

C. S. T. No. 2181
dt. 26-11-50
M. G. S. T. No. 22313
dt. 1-4-70
Drug Licence No.
Form 20-B 671/M
Form 21-B 523/M

V. S. SRIKUMAR

Importer & Wholesaler of all kinds of Chemicals,
Laboratory Reagents & Acids,

Sole Agent for Southern Region : M/s. Dolder Ltd., Switzerland.

M/s. Ruhr Chemicals, Bombay-14.

M/s. Gujarat Pharmaceutical & Chemical Works, Ahmedabad-16.

495-A, MINT STREET :: MADRAS-600003.

Telephone :
Office : 33786
Resi : 664157

Dt. 3rd June 1974.

Sri M.R. Masani,
148, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay - 1.

Dear Sir,

Perhaps by this time you are aware of the resolution adopted by the Tamilnadu General Council at its meeting held at Madras.

In this connection, I wish to furnish you with a clear and correct picture of the views of the workers of the Tamilnadu as demonstrated by the proceedings and the discussions on the formation of new party by the merger of the 7 parties.

About 100 members including special invitees like the Constituency Committees' Presidents and Secretaries were present. Since I did not see the register on which the signatures were taken, I am not in a position to give the exact figure. About 39 members spoke on the resolution out of which 34 opposed the merger of the Swatantra Party very strongly with any other Party or parties. The other 5 who supported it with the qualification that Swatantra Party's principles should find a place in the set of principles of the new party and that the programme of Swatantra Party also should be incorporated in the new Party's programme.

It is my considered opinion that atleast 80% of the Swatantra Party workers and Party Units oppose the dissolution of the Swatantra Party and its merger. Of the remaining 20%, ten per cent will be undecided

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and the balance of 10% may be said to be in favour of merger. Even these people are much attached the Party's principles and would like to incorporate our Party's principles in the new party's principles.

For your ready reference, I enclose herewith a copy of resolution that had given notice of and gist of the speech that I wanted to deliver at the General Council meeting but could not do for want of time. I have requested my friends at Madras to meet you at New Delhi in the evening of the 8th instant.

Thanking you and with my highest regards,

Yours truly,


(V. S. SRIKUMAR)

RESOLUTIONS GIVEN NOTICE OF BY SRI.V.S.SRIKUMAR.

RESOLUTION 1 :

This meeting of the Tamilnadu General Council having discussed the existing political and economic situation in this country feels strongly that specific polarisation of political elements on the basis of principles and programmes is an absolute necessity to clear the widespread confusion in the political field and the chaotic economic conditions. This committee reiterates the well-known fact that while most of the other political elements are wedded to socialism of one type or other, the Swatantra party alone has been propagating a set of principles and programme, which are totally opposed to state capitalism, the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat and concentration of all political and economic power in the hands of a few by whatever name the system may be called.

This meeting further affirms that it is absolutely necessary if real democracy with a parliamentary form of government based on equality of citizens before law and equal opportunities for all with freedom to citizens to develop themselves to the largest extent by their own efforts without being hampered by all sorts of ~~restrictions~~ restrictions imposed by holders of monopoly of power, that one of the national parties has to be formed on the basis of the Swatantra party's principles and programme with a few modifications if necessary. In order to create a really worthwhile and viable alternative to the ruling congress it would be necessary to make the Congress(0) and Jan Sangh join this grouping of political forces and since these two parties have already expressed their opposition to dissolution and total merger and since they may agree to a federal type of organisation the Tamilnadu General Council recommends the formation of a federal type of opposition to the ruling Congress on the basis of a common programme and with co-ordinating committees at the national and state levels and with a specific understanding that the elections will be fought under a single symbol and joint banner and that the members elected to the legislatures will function as one party though the political units to which they belong will function as separate entities outside the legislatures.

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In the opinion of this committee the arrangement suggested above will provide enough time and opportunities for leaders and workers of the various parties to understand each other better and to develop the spirit of cooperation and comradeship by working together to achieve common objects; and this may help the ultimate object of merger of the parties concerned. This will also provide for a safety valve and a door for retreat in case the arrangement did not work as expected.

It is the considered opinion of the Committee that a purely two party system of democracy could only be evolved gradually over a long period of time and any attempt to create a two party system now may not be practicable.

