

"The Great Dissenter"

It is often said that life begins at 90, and Mr Leanord Read in the issue of the *Freeman* says "glory to the man who can truthfully attest 'life begins at 90'."

If one wishes to see this in life one has to meet Rajaji. His is the miracle of an ageless mind. Behind his intellectual mask is concealed a personality which combines a master of parables, a zealous reformer and a dialectician par excellence. It was the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad who once remarked that Rajaji could convince one against one's will.

Philip Spratt has described Rajaji as "the great dissenter". Nothing could be more appropriate. His disagreement with Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress on several crucial issues indicates that he has been anything except a conformist. The core of Rajaji's life and teaching is the conception of *Dharma*, that one must do one's duty without any thought of the consequences. It is the ideal of the *Karmayogi*.

On the completion of his 90th birthday, the *Swatantra Newsletter* takes immense pride in wishing him many, many happy returns and may God grant him a fuller and longer life.

Bangalore

Leaders of public opinion met on 17th December to pay their tributes to the services rendered by Rajaji in the fields of politics and literature. He was characterised as "the grand old man", "Bheeshma", "Proud Son of India", "Chanakya", "Intellectual Colossus", etc.

The function was organised by the Rajaji Birthday Celebration Committee and presided by Mr. V. L. Narasimha Murthy.

Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, the eminent educationist, speaking on the occasion said that Rajaji deserved and commanded the respect of even those who differed from him. Former Mysore Minister, Mr. K. Manjappa, declared that very few among the politicians in India could attain the moral and intellectual stature of Rajaji. The leader of the Opposition in the Mysore State Assembly, Mr. S. Sivappa, told of Rajaji as "He can think far ahead of his times". State Finance Minister Ramakrishna Hegde observed that Rajaji's life was linked inextricably with the history of the freedom struggle. Calling him as an intellectual giant

of India, he said that though he might not agree with many of his views he had the highest esteem for his unquestioned patriotism, transparent sincerity and ability as an administrator and organiser. The noted Kannada literateur, G. P. Rajaratnam, declared that "we should be grateful to him for continually teaching the *Dharma* of our land". By this, he added, Rajaji had accomplished the task of a "Bhakta" or a "Gnani".

Patna

The Bihar State Swatantra Party arranged a birthday celebration in honour of Rajaji on December 8 at Patna.

Various Speakers garlanded the portrait of Rajaji and recalled his contribution to the present-day society. It was presided over by Mr. Tishwar Rai.

Bombay

The Swatantra Party, Bombay Region, observed Rajaji's birthday by holding a public meeting presided over by Prof. P. J. Shroff, Vice-President. Among those who addressed the meeting were Mr. Lalchand Hirachand, a leading industrialist, Mr. Adam Adil, Congress MLA, Mr. A. S. Bhaskar, journalist, and Mr. Joseph John, educationist. Tributes were paid to Rajaji for his love for the freedom of the individual, his courage for taking unpopular decisions, and his single-minded effort to see that the country progressed rapidly by adopting right policies. Prof. Shroff declared that the Swatantra Party's philosophy was a boon given to the nation by Rajaji.

Madras

On 8th December, 1968, the celebration in connection with Rajaji's birthday began with the ceremonial flag hoisting at the office of the District Committee. Pujas and other religious rites were performed in almost all the temples in Madras City and hundreds of workers of the Party called on Revered Rajaji at his residence. Special prayers were offered at various churches and mosques. Among the leading personalities who called upon and wished him many happy returns were the State Governor, Sardar Ujjal Singh, Mr. Annadurai, Chief Minister, Quaide Milleth Mohammed Ismail Saheb, M. P., Smt. Rukmani

Arundale, Smt. Clubwalla Jhadav and Shri K. Santhanam.

At a public meeting arranged by the District Committee on 14th December, which commenced with a prayer by Smt. M. S. Subbulakshmi, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, and others delivered addresses touching on the varied aspects of Rajaji's personality.

Messages were received from Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. V. V. Giri, Vice-President, Mr. Chester Bowles, the American Ambassador, Mr. Virendra Patil, Mysore Chief Minister, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, Chief Minister, Orissa, Mr. M. R. Masani, Maharaja of Mysore and the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Mr. Michael Stewart, British Foreign Secretary, called upon him on 7th December and was so impressed by Rajaji's mental agility, that he told reporters later "I only hope that if I live to his age, I shall be as alert and interested both in the past and the present as he (Rajaji) is".

The various district units of the Swatantra Party in Madras were asked to celebrate December 8 to December 22 as "Save Democracy Fortnight" to impress upon the people the great pains Rajaji has been taking during the last decade to organise an Opposition Party which believes whole-heartedly in democracy and the supremacy of the people.

In a comment, it said: "The hard work of Rajaji has been the only hope of democracy in filling up the political vacuum that is beginning to be felt especially at the Centre."

Nagaur

In observance of Rajaji's 90th birthday a public meeting was held on 22nd December which was attended by a large number of people and addressed by Mr. Bulakidas Acharya and Mr. Kantinathji, Secretary to Maharawal Laxmansingh of Dungarpur. In the morning a reception was held for Muslims returning from their Id prayers.

New Delhi

The Swatantra Party Parliamentary Board in a resolution adopted on 9th December wished Rajaji many happy returns and thanked him for the leadership and guidance he had given to them.

The resolution said, "... the Swatantra Party Parliamentary Board wishes him many happy returns of the day and thanks him for the leadership and guidance he has given to the group and prays to God for his long life and good health so that the country may have the benefit of his thought and experience".

