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DRAFT MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE CENTRAL
PARLIAMENTARY BOARD HELD IN MADRAS ON JULY
22 AND 23, 1966.

Present:

Prof. N.G. Ranga (in the chair)
Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy, M.P.
Mr. Laxman Singh of Dungarpur, M.L.A.
Mr. R.N. Singh Deo, M.L.A.
Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh, M.L.A.
Mr. M.R. Masani, M.P.

Mr. N. Dandekar, M.P.)
Mr. K. Sunderam, M.P.) by Special Invitation

The Minutes of the last meeting held in Bombay on May 26 and 29, 1966, were confirmed.

Recommendations of prospective Parliamentary and Assembly
Candidates

The following recommendations were approved:

MYSORE	- Chamarajnagar (R)	- Dr. N.C. Biligiri Rangaiah
MADRAS	- Nagarcoil	- Dr. M. Mathias
	Karur	- Mr. C. Muthuswamy
BIHAR	- Patna Town	- Mr. Jitendra Kumar Singh (Self-Supporting)
W. BENGAL	- Jangipur	- Ch. Abdul Sattar
GUJERAT	- Sabarkantha	- Mr. C.C. Desai
	Anand	- The State Parliamentary Board's recommendation for replacing Mr. Bhailalbai Patel, the prospective candidate, by Mr. H.M. Patel was accepted along with the recommendation of the State Parliamentary Board of Mr. Bhailalbai Patel as the Party's prospective candidate from the Sarsa Assembly consti- tuency which forms part of the Anand Parliamentary Constituency.

While approving of this change, the Board wished to emphasise that Mr. Bhailalbai Patel should lead the Party at the polls next February with the intention of leading the Party in the Legisla-
ture whether the Party is returned to power or remains in opposition.

Junagadh

- The Board rescinded, on the recommendation of the State Parlia-
mentary Board, its earlier approval

of the prospective candidature of Mr. Viren Shah by reason of considerations of electoral expediency.

The Board welcomed the information conveyed to it by the General Secretary that Mr. Viren Shah had kindly agreed to help the Central Office of the Party in its Publicity campaign.

The Board also discussed the desire of Mr. Raj Mohan Gandhi to contest this seat as an Independent. It noted that Mr. Raj Mohan Gandhi was scheduled to meet the State Parliamentary Board, at which time this matter was expected to be discussed between them. A report would be awaited.

RAJASTHAN - Chittorgarh

- The Board accepted the request of the State President that, in the context of negotiations with the Jan Sangh now proceeding in the State, his nomination as the Party's prospective candidate from this constituency and action on it be held in abeyance.

- Alwar

- Raja Shivratan Singh of Poonch. The State Parliamentary Board's recommendation of Raja Shivratan Singh of Poonch as the prospective Parliamentary candidate from the Alwar Parliamentary Constituency on a self-supporting basis was considered. The General Secretary was authorised to nominate Raja Shivratan Singh of Poonch on his stating in writing his willingness to contest the elections on a self-supporting basis now and at the time of the Elections.

UTTAR PRADESH - Baharaich

- Raja Ram Singh, M.P.

Amroha

- Mr. Harnandan Prasad
(The Board recorded the undertaking given by Mr. Harnandan Prasad that he would contribute Rs.15,000/- towards the campaign as also provide a Jeep for work in the constituency.)

Report of the Discussion Prof. Ranga and Mr. Masani had with the Prime Minister on June 22.

The Board had before it a Note submitted by Prof. Ranga and Mr. Masani to the Prime Minister when they met her on June 22 in regard to Devaluation and the various measures by which it should be followed and approved of the Note (copy attached). The Board also approved of the stand taken in declining to serve on the Prices Committee on the ground that participation in such a Committee

was incompatible with the position taken by the Party on matters relating to the country's economy.

Business Before Parliament

The Board then took up for consideration business before the session of Parliament commencing July 25.

Anti-Secession Ordinance Bill: The Board was of the opinion that the Party's Group in Parliament should oppose the Bill in principle. At the same time, it advised it to voice their opposition in a tactful manner in view of the emotional nature of the measure.

Essential Commodities Ordinance: The Board asked the Party's Group in Parliament to oppose the Ordinance.

Amendment to the Preventive Detention Act: The Party's members in Parliament were asked to oppose any measure which infringed on the liberties of the individual. In this connection the Board noted with regret that the Government had failed to terminate the **Emergency**.

