

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.



**SWATANTRA PARTY
GENERAL COUNCIL
Bangalore, Sept. 17/18 1971**

The Constitution (Twentyfourth) Amendment Bill

The 1971 General Elections marks a watershed in India's politics. They may well mark the beginning of the end of Indian democracy.

The Swatantra Party, like the other parties of the mis-called "Grand Alliance" was mauled in the elections. At the last meeting of the General Council, members gave various reasons for the Party's rout. A constant refrain was that on the one hand the Alliance blurred our distinctive image and on the other, it made us party to a "pact without a programme". There were also some who felt that the defeat represented a rejection of our policies.

This last explanation is altogether fallacious. The electorate rejected the Alliance partners not because it disapproved of this or that policy, but because of the *absence* of any policy at all unless one wishes to describe the slogan "Indira Hatao", adopted not by us but by our partners in the Alliance, as a policy.

Very soon, the Swatantra Party will once again have to meet the challenge of Assembly Elections in several States. Are we organisationally geared to meet this challenge? Do we have the resources in men, money and material? If not, do we, or must we, count ourselves out as a political force? These questions inevitably lead to the game of numbers. How many candidates shall we set up? How many can we expect to get elected as MLAs? Consequently, our success or failure becomes a problem in "Pure (almost esoteric) Mathematics" with as many 'variables' as there are constituencies to contest, candidates to choose from and rival candidates to defeat.

Success in this sort of numbers game generally goes only to those who can produce the kind of investment necessary in terms of quality of candidates and magnitude of financial and material resources. But, perhaps, the most important factor is the patronage which only those in power can provide because massive resources flow towards those holding the reins of power.

The game appears to exclude from its rules such "minor" matters as principles, pragmatic policies and public morality! And so the weak among us ask:

Can the Swatantra Party compete with the Ruling Party in resources? Is the Swatantra Party willing to compromise on its principles and policies? Is it willing to give the go-by to policies which in its present climater are admittedly not popular but which we are convinced are in the long run the only path to the prosperity of our people?

Writing as far back as August 1962, Rajaji in his historic article on the Swatantra Party entitled "**Our Mission**" observed:

"Unless we realise wherein our strength lies and also in what respects we are and must continue to be, weak or vulnerable, and on the basis of that analysis shape and build our work, we are likley to meet with depressing results and disappointments ... those interested in the Swatantra Party should examine the principles on which the Party is founded and the inherent nature of those principles, and adapt their work to that unalterable basis. The Party's work should conformt to its anatomy and histology

Examining the principles of the Party, we shall see that our economic approach is based on reason and not on pleasing people's emotions. Our goal is the same as that of every other decent political party; viz. the happiness, prosperity and progress of our nation; but the means by which this result is to be obtained vary from party to party. We lay stress on spiritual values because happiness cannot be procured otherwise whatever be the material conditions. We lay stress, again, on the traditional basis of the lives of our people, the family and the farm and the artisan's workshop. We put the individual's liberty of action in the forefront and seek to restrict the States' authority over him. Our Party seeks to rest social services largely on voluntary action, because therein only is happiness associated with sacrifice of self-interest.

Now it is obvious that these essential principles are such as can appeal only to reason and intelligence. We cannot expect to rouse the emotions of the illiterate masses by such appeal. Our principles cannot make much of an appeal to those who would be lay rather than active, who would like the State to do as much as possible for them, and relieve them of responsibility for their own lives. We cannot therefore touch the mass mind as easily as other parties can, who offer free gifts from the Exchequer or from other people's properties robbed by "legal" process. We cannot excite them with promises of egalitarian distribution of wealth, to be obtained somehow by somebody. We have to work hard and educate the educatable over the economics of freedom which we have adopted as our party's basis as distinguished from Statism and State Capitalism for which the Congress and the Communists stand."

Rajaji's words are as valid today as when he wrote them in 1962. There may be cause for depression but none for the despondency if we of the Swatantra Party realise our mission. Let others contend for numbers. For soon numbers will become meaningless. As surely as night follows day, so will the process started by Smt. Indira Gandhi in devaluating democratic institutions lead inexorably towards a dictatorship. Numbers will then merge into an indefinable mass showering adulation on a "Maximum Leader".

What we feared before the 1971 elections is already coming to pass. The Constitution 24th Amendment Bill is a lawn mower compared to the bulldozer of the Constitution 25th Amendment Bill which will sweep away every cherished liberty of our people and make of us so many million ants on "Indira's Thoughts" as in Communist China.