Ranga is 69

Under the auspices of the Ongole Taluka Swatantra Party, the 69th birthday of Prof. N. G. Ranga, President, was celebrated. A public meeting was held presided over by Mr. H. M. Patel, President of the Gujarat State Unit. Prof. Ranga speaking at the meeting criticised the policy of the Congress and said

that the Swatantra Party was formed to save the ryots from the 17th Amendment of the Constitution and co-operative farming. Mr. Patel opened the Ranga Bhavan in Santapet, Ongole, which will be used as the office of the Swatantra Party.

Focus on Orissa

As promised in our last issue we reproduce the welcome Address by Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, President of the Orissa Unit of the Party at the 5th National Convention of the Party in Bhubaneswar on October 6, 1968.

We feel proud to have the opportunity of holding the Fifth Annual Convention of the Swatantra Party in Bhubaneswar. I am prouder still to have our beloved Leader Rajaji here among us. During his last August visit before the Fourth General Elections, he had given a clarion call to the people of Orissa at his public meetings to change the Congress Government. Now that our people have acted according to his advice, I sincerely hope that he would thank them and bless the Government born out of his goodwill. It is needless to say that his presence is an abundant source of inspiration to all of us to work with greater vigour for achievement of the ideals for which we stand.

We are meeting here at a time of great political

importance. The last General Elections made a significant change in the contours of our politics. People voted for a change in more than half the States of the union, a change which was, of course, long overdue. Twenty years of Congress misrule through all sorts of undesirable political manoeuvres including defections had brought the people to the point of suffocation from which they seriously desired respite. But since a solid alternative was not conspicuous their feelings could not be pointedly mobilised and channelised. Of course, the Swatantra Party offered a clear-cut brave alternative, but the Leftist parties were the biggest hindrance for the shaping up of a channelised non-Congress purposeful alternative. Therefore, in many of

the States non-Congress parties fought the Election against the Congress and at times against each other without a common programme, and after the defeat of the Congress, attempted to form Governments, which, necessarily, could not and did not continue long. As a result President's Rule was introduced in Hariyana, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Bihar and West Bengal. It was more because of these weaknesses of the non-Congress parties than because of its own strength that the Congress won back in Hariyana in the midterm election. The alternative that people desire is not a coalition of only different non-Congress parties to get into Governments for sake of power, but a solid programme acceptable to them.

The Swatantra Party, on the other hand, 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 co-operating in making this experiment a success.

It would not be irrelevant to outline briefly some of our achievements, since we assumed Office, inspite of heavy odds. We were very much fettered by the bad legacy, we inherited, which had brought the finances of the State to the point of bankruptcy through reckless and, wasteful expenditure. As if that was not enough misfortune to the State, Nature became unkind, when there were successive years of drought and an unprecedented cyclone and floods. But all these odds could not deter us from our determination to carry out our promises to the people, and where necessary we departed even from the conventional bureaucratic methods of Government functioning and implemented the following points of our programme, some of which are outlined in the Swatantra Party Souvenir.

(1) We have abolished Land Revenue in the State completely.

(2) We have done away with the Panchayats which were the hotbeds of corruption, and are trying to reorganise it to enable it to serve the people. We have also abolished the Panchayat taxes, including professional taxes, because those were being collected mainly from poor agriculturists and villagers. Probe Committees have been formed to go into charges of corruption against the Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis.

(3) We have raised the Sales Tax turnover limit to Rs. 25,000/- which would be a great relief to small traders.

(4) We appointed a Committee to evaluate the

working of Public Undertakings, whose report is under active consideration.

(5) We appointed a Commission to enquire into charges of corruption against former Congress Ministers. We subjected even ourselves to such scrutiny by a retired Supreme Court Judge, for maintaining high standards in public life, when there was a memorandum by Congressmen, even though it was not taken notice of by the Centre.

(6) We constituted the Pay Commission.

(7) We have set up a Code of Conduct for the Ministers, which we strictly adhere to.

(8) We have completed the separation of Judiciary from Executive.

(9) We have taken radical steps to boost production in the field of agriculture by putting greater emphasis on people's cooperation, high-yielding variety, irrigation projects and to industrialise the State through pragmatic approach to rapid industrialisation, better utilisation of mineral and forest resources, and concession to intending entrepreneurs.

Our party is nine years old and can boast of being the youngest but the most successful party. It is true that we in Orissa have not achieved everything that we would have liked to, so far as all aspects of our Swatantra political philosophy is concerned. Apart from the odds already enumerated by me, there is a major limitation on us, of being a State Government with a party complexion different to that at the Centre.

I have heard people, including some of our friends and well wishers, complain that even if our Government is doing so much of good work, it is not getting the publicity due. There is no doubt that we are not advertising our achievements nor do we believe in drum beating. Further it reminds me of a saying that "No news is good news". In the newspaper world, what is news and what is not is very picturesquely described. It is said that when a dog bites a man it does not make news but what certainly makes news is when a man bites a dog. There has been a lot of news in this sense, in the States that have already gone under the President's rule. We are happy and proud that we are not in it. Thousands of planes fly every day but no newspapers report that they flew and landed safely. But if there is a crash it is splashed in headlines. Judged against this background, it is a matter of great satisfaction to us that our Government has neither crashed nor are we at each other's throats to make news.

I would take this august opportunity of heartily thanking the people of Orissa for reposing their confidence on this Government after the Fourth General Elections. At the preparatory Convention in Bombay in August, 1959, our Party had displayed "The Swatantra Party has faith in the people". I gratefully congratulate the people of Orissa for their magnificent reaction to this thesis of the Swatantra Party and they have displayed "The people of Orissa have faith in the Swatantra Party".

