

**2nd October, 2018**

## **Draft Political Resolution passed by the First Meeting of the National Council of Swaraj India**

### **Our Responsibility in the Coming Elections, in the Face of the Crisis of our Republic**

This convention of Swaraj India's first elected National Council is taking place at a juncture in history where the future of our Republic is at stake. In this convention that is taking place exactly two years after the foundation of the party, we do not have the leisure to merely evaluate our own work and plan for the expansion of the party. In its infancy, our party is forced to confront nothing short of a historic crisis of the Indian republic. Faced with this challenge, our duty is clear: We must not think about the calculus of our own political gains or losses, we must not be constrained by the limits of our capabilities & resources, we must throw ourselves fully in facing this national crisis. We have gathered here today to determine our individual and collective role in this historic responsibility.

### **Crisis of the Republic**

Today, the Republic of India faces a threat. In seventy years of independence, our Republic has faced many a challenges. It has faced the birth pangs of partition, witnessed wars, seen the tragedy of famines, overcome Emergency, recovered from communal riots & massacres, and has emerged from many economic crises. But the threat that the nation faces today is altogether different. Today, the threat is not from the outside, but from the inside; today, the threat is not from the margins, but from the very forces that occupy centres of power. This crisis is not merely an unfortunate accident but the outcome of a deliberate design. Today, the Republic of India faces a threat, not to any one of its pillars, but to its each component, to its each constitutional idea of the Republic of India. Today the democratic system is being attacked; the ideal of secular India is being uprooted; and the idea of development for the last person is being relegated.

While this certainly is a deep crisis, but the immediate challenge is the forthcoming Lok Sabha election. This is not an ordinary election but an extraordinary challenge. The challenge is not merely that of transfer of power or merely about how to get rid of a party and its dictatorial leader, this challenge is way more deeper. In 2019, the Indian voters will wittingly or unwittingly decide the fate of this country as they had decided, knowingly or unknowingly, in 1977. A small mistake at this critical historic juncture could have immense consequences for the coming generations. The legacy of nationalism, democracy, and constitutional rule that we have inherited, thanks to the struggle of freedom fighters, could end up being destroyed. Sadly, this is a real possibility, the danger is alive. Those who are planning to dismantle the Republic are making designs for capturing and keeping power for the next fifty years. But those who are meant to take them on, have neither the courage, nor the conviction; neither the vision, nor a sense of direction; neither a policy nor a character. The Opposition is stuck in electoral calculus, oblivious to both the crisis that the country is facing as well as its own responsibility at the time of this crisis. On one hand, we face authoritarianism, and on the other hand, there is a spectre of instability.

In the course of history, every crisis is an opportunity and so is this national crisis - an opportunity to challenge the established routines of politics, to unsettle the given electoral equations, and to shatter the silence in public life. This is also an opportunity to recover the lost heritage of Indian nationalism, to revive democratic values & conventions, to reconstruct secular politics, and to give voice to marginal voices on economic policies. Converting this crisis into a possibility would lead us to politics free from corruption, economic revival, would address the aspirations of the last person, and help us in recovering national glory that is built upon social & cultural diversity. But the historic task of realising this possibility can be performed only by those who can look beyond their petty self interests and focus on long term national interest.

## **Swaraj India's Responsibility**

At this critical juncture, Swaraj India is faced with a major responsibility. Exactly two years ago, Swaraj India was established to fill in the expanding political vacuum and fulfil the dream of alternative politics. The resolution passed in the inaugural convention had clearly identified this aim: "At present, no political party exists in the country which can safeguard the ideals of India, preserve the dream of 'New India', and show the way forward for the country. Today, no political force in the country is willing to take a pledge to protect farmers, farming and villages from being destroyed. There's no political energy in the country which can extend the dream of Swaraj to the sections of society, that are condemned to live a life of slavery in an independent India. In such a situation, real Swaraj and '*desh dharma*' demand that to protect and build this country, a new political force is to be developed; a force that, through its interventions in electoral politics, can alter the character of power-politics in the country. We accept this challenge today by laying the foundations of Swaraj India."

