough to permit him to quote the President as reaffirming the declaration made by him in his message to the Tibetan people on March 26, 1959, that the Government of the Republic of China accepts the right of self-determination of the people of Tibet as soon as conditions permit them to exercise that right. Mr. Masani said that from this it was clear that the position of the Republic of China was contrary to that of the communist regime in Peking and was in accord with the wish of the Indian people to see Tibet free.

In so far as relations between China and India were concerned, Mr. Masani said that President Chiang recalled his advocacy during World War II for immediate Independence for India and assured him that his friendly sentiments for the Indian people were still as warm and had not in any way been affected by the attitude of the present Indian Government. President Chiang had no doubt that when the Republic of China is re-established on the Mainland there would be no difficulty whatsoever in the outstanding issues between the two countries being settled amicably.

Mr. Masani said that he had been received very warmly by people in all walks of life, by the Speaker and members of the Legislative Yuan of Parliament and by leaders of the Government of the Republic of China, such as the Foreign and Defence Ministers and General Chiang Ching-kuo. Everywhere he had

been assured that Indians were welcome to Free China whether as tourists, businessmen or otherwise.

In his address at the Taiwan National University and his discussions elsewhere, Mr. Masani said that he had stressed the fact that they in India were proud of having a free Opposition in Parliament and of enjoying the fullest freedom of discussion on the platform and in the press, and that credit for this achievement went to all concerned, including those who had been in power in India during the last fifteen years. He also assured his listeners that the people of India had learnt, since last year's communist attack, to distinguish between the Chinese people and the bandit regime in Peking.

Referring to his visit to the battle front on the island of Quemoy, which lay under the jaws of the enemy covered by enemy artillery on three sides, the speaker referred to the excellent morale of the valiant defenders and their battle readiness. The islands of Quemoy and Matsu, apart from acting as a shield for Taiwan, played an important part in the security of the Free World since they bar communist expansion in the Western Pacific. They could also serve as a valuable jumping off ground when the time came for the Chinese Nationalists to land on the mainland for its liberation from the communist yoke.

Most neutral observers were of the view that, both on land and in the air, the Chinese Nationalists were stronger than the Communists and that the real obstacle to an attempt at liberation of the mainland comes from the U.S. Government's reluctance, which in turn is probably motivated by the fear of Soviet involvement. Referring to the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 14th February 1950, Mr. Masani pointed out that there was no obligation on the Soviet Union to go to the defence of the Peking regime in the face of a Nationalist landing on the mainland, since the Treaty only referred to aggression from Japan or aggression by any other country in alliance with Japan.

By pinning down half a million men of the Com-

munist armies, 400 naval vessels of various sizes and 250 MIG 17 planes on the Southeast coast facing Quemoy and Matsu, the Republic of China was helping to deter any major aggression by Peking in India or elsewhere and thus playing a helpful role in furthering stability and peace in Asia.

In such a situation it was obvious that the interests of India and the Republic of China coincided. A realistic foreign policy would take note of this identity of interests and build on it. The first step towards such a reorientation would be to sever diplomatic relations with Peking, a step which all democratic Opposition parties in India had demanded. India would thus be in a position to resume its freedom of action. Even the dictates of non-alignment call for such a stand. Once our hands were freed in this manner, steps can be taken to establish an understanding with the Republic of China which would be of mutual advantage to both countries.

Irrespective of developments at the diplomatic level, Mr. Masani said that there was no reason why people-to-people contact should not be developed between Taiwan and India and he expressed the hope that journalists, educationists, businessmen and tourists from each country could visit the other in large numbers and benefit from such contacts.

Visitors to Taiwan would see that there was a story there of remarkable achievement, particularly in the economic, social and educational fields. The standard of living had risen considerably, the increase in GNP averaging 7.7% per year. According to the FAO, Taiwan, thanks to the excellent land reforms and heavy capital investment in agriculture, has the highest crop of rice per acre in the world, providing a sharp contrast to the misery and starva-

tion attendant on the communes on the mainland.

The Indian farmer and agricultural authorities in India could learn a lot by sending a study team to Taiwan. There were no less than 1,600 trainees in Taiwan from the countries of Asia and Africa and teams had been sent out from Taiwan to various countries of Africa who wished to benefit from such experience. India could also learn from the success of Taiwan in developing its exports of agricultural produce, fruit and raw materials earning valuable foreign exchange.

In the field of education, the percentage of children in schools was 96.5% while there was 90 per cent literacy in the country.

According to Chinese Nationalist intelligence, which was largely based on the information of guerilla infiltrators who spend several months on the mainland and then return to their base, the condition of the Chinese people on the mainland was deplorable. Heavy industry had come to a standstill and even in light industries, only 35 to 40 per cent of industrial capacity was in use as a result of the Great Leap Backwards to the land in 1961. Even on the land, there was famine and starvation leading to imports of grain from Canada and Australia. The military situation of the Chinese communists was deteriorating. Owing to the absence of replacements and shipment of parts for the Air Force since 1959, the Communists had to resort to cannibalisation which had reduced their Air Force by a third. Even the 2,700 semi-operational planes that remained were obsolete or obsolescent. Due to lack of gasoline, training for pilots had dropped to five hours a month. The morale of the Communist armies, apart from a few crack divisions, was low.

