

We resume publication after a lapse of five months. Much as we desired to bring out the *Newsletter* in September, our pre-occupation with the Fifth National Convention prevented us from doing so. This issue is almost entirely devoted to the Convention except for reports on the meetings of the General Council, National Executive and Central Parliamentary Board.

MURARJI VAIDYA

In Memorium

The cruel hand of death which, in the last twelve months claimed the lives of Col. L. Sawhney and Mr. Charanjit Rai struck once again to take away from us Mr. Murarji Vaidya, a founder-member and active enthusiast of our party from its very inception. Surviving through sheer will-power four earlier heart attacks and knowing full well the risks that he was running, Murarjibhai nevertheless answered the Party's call and took over the presidentship of the Bombay Regional Unit from Mr. N. Dandekar after the latter's election as General Secretary of the Party.

In a moving Tribute, Rajaji wrote in *Swarajya*:

"The death of Sri Murarji Vaidya is a heavy stroke of misfortune for the Swatantra Party and for the cause of freedom for individual enterprise in India, as against the tendency of political parties in office to get control over the economy. He was a person of remarkable balance and clarity of vision. Sri Murarji Vaidya's gentleness of spirit was as unique as his devotion to duty was exemplary. In every way the loss to public life in Bombay is great."

In a letter charged with emotion, the Party's President, Prof. Ranga wrote:

"What a misfortune for our Swatantra movement and Party and also to the Forum of Free Enterprise, that the dynamic and resourceful Murarji Vaidya should pass away at this juncture.

He had four heart-attacks and survived them through sheer will power. Knowing so well what risks he was running he shouldered once again the Presidentship of our Bombay city Party as well as the Presidentship of the All India Forum of Free Enterprise and has rendered signal service to the cause of freedom of our people during these two years.

Earlier, he did so much to develop the Swatantra unit in Bombay city and placed it so well on the political map of that great political metropolis.

He was one of the earliest, among the brilliant, dynamic and able intellectuals and industrialists of India to join our Swatantra Party at the call of Rajajee and he laid good foundations for our party in the city.

When he came to us, he had already made a good name for constructive leadership by his able and pioneering work, by the side of the great Sir Mr. Visweswaraiya in founding and building up the powerful All India Manufacturers' Association, which did so much to champion the cause of India's industry and economic development. He stood by the pioneer in Indian Economic Freedom Movement, the late A. D. Shroff, in developing that powerful Forum of Free Enterprise and became his successor, after Shroff's Swargarohan. Vaidya has become a well-known writer on various aspects of Indian economy and his thoughts were so forward-looking. He placed all these gifts and experiences so full at the disposal of the Swatantra movement. That such a versatile and dynamic colleague should pass away at such an early age is indeed a tragic loss to India."

The *Swatantra Newsletter* records its deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of Mr. Murarji Vaidya and conveys its heartfelt sympathies to the bereaved family.

MEETINGS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEES

Since the publication of the last issue, three meetings of the Central Parliamentary Board, three of the National Executive and one of the General Council have been held.

CENTRAL PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The first meeting was held in New Delhi on August 31st. It concerned itself with discussing the Party's strategy in the forthcoming mid-term poll in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. It decided that the Party's effort should be a limited one, viz. to select Constituencies on the basis of our performance in February 1967.

As regards electoral adjustments or understandings, the Board decided that there should be no dealings with united fronts which included communists or extreme socialists.

To enable expeditious, but considered decisions to be taken on all aspects relating to elections the Board nominated sub-committees to deal with the relevant states.

The Central Parliamentary Board met again in Bhubaneswar on October 3. Parliamentary matters and the forthcoming Mid-term elections were among the subjects that came up for discussion.

The third meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board was held in New Delhi on November 24.

The Board discussed generally the forthcoming mid-term elections. The President and the General Secretary reported on their visits to Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in this connection and the progress made with the selection of candidates and other matters. The Board also discussed the procedure for settling the election Manifestoes that would be put out by the Party's Units in these States.

Dr. M. Mathias was approved as the Party candidate in the Nagercoil Parliamentary by-election. Mr. Himmatbhai Gumanbhai Patel was approved as the Party's candidate in the by-election to the Gujarat State Assembly from Ankleshwar.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

The National Executive met in New Delhi on September 1st. It discussed the need to develop organisations of farmers, youth and women in States. It was of the opinion that far from regarding such activities as "out of bounds" for active workers of the Party it was in the Party's best interest for members to organise and occupy key positions in such organisations.

Talks with B.K.D.

The Executive discussed in detail the Party's relations with the B.K.D. especially in the light of the talks that had taken place between the President,

Prof. Ranga and the General Secretary, Mr. Dandeker on the one side and Mr. Charan Singh of the B.K.D. on the other. It was felt that these talks were premature and issues relating to them could best be taken up only after the Mid-term polls.

Protest Day against Mr. Nath Pai's bill

The Executive decided that November 2, should be observed as Fundamental Right's Day to express the Party's strong opposition to Mr. Nath Pai's bill to amend the Indian Constitution calculated to nullify the Supreme Court's judgment on the amendment or alteration of Fundamental Rights.

Czechoslovakia Day

Apart from adopting a resolution, condemning the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Executive decided to observe October 24 (United Nation's Day) as Czechoslovakia Day to express the country's solidarity with the people of Czechoslovakia in their fight against Soviet tyranny.

Resolutions on the following issues were unanimously adopted:

Floods; Drought; Reorganisation of Assam; Newspaper Employees Strike; The Andhra Pradesh Special Powers (Press) Bill, 1968; Czechoslovakia; Tibet; and, Soviet Arms for Pakistan.

(For Texts of Resolutions see Annexure A)

The National Executive met again in Bhubaneswar on October 3. It devoted itself mainly to the programme of the Fifth National Convention and to a consideration of resolutions given notice of by delegates as well as some recommended by the Executive itself for adopting by the Convention.

The third meeting of the National Executive was held in New Delhi on November 24.

Mid-Term Report Committee

In pursuance of a resolution adopted by the Fifth National Convention of the Bhubaneswar last month to publish a mid-term Report of the Party's achievements since the last general elections and what it proposed to do between now and the General Elections of 1972, the National Executive appointed the following Committee to prepare such a report for approval at the next meeting of the General Council: Prof. N. G. Ranga, Mr. M. R. Masani, Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy, Mr. H. M. Patel, Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu, Mr. Harihar Patel and Mr. N. Dandeker.