## **Failures of Modi Government**

What the Modi government has achieved during its tenure is that it has increased the sense of insecurity among every group, every section of the society. Farmers are insecure as instead of their incomes being doubled, it is their problems that have been doubled. On one hand, they have suffered crop failures & droughts, while on the other, they are made to bear the brunt of government's ill conceived policies like demonetisation or its inability to contain the falling prices. Either the BJP has forgotten its promises to farmers or it has backtracked on them. All of the claims of farmers' welfare made by this government are either full of lies or half truths. Consider the promise of doubling the income of farmers, the truth is that for the last four years, farmers' income has now remained stagnant. Notwithstanding all the publicity, the agriculture budget has witnessed a cut. The promise of offering crop prices at one and a half times the cost of production has turned out to be another hollow one. Agriculture production has increased but the prices (for farmers) have not, agricultural exports have fallen, and rural wages are on a decline. Despite manipulating the statistics, 12,500 cases of farmer suicides are being registered every year. Modi government has proven to be the most anti-farmer government in the history of Independent India.

The youth is feeling insecure as employment opportunities have decreased during the reign of this government. While the youth was promised ten million jobs a year, what has actually happened is that inequality in education opportunities has actually worsened. Government jobs have been slashed, twenty-four lakh government posts are lying vacant, unemployment rate has increased to 16% among the graduates, demonetisation & economic slow-down in many sectors of the economy have led to a decrease in employment opportunities in the unorganised sector as well. Cases of rigging in competitive exams and corruption in opportunities for government jobs have erupted from all corners of the country. Government's efforts to safeguard SSC chairman and officers despite strong evidence of systemic corruption in SSC points towards political collusion in this.

Small businessmen are feeling insecure as their businesses are dwindling, economic growth has slowed down, the economy is yet to recover from the ill-conceived demonetisation, data from RBI has confirmed that no black money was discovered nor was any counterfeit currency seized. The manner in which GST was implemented has badly hurt the interests of small businessmen. On the other hand, the bulging crisis of NPAs which started during the tenure of the previous government has only deepened, the rupee is on a downward slide against the dollar, the fuel prices are steeply rising even when the crude oil prices in the international market are falling. Instead of passing on

the tax benefits to the consumer, they are being burdened with additional taxes and the earnings are being used to cover the fiscal deficit.

During the reign of the government which came to power on the slogan '*aur nahin naaree par vaar*', insecurity among women is on a constant rise and so are the reports of atrocities against women and children. News of nexus between those involved in such crimes and those occupying positions of power, has become a common affair. Instances of attacks direct and indirect attacks on Dalits have seen a steady increase. The Dalit society is feeling increasingly insecure because of the attempts at weakening the reservation system and the anti-atrocities law. Despite the claims of Swachhta Abhiyan, no attempt has been made to abolish the inhuman practices like manual scavenging. In many BJP ruled states, upper caste domination is being openly practiced. The attempts to weaken the hard earned forest rights along with watering down of environment protection laws have left the Adivasis insecure.

The sense of insecurity among religious minorities is unprecedented. In BJP ruled states, Muslims have been reduced to second class citizens. Violence is openly being incited against religious minorities, especially Muslims and the criminals involved are being encouraged and protected. Mob-lynching of Muslims in the name of cow-protection has become a common affair, in complete defiance of rule of law, common people are being killed in police encounters, Muslims are being discriminated against in compilation of NRC in Assam. For the first time in the history of the country, a law is being framed that defines India's citizenship on a religious basis, similar to what was propounded in the two-nation theory.

The whole nation is feeling insecure because despite the claims of surgical strikes, infiltration as well as terrorist attacks along the Pakistan border have increased two-fold while as the number of soldiers martyred in these attacks have increased three-fold. The situation in Kashmir valley has never been worse. The attempts at establishing peace have been ceased and the disenchantment among common people has reached a new level altogether. Naive foreign policy has weakened our position as well as disturbed our relationship with our neighbouring countries, Nepal and Bangladesh. While the clashes with Pakistan on one hand are continuing unabated, the government has proved to be weak in the face of China's aggression & domination.

