

Swatantra Party

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TO
THE PRESIDENTS/GENERAL SECRETARIES/MP'S

GENERAL SECRETARY'S LETTER NO.106

Dear friend,

* Now that a Ceasefire Agreement has been signed between India and Pakistan in regard to the dispute on the Kutch border, it becomes necessary to recall a resolution unanimously adopted by the National Executive of the Party at its recent meeting in Madras on June 4 on the subject of India-Pakistan relations. A copy of the latest Newsletter carrying the resolution on page 2 is attached herewith for your perusal.

* A close study of the Ceasefire Agreement signed by our Government shows that the pre-condition of the restoration of the Status Quo Ante referred to in our National Executive's resolution has been satisfied in all respects. In view of this and the wish expressed by the Party's Executive that a Ceasefire Agreement would soon be reached, Rajaji has quite rightly, in a Press Statement published yesterday, welcomed the Ceasefire Agreement as being in full accordance with the 1959 and 1960 Agreement between the two countries. For your information, the relevant terms of those Agreements are attached.

Yours truly,

M. R. Masani

(M. R. Masani)
General Secretary

Encl : *

MEETINGS OF THE CENTRAL PARLIAMENTARY BOARD AND THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

The Central Parliamentary Board and the National Executive of the Party met in Madras on June 4 and 5.

The Board noted that most State units have not yet submitted the list of their Parliamentary constituencies in order of priority as decided by it on March 14, 1965.

It urged State Parliamentary Boards to submit these lists immediately to facilitate its work. The Board has pointed out that it is not enough if a mere list of names of constituencies is submitted. What is necessary is a set of reasons for the inclusion of a particular name.

Panchayat Elections: The National Executive has decided to allow State units to participate in Gram Panchayat elections and if they so desire, to put up candidates at the Gram Panchayat level.

Youth Wing: The National Executive has formulated the following principles in regard to the functioning of the Party's Youth Wings in the various States:

- i) State Executive Committees should supervise the functioning of Youth Wings;
- ii) State Committees should appoint Youth Organisers. For the time being, these Youth Wings will have no Elective Committees;
- iii) The age limit for membership of Youth Wing is 25, and
- iv) Youth Wing membership is open even to those who are not workers of the Party.

RESOLUTIONS

South Vietnam

The National Executive welcomes the firm stand taken by the United States in supporting the Government and people of South Vietnam who have been increasingly menaced by Communist aggression from North Vietnam and China. This is a development that should put heart in all lovers of freedom in Asia.

Considering that the defence of Vietnam, Laos and Malaysia are an integral part of the defence of India against Communist advance, the National Executive of the Swatantra Party deplores the attitude of the Indian Government in taking the short-sighted and

suicidal attitude of condemning the U.S. and South Vietnamese attacks on North Vietnam while maintaining silence on North Vietnam's aggression on South Vietnam which has now proceeded for no less than nine years. This stand of the Indian Government is entirely contrary to justice and our own national interest.

Similarly the attitude of the Indian Government in sitting on the fence in regard to Malaysia which is menaced by Indonesian aggression backed by Communist China and Soviet Russia is not only bad policy but also smacks of ingratitude in view of the spontaneous and whole-hearted moral support given by the Government of Malaysia at the time when India was attacked by Chinese Communist forces in 1962.

The Committee hopes that public opinion will assert itself and demand that the Indian Government should take the initiative in developing the defence of democracy in Asia and a system of regional security which should embrace India and Japan and the countries in between.

Indians in Ceylon

The National Executive takes note of recent developments in Ceylon and welcomes the installation in office of a new Government which is pledged to liberal principles and the rejection of Statism and the pro-Chinese attitude which had marked the policies of the last government.