Subscription

Matters arising from certain amendments made to the Party's Constitution at the Fifth National Convention at Bhubaneswar were considered. It was de-

cided to levy a nominal subscription of Rs. 0.10 per annum for Sympathiser Members (who do not have the right to vote or hold office in the Party). As regards Worker Members of the Party belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes, it was decided to fix the entrance fee-cum-subscription at Rs. 1.50 and the renewal fee of Rs. 0.50 per annum.

Kashmir Regional Unit

The Executive decided to set up a Unit of the Party in Kashmir. It will be known as the Kashmir Regional Unit. The General Secretary has been empowered to finalise an *ad hoc* Committee.

Gandhi Centenary Celebrations

The Executive decided that members of the Party should actively participate in the celebrations and activities connected with the Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Year, making it clear however that the Party was unable to subscribe to all the 9 points enumerated in the "minimum programme" published by the National Committee for Gandhi Centenary, particularly Gramdan to which the Party was opposed and prohibition where the Party's members were free to follow their conscience.

Resolutions

Two resolutions on Student Unrest and the Unruly

Behaviour in Parliament were adopted unanimously (Annexure A).

GENERAL COUNCIL

The General Council met at Bhubaneswar on 4th October.

Amendments to the Constitution

It considered various amendments recommended by the National Executive and, subject to one or two modifications, adopted them as its own recommendations to the National Convention.

Dausa Enquiry

The other matter considered by the Council was the decision taken by the National Executive at its meeting in New Delhi on 1st September to discontinue the Enquiry through a committee into the causes for the defeat of the Party's candidate in the Dausa parliamentary by-election.

After Prof. Ranga had explained the reasons for the Executive's decision, the Council took up for consideration a resolution moved by Mr. Mansingh Mahar and seven other members from Rajasthan expressing distress with the decision of the Executive. The Resolution was debated at length but was finally withdrawn by the mover at Mr. Masani's request.

FIFTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Fifth National Convention of the Swatantra Party was held in Bhubaneswar on October 5 and 6 this year. As in all earlier Conventions of the Swatantra Party, the businesslike conduct of the proceedings of the Convention and the avoidance of ostentation marked the Bhubaneswar Convention as well. The Convention was preceded by meetings of the Central Parliamentary Board, the National Executive and the General Council on the 3rd and 4th of October. The proceedings of these meetings are reported elsewhere in this issue.

Undoubtedly, Bhubaneswar took on a mildly festive look with buntings and arches sprinkled all over Orissa's capital. But by no means were they flamboyant. The graceful White Star on a blue background was evident wherever one turned his eyes.

The Convention was divided into four sessions, two of which were open to the press. Both the sessions on the 5th were closed to the Press as they were concerned primarily with matters pertaining to Party organisation, while the inaugural session which began on the morning of Sunday, October 5, and the afternoon session that day open to the Press and invitees.

The total number of delegates who attended the

Convention (not necessarily at all the Sessions) was 702, made up as follows:

Andhra	200
Assam	20
Bihar	28
Bombay	13
Delhi	6
Gujarat	8
Himachal Pradesh	2
Kerala	11
Madhya Pradesh	2
Madras	77
Maharashtra	15
Mysore	5
Orissa	200
Punjab	41
Rajasthan	40
Uttar Pradesh	24
West Bengal	10
	702

Among the more important items of business before the Convention was the consideration several amend-

ments to the Party's Constitution. This process which had begun some six months earlier covered almost every aspect of the Constitution. The amendments were necessitated by the rapid growth of the Party and the inadequacy of the old Constitution to meet the needs of a growing organisation.

The Convention Committee headed by Mr. R. N. Singh Deo deserves the Party's congratulations for their excellent arrangements which largely helped in making the Convention such an unqualified success.

THE PROCEEDINGS — FIRST DAY

The President, Prof. Ranga, made his introductory remarks and welcomed the delegates.

Amendments to the Party's Constitution

The Session in the forenoon was concerned wholly with a "Clause-by-Clause" consideration of the Amendments to the Constitution as recommended by the General Council.

Of the Amendments recommended by the General Council —

- (i) In regard to the "proviso" to Sub-Clause (a) of Clause 5, seeking to provide lower subscription for Workers belonging to Scheduled Castes or Tribes, an amendment moved by member to include also "other Backward Classes" was accepted. But another Amendment requiring that the provision for such lower subscription be deleted altogether was however negated.
- (ii) The suggested "proviso" to Sub-Clause (b) of Clause 10, recommended by the General Council, seeking to provide that no Office Bearer of the National Executive shall hold the same office for more than two consecutive terms, was, however, negated.
- (iii) All other proposals of the General Council were unanimously approved.
- (iv) In incorporating these Amendments into the Constitution of the Party, the Convention authorised the General Secretary to make such purely verbal and consequential changes as might be necessary.

The following delegates participated in the discussion on the Amendments to the Constitution:

Pedya Venkatnarayana
Dr. H. V. Hande
Mr. K. N. V. Rao
Mr. Hanumantha Rao
Mr. M. R. Masani
Mr. Piloo Mody
Mr. Ram Naidu
Mr. Meethalal Meena
Mr. B. V. Ramanna
Mr. Bhavani Singh
Sardar Basant Singh

Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy
Mr. N. K. Ganapaiah
Mr. Madhu Mehta
Mr. Damodar Dass
Mr. G. Latchanna
Mr. P. K. Deo
Dr. Mathias
Mr. Kashyap
Mr. Harischandra Mishra
Mr. Kesari Jain
Thakur Mandhata Singh
Mr. Rajgopal Rao
Mr. Koteswar Rao
Col. H. R. Pasricha
Dr. Soganni, and
Mr. R. N. Singh Deo

[Copies of the Constitution (as amended) can be had from the Central Office of the Swatantra Party on request].

The Session in the afternoon was concerned with Resolutions about organisational matters and with the General Secretary's Report.

RESOLUTIONS

The General Secretary reported on the various types of Resolutions that had been given notice of by delegates and the manner in which they had been processed by the National Executive for presentation to the National Convention for the effective and expeditious disposal of the business before the Convention:—

Broadly, the Resolutions fell into two clear categories viz.,

- (i) those dealing with Organisational matters, and
- (ii) those concerned with policy questions.

I Organisational Resolutions

- (i) Concerning Mr. Masani's resignation from the National Executive:

Two sets of Resolutions had been received dealing with this subject. The National Executive had decided that both these were out of order since they revived a controversy already settled by the National Executive and the General Council.