If any one is feeling secure in the present regime, it is the corrupt and those who are looting the country. The government that came to power riding on the anti-corruption wave against the then incumbent Congress government, is today itself engaged in deep-rooted corruption as well as in protecting the corrupt. In four years of this government's regime, the government has diluted anti-corruption institutions and laws. Corrupt officials are being appointed in premier institutions & agencies while honest officers are being punished. Despite all the efforts of this government, stories of loot by the government favoured businessmen such as Birla Sahara Diaries, Raphael Scam, and those of Jay Shah & Adani are emerging unabated. As Bofors exemplified Congress's corruption, the Rafale deal today exemplifies BJP's corruption. Modi government's nexus with corporates has put at stake the national security. The fact that capitalists like Lalit Modi, Vijay Mallya, Nirav Modi and Mehul Choksi, were able to slip away from the country, after looting this country of billions, while the security agencies looked the other way, clearly proves government's collusion with such capitalists. Corruption in BJP-ruled states has surpassed even the levels of corruption that was prevalent in Congress ruled states. The nexus between corporates and government has been normalised. Interest of the last man along with the environment are being sacrificed to serve the interests of the corporates. There is mass disenchantment, not only with this government, but with politics in itself, after Narendra Modi stands exposed on his '*na khaunga, na khan dunga*' claim

## **Threat faced by Indian Democracy**

The crisis today is not just that virtually every section of the society is more insecure, that the ruling party has failed to live up to its promises, that all its claims have proven to be fake. The crisis is that the having pushed the whole country into insecurity, this regime is out to dismantle the basic structure of constitutional democracy so as to secure its own power. The BJP and its associated Sangh Parivar organisations along with central and most BJP ruled state government are attacking the very foundations of our republic. Every pillar of our democracy is under a brazen attack led by Narendra Modi and Amit Shah.

The autonomy of every democratic organ - parliament, administration, media, and judiciary is under grave threat. Parliamentary conventions and practices have been given a go bye. Rajya Sabha has been bypassed from legislative processes with device of converting every legislation into a finance bill. The parliament has become just a talking shop for cheap theatrics. The judiciary is under unprecedented pressure as was evident from the controversy surrounding the mysterious death of judge Loya and the case that went right up to the Supreme Court. The arrest of five well-known human rights activists in the Bhima Koregaon case has once again left a question mark on the rule of law. Occasionally the supreme court resists this pressure. Fortunately the judiciary has not fully surrendered yet as it did during emergency. However the government is out to change the composition of judiciary by rejecting and modifying the recommendations of Supreme Court panel. The election commission too is not free of this government's pressure which is appointing loyal officers there too. Many decision of Election Commission have raised a question mark on its independency and neutrality. RSS and its affiliates are intruding into national security apparatus, anti-corruption agencies like CBI and CVC are being stuffed with persons with dubious integrity or are these institutions being rendered useless as in the case of CIC.

There is all out attack on freedom of expression. Higher education institutions have been captured by Sangh Parivar loyalists of dubious academic reputation and by goons of ABVP. Free thought is no more possible within the universities. The media is almost entirely under the command and control of the government for the first time since the emergency. The government has created an elaborate mechanism for formal and informal monitoring of the media, most television channels have surrendered to the regime. The remaining organisations face the wrath of this regime as was evident in the case of NDTV and ABP news. Any expression of dissent is being curbed so much so that criticism of the Prime Minister on social media leads to arrests. Local goons and vigilante groups have replaced police and administration in shutting up and terrorising the dissenters.

The constitutional ideal of diversity is being destroyed. Federalism faces multiple attacks. Centralisation and uniformity in politics, economy, and culture is becoming the norm. This government has followed Indira Gandhi's congress government in using Governors as its agents. Modi government has no faith in federal nature of our constitution as was evident by dismissal of the majority government of opposition parties in Uttarakhand & by installing BJP led minority in Goa, Manipur and Karnataka and in maintaining its proxy government in Tamil Nadu. The government has violated the autonomy of States on matters of economic federalism. It is noteworthy that while this government fosters centralisation in the name of nationalism, it has shown little interest in resolving serious inter-state disputes such as river water disputes between Tamil Nadu & Karnataka, and between Punjab & Haryana. Clearly BJP government is using the old tactics of divide and rule to extend its control over power at the cost of national interest.