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party hopes that this change of regime will bring relief to the people of Indian origin in Ceylon and that it may be found possible to modify the Sirimavo-Shastri Agreement which the Party had denounced last year as being in violation of the Fundamental Rights of persons of Indian origin in Ceylon. The Executive hopes that, in any agreement that may now be reached between the two countries, the following principles will be safeguarded, namely, (a) that all repatriation should be entirely voluntary and that there should be no element of coercion or compulsion involved in the process, (b) that all those who are repatriated to India on their own volition will be rehabilitated suitably in this country and that they will be immediately granted Indian citizenship on

their indicating their choice, and (c) that those persons who do not opt for repatriation but desire to stay on in Ceylon will be forthwith granted Ceylonese nationality and that no distinction will be made between them and other citizens of Ceylon in respect of their rights as voters or otherwise.

Indo-Pakistan Relations

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party notes with concern the grave deterioration in relations between India and Pakistan since the beginning of this year. By its resolution of May 17, 1964, the General Council of the Party had welcomed the efforts then being made to solve the Kashmir dispute in a friendly manner and had offered its support to the then Prime Minister and Government. It is a matter of considerable regret to all lovers of peace in this sub-continent that that opportunity was missed.

The National Executive condemns the armed aggression committed by Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch, contrary to the Agreements between the two Governments in 1959 and 1960. It supports the position of the Indian Government that a cease fire in that region should be accompanied by a restoration of the *status quo ante* and expresses the hope that efforts at a cease fire will succeed before long.

Totalitarian and Obscurantist Pressures

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party expresses its deep concern at the Congress Government yielding to pressures of the Communists and fellow-travellers and of obscurantist fanatics in the country. Indeed, it sometimes appears as if these elements have taken charge of Congress and Government through a kind of remote control.

Social Justice

The National Executive reiterates the Party's stand as adumbrated in its Statement of Policy and Election Manifesto in 1962 that the Party stands for the fullest social justice for the people of this country and gives top priority to the needs of the common man such as food, clothing, shelter and fuller and more gainful employment.

The Swatantra Party is of the view that, while the traditional aim of socialism, namely, the approach to a more free and equal society, is one that is universally acceptable, the method by which this objective is sought to be reached by those who call themselves socialists and communists is totally unsuited to the purpose. Statism and State Capitalist monopoly, which doctrinaire socialists in India and some of the backward countries of the world follow, is an out-moded dogma which progressive socialists such as those in West Germany and Britain have discarded

or are increasingly discarding. In this connection the National Executive of the Swatantra Party draws attention to the fact that the present programme of the Social Democratic Party of West Germany is practically the same as that of the Swatantra Party.

The National Executive of the Party, therefore, hopes that the workers of the Party will exert themselves and do all they can to explain to the people that, while the Swatantra Party accepts the goal of a free and equal society, it is opposed root and branch to the out-dated method of Statism which has become the main enemy of social progress in our country and will in time result in the establishment of Communist type tyranny.

Cricket Tour

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party shares the disappointment of sportsmen in the country over the cancellation of the West Indies Cricket tour as a result of the Union Finance Ministry's refusal to grant the necessary foreign exchange.

It is sad that this Government's disastrous economic policies which have already ruined the country's trade and industry should now make their ugly presence felt in the field of sports also.

Diesel Oil

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party notes with concern the grave dislocation of transport and agricultural operations caused by the cancellation of import licenses for high speed diesel oil and the insistence of the Indian Government on importing diesel oil only from the Soviet Union and on giving the Government-owned Indian Oil Corporation a monopoly of its distribution. As a result large numbers of trucks, buses, tractors and irrigation pumps have been immobilised and considerable damage has been caused to their engines through the use of deleterious substitutes.

The specious plea that all this is being done to save foreign exchange is utterly untenable. India has to pay for imports from the Soviet Union, despite acceptance of payment in Rupees, through exports to that country in the same manner as it has to pay for imports from other countries. The dependence on Rupee sources for imports is thus a racket in which the present Government is indulging for doctrinaire reasons and in order to establish its own monopoly.

Farmer's Needs

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party reiterates that no lasting solution of the food problem is possible, so long as agriculturists are not assured:

(a) of the security of their tenure, by the with-

drawal of the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress Party and the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution.