- (ii) Concerning the Party's Manifesto:

The third set of Resolutions contained one concerning the need for a mid-term "Manifesto" or Report, given notice of by Mr. Masani and which the Executive agreed should be moved at the closed session of the Convention. The rest of the Resolutions in this group, given notice of by Mr. Kattemar (who was not present at the Convention) contained proposals for the next Manifesto of the Party. The National Executive had decided that these need not be moved at this Convention, but the various points made by Mr. Kattemar

would be taken into consideration at the appropriate time.

H Policy Resolutions

- (i) Numerous Resolutions concerning matters of internal and foreign policy had been given notice of by a number of persons. They were screened, vetted, modified and/or merged and redrafted suitably by a Sub-Committee of the National Executive and also considered by the National Executive itself. These as so processed were released for consideration at the Open Session of the Convention on October 6.
- (ii) The National Executive also recommended for discussion by the Convention a Resolution on the "Manufacture of Nuclear Weapons by India" moved by Dr. S. P. Singh (Bihar).
- (iii) In so far as other Resolutions (not covered by the above) were concerned, it was found that they either conflicted with the Party's established policies (e.g. regarding Kashmir) or were received too late for consideration. The National Executive therefore decided that such Resolutions could not be admitted.

The Convention approved the procedure adopted as above by the National Executive.

Resolution concerning "Mid-Term" Manifesto

Mr. Masani moved the Resolution on a "Mid-Term Manifesto" for the Party. (For Text of the Resolution see Annexure B)

The following delegates participated in the discussion:

Mr. Man Singh Mahar
Mr. Rama Naidu
Mr. Mohammed Hussain
Mr. Harischandra Mishra
Mr. H. M. Patel (who suggested that the title of the Resolution should be "mid-term report", to which Mr. Masani was agreeable)
Mr. K. N. Kashyap, and
Mr. Shyam Sardar Singh.

Several suggestions were made by the Speakers as to the subjects for inclusion in such a mid-term report.

General Secretary's Report

The General Secretary presented his Report. In doing so he made it clear that in accordance with established practice, this was a Report for which he took full responsibility personally.

The Report was discussed at considerable length. Those who participated in the discussion included:

Mr. K. C. Joseph
Mr. Harischandra Mishra
Mr. G. Hanumantha Rao
Mr. M. R. Masani

Mr. Piloo Mody
Mr. H. N. V. Rao
Mr. P. K. Deo
Dr. H. V. Hande
Mr. Madhu Mehta
Mr. S. P. Shah

The General Secretary then replied to the various points made during this discussion. The General Secretary's Report was recorded by the Convention. *(Copies of the General Secretary's Report can be had from the Central Office on request)*

PROCEEDINGS — SECOND DAY

This session was open to the Press and Invitees, both in the forenoon and in the afternoon.

After Rajaji, Prof. Ranga and other Office Bearers had been garlanded on behalf of the Convention Committee, the Session began with an Invocation Song.

National Integration Pledge

The National Integration Pledge was taken by Delegates, led by Shri R. N. Singh Deo:

"I solemnly pledge to work with dedication to preserve and strengthen the freedom and integrity of the nation. I further affirm that I shall never resort to violence and that all differences and disputes relating to religion, language, region or other political or economic grievances should be settled by peaceful and constitutional means".

Welcome Address

The Chairman of the Convention Committee, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo delivered his Welcome Address.

Among other things, Mr. Singh Deo said that the hopes of the people who had overthrown the Congress in half the States of the Indian Union had been belied by the politics of opportunism. He said that the victory of the Congress in the mid-term election in Haryana was "more because of these weaknesses of the non-Congress parties than because of its own strength".

"On the other hand" he said "the Swatantra Party had 'pioneered' a political path which has proved a great success. I use the word 'pioneer' advisedly, because we are the only coalition Government in the country that fought the Fourth General Elections with a definite programme, irrespective of the fact, whether we formed the Government or remained in the Opposition. Therefore, it was amply made evident before the election that it was neither an adjustment nor an alliance of convenience but a purposeful, positive programme which was meant to be implemented whether in office or out of office. I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the manner in which, our partners, in the Coalition Government, the Jana Congress, have been cooperating in making this experiment a success."

Mr. Singh Deo went on to outline the achievements of the Orissa Government and pointed out how despite droughts and unprecedented cyclones and floods, the Swatantra-led Government had already a record of achievements to its credit.

(The full text of his speech will be reproduced in the next issue of the "Newsletter" in the column "Focus on Orissa".)

Inaugural Address

Delivering the Inaugural Address Rajaji began with a reference to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Latin American tour. He said:

"Globe trotting is interesting and red carpets give a sense of well-being like mild doses of spirituous liquor. But what are we now heading for in India? Need-based wages, we are told, are not feasible. Then how is the nation to get Government work done? Absolute loyalty of Government employees is legitimately laid down as a compulsory condition for service under Government. There can be no thought of strikes or 'go-slow' or other subversive tactics for getting the wages or allowances you require. The corresponding duty of the Government to look into grievances and requirements and to give relief quickly is not laid down in words, but follows as a natural consequences. But this, we see, involves expenditure and therefore is linked up with public revenue.

An increase in direct taxation is not feasible and will lead to decreasing returns instead of increased revenue. An increase of indirect taxation, however concealed, will fall heavily on the poorer classes and increase the cost of living and create widespread anti-Government feeling. Examined calmly, it comes to this, that we face bankruptcy taking the unexpected and convincing shape of an inadmissible conflict between Government in the abstract and Government in the *de facto* shape of the administrative instruments.

A conflict between Government and its large army of officials, a 'token' of which we saw on September 19 is as much a *reductio ad absurdum* as any we read in some of Euclid's most convincing demonstrations. We cannot carry on with Governments that cannot command the loyalty of their own instruments of action, be it their civil servants or their military arm.

Much before an economic breakdown we have this organizational breakdown to demonstrate to the good people of India that we are caught in the entanglements of bankruptcy. The non-feasibility of Government paying reasonable wages to its employees while it is impossible to dispense with their services, is nothing but the barbed wire entanglement of bankruptcy. The impossibility of levying taxes, either direct or indirect, to meet necessary public expenditure is nothing but plain bankruptcy brought home to the secretariat, plainer than an industrial breakdown. Obviously we cannot ask for American or Soviet aid to pay adequate wages to our civil establishment.

The Government cannot shut its eyes any longer to

the situation or seek to escape bitter thoughts by holidays abroad. It must make room for a non-party, non-dogmatic instrument of governance, make room peacefully and through a voluntary arrangement without the intermediacy of a violent or non-violent agitation to bring it about. Drastic changes are called for in order to escape from the insolvency we have brought on ourselves. And for these drastic changes, we must first have a drastic change at the top.

