

Swatantra

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Newsletter

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY, 143 MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD, BOMBAY, TELEPHONE NO: 251424

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Since the last issue of the Newsletter, there have been three meetings of the Central Parliamentary Board and two of the National Executive.

CENTRAL PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The first of these meetings was held in Madras on June 22, the second on July 20 and the third on August 29.

Performance in By-elections

The meeting on June 22 noted that the Party had failed to retain a Lok Sabha and two Assembly seats in recent by-elections in Gujarat. These seats had been wrested from the Congress in the 1967 General Elections.

The Party retained the Sattur seat in a by-election to the Tamil Nadu State Assembly, which was caused by the death of the sitting Swatantra member.

Salaries, Allowances and Amenities for MPs

The Board advised the Party's Parliamentary Group that its effort should be to try and see that the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament which had gone into this matter should be referred to an impartial third party (e.g. a judge of the Supreme Court) for opinion with the understanding that such an impartial opinion would be accepted by the House and the Bill amended accordingly. If the House did not agree to this, then, our Group was asked to support only those provisions in the Bill which were the unanimous recommendations of the Joint Select Committee. If, even this was not acceptable to the Congress Party, then the Board advised the Party's Group to abstain from voting on those recommendations which were not unanimous.

Presidential Election

The meeting on July 20 was essentially to decide the Party's position in the Presidential election. As readers are by now well aware, the Party's MPs and MLAs were asked to cast their first preference vote for Dr. C. D. Deshmukh and advised to cast their second preference vote for Mr. Sanjiva Reddy.

Bank Nationalisation Ordinance

This meeting of the Board which was held immediately after the Ordinance nationalising Banks, took the opportunity to condemn Government for passing such an Ordinance and described it as contempt of Parliament. The Board expressed its surprise and shock that such an Ordinance should have been passed when Parliament was scheduled to meet in less than 48 hours.

Vice-Presidential Election

The meeting of the Board on 29th August discussed the Vice-Presidential election. In the context of the fact that the Party had not set up a candidate either on its own or in collaboration with other Parties, it was decided that the Party's MPs were free to cast their vote for Mr. J. Shivashanmugham Pillai or Mr. H. V. Kamath in any order of preference but not to any other candidate in the field.

The Party's Group in the U.P. Assembly

The Board reiterated its earlier policy of not participating in attempts to topple Governments. However, if the present Government in UP was toppled despite our neutrality, it was decided that our Party's MLAs could support an SVD Government provided that

such a Government did not include communists. As to whether our Group should join such a Government formed by the SVD, the Board decided that this matter could only be considered—

- (a) if our MLAs were invited to join, and
- (b) provided that such a Government did not include communists.

In this case or in any unforeseen situation not contemplated above, the Party's Group in the UP Assembly was asked to consult the General Secretary at the National Headquarters.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

The National Executive met twice during this period—the first time on June 22 and the other on August 30. Both meetings had the unfortunate duty of condoling the deaths of senior members of the Party and also the President of India, Dr. Zakir Hussain. The members of the Party whose demise the Executive condoled were—

Sir H. P. Mody,

Dr. K. C. Baghel, MP.

Mr. Ramaseshaiah, Orissa's Minister for Health,

Mr. Ambashankar Trivedi, MLA (Gujarat), and

Sardar Ram Singh, MP, President of the UP Unit of the Party and a member of the National Executive.

Resolutions

The following Resolutions (see Annexure 'A' for texts) were unanimously adopted:

1. Situation in Telengana, and
2. Communist Threat

Merger Proposals

The meeting on June 22 discussed in detail certain merger proposals arising from recent discussions with the BKD and the Jan Sangh. The presence of Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri, General Secretary of the BKD (who had been invited to attend the National Executive meeting) was taken advantage of by members to elicit various clarifications. The following statement was issued to the Press after discussion:

"The National Executive of the Swatantra Party having considered the reports made by Prof. Ranga and Mr. Masani on their talks on 26th/27th May with the leaders of other parties on the merger issue, and after having discussed the matter with Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri, General Secretary of the BKD, has decided to have further talks with the BKD and continue their efforts jointly with the BKD to evolve a broad-based democratic party to meet the emergency arising out of the growing communist violence and subversion in the country and to fill the vacuum caused by the deterioration in the Congress Party. The Swatantra Party will strive for maximum cooperation, including merger between all democratic parties on the basis of a common

programme. The National Executive authorises the President, the General Secretary of the Party and Mr. Masani to continue talks on its behalf with the leaders of other parties."

Dr. K. M. Munshi

Certain office bearers and members of the Gujarat Unit of the Party had expressed their resentment over a statement issued by Dr. K. M. Munshi in support of the Congress candidate, Mr. S. K. Patil, in the Banaskantha Parliamentary by-election. The Executive took the following decision:

"The National Executive of the Swatantra Party deeply regrets that Shri K. M. Munshi, a Vice-President of the Party, should have thought it fit to support the candidature of Shri S. K. Patil, Congress candidate, in the Banaskantha Parliamentary by-election for which the Party had put up its own candidate, Shri Manubhai Amersey. It was surprising and most unfortunate that Shri Munshi issued his statement in support of Shri S. K. Patil."

Subsequently, the Gujarat State Executive at its meeting on July 11 expressed its disappointment with the decision recorded above and requested the National Executive to reconsider the matter. This the Executive did at its meeting in New Delhi on August 30. After considering various aspects of this matter, the Executive took the following decision:

"The full import of the resolution passed by the National Executive at its meeting held in June 1969 at Madras regarding the statement issued by Dr. K. M. Munshi in support of the Congress candidate in the Banaskantha by-election had not been correctly understood. It was in fact a clear condemnation of Dr. Munshi's action in issuing that statement. In view of this and as Dr. Munshi had stated that he had taken "Kshetra Sanyas" and retired from public life, (except work connected with the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan) the National Executive did not consider it necessary to reopen the matter."

Mr. Raghubir Singh of Bissau

An MLA of the Party in Rajasthan, Mr. Raghubir Singh of Bissau had resigned his seat in the State Assembly without the Party's permission. For this act, the Executive at its meeting on August 30, decided to debar him from holding office in the Party for a period of three years.