Before concluding I would offer my respectful thanks to Pujya Rajaji for the strenuous journey he has undertaken to grace this occasion and enthuse and bless us with his illuminating presence.

Even though it might appear as a repetition, I cannot resist the temptation to mention here that it was at Bhubaneswar that the call of a change in

Orissa was given by Pujya Rajaji, and it came. Let there be a second call from this auspicious venue by the same illustrious elder Statesman of India, whom I have no hesitation in calling "Bhisma Pitamaha" of Indian politics, for every one to work for a programme-based alternative and for its realisation.

Arrivals and Departures

Mr. Chimanbhai Patel, ex-Congress M.L.A. from Jhambusar Taluka in Broach District, who has a very long record of public service and is well known throughout the district has joined the Swatantra Party. He was enrolled at a function held on November 2nd, presided over by Mr. Bhailalbhair Patel.

ROLL CALL OF DISHONOUR

The following were expelled from the Party for indiscipline and disloyalty to the Party:

MR. NATHUMAL DOKANIA—member of the dissolved Bihar Legislative Assembly who even though nominated as a Swatantra Candidate and associated with the selection of other party candidates was negotiating with the Bihar Congress which nominated him as their candidate for the same constituency.

MR. RAMUBHAI BHATIA MLA—for defecting to the Congress though elected as a Swatantra Party candidate.

Swatantra—Jan Sangh Talks

The General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, Mr. N. Dandekar issued on January 4, the following statement for publication:

"There have been conflicting Press Reports and consequently some misunderstanding in the public mind concerning the scope and purpose of the recent talks between the leaders of the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh.

"The discussions recently held were concerned primarily with evolving electoral understandings between the two Parties in connection with the ensuing Mid-Term Elections in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. A further objective was to evolve if possible a working

arrangement whereby the Parliamentary Groups of the two Parties could henceforth sit together as one combined Opposition Group in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. There was no question of any "merger" of the two Parties, whether within or outside Parliament.

"The talks concerning electoral understandings have been unsuccessful. All further discussions on other matters have therefore been presently discontinued because of the pre-occupation of all parties with the ensuing elections to the State Legislatures in West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab."

The Mid-term Poll

Beginning on February 9, Bengal, Bihar, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh go to the polls just two years after the general elections indicating growing uncertainties in Indian politics.

Elections are an expensive affair not only for parties and candidates but for the people at large because it is the public exchequer that has to pay for the foibles of fickle politicians. The Swatantra Party's effort is a very modest one. Modest, not because candidates were wanting, but the determination of the Party not to stretch itself too thin and thus repeat the errors of 1967. We learnt from the last general election that setting up a large number of candidates does not ensure a larger return to the legislatures. It was precisely the opposite. Wherever we limited our effort and concentrated our

energies in select areas, the results were good e.g. Madras and Mysore. Thus the General Secretary, Mr. Dandekar who has had to bear the brunt of the Party's effort was very careful to try and ensure that the limited resources available were put to the best use with the expectation of optimum results. Therefore, the total number of candidates set up by our Party in all the four States does not exceed 200. State-wise it is :

Punjab	5
West Bengal	3
Bihar	41
Uttar Pradesh	71

As this goes to the press, the General Secretary is in the middle of a campaign in the Punjab having com-

pleted a very strenuous tour of Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Mr. Masani toured Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The President Prof. Ranga is currently touring Bihar after visiting constituencies in Uttar Pradesh. In Bengal and in Uttar Pradesh the Party is going it alone. In the Punjab, we have come to an electoral adjustment with the Akali Dal and the Jan Sangh, while in Bihar the B.K.D. and we have entered into an electoral understanding to try and minimise conflict between one another. At a joint press conference in Patna addressed by the General Secretary, Mr.

Dandeker, and the Chairman of the B.K.D., Mr. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, Mr. Dandeker said that the B.K.D. and Swatantra were very close to one another. Mr. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha expressed the hope of a political alliance between the B.K.D. and Swatantra.

On the last page of this issue we have listed the names of our candidates. Whatever the result we can say one thing with certainty viz., that every one of these candidates have been selected with great care and their election to the various legislatures would strengthen not merely the Party but also provide the legislatures with competent members.

'The General Secretary's Tours

THE "SOCIALIST" TRAP

Addressing an election meeting on November 14 at Dinapur in West Patna, Mr. N. Dandeker urged the people not to fall into the trap of the word "socialism" because even the so-called "socialists" did not understand it.

He said that the Congress Government during the last two decades had been playing ducks and drakes with the Land Tenure and warned that if this uncertainty continued to prevail, the entire economic life of the people would be paralysed.

Continuing he exhorted the business community, labour and the cultivators to rally round the banner of the Swatantra Party.

BAN THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

Speaking at Lucknow on December 29, Mr. N. Dandeker said that the Communist parties in India should be banned if they continue to behave in the manner as in Kerala and elsewhere.

He said that the Government of India's reliance on USSR had brought the country's industrial progress to a standstill. For instance the Indian Airlines buying of aircraft had been held up because the Russians wanted the IAC to buy Soviet aircraft on the ground that USSR was buying Indian Railway wagons.

Mr. Dandeker took strong exception to what he described as false propaganda by the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi that the Swatantra Party did not believe in planning. He said that both in Parliament and outside the Party had repeatedly made it clear that it did not believe in *the kind of planning* which had gone on in the country for the last twenty years and which he described as "planning for bankruptcy".