The Swatantra Party's mission as its Founders conceived it is clear beyond doubt:

- To educate our people to recognise and so to avoid the road to serfdom and poverty that lies ahead of us;
- To keep on educating our people so that they may also recognise and choose before it is too late the alternative road to freedom and prosperity; and, meanwhile,
- To preserve wit and obstinacy in our endeavours to protect the Fundamental Rights and Liberties of our people from those who claim that their electoral success early this year has given them the licence to destroy both.

(From the *Swatantra Souvenir* 1971)

With the Compliments of the Swatantra Party Maharashtra

On the occasion of the Meeting on August 1, 2009 to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of the Swatantra Party

The Swatantra Party's Achievements in the 4th Lok Sabha

Though in Opposition, the Swatantra Party had the satisfaction of seeing many of its important policies being adopted by the ruling party as its own.

Among them:

- *A Holiday in Planning:* The Government took a holiday from planning as we pleaded time and again.
- *Ombudsman:* We were the first in the country to demand the setting up of the institution of the Ombudsman on the lines of the one prevailing in the Scandinavian countries. In fact a member of our Party in the Lok Sabha had moved a Private Member's Bill for the purpose. Though the government did not favour it they subsequently brought their own Bill for the setting up of a Lok Pal and a Lok Ayukt.
- *Administration Reforms Commission:* This Commission has been making recommendations many of which conclusively vindicate not only the Party's policy but even the criticism made by the Party's members in the House from time to time.
- *Decontrol and Delicensing:* Though halting and slow, there is a discernible trend towards de-licensing of industries and decontrol of various items, eg. sugar (partially) and cement (fully). This is again a vindication of our policy and an indication of the effectiveness of Swatantra criticism.

The Swatantra Party and the 1967 Elections

Promises

The Swatantra Party had set for itself the following targets for the General elections of 1967:

1. To wipe out, in conjunction with other democratic parties the Congress majority in the Lok Sabha by carrying a large number of seats for the Swatantra Party
2. to eliminate or drastically to reduce the Congress majorities in the States and to establish Swatantra or Swatantra-led Governments in Orissa, Rajasthan and Gujarat; and
3. To become the official or the principal Opposition in some States and to increase our strength in others.

... and Performance

1. In the Lok Sabha the Party doubled its strength from 22 to 44 seats polling 8.54% of the popular vote. The Party however fell short by 9 seats to be recognised as the *official* Opposition, it emerged as the single largest party in the Opposition.
2. The second target was with the emergence of a Swatantra-led Coalition in Orissa. In Gujarat the party legislature strength increased from 26 to 66, but it was not enough to dislodge the Congress Party. In Rajasthan, the Party's strength increased from 38 to 49.
3. In Gujarat and Rajasthan we emerged as the *official* opposition, and in Andhra, as the principal Opposition in the State Assembly.

The Party annexed 259 seats in the State Assemblies total number



C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Naoroji Road,
Madras, 31.

5th February, 70

Swatantra stands for common sense and Satyam and good Government. The Swatantra Party is the only true socialist party. Statists parade beautiful phrases and call themselves socialists. It is not only fine feathers that make fine birds, as Aesop illustrated in his fable of the Jay and the Peacock. Prof. Bauer of the London School of Economics recently explained how statist socialism is unreal and concentrates power in the hands of party leaders without doing any good to the poor. The Professor pointed out that this wrong socialism of the Statist type leads to neglect of the true functions of Government. I beseech all Swatantra Party members to work with confidence not minding the fake charges levelled against it.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mr P. S. Koppiker
General Secretary
Bombay Swatantra Party,
43, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay-1.

WHY THE SWATANTRA PARTY IS A PARTY WITH A DIFFERENCE

To cite just three examples

The Swatantra Party has, in its Statement of Principles affirmed as its 21st principle the following:

“The Swatantra Party holds that democracy is best served if every political party allows freedom of opinion to its members on all matters outside the fundamental Principles of the fore, gives its members, full liberty on all questions not falling within the scope of the Principles stated above.”