General Secretary on Leave

As the General Secretary, Mr. Dandekar, has not been keeping well, Dr. B. C. Cooper, the Honorary Treasurer, has been acting for him for the last three months. At the Executive meeting on August 30, Mr. Dandekar requested that since he had not yet fully recovered, he would like Dr. Cooper to continue to

Evidently our mailing list seems to have become a little out of date, judging by the fact that issues are being returned with remarks by the Postal authorities like "Addressee left", "Not Known", "Address Insufficient", etc. This is because some of our readers have changed their address but have not taken the trouble of communicating this to us. While we have automatically removed such names from our mailing list, we would at the same time like to ensure that others are not deprived of their copies. Therefore it would be of great help to us if you could kindly complete the attached card and return it to us as quickly as possible.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY

Dated,.....

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS.

Sir,

- (1) My address on the wrapper of the issue is in order.
- (2) The address on this wrapper is defective. Please correct it as follows (Please write in block letters)

The Executive Secretary

Swatantra Party

National Headquarters

143, Mahatma Gandhi Road

Bombay 1.

act for him for some more time. The Executive approved the arrangement and thanked Dr. Cooper for agreeing to shoulder this burden in addition to his duties as Honorary Treasurer. At the same time, the Executive hoped that Mr. Dandekar would get well soon and resume his office.

Presidential Election Reviewed

The Executive reviewed the results of the Presidential Election. The pattern of votes cast by Swatantra MPs and MLAs was analysed.

While the analysis is reflected in the resolution on the current political situation (reported elsewhere in this issue), the Executive expressed its sincere thanks to Dr. C. D. Deshmukh and adopted the following resolution unanimously:

"The National Executive of the Swatantra Party thanks Dr. C. D. Deshmukh for his patriotic action in agreeing to stand as a candidate for the President's office knowing that the odds were against his success, especially in the circumstances as they unfortunately developed. The National Executive is grateful to Dr. Deshmukh for fulfilling his duty as an eminent and respected citizen."

Resolutions

The following Resolutions were adopted:

- (i) Statement on the current political situation.
- (ii) Law and Order situation in West Bengal and Kerala.

Party Elections

The following is the time-table for Party Elections that was adopted at the meeting of the National Executive in Madras on June 22:

- (i) Last date for enrolment of new Workers and Life Workers for purposes of Party Elections.
August 31, 1969
- (ii) Last date for receipt by the National Headquarters of Registers of Workers and Life Workers and Life Members and the Centre's quota of subscriptions.
September 22, 1969
- (iii) Conclusion of scrutiny of Workers' Life Workers' Registers and their verification.
October 7, 1969
- (iv) Last date for completion of elections at the Primary Unit level (including election of Primary Unit representatives on the District Committee).
October 31, 1969
- (v) Last date for completion of elections at the District level (including the election of District Unit representatives on the State/Regional Council).
November 15, 1969

- (iii) Law and Order situation in Orissa.
- (iv) Growing communist infiltration.
- (v) Threats to the Freedom of the Press.
- (vi) Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman's Indefinite Fast.

A Resolution on the flood havoc in Bihar and other parts of India was also adopted unanimously.

All these Resolutions are reproduced in Annexure (A) to this issue.

Party Elections

Various matters concerning Party elections were decided upon. These are reported below.

Reservation of Seats in Parliament & State Assemblies

An item that normally falls in the domain of the Central Parliamentary Board but which on its request was considered by the National Executive was an issue concerning the extension of reservation of seats in Parliament and State Assemblies. According to the Indian Constitution, the clause relating to reservation of seats in Parliament and State Assemblies for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes comes to an end in January 1970. In this connection, the Executive had before it a proposal viz., that there should be a gradual elimination of reservation of seats by reducing the number of such seats by one-third at the end of every five years, so that at the end of 15 years, the reservation of seats would disappear altogether. The Executive approved of this proposal.

- (vi) Last date for completion of elections at the State/Regional level (including the election of State/Regional Unit representatives on the General Council).
December 7, 1969

- (vii) Last date for election of National Executive by the General Council.
December 31, 1969

A detailed procedure for Party elections has since been printed and circulated to State and Regional Units of the Party. The last date for enrolment is now past and the National Headquarters is awaiting receipt of lists of Workers and the Centre's quota of subscription from State/Regional Units on or before September 22. From then till the 7th of October, the National Headquarters will arrange for the enrolment registers in the various State and Regional Unit offices to be examined and certified. Once this is done elections can then commence.

Readers who desire to have a copy of the Procedure for Party Elections may kindly approach the concerned State/Regional Office or the National Headquarters.

The following specific issues in this regard were decided upon at the meeting of the National Executive in New Delhi on August 30.

The Strength of State Councils

Though the procedure for Party elections has prescribed a ceiling of ten representatives per district on State/Regional Councils, it was felt that this might perhaps be unfair to all those districts which had considerable enrolment. It was therefore decided that while the *status quo* should prevail (i.e. the proportion prescribed in this regard for the last Party elections) it may be relaxed upto a maximum of 20 representatives per district and the ratio of representation revised accordingly, if there were good reasons for doing so. The General Secretary was authorised to decide each case on merits in consultation with the President.

Representation of State/Regional Units on the General Council

It was decided to adhere to the ratio of representation of State/Regional Units on the General Council as was adopted for the last Party Elections, viz.

Three for the first 400 Workers/Life Workers/Life Members and one representative for every additional 150, subject to a maximum of 20 and a minimum of 3 as laid down in Clause 9(b) of the Constitution.

State Election Tribunals

Under the amended Party Constitution (Clause 10A) Election Tribunals have to be constituted by the National Executive. The National Executive decided to constitute one-man election tribunals at the State/Regional levels. The persons appointed on such Tribunals should not be residents of the State/Region or on the Electoral Roll of the concerned State/Regional Unit for purposes of party elections.

National Election Tribunal

There should be a five-man Election Tribunal at the national level.

FOCUS ON ORISSA

(Readers may be aware that Prof. B. R. Shenoy, the eminent economist, was appointed by the present Swatantra-led Ministry soon after its assumption of office to advise on economic reforms in the State. He had, among other things, advised the Orissa Government to de-nationalise such of the public sector undertakings in the State as the private sector might be willing to take over, and also to de-nationalise the public sector corporations.)