The Swatantra Party, he said, believes in the simple proposition that like everybody else the Government must also plan within its resources. In fact all the present ills and social troubles in the country could be traced to the extravagant planning by the Government.

The Government, said Mr. Dandeker, must be concerned with planning its own business—railways, communications, harbours, power and the like.

PARTY'S POLL PROSPECTS IN UTTAR PRADESH

In a statement issued on January 3, at Lucknow, Mr. Dandeker said that the Party hoped to do so well in mid-term polls in Uttar Pradesh that the results would be a surprise.

The Party had chosen both its candidates and constituencies with the greatest care and to make sure that defections would not take place, its candidates had been made to sign a pledge to resign from the Assembly if they left the Party.

Mr. Dandeker considered it quite ridiculous Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's election appeal that the Congress alone could provide a stable government when not only was the Congress in total disarray in Uttar Pradesh, it hardly existed in Bihar, none knew what would happen to it in Punjab after Mr. Rarewala had left it, and it was clearly breaking up in Haryana.

Talking about the coalitions, he said without doubt for some time to come coalitions would have to rule the country. But this will have to be coalition of two like-minded parties as in Orissa. In Orissa he said the Party had got on excellently with the Jana Congress mainly composed of former Congressmen, on the simple basis of providing a clean and good administration.

Orissa Government Survives Second No-Confidence Motion

Last year during the second week of December, the Orissa State Assembly rejected by 70 votes to 47, an Opposition Motion of No-Confidence moved by

Mr. Narayan Sahu (P.S.P.) and supported by the entire Opposition including the Congress.

This was the second No-Confidence Motion against

the Ministry, the first being moved in June which was also rejected by 72 votes to 56 votes.

Various charges were made by the mover of the Motion levying assusations from mismanagement of the Government Departments to corruption and inefficiency.

Subsequent to this, there was an Opposition demand for a probe into the recent disturbances in Cuttack and in a reply to this, the Chief Minister, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo said that there were cross-currents behind the disturbances and that the Congress Party especially had been all along trying to create a law and

order problem chiefly with the object of discrediting the Coalition Ministry.

In this Connection we would like to bring to readers' notice a Statement by the Union Home Minister Mr. Y. B. Chavan, on December 2. He complimented the Orissa Government for taking the necessary precaution to check the communal disturbances in Cuttack during November. "I have no doubt that the Orissa Government took necessary precautions," he said, "even when the disturbances erupted, it was controlled in the shortest possible time."

Gujarat Land Revenue Abolition Act—1968

A Bill to provide for the abolition of Land Revenue on Agricultural Land has been moved by Our Member, Mr. G. D. Pathak, in the Gujarat Legislative Assembly. We are reproducing below the Statement of objects and reasons:

"Living on agriculture is a basic and primeval way of human existence. And land used for production is rather an instrument for production of foodgrains and other basic needs of all human beings and cattle. That instrument is always subject to all vagaries of natural elements, i.e. cold winds, uneven rains, insects as well as famine and flood and wild animals. An agriculturist has to face all such adversities and is never sure of getting adequate fruits of his labour from the land. Most of them are middle class people majority of whom can hardly keep body and soul together. Moreover the country has

been facing foodgrain deficit and has to import foodgrains from foreign countries for the last many years.

In the circumstances, it is not merely desirable but incumbent upon the State desirous of the welfare of its agriculturists to abolish tax on the land used for the agricultural purposes at the earliest opportunity. Looking to the income derived from the land revenue and the official machinery employed to collect this revenue, the margin of income left to the State is very small. The State can afford to let go such revenue for the larger interests of the agriculturists as a whole and hence this Bill."

NEWS FROM STATE UNITS

ANDHRA

The Executive Committee of the Andhra Pradesh Swatantra Party was held at Bapatla on 9th January, 1969, with Mr. G. Latchanna, President of the State Unit in the Chair.

As regards the State Government's decision to collect Land Revenue this year, the Committee urged the following measures:

1. Wherever assessment has not been properly done and any ryot made representation complaining injustice, re-inquiry should be ordered with an officer not below the rank of Assistant Collector or Deputy Collector.
2. The Government should desist collecting arrears of revenue in such villages which have suffered due to drought for the last one or two years.
3. It also condemned the attitude of the Government in collecting this Revenue while the appeal challenging the validity of the Land Revenue Enhancement Act, 1967, is pending in the Supreme Court.
4. It called upon the Government to stop such collec-

tions where demand notices were not properly given according to the Law.

Among various Resolutions passed were procurement of food grains; State Government's attempt to collect Drainage Cess from Ryots, without providing enough irrigation and drainage facilities; and the discriminatory attitude shown by the Government in assessing the Cess and the collection of penalties from the ryots in respect of the same.

Addressing a meeting of Party workers at Tenali, Prof. N. G. Ranga, President, said that he was leaving no stone unturned in keeping the Vamsadara Project a live issue. The meeting requested the Government to open free kitchens and subsidised rice depots in the villages.

Mr. G. Latchanna, M.L.A., at another meeting at Sompeth, requested the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh to come forward with another grant of Fifty lakhs for immediate relief.

The East Godavari District Swatantra Party's office was inaugurated by Mr. G. Latchanna, President of the State Unit. The gathering was welcomed by Mr. P.

Venkatanarayana, Chairman of the District Swatantra Unit and presided over by Mr. M. V. Sastri.