This is not the time for us to make rifts and show cracks in our party. We are the only political party with proper national aims and policies, who have accepted correct principles of taxation, public expenditure and foreign policy and the distribution of power and responsibility between State and citizen. We are not after power, but want these principles to be accepted in the governance of India whoever may be holding power. We are essentially a party bent on the difficult task of educating the public. We must hold together in order that this work of propagating correct principles of good free government may go on uninterrupted until it is generally accepted."

Presidential Address

The President, Prof. Ranga in his Presidential address covered a wide range of issues. He spoke of the suffering caused by drought and floods in various parts of India and demanded the establishment of famine and flood protection schemes and crop insurance. Rural Water supply, housing, education, national integration, were some of the issues the President covered in his Address. Referring to foreign policy, he denounced the Government of India's policy of satellitism to the Soviet Union.

Prof. Ranga averred that 1968 was a year of bleak record for India's democracy with the fall of Opposition Ministries in Haryana, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Punjab.

He reminded the people that the Swatantra movement stood for a non-exploitative society and that the Party's very foundation was in answer to a call to defend India's peasantry.

(Copies of the President's Address can be had from the Central Office of the Party on request.)

Resolutions

Resolutions were adopted on the following subjects: (Texts attached Annexure B) (i) Mahatma Gandhi's Birth Centenary; (ii) Achievements of the Orissa Government; (iii) Agriculture; (iv) Permit-Licence-Quota Raj; (v) Capital Participation of Labour; (vi) Government of Democratic Unity; (vii) Fourth Five-Year Plan; (viii) Privy Purses; (ix) South-East Asia; (x) Foreign Policy; and (xi) Czechoslovakia.

There were two other resolutions — one of which had been recommended by the National Executive for adoption and the other for discussion by the Convention.

The first one was on Labour and dealt largely with the recent "token" strike by Central Government Employees. As Rajaji had dwelt at considerable length on the subject in his inaugural address, he was of opinion that the adoption of such a resolution would not serve much purpose. Hence the mover agreed to withdraw the resolution at Rajaji's request.

The other resolution, a more controversial one, was concerned with recommending the manufacture of Nuclear Weapons in India and was moved by Dr. S. P. Singh, a member from Bihar. This Resolution was

debated at great length with several eminent Party leaders taking opposite views. Rajaji, who opposed the Resolution with forceful eloquence requested the mover to withdraw his Resolution, which he did.

Conclusion

The President made his concluding remarks and with a vote of thanks moved by the General Secretary to all those concerned for making the Convention such a grand success, the two-day deliberations of the Fifth National Convention concluded.

Our latest publication

The Government Employees' Strike

- (I) THE PRESIDENT'S GOVERNMENT
MUST BE CARRIED ON - M. R. Masani, M.P.
- (II) TOKEN STRIKE OR
DRESS REHEARSAL - N. Dandekar, M.P.

*Copies available from the Central Office, Swatantra Party,
143, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1.*

Price Ten Paise

For Attention of Subscribers



Subscribers to "Swatantra Publications" are requested to renew their subscription which expires in December 1968.

New subscriptions on payment of Rs. 10.00 are also accepted.

WHAT PRICE SOCIALISM?

NIKOLI BAIBAKOV, Soviet Deputy Prime Minister and chairman of the State Planning Commission, said in Moscow that nearly one-third of Russia's total industrial production now comes from over 4,600 factories working on a profit-earning system. He added that nearly all industries would be switched over to the new system by next year.

Courtesy: The Times of India, 13 August 1967

HOLDING THE PRICE LINE

Now let us turn to governmental efforts to lower prices or at least to keep them from rising. These efforts occur repeatedly in most nations, not only in war time, but in any time of inflation. The typical process is something like this. The government, for whatever reason, follows policies that increase the quantity of money and credit. This inevitably starts pushing up prices. But this is not popular with consumers. Therefore, the government promises that it will "hold the line" against further price increases.

Let us say it begins with bread and milk and other necessities. The first thing that happens, assuming that it can enforce its decrees, is that the profit margin in producing necessities falls or is eliminated, for marginal producers, while the profit margin in producing luxuries is unchanged or goes higher. This reduces and discourages the production of the controlled

necessities and relatively encourages the increased production of luxuries. But this is exactly the opposite result from what the price controllers had in mind. If the government then tries to prevent this discouragement to the production of the controlled commodities by keeping down the cost of the raw materials, labour and other factors of production that go into them, it must start controlling prices and wages in ever-widening circles until it is finally trying to control the price of everything.

But if it tries to do this thoroughly and consistently, it will find itself trying to control literally millions of prices and trillions of price cross-relationships. It will be fixing rigid allocations and quotas for each producer and for each consumer. Of course these controls will have to extend in detail to both importers and exporters. — *From Henry Hazlitt's address to the Mont Pelerin Society, Tokyo (September 1966).*

AUTOMATION

I do not know of a single, solitary instance where a great technological gain has taken place in the United States of America, that it has actually thrown people out of work. I do not know of it — I am not aware of it — because the industrial revolution that has taken place in the United States in the past 25 years has brought into the employment field an additional 20 million people.

—PHILIP MURRAY

from the General Secretary's desk

Dear Friend,

You will doubtless have perused with interest the Report of the Fifth National Convention of our Party, dealt with earlier in this issue. And some of you may have read and felt concerned by the hyper-critical tone of some Press comments on the Convention. I was not very happy either. But as a democratic Party we must welcome criticism, not fight shy of it, especially where motivations of the critics are honest.

What did the Bhubaneswar Convention achieve? Some may even ask: did it achieve anything at all? I am clear it did. It demonstrated beyond doubt that the Party was not anywhere near the "brink of a collapse" as some of our friends had feared and many of our enemies had hoped. There was positive evidence that the heart of the Party was sound, that its rank and file was alert and that the so-called differences among the Party's leadership had been magnified beyond all proportion.

The Convention was in itself an impressive affair held in a beautiful but simple pandal without the expensively garish ostentatiousness so flamboyantly displayed for example by the Ruling Party recently amidst the convivial surroundings of Goa. Our Convention, on the other hand, was held in an atmosphere of restrained and dignified cordiality; and I am certain that our enemies who thirsted for sharp cleavages and unbridled groupism must have been quite disappointed.

I was particularly impressed by the modesty of the Ministers of our Government in Orissa, quite unlike the "conquering hero" stance of the Congress Ministers to which we have been accustomed since Independence. I watched some of our Ministers in the Orissa Government waiting patiently in a queue at the counter where the Central Office was issuing delegates badges. They made no special claims to get their Cards out of turn even though they were themselves busy organising the Convention.