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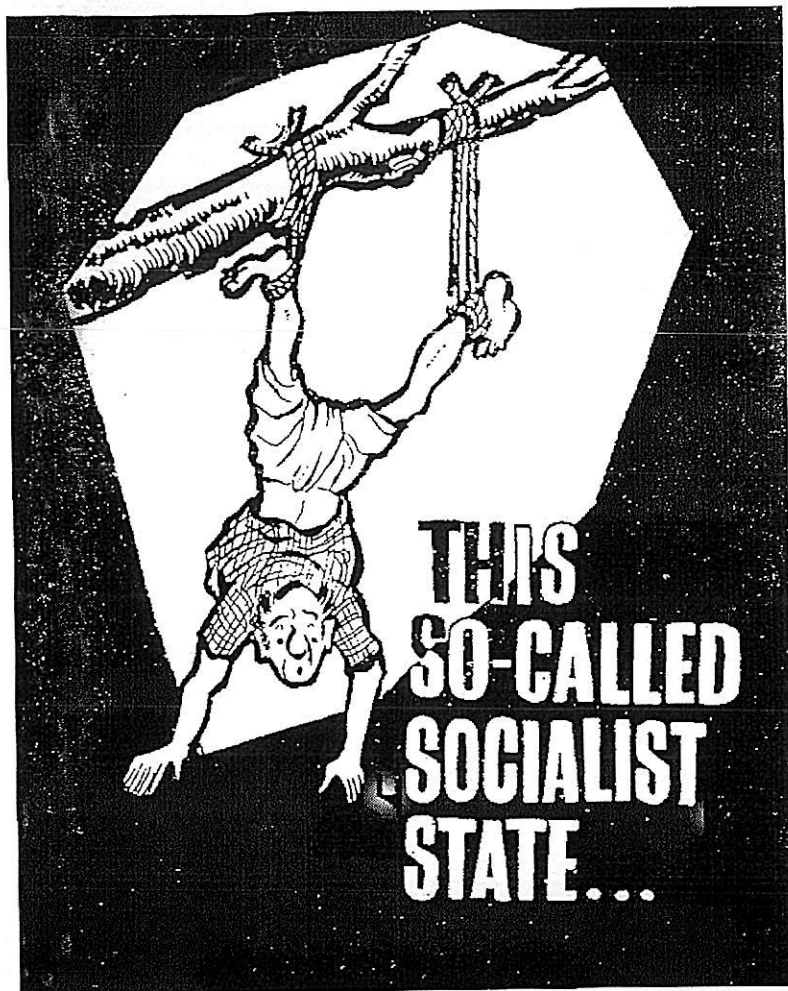
The following extracts are from the Swatantra Party's Statement of Policy “To Prosperity Through Freedom. These clearly indicate the Party distinct identity as compared to the other political parties in the field.

On the First Duty of Students

“The Party is of the view that in free India, while students even before graduation should acquire some knowledge of the various trends in political thought, they should, while engaged in college life, abstain from active participation in the furtherance of any political party. Whatever other parties may be doing, the Swatantra Party is of the view that there should be no encouragement given to the division of students into groups related to political parties of the country although they may be free to express and discuss their views in their college Unions. Students may form study circles for the appreciation of political and economic problems but, in the interest of discipline, the Party is of the view that it should not encourage the formation of political groups inside universities and colleges.”

Trade Unions should not be Playthings of Political Parties

“Strong and responsible trade unions are an integral part of a democratic industrial order. Workers must be encouraged and helped to build their own unions and through them to bargain collectively with their employers regarding the terms of conditions of their terms of their employment. The Swatantra Party is not satisfied with the present position of trade unions. Most of them are managed by outsiders and many of them are playthings of political parties. The Party is keen that trade unions should grow as independent organisations of workers controlled and managed by themselves; being opposed to the domination of trade unions by political parties, the Swatantra Party will not join the race to establish control over trade unions, though its members will be always ready, through its members to help in all possible ways.



(1)

IN 1947, WE ACHIEVED INDEPENDENCE
IN 1950, WE PLANNED FOR PROSPERITY
BY 1971, WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED IS
...POVERTY

