

C. N. JAGOPALACHARI

60, BAZLULLAH ROAD
TYAGARAYANAGAR
MADRAS - 17

25th August 1963

My dear Masani,

Here is a letter which I think
is an unusual letter of great importance.
It is earnest and sensible and is informed
with the spirit of Gandhian non-violence.
I would like to share it with some of our
most important personalities. If you agree
with me I suggest you may kindly send it
with a suitable covering letter to Ranga,
Singh Deo, leader of our party in Orissa,
J.R.D. Tata and Dharamsey Khatau.

Yours sincerely,

C. Rajagopalachari

encls: 4 copies
of the letter.

Mr. M.R. Masani
New Delhi

August 23, 1963

Dear and Respected Rajaji,

The Kamaraj plan requires to be countered by bold, original and dramatic changes in opposition tactics. Some ideas towards this end have occurred to me which I mention here because they seem to hold great possibilities. They have no claim for originality but merely indicate lines which may prove useful in pursuing the objective already set of consolidating opposition for Congress policies. Apparently, the Swatantra party is destined to play the role of coordinating opposition forces and it can take the lead in this matter. Finance may present a problem but this may be the least hurdle in making a beginning. A sense of mission may largely make up for deficiency of finance.

1. Publicity organs and leaders of Swatantra party can take initiative in giving favourable publicity and positive and vocal support to such activities and programmes of other non-communist parties as may be in conformity with the basic Swatantra concepts. This may eventually find a courteous response from other parties which in turn may in fullness of time lead to oneness of purpose and a welcome solidarity.
2. A special invitation may be extended to prominent non-communist leaders to contribute articles or partake in symposia on agreed subjects. This may well ~~serve~~ serve as a beginning in setting up a forum such as contemplated in my letter of 5-7-63 to combat Marxist, Leninist doctrines.
3. Swatantra party leaders may hold consultations with prominent non-communist leaders in different States as frequently as expedient and issue joint statements on specific issues. Such statements would not only have greater publicity value than speeches of individual leaders but would gradually narrow down differences between opposition parties.
4. With sufficient publicity to the three steps outlined above an awareness will grow amongst field workers of different parties such as is conducive to greater and greater cooperation amongst them on specific issues. Such cooperation may be encouraged with salutary effect on efficiency of party work at the base, through avoidance of waste of effort and of different parties working at cross purposes.
5. Swatantra party may concentrate more and more on the constructive work of promoting moral consciousness among the people. Cooperation of other parties on specific programmes of social organization and/or welfare work should also be welcome. Swatantra principles have by now been sufficiently clarified, and the stage has perhaps been reached when it is necessary to pass beyond mere intellectual analysis and infuse into the ideology emotion of the right kind such as might provide motive power for the great movement.

A constructive programme is necessary, even imperative, for the following reasons:-

- (i) The field workers have to be provided specific types of projects to work on so that their contact with the people may not appear to be solely for purpose of party propaganda. This will break some of the usual psychological resistance which they have to face.

(ii) It is necessary to remove the false glamour and propaganda effect of community development schemes, by providing an alternative focus for people's attention and teaching them reliance on their own powers for good and right lines of organisation and development. The psychology of reliance on Government even on matters which can easily be arranged by their own efforts and self-adjustment has to be radically changed, because that cannot be the proper basis for a free society.

(iii) There is an unexploited emotional reservoir in the religious traditions and general spiritual outlook of the people in India. In this land no movement can sustain itself unless it can draw upon this reservoir. Further, our criticism of Congress that it has in the name of secularism neglected the real good of the people by letting their moral and spiritual consciousness to wane, with no real scope for development and expression, has to be strengthened by presenting a vigorous contrast in our approach. This mission of strengthening the moral fibre of society will necessarily and naturally bring our work into closest association with that of the religious leaders, and in due course this will add a prestige to the movement. Growing prestige and solid constructive achievements condemn the retrograde policies of the Congress.

The attempt in the entire process will be to extend as far as possible the minimum programme on which the different parties can agree in opposing the Congress and Communists. It may very well be that by the time the next election becomes due a sound and sympathetic understanding comes into being amongst the Opposition parties.

Please find enclosed a signed article in 1004 words. It seeks to criticise the foreign policy of our Government in Mr. Nehru's own pet field of internationalism and peace.

With regards,

Yours respectfully,

sd. (Smt. Vasanta Subramaniam)

(true copy)

Srimathi Vasanta Subramaniam

P-61, Dr. Sarat Banerjee Road
Rash Behari Avenue P.O.
Calcutta - 29

August 23, 1963

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sd. (Smt. Vasanta Subramaniam)

(true copy)

destruction programme is necessary, even imperative, for the following reasons:-

(1) The field workers have to be provided scientific study of subjects in order that their contact with the people may not appear to be solely for purposes of propaganda. This will break some of the worst psychological weaknesses which they have to face.

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Calcutta - 29

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