That is why Indian democracy is endangered today. Modi regime combines legitimate coercive power of the state with extra legal street power and coercion. It combines electoral machine with an ideological apparatus out to spread hatred. A few more steps in this direction of hegemony of the Modi regime and India may find itself in electoral authoritarianism just as in Russia and Turkey today. That's why the forthcoming 2019 Lok Sabha election could be a decisive and historic election. Another five years for the government that is out to uproot the republic could mean a threat to the very existence of India. Another five years of constitutional power in the hands of BJP would mean a more intense and relentless attack on constitutional institutions, and to the remaining

autonomy of institutions, and to constitutionally assured rights. It would mean that minorities would officially be given secondary status, the secular and federal character of the constitution will be destroyed. Elections will continue for the name sake but the spirit of democracy would be killed. Elections may be reduced to a formality once in five years just to acquire democratic legitimacy with the help all kinds of means, fair and foul. In between two elections, the system would resemble any authoritarian state sans any restraints of constitution, institutions or citizen rights. Presidential system may be introduced so as to formalise centralisation of power. In such a scenario State power will be concentrated in the hands of Central Government, Central Government powers in the hands of Executive and Executive power in the hands of the Prime Minister. Similarly political power will be concentrated in the hands of ruling party, and the ruling party in the hands of its supreme leader. There is a real danger of dictatorship while keeping a democratic facade.

### **Incompetent Opposition**

Today, our country is staring at a complete lack of credible alternatives to deal with this grave crisis. In this hour of crisis, there is no strong and trustworthy option in this country. Against Narendra Modi's authoritarianism there is a dwarf leadership of Rahul Gandhi; pitted against BJP's aggression is the ineptness of the Congress party, and there is an unsuccessful attempt to forge an unstable Mahagathbandhan against Team Modi. Anti-Modi parties don't have anything more than opportunistic opposition to Modi and BJP. Neither the opposition has a credible face, nor a clear strategy, not even a new agenda for the nation.

The main opposition party, Congress lacks the vision, resolution and energy to lead the country. It's obvious that the dynastic Congress which is responsible for deterioration of democratic institutions and corruption cannot mobilise the masses against this onslaught on democracy. Greed of minority votes does make the Congress look apart from the BJP and also provides temporary relief to the minorities. But when faced with the test of secularism as a principle, Congress appears standing on shaking grounds. It's true that parties involved in decades of minority vote-bank politics cannot face the challenge of majority communalism. The party which corrupted the great legacy of freedom struggle cannot prevent hijacking of Nationalism today. Congress party which shares its fundamental approach on economy with the BJP, cannot provide an alternative to deal with the agrarian crisis, the challenge of unemployment, exacerbating inequality or the environmental degradation. Leave alone becoming a credible alternative, Congress party is inefficient even in putting up a fight against BJP's electoral machine or in uniting all the forces committed to democracy under a credible national umbrella.

Parties founded on regionalism and localism cannot deal with this challenge as most regional parties are oblivious to the lurking danger. Their interests do not go beyond looting their state and winning the next election. For this, they can ally with BJP or join any front after the elections. Most of the regional parties are neither committed to democracy nor do they have any economic policy. It's ironical that the party engaged in the murder of democracy in West Bengal, Trinamul Congress, is claiming to save democracy. Parties deeply embedded in corruption like NCP, BSP, RJD are becoming vocal on BJP's corruption; parties involved in casteist politics are claiming to fight BJP's communalism. On the other hand crumbling communist politics, which once was the vehicles of change, is forced to sit in the lap of the Congress party. The party which arose a few years ago as a vehicle of corruption-free and accountable politics, AAP, has become irrelevant due to its moral degradation and thoughtlessness. Even after facing electoral routs everywhere, it is trying to form an electoral alliance with the Congress party.

Elections are lurking on the horizon but there's no one fit to be elected among the mainstream parties. Party holding constitutional power is a threat to democracy but the parties in opposition are incapable of dealing with this crisis. There's a challenge to save the country but none of the established political parties are capable of taking up that challenge. In these circumstances, those

in power are hell bent upon winning the next election at any cost by deploying their electoral machine, media, money and muscle power. There are attempts to foment Hindu-Muslim hatred and instigate riots. Whereas on the other hand there are parties without any alternative agenda but in opposition to Modi, due to various circumstances, are trying to unite themselves. The incapacity and lack of trustworthiness of the politics which is responsible in bringing the BJP to power, there are attempts to look for an alternative in that very politics. It's obvious that such opportunistic anti-Modi alliance cannot succeed in saving this country from the onslaughts made on its very foundations. That's why it's futile to expect Congress or other parties of parliamentary opposition or any opportunistic alliance of these parties to stall this national threat.