BOMBAY

Dr. R. C. Cooper, Vice President, Swatantra Party, Bombay Region, in a statement issued on 20th November, regretted that Bombay had been left out of the State Government's decision to abolish rationing. He said that the civic grievances bureau of the Bombay Unit conducted a survey of the working of rationing in Bombay. "The Committee, after carefully considering the evidence and obtaining the opinion of experts came to the conclusion that this was the most opportune time for the removal of controls and rationing of food-grains in Bombay", Dr. Cooper added.

The Civic Grievances Sub-Committee met on 29th November with Dr. R. C. Cooper, Vice President in the chair. It was decided to collect a lakh of signatures to be submitted to the Chief Minister, Maharashtra, on the rationing issue.

The Executive Committee at its meeting held on 18th December passed a resolution on the Naxalites and slogans appearing in Bombay. The Party Unit also issued a statement in the press about the sufferings the tenants had to encounter on account of the power cut.

Amidst shouts of "Mao Murdabad", "Naxalbari will not do" and other anti-Communist slogans from several hundreds of voices renting the air, an effigy of Mao Tse tung was set aflame at the foot of the Martyrs Memorial at Flora Fountain after a public meeting organised by the Swatantra Party, Maharashtra on December 18.

Mr. Madhu Mehta, Joint Secretary, Swatantra Party, Maharashtra State, said that according to information received by him there were some forty Naxalites active in Bombay, especially in the north of Bombay, who were indulging in anti-national activities. Earlier to this, groups of participants went to the meeting site shouting anti-Communist slogans.

Among the others who participated in the meeting were Mr. Bal Thackeray, Shiv Sena Chief, Mr. Sriram Lele, Youth Federation Leader and Mrs. Jayantiben Mehta, Jan Sangh Corporator.

It has been decided to conduct an Essay Competition in memory of the late Mr. Murarji J. Vaidya, at the undergraduate level and to give away three prizes to the value of Rs. 250/-, Rs. 150/- and Rs. 100/- respectively for the three best Essays.

GUJARAT

Speaking to newsmen on November 13, after the State Unit Executive Committee meeting, Mr. H. M. Patel, President, strongly criticised the State Government's policy of procuring levy on groundnut oil and paddy. He said that this Government had forfeited this right of procurement as it had sold the commodity

in the open market at lower prices. Mr. Patel said that the Party desired to discuss the issue with the Government.

MADRAS

"The Government must act swiftly to protect the interests of agriculturists in Thanjavur district and other places and eliminate obstruction and violence by Communists" said Mr. R. Krishnaswamy Gounder, M.L.A., presiding over the Tirunelveli District Vivasaya Conference convened under the auspices of the District Swatantra Party.

About 300 delegates from all over the district attended. Among the speakers were Dr. M. Santosham, M.P., and G. Swaminathan, M.L.C.

KASHMIR

The Kashmir Regional Unit of the Party has swung into activity with the setting up of the following *ad hoc* Committee:

President	Members
Mr. Agha Jalal	Mr. Yasin Draboo
Vice-President	Hakim Abdul Majid
Mrs. Goodie Oberoi	Mr. Abdul Haye
General Secretary	Mr. Abdul Gani
Mr. Abdul Wahid Raina	Mr. Ghulam Hassan Nayak
Treasurer	Mr. Mohd. Yusuf
Mr. Kishenlal Wazir	

In a statement issued on December 9, the Kashmir Unit has condemned the indefinite postponement of Panchayat elections in the State. It also demanded removal of all restrictions on the movement of food-grains in the State.

ORISSA

The Orissa State Parliamentary Board of the Party meeting in Bhubaneswar on October 20, decided to give option to its district committees to contest civic elections in alliance with other like-minded parties. With Mr. R. N. Singh Deo in the Chair, the Board decided that in the event of a party worker desiring to contest independently, prior approval of the concerned district committee should be obtained.

It also had a preliminary discussion on the policy of the Orissa Government with regard to the Kendu leaves. In view of the National Convention having been held at Bhubaneswar in October, the State Board felt it necessary to postpone the State Convention scheduled to be held in December.

The Ganjam District Swatantra Party at its meeting held on December 2nd congratulated the people of Ganjam for bravely facing continued crisis and

devastations. It also congratulated the Orissa Government for the prompt steps taken to face the natural catastrophe. Among other things discussed at the meeting were allowing of private buses for better communication and the gradual deterioration of the Khallikote College management.

Speaking at the 2nd Conference of the Ganjam District Swatantra Party, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, said the coalition government of Orissa would continue to withstand the bid by the Congress to bring about a rift between the partners in the coalition. He called upon the Swatantra Party workers to work with sincere zeal. About 400 delegates attended the conference and more than ten thousand people gave a warm reception to the Chief Minister on his arrival.

"We have not been able to look into many urgent necessities affecting the people in different spheres of developments... but we cannot shirk the responsibility to face it boldly and firmly" Mr. Singh Deo added.

The conference passed about 17 resolutions. They dealt among others with the abolition of the Land Revenue, and Panchayat tax and reduction in irrigation tax; Nationalization of text books; Octroi duty; malfunctioning of co-operatives; sugar-cane cultivation; and, the development of Berhampur University.

Inaugurating the Balangir District Swatantra Convention on January 4 at Dugripali, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo called upon the Workers to work in a dedicated manner for the cause of the people and to stand united. Their objective should be to eradicate poverty from the land, he added. Criticising the lapses of the previous government he once again emphasised the need for a two-Party system which was the only way of ensuring survival of democracy in the country.

KERALA

The State Council had two meetings—one on 3rd November and the other on 12th December.

