

THE TASK BEFORE US

(The following is an abridged version of the General Secretary's Statement on Organisation, the Proposals in which (Part II) have been endorsed by the General Council of the Party at its meeting in Bombay on February 13, 1965)

I

Review

"Discontent with the policies of the ruling Party is spreading apace. Large numbers of people are getting desperate about the deteriorating economic condition and are looking for relief. There is a widespread feeling that it is time for a change of government. The fact that the Swatantra Party has, since its inception, warned against the results of Government's domestic and foreign policies in a manner that has now been justified by events is securing for the Party's position a clearer understanding and a better response than before. It is lightening to some extent the onerous burden we took on ourselves when we undertook the Herculean task of educating our people on the facts of economic life.

The outlook for our cause is therefore bright. There can be no doubt that, if Indian independence and democracy have to be preserved, the policies of the Swatantra Party will have to become the nation's policies. In such a context, the Party can do big things in the next General Elections to Parliament and State Assemblies in 1967.

We had every reason for gratification at the result of our first effort in 1962, within less than three years after our birth. The position that we have secured as the main Opposition in both Houses of Parliament, the fact that we have more members in the State Assemblies than any other Party and the fact that we are the official opposition in Orissa, Rajasthan and Gujarat provide a good foundation on which to build for a "take off" at the polls next time. Given the public temper, and dynamism and drive on our part, even a landslide in our favour is possible.

Yet there is a mood of helplessness in the country. Why is this so? Why have objective observers felt despondent about our capacity to provide an alternative Government to the country? A delegate at the Durgapur Session of the Congress Party made the observation: 'The Congress Government is continuing only because there is no Opposition worth

the name.' You cannot beat someone with no one, say others. What are the causes that inspire such pessimism? To find the answer, it becomes necessary to examine the state of our Party today."

The note then goes on to review the state of the Party and refers to certain weaknesses and inadequacies in the Party's organisation.

"This perhaps explains why the Party's image in the minds of the public is not what it should be. It is a mistake to think that it is some defect or fault in our economic or international policy that is to blame in this connection. It is the absence of dedication, discipline and hard work in the pursuit of our ideals, in sharp contrast to the inspired leadership and tireless activity of Rajaji, by which people judge the rest of us.

In a country which has yet, in large measure, to acquire political experience, organisation counts for a great deal, apart from ideology or policies. Can it be said that the intellectuals in our Party have devoted adequate attention to large sections of our people like the small farmers, industrial and agricultural labour, and shopkeepers? Or to women and youth?

This surely cannot be the way nor the mood in which we can gear ourselves to victory in 1967. Some of us are inclined to explain away our default by blaming the Congress for demoralising the country and its public workers. Some would write off democracy and leave the country to Providence or a military dictatorship.

Such an attitude would not be justified by the facts and would do incalculable harm to the country. We should recall Gandhiji's precept that we should "turn the searchlight inwards" and find out in what way we may remedy the situation.

A review of the past three years tends to show that much better progress could have been made had it not been for a lack of hard work, efficient organisation, discipline and dedication to the Party in so many instances; and a tendency to compromise with weaknesses of various kinds and to attempt to cover them up rather than face those weaknesses.

II

Proposals

With two years left for the next General Elections, the time for decision is now. Can the party be put on the path to success? How can it be done?

The answer lies in an acceptance of the basic fact that, while the Party's policies are correct and meet with little resistance and we have the potentiality of becoming the major national party, what is needed is an efficient "conveyor belt" of articulate and dedicated workers who can spread the Party's message to the remotest village. It is not enough to depend on the striking failures of the ruling party and their growing unpopularity.

Expansion the Keyword

Expansion should be the keyword, accompanied by a decision to streamline our organisation and work hard.

Hard work will not give the fullest results unless it is within the framework of sound organisational principles and a sound organisational structure. These truths are as valid in political life as elsewhere. Given an acceptance of these truths, there is no doubt that the men and the resources needed would be forthcoming to help in these tasks.

Targets

What should be our targets? Laying aside our bigger hopes and ambitions and pitching our sights nearer, our targets should be:

1. Wiping out the Congress majority in the Lok Sabha by carrying a large number of seats for the Swatantra Party;
2. Elimination of the Congress majority and the establishment of Swatantra or Swatantra-led Governments in Orissa, Rajasthan and Gujarat;
3. Becoming the principal Opposition in some other States, e.g. Andhra.