He also expressed the view in his report that "there is no moral or economic case for continuing the monopoly procurement of rice. It should be abolished at the earliest opportunity." He advised the State "to withdraw from all trading activities".)

PROF. SHENOY'S REPORT

The Chief Minister, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, placed Prof. Shenoy's report in a summarised form on the table of the House during the Assembly Session in March. Reproduced here are extracts from the report as they appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 26th March.

Budget Analysis

Analysing the Orissa budgets since 1954-55, Prof. Shenoy pointed out that three factors stood out from a look at budget statistics. First the revenue part of the budget has been in deficit since 1954-55 except for one year, 1958-59; secondly revenue deficits had persisted despite the steep rise in grants-in-aid, from Rs. 2.5 crores in 1954-55 to Rs. 20.6 crores in 1965-66, and the steep rise in revenue collections from Rs. 8.73 crores in 1954-55 to Rs. 46.80 crores in 1965-66; thirdly, the budget had been a major channel of capital consumption as (among other reasons) revenue deficits had been covered by drawing on capital receipts.

Capital consumption... had resulted not through revenue deficits alone. It had resulted also from the steep rise in revenue collections. Revenue represents private incomes, appropriated by the State. If taxation was less, part of the higher incomes left with the people, would be saved and invested and the capital formation of the State might go up. As grants-in-aid—outside savings flowing into the Orissa economy—not a part of its income—it should be properly used for capital formation, its use for financing revenue expenditure was a species of capital consumption for technical reasons; it was not, however, possible to credit grants-in-aid to the capital budget, Prof. Shenoy observed.

A recent study, conducted by the Bureau of Statistics and Economics, Government of Orissa, confirms capital consumption. This study based on the National Sample Survey data, has indicated that, in 1961-62 house-hold consumption in Orissa, even excluding parts of Government consumption, exceeded national income, so the savings and capital formation, during the year, were negative.

Food Prices

Making a strong plea for discontinuing the monopoly procurement in rice by the State and for removal of the present ban on rice exports from Orissa, Prof. Shenoy pointed out: "The inability of a State Government to check rising prices applied to food prices too, even in surplus food States, as in the case of Orissa. Being an integral part of India, food prices in Orissa would have to move with food prices in India as a whole. To ban export of rice was not the best method of reducing food costs. This would lead to dual pricing of rice, domestic prices being repressed in relation to external prices. Dual pricing would shift incomes from farmers to consumers and black market dealers, retard food production and would affect adversely the progress of the State, which rests so heavily on rice. The cumulative effects of dual pricing might have harmful political consequences."

Per Capita Income

...to maintain per capita income undiminished, the rate of saving and capital formation must keep pace with the rate of increase in population, and to achieve rising per capita income the rate of saving and capital formation must outpace the rate of increase in population. Negative saving in the current context of an increase in population of 20 per cent, per year, involved a fall in the ratio of capital per worker, and therefore, a fall in the output per worker.

Statistics of per capita production broadly confirmed the presence of capital consumption.... Per capita production in Orissa fluctuated downward during the decade following 1953-54. This is "ominous enough evidence of the extent of the economic rot, as capital consumption had been taking place despite blood transfusion of outside savings, in the form of grants-in-aid and external support to the capital budget, aggregating 17 per cent of the income of the Orissa State." At the first sign of bad times, widespread famine conditions might emerge. "The phenomenon of capital consumption, therefore, calls for priority attention", he emphasised.

Prof. Shenoy pointed out that dependence of the Orissa budget on Central and external finance was "unduly high". Grants-in-aid represented about 44 per cent of the internal revenue collections. Virtually the entire outlay of the capital budget depended on loans from the Centre, loans from agencies and institutions outside the State and market borrowings. Viewing the revenue and capital budgets together, about 59 per cent of the total budgetary outlays were financed by the Centre and by institutions outside the State, domestic resources accounting for only 41 per cent of the outlays. "This state of affairs calls for improvement", he added.

Outlining a three-fold programme of basic reforms to remedy the present economic malady of the State,

Prof. Shenoy said first, the revenue part of the budget must be balanced. Secondly, expenditure charged to the revenue should be continually scaled down each year, revenue collections being reduced to match. Thirdly, increase in tax and non-tax revenue receipts, and in grants-in-aid over the receipts of the immediately preceding year, should be utilised for giving equivalent tax relief.

Stating that it was not possible, with any logical justification, to prescribe a target, in money terms, to which revenue expenditure might be scaled down, Prof. Shenoy said, this might, however, be done by reference to the functions of a State. "The State must withdraw from activities which fall outside its natural duties. The more natural duties of the State include, enforcing the rule of law, maintenance of law and order, public health services, education, roadways and river transport facilities, provision of markets, ware-housing, and agricultural extension services", he said.

Government Withdrawal

This, according to Prof. Shenoy, calls for the Government withdrawing from all trading activities and de-nationalisation of "such of the public sector undertakings as the private sector might be willing to take over".

He said "while investments in public sector corporations represent capital formation, these corporations are also instruments of capital consumption not all the capital that is accounted to have been invested in a public sector undertaking, in fact, enters into it. What enters into it may vary from 60 to 80 per cent of the amounts of the capital stated in the balance sheets. The rest is distributed as corrupt payments". This capital "gets converted into private and concealed incomes, which is consumed in the same way as any other incomes. There is no remedy to this type of capital consumption than to de-nationalise public sector corporations", he added.

... mainly because of wastages, inefficiency and corruption, incomes from public sector corporations are poor, though this is due partly also to the nature of some of these undertakings. The average returns on Rs. 20 crores of capital invested in 1964-65 ... amounted to one per cent of the capital employed. In private hands they might have done better. The poor performance of public sector undertakings, however, is not a reflection on the personnel running them, it is mainly an outcome of the basic fact that the losses in private enterprises get debited to the incomes of the owners while, in the case of public sector undertakings, they get debited to revenue.

It is not necessary to appoint a retrenchment committee to advise on the expenditure economy measures. The requisite know-how in this regard is available within the Government. The trusted personnel from

the Departments of Finance, Planning and Coordination, and Home, may be asked to formulate an operational report on the subject.

INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES DURING THE FOURTH PLAN

There would be three more industrial complexes and a chemical complex coming up in Orissa during the Fourth Plan with a firm possibility of two fertilizer plants, a nickel smelter plant and a pesticide factory. This was announced in the State Assembly in March by the Chief Minister, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, who added that one of the three fertilizer plants in Orissa, Talcher, had been finalised. This project which would come up in the Central sector was estimated to cost over Rs. 70 crores.

He said that the industrial complexes would come in Paradeep and Jajpur. At Paradeep a fertilizer plant was to be set up in the private sector on an assumed cost of Rs. 60 crores with a potential of employing 1,500 technical personnel. While at Jajpur, a nickel smelter plant was most likely to come up. Besides there was also a proposal for having a ferro-vanadium plant in Mayurbhanj.

NEW PAY SCALES FOR ORISSA GOVERNMENT STAFF

The Chief Minister, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, announced during the first week of April in the Assembly that the Government's decision on the recommendations of the State Pay Commission would be implemented with effect from April.

He said that the Commission had only submitted the first part of its report relating to the revised pay scales and it was yet to submit its report on the basis on which the recommendations had been made. (Readers may be interested to know that the Pay Commission was set up in December 1966 by the then Congress Government and it was reconstituted by the Swatantra-led Government in March 1968).

LABOUR POLICY

While replying to the debate on budget demands relating to labour, Mr. Raj Ballabh Misra, State Labour Minister, declared in the Assembly during April that the labour policy of the Swatantra-led Government had the twin objectives to protect the labourers from exploitation on the one hand and in discouraging unjustified demands of labour on the other.

He said that the Government policy envisaged making provisions for workers' education, to create congenial environment for welfare of labourers and to provide employment to the unemployed. The policy, he added, aimed at taking steps to prevent use of force or violence by any party in labour disputes and to ensure settlement of disputes in a peaceful atmosphere according to the provisions of law and to strengthen the adjudication machinery.

The Government was also determined to prevent misuse by dishonest employers of Provident Fund and E.S.I. contributions and also unjustified collections of funds from labourers.

Mr. Misra said that the Government had appointed a second Labour Board for expeditious disposal of all industrial disputes and to enable labourers to secure their rights under the law. *For the first time in Orissa the labour laws had been translated into Oriya and supplied to the workers.*

DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITIES FOR ORISSA INDUSTRIES

During his address to the Orissa Small Scale Industries Association delivered on April 8, at Cuttack, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, Chief Minister, disclosed that the Government had decided to constitute "development authorities" for the industrial complexes in the State and added that necessary legislation for the purpose would be made soon. He said that for the present an Advisory Board had been constituted to look into the industrial development of the State and any firm or individual could come forward to take advantage of the Government assistance for starting new industries in Orissa.

Referring to the allotment of units in the industrial estates the Chief Minister said that the Government had decided to transfer the units "on deferred payment basis" on proper security.

CODE FOR LEGISLATORS

A ten-man Committee headed by the Speaker of State Assembly has laid down a six point "norms" for observance by members when the Governor addressed the House:

- (1) That any disorderly conduct on the part of members on the occasion of the Governor's address affects the dignity of the Governor, the House and its members.
- (2) That the Governor's address is a statement of Government policy of which, as the constitutional head, he is the mouthpiece. As such there should be solemnity, dignity and decorum during the occasion.
- (3) That the members should listen to the Governor with decorum and dignity which is a constitutional obligation.
- (4) That the Governor is a part of the legislature under Article 163 and as such members must show respect.
- (5) That it is open for the House to take action against members for their undignified action which is contrary to the oath taken by them.
- (6) When the Governor is in the House, if any member interrupts or obstructs the Governor,

either before, during or after the address with any speech or point of order or walk-out or in any other manner, such action may be considered as a grossly disorderly conduct and may be dealt with by the House in such manner as the House may deem fit."

(The above is a sequel to the behaviour of some members on February 19, 1968, when the Governor began reading his address. The members interrupted his address and later staged a walk-out. In order to "prevent or avoid any untoward occurrence in future", the Speaker appointed a committee on April 5, to lay down norms to be observed by members).

FLOOD AND CYCLONE RELIEF

The Government of Orissa has provided financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 65.50 lakhs during the month of March to educational institutions affected by cyclone and floods for repair and reconstruction of their damaged buildings as also to compensate the loss incurred by them on account of remission of fees granted to the students.

Of this amount Rs. 31.50 lakhs was placed at the disposal of the Inspector of Schools and District Inspectors of Schools in the affected areas. Besides a sum of Rs. 20 lakhs has also been placed at the disposal of the Director of Community Development for repair and reconstruction of primary school buildings.

West Bengal

(Below is reproduced a letter written on April 11, 1969, by Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P., Leader of the Party in Parliament, to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, regarding developments in West Bengal).

"Ever since the United Front Government dominated by the Marxist Communists took office about a month ago in West Bengal, they have been doing everything possible to take the law into their own hands, to disrespect and defy the Constitution of India, to obstruct protection of Central Government property and Central Government employees and to force a confrontation with the Centre so as to endanger the unity and integrity of India.

"First of all I refer to the report which has appeared in the papers today that the West Bengal Ministers "would lead a Bandh" or strike in West Bengal. I attach a cutting from the *Times of India* relating to this news. It is said that the United Front Government advised the Railways, Indian Airlines and Posts & Telegraphs Department on April 9 not to run their normal services in West Bengal during to-day's twenty-four hour Bengal Bandh as a result of which Indian Airlines cancelled all flights to and from Calcutta and Railways emanating from Calcutta have also been suspended. This news item goes on to say that the United Front Ministers are giving lead in the Bandh and that none of the thirty ministers will attend the Secretariat on the 10th. This is the first time in the history of this country and perhaps in the history of any country in the world that a total strike is organised and propagated by the Government itself. Strikes and bandhs are generally organised by dissatisfied and discontented anti-government elements in the community against the inaction, harassment or wrong policies of the Government. But to the best of my knowledge, I have never come across a case in which Government itself is organising and promoting a strike or a Bandh. Defiance of the Constitution could go no further. It is the primary duty and function of a Government to maintain and protect normal services against inter-

ference by rowdy or unruly elements. But when a Government itself formally appeals for the observance of a strike, where is the incentive to the public to continue to be law-abiding citizens of the country? This is a highly explosive situation of which serious notice must be taken by the Centre if it means to function as a Government.

