

Text of Resolutions

Adopted at the Third National Convention, Bangalore
on February 1 & 2, 1964

CONDOLENCE

1. This National Convention of the Swatantra Party records its deep sorrow at the passing away of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, free India's first President, at a critical moment in the nation's history. His was a life of dedication in the service of the country and to the values cherished by all free men. His unostentatious grace, his utter simplicity, his charity of outlook and his broad humanity are ineffaceable by death and remain to inspire us.

Death has claimed the lives of two members of the party's Central Organizing Committee and two of its Members of Parliament.

In the death of Sardar Bahadur Lal Singh last December, the Swatantra Party and the peasantry of India suffered an irreparable loss. As President of the All India Agriculturists' Federation, it was Sardar Bahadur Lal Singh's efforts which, in a large measure, were responsible for the founding of the party. A stout champion of the peasants, he was till the end concerned over their welfare.

Raja Kalyan Singh of Bhinai passed away in April, 1962. The establishment of the party in Rajasthan was, in no small measure, a result of his pioneering efforts. Fate decreed that he should not live to see his efforts bear fruit.

Mr. H. K. Baria, M.P. suddenly passed away less than a year after his election to the Lok Sabha from Dohad in Gujarat, a Tribal Constituency.

Death also claimed an associate member of the party group in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar, M.P., eminent leader of Tamil Nad and President of the Forward Bloc. Returned to Parliament in the last General Elections, Mr. Thevar campaigned from his sick bed.

This National Convention is deeply grieved at the loss of these stalwarts and conveys its sense of sorrow to their bereaved families.

2. With the rest of the civilized world this Convention records its sense of deep grief at the loss to the cause of peace in the world by the assassination of President Kennedy of the United States of America.

Moved from the Chair (Mr. N. G. Ranga).

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DEFENCE

1. The Swatantra Party records with pride the patriotic upsurge among the Indian people in the face of the Chinese Communist attack and pays its grateful tribute to the members of the armed forces who battled with the invader under extremely difficult conditions. The military reverses sustained by India and the national humiliation involved in the acceptance of the Chinese unilateral ceasefire and the Colombo proposals are the result of many years of wrong policies in the realm of international relations and defence.

2. Among the most tragic and disastrous of these mistaken policies was the concept of 'non-alignment' and the double standards of judgment to which it

led; the persistent appeasement of Communist China; the cold-shouldering of our neighbours in South and South-East Asia. The betrayal of Tibet to Chinese Communist imperialism in 1950, the infamous vote in the U.N. in support of Soviet Russia in the suppression of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and the continued refusal to have diplomatic relations with Israel, are all illustrations of these double standards.

3. As far back as March 1960, the Swatantra Party had urged that a firm and vigilant policy should be followed in dealing with Chinese Communist imperialism. It had then been pointed out that when our territorial integrity had been violated and our soil occupied by a Communist Power, the policy of non-alignment had lost its meaning and our policies needed to be reviewed. Among the measures then urged for the strengthening of the country's security stress was laid on collaboration with the countries of South and South-East Asia, with a view to concerted measures for the security of the region; vigilance against infiltration and Fifth Column activities; and the importance of keeping the Armed Services free from political influence and manipulation. Unfortunately this advice was ignored.

4. The party is convinced that if right policies had been followed, the Chinese Communist invasion of India and the humiliating military defeat sustained by us could have been avoided.

5. The Swatantra party notes that the disastrous fundamental policies of non-alignment and appeasement still continue, with the result that India has lost considerable prestige amongst its neighbours and in the world and that, instead of the Chinese Communist regime being isolated, it is India that is in danger of finding herself in that situation.

6. The Swatantra party is convinced that so long as this Government, with the dead hand of past policies lying heavily on it, continues in office, there can be no hope of a solution of the problem of recovering our lost territory or of ensuring the country's future security.

7. The party calls upon the people of India to maintain vigilance against the possibility of further appeasement and capitulation to the claims of Communist China.

Mover: Sir H. P. Mody.

Seconder: Maharani Gayatri Devi, M. P.

TERMINATION OF EMERGENCY

The Third National Convention of the Swatantra Party is of the opinion that there is no justification for the continuance of the Emergency and demands the immediate withdrawal of the declaration of the state of emergency, the repeal of the Defence of India Act, and the restoration of the Fundamental Rights of citizens suppressed under the provisions of that Act.

Mover: Mr. P. K. Deo, M.P.

