

H. P. NANDA

12, JOR BAGH, NEW DELHI-3
PHONES: 611557-611670

6th June, 1967.

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Speeches & articles
[Signature]

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NO.

Mr. S.V. Raju,
Swatantra Party,
Central Office,
Sasson Building,
143, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
BOMBAY-1.

Dear Sir,

Under instructions of Mr. H.P. Nanda, I am attaching a copy of the speech delivered by him on the occasion of the 8th Anniversary Celebrations of the Swatantra Party on 4th June, 1967 at New Delhi. This is being sent to you for information of the Central Office and its records.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

Anwar Singh
Anwar Singh

Encl: As above:
VAC*

SWATANTRA IN THE FUTURE

Achievements & Aspirations

by H.P. Nanda

(being the text of a speech delivered by Shri H.P. Nanda on the occasion of the 8th Anniversary Celebrations of the Swatantra Party on Sunday, June 4th, 1967, at Sapru House, New Delhi).

On this auspicious occasion, which marks the eighth anniversary celebrations of Swatantra Party's birth, I rise to say a few words with a feeling of hesitancy and humility. I feel thus, because not it is an occasion of great solemnity and significance, but also because we have in our midst many stalwarts and men of eminence who by their devotion have made Swatantra a great party, truly dedicated to the service of men and women of this great country of ours.

Such like anniversary celebrations, in my humble opinion, if these are not to be occasions for sentimental sing-songs, are unique opportunities for introspection and a stock-taking. And before I say anything about the "theme subject" of this anniversary celebrations, which is the "SWATANTRA IN THE FUTURE", I'd like to, with Prof. Ranga's permission, take you back to the days of the birth of our party eight years ago. It is necessary to do so for a fuller comprehension of the "future" and what Swatantra hopes and aspires to do in the months and years to come.

Deeply distressed and exasperated with the Congress party's incompetence and failures, the leader of our party, Respected Rajaji, gave articulate expression to the then widespread and inarticulate national protest against the jingoism of socialist slogans and thus laid the foundations of a mighty movement. At the beginning we were called names and even ridiculed. We were described as reactionaries and a party of the "rich" and "money bags". These were the days, when a sort of hypnosis induced by high sounding catchwords and the mirage of gigantic plans, was dragging the country

towards a veiled sort of totalitarianism. Nehru's personal magnetism and so called charisma had benumbed so many for so long. Not many had the will to think for themselves.

It was in this atmosphere, when socialism of congress brand had come to mean so many things to so many congressmen, whose main desire was to cling to power, that Rajaji felt the necessity of giving a real big jolt to the steam roller methods of congress leadership by formally launching SWATANTRA PARTY. That was eight years ago. And eight years is not a long time in the history of newly formed political parties especially when it is realized that ^{that} at time the Congress party had been in existence for over seventy years. And for over ten years it had ruled the country, with its steam-roller majority.

It is given to few men, anywhere in the world, to make such an impact, on so many, in such a short time, as has been done by SWATANTRA'S founder leader, respected Rajaji. It is because of his indomitable courage that the revolt against the inroads of Statism masquerading as a Welfare State has moved from victory to victory. The story of the Swatantra during the last eight years has been a saga of country's courageous return to sanity, to path of Dharma, and to our national traditions in the true Gandhian spirit and principles. And for all this, and for much more that he has given us during these years, to-day when we celebrate the eight birth anniversary of our party, we should bow our heads in respectful homage to this great "savant" of our age.

With the birth of Swatantra, which was not meant to be and is not a party in the narrow sense, but a movement for freedom, India entered a new epoch. Swatantra programmes have since then ^{clarified many ideological} confusions. As has been proved during the last general elections, people of India are no longer hypnotised by the ideology-peddling of the Congress Party's ruling junta.

Deeply felt hopes and fears of a people were given expression to at the polling booths not many months ago. The Congress Party though still occupying the treasury benches at Delhi was badly mauled and badly shaken. In some of the States Congress Party was completely routed. For the first time, in Post-Independence India, millions who for long had remained under the hypnotic spell of the Congress and suffered because of its misguided actions, cast their vote against its fatally wrong policies, against the suffocating licence-permit raj and mis-adventures in the field of our foreign relations.

But the winning of Elections by itself is not the end all of Swatantra programmes. Swatantra ideology was meant to provide the people with a mission, a mission for economic and political emancipation, and to protect individual liberty against inroads of Statism much of and State compulsion. That task still lies ahead of us. Our onward march on our chosen path during these eight years, measured by any yard stick or judged by any standards, has progressed satisfactorily. By Swatantra's steady educative programmes, the Congress hypnotised masses have begun to realize that freedom from foreign bondage and independence, unless it gives any meaning to our existence as human beings, is no freedom. And yet, in spite of the shake down it got at the polls, the Congress Party, by and large, has refused to learn anything from its poll reverses or the people's verdict against it. It still persists in its perverted thinking. It is still propagating irrelevancies. It is still suggesting quack remedies for the nation's many ills, and the calamitous state to which we have been driven during the 18 years of mis-rule and mis-governance of the Congress Party. The Working Committee of the Congress, which is more or less the same as the ruling Junta at Delhi, in a series of resolutions it recently passed, has talked of social control over banks, nationalization of general insurance, State take over of export-import trade and much more.

Contd....4.

By these utopian measures, so we are assured, the country's economy will be firmly set on the road to prosperity.