These may look to be ambitious but, given great effort and dynamism on the part of all of us, these targets are achievable.

Such targets would entail putting up a sufficiently large number of candidates for Parliament and a correspondingly larger number for State Assemblies, both in these constituencies and elsewhere. Today, the Party has neither the organisation in many constituencies nor an adequate number of appropriate candidates. Hence the need to develop new organisational strength by evolving new organisational forms to cope with the colossal tasks which face us.

Our Tasks

The tasks for the Party, therefore, involve:

1. A rapid expansion of our work in regions and

districts which lie untouched, and intensification of activity elsewhere.

2. Search for, and enlistment of, prospective candidates to act as the Party's standard-bearers in the Parliamentary constituencies, and a larger number in the Assembly constituencies.
3. The recruitment of full-time Organisers at the constituency level.
4. A programme for the education and training of candidates, organisers and Party workers.
5. The raising of material resources to finance the huge effort at all levels.
6. A realisation of the need for self-dependence, while always leaving open the door for understandings with other democratic Opposition parties.

It has reluctantly to be conceded that in most States we do not possess the capacity or command the resources to extend our activities in line with these targets.

A National Campaign

Our campaign for 1967 must, therefore, be a National Campaign run on national lines. This should be so in any event, even were we not faced with these limitations. We must realise that there is only one Swatantra Party, and that is *The Swatantra Party*. Our leader, Rajaji, put his finger on this truth as far back as August 1959 in Bombay when he pointed out, in connection with our attitude in regard to a regional controversy then current in Western India, that there could not be one Swatantra Party in Bombay, another in Maharashtra and a third in Gujarat, but that these should all function as branches of a single Party.

This is a fact which is commonplace in Britain where the Conservative, Liberal and Labour Parties are organised with National Headquarters in London, on the one hand and Constituency organisations consisting of the candidate, the Agent (or Organiser), and local branch on the other. The size of our country certainly justifies our interposing an additional tier, namely, the State unit. But that cannot mean that the State unit should claim territorial authority, seek a monopoly of developing the Party in that area, and question "interference" by the Centre. The National Executive of the Party and the Parliamentary Board are there precisely to guide and direct the affairs of the Party throughout the length and breadth of the country, whenever it is necessary in the Party's interests. The freedom of opinion and expression guaranteed to our members cannot be misunderstood to cover up organisational anarchy.

Our first decision should therefore be that our campaign for the General Elections should be conducted throughout the country by the National Executive and a strong and compact Parliamentary

Board to be appointed by the National Executive, involving *inter alia* the laying down of the line and strategy to be followed, the allocation of resources, the supervision and control of the activities of Candidates and Organisers, and the preparation and publication in the various languages of Party literature. Naturally, the advice and assistance of State units will be welcomed as necessary in these tasks.

Our *second* decision should be that the candidates that we put up should not only work for their success in elections but should be the Party's standard bearers in their constituencies, help in selecting the Assembly candidates and generally help in building up the Party organisation. This will produce an integration of work that will be helpful. They will be entitled to expect the fullest cooperation from the Central, State and District units of the Party. The candidate, who has the incentive to win, should be made primarily responsible for educating and nursing the constituency and thus carrying the Party to victory.

Our *third* decision should be that the Party's candidates should be GOOD men. Our doors should be open to such men who are in agreement with us but have not come in as yet.

Our *fourth* decision should be that candidates should be placed in the field at the earliest possible moment to enable them to perform their tasks.

Strengthening National Headquarters

In the same spirit of self-criticism, it must be confessed that the functioning of the Central Office has to accept its share of the responsibility. It has not developed into what it should have become, namely, the hub of party activity, an active agency to guide and direct Party effort throughout the country and ensure the emergence of a National Party strong enough to pose a formidable challenge to the ruling party at the polls. So also, it has failed to take the initiative in building Party organisation in States such as Assam and Madhya Pradesh. Towards this inadequacy, several factors have contributed. The General Secretary's Reports to the last two National Conventions have repeatedly pointed out the difficulties under which the Central Office has had to function.