ANNEXURE B

"The Swatantra Party Presented" — Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu

Though the elections are still distant, following the Kamraj Plan, the PSP and the Communist parties have started revitalising themselves. The Swatantra Party has been concentrating on the Seventeenth Amendment to make the people conscious of the imminence of Communism. One distinguished British visitor I met at Bangalore was of the opinion that a restatement of the policies of the Swatantra Party in a positive way should create an image that it is more for the people than any other party. When the country is essentially conservative, he thought, the Swatantra Party had the greatest appeal if the misconception that it is the party of rich is removed.

The Swatantra Party stands for "Free Enterprise" which could be restated as standing for Free Competition of producers for the benefit of the whole body of consumers. This policy does not favour the rich because it sets them against each other. On the other hand, the permits and licences of the Congress are part of the command economy of the Communists, in which the consumers are helpless and must compete

against each other for what little is made available by the monopolists.

The Swatantra Party is not against Land Reform. It is only against State Ownership of land for reasons first, that it begins an unnecessary expropriation of rights, second, that it leaves the agriculturists to the mercies of a callous and corrupt officialdom, third that it commits the agriculturists to pay more than their present rents to cover the cost of compensating the landowners. It is only necessary for the Swatantra Party to convince the agriculturists that it stands for the far more advantageous rights of permanent tenure and fair rents.

The Swatantra Party is not against industrial workers. It has offered Capital Participation to them instead of illusory gains through wage and bonus disputes. The Party's solicitude extends far beyond that of the Congress and Communist parties because it contemplates full employment and fair wages for the vastly larger class of landless labourers through subsidies and loans for improved living and working

conditions in the villages. While the Government has conceded the need for creating such employment, the Swatantra Party has not yet claimed the credit for the change.

The Swatantra Party is against excessive taxation and inflation because in a closed economy, the common people pay for them through higher prices. In his recent broadcast, the Finance Minister has admitted that inflation is inconsistent with Socialism and that the price and fiscal policies may require to be revised. There must be a more positive image of the Swatantra Party as opposed to taxation for Plans which are now proved to have been only politically beneficial to the Congress.

The Swatantra Party is against the Foreign policy of the Government not only because it has exposed the country to aggression from Pakistan and China but also because it has missed military aid of democratic countries, which would have spared the people

from oppressive taxation. The Swatantra Party must emphasise that a common front with democracies is not only consistent with the Constitution of the country but with the territorial and economic interests of the people.

The Swatantra Party stands for individual freedom which is consistent with the principles of all the religions of the country which the growing communism of the Congress is threatening. The encroachment on the religious and social practices of the people, without any invitation from those concerned, is part of a power pattern, which the Swatantra Party alone has opposed.

Pascal said "Man is but a reed, the weakest in nature but he is a thinking reed". The appeal of the Swatantra Party is to those who think for themselves and others dependant on them. If that appeal fails, the responsibility will be of those who failed to think.

ANNEXURE C

India — After Two Months Absence Abroad

"The events of the last two months have shown that the Congress Party is in a state of active disintegration and that the Kamraj Plan, because of the distorted manner in which it has been implemented, has only brought to the surface the disruptive forces that have been burrowing underground," said Mr. M. R. Masani, addressing the Lions Club of North Bombay on "India After Two Months of Absence Abroad".

Mr. Masani continued: "The night of long knives, which is the fight for the succession, has already started. The real issue between the Prime Minister and his domestic critics is not that of socialism as he seeks to make out. That is a red herring. The retiring Finance Minister had shown no reluctance to introduce such socialist measures as the Super Profits Tax, the Gold Control Order and the Compulsory Savings Scheme, which had incurred the people's wrath. The real issue is whether the authentic Congress leadership is to continue or whether crypto-communists like Mr. Krishna Menon are to be allowed to reduce India to the position of a Soviet satellite. While Shahjehan is still alive, the fellow-travelling Aurangzebs, with the support of the present Shahjehan, are trying to get the rightful heir-apparents, the Daras, out of the way."

The speaker described as a crying shame the intention of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra to preside over a public meeting to be addressed on November 14 by Mr. Krishna Menon, that guilty man who was responsible for our country's defeat and with whom no patriotic person should wish to appear on the public platform.

While there were obvious dangers to the country

in the move of communist fellow-travellers to infiltrate the Congress, Mr. Masani said that on balance the current developments were to be welcomed as they provided the Indian people with an opportunity to be educated and awakened to the plight to which the country had been brought by the present government in Delhi. The attempt of the Prime Minister to protect those who were guilty of misbehaviour like Mr. K. D. Malaviya and Mr. Pratap Singh Kairon raised the question whether, so long as Mr. Nehru, who represented the dead hand of the past, remained Prime Minister, the country could hope for clean and efficient government.

The speaker welcomed the evidence of some sense of realism to be found in recent pronouncements of economic policies by government spokesmen. "The Prime Minister in his new found zest to give priority to agriculture over large scale industry and the new Finance Minister in his correct emphasis on incentives to increased production have started to talk like members of the Swatantra Party," said Mr. Masani.

Recalling that the Prime Minister had attacked him on the floor of Parliament as recently as the end of August for the same things as he was now saying himself, Mr. Masani sounded a note of caution: "Before we rejoice at this change of heart, let us watch the actions of Government. If they mean what they say, they must withdraw the 17th Amendment to the Constitution, abandon the mad plans of putting up four more steel plants in the State sector and reduce oppressive taxes. Otherwise, all this talk may only prove to be a move to sooth public indignation voiced in the recent by-elections and to lull people into a false sense of security".

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