Another attractive feature was the enthusiastic co-operation extended by our partners in the Orissa Coalition, the Jana Congress, who appeared to be as eager as the Swatantra Party itself to ensure the success of the Convention. Both Mr. Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, the Deputy Chief Minister, and Dr. Hare Krishna Mahtab were present at the inaugural function on October 6, 1968.

Another reason for the success of the Convention was our ability to lure Rajaji to attend it. It was no mean feat for a frail man of 90 to undertake the arduous journey from Madras to Bhubaneswar; but Rajaji obviously wears his age lightly. He seemed none the worse for his journey; and almost the first thing he did on arrival was gently to admonish the leadership of the Party that even if we quarrelled the Party would go on!

I wish those who day-in and day-out repeat the lie

that we are a Party of vested interests,— of Zamindars and Capitalists, of the Rajas and Maharajas, and so on and so forth,— had been there to see the vast majority of the delegates who attended. The Leftist Press could find for criticism only the Resolution we adopted condemning the move to abolish Privy Purses. But who adopted this Resolution? It was these delegates composed of middle class and lower middle class men and women, for whom "affluence" was merely a word in the dictionary, but who unanimously preferred honour to breach of faith.

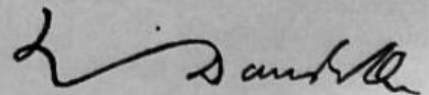
The debates on the Resolutions, at the open as well as the closed sessions, were free, frank and vigorous. The delegates exhibited a delightful sense of independence in assessing the pros and cons of the issues as they came up for discussion, regardless of whether their point of view had the approval of the National Leadership. And what about Mr. Masani — since everybody has been talking and writing about him? Let me repeat what I told Pressmen in Bhubaneswar, that if there was any one who spoke at the Convention with the great faith in the Party and conviction in its principles, it was Mr. Masani.

Critics who gleefully looked forward to sparring matches between members of the National leadership in the Party must have been sorely disappointed. They misunderstood our habit of open criticism of any undesirable developments in the Party as a sign of our disenchantment with the Party. The precise opposite was convincingly demonstrated by Mr. Masani himself when he moved and secured the adoption of several important policy Resolutions calculated to strengthen the Party's organisational framework and ideological base.

I would say that the Fifth National Convention was an unqualified success. Ideologically it was satisfying, and emotionally exhilarating. It cemented the bonds of friendship among those early pioneers who had raised the banner of revolt against socialism in 1959 and who found in the Convention an opportunity to rededicate themselves to its principles and policies. The Convention must have disappointed only those who looked to see in it the beginning of the Party's disintegration.

Before I conclude I would like once again to convey to the President of the Orissa State Unit of the Party, and also to untiring members of the Convention Committee and others concerned, the Party's grateful thanks for their efforts in making this Convention an event to remember.

Jai Swatantra



NATIONAL EXECUTIVE RESOLUTIONS

I: Adopted on September 1, 1968.

(i) Floods

The National Executive conveys its deep concern to the people of Gujarat at the great calamity that has over-whelmed vast areas of the State, and caused enormous – and at present incalculable – loss of life and property, and virtually destroyed the economy of the areas affected. The National Executive wishes, on the one hand, to express its deep sympathy for the large number of people who have suffered so grievously as to have virtually to start their lives afresh and, on the other, to convey its appreciation of the magnificent courage and spirit which the flood-affected people have shown in facing up to the effects of the devastating floods. The National Executive notes with satisfaction that vigorous efforts are being made to rehabilitate the people who have suffered and to reconstruct the economy of the areas affected; and it places on record its profound appreciation of the spontaneous way in which the people of Gujarat, from the city of Bombay, and from other parts of the country have rushed to provide whatever help they could make available.

The National Executive also expresses its deepest sympathy with the people of other flood-affected areas, notably Orissa, West Bengal, Assam and Rajasthan.

(ii) Drought

The National Executive expresses its deep sympathy to the people of Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Madras and other famine-stricken areas who have been suffering from severe and prolonged drought resulting in failure of crops, cattle-feed and drinking water and also considerable unemployment and other economic and social disabilities. The Executive trusts that State Governments and Central Government would hasten to organise Famine Relief, coupled with irrigation and drainage works and rural housing projects, and to remit Land Revenue and declare moratorium on cooperative and other rural indebtedness.

(iii) Reorganisation of Assam

The National Executive takes serious note of the repeated failure of the Government of India to fulfil its solemn assurances to the hill people of Assam over the matter of the reorganisation of that State. While regarding such procrastination as characteristic symptoms of Congress rule in the country, the National Executive offers its fullest sympathies to the hill people and calls upon all of them to stand steadfast and united, so that, in their peaceful and constitutional struggle for the creation of a separate hill

State, they may be always guided by wise and patriotic leadership.

(iv) Newspaper Employees Strike

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party deplores the stalemate in the strike by newspaper employees. The stalemate is especially regrettable in that it has denied to the people of this country an adequate news coverage concerning the grave developments both within and outside the country in the last few weeks.

The National Executive is of the view that this avoidable strike is due to the utterly irresponsible manner in which the Government accepted in toto the recommendations of the wage board which itself was not unanimous and which wholly ignored three basic principles in the formulation of wage structures, viz.

- (1) Ignoring the circumstances relating to the newspaper industry in the different regions of the country;
- (2) Failure to take into account the prevalent rates of wages for comparable employment in those regions; and
- (3) Totally ignoring the question of the employers' capacity to pay.

The situation has worsened with lockouts and layoffs announced by certain major newspapers.

The National Executive cannot help feeling that the strike is politically motivated and is part of the Communist plan to disrupt public life and create chaos in the country. However, the National Executive notes with satisfaction the very recent reports to the effect that, at long last, the suggestion made by the Swatantra Party in Parliament that negotiations between the newspaper employers and employees should be conducted on a "unitwise" basis is now being tried out. The Executive feels that this is the only right way to bring to a speedy settlement, so as to end the unfortunate strike.

It hopes that these negotiations will be conducted in a spirit of mutual give and take, not only in the interests of the employees and the employers but also in the interests of the general public, particularly the readers of newspapers who will ultimately have to bear the burden.