Despite these handicaps, the Central Office, with the absurdly inadequate strength of six including clerical staff, has gamely tried to keep the ball rolling. The following may give a rough idea of what the Central Office has been doing:

1. Between the period April 1963 and December 1964, the Central Office handled about 5,000 letters and communications of various types.
2. It prepared and distributed the *Swatantra Newsletter*, of which 48 issues have so far been published, with a mailing list of over a thousand persons, both domestic and foreign.

3. It published a total of 29 publications.
4. The Central Office has endeavoured, in an altogether inadequate measure, to develop Party activity in States where there are no units, e.g. West Bengal and, till recently, Kerala.
5. It has taken over charge of State units dissolved for ineffective functioning, e.g. Bihar and Delhi.
6. Since last year, the Central Office has taken on the task of supervising the enrolment of full-time Organisers, the scrutinising and maintaining of Register entries, and the supplying of Workers Cards.
7. It is organising training camps for workers and organisers.
8. A Labour Department with a full-time Organiser has been set up.

If the desire is to go ahead in a big way, it is of the utmost importance that the National Headquarters, which is the executive arm of the National Executive and the Parliamentary Board, should be strengthened considerably. This should involve:

1. The appointment by the General Council, on the recommendation of the General Secretary, of Joint Secretaries who could share his burden;
2. The appointment of full-time honorary and paid personnel
 - (i) to act as Field Organisers for work at State or Zonal level, and
 - (ii) to take charge of such departments as Women, Youth, Peasants and Publicity on the lines already done in the case of Labour.

It is only by taking the steps outlined above, involving as they would a New Look being given to the Party, that it will be able to shoulder the tasks and responsibilities that face it.

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GENERAL COUNCIL MEETS IN BOMBAY

The first meeting of the newly elected General Council of the Party was held in Bombay on Saturday and Sunday, February 13 and 14, 1965. Over 83 of the 170 members of the Council attended.

The meeting had before it the General Secretary's Statement of Organisation circulated to members in advance of the meeting. The Statement, an abridged version of which is reproduced separately in this issue, was thoroughly discussed for well over four hours. Numerous suggestions were made by speakers for gearing the Party's organisation to meet the challenge of 1967.

Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, President of the Orissa Unit of the Party and Leader of the Opposition in the State Assembly, then moved the following resolution which was seconded by Mr. G. Latchanna, President of the Andhra Unit and Leader of the Party's Group in the Andhra Assembly:

"The General Council, having considered the General Secretary's Statement on Organisation and the enclosure, generally endorses the Proposals made in it and requests the National Executive to take necessary steps to implement them effectively.

"The General Council refers to the National Executive for its consideration the various suggestions made in the course of the discussions on the General Secretary's Statement on Organisation but not forming part of it."

ELECTION OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

The General Council then elected the office-bearers and members of the National Executive for the next two years. The following is the list of office bearers and members of the National Executive:

President:

Prof. N. G. Ranga M.P.

Proposed by: Mr. R. N. Singh Deo

Seconded by: Mr. S. S. Mariswamy

Vice-Presidents:

Dr. K. M. Munshi

Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy M.P.

Smt. Gayatri Devi M.P.

Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke

Proposed from the Chair

General Secretary:

Mr. M. R. Masani M.P.

Proposed by: Smt. Gayatri Devi

Seconded by: Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh

Treasurers:

Sir H. P. Mody

Dr. R. C. Cooper

Mr. C. Rai

Proposed by: Mr. Lakshman Singh

Seconded by: Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddy

Joint Secretary:

Mr. N. Dandekar M.P.

Proposed by: Mr. M. R. Masani

Seconded by: Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu

Members:

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari

Mr. K. B. Jinaraja Hegde

Sardar Basant Singh

Mr. R. N. Singh Deo M.L.A.

Mr. Laxman Singh M.L.A.

Mr. G. Latchanna M.L.A.

Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddy

Mr. Bhailalbai Patel M.L.A.

Mr. Dahyabhai Patel M.P.

Mr. Hari Hara Das

Mr. P. K. Deo M.P.

Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh M.L.A.

Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu

Mrs. Shantabai Gulabchand

Mr. Jaideepsingh M.L.A.

Mr. Inder Singh

Mr. K. K. Kuruvilla

Mr. G. K. Sundaram

Mr. Mandhata Singh M.L.A.