Seconder: Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke

ELECTORAL REFORM

The Swatantra Party is of the view that a reform of the electoral system has become necessary as a result of the experience so far gained, the coming to light of many abuses, the exorbitant cost of elections ruling out the possibility of success of individuals and groups without considerable financial resources, the abuse of authority by those in office in high position and the composition of Parliament and Legislative Assemblies failing to reflect correctly the popular will, as a result of which the country is being subjected to a minority government at the Centre and in almost all the States.

The party, therefore, suggests the appointment by the President of the Republic of a Commission to examine the working of elections to Parliament and State Assemblies with a view to ascertaining methods of securing clean elections free from abuses and illegitimate advantages taken by the party in office, the reduction of election expenses by measures such as the preparation by Government of voters' slips or cards and the provision of mobile polling booths, the elimination of administrative interference and partiality, the question of holding Union and State elections at separate times and suitable measures of proportional representation.

Mover: Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, M.L.A.

Seconder: Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh, M.L.A.

ELECTORAL UNDERSTANDINGS

Although insuperable difficulties stand in the way of all democratic opposition parties evolving a United Front to oppose the Congress, the Swatantra Party will continue to try its utmost in all elections to secure the co-operation of other democratic Opposition parties to avoid multilateral contests which give undue advantage to the ruling party. Such efforts should be no reason for any slackening in building up the party's own organization, which should enjoy the highest priority among our tasks. The Swatantra Party provides today the only clear-cut and effective alternative to the present Government's policies. Its policies evoke increasing response from all sections of the people. The Convention, therefore, calls upon members of the party to concentrate in the coming months, on hard, sustained and disciplined work inspired by devotion to the party's philosophy and policies to spread the party's message.

Mover: Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P.

Seconder: Mr. Lakshman Singh of Dungarpur, M.L.A.

SWATANTRA ALTERNATIVE

(1) The Swatantra Party believes that Planning should aim at abundance, that this should be effective immediately and not prospectively, that it should begin with the poorer and not the richer classes, that it should not substitute State help for self-help and that it should not increase the power of Government but the prosperity of the people.

(2) The Five-Year Plans of the present Government have failed in their professed objectives. The only things they have succeeded in producing are higher taxes, rising prices and growing indebtedness. The people of India have shown their disillusionment and discontent with the present pattern of planning

by the way they have voted in recent by-elections to Parliament.

(3) The proceedings of the recent sessions of the Congress Party in Bhubaneswar show that there is every intention of perversely persisting in policies that have already proved a failure. In the party's view, nothing less than the scrapping of the Third Plan and its replacement by an altogether new policy will save the country from widespread distress and national bankruptcy.

(4) The Swatantra Party is not for *laissez-faire* nor is it opposed to all planning. It reiterates its stand that all planning must be devised and carried out within the framework of the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution and calculated to achieve the welfare of the people.

(5) The Swatantra Party's approach to the problems of economic development and planning would be to apply to each policy and measure the test suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, namely, to ask if the step contemplated is going to be of any use to the poorest and the weakest members of the community. In the light of such a test, the Swatantra Party believes that the present approach to planning needs to be replaced by one which provides for the following:

(a) A proper order of priorities starting with the increase in production and the provision of elementary necessities such as pure drinking water, food, clothing and shelter and employment.

(b) A reallocation of the role of State and free enterprise so that the State may perform its proper function of providing the infra-structure through the provision of roads and railways, efficient communications, facilities for the peasant such as irrigation and easy credit, cheap electric power and education, both technical and general; while all other economic activity should normally be left to competitive enterprise.

(c) The incentive of legitimate gain under conditions of competition among producers.

(d) The elimination of monopoly in both State and free sectors so as to provide maximum efficiency and service at minimum cost to the consumer.

(e) Reducing to a minimum governmental controls and regulation to foster economic expansion and minimizing corruption.

(f) The maintenance of stable prices through the observance by Government of measures of monetary discipline.

(g) The revision of policies relating to taxation including land revenue so as to foster saving, investment and employment opportunities.

(h) Remunerative prices for agricultural producers.

Mover: Mr. N. Dandekar.

Seconder: Mr. Murarji J. Vaidya.

STATE MONOPOLY OF BANKING

(1) The Swatantra Party takes note of the fact that in recent months there has been in certain quarters ill-informed talk about the nationalization of the banking industry in the country.

(2) It therefore becomes necessary for the Swatantra Party to express its conviction that any attempt to trifle with the functioning of the banking industry in India will be fraught with grave consequences for the country's delicate credit mechanism and economic development and would impair con-

confidence in the country's financial institutions and credit on which the economic assistance and capital investment which India has received from abroad is based.