Resolution No.2:

This meeting of the General Council of the Tamilnadu Swatantra party notes with deep anguish the activities of certain self-styled groups purporting to have been formed for the protection of the tamilians in Tamilnadu itself and the systematic attempt that are being made to create hatred between different linguistic groups living in Tamilnadu for centuries in peace and good will and creating enmity between different regions of our great country and the consequent violence this propaganda has already caused. It requests the government of Tamilnadu to take prompt action to put down with a firm hand functioning of all private senas and organisations indulging in such activities and extend full protection to every citizen irrespective of their language or region from which they have come without caring for small political gains. In the opinion of this committee if prompt measures are not taken to restore public confidence and to re-establish the ^{fair} ~~fair~~ name of the Tamilians as a cosmopolitan and generous people and if these self-styled protectors of tamilians are allowed to carry on the nefarious activities there is every possibility of the vast number of tamilians living in other parts of India suffering at the hands of people

of these states where they are living as a result of the mood of retaliation which is bound to spring up due to the acts of a certain sections of unthinking people in Tamilnadu.

(V.S.Srinumar).

in the state, they may be willing to absorb other socialists if they are prepared to accept Congress's programme and leadership. The Jana Sangh is half socialist and half pragmatic but they have certain idiosyncracies. There are few other groups based on community or caste. Our party is the only party which has got a definite set of principles and programme that are diametrically opposed to those of the communists or the Congress(R). Congress (O) is also professing socialism though they are more pragmatic than the Congress (R). Conditions being what they are all parties or groups believing in ~~individual~~ ^{individual} freedom and true parliamentary democracy and if they are really opposed to communism or state capitalism or other radical brands of socialism have to join only our party.

Thus there is bound to be if at all polarisation takes place a minimum of three or four national parties in this country for many years to come. The two party system is impossible of achievement in the near future. Even Great Britain is now having three national parties. Hence achievement of a two party system in this country for which some of our leaders appear to be trying is a sheer impossibility.

Regarding the burning question about which everyone of us is so much exercised viz., the mooted dissolution and merger of our party with the other six parties or regional parties is concerned, we have to consider calmly and deeply the advantages and disadvantages of the proposed move and take a decision that will do the greatest possible good to the country and its people.

The country is certainly more important than the party or any leader. There is no difference of opinion regarding the existing highly unsatisfactory state of affairs in the political and economic field. The difference is only in respect of steps required to meet the situation. How the political confusion can be cleared by dissolving the only sensible political group having a clear cut programme and principles with a group of hotch-potch politicians? If other people realising the validity of our principles and programme want to join us, of course we can take them and give them every chance to prove themselves and their faith in our principles. But for the sake of satisfying the ego of a few politicians of questionable past is it necessary or desirable or will it be in the interest of the country to dissolve a national party founded by one of the greatest of intellectual giants and statesmen ever produced by mankind and the soundness of whose principles and programme have been demonstrated negatively in our country and positively in W.Germany, Japan and so many other smaller countries?

Any hasty decision to merge the party with small regional parties will be a great national loss because it will be very difficult to resurrect or ~~rebuild~~ ^{rebuild} the party again in case the proposed merger did not work. Hence it is very necessary to maintain our party organisation however weak it may be and the identity and the reputation of the party in tact so that at least in future when the leaders of the right type become available the party may become once again a great political force to be reckoned with.

The people who want a viable alternative may consider whether joining of the small parties and the merger of the Swatantra party will meet their requirement. My answer is an emphatic 'No' because the small parties which are willing to merge have ~~very~~ little influence and that too mostly in small pockets of one or two states. The proposed merger may add to the existing Swatantra party's strength in U.P., Orissa and to a lesser extent in Bihar. The influence of the small parties in Punjab, Hariyana or Delhi is definitely less than in U.P. or Bihar. As far as the remaining 16 states are concerned the six parties with whom our party is expected to merge have no organisation at all Nor the proposed merger will have any psychological effect on the masses or the intellectuals of this country for this reason that the leadership of the parties with whom Swatantra is to merge is suspect in the eyes of the discerning people. Excepting Mr. Balraj Mothak and to a lesser extent Dr. Ram Subag Singh the other leaders like Mr. Bijou Patnaik, Mr. Charan Singh and Mr. Raj Narain are generally considered to be opportunists, self-seekers and politicians without any firm attachments to principles or policies. By joining with people of this nature and by accepting them as leaders of the party and perhaps making them the president or Secretary of the new party will only help to lose what reputation the leaders of the Swatantra party have for integrity and honesty. The opponents of the new party viz. the Congress (R) and the communists will be able to dispose of the new party with one stroke of the brush. Hence the proposed merger with politically feeble elements and with leaders of doubtful reputation will damage the Swatantra party's reputation for clear thinking, honest working and dedication to the principles in the interests of the country. It will be a serious loss not only to demo-

V.S.SRIKUMAR.

495-A, Mint Street,
M a d r a s - 3,
31-- 5 -- 1 9 7 4.