(b) of a remunerative and steady price for agricultural produce in parity with the price of the goods that he has to buy,

(c) of timely supplies of improved seed, implements, fertilizers, pesticides, diesel oil and other requirements including credit.

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party reiterates its appeal for the abolition of the

revenue burden on land and recent enhancements in it.

Taxation

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party earnestly appeals to the Government to adopt a policy of cutting down taxes, specially those that weigh on the life of the poor and in pursuance of this, substantially to reduce the indirect taxes and levies on the commodities which the poor have to buy whether imported or produced in the country.

"I SHALL ALWAYS ENDEAVOUR TO FULFIL THIS NATIONAL NEED . . ." Says Maharani Gayatri Devi

"For the preservation of democracy and freedom the country needs a strong Opposition. I shall always endeavour to fulfil this national need through the medium of the Swatantra Party." With these words, Maharani Gayatri Devi categorically denied in Madras rumours about her quitting the Party.

Ever since the reported offer of a diplomatic assignment to the Maharaja of Jaipur, certain inte-

rests have been circulating rumours that the Maharani has decided to leave the Party. The Press has also tended to highlight these "reports". The Maharani's denial before the Swatantra workers assembled in Madras recently for the National Executive meeting, repeated by her a few days later in Jaipur, has set these rumours at rest.

OUR GOVT. HAS BECOME "A PRISONER OF SOVIET VETO"

(The following is a summary of Mr. M. R. Masani's speech delivered at the Indian Council of World Affairs in Bombay on June 11, 1965.)

If our Prime Minister's advice in regard to Vietnam were to be followed by the United States, the result would be the withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam and its incorporation in the Chinese Communist empire, the loss of Laos, the destruction of Malaysia which would be caught in a nutcracker between the Chinese Communist satellites in the North and Indonesia in the South, and the encirclement of India by Communist China and her satellites all the way from Karachi to Singapore.

How long would it be, before men of Indian origin, who form ten percent of the population of Malaysia, are brainwashed and trained as guerillas and landed on the coast of Madras in order to support a 'war of national liberation' in India also?

The picture on India's borders is not an encouraging one and the only friendly neighbours India has are Afghanistan and Malaysia, and more recently Ceylon under its new government. This is the result of fifteen years of mistaken foreign policies which collapsed at the time of the Chinese invasion in 1962.

Unfortunately, judging by present indications, the lessons of that debacle have not been learnt by those in office. Even today, while our eyes are glued to Kutch and the Himalayas, the enemy is slowly creeping in on this country from its backyard in Southeast Asia which our government has neglected ever since Independence.

The hostilities in Vietnam are a new type of war

which the communists euphemistically describe as a "war of national liberation," but which is in fact naked armed aggression. There is ample evidence to show that the hard core of Viet Cong forces are trained in the North and ordered to infiltrate into the South, that the leadership of the Viet Cong forces consists of professional officers of the North Vietnam Army, that the operations are directed from Hanoi, and that the Viet Cong forces are armed with new types of weapons manufactured in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Communist China.

The International Control Commission has, with the participation of the Indian Member, in a special report to the Co-Chairman on June 2, 1962 endorsed the findings of its Legal Committee that the North Vietnamese regime had violated no less than four Articles of the Geneva Convention.

The United States has all these years mistakenly allowed North Vietnam to be a "privileged sanctuary" with the result that South Vietnam and Laos are being gradually eaten into. The recent measures taken by President Lyndon Johnson to end this absurd situation and to punish the aggressors deserve to be welcomed by all lovers of freedom in Asia.

These measures are comparable to President Kennedy's action in Cuba, when he had called Khrushchev's bluff. It has now been demonstrated to the free countries that it is not the United States

that is a paper tiger but Communist China that is a Paper Dragon.

In so far as Malaysia is concerned, the admission made in the Annual Report of the Ministry of External Affairs that "the Government of India have refrained from taking sides in the specific dispute" between Malaysia and Indonesia displays an attitude of base ingratitude when it is recalled that Tunghu Abdul Rahman, the Malaysian Prime Minister, had without a moment's delay lined up behind India when it was invaded by Communist China in October 1962.