The post independence years have disclosed that the pursuits the Congress Party has preached us to follow are no more than alluring shadows. And their deeds are not of the stuff that abides. About that there are no two opinions, except among the self-seeking followers of the Congress Party. Let us briefly ask WHAT ARE THE RESULTS OF THE EIGHTEEN YEARS MISRULE AND MIS-GOVERNANCE OF THE CONGRESS PARTY? To put it mildly, the current economic situation is alarming in every respect. Industrial production seems to be coming to a grinding halt. A virtual recession stares us in the face. The price spiral does not seem to be coming to a stop anywhere. The stock exchange is extremely depressed and it is impossible to raise money for any new enterprise however attractive it may be. There is an all round retardation of growth. All plans and targets have remained only on paper..... The food position is worse than precarious. Even after so many years of independence we have still to import food for feeding the millions because Government will not allow introduction of any rational measures in farming policies or let enterprising joint stock companies enter the field of agriculture or food farming. And as a saying goes, Nero's fiddle while Rome burns ! The administration is paralysed. Its minions have lost all sense of urgency. No one occupying seats of power has any sense of dangers ahead. And while files, as usual, move at their slow snails pace, the production suffers and economy stagnates. And to top it all, the GHERAOS menace is making life and existence unbearable and impossible.

It is a gloomy and dismal picture.....

In the midst of it all what is our duty? What can Swatantra do or should do to stem the rot?

Whatever else we may suggest or do, one thing is quite clear. There will be neither any progress nor any prosperity as long as the Congress party remains in power. Even in its defeat and debacle it has learnt no lesson. Its humiliation at the hands of the electorate has not made it change any of its misconceived policies as is evident from a spate of wordy resolutions recently passed by the Party Working Committee. So, the Swatantra's first and foremost task, during the months that lie ahead of us, is to compel the Congress Party to vacate office. This is the first priority for us. It is so because the ruling party is not only still persisting in its utopian day dreams, but is now drawing many red-herrings across our path. Neither social control of banks nor nationalization of general insurance or even the taking away of privy purses from the rulers will solve any of our ills. These are mere "distractions". These quack remedies are being prescribed to distract the people from reality. Congress Party's ten point programme of futility decided upon by the Congress Working Committee, as ably described by Shri K. Santhanam in a recent article, is such an amazing piece that it deserves a prominent place in a modern version of Pickwick Papers ! Not one of the points, as Shri Santhanam had ably put it, has any relevance to the difficult economic and political problems facing the country today. So far as the participants in the deliberations were concerned, the problem of prices, inflation and scarcity did not exist. Nor did they care to reflect on the readjustment of Centre-State financial and political relations. Inter-state border disputes, Nagaland, Chandigarh, and Sheikh Abdullah were considered to be issues beneath their notice. Perhaps the most charitable interpretation can be that the august members of the Working Committee had no useful ideas to contribute on all these matters and felt it wise to leave the Central and State Governments to deal with all these problems as best as they can.....

..... Such restraint would have been commendable if they had not pompously put forth proposals which are either impracticable or harmful and which can only embarrass the Government. ..

And so, for these and other similar reasons, as I have said before, our first and foremost task is to save the country from the Congress and make it vacate office lest it does more damage. But that won't be enough!

As the largest Opposition Party in Parliament today, we have the prospect of being a part of a democratic coalition Government. Sooner or later that responsibility is sure to fall on our shoulders. The verdict of the voters in the last General elections was indicative of it. It was clear and categorical.

Sir, I request our party to start a nation wide movement through thousands of organized, disciplined and dedicated work force as "FRIENDS OF THE FARMER" OR "SHANTI-DAL FOR KISAN". This movement should timely arrange availability of agricultural-inputs to the farmers through volunteers and Swatantra workers - at fair and low prices. Similarly this movement should bring about social and community by-cots for those who indulge in hoarding or extract high prices of food grains.

Emphasis of the movement is to reach the agricultural inputs at low costs that bring down the food prices for common man. Recession in industrial goods, and our economyⁱⁿ general cannot show any improvement unless food and prices of other common-man's essential commodities are brought down to a reasonable level. We have to bear that in mind always. The picture of our country we see before our eyes today is grim and sombre. Millions look up to our party to give a direction to our agricultural policies and Industrial production. As Rajaji recently told us, the obstinacy of the ruling party as well as its lame continuance in office give the needed time to parties who do not believe in Statism but who believe in social justice and the need to do everything to uplift the poor, and who stand for advance in industrial and agricultural production, to re-examine their respective

attitudes and forge a sane national policy and undertake responsibility on that basis. I am confident that other parties of like-minded people will heed this appeal of our Leader and make necessary adjustments in their respective attitudes, and thus ensure the speedy exit of the Congress Party from power and the setting up of a truly democratic coalition Government.

Swatantra members of Parliament must strongly oppose the proposal of Finance Minister to cut-out 50 crores subsidy on fertilizers to the farmers. As a matter of fact another fifty crores should be provided to subsidise agricultural inputs to the farmers in shape of pest-controls, proper and timely storage, irrigation pumps, tractors, implements etc. This can be done without burdening the tax-payer.

The only way to abiding prosperity and to the fulfilment of Swatantra's dreams and its cherished goals is in the service of the Motherland, through the Swatantra Principles. Let us therefore move forward towards that goal, with strong and active faith in our principles. That future becons to us..... the future free-from soul killing Statism of the Licence-permit controls. The power hungry pigmies of the present day ruling party will cling to power because the lure of power is too great to resist. On the other hand a future of abiding prosperity is only possible by Swatantra way. Eight years ago we had made a tryst with this future, when in independent India all men's minds will be free. We have to keep that tryst. Swatantra in the future can have no other meaning for us or for the people of this great land of ours.

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VKC*