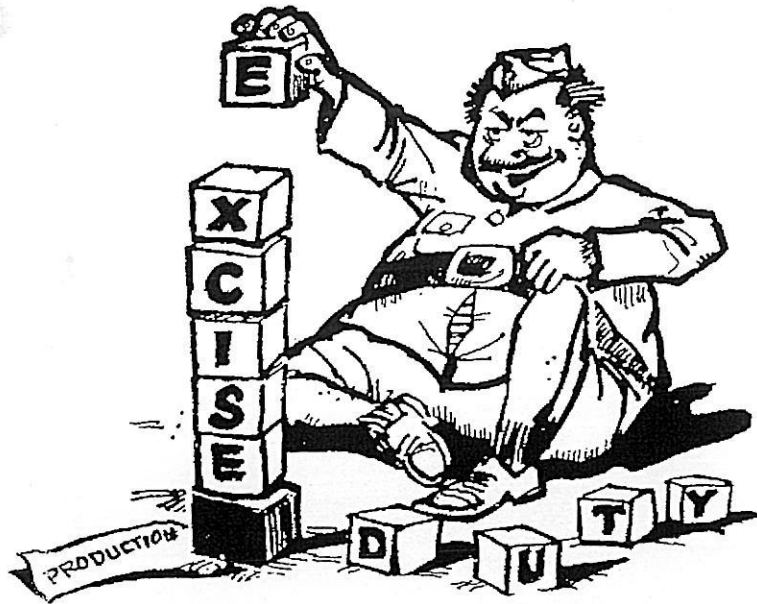
*PROSPERITY
DEPENDS ON PRODUCTION.
PRODUCTION
DEPENDS ON WORK
WORK
DEPENDS ON FREEDOM
TO PRODUCE, TO EARN, TO SAVE*

**SMT. INDIRA'S SOCIALIST
STATE....**

**PENALISES PRODUCTION.
PENALISES EARNINGS
PENALISES SPENDING
PENALISES SAVINGS
PENALISES WEALTH
PENALISES GENEROSITY...**

(2)

**IF WE PRODUCE,
WE WILL PAY TO THE STATE
OR TO THE CENTRAL
GOVERNMENT
EXCISE DUTY**



(3)

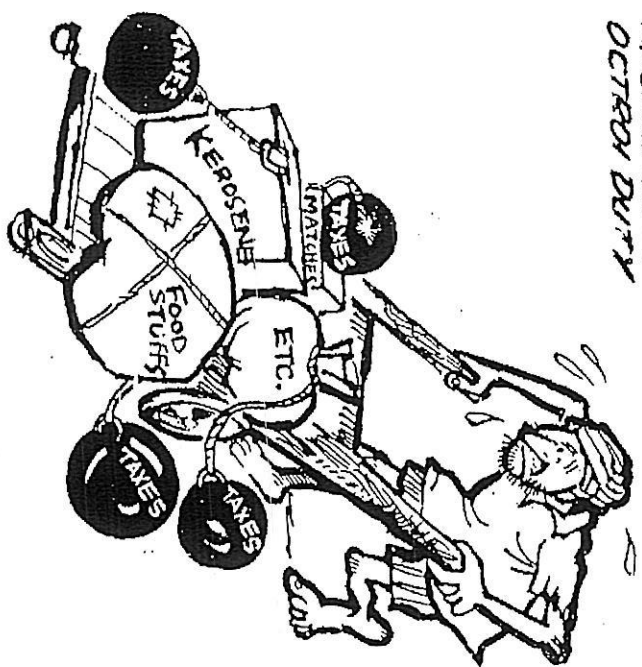
**IF WE MOVE OUR
GOODS TO A MARKET
TOWN, WE WILL PAY
OCTROI DUTY**



(4)