Although South Korea and South Vietnam were founding members of the Afro-Asian Conference and had participated in the last Conference in 1955, they are being denied an invitation to the forthcoming Conference in Algiers in response to the Chinese Communist demand for recognition of the Viet Cong. If the Indian Government participate in the Algiers Conference on these terms, they will be striking a blow at the freedom and stability of democratic countries in Asia including our own. At a later Conference, the Indian Government may find itself denied admission while the Left Communists who might then be engaged in a "war of national liberation" in India might well claim recognition.

I do not think these misguided policies flow from the concept of non-alignment. Non-alignment does not mean being neutral against oneself nor denying oneself assistance in one's own defence. Pandit Nehru, the architect of non-alignment, accepted American and British assistance in October 1962 although the

Soviet Union was sitting on the fence. In a book by Professor W. E. Griffith entitled "The Sino-Soviet Rift", there is the sensational disclosure that Khrushchev had, on October 13 and 14, 1962, given the green light to the Chinese Ambassador in Moscow for the Chinese attack on India which followed on October 20.

I am inclined to think that the motivation for the suicidal policies being followed by New Delhi is twofold. The first factor is that the Indian Government has become a prisoner of the Soviet Veto in the Security Council of the U.N. in regard to Kashmir and is terrified of doing anything that might lead to the withdrawal of that veto.

The other factor is craven appeasement of communist expansionism, illustrated by the terms of the Joint Communiqué issued at the end of Prime Minister Shastri's visit to Moscow which reflected no credit on the good sense, independence or self-respect of the Indian Government.

Indeed, today the international attitudes of the Indian Government are often dictated by remote control by the Communists on the one hand and obscurantist and chauvinistic elements on the other.

The solution is that India should invite the free countries of Asia to join with it in a regional security arrangement underwritten by the Western Democracies in terms of President Lyndon Johnson's offer of October 18, 1964. With India and Japan as the bastions at each end, the smaller and weaker countries in between can be sustained in resisting the Chinese communist assault on their freedom.

Our diplomatic skill is worse off than ever before: RAJAJI

Indian diplomacy has failed thoroughly and, as a consequence, the country has made many enemies or at least lukewarm acquaintances of all her friends, said Rajaji at a public meeting in Bangalore on June 18.

The founder-leader of the Swatantra Party told a packed audience at the Town Hall that the leadership in the country had committed the fundamental mistake of evolving a moralistic approach towards other parties.

Only national expediency governed international relationship, said Rajaji. And this President Ayub Khan had proved by not losing his mental balance in spite of the fact that his country was in the wrong.

President Ayub, said Rajaji, did not go about advising other nations what to do as Indian leaders had so inane done. He had played his cards so wisely that even today he had not been disgraced a bit in the world scene but was being respected and treated as a friend by the United States, England, China and other countries belonging to opposite camps.

Rajaji said that one saw an absolutely different picture in our country. While the foreign menace had

doubled, our diplomatic skill was worse than ever before.

This, he said, had been proved by Prime Minister Lal Bahadur's intolerant attitude towards President Johnson by his rejection of the U.S. invitation.

Rajaji said that despite India's provocation, the United States would not fail her in times of dire need. But the trouble was that India herself was making it hard for them. At the same time, she was making all the mistakes which her enemies wanted her to commit.

"War cannot solve the problems between India and Pakistan. It will be a big disaster if ever people think that it could solve the problems between the two countries," said Rajaji.

This, together with the problem of mounting debts and other manifestations of economic ruin, demanded the need for an urgent solution. Rajaji said the trend had revealed that the Government had drifted towards totalitarianism.

"The Government is going to pieces. If the rot has to be stemmed, it can be done only by removing the Congress Party from power."

NEWS FROM STATE UNITS

ANDHRA

A two-day convention of the Andhra Pradesh unit of the Party concluded in Nellore on June 7.