(3) The banking industry is already more than adequately subjected to regulation and control of Government and the Reserve Bank to guard against misuse of their powers by the managements of banks. By such a move a State monopoly will be established over all the liquid assets of the people and will force people to waste, secrete or hoard their money, thus minimizing the funds available for productive investment.

(4) The Swatantra Party therefore declares its outright opposition to the attack that has been launched against the banking industry which, by and large, has given a good account of itself, and to the establishment of a State monopoly of banking.

Mover: Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel, M.P.

Seconder: Mr. (Chitra) Narayanaswamy.

INDEPENDENT BOARD FOR LICENCES AND PERMITS

The National Convention of the Swatantra Party records its conviction that, apart from many other grave issues, the confidence of the people in the administration cannot be secured and maintained unless the supreme control of the distribution of licences, permits and quotas in exercise of powers obtained in violation of the Fundamental Rights guaranteed in Part III of the original Constitution adopted in November 1949 is vested in an independent, non-political statutory Board free from all influences and political pressures and enjoying the same independent status as the supreme judiciary.

This Convention appeals to all democratic parties to unite on this demand and compel the ruling party to accept this reform.

Mover: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Seconder: Mr. Anandchand, M.P.

CONSTITUTION (17th AMENDMENT) BILL

(1) The Swatantra Party considers the Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill to be a dangerous attempt further to erode the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution. By extending the word 'estate' to include every form of landed property owned by the most humble peasant in full freehold right, the Bill seeks to hold the sword of Damocles over the majority of the population of India in respect of their most sacred possession. The expropriatory principle so far applied to Zamindars and other feudal landlords is now sought to be extended to *ryotwari* holders who are full owners of the land as well as to every other type of land ownership. The attempt to give retrospective effect from 26th January 1950, to this distorted definition of 'estate' makes this amendment a gigantic fraud on the Constitution and on the people of India. The fact that this amendment to the Constitution is sought to be made in order to undo a recent judgement of the Supreme Court of India makes it all the more reprehensible, being unabashed disrespect of law and the independence given by the Constitution to the Judiciary.

(2) In view of the extended interpretation of

'public purpose' to cover doctrinaire experiments in land reform, such as collective and co-operative farming, the Swatantra Party cannot help coming to the conclusion that this Amendment is designed as an instrument held in *terrorem* over the peasants of India by which the collectivization of the land envisaged by the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress party could be legally enforced. The failure of the Nagpur Resolution to secure voluntary acceptance of joint co-operative farming has evidently made those in authority decide to move on to coercive methods. If this Amendment becomes law, the smallest peasant can be faced with the brutal alternatives of surrendering his land to a so-called co-operative farm or of being expropriated by law on payment of nominal compensation which he cannot challenge in a court of law.

(3) Even after the decision of the Supreme Court declaring the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act *ultra vires* as it was sought to be applied to *ryotwari* land, this Amendment to the Constitution did not form part of the Congress Party's Manifesto for the General Elections of 1962. The present Government has therefore no mandate from the electorate to carry through such a far-reaching change. Indeed, this Amendment violates a solemn assurance given to Parliament and the people by the Law Minister of the Congress Government, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, during the discussion in Parliament on the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill on 1st June, 1951, that the provision contained in Article 31A would not be employed for the purpose of dispossessing *ryotwari* tenants. The Law Minister had further assured the House that whenever any such measure comes before the President of the Republic for consideration, the undertaking given by Government would be binding upon the President in considering giving his sanction so far as any such measure is concerned. The Swatantra Party expresses its confidence that, should the Government seek to press this Bill through the present Parliament, the President will desist from giving his assent to it.

(4) The party deprecates persistence by the Government in this matter which would certainly lead to action in the nature of Satyagraha upsetting the harmony of normal government.

(5) The Swatantra Party was established in 1959 to defend Farm, Family and Freedom in this country. This amendment which seeks to destroy the Farm, and through it the Family and Freedom, cannot but meet with the strongest opposition from the party. The party calls upon its members to develop an intensive campaign throughout the country so that public opinion may be educated and the implications of this Amendment explained and understood. The party calls upon its Members of Parliament in both Houses to fight the Bill to the bitter end and appeals to members of other democratic Opposition parties to join this party in its resistance to this attack on the Fundamental Rights of the people.

(6) The party assures the peasants and others concerned that it will stand by them in resisting any attempt to snatch their lands away from them on the strength of this unlawful law and will strive to get

this Amendment, even if enacted, repealed at the earliest possible moment.