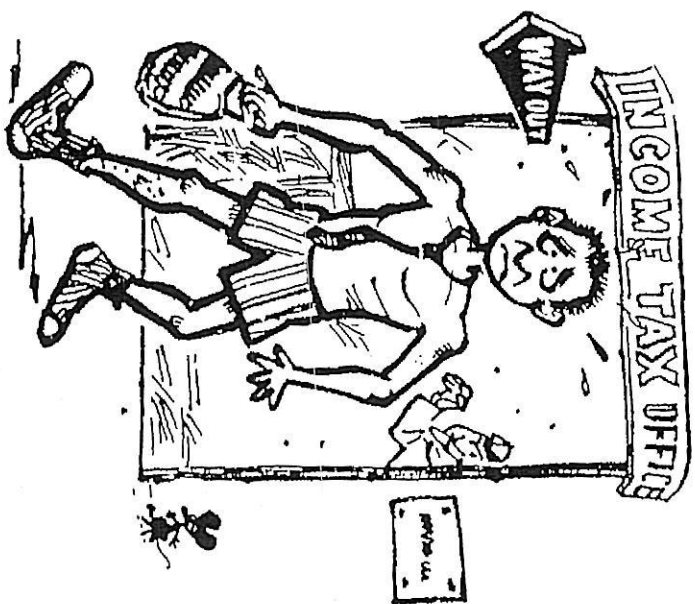
ON ALMOST EVERYTHING
WE BUY, WE WILL PAY
**CONCEALED (INDIRECT)
TAXES**

* CUSTOMS DUTY
* EXCISE DUTY
* OCTROI DUTY



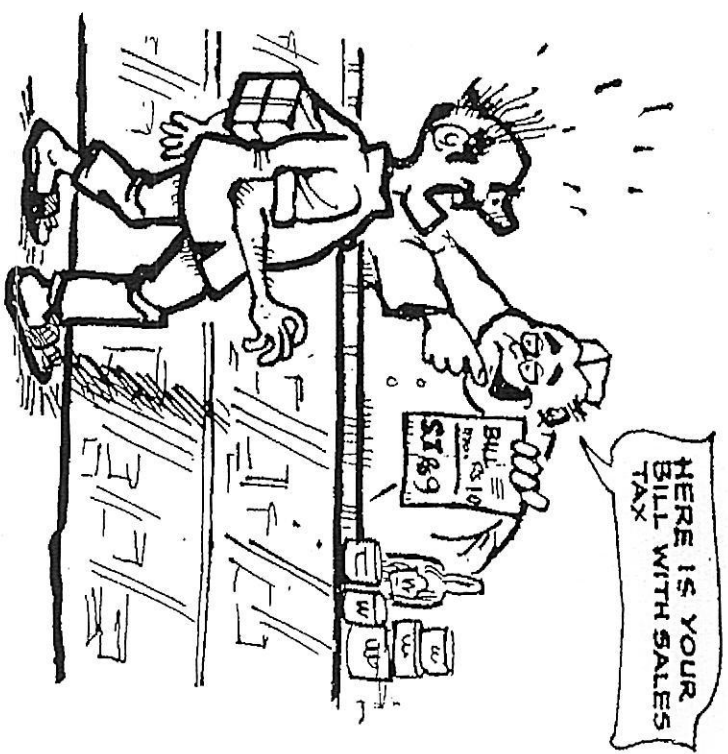
(5)

**IF WE EARN,
WE WILL PAY
INCOME TAX**



(6)

**IF WE SPEND,
WE WILL PAY
SALES TAX**



(7)

**AND IF WE WANT TO
ENJOY OURSELVES
WE WILL PAY
ENTERTAINMENT
TAX**



(8)

**IF WE MANAGE
TO SAVE,
WE WILL PAY
WEALTH TAX**



(9)

**IF WE SELL OUR
ASSETS,
WE WILL PAY
CAPITAL GAINS TAX**



(10)

**SHOULD WE FEEL
GENEROUS, WE WILL PAY
GIFT TAX**

YOU GOT TO PAY
GIFT TAX, MY FRIEND
WHETHER YOU LIKE
IT OR NOT.



(11)

**EVEN IF WE DIE
WE WILL GLADLY PAY
ESTATE DUTY**

HERE, TAKE MY ESTATE
DUTY... MY SOUL WILL NOT
REST IN PEACE UNTIL I HAVE
PAID IT... NEITHER
WILL YOU...



(12)



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THE SWATANTRA PARTY

STANDS FOR A WELFARE
SOCIETY
NOT FOR A SOCIALIST STATE
WHICH RESULTS IN TYRANNY.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY

STANDS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
AND WILL ALWAYS RESIST
THE TYRANNY OF THE STATE.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY STANDS FOR...

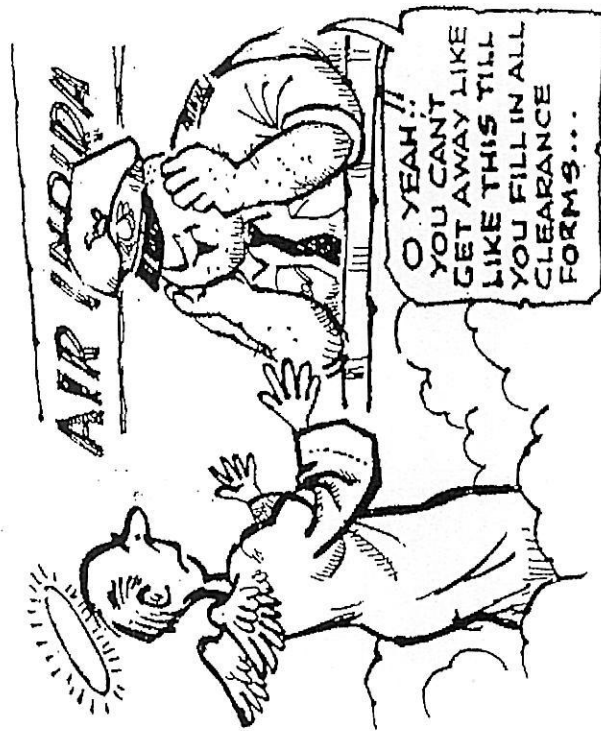


FREEDOM FOR THE
FARMER
FREEDOM FOR INDUSTRY.
FREEDOM OF TRADE
FREEDOM OF RELIGION
AND
FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS
TO PROPERTY BY
EARNING AND
BY SAVING