Sardar Ram Singh M.P.

Proposed by: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari

Seconded by: Dr. K. M. Munshi

COOPTIONS TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL

On a proposal by Mr. M. R. Masani, seconded by Mr. G. Latchanna, eight members of the Party from States which did not have State Units were coopted to the Council.

An appendix to this *Newsletter* contains the names of the General Council members including those so co-opted.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted by the General Council after detailed discussion:

Communist Advance in South East Asia:

"The General Council of the Swatantra Party takes note of the grave situation in Southeast Asia where the Communist threat to the free countries of the region has intensified. The Council is of the view that the loss of Laos and South Vietnam to the Communist satellities from the North and Indonesian aggression against Malaysia would soon involve the encirclement of India by Communist China and its

satellites and would dangerously advance Communist Chinese hegemony in South and South East Asia. The Council is of the view that the freedom of Laos, South Vietnam and Malaysia is essential for the defence of India against Communist China.

The Council deplores the attitude of the Indian Government in refusing to extend solidarity and support to the Governments and peoples of Laos and South Vietnam who are battling for their survival. The current attitude of the Government of India is sadly reminiscent of the attitude of the Colombo Powers at the time when India was being subjected to military invasion by Communist China. The Council regrets that the Indian Government have failed to take steps to give military assistance to Malaysia and to further the proposal for a Volunteer force to go to Malaysia to help in its defence.

The Council deplores the attitude of the Indian Government which weakens the resistance to Communist Expansionism by suggesting negotiations at this stage and expresses its gratification that President Lyndon Johnson has resisted the pressure brought to bear on him to withdraw from Indo-China and has intensified the fight for its defence.

The Council calls upon public opinion to assert itself and compel the Government of India to adopt *a more active attitude of helpfulness towards Malaysia* in stemming the advancing tide of Communist Power in South East Asia."

Mover: K. M. MUNSHI
 Seconder: MR. DAHYABHAI V. PATEL

The Budget:

"The General Council of the Swatantra Party taking note of the fact that the Union Budget is to be introduced at the end of this month, reiterates the Party's view that the people of India are suffering today from an intolerable burden of excessive and indiscriminate taxation and that this load needs to be lightened immediately. Both direct and indirect taxation have gone well beyond the limits of reasonableness and justice. They are now preventing capital formation and the entry of foreign equity capital and acting as a disincentive to saving for investment, production and employment whether in industry or agriculture. This excessive taxation has contributed, along with Government's other inflationary policies, to a continuous erosion in the value of the currency and accelerating rise in prices.

The Council expresses the hope that there will yet come about an awareness of the realities on the part of those responsible and that this year's Union and State Budgets may be marked by a drastic reduction in both direct and indirect taxation and also in land taxes. If this hope should be belied, the Council calls upon Swatantra Members of Parliament and Legislatures and members of the Party throughout the

country to oppose the Budgets and carry on a ceaseless campaign to educate the people about the ruinous fiscal policies of the present government."

Mover: SIR H. P. MODY
 Seconder: MR. J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Food Situation:

"While reiterating the Resolution adopted on 30th June, 1964, the Council deplores the fact that in spite of widespread protests, zonal and district restrictions against the free movement of foodgrains and State hoarding are still being maintained, all leading to fall in production, artificial scarcities, price disparities, corruption and harassment of farmers. The Party is vehemently opposed to compulsory procurement of foodgrains at arbitrarily fixed prices."

Mover: MR. MATHURADAS MEHTA
 Seconder: MR. V. T. SREENIVASAN

The Press:

"The General Council sympathises with the efforts of the Indian press to secure the import of a reasonable quantity of newsprint so that it may continue to serve the people by providing essential information. The free and adequate functioning of the press is one of the bulwarks of our Constitution. The way in which the present Government has been throttling the press by the restrictions over the import and distribution of newsprint and preventing it from the playing its part in a free society is one of the many threats to the peoples' freedom that emanate from the policies of those in office today."

Mover: MR. R. V. MURTHY
 Seconder: MR. LAKSHMAN SINGH

Nagaland:

"The General Council of the Swatantra Party, having heard the report made to it by Prof. N. G. Ranga and Mr. M. R. Masani, who had recently visited Nagaland as members of the Parliamentary Study Group, is glad to note that the suspension of military operations between the Indian authorities and forces on the one side and the Naga Underground on the other has brought peace and relief to the people of Nagaland.