Esteemed colleague/Respected Sir,

The Tamilnadu Council is meeting at a really critical time in the history of our party- a party which certainly has a glorious past and which we all thought will have a more glorious future.

The first item on the agenda for this meeting though couched differently, in my opinion implies, a discussion on the all important subject of merger of certain political parties and elements including the one to which we have the honour to belong and on any other feasible alternative to the proposed merger.

On this very important subject I crave your indulgence to share a few of my thoughts with you.

All said and done the elections that took place recently and which are likely to take place in the coming months have really made some of the political parties think about polarisation of political elements. It is argued that there is no possibility of ousting the Ruling Congress if the opposition parties did not join together and prevent division of votes which really favours the ruling Congress party. It is stated that the Indhira Congress secured a majority in U.P. by polling only 32 per cent of the votes cast. Though the opposition parties secured nearly 68% of the votes they were reduced to small minority groups since they fought the election independently. The Congress party has never secured majority of votes cast in any election all these 25 years excepting in one or two states and only once in Lok Sabha.

The Congress has been in power for the last 25 years on minority of votes. The absence of an effective opposition party to act as a check on the excesses of the ruling Congress and act as a threat to the monopoly of power made the Ruling Congress indulge in reckless adventure in pursuit of its half baked ideology.

The present unbearable sufferings of the people are a direct result of the wrong policies pursued by the Ruling Congress and if the people are to be saved from the sufferings an alternative party has to take over the government and reverse the wrong policies.

With its huge majority in the Lok Sabha the Ruling Congress has mutilated the constitution and made it practically its hand-maid. Corruption, nepotism and all sorts of vices are flourishing under the protective wings of the Congress party and the people are frustrated and are in a nasty mood since they do not see any relief from the misrule of Congress (R). This atmosphere creates conditions for a violent revolution or establishment of a dictatorship which should be prevented at all costs if democracy and the little freedom that is still left are to be saved.

There may be other arguments also for suggesting the dissolution and merger of the Swatantra party with others. I shall not exhaust them here but deal with them as and when they come.

I hope all of us are interested in preserving the freedom of the individual, freedom of the press, association and in restoring the constitution to its high pedestal. All of us are also interested in preserving the democratic institutions and the parliamentary form of government and fostering them if we can. All of us are aware that there are too many political parties in India and that we being a nation of individualists are inclined to act independently and not cooperatively. If real freedom and true parliamentary democracy is to flourish in this country I am of the firm opinion that the number of national political parties should be drastically reduced. These national parties have to be based on clear cut mutually distinguishable principles and programme and not based either on self-interest of individuals or political expediency only. In our country excepting the Swatantra all other parties excepting small groups here and there profess socialism of some sort. The three or four communist factions propagating their own brand of communism will not ~~dissolve~~ dissolve themselves for forming a democratic opposition to the ruling congress. At the most they may if their masters so desire join together and form a single monolithic communist party. As far as the ruling Congress is concerned wedded as they are to state capitalism, socialism and concentration of all power

democracy but also to the national interests.

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Why should a national party commit suicide for the sake of joining feeble and discredited political elements? If it is a question of merger with other national parties like the Congress (O) or the Jan Sangh perhaps it is worthwhile considering the issue and taking a favourable decision. Such a combination with a clear cut programme and principles will certainly be a formidable opposition and may dispel the Congress (R) in several states and perhaps in New Delhi also. Leaders interested in the welfare of the country should work hard towards this end and not solicit merger unthinkingly and throw away all the advantages they now have by joining some unworthy elements which may prevent the Congress (O) and Jan Sangh coming closer to us.

Considered from every point of view the proposed dissolution and merger with the small and feeble parties will be of great disadvantage to our party--perhaps to the country also.

Why not we help the small parties to merge themselves and form into one bigger party in the first instance keeping our party's identity in tact and then try for a federal set up which consists of Congress (O), Jan Sangh and Swatantra and the new party to be formed by the small six parties with a common programme and coordinating committees? Such an arrangement will give opportunities and time for the leaders and workers to work together on the basis of a minimum common programme and come to know each other better and if such working succeeds it may become easier to merge or merge all the parties at a later date. The leaders with doubtful record may in the meantime improve their image also by honest work and by their election to public causes and by restraining from seeking personal benefits.

Hence I submit my party's decision to dissolve the party and merge it with the feeble political elements headed by people of doubtful integrity will do great harm to democracy and to the interests of this nation. We may also be betraying the confidence of the great men who toiled day and night for more than 20 years for bring into existence and build up a truly freedom-loving peoples' party, viz., Swatantra.

RAJ SWAMINATHAN

V.S. SHIKUMAR