The meeting on 3rd November decided that the Party would be prepared to join an alliance of democratic parties in the State on the basis of a clear-cut programme to oust the communists and to combat the growing lawlessness in the State. The meeting on the 12th elected Mr. K. K. Kuruvilla as President of the State Unit in place of Mr. Sebastian Paikada who has resigned due to personal reasons.

The following resolution on the formation of Malapuram District was unanimously adopted:

"It is obvious that there are strong feelings for and against the formation of two new districts. Since the boundaries of the proposed districts are not decided yet it is difficult to say whether the districts are being formed on communal reasons. Therefore this meet-

ing decides that no Swatantrite should take part even in his personal capacity in any movement for or against the formation of the districts."

Other resolutions adopted at this Council included:

(1) Calling upon Government to confer upon Backward Christian Communities the same benefits as were available to Scheduled Castes including the allotment of Government land to the landless Harijans including backward Christians.

A decision to convene a representative conference of Harijan organisations in the second week of February at Kottayam to discuss measures to compel the Government to distribute land among the Harijans.

(2) Requesting the government to order a judicial inquiry into the incidents at Tellicherry and Pulpally particularly with reference to their political background.

(3) Calling upon the State Government to give adequate protection to the Kuttanad cultivators from Red volunteers during the harvesting season.

UTTAR PRADESH

In its manifesto for the mid-term poll to be held next month the U.P. unit promises to confer "full proprietary rights" on the tillers and introduce a system of "peasant-proprietorship".

The manifesto pledges full social justice to all irrespective of caste, creed or community. In the field of administration the Party promises to develop a more competent and humane police force. As regards wastage in Government, the Party will order probes in the public sector undertakings and Government firms and close down those running at a loss.

An Ad hoc Committee of 8 members headed by Mr. Kameshwari Sahai as Convenor has been formed in the District of Shahajahanpur, with powers and responsibilities of a district unit.

Talking to PTI on December 12, Sardar Ram Singh, M.P. and member of the National Executive declared that the Party would be contesting about a hundred seats all over U.P. in the mid-term poll and it was hoped that at least it would win two-third seats.

He however made it clear that the Swatantra Party was contesting the mid-term poll with a view to making an impact on the politics of the State.

He referred to the teachers' movement in the State and said that the Party was distressed at the way the teachers' cause was being handled by the State Government. "We fully support them in their struggle for existence and I appeal to the Prime Minister to intervene. Let some Union Minister be deputed to handle the teachers' case in Uttar Pradesh", he added.

from the General Secretary's desk

Dear Friend,

I am now in the middle of an election tour, having already toured several constituencies in Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. With the elections in these States (and Punjab where I shall be later this month) pre-occupying my thoughts, I would commend for your attention "A Plan for the Masses" which is the basis on which our candidates have sought the support of the electorate.

A Plan for the Masses

The Swatantra Party rests its appeal, first on its record, in the Orissa State where it is in power in co-operation with the Jan Congress and in Parliament, where it is the leading Opposition Party, and, secondly, on its principles, which are being increasingly vindicated and, thirdly, on its programme for those who have been neglected by the Congress during the last twenty years and whose grievances and needs have not been relieved by other political parties, which have been in office.

Broadly, the record of Orissa is clear from the fact that while it has a stable government, Bihar, Bengal have suffered from governments of too many parties. Yet the Orissa Government, led by the Leader of the Swatantra Party has abolished burdens of land revenue against which our peasants have been protesting for ages. It has also abolished Panchayat Raj taxes and burdens of Zilla Parishads.

While the Mysore and the Rajasthan Chief Ministers have been fighting shy of placing the complaints against them before a judicial authority, the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister of Orissa gave lead to such Chief Ministers by placing the partisan charges raised by their Congress opponents before Justice Mudholker. We are proud of the fact that Justice Mudholker has declared those charges completely unfounded and our Ministers have acted justly and in a *bona fide* manner.

Our Party took the lead in demanding the appointment of Ombudsman (Lokpal and Lokayukt) which has been accepted by the Administrative Reforms Commission. As a result, Lokpal and Lokayukt offices are going to be established.

We have contributed towards purification of administration by our initiative in levelling responsible charges of misuse of power by the then Chief Ministers of Punjab, Orissa and the Union Minister of Finance, (late Pratap Singh Kairon, Biju Patnaik and Biren Mitra and T. T. Krishnamachari respectively). Eventually Central Government was obliged to drop those Ministers.

At the Centre, it is admitted by all that the Swatantra Party has shown a high sense of responsibility, without the self-righteousness of the Congress on one side and the unhelpful vehemence of some Opposition

parties on the other. On all questions, its stand has been the simple one of the interests of the common people. It has opposed all efforts to favour some sections if it is at the expense of other sections, less vocal or organised, but nonetheless important to themselves and to the economy, which benefits only when the total production is increased. During the current year, the Party has opposed the increase in taxation to satisfy the fads of government, especially the new higher Central Excise, the increase in Railway and Postal rates; it has carried on a campaign against wastage on public enterprises such as the Bokaro. It has opposed the socialisation of Banks leading to the Congress gaining a strangle-hold over peoples' investments in Banks. It has pleaded for reduction in the rates of interest. It opposed the Gold Control Act, which will wipe out the profession of goldsmiths. We continue to oppose the Essential Commodities Act, which is a weapon calculated to exploit peasants and consumers and increase corruption and raise prices from black markets on the one hand and interference with the free market on the other. It has succeeded in making the Government accept a Plan Holiday. It has warned the Government against its indulgence in inflation which was confiscating the income of everyone, without involving the people into fuller utilisation of their resources and those of the country through the financial and other assistance for indicative planning within the means of the people themselves. The Swatantra Party has made the Government accept the desirability of ending controls, particularly food controls, which, while giving producers only a fraction of their prices, add unnecessary charges to the prices paid by the consumers. It has generally restrained the Government from irresponsibility by subjecting its proposals to deep and detached examination through every parliamentary device open to it under the Constitution.