Mr. N. Dandeker, M.P., presided. He told the convention that it was meeting "under the dark clouds of deepening crises in the affairs of the country." He said the country's foreign relations have been "isolated to a point at which it is no longer possible to count upon the active assistance of any major or minor power."

The failure of plans and policies, Mr. Dandeker said, have only made the Government "increasingly dictatorial and unresponsive to the growing volume of public criticism." He added that despite some small relief in personal taxation there was no longer any incentive for hard work or enterprise.

Educate the Voters

Mr. Dandeker urged the convention to engage itself in the hard, difficult and unspectacular task of educating the voters so as to oust the Congress Party at the next General Elections.

The convention was addressed by Rajaji, Prof. Ranga, Mr. M. R. Masani and Sardar Basant Singh. The convention passed a number of resolutions.

The resolution on food urged the removal of food zones in the country. By another resolution, the convention demanded the withdrawal of the 17th Amendment to the Constitution, fixation of a fair and economic price for agriculture produce and timely supply of improved seeds, fertilizers and pesticides to peasants.

The convention also authorised Mr. G. Latchanna, President of the State unit to mobilise the co-operation of other Opposition parties, and press for a resolution in the Legislative Assembly demanding a judicial inquiry into allegations of nepotism and favouritism against some of the State Ministers.

BIHAR

A training camp for Party workers was organised by the Central Office (Bihar Branch) at Patna from May 8 to 15. Sixty-one workers from the districts of Patna, Ranchi, Champaran, Darbhanga, Shahabad, Monghyr, Saran, Purnea and Gaya participated. There were also two workers from Orissa and one from Uttar Pradesh.

The camp was inaugurated by Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P. and General Secretary of the Party, who spoke on the Party's ideology. Subjects covered by the lectures included the country's Constitution, role of trade unions, India and her neighbours, land legislation and agriculture etc. Lectures were delivered,

among others, by Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel, M.P., Mr. Nageshwar Prasad, an eminent lawyer and former judge of the Patna High Court, Mr. N. Baksi (i.c.s. retd.) and Mr. T. Parmanand, a local labour leader.

GUJARAT

One hundred and fifty Congress workers, led by the President of Ankleshwar municipality, Mr. Bhikubhai Zagadiawala, have joined our Party. This mass defection has seriously weakened the Congress and has sparked off a crisis in Broach district. Among those who walked out of the Congress ranks are 12 councillors of the Ankleshwar municipality.

Our Party, which commands a steady following in Ankleshwar, has now become the main Opposition group in the municipality. Reports suggest that it would not at all be surprising if there were to be further desertion from the Congress ranks.

Surendranagar

State unit president Bhailalbhair Patel, accompanied by Party workers, including Mr. Dharamsinh Patel, visited Surendranagar district on May 8 and 9. They were enthusiastically received at Khodu and Gujarwadi.

The meetings at both the places, addressed by Mr. Bhailalbhair Patel, drew large crowds. On May 9, Mr. Patel and other Party workers visited Kher Bhajana, Zanjwadi, Basada and Phedi. At Dassada, Mr. Patel spoke about his visit to the Kutch border area.

Workers and sympathisers of the Party toured Mehsana district for five days and covered 32 villages to explain our Party's programmes and policies to the peasants. A notable feature of the meetings in these villages was the Question and Answer sessions. Public-meetings at Patchaan and Sami were well-attended.

From May 19 to 24, Mr. Jaideepsinh of Baria, General Secretary of the Gujarat unit, visited Broach district to meet with Party workers and build up goodwill in the area.

Jambusar

Jambusar taluka in Broach district, a stronghold of the Praja-Socialist Party, has opted for the Swatantra Party.

Reports from this area indicate that a large number of PSP workers have forsaken their Party and have joined the ranks of our Party.

Among the new entrants to our Party are: Dr. Chimanlal Jambusaria, a well-known medical practitioner; Mr. Jayantilal Choksi the president of the Jambusar People's Co-operative Bank Ltd.; Mr. Yashvant Mody, Convenor of the Jambusar PSP.

from the General Secretary's desk

Dear friend,

Many colleagues in the Party have asked me about my impressions of Ceylon, which country I visited for some four or five days in May. This interest is natural, as Ceylon has recently gone through a change which many would like to see take place in India.