(v) The Andhra Pradesh Special Powers (Press) Bill, 1968

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party notes with deep concern the proposed Andhra Pradesh Special Powers (Press) Bill now before the Select Committee of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly. The Bill seeks to invest the State Government with sweeping powers to control and muzzle the press and all other publications in the name of public

order, decency, morality and matters connected therewith. In effect the provisions of the Bill seek to empower the State Government and the Executive, —

- (a) to place an embargo on the reporting of news and information by prohibiting the printers, publishers or editors from printing or publishing any document or matter relating to any particular subject;
- (b) to compel the printers, publishers or editors to print any matter issued to them by the State Government for publication in issues of their newspaper or periodicals;
- (c) to subject printers, publishers and editors to pre-censorship by requiring them to submit in advance any matter relating to specified subjects for scrutiny by any Officer or authority appointed by the State Government in this behalf.

Even more fantastic, the Bill also seeks to prohibit the entry into Andhra Pradesh of all newspapers, journals etc., which in the opinion of the State Government or any Officer empowered in that behalf is prejudicial to the maintenance of communal harmony or likely to affect public order or offend or likely to offend public decency or morality.

The Bill also confers upon Government powers to confiscate copies of newspapers, journals etc., if they contravene Government's order in this behalf, and to seize and dispose of printing presses if the printer or publisher or editor is found guilty of disobeying the provisions of this Bill.

The National Executive is of the opinion that if this Bill is enacted it will strike a mortal blow against the freedom of the press and freedom of speech, opinion and expression guaranteed by the Constitution. The glib justification that the Bill seeks to curb scurrilous writings which endanger communal harmony and public morals cannot deceive anyone who knows too well how, with such pious preambles, the executive often suppresses the very forces which strive to uphold public decency and communal harmony. The National Executive also feels that the existing laws, if properly enforced, are fully adequate to meet the professed ends of the Bill.

Such omnibus and sweeping legislation should not be a substitute for effective action against individual trespassers of morality and decency in journalism.

The National Executive therefore calls upon the Swatantra Party in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly to organise active opposition in Andhra Pradesh and in the State Legislature against this pernicious measure. It also appeals to the people of Andhra Pradesh and throughout the country to bring public opinion to bear on the Government of Andhra Pradesh so as to compel it to withdraw this Bill.

(vi) Czechoslovakia

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party

condemns the unprovoked military invasion and continued occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and its Satellites.

The abduction of Czechoslovak leaders to Moscow, the agreement which, it is reported, they were forced to conclude under conditions of extreme duress and the brutal shooting down of innocent people by the occupying troops is a revival of totalitarian imperialism of the worst kind.

The sort of agreement that the Czechoslovak leaders were forced to sign is now evident from the reimposition of censorship, the curbs imposed on freedom of expression and the reshuffle of the Czechoslovak Cabinet where nationalists are being replaced by Soviet quislings.

The Executive deplores the failure of the Government of India to condemn Soviet aggression. Our abstention from voting in the Security Council of the U.N. on a resolution condemning Soviet aggression is once again, indicative of the Congress Government's abject subservience to Moscow and the bankruptcy of its foreign policy.

The Executive salutes the people of Czechoslovakia in their struggle against Soviet totalitarian imperialism. It warns the people of India that unless our Government gives up its present policy of uncritical friendship with the Soviet Union, we may one day suffer the fate of the countries of Eastern Europe typified by Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

(vii) Tibet

This National Executive once again deplores the further intensification of the process of genocide and suppression of Human Rights in Tibet and expresses its admiration for the heroic resistance being offered by the long suffering people of Tibet to Communist Chinese Imperialism.

The National Executive also deplores the refusal of the Government of India to sponsor a resolution in the U.N. to condemn the suppression of Human Rights in Tibet.

(viii) Soviet Arms for Pakistan

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party is of the view that the Soviet decision to arm Pakistan marks a complete defeat of the Government of India's policy of playing up to the Soviets in the hope of keeping them away from Pakistan and preventing them from taking up a posture of equidistance between Pakistan and India which the Soviet Union has now openly adopted.

The Government of India's refusal to support in Parliament even a resolution expressing regret over the Soviet action is, in the opinion of the National Executive, indicative of the extent to which the Congress Party has tied the country to the apron strings of the Soviet Union and has sought to reduce this country to the position of a Soviet satellite. The Soviet

decision to supply arms to Pakistan has now completely exploded the myth of Soviet friendship.

In these circumstances, the National Executive demands that the Government of India should

- (i) give up the present policy of satellitism which has invited contempt of Moscow and encouraged the Kremlin to take India for granted;
- (ii) cancel the proposed visit to Moscow by our planners in a ridiculous attempt to dovetail India's Fourth Plan with Soviet plans;
- (iii) put an end to the "Rupees Trade" racket, which has already ruined India's balance of payments position with the rest of the world and lost us considerable "free" foreign exchange.

Adopted on November 24, 1968

(i) Resolution on Unruly Behaviour in Parliament

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party expresses its deep anxiety with the manner in which some Members of certain Opposition Parties deliberately indulged in unruly behaviour in the Lok Sabha during the discussion on the Government Employees Strike in the course of the recent debate on the "No Confidence" Motion.

The National Executive, while congratulating the Party's group in Parliament for dissociating itself from such unparliamentary behaviour and for expressing its strong indignation, is of the view that Members of Parliament, particularly those belonging to democratic parties, have a special responsibility not merely to ensure the maintenance of Parliamentary decorum

Annexure B

Texts of Resolutions adopted by the Fifth National Convention in Bhubaneswar on October 5 & 6, 1968.

(i) Mid-Term Manifesto*

The Convention is of the view that it would be desirable for the Swatantra Party to publish a mid-term Manifesto which should state *inter alia* (a) what the party has been able to achieve in the Union Parliament and in the States since the General Elections of February, 1967, and (b) what the Party proposes to do between the publication of the Manifesto and the General Elections of 1972.

To this end the Convention asks the National Executive to appoint a Committee to make an assessment of the situation and to prepare a draft mid-term Manifesto which should be published in the second

half of 1969, after approval at a meeting of the General Council of the Party.

(ii) Resolution on Student Unrest

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party notes with deep concern the resort to violence by students in various parts of the country and particularly in Banaras, Calcutta, Allahabad, Amritsar, Gorakhpur and Delhi.

While the reasons for student unrest are in some respects genuine, it cannot be denied that certain political parties have taken advantage of this dissatisfaction for furthering their own political ends and thus vitiated the atmosphere in the campuses. Equally, the increasing participation in the internal politics of educational institutions of a most deplorable variety by university officials, teachers and students had only helped to worsen the situation.

The University authorities have not been sufficiently responsive to meet the many genuine and real grievances amongst students in many of the campuses in India. It is deplorable, for instance, that the recommendations of the Education Commission have not been fully implemented, though the report was released over two years ago.