## **Opposition and Alternative**

So, to save this country, we have to look beyond the realm of ruling power and parliamentary opposition. True, the opposition today is not in the parliament but on the streets. People's movements that are going on in different parts of the country, actually represent resistance and alternative. On the question of education and employment, students are on the streets. Dalit society which is facing neglect, discrimination and violence in this system is agitating all over the country. Citizens are raising their voices everywhere a crimes against women. Many local struggles are taking place against the corruption in the system. Administration, education, court and the media - many individuals and organisations in these fields are fighting this historic battle to save the democracy. We cannot fight this national crisis without uniting this energy.

It's the need of the hour to weave these forces in an ideological thread and to link this energy to the politics of saving the country. This cannot be accomplished by an individual or an organisation. Our country is looking for those patriotic organisations that can set aside their petty selfish motives and accept this historic responsibility to save this country. Going by the conventional understanding of politics, Swaraj India is too small a force in the face of this historic challenge. But we cannot deal with this crisis without challenging these conventional understandings and mathematics. History is testimony to the fact that such decisive moments do not wait for established vehicles, but they generate new vehicles. Being the party born as the political vehicle of the social movements of this country, it's morally and politically imperative of Swaraj India to accept this challenge. Over the last three years, Jai Kisan Andolan of Swaraj Abhiyan has been engaged in farmers' struggle on the twin demands of guarantee of full prices for their crops and one-time unconditional loan waiver. Swaraj India fully supports this movement under the banner of AIKSCC and it exhorts to accelerate this nationwide farmers' movement. Swaraj India supports self-motivated movements of youth on the questions of education and employment including the one by SSC applicants and it also exhorts that these movements be united and built further to realise the possibilities of opposition to the system and creation of an alternative. On the similar lines, Swaraj India will work towards rebuilding the anti-corruption movement to bring the question of systemic corruption at the centre of our political discourse. But the job of instilling new hope in the country and building of a new force accordingly cannot be done only by engaging a few sections of the society. All the sections of the society including the urban middle classes, entrepreneurs, businessmen, traders, etc., will have to be included in this national mission. For this, a road map will have to be presented for all round happiness in the country. Apart from these questions, Swaraj India will link the fundamental question of education, health and environment to present an alternative agenda for the upcoming elections. And it will unite all the like-minded organisations, movements, parties to build a true and meaningful national alternative.

## **Basic Concepts of the Lok Sabha Election**

The forthcoming Lok Sabha election will play a decisive role in the campaign to save and build the country. A BJP win in this election may prove disastrous for the country but a merely anti-BJP front preventing BJP from coming to power is no guarantee for a better future either. This election will

either be fought on the issues of Kisan-Jawan or on the issues of Hindu-Musalmaan. If the election is fought to save the dignity of farmers & farming and to ensure work for every person; the country will move forward. And if this election is embroiled in Hindu-Muslim issues, the country will lose. Therefore, in the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections, Swaraj India will ask the real questions, the questions that matter and it will take a new political initiative with like minded organisations. Swaraj India's intervention in the forthcoming Lok Sabha election will be based on the following three concepts:-

1. Our primary aim will be to unravel the electoral, political and ideological hegemony of Modi, BJP and Sangh parivar. Any intervention of ours in the upcoming election will not help, in any manner whatsoever BJP, its allies or even possible allies.
2. Since the proposed Mahagathbandhan of opposition parties does not provide a serious, effective and long term answer to the national crisis, hence we won't be joining this front or any front forged by these opposition parties.
3. We will use this election to build a new alternative political force which will become handy in long term nation building.

Keeping these three aims in mind, Swaraj India will constantly work on the twin fronts of on-ground struggle and electoral politics. The aim of our on-ground struggles will be to ensure that the upcoming elections are fought on the issues of farmers and youth and not on the issues of Modi-Rahul or Hindu-Musalmaan. Our main aim of intervention in this election will be to present a new agenda, a new hope and a new team in front of this country, which can become a major vehicle for nation building in the years to come.