VOTE SWATANTRA

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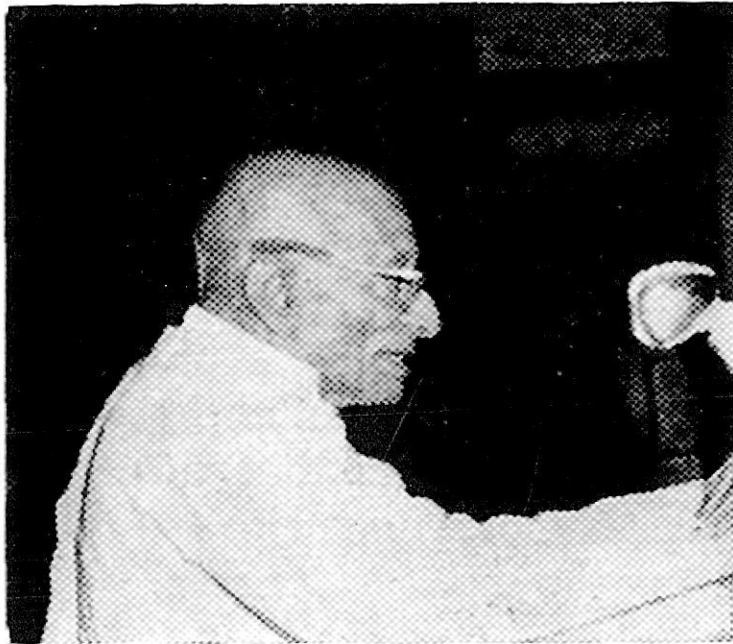
**IF WE ARE BOUND
FOR HEAVEN,
WE HAVE TO FILL IN
ALL KINDS OF
FORMS**



**BUT
SHOULD WE
WANT
TO GO
TO HELL...
NOTHING
IS
REQUIRED...**

SWATANTRA vs 17th AMENDMENT

The 17th Amendment to the Indian Constitution came into effect on 20th June 1964.



RAJAJI

"The Bill is a gigantic falsehood to make all owners of land 'intermediaries', thus reviving the exploded doctrine that all land in India belongs to Government, every peasant being only a tenant. When the British were ruling, the

Congress vigorously sought to protect the peasant and objected to this feudal doctrine. It now seems the position is reversed. The peasants have to wake up and protect themselves against the Congress which wishes to become the apex of a neo-feudal totalitarianism."

M. R. MASANI

"What this country needs is not expropriation. What this country needs is not collective or co-operative farming. What this country needs is the supply of good seeds, water and fertilizers to the pea-



sant so that he can produce more from his land. What we want is sympathy and security for the farmer, not a Damocles' Sword hanging over his head. I can think of nothing more unpatriotic and unserviceable for this country than this wretched Amendment."



N. G. RANGA

"It is wrong for the Government to consider their land policy which they have conceived with the aid of the Planning Commission to be of greater inflexibility and of greater fixity than the Constitution itself. They will have to answer before the bar of public opinion in this country in regard to this particular matter."

In Parliament and throughout the country, the Swatantra Party took the lead in opposing this Amendment on the ground that it is a calculated move by the Congress Government to undermine and destroy the Fundamental Right to property as enshrined in the Constitution and thus to pave the way for Communism.

The Party is convinced that those who stand for a self-employed and self-respecting peasantry are the genuine progressives and liberals, while those who seek to undermine and abolish peasant proprietorship by such surreptitious means are enemies of freedom and therefore reactionaries.

Reproduced on this page are the reactions of some of our leaders to this Bill.

DAHYABHAI V. PATEL

"The ryotwari land, the ryotwari right and the peasant proprietor have all been held sacred in this country for all these years. And that is the strength on which this country has survived so many invasions, so much suffering. If that goes, the only thing that remains is collectivisation."