The Council welcomes the efforts of the Peace Mission to bring about a peaceful settlement of this unfortunate dispute and expresses the hope that the unanimous wish of the people of Nagland that peace should continue will be respected by both sides and that, through a process of discussion, it may be found possible for the people of Nagaland to participate by their own decision in the Union of India as free and equal citizens."

Mover: MR. M. R. MASANI
 Seconder: MR. RAGHUBIR SINGH

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETS

Immediately after the General Council had concluded its deliberations on February 14, the newly-elected National Executive held its first meeting. Twenty three of the thirty-member Executive were present.

Among the first items of business taken up by the Executive was the constitution of a Central Parliamentary Board. The following were unanimously nominated to the Board:

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Mr. R. N. Singh Deo
Mr. Lakshman Singh
Mr. Jaideepsingh
Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh
Mr. G. Latchanna

The following will be ex-officio members of the Board:

The President
The Four Vice-presidents
The Senior Treasurer
The General Secretary.

It was further decided that Leaders of the Group in both Houses of Parliament and of State Legislature Groups not in the Parliamentary Board should be invited when matters concerning their House or the nomination of candidates to it are discussed.

The Executive had a discussion on preliminary steps to be taken to implement the proposals contained in the Statement on Organisation endorsed by the General Council.

A resolution proposed by Mr. P. K. Deo and Mr. Karunakara Das in regard to the procedure followed with reference to charges preferred against the Chief Minister and others on Orissa and referred to the National Executive by the General Council was considered and the following resolution was adopted:

"The National Executive of the Swatantra Party deplors the procedure adopted by the Government of India in regard to the various charges preferred against the present Chief Minister of Orissa, his predecessor in office and other Ministers of the State Government. The action taken by the Government of India has created a general impression that the enquiry has resulted in a positive finding against the Ministers in respect of grave matters, but the report of the Central Bureau of Investigation has not so far been published, so as to enable the public to see and apprise the gravity of the charges. The Committee calls for the publication of the C.B.I. Report in order to remove the impression that matters are kept from public knowledge in the interest of party prestige."

PUBLIC MEETINGS IN BOMBAY

Taking advantage of the presence in the city of General Council members from different parts of the country, the Bombay Unit of the Party arranged a series of four meetings in different parts of the City culminating in a mammoth public meeting at Chowpatty addressed by Rajaji.

Smt. Gayatri Devi, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, Mr. Wahidur Rahman and Mr. Shivraj Kumar addressed a meeting at Chinchbunder on February 15th, Mr. Himmatsingh presided.

Simultaneously, another meeting was held at Kurla under the presidentship of Mr. Girish Munshi. The speakers were Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh, Sardar Basant Singh and Mr. G. B. Sukhee.

A couple of hours later, Mr. R. V. Murthy presided over a meeting at Matunga addressed by Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy, Mr. S. S. Mariswamy and Mr. T. T. Srinivasan.

The following day, Rajaji addressed the meeting at Chowpatty. It is estimated that over 40,000 people were present. Among others who spoke at the meeting were Prof. N. G. Ranga, Mr. M. R. Masani and Smt. Gayatri Devi. Dr. (Mrs.) Shantabai Gulabchand presided.

We reproduce below salient extracts from Rajaji's speech:

High Prices

"Look at the prices that are going up. Could any other government other than the Congress have maintained their office without being ashamed of themselves after these crises. What are the promises they made when they went around the country some years ago. They said they would make things cheap. On the contrary they have made things more costly than at any time. They have not made things costly, they have made the rupee so cheap. We are producing the same things, the farmers are producing the things that they were producing before. They are as diligent as they were before. Then why are the things so costly now? Because the rupee that is printed by the Congress Government has become cheap... the policies of the government have made for the rise in prices."

"...The Congress Party is trying to govern contrary to the laws of nature. All the scientists of the world are busy trying to discover the laws of nature. But the Congress Government of India is trying to govern contrary to the laws of Nature.... Men will work only if they will gain something by that work. If most of what you get by working is taken by the Government by way of taxes then men will not work. It is only donkeys and horses that will work with

no profit by it. But men will not work if there no profit by it. The Government knows this, therefore, they want to make men into donkeys and horses...."