### **Major on-ground struggle issues**

1. Uniting the farmers and farmer organisations to deal with the crisis of rural-agrarian crisis. Swaraj Abhiyan's Jai Kisan Andolan has been involved with AIKSCC in a historic movement of farmers. This coordination has identified two primary demands: a law to guarantee at least one and a half times the comprehensive cost of crops and a one time unconditional waiver of all crop loans of all farmers. There's a call for MSP *adhikar* in Mandis across the nation in the months of October and November this year. This struggle will lead to Kisan Mukti March on 30 November in Delhi. All the workers and units of Swaraj India will get involved in these programmes with their full strength.
2. Uniting the youth on the demands of just opportunities for education and employment and bringing the scattered youth organisations across the country on one platform. Youth for Swaraj has begun the task of locating and training idealistic and patriotic youth in different states of the country. Programmes such as 'Drought Duty', 'Talash Bharat Ki' have been run over the last years to bridge the rural-urban divide. Training Camps have been organised in many states. Our friends have been active in the youth movement against irregularities and corruption in SSC. In the coming months, the movement for educated-unemployed, for filling the vacant government posts and to have corruption-free entrances will have to be sped up. Talks with like-minded youth organisations are on so that this issue can be raised prominently before Lok Sabha elections.
3. Exposing Modi Govt's record on corruption. Rafale deal has exposed Modi government's claim of '*Na Khaunga, Na khane dunga*'. Swaraj Abhiyan's members have played a pioneer role in this exposé. In the coming months, Swaraj India will be conducting press conferences, public meetings and social media campaigns to expose Modi government on Rafale and other cases of corruption.
4. Preventing Hindu-Muslim polarisation before the elections.

The party in power will look to foment Hindu-Muslim hatred and incite violence to diverge the nation's attention from the worsening state of the country. Also, Muslim communal organisations and parties too will look to fish in troubled communalised waters. This polarisation can be done through NRC in Assam, insurgency in Kashmir, Rohingya refugees or through India-Pakistan relations. Swaraj Abhiyan's Aman Committee has taken important steps in this direction. Wherever in the coming months, there will be attempts at Hindu-Muslim polarisation and violence, Swaraj India will oppose it strongly on priority.

### **Swaraj India's Direct Intervention in Lok Sabha elections**

Swaraj India will actively take part in the elections to accomplish its three aims. Swaraj India will locate and collaborate with like-minded organisations, parties and individuals and intervene on the following three fronts:

1. **Agenda India:** The party in power and the principal opposition alliance, both will try to see through this election without any serious discussion on any of the major issues. The party in power has nothing to present as its achievements over the last five years. Therefore, it will enter the election arena with false claims and empty promises. Whereas those in opposition are concerned about the arithmetic of the alliance, not about the future. This makes it incumbent upon Swaraj India to present a meaningful agenda before the nation. This agenda will work towards building a national consensus on the immediate and long-term challenges of nation building. The immediate challenge is to make up for the damage done to the foundations of the country by Modi government in its tenure. Long-term challenge is to prepare such roadmap for nation building, which can protect the country against such future dangers. With this aim in mind, Swaraj India will conduct a dialogue among the leading intellectuals and social activists and prepare a new manifesto of national consensus.
2. **Hope India:** A dialogue will be run by Swaraj India among the like-minded parties, organisations, social movements and active citizens so that alternative candidates can be presented in select parliamentary constituencies to build an alternative political force beyond the NDA and principal opposition alliance in the upcoming elections. Utmost care will be taken in selecting these candidates that they are distinct in their work and character from the traditional mores of politics and their candidature does not directly benefit BJP or its allies. A transparent system would be set up for the selection of the candidates. The power to take decisions regarding participation in the election, alliances and cooperation with parties, selection of candidates, will be vested with the Presidium of Swaraj India, as per the party constitution.
3. **Team India:** There's a huge number of such citizens in the country, who take interest in politics but don't want to get attached to any political party. They want to contribute for the nation, but fail to find a meaningful way of doing so. They want to intervene in the elections but in the absence of an alternative, remain inactive. Last few years have seen an increase in the number of such citizens but a decrease in the options before them. Swaraj India will unite all such citizens as Team India from across the country. They will be trained ideologically about Agenda India and about the work of electioneering and they will be linked to the election campaign of the proposed alternative candidates in Lok Sabha Elections 2019.

The forthcoming Lok Sabha election is not an ordinary election but a historic one. The present juncture requires far-sightedness, well thought ideas and large-heartedness. Usually, political parties become, in practical terms, vested groups to fulfil their selfish motives instead of working for the good of the nation and the world. Today, in this hour of national crisis, our political arena is full of such political parties. Under such circumstances, all the workers of Swaraj India resolve to keep the interests of the nation above that of the organisation, and will not abstain from any individual or collective sacrifice in this great mission of nation-building.