Mover: Mr. K. B. Jinaraja Hegde.

Secunder: Mr. G. Latchanna, M.L.A.

FURTHER AMENDMENTS TO PARTY'S CONSTITUTION

The National Convention refers the Notice of Amendments to the Party's Constitution given by various delegates in respect of other matters than the membership provisions in the Constitution to a Sub-Committee consisting of: 1. Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P., President, 2. Mr. K. M. Munshi, Vice-President, 3. Mr. Anandchand of Bilaspur, M.P., 4. Mr. Laxmansingh of Dungarpur, M.L.A., 5. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, M.P., 6. Mr. B. P. Sinha, 7. Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh and 8. Mr. M. R. Masani, M. P., General Secretary, who will consider them along with other proposals for amending the party's constitution and will report within three months.

The National Convention authorizes the General Council of the party at its next meeting, within six months, to consider the report of the sub-committee and to make such modifications in the party's constitution as are accepted by a 3/4th majority of those present; provided that such modifications are placed for notification before the next National Convention of the party.

Mover: Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy, M.P.

Secunder: Mr. V. T. Sreenivasan.

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

The Third National Convention of the Swatantra Party takes note of the General Secretary's Report submitted to it and resolves that it be recorded.

Mover: Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel, M.P.

Secunder: Mr. K. B. Jinaraja Hegde.

STATE'S RIGHTS

The Swatantra Party records its conviction that there should be redistribution of power and responsibility so as to give the States larger responsibilities and that the resources of the States should be enlarged by a revision of the system of taxation. The Party is opposed to the tendency, through the Five-Year Plans and otherwise, to convert the Union into a rigid unitary system.

Moved from the Chair.

GOLD CONTROL

This Convention fully supports the general demand that the Gold Control Order should be withdrawn.

Moved from the Chair.

PARTY MEMBERSHIP

1. Clause 4. Membership

Substitute for the existing clause the following:

Every person above the age of 18 who subscribes in writing to the principles of the party, pays the prescribed fee and expresses his readiness to work for the party will be eligible to be a worker of the party.

Work for the party may be any of the following activities:

(a) Enrolling new members; (b) introducing new workers; (c) campaigning for the party; (d) attending to public grievances on behalf of the

party and securing their redress; (e) functioning, when called upon, as prospective candidate of the party to an elective public body; (f) collection of funds; (g) acceptance of executive responsibilities in the party; (h) preparation of literature; (i) distribution of literature; (j) organization of study circles and meetings; (k) helping to run party offices; and (l) any other approved activity.

The State Executive Committee shall be competent to frame rules in this behalf.

Decisions in regard to enrolment of workers shall be taken by the State Executive Committee either on its own initiative or on the recommendation of constituency and district committees.

Whenever the State Executive has doubts as to the desirability of enrolling a worker, it shall forward the application with its comments to the National Executive, which shall, after considering the application and the comments directly or through an appropriate body, decide whether or not the worker should be enrolled, and such decision shall be final.

Only workers shall have the right to vote in party elections or to serve as office bearers or members of the elective committees.

Clause 5. Subscription

The clause shall read as follows:

(i) Each worker of the party will pay a subscription of Rs. 3.00 per year, or a life worker's fee of Rs. 100.00. Persons already enrolled as permanent members of the party by the end of 1963 will be entitled to claim exemption from paying any further fee as life members with the right to vote; (ii) a worker of the party will continue as such as long as he pays his dues. Each worker of the party will be issued a party card; (iii) the National Executive of the party will have the authority to expel a worker or a member if in its opinion which shall be final, his continuance as a worker or member of the party is undesirable; (iv) the subscription for membership shall be divided between the various bodies of the party in the following manner: Constituency 20 per cent, District 50 per cent, State or Region 25 per cent, Centre 5 per cent. Provided that the State or Regional Council may modify the proportion in which the membership subscription is to be distributed within the State or Region; (v) every unit shall maintain appropriate accounts of the receipts and expenditure, which shall be annually audited.

Clause 5A: Members:

Add a new clause 5A as follows:

Every person above the age of 18 who subscribes in writing to the principles of the party will be eligible to be a member of the party. No fee will be payable by a member. Meetings of such members may be convened from time to time by the State, district or constituency committees so that they may be given opportunities to be consulted and associated with the work of the party.

Clause 6: Primary Units

In sub-clause (b), substitute for the words "250 members" the word "20 workers", i.e., 20 workers are enough to form a primary unit of the party.

Moved from the Chair