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Chateau de Lou
Mangalore
July 9th 1974

To

The General Secretary
Swatantra Party
143 Mahatma Gandhi Road
Bombay-I

Dear Sir,

I request the following resolution may be placed before the National Convention of the Party on Aug 4&5

That my draft below for a National Executive ^{Alternative} be accepted

and the draft of Shri Pileo Modi be rejected for the following reasons

- (i) Proposals listed as (1)(2)(3)(15)(16)(17)(20)(21)(22)(25)(26)(28)(29) are not Alternatives but paraphrases of existing policies of the Government
- (2) Proposals (23)(24)(30) are expectations of the people developing in particular directions
- (3) Proposal (4) for removing corruption among politicians cannot be achieved by automatic legal notice. Actually the Lokpal and Lokayat Acts protract and complicate procedures and take the wind out of complaints. It will be easier to declare ministers to be "public servants" subject to the ordinary criminal law. Otherwise the quality of ministers must be changed through electoral reform
- Proposal (5)
- (4) Independent audit of expenditure of candidates and parties on elections may be more purposeful than audit of party accounts
- (5) Proposals for electoral reform are not complete if Corrupt Practices are not placed under the jurisdiction of magistrates and loopholes for the use of money are not eliminated
- (6) Proposals (7) and (9) are in conflict as civil resistance, strikes, bands bring the law into contempt
- (6) Proposal (8) to circumscribe conversions contravene Fundamental Rights and have held to be invalid by the Orissa High Court. The proposal will convince minorities that Mrs Gandhi is their only protector

(7) Proposal (10) should aim at making the Governor's report less subjective like consultation with the Chief Justice. If ~~the~~^{my} proposal is accepted that cabinets should be elected like other legislative committees by the whole body of legislators for the whole term of representation, no question of President's rule to favour the ruling party arises. Similarly Central Planning cannot be avoided when Central Funds are involved and co-ordination is required in the interests of the whole State

(8) Proposal (11) apart from the typographical error in respect of Art. 263, the Commissions appointed by the President's have only recommendatory functions, unless they are appointed for the purposes of Art 3 and 262, which will require amendment of the Constitution

(9) Proposal (12) for greater autonomy for local bodies ignores that their record is the worst possible as they do not raise their own funds but spend what is given by government. Any autonomy must be related to raising their own resources

(10) Reform of the Judiciary does not even include the simple proposal that the executive should have no powers, the President only considering the recommendations of the Supreme and High Courts, which could be based on proposals made by the bar

Proposal (14)

(11) An economy based "overwhelmingly on self employment" can only be primitive one. It would be better to have an economy which maximises production for the benefit first of consumers and subsidiarily of others, big or small

(12) Proposal (18) that no farmer will be allowed to lease land will bind his generations to agriculture, which is unfair as other classes are free to change and improve their avocations

(13) Proposal (26) Regional language medium for universities has stilted education and has been given up by Tamilnadu after trial. Hindi cannot replace English as it is the language, according to the latest census of only 133 millions

(14) Reservations of 20% for Harijans and 25% for Backward classes have no reference to their actual percentages in the field of appointment when it is of the State or district. It is better to implement Art 16(4) for appointment of those who are below ^{line} the poverty in the percentages of their communities, which are specified in the census of 1951 and can be specified in future census. Otherwise unless Art 16 is ^{ad} respect, there will be writs, as in the past on the communal G.O.

A NATIONAL ALTERNATIVE

The National Convention of the Swatantra Party will meet at Delhi on August 4 & 5 to consider a draft prepared by Shri Piloo Modi, at the instance of other parties wanting to merge on a National Alternative. The basis for this National Alternative should be, first that while it will attract voters, it must serve the interests of the whole country, which is the only enduring basis for a party, second, it should indicate crucial alternatives, leaving the consequential ones for elaboration, when in power and third that these alternatives must arise from the unsolved problems facing the country. These alternatives are

(1) A system of election of representatives and ministers, which while respecting adult franchise secures the highest intelligence, independence and diligence for the most crucial but complicated task of governing a continent. (i) Since education is a general test, our only test of intelligence and diligence, it must be the primary qualification for representatives, who should be graduates for candidature to Parliament, Assemblies and local bodies, matriculates for panchayats and first or second class graduates for ministers and Presidents. In order to facilitate passage of legislation for this, existing legislators may be exempted from this qualification, (ii) The Cabinet will be elected by all representatives, as all committees of legislatures are elected, for the full period of representation, subject to removal of a minister by a majority of two thirds. Those elected will between them elect the Prime Minister and the ministers of each portfolio. This system has worked efficiently in local bodies and while assuring continuity, ends the worst aspects of the Party System. It also overcomes the anomaly that government is of a party majority, with a minority of the total votes. (iii) Three

months before the General Election, the ministers will vacate office (iv) Use of Money Power in elections may be reduced by (a) Jurisdiction to First Class magistrate to hear complaints by candidates or voters on each of the seven Corrupt Practices. At present, jurisdiction is restricted only to Election Tribunals and that too with only power to disqualify the successful candidate (b) That both giver and taker may be clarified to be guilty of breaches of the law of Corrupt Practices (c) That *bona fide* expenditure on volunteers be restricted to Rs. 1,000 for Assembly Constituencies (d) That identification slips or preferably discs may be issued to all voters which would eliminate the expenditure and exposure through private identity slips and election booths (e) That election expenses of candidates and parties may be subject to a certified auditor's check, the expense of the party being added to that of the candidate appropriately.