This meeting of the National Executive is of the opinion that if the ideals formulated by the Education Commission for better education in this country are to be fully realised, it can be done so, only if politicians and political parties, University administrators, teachers and students fully realised their responsibility in keeping education free from party politics.

half of 1969, after approval at a meeting of the General Council of the Party.

Moved by Mr. M. R. Masani

(ii) Mahatma Gandhi's Birth Centenary

This Convention pays its homage to the memory of Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, in this Centenary Year for the noble services rendered by him to humanity by uplifting the backward and suppressed people and for upholding the dignity and divine spark of every person, as a human being.

This Convention calls upon all Swatantrites and people at large to participate enthusiastically in all the Centenary Celebrations and help the causes of the Harijans, Girijans (Adivasis) and all other suppressed people to achieve their Human Rights which are enshrined in our Constitution under the inspiration of Bapujee.

* This was the only one to be adopted on October 5 in the Closed Session. The rest were adopted at the Open Session on October 6, 1968.

This Convention wishes to point out that the Swatantra Party's principles and policies seek to carry out Mahatmaji's concepts of good government and progress, to the greatest extent possible. And it is therein that this Party differs from other parties, including the present Congress Party and the policies followed by the Congress government at the Centre.

Moved from the Chair

(iii) Achievements of the Orissa Government

The National Convention of the Swatantra Party congratulates the Orissa Unit of the Party and its leader, Shri R. N. Singh Deo, for having provided, in coalition with their Jan Congress partners, a clean, stable and democratic Government to the people of Orissa. The success of this Government is like a beacon light to the people of India, who are at present surrounded by a sea of political turmoil and instability. During its short tenure of office, the Swatantra-led Government has fulfilled several of its promises, — the abolition of land revenue and Panchayat Taxes, abolition of Zilla Parishad and reorganisation of Panchayats, institution of public inquiry against corrupt officers and politicians, ending of unproductive State enterprises and strict maintenance of law and order. The Convention also notes with great satisfaction the Orissa Government's successful rehabilitation of those affected by the cyclone and the expeditious and efficient implementation of their drought relief measures. The Convention hopes the Orissa Government will be able before long to develop a foodgrains policy more in conformity with the policies and ideals of free trade and fair prices for the agriculturists.

Moved by Mr. M. R. Masani

Seconded by Mr. B. P. Singh

(iv) Agriculture

The first and foremost requirement for agricultural progress, namely the creation of conditions in which the benefit of higher agricultural production goes to the cultivators, has not been fulfilled in India. The prevalence of tenancy—mostly oral—and of share cropping systems and the failure of Government to guarantee a price for agricultural produce comparable to the prices that the agriculturists have to pay, have to a large extent deprived the agriculturists of the fruits of their labour.

The National Convention therefore resolves

1. that the Swatantra Party should henceforth work actively:

- (a) for the achievement of security of tenure for tenants and share croppers and with necessary exceptions leading to proprietary rights on payment of just and fair compensation to land owners, (b) for the prescription and enforcement of a statutory minimum wage and the provision of

reasonable living conditions to farm labourers and (c) for securing guaranteed floor prices to farmers and peasants for agricultural commodities which are at (or nearly at) par with the prices paid by the agriculturists for purchase of their requirements with reference to a particular base year in which price relationships were considered satisfactory;

2. that the Government of India should set up a Drought and Famine Relief Fund to meet the urgent short-term needs of drought affected areas and in particular to undertake the following drought relief measures in such areas:—

- (a) providing drinking water supply and making available well-digging rigs at nominal charge;
- (b) declaring a moratorium on debt repayments and tax arrears in areas where drought occurs in two successive years; and
- (c) granting long-term loans for land improvement through co-operative societies and/or Land Mortgage Banks.

This Convention also expresses its grave concern over the growing unemployment and underemployment among agricultural labourers due to many causes and urges the Government to develop facilities for alternative employment. To this end the Committee to be appointed by the National Executive to prepare the Mid-Term Report, should examine these matters as well when submitting its report.

Moved by Mr. B. P. Singh

Seconded by Mr. M. R. Masani

(v) Permit-Licence-Quota Raj

The National Convention of the Swatantra Party notes with regret that, despite positive evidence of continuing economic deterioration as a result of Government's policy of relying for economic development upon all-pervading system of Permits, Quotas and Licences, and despite the findings of their own Committees set up to enquire into such matters that the policy of controls and licensing, far from developing a well ordered economy, had only retarded its growth, the Government persists in its ill-conceived policy.

The Swatantra Party has repeatedly warned the Government that the system of controls is an obstacle in the way of national economic progress. It only results in the widespread growth of inefficiency and corruption, and is calculated to help the Party in power to perpetuate its rule.

The Convention once again calls upon the Government to dismantle the whole pernicious and complex apparatus of controls except to the minimum extent that may be temporarily necessary. Such minimum controls as are so retained should, however, be administered through an independent Tribunal, thus put-

ting an end to the present Permit-Licence-Quota Raj.

*Moved by K. M. Kaushik
Seconded by Mr. N. Dandeker*

(vi) Capital Participation of Labour

The National Convention of the Swatantra Party recommends that employees in industrial and business concerns should be encouraged to acquire shares in the companies in which they work by affording them opportunities, on reasonable and favourable terms, to utilise their accruing gratuities and annual bonus for that purpose. Such participation by labour in the ownership of the concerns in which they work should go a long way in improving industrial relations.

Moved by Mr. N. K. Ganapaiah

(vii) Government of Democratic Unity

It is now becoming more and more obvious that the present Congress Government in Delhi, representing as it does no more than 38% of the electorate and lacking the necessary qualities of leadership, is incapable of solving the many pressing problems the country faces. In the result the country lacks purposeful government and the nation is drifting helplessly and without a sense of direction.

What the country needs is a strong Government that has a broad base and embodies the national democratic consensus. Such a Government would cut across party lines and represent a Government of all the talent that the country can mobilise. There should be a room in such a Government for all those who sincerely believe in India's democratic Constitution and the values of a free society and for members of all democratic parties excluding of course the Communists. Such a Government would be a government of democratic unity and of purposeful progress towards a richer and fuller life for the masses of our people within the framework of our democratic Constitution.

Moved from the Chair

(viii) Fourth Five-Year Plan

The National Convention of the Swatantra Party is firmly of the opinion that the Planning Commission's approach to the Fourth Five-Year Plan clearly indicates that the Commission has evidently learned nothing and forgotten everything from its past failures.