Indirect Taxes

"....They (the Congress) have levied tax upon tax. When the maximum has been reached, they now begin to levy indirect taxes. If a man comes and begs and if we don't give him anything, he begins to steal. Now the Government wants to steal taxes and that is called indirect taxes. Indirect taxes are taxes which the Government levies before the articles that you buy reaches your pocket. ...When you buy anything you pay a tax beforehand to the government.... So my friends, don't say prices have gone up, say indirect taxes have gone up..."

On the Brink of Bankruptcy

"Today we are debtors of every country in the world. I opened an encyclopaedia and tried to find out where we have not borrowed so far and I am not able to find any such country. ...The countries which have advanced loans to us are getting anxious because they are afraid we are becoming insolvent.

If we allow the present Finance Minister to go on like this, we are sure to become bankrupt. Once upon a time he was in the habit of resigning. Now he has made up his mind. He says he is too mature to resign...."

From Statism to Sadism

"Socialism is a very nice word. It is very good with which to deceive all people. But now we have understood that socialism means, the individual disappears and the State owns everything. Socialism has become statism now. But under Krishnamachari statism has become sadism. Statism means the State owns everything. Sadism means cruelty to all people. ...All the principles of civilised privacy have been abolished now. Throughout the civilised countries private accounts in Banks and lockers cannot be seen by other people. In India banks must open the lockers and accounts of any individual under the Government's orders....Krishnamachari takes pleasure in opening lockers to see the accounts of everyone. He is a very good friend of mine. I am not having any pleasure in describing him like this. But I am greatly aggrieved that he does like this. There are other things for which he is quite fit. He is not fit to govern the people...."

REORGANISATION OF THE PARTY IN BIHAR

This report was circulated to members of the General Council during its recent meeting in Bombay.

Members of the General Council are aware that the Party's Unit in Bihar was dissolved last September. The former President and Secretary of the State Unit were expelled from the Party for gross indiscipline and disloyalty to the Party. This was the culmination of an extremely unfortunate state of affairs that had been brewing for a long time in that State and had defied every attempt by the Party's leadership at the national level to set things right without the need for a surgical operation.

It might interest members of the General Council to know that the rank and file of the Party in the State and the press in general have welcomed the dissolution of the State Unit and the determination of the Party to start on a clean slate in the State of Bihar and to learn of the progress made.

When the State Unit was dissolved, the erstwhile office-bearers of the State Unit refused to hand over any papers and property of the Party. Thus, when a branch of the Central Office was set up at Patna in October in accordance with a decision of the Central Organising Committee, there were no papers or records to refer to. It was as if a new Unit was being started in Bihar and the Swatantra Party was entering the State's political arena for the first time. In fact the Central Office found it extremely difficult

to even secure rented premises since the record of the dissolved Unit in the matter of meeting its obligations was deplorable.

It was also discovered that very little work by way of propagating the Party's policies and principles had been done and that the Party in Bihar was synonymous with the name of one individual. Thus, any attempt at reorganisation involved educating the public on what the Party stood for.

The Central Organising Committee nominated an Advisory Committee to guide the branch of the Central Office in its work. Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel was requested by the Central Organising Committee to help in putting the Party back on its legs in that State.

The Advisory Committee comprising loyal members of the Party in the various districts met twice at Patna, once in November and next in January 1965, under the presidentship of the Party's General Secretary. From reports presented at the first meeting it was evident that by and large there had been little deviation in the loyalty of the rank and file for the Party.

The Advisory Committee felt so encouraged with the encouraging response that they recommended the holding of Party elections up to the District level.

A programme of elections from the Constituency and District levels was adopted. Honorary District organisers in 10 Districts were nominated and have since started working in earnest.

The Party participated in the Sonapur Fair, reputed to be the biggest cattle fair in Asia. The results were very good and a considerable section of the population became aware of the fact that the Party was active and working on a democratic basis.

A public meeting held at Patna on January 8 was addressed by the General Secretary and Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel. The meeting was so well attended that many had to stand outside for lack of space.

Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel undertook an arduous eight-day tour of some districts in the State and found the tour extremely useful and encouraging.