Ours is the only Party which realises that the Fundamental Laws are necessary to protect the weak against the strong in respect of peace, property and profession. Our Party has taken the lead in discovering the dangerous propensities of the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution, to destroy the proprietorship of peasants over their holdings and forced Government

to exempt peasants whose holdings are below the ceiling from its mischief. Our Party has again warned Parliament and the country against the mischievous and calamitous nature of the Bill introduced by Shri Nath Pai and blessed by Congress Government to undermine the sanctity of the Fundamental Rights enshrined in our Constitution.

The Swatantra Party was founded to save the peasant proprietors who form the majority of our people and stands for fair rents and security of tenure for tenants, the right to mortgage the tenancy for obtaining co-operative and other credit. It stands for a minimum wage for agricultural labour, composed mostly of Harijans and backward classes, not only as a matter of social justice but also for increasing the National Product.

PEASANTS

Our Party stands for the payment of remunerative prices for our agriculture Products. Whenever the need arose, it has strengthened the demand for sugarcane growers, rice, wheat and groundnut producers for reasonable rise in the prices paid for their produce in relation to rising costs of production and other price-levels. We have opposed Compulsory Procurement and unremunerative prices. We would work for more satisfactory relief and rehabilitation to peasants, workers and others, who suffered from floods, droughts, cyclone, frost and other natural calamities.

It is against every form of communalism of which the best evidence is that out of its 42 Members in Parliament, 8 are Scheduled Castes and Tribes, 3 are Christians, 3 are Muslims, 2 Parsees.

We have submitted, at the request of the Government a practical scheme of a quasi-judicial commission to decide and administer such of the controls as would have to be allowed after putting an end to the present system of suffocating controls in all economic spheres so that industry and commerce could be free from the present-day administrative shackles and from unhealthy political influences in their dealings with the Government.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Its programme is related to the problems which remain unsolved of which the most important is unemployment. Its solutions are: (1) improvement of living conditions in villages, (2) increased investment in land and industries, (3) peoples' own enterprise strengthened by assuring adequate and cheap credit for items approved in Indicative Planning,

which would take care of the idle educated, (4) a plan to lead the country to need-based wages, provided it is for all sections of toilers and related to increase in production and employment.

RURAL PEOPLE

Our Party has always stood for (a) increasing literacy amongst the masses, (b) for laying roads to connect villages with urban areas, (c) to provide more houses in rural areas with the help of advances from the Central and the State Governments, (d) to help the villagers to dig more wells so as to obviate drinking water difficulties throughout the year and (e) to provide greater facilities for rural sanitation and drainage.

GOOD GOVERNMENT

Regarding Law and Order, which has been sacrificed to politics, our Party will restore the responsibility of officials to strictly enforce Law and safeguard peoples' Fundamental Rights without invidious favours to individuals and classes. We stand for good, honest and impartial Government and would oppose exploitation of administration by ruling parties and elements and favoured persons or groups.

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

The Party will try to take the present student unrest by their confidence in restoring future by creating increased opportunities for gainful employment and removing the disparities in salaries and wages between teachers and State and local government employees. For teachers, the Party supports the Education Commission's proposals. For lower grade employees, whatever the National Labour Commission would favour should be sought to be achieved.

The general Aim of the Party will be to eliminate expenditure on fads and frills for political purposes and increase resources for serving the basic needs of the people, particularly the poorer sections, whose needs are the very means of advancement of the economy. In place of poverty of the masses created by the Congress, the Swatantra Party will plan for progress towards *plenty* for the masses.

Jai Swatantra

Yours truly

LIST OF CANDIDATES MID-TERM ELECTIONS

Bihar

Serial No.	Name of Candidate	Name of Constituency
1.	Sri Robert Samuel Besra	Borio (ST)
2.	Sri Yashwant Kumar Choudhary	Dalsingsarai
3.	Sri Shatru Mardan Shahi	Lauriya
4.	Sri Bhola Nath Ram Gop	Rajmahal
5.	Sri Tej Narain Yadav	Baheri
6.	Sri Girish Nandan Sinha	Bibhutpur
7.	Dr. Sheo Pratap Singh	Dinapur
8.	Sri Marshal Kullu	Simdega (ST)
9.	Sri Thakur Prasad Choudhary	Dinara
10.	Sri John Kandulna	Torpa
11.	Sri Dinesh Tripathi	Raxaul
12.	Sri Motiur Rahman	Patna East
13.	Sri Shilwant Kumar Choudhary	Bachhawara
14.	Prof. Bishnu Kumar Sinha	Siwan
15.	Dr. A. Aziz	Jalalpur
16.	Sri Jhingur Sahni	Benipur
17.	Dr. Khursid Alam	Bettiah
18.	Sri Ram Rakshya Singh	Bikramganj
19.	Sri Parshu Ram Singh	Jagdishpur
20.	Sri Kusheshwar Prasad Vaishya	Tarapur
21.	Sri Lal Ran Vijay Nath Sah Deo	Kanke
22.	Sri Tungeshwar Prasad Singh	Mokamah
23.	Sri Saguni Singh	Bikram
24.	Sri Mangi Lal Yaduka	Rupauli
25.	Dr. Rudra Narain Choubey	Kewatiranway
26.	Sri Vidya Kishore Vidya Alankar	Shikarpur
27.	Sri Satya Narain Jha Sadhak	Lalganj
28.	Sri Mathura Das	Maner
29.	Sri Ashok Kumar Trivedi	Dumraon
30.	Dr. Mahendra Prasad Verma	Daltonganj
31.	Sri Arun Kabi	Seraikella
32.	Sri Ujendra Lal Soy	Kharsawan
33.	Sri Keshav Pandey	Mirganj
34.	Sri Kharagdhari Narain Singh	Dumari
35.	Sri Jagannath Prasad Kesari	Buxar
36.	Sri Udit Narain Jha	Biroul
37.	Sri Rajeshwar Yadav	Madhepur
38.	Sri Zakir Ali Iraqui	Kishanganj
39.	Sri Atour Rahman	Jokihat
40.	Sri Shishir Kumar Sinha	Gaya
41.	Sri Abdul Razaque	Kasba