While the First Five-Year Plan was successful because the resources required were *ab initio* within our practical capacity to mobilise, the physical targets set were achievable and the consequent growth rate contemplated was therefore attainable, the Second Plan was a failure precisely because these preconditions of success were absent. And the Third Plan was predictably disastrous because it was geared to a wholly unwarranted assumption that the economy was already so well developed and balanced in all respects that what it then needed was only the final powerful thrust

to boost it for a "take off" into a self-generating momentum to ensure its sustained growth. In the result every successive Five-Year Plan has been dragging the country further down into economic chaos.

The Approach to the Fourth Plan proposed by the Planning Commission suffers from several defects, among the most important of which are:

- (a) Its targets are as speculative as those of the Second and Third Plan and are as little likely to be achieved;
- (b) It ignores the fact that the high cost economy caused by inflation and distortion caused by the "the rupee sources racket" dooms their hopes of exporting non-traditional Commodities to disappointment;
- (c) It confesses that as wasteful expenditure may not be curtailed further taxation may be necessary;
- (d) When there is a crying need for foreign capital it attacks foreign collaboration;
- (e) Agricultural activities are threatened with institutionalisation;
- (f) Even while accepting that the Licensing system is not functioning satisfactorily it rejects the obvious alternative of decontrol and increased competition.

Unless therefore the "approach" now formulated is given up and a more realistic and down-to-earth approach is adopted, the country's economy will suffer grievously to a point where its recovery may be difficult and long drawn out. The National Convention would urge Government therefore to desist even at this late stage and to give a fresh directive to the Planning Commission with the specific instruction that its proposals must aim at the re-establishment of a free and competitive economy in the country. Nothing else can safeguard the interests of our people who are today crushed between the upper stone of heavy taxation and the lower stone of an all but run away inflation.

If the Congress Government at the Centre still wants to persist in the unrealistic and impractical Fourth Five-Year Plan this Convention warns the Government of the inevitable economic disaster to the country that will follow and advises the Congress Government not to dogmatically play with the economy of the country just as it is playing havoc on the political plane.

Moved by Mr. H. M. Patel

(ix) Privy Purses

This National Convention of the Swatantra Party recalls that following the attainment of Independence under the Indian Independence Act of 1947, the Privy Purses payable to the Rulers of the Indian States were the outcome of Agreements freely and voluntarily entered into by and between the Rulers and the Government of India, with the full approval of the

Cabinet in each case and having for their common objective—the merger and unification of their States with India.

This Convention further recalls that in pursuance of the solemn pledges then given by the Deputy Prime Minister of India, the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the obligation for the payment of Privy Purses under these Agreements was sanctioned by being embodied by the Constituent Assembly into the Constitution of India so as to make it inviolable.

In these circumstances, this National Convention of the Swatantra Party condemns in unequivocal terms the move by the Government of India to abolish the Privy Purses. There can be nothing worse in the field of public policy than to treat such solemn Agreements as mere 'Scraps of Paper', the Constitution as the playground of political whims and fancies, and pledges as fleeting promises intended to be broken at the earliest opportunity.

The specious excuses advanced for such dishonourable conduct, namely, that times have changed, that the social context has altered, or that considerable financial benefit would accrue etc. are false and known to be false. Times have not so changed, nor has the social context in India so altered, that the people of this country would prefer dishonour rather than meet their obligation to pay a paltry sum of less than five crores of Rupees out of annual budgets running into thousands of crores.

This Convention asserts that the proposed abolition of Privy Purses is nothing but an act of political vindictiveness by the party in power, assisted by the Communists and the like to whom honour and faith are mere words of little value. The Convention therefore demands that the Government of India should desist further from pursuing this dishonourable course.

Moved by Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel

Seconded by Thakur Mandhata Singh

(x) South-East Asia

In the context of the British withdrawal from Singapore in about three years time, a power vacuum is bound to arise in South-East Asia. The Prime Minister of Singapore was thus quite rightly agitated over the consequences of such a vacuum and sought to bring about a mutual security arrangement to which all free countries of South-East Asia would contribute.

This National Convention of the Swatantra Party deplores the lack of interest shown by the Government of India in this regard. Its policy of "satellitism" to the Soviet Union coupled with complete indifference to problems of mutual security in South-East Asia will certainly bring the threat of Chinese Communist dictatorship right to the very borders of India, even as our acquiescence in the rape of Tibet resulted in the Chinese crossing our frontiers in 1962.

Even in regard to the Organisation for Regional Economic Cooperation in South-East Asia which the then Minister for External Affairs, Mr. M. C. Chagla had welcomed, the lack of any effort actively to

follow up towards the development of such an arrangement is wholly to be deplored.

Moved by Mr. M. R. Masani

Seconded by Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy

(xi) Foreign Policy

Whereas the main object of the Government of U.S.S.R. is to subvert democratic institutions in India and to assist the Communist Party to establish a totalitarian Communist regime in this country, this Convention of the Swatantra Party calls upon the Government of India:—

- to minimise further association with the U.S.S.R. to the barest minimum;
- to avoid all involvement in political, defence and economic matters with the U.S.S.R. and in particular, to put an end to the fraud of "rupee payment" trade;
- to scrap the Novosti agreement which is merely a cloak for disseminating Communist propaganda in India; and
- to ban all Communist parties in India, whose allegiance lies elsewhere and whose avowed object is to subvert the present democratic Constitution of India.

This Convention warns the people of India against the continuance of Government's policy of "satellitism", which can only result in the eventual forcible takeover of India by the U.S.S.R. in defence of Communist Socialism as in the case of Czechoslovakia.

Moved by Mr. Piloo Mody

(xii) Czechoslovakia

The National Convention of the Swatantra Party condemns the brutal suppression of the freedom of the people of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and its Satellites.

The abduction of Czechoslovak leaders to Moscow, the Agreement they were forced to conclude under conditions of extreme duress and the shooting down of innocent people by the occupying troops of the Warsaw Pact Powers is a revival of totalitarian imperialism of the worst kind.

The reimposition of censorship, the curbs imposed on freedom of expression, the purging of the Czechoslovak Cabinet of all nationalist and patriotic elements gives an idea of the kind of "agreement" forced upon President Svoboda, Mr. Dubcek and others compelled to sign in Moscow.

The National Convention while congratulating the people of Czechoslovakia for their brave but short-lived efforts to live in freedom, condemns the Government of India for its cowardly abstention from voting on the resolution condemning Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia.

The Swatantra Party Convention expresses its grave disappointment at U.N. Security Council powers leaving the Soviet veto unchallenged by not taking the matter to the General Assembly.

Moved by Mr. P. K. Deo

Seconded by Mr. Madhu Mehta