So far, three hundred workers from various districts of Bihar have enlisted themselves in the Branch office for actively working for the Party and over ten thousand enrolment forms for enrolment of worker-members have been distributed throughout the State.

A recent report from the Branch of the Central Office in Patna states:

"It is very difficult for the workers of the Party in other States without a personal visit to Bihar to realise the extent of demoralisation, cynicism and apathy about the working of the Party in the State. However after a temporary setback it is clear now that the rank and file have not deserted the party but are loyal and are consolidating themselves to re-organise the Party on healthy democratic lines with renewed enthusiasm. Their enthusiasm is in direct contrast to the continuous humiliation that the former State President and a few of his misguided followers are being subjected to at the door of the

Congress in response to their pathetic application for admission.

Our loyal workers are for the first time receiving literature not only in English but in Hindi and Urdu especially regarding the Party's principles and policy, and the insidious 17th amendment. People in the State strongly attached to the Party from the very beginning are happy to know that the Party is again functioning with their cooperation. With the educative groundwork, the Bihar Unit will have a cadre of workers who will be attached to the Party for its principles and not for power, personal interest, or prestige."

Members of the Council will perhaps wonder as to why so many members of the Legislature have chosen to follow the former President. They would understand the situation better if they were to know that among the reasons which led to the unfortunate difficulties with the former Unit was the former State President's refusal to accept democratic norms for the selection of candidates during the elections. Candidates were selected more on the basis of their personal loyalties to one man than loyalty to the Party.

The Party has made it clear to the people of Bihar that while the doors of the Party are closed finally and irrevocably to the former President and Secretary, the misguided MLAs can still return to the fold provided they apologise for their conduct.

The Bihar experience has been a great lesson for the Party. Building on that experience, for the first time in Bihar, a Unit of the Party from the grass-roots level is in the process of formation. It will not be long before a duly elected State Committee takes over from the Central Office and guides the Party's destiny in that State.

COMPANIES' CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICAL PARTIES

Who is the Rich Man's Party?

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari provided the answer in a statement he placed before Parliament on contributions made by Joint Stock Companies to Political Parties. The figures are based on information furnished by companies in their profit and loss return filed with the Registrar of Companies.

This is what the *Statesman* of February 18 reported:

"Not unexpectedly, the Congress Party got the lion's share of the political donation made by joint stock companies from 1961 to September 1964.

Out of donations totalling a little over Rs. 1.15 crores, the Congress share was more than Rs. 98 lakhs.

"The Swatantra Party was the second largest beneficiary of the generosity of Joint Stock companies. Its share was Rs. 15.65 lakhs."

"The tragedy of India today is the tragedy of waste—waste of manpower, waste of industrial capacity, and waste of talent and experience which could be harnessed to great national purposes. No doubt, rewards must be shared, but first they have to be earned; wealth must be distributed, but first it has to be created. Only good management and hard work, faith and initiative, on the part of the people can accomplish the end. However, the Government's function is to offer incentives and create the climate in which these qualities can germinate and be brought to mellow fruitfulness. No dispassionate and perceptive observer can pretend that the Government of India has performed this function."

N. A. PALKHIVALA in "The Highest Taxed Nation"

from the General Secretary's desk

Dear friend,

For the General Secretary of a Party to be effective it is vital for him to understand the mind of his members. Without being able to communicate with them and share their thoughts, he can never explain to them the intricacies of the various policies the Party has adopted. Personal contact would be the ideal solution but in a country of the size of India this is virtually impossible.

I have for quite some time been wondering how best to establish closer and more fruitful contacts with our members. Let me stress once again that I would consider it a great pleasure to exchange ideas on a person to person basis with each and every member, for I honestly believe that far too many inactive members remain that way only because they get the impression that the Party leadership does not care overmuch for their "interference" in its affairs. My own view, however, is that no member of the Party can explain its policies unless he himself thoroughly understands them. In view of the physical impossibility of personal contacts with all members, one of the means of closer communication would be through our *Newsletter*. I shall therefore endeavour to indulge in a little "fireside chat" in these columns.