Punjab

1.	S. Basant Singh	Dakala
2.	Tikka Jagtar Singh	Anandpur
3.	S. Gurbakhsh Singh	Balachaur
4.	S. Kartar Singh	Rajpura
5.	Shri Om Prakash	Lambi (SC)*

Uttar Pradesh

1.	Sri Bhuwan Chandra	Shergarh
2.	Sri Badri Prasad	Powayan
3.	Sri Chhotelal	Dadraul
4.	Sri Mutiur Rehman	Bangarmau
5.	Sri Brajeshwar Bali	Daryabad
6.	Sri Munna Singh	Mahsi
7.	Sri A. Gaffar Hashimi	Sadullanagar
8.	Sri Sarju Prasad	Mujehna
9.	Sri Kaushalendra Datt Ram Pande	Katra Bazar
10.	Sri Jugun Prasad	Mahadewa (SC)
11.	Sri Ram Kishore Singh	Bikramjot
12.	Raja Kashinath Bahadur Pal	Basti
13.	Sri Bhanu Pratap Singh	Bhanwapur
14.	Sri Abdul Rauf	Banganga

* Elections in this Constituency has been postponed to March.

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of Candidate</i>	<i>Name of Constituency</i>
15.	Sri Tej Bahadur Singh	Bansi
16.	Sri Ajai Singh	Ballia
17.	Sri Abdul Razzak	Sadat
18.	Sri Moti Lal	Shahjahanpur
19.	Sri Jugul Kishore	Bawan
20.	Sri Pratap Bahadur Singh	Fakharapur
21.	Sri Shyam Narain Sharma	Sheopur
22.	Sri Ram Adhar Kanaujia	Ikauna (SC)
23.	Sri Gomti	Saonghat (SC)
24.	Sri Ram Pati	Chillupar
25.	Sri Shiv Saran	Jhangaha (SC)
26.	Sri Ram Raksha	Paniara
27.	Sri Ranjit	Lakshmipur
28.	Sri Kamalakant	Gopalpur
29.	Sri Ramjee	Chandauli
30.	Sri Ramjee	Mughalsarai
31.	Sri Moti Lal Shastri Azad	Kolasala
32.	Sri Dudh Nath	Aural
33.	Sri Rishi Ballabh	Ekeshwar
34.	Sri Ahmadulla Khan	Thakurdwara
35.	Sri Bansidhar Dhangar	Jaswantnagar
36.	Sri Munshilal Chamar	Karhal (SC)
37.	Sri Balbir Singh	Jasrana
38.	Sri Vijai Bahadur Singh	Ghiror
39.	Sri Mahraj Singh	Aliganj
40.	Sri Khajanchilal	Jalesar (SC)
41.	Sri Ram Charan	Bah (SC)
42.	Sri Girwar	Goverdhan (SC)
43.	Sri Birendra Singh	Gokul
44.	Sri Mangalsen Parcha	Hapur (SC)
45.	Sri Nepal Singh Arya	Nagina
46.	Sri Ghalib Kamal	Kanth
47.	Sri Shafiqur Rahman Burq	Sambhal
48.	Sri Chiranjiv Lal Shastri	Bahjoi
49.	Sri Bhupal	Chandausi
50.	Sri Bihari Lal	Kundarki (SC)
51.	Sri Mahboob Husain	Moradabad Rural
52.	Sri Krishna Pal Singh	Auraiya
53.	Sri Kundan Lal	Nidhauili Kalan
54.	Sri Keshav Deo	Firozabad
55.	Sri Kartar Singh	Fatehabad
56.	Sri Shiv Ganesh	Dayalbagh (SC)
57.	Sri Hari Shankar Vimal	Fatehpur Sikri
58.	Sri Suraj Bhan	Hathras
59.	Sri B. K. Sharma	Aligarh
60.	Sri Rajbir	Jewar (SC)
61.	Sri Vidya Bhushan	Chhatari (SC)
62.	Sri Shanti Swarup Sharma	Dibai
63.	Sri Ganga Bal	Agota
64.	Sri Hira Singh	Kithor
65.	Sri Syed Mohd. Zubair	Sardhana
66.	Sri Preetam Singh	Kandhla
67.	Sri Shamshad	Khatauli
68.	Sri Ram Prasad	Morna
69.	Sri Shyam Lal	Harora (SC)
70.	Sri Fakir Chand	Muzaffarabad
71.	Sri Alkesh Singh	Kishmi
West Bengal		
1.	Mr. M. A. Hannan	Farrakka
2.	Sri Rajendra Singh Singhi	Manikchak
3.	Nizamuddin Chowdhury	Malda

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