"This is not an isolated incident. From the very first day of their assuming office, the United Front leaders are indulging in unconstitutional and unlawful acts. First of all, they tried to force the Governor to read a speech implicating both the Governor and the Centre. But this attempt did not succeed because of the firmness of the then Governor, Shri Dharma Vira. During the few days that Shri Dharma Vira stayed on as Governor of the State, no co-operation was shown by the Government and particularly by the Ministers. They did everything possible to humiliate him and to make his life uncomfortable. Forgetting that he is the representative of the President, they did not have the elementary courtesy of seeing him off at the station when he finally left the State.

"As examples of the Government of West Bengal taking the law into their own hands, I would give only two instances — the arrest of General Vadera and another senior officer of Durgapur Steel after labour trouble at the Durgapur Steel Works, which is a Central Government public enterprise. The recent arrest of three senior officers of the Cossipore Ordnance Factory after handcuffing them, as a consequence of certain incidents into the merits of which I do not propose to go as they should be subject matter of a central, full-fledged, independent, judicial investigation is another incident. You are already aware of the fact that in the early days of the assumption of office of the West Bengal Government, they threw out feelers for sending a "fraternal" delegation to East Pakistan,

presumably with a view to joining up hands in the interest of China with which country our relations are most strained ever since its unprovoked and brutal aggression on our borders in 1962. In between, there was a question of the posting of Central Reserve Police at Durgapur and other places for the protection of installations and factories belonging to the Government of India and the dispute has not yet been settled in spite of the right of the Centre to take whatever steps may be necessary for the protection of its property located and its personnel working in any State.

"It seems to us that the United Front has overstepped all reasonable limits and the time has come for the Central Government to govern or to get out. If the present Government is unable to enforce respect for the Constitution in any part of the country or on the part of any party, it has no business to continue in

office. Our Party stands for enforcing law and order, ensuring respect for the Constitution and the safeguarding of the Central Government property, employees and interests anywhere in the country and particularly in West Bengal where they are seriously threatened by lawless and perverse acts on the part of the present government of West Bengal. It is not for us to suggest what should be done, though we have a clear idea as to what should be done to meet the situation and we would spell them out at the right time and at the right opportunity. All that we want to say at this stage is that a desperate situation has arisen in the country requiring courageous action and the Government at the Centre must give the highest priority to tackling this situation and take all steps for the maintenance of the Constitution and for the preservation of law and order in the country."

Bank Nationalisation

The country had a foretaste of inevitable catastrophe during the weekend of the second week of July when the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, obviously acting under the advice of her juvenile "Yes men", suddenly took one "big leap forward" to nationalise 14 banks in a single stroke. This was promulgated through an Ordinance signed by Mr. V. V. Giri, then Acting President and subsequently it has been replaced by a Bill which was pushed through the Parliament in what can be described as the "shortest step to disaster".

Mr. Masani in the course of an address at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Forum of Free Enterprise in Bombay said the move was "a dictatorial step without giving any scope for a democratic discussion on the subject". Warning of the consequences of dictatorship he reminded Mrs. Gandhi of the fate of former President Sukarno of Indonesia and said the Prime Minister had behaved like a highway robber with an ultimatum that either you pay the money or you would be destroyed.

Writing in the *Swarajya*, Rajaji declared: "bank nationalisation if efficiently and honestly carried out amounts to total control by the governing political party of the savings of all the people to be utilised according to its plans. In actual practice it will lead to mismanagement and utilisation for bribing the ruling party's pockets of voters and communists likely to support the party's continuance in power."

In a statement issued on July 20, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, President, Orissa Unit, declared: "excessive obsession with the theories of nationalisation is impractical and is not likely to help the development of economy of the country.... It is unfortunate that the country is moving so fast towards state capitalism and we have to suffer the consequences of statism under the misnomer of socialism."

Mr. N. K. Somani, Swatantra M.P., said that the decision meant that political and ideological considerations got the better of economic needs and it would be impossible to have an economic and efficient banking system.

Mr. C. C. Desai, Swatantra M.P., at a meeting in Delhi, said "Bank nationalisation is a slogan and has been treated as a pawn in the political game of the Congress Party."

Mr. Lalchand Hirachand, President, Bombay Regional Unit, declared "the economic developments of the country will be seriously handicapped."

The Ordinance

The Ordinance promulgated on 19th evening was challenged in the Supreme Court by Dr. R. C. Cooper, Treasurer and Acting General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, and Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P., along with Prof. Balraj Madhok, M.P., of the Jan Sangh. The Supreme Court after hearing the arguments issued a stay order and posted the hearing to August 11th. However, as stated above, a bill was brought forward in the Parliament and was rushed through by the steam roller majority of the group supporting Mrs. Gandhi as well as the Communists and others. By August 9th, the Acting President's assent had been obtained and subsequently the proceedings were dropped. However, at a subsequent hearing on a fresh appeal filed by Dr. Cooper, a full Bench of the Supreme Court issued a limited stay of operation of two sections of the Act. *Rule Nisi* was issued to the Union Government to show cause why the Act should not be quashed as prayed for.

It would be curious and worthwhile to know that among the various supporters of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was the Soviet Party's organ *Pravda* which characterised Mrs. Gandhi's act as "a bold and timely step."

Mr. D. N. Patodia, Swatantra M.P. and President of the All India Bank Depositors Association, in a statement issued in Delhi declared that the Government has resorted to bank nationalisation not in response to any economic necessity but to satisfy "the political ego built on the edifice of a distorted sense of socialism." It was Mr. Patodia's fear that the banking sector would function like any other state monopoly with all its

attendant evils and as a result of the take-over the depositors and the borrowers would be completely "at the mercy and dictates of the State."

That Mr. Masani's and other leading members' earlier warning of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's marching towards imposing dictatorship in the country has been proved by the subsequent events. This aspect is dealt with elsewhere in this issue.

Image of Free Enterprise in India

"It is difficult to say who is doing a worse job of the two—the politician or the businessman", observed Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P., in the course of an address on July 3, 1969, to the Bombay Junior Chamber.