While my visit to Ceylon was a private one, it took on as such visits inevitably do — the character of a busman's holiday! Since my main interest was to meet friends and observe changes that had taken place in the scene since I had last visited that lovely island some nineteen years back, I met a lot of people.

Their unanimous response to an inquiry about how they felt about the recent change of Government was one of unconcealed relief and jubilation. Many of them explained that those outside Ceylon could not understand how close they had come to the brink of being taken over by the communists who had formed an alliance with the former Prime Minister and her Party. Indeed, for a day after the results of the elections were in, there was considerable tension caused by the retiring Prime Minister's declining to hand over her resignation to the Governor-General who had ultimately to demand it!

If popular relief and jubilation were the first impression I gathered, the second was one of considerable concern that this lease of life that democracy had obtained should not be thrown away, but should be fully and speedily utilised to put things right. This concern stemmed from the fact that the Socialist Government that had just been rejected by the people had, as a result of its statist policies, left the country completely bankrupt. The headlines in the *Ceylon Daily Mirror* of May 21, read as follows.

"Bankruptcy Dead Ahead—
Premier Paints Gloomy Picture"

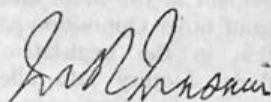
According to those now in office, the previous Government had scraped out the barrel and left the Treasury completely empty.

Ceylon is now being helped to get on its feet again under the new National Democratic Government by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and U. S. Aid. It was very much like what the shape of things to come in India is likely to be at the end of the present Government's tenure of office in 1967 — if complete bankruptcy can be averted that long.

Among those I met were Mr. Dudley Senanayake, the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardhane, Minister of State and number two man in the Government, Mr. Cyril Matthews, one of the Secretaries of the United National Party, and the leaders of various Indian groups and trade unions who spoke appreciatively of the new Government and were hopeful of a *modus vivendi* being worked out in regard to the position of persons of Indian origin in Ceylon.

Altogether, it was an exhilarating experience. There are prophets of gloom who claim that the new countries of Asia are too backward to be able to reverse the trend towards Marxism and communist dictatorship. Ceylon has shown that this is not true. The people of Ceylon have thrown out a Marxist Government and have put a Liberal Democratic one in its place. Ceylon has shown that it can be done. Is the Indian electorate less intelligent than that in Ceylon?

Jai Swatantra



Congress is a "Closed Shop"

The Congress Party has become a "closed shop" and a set of people in it, having acquired power and position, wanted to remain perpetually, said Rajaji at a largely-attended public meeting in Madras on June 4 organised by the Swatantra Youth Front.

The meeting, held at the Nungambakkam maidan, marked the sixth anniversary celebration of the Party.

The people have realised in the past six years the

usefulness of the Swatantra Party as an effective Opposition to the Congress, said Rajaji.

Rajaji called upon the voters to realise their duty and throw out the Congress at the next elections. This has become necessary as "very little is done to-day to govern the country. The only thing done by the Party in power is to devise measures to win the next election and perpetuate itself in power."

(For Private Circulation)

EXTRACTS FROM INDO PAKISTAN AGREEMENT DATED THE
23rd OCTOBER, 1959

Both Governments re-affirmed their determination to resolve border disputes by negotiation and agreed that all outstanding boundary disputes on the East Pakistan-India border and the West Pakistan-India border, raised so far by either country, should if not settled by negotiation, be referred to an impartial tribunal for settlement and implementation of that settlement by demarcation on the ground and by exchange of territorial jurisdiction if any.

EXTRACTS FROM INDO-PAKISTAN AGREEMENT DATED THE 11th
JANUARY, 1960

Both countries agreed to collect further data in respect of the dispute regarding the Kutch-Sind boundary and discussions will be held later with a view to arriving at a settlement of this dispute.