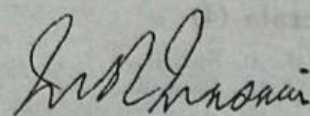
This is the fiftieth issue of our *Newsletter*. Much has happened since the first issue saw the light of day. When the Party was first launched, sceptics were not wanting who wondered how long a Party could survive which refused to pay even lip sympathy to that magic mantra, "socialism". We have not only survived, but are now the second largest political party in the country. We have confounded our sceptics and, despite occasional setbacks, have come to be recognised as a force to be reckoned with in India's political life. The fact that today we alone have been able to provide a set of economic and foreign policies altogether distinct from the discredited dogmas of the Party in office is also recognised.

Establishing sound policies is one thing. To secure support for them and to convert such support into votes is something infinitely more difficult. It requires what I have frequently called a "conveyor belt" — a "conveyor belt" of selfless, dedicated and ideologically well-oriented men and women to carry the message of the Party to the people. The Party has faith in the people. But people can develop a faith in the Party only after they understand what the Party stands for. Although we have survived charges of being a "Rich Man's Party", and "A Party of Rajas," the uncomfortable fact must still be faced that there are many in this country who have been influenced by this kind of false propaganda merely because they have not had a chance of finding out what we really stand for.

The General Elections are just two years away. While we did tolerably well for a two-year-old in the last General Elections, it is necessary and important for the health of our democracy that we make our impact felt much more forcefully. When every other political party in the country is riven by factionalism, it is our duty to develop our organisation so as to provide our people with an alternative. How do we go about it?

The General Council of the Party, which met in Bombay last month, was seized of this question. It discussed at considerable length a Statement on Organisation I had taken the liberty of placing before it for its consideration. After a thorough debate, the General Council endorsed the proposals contained in that Statement and asked the National Executive of the Party to give them concrete form. Details of the proposals are available for your perusal elsewhere in this *Newsletter*. I request you to read them carefully. If you have comments to offer or suggestions to make, you are most welcome to send them to the Central Office.

Jai Swatantra!



ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

Andhra (20)

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P.
Mr. G. Latchanna, M.L.A.
Mr. T. Krishnamma Chowdary
Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddy
Mr. Pasupuleti Koteswara Rao
Mr. Sunkara Satyanarayana
Mr. V. V. Ramana, M.A.
Mr. G. Hanumantha Rao
Mr. P. Venkata Krishnaiah Naidu
Mr. C. L. Narasimha Reddy, M.P.
Mr. Ramachandra Rao Deshpande,
M.L.A.
Mr. P. R. Dwarakadas
Mr. Kommareddi Bapiiah Chowdary
Mr. Pyda Venkatanarayana
Mr. Pellakuri Ramachandra Reddy
Mr. Simma Jagannadham, M.L.A.
Mr. K. Harikrishna Chowdary
Mr. Tej Karan
Mr. K. Kasinadham
Mr. Sri Jagarlamudi Chandramowli

Bombay (8)

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Dr. K. M. Munshi
Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P.
Mr. N. Dandekar, M.P.
Mr. Piloo Mody
Dr. R. C. Cooper
Mr. R. V. Murthy
Mr. Madhu N. Mehta

Gujarat (20)

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Mr. Daljitsinh
Mr. Shivrajkumarsinh
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Mr. Mathuradas H. Mehta
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Mr. Khushalbhai Murarji Patel
Mr. Ambalal Tulsidas Patel
Miss Kusumben Chimanlal Joshi
Mrs. Subhadraaben Harshadrai Desai

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Mr. Hoshiar Singh

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Mr. K. K. Kuruvilla

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Dr. M. Santhosham
Mr. V. Rangaswamy Thevar
Mr. M. Ganapathy

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Mr. V. N. Patil
Mr. R. D. Kulkarni

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Mr. Maheswar Naik, M.L.A.
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Mr. Rajaballabh Misra, M.L.A.
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Mr. Mirza Humayun Kadar Baig
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Mr. Karunakar Das

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Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman
Mr. C. L. Aggarwal
Bdr. Pritam Singh
Sardar Basant Singh

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Sardar Surrinder Singh
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Sardar Uttam Singh
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Mr. Devi Singh M.P.
Mr. Chhatra Singh, M.L.A.
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Mr. Balbir Singh, M.L.A.
Mr. Rishi Ballabh Sundaryal

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Col. H. R. Pasricha
Mr. N. C. Zamindar
Prof. Martin Narayan
Mr. Ram Binod Singh
Mr. Budhan Rai Verma
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