Mr. Masani said that communications between Business and politicians were today in a deplorable condition. Not only was there no dialogue worth the name, but the two sides were constantly talking at cross purposes. This was unfortunate because a better understanding between the two was important if sound economic policies were to be arrived at in place of current ones. Neither side was in a position to cast a stone at the other because politicians had now come to share, in the eyes of the common man, the ill repute so far reserved for the businessman. While the politicians, India's "New Class", to use Mr. Djilas' expression, were busy trying to oust members of the old Establishment from positions of economic vantage, business as a whole had adopted an ambivalent attitude of grumbling on the one hand and making

a "quick rupee" out of permits and licences on the other.

Today, the Joint Stock Company or Corporation had become a full-fledged citizen and had come a long way from the time when Sir Edward Coke had said that "corporations have no soul". "Public Opinion in India today demands that they do", said Mr. Masani, "and enlightened self-interest, though good, is not enough. The social obligations of Business have to be faced and accepted." What was needed was a movement to educate Managers and businessmen on the role of the Corporations and their own role as citizens as also the techniques of participation in public life. Business in India could learn from the movement in the U.S. which was known as the "Business in Politics" movement. The establishment of the Leslie Sawhney Programme of Training for Democracy was only one of the many forms through which expression could be given to such awareness.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi

M. R. MASANI

"The continuance in office of the present Prime Minister is, in the context of the Communist threat to India's unity and democratic way of life, a bad security risk", declared Mr. Masani at a meeting of the Mid-Town Rotary Club, Bombay, on July 16, 1969.

Continuing, Mr. Masani observed, "if things are allowed to continue as at present the country may before long be faced with four Communist parties, the most dangerous being the party of crypto-Communists led by Mrs. Gandhi and her 'kitchen cabinet'."

It was in this context, said Mr. Masani, that democratic opposition parties should determine their attitude to the current presidential election in India. The country needed a strong and independent President. He was clear that no democratic opposition party could possibly take a stand that would help the Prime

Minister in her machinations or could support the candidate whose candidature has been endorsed by the Communist party of India and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon.

Internal Subversion

While there was no serious threat of a major military attack on India by Communist China, there was real danger of internal Communist subversion developing in course of time into a civil war situation which would make India another Vietnam. It was not an empty slogan that the Bengal Communists shout "Amro Nam Vietnam" (our name is Vietnam). Mr. Masani said that he had no doubt that Communists in Bengal and elsewhere were collecting arms and preparing guerilla bases and would, when the time comes, commence guerilla operations, culminating in the

establishment of the so-called "revolutionary Government" which would claim to be independent of the Indian Union.

The Government's Foreign Policy

Turning to the attitude of the Government at the Centre in the face of these threats to India's unity and democratic way of life, Mr. Masani said that not only was Mrs. Gandhi and her Government pursuing a foreign policy which was gradually reducing India to the status of a Soviet satellite but the Government was also tolerating Communist infiltration into key positions.

Presidential Election

Mrs. Gandhi was now trying, as was evident from her action to veto her own party's stance on the presidential election, to make herself a dictator. It was perhaps the first step towards forming a Congress-Communist United Front at the Centre. If this attempt was not defeated, she might in course of time develop into an Ajoy Mukherjee or a Sukarno.

Is Mrs. Gandhi a Dictator?

At another meeting of the Rotary Club, Delhi North, referring to Mrs. Gandhi's denial that she was a dictator or a Communist, Mr. Masani said that the "correct political categorisation of the Prime Minister would be to say that she is a fellow traveller of the Communists who was putting her feet in their company on the slippery path to dictatorship."

"Has any dictator ever admitted that he was one?" asked Mr. Masani. "Has not every dictator, including Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Nkrumah and Sukarno claimed to have the majority of the people behind them?"

The essence of dictatorship according to Mr. Masani was the attempt of undermining the institutions and processes of democracy such as the Constitution, Parliament, the judiciary, the free press, the rights of minorities, individual liberty and adequate discussion.

Mrs. Gandhi's actions during the last month, such as the attempt to dictate the choice of the President, the brutal manner of the dismissal of the Deputy Prime Minister, the cheating of Parliament of its right to a free and fair debate by bypassing it with an Ordinance issued on the eve of the Session by securing a rubber stamp of the retiring Vice-President, the attempt to face the Supreme Court with an accomplished fact on August 11th by rushing a bill for nationalisation of banks through the Parliament, her repeated attacks on the press for refusing to tow her line, her

misuse of All India Radio, the demagogic action of bringing out the mob on the streets of the Capital to intimidate law abiding citizens, were all symptoms of dictatorial trends.

Communist Infiltration

At home Mrs. Gandhi was facilitating Communist infiltration into key positions. Among recent appointments of well-known Communists was that of Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam as the Chairman of the Indian Airlines Corporation and the appointment of Mr. S. S. Dhavan, who had welcomed the Chinese Communist invasion of Tibet as an act of liberation that would bring "the benefits of civilization" to that backward country, as the Governor of West Bengal at a time when that State was ruled by a Communist-dominated Government.

"What was there to prevent Mr. Dhavan from welcoming the secession of West Bengal from the Indian Union and the entry of the Thoughts of Mao as something that would bring the 'benefits of civilization' to the unfortunate people of West Bengal?", Mr. Masani asked.

"Everyone is known by the company he or she keeps. Yesterday Mrs. Gandhi appeared on the public platform in the company of well-known Communists like Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Mr. K. D. Malaviya, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, and Mrs. Subadhra Joshi. Not one non-communist was on her platform. How else can she be described except as a fellow-traveller?" asked Mr. Masani.

R. C. COOPER

In a statement issued on 18th July, 1969, Dr. R. C. Cooper, Hon. Treasurer and acting General Secretary, Swatantra Party, said: "Mrs. Indira Gandhi is threatening to become a virtual dictator." He declared that the unceremonious manner in which Mr. Morarji Desai was deprived of his Finance Ministership need not surprise those who, for the last few months, have been warning the country about Mrs. Gandhi's Communist leanings.

"It is obvious that she is in a desperate hurry not because of any issue connected with policy but that she is perturbed over the coming together at Bangalore of the patriotic elements in her party."

He added that Mrs. Gandhi was trying to eliminate all her rivals so that she could lead a Government consisting entirely of members of her 'Kitchen Cabinet' and other fellow-travellers in the party as the first step before inviting the Communist parties to join her in a coalition.