(2) The next most important problem is the development of agriculture and of the rural population, which has been exploited by industrial, administrative and other urban interests. The New Party could win the interest of 80 % of the population if it calls itself "RURAL OR DEHATI PARTY". To substantiate this, the Party commits itself to (i) to take up, by suspending all other Plan expenditure, schemes for irrigation and power which are ready and can be prepared for full utilisation of the potentials available. (ii) to freeze current rent and revenue subject to a surcharge on the previous year's index of grain prices (iii) to make tenancies transferable which will by one stroke enrich all tenants and give security for their loans (iv) to supply to small agriculturists all inputs including machinery and pumpsets at world prices by eliminating taxes and cost added by

bad management (v) to guarantee an economic price for grain, with levy at these prices only at bottle necks of trade and transport and on hoarders (vi) to satisfy land hunger by reclamation of waste and barren land and fallows which add up to 47 % of the cultivated area (vii) to make bank loans available up to 75 % of the cost of houses, agricultural improvements including irrigation (viii) to generally raise the standard of civic services in villages to those of urban areas, to create employment and arrest the drift to towns.

(3) Employment is a serious problem, expressing itself through student unrest. This must begin with (i) a national wage structure, for new entrants starting from a minimum wage for unskilled and agriculture labour, with additions for education, hardship, locality. Both in public and private sectors salary scales can be fixed with reference to educational qualifications. Thereafter, the salary increases may be related first to performance, work loads being fixed both in offices and enterprises and second to examinations to be periodically held for selection grades and promotions out of turn (ii) Right of employment to begin with for one member in each family without regular employment and thereafter to all, the Five Year Plans being accordingly based. This would take care of efficiency and integrity, on one hand and increased production and purchasing power, on the other. To further check corruption, it should be an offence not only for the taker but the giver. Ministers and others holding office should be declared public servants, subject to the Penal Code, without requiring any permission for prosecution from government.

(4) Enough has been done by government for industry, trade and banking, the further expansion of which could be left to the private sector. The problem of under utilisation of

capacity can be met first by incentive payments to workers, second by tax cut backs on utilisation of capacity idle for more than two years and third by economic prices determined by the Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices with which the Tariff Commission can be merged. The enforcement of these prices where they are substantially exceeded could be by levy at invoiced prices, for sale in the public distribution system. The S.T.C. and M.M.Tc, guilty of the worst profiteering should have their prices costed by independent authorities.

(5) State Road Transport having failed everywhere should be replaced by auction of routes for a sufficient period and subject to enforcement of standards of services. A portion of the auction money should be reserved for use on the roads in addition to what the owners will themselves spend in the interest of their vehicles. Railway service should be improved by incentives while ticketless travel can be checked by reducing entrances to stations and yards, and guarding them by the Railway Protection Police.

(6) Education should be improved by (i) Reduction of drop outs, up to 70% by enforcing the law of compulsion on those enrolled till they pass the final lower primary examination (ii) by entry to higher sections on the priority of their examination marks, which may eliminate idlers who create unrest (iii) by making education a preferential qualification for all employment, even in Class IV. Its preference

for political purposes also may act as another incentive to those who do not take it seriously now (iv) by making teacher's salary appropriate in the national wage structure so that better talents are attracted to teaching.

These six broad alternatives will have the sensation of change. I am proposing them to the National Convention of the Swatantra Party. It

must make its merger with other parties conditional on the acceptance of those alternatives, which they may do as they must realise that without the rural vote and electoral reforms, they have no future. If they do not accept, the Swatantra Party should go alone with this National Alternative and expect its appeal to give it power of government.

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SONNET: GOING HOME

By Louella Lobo Prabhu

Across the void, your hand reached out to me.
 Forever, I am marked, Almighty God.
 Far, far away from you, I tried to flee.
 Your hand, I feared, would hear a dreaded rod.
 Whose shadow on my life would darkly fall,
 And make of Youth and Love, and endless night,
 I heard the Sirens, lure me with their call,
 Succumbed, and once again, began my flight.
 When hope grows dim, and time has swiftly sped;
 When mirage-like, the quest of Joy proves vain;
 And when I muse, how soon I may be dead;
 With contrite heart I turn to you again,
 The world, I now, no longer seek to roam;
 Reach out, your hand, once more, and take me home.

Punches

Steep rise in car prices. These prices give us another one world record in industry as those of wheat are giving in agriculture.

Shinde says there is enough food. The only task for government is to increase prices.

Japan's wage policy based on proficiency. Ours is based on politics.

Garbage turned into energy. Results are better, when Trade Unions are included.

Karnataka Government will coax clouds in catchment areas. Ministers under clouds will be main draw.



IN SIGHT: 6 Savings Schemes from Bank of Baroda

Choose the one that profits you most!

SAVINGS ACCOUNT. MINORS' SAVINGS
 ACCOUNT. FIXED DEPOSIT ACCOUNT.
 RECURRING DEPOSIT ACCOUNT. MONTHLY
 INCOME PLAN. FESTIVAL DEPOSIT PLAN.

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