National Executive Resolutions

Adopted on June 23, 1969

ON TELENGANA

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party condemns the irresponsible part played by Shri Brahmananda Reddy, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, in at first instigating and then provoking the Telengana agitation in the early stages.

The National Executive is satisfied that the situation is now wholly out of control so far as the Government of Andhra Pradesh is concerned. The Executive therefore demands that the Central Government should take immediate steps to restore law and order and ensure the safety of persons and property in Telengana, even by imposing the President's Rule if necessary.

The Central Government should then quickly explore all avenues for solving the problem of not only restoring the confidence of the people of Telengana in the Government of the State but also of bringing about harmony and good relations between all sections of the State and consider whether it is necessary for this purpose to constitute a separate Telengana State.

THE COMMUNIST MENACE

The Swatantra Party has always held the view that the Communist Parties, be they of the Left, Right or the Naxalites, should be outlawed. There is not much

to choose between these three Parties, except as regards their strategy and tactics, since all three of them have as their aim the destruction of Indian democracy and the imposition of one-party dictatorship as in the Soviet Union and China.

In this context the National Executive of the Swatantra Party views with deep anxiety the growing subversive activities of the Chinese Fifth column in India who go by the description 'Naxalites' and are now the self-styled Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). This new Party has openly proclaimed its aims as follows:

- (a) that armed struggle alone is the main form of struggle,
- (b) that the situation in India is ripe for revolution and that it will be the business of this new Party to make the Revolution, and
- (c) that unquestioning allegiance to the Communist Party of China will be the hallmark of this new Party.

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party therefore strongly condemns the inaction of the Union Home Ministry in regard to the subversive and violent activity of the Communists including the so-called Naxalites in various parts of the country and demands that these be put down with a strong hand.

Adopted on August 30, 1969

Statement on the Current Political Situation

During the past two months the country has passed through an acute crisis which already shows signs of recurring with renewed violence and which threatens the political stability and smooth functioning of our young democracy.

The crisis basically arises from the signal failure of the Second and Third Five Year Plans and the State Capitalist policies of the Congress Government. This has resulted in economic stagnation, inflation and a decline in the standards of living of the middle class and other under-privileged sections of the community. Faced with the failure of its basic policies, the Congress Party is going through internal convulsions which it is unable to overcome because it has not got the honesty to admit its mistakes and to turn away from the path of State Capitalism insidiously founded on "Permit Licence Quota Raj". The mischief is sought to be undone by larger and larger doses of the same

poisonous drug, e.g. the nationalisation of banks. The developments during the Presidential Election where the debate shifted from policies to persons were only a reflection of this basic crisis.

As far back as May 26, 1969, the Swatantra Party had, along with the Jan Sangh and the B.K.D., made an appeal to the Prime Minister and to the Congress Party not to make the Presidential Election a party matter. We had appealed for their cooperation in securing that no party should nominate any candidate and no whips should be issued. Unfortunately, this appeal of the three leading democratic opposition parties was ignored by the Prime Minister and the Congress leadership.

When the Congress Party decided to put up Mr. Sanjiva Reddy as its candidate and Mr. Giri declared that he was also a candidate in somewhat peculiar circumstances plainly suggesting that he was a candi-

date of the Prime Minister, the Swatantra Party had to decide its attitude. Our Central Parliamentary Board met in New Delhi on 20th July and after careful consideration came to the conclusion that the right course for the Party would be to put up a third candidate of such eminence as would make a President of the kind the country required. We were fortified in this view by the fact that the Jan Sangh and the B.K.D. were also of the same view. And we were fortunate enough to persuade Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, who has a distinguished record as an administrator, educationist and public man, to accept the nomination offered to him by our Party, the Jan Sangh and the B.K.D. It was good of Dr. Deshmukh to have accepted this nomination knowing the adverse balance of forces available in the election. For this public spirited act, the National Executive of the Party expresses its appreciation and offers him its sincere thanks.

The Central Parliamentary Board of the Party had then to consider to whom the Second Preference Votes of the Members should be given, since the election of the President was by the method of the single transferable vote, where the omission to exercise the Second Preference would amount to a waste of the 56,000 odd votes of the Party in case Dr. Deshmukh was eliminated from the contest. The Party was therefore faced with the unavoidable necessity to choose between Mr. Reddy and Mr. Giri. However, by that time it was clear that Mr. Giri had the open support of the Communist Parties and was also the Prime Minister's secret candidate and would act as a "Rubber Stamp" President if elected. His agreeing to give assent to the Ordinance to nationalise the banks on the evening of Saturday 19th July constituted, in our view, a breach of the Constitution in view of the fact that Parliament was meeting on the morning of Monday 21st July and in the absence of any circumstances to justify such action meanwhile. In the light of these considerations, the question of advancing our members to give their Second Preference Votes to Mr. Giri was ruled out. In view of this, the Central Parliamentary Board of the Party decided to advise its members to give their Second Preference votes to Mr. Reddy.

The National Executive has reviewed the result of the elections and in particular the pattern of voting. Undoubtedly the result of the election was decided by the Prime Minister and a large section of the Congress Party voting against their own candidate in the context of solid Communist and Leftist support for Mr. Giri. A relatively minor contributory factor was that a sizeable minority of those who cast their first preference votes for Mr. Deshmukh transferred their second preferences to Mr. Giri. But for this, Mr. Reddy would have been elected. Since the members of the Jan Sangh and the B. K. D. were also involved in this matter along with those of the Swatantra Party, it is, by and large, impossible to say in what proportion members of these parties contributed to the unfortunate result of the

election; but it is clear that the major debacle came from the B. K. D.

The past month unfortunately disclosed a signal Indian people. The Communists have now become a clear and present danger to the territorial integrity, democratic freedoms and the Constitution of the country; and the Swatantra Party has therefore called for the banning of all the three Communist Parties.

The National Executive is clear that, despite the efforts to confuse the public by loose talk of "left" and "right", which have become meaningless terms, the real choice before the country is between Liberal Democracy and Humanism on the one hand and Totalitarian Communism on the other. Within the ambit of democracy, there is ample room for protagonists of democratic socialism, the welfare society and competitive free enterprise. These are issues which can be settled by a democratic dialogue and a process of compromise; but what cannot be compromised is the right of the Indian people to go their own way, free from intervention by Moscow, Peking or elsewhere and their respective Fifth Columns in this country.

The Swatantra Party will therefore continue its efforts to build a broad based National Democratic maintain this independence which had made the Swatantra Party the leading and most effective Democratic Opposition Party in India unlike and most effective Democratic Opposition Party in India unlike the Communist and the Socialist Parties who have become the satellites of the Prime Minister.

The Swatantra Party has since its inception recognised Communism as the "Public Enemy No. 1" of the

The Swatantra Party has always looked upon the removal of the Congress Government at the Centre as the primary need of the day, since there was no prospect of any change in basic policies without such a change of Government. For several years now, the Swatantra Party has refused to be drawn into the faction fights within the Congress. The quarrels between the two factions have evoked on our part the response: "a plague on both your Houses". The National Executive is confident that the Party will Frant in which democratic socialists, liberals and conservatives, whatever their present party labels, may be able to come together in order that the threat of Communist subversion, already obvious in Bengal, Kerala and elsewhere, may be repelled and our country may pursue the path of ordered progress resulting in a richer and better life for its people.

The National Executive enjoins the members of the Party to rededicate themselves to this task, whatever the odds, believing as it does that the patriotism and intelligence of the Indian people will triumph over the dark forces of envy, class hatred and Communist disruption.

Law and Order Situation in West Bengal and Kerala

The National Executive takes notes of the collapse of law and order and the security of the citizen in

West Bengal and Kerala and the further deterioration in the climate of intimidation and terror that is being created by those in office in those States involving the demoralisation of the civilian administration and the police force. Those who dominate the Governments in both these States have made it perfectly clear that it is an inherent part of the doctrine and policy of their parties to subvert and destroy the Constitution.

The Executive has watched with amazement the continuing inability to take any action and the passivity in the face of this situation which is being displayed by the Congress Government in Delhi.

The Executive condemns this abdication of the functions of the President and the Union Government and calls on them to take appropriate steps and to liberate the people from the oppression to which they are being subjected.

The Executive warns that any further failure to deal with this situation in the firm and determined manner that is called for would create such conditions that later it would be impossible to bring the situation under control without large-scale bloodshed and loss of life and without imperilling the unity of the Country.

Law and Order Situation in Orissa

In the States where they are in office, the Congress Party loudly complains that Parties in the Opposition are, by their agitational approach and by invoking Bundhs and Gheraos, creating serious problems of law and order. Elsewhere, as in Bengal and Kerala, the Congress Party has been decrying the state of lawlessness encouraged by the Governments themselves in these two States. But, at the same time, the Congress Party in the company of the Communists and certain other misguided opposition groups are sedulously promoting a breakdown of law and order in Orissa which hitherto has enjoyed peaceful conditions due largely to the stability of the Swatantra-led Government in that State.

The increasing tempo of violence deliberately unleashed by such agitations under the direct guidance of the leaders of the Congress Party has inevitably led to arson, looting and finally police firing to maintain law and order particularly in Cuttack. When the State Government decided to set up a Commission of Enquiry consisting of a High Court Judge to enquire into the disturbances at Cuttack which led to firing by police, this was not acceptable to the Congress Party which provided further pretexts for continuing their agitation by making further demands, which, if permitted would have made a mockery of the law and order machinery.

While the tactics of the Congress Party and its misguided allies can be understood as being those of Parties which had failed in their attempts to topple the Government in the Assembly, what must cause grave concern is the role of the Bhoodan organisation

in Orissa and of Mr. Nabakrushna Choudhary, the Sarvodaya leaders in particular. Mr. Choudhary had in his capacity as Chairman of the Left United Front actually given his blessings to the agitational movement and advocated close cooperation between Bhoodan workers and the Naxalites.

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party firmly supports the Government of Orissa in its efforts to maintain law and order the people of the State a clean administration and a stable Government. In this connection the National Executive particularly deplores the role played by certain opposition parties in associating with the efforts being made by the Congress Party to resurrect itself in a State where it has been totally discredited. The National Executives also appeals to the Akhil Bharatiya Sarva Seva Sangh, and in particular to Acharya Vinoba Bhave and Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan to persuade their organisation and workers in Orissa to desist from their agitational approach.

On Growing Communist Infiltration

The Swatantra Party views with serious concern the growing infiltration of Communists and fellow travellers into key positions in the public institutions of the country eg., the recent appointment of Mr. S. S. Dhawan as the Governor of the Indian Air Lines Corporation and the Government Director on the Board of Bennett Coleman, the printers and publishers of the Times of India, other important daily newspapers and journals.

On Freedom of the Press

The Swatantra Party is greatly disturbed by the continuous adverse comments and pronouncements of the Prime Minister and the Minister for Information and Broadcasting regarding the role of the Press. It is obvious that the freedom of the Press which has sustained throughout the last twenty-two years since Independence is in danger.

Soon after becoming Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi justified curbs on the Press on the plea of ours being a backward country. She has continued this thinking for the last three years. It is equally obvious that every effort is being made to use All India Radio to project the image only of the Prime Minister and the ruling party. More than ever before, it fails to qualify as an independent channel of communication.

The Swatantra Party urges the people of India to be vigilant and extend their utmost support to preserve the freedom of the Press without which the country would very soon be in the grip of dictatorship.

Resolution on Sardar Pheruman's Indefinite Fast

This meeting of the National Executive expresses its concern over the condition of Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman who is on an indefinite fast and appeals to the Government of India and the State

Governments concerned to do whatever is possible to save his life.

Flood Havoc in Bihar and Other Parts of India

The heavy floods in the rivers Ganga, Kosi and some others have inundated large tracts of land especially in North Bihar. The havoc caused has been extensive and standing crops have been washed away. The misery of the people living in the flood stricken areas needs to be alleviated by emergency measures. But so far the Government's relief measures have been totally inadequate; and such little help as has been forthcoming has been caught in a lot of bureaucratic red tape.

The National Executive of the Swatantra Party expresses its deep sympathy for the grief stricken people and calls upon the Government at the Centre and the State administration to give highest priority to relief measures. Kisans who have suffered damage to crops and houses should be given immediate assistance and relief works started.

Large areas in other States of the country as for instance Assam, have also suffered severely on account of floods. There too, the National Executive of the Swatantra Party would urge strongly upon the authorities, Central as well as State, to take speedy and effective relief measures.

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