Debate on International Affairs: The following Resolution on Viet Nam was unanimously adopted:

"In the absence of the faintest sign that North Viet Nam or Communist China will talk or help peace except after a complete pull out of all U.S. forces in Vietnam and in view of the fact that such a withdrawal of U.S. forces from the scene would be a most dangerous encouragement to aggression and violent internal subversion with foreign military assistance, the Government of India's latest move about Vietnam is most unwise and untimely. This Board is of the opinion that if South Vietnam is left to the mercy of the Communist Party and its allies and the U.S. withdraws from Vietnam, it would lead to the surrender of Asian freedom into the hands of the Chinese Communist Government and would most certainly soon endanger India's national independence. This Board is of opinion that it would be best that, in the present circumstances, the Government of India abstains from offering advice to any of the Great Powers in respect of their international or military policies."

Motion of No Confidence: The General Secretary reported that a motion tabled by him had secured **second** place in the ballot, with the Right Communists securing first place. In this context, he read a letter on the subject from Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, M.P., which stated:

"I have always held that since we cannot carry by majority a vote of no confidence, we should not support its admission as such a motion being defeated after a debate would mean an indirect vote of confidence. Why give such an opportunity to Government and what is more such a procedure always helps the Congress Party to appeal for unity and sinking of internal difference and to close its ranks, whereas a decision or difference of opinion, as points of views in their ranks helps the opposition. A No Confidence motion achieves exactly the opposite. So I would not favour such a procedure at all."

After discussing the matter, the Board came to the conclusion that, in view of the fact that the Government had on its own announced a debate on the economic situation on the opening days of the session and the fact that the avowed object of the Swatantra

Party to defeat the Congress at the polls in 1967 was well-known throughout the country, it would be pointless for the Party's members in the Lok Sabha to stand in support of any motion of No Confidence. Mr. Masani, whose motion had drawn second place in the ballot, was requested to withdraw his motion.

In the event of any Motion of No Confidence being admitted, the Party's spokesman should express the Party's point of view in regard to economic and international policies, but members should abstain from voting at the end of the debate.

An amendment should be tabled to the official Motion for consideration of the economic situation stating the Party's point of view in regard to the policies that have led to devaluation and its implications and recommended the following amendment:

"The House is of opinion that the economic collapse, of which the recent devaluation of the national currency is an admission, is the cumulative result of the ill-conceived economic policies pursued by the Union Government over the last decade.

"In order that the sacrifices imposed by the process of devaluation may not be wasted the following measures have become necessary:

1. A clear commitment by Government to eschew inflationary policies of every kind.
2. A drastic reduction in civil non-developmental expenditure of the Union & State Governments.
3. The restriction of foreign loans on government to-government basis only to such legitimate purposes as fall within the proper duties of the State like building the infrastructure and, as an emergency measure, for the current needs of agriculture and industry.
4. Consolidation of what has already been taken on hand before embarking on any new Plan.
5. A substantial reduction in both direct and indirect taxes.
6. The complete dismantling of the structure of permits, quotas, licences and controls including Gold Control."

The Board also adopted the following resolution on Devaluation:

"The repeated warnings given by spokesmen of the Swatantra Party have come true, namely, that devaluation of the currency would become inevitable if the Congress Government persisted in the inflationary policies involved in all their measures and in excessive taxation and in framing of plans seeking to invest non-existent resources with a false order of priorities. The criminal disregard of these warnings has landed the country in its present predicament, with considerable hardship and distress to honest citizens of all classes, particularly caused by soaring prices. The entire responsibility for this disaster rests on the shoulders of the Congress Government which has shown utter unfitness to remain in office a day longer. This Board is convinced that the present Government is incompetent by reason of its dogmas and commitments to take the right steps that should follow devaluation."

Two other Resolutions calling for Free Elections and Legislation to prohibit collection of funds by Ministers and those in High Office were also adopted as follows:

Fair Elections

"The Congress Party's persistence in refusing to vacate offices

in good time before the General Elections so as to render the election fair and free is condemned by this Board."

Election Collections by Ministers

"This Board is of opinion that it is absolutely necessary to ban by law Union Ministers and Chief Ministers of States and others holding powerful positions in Government from making so-called "voluntary" collections for election purposes. Such collections would, by un rebuttable presumption, be collections under pressure and undue influence."

While discussing the Resolution on Free Elections, the Board's attention was drawn to the Resolution adopted by the General Council of the Party at its meeting in Bombay in May calling for the observance of a Day to demand the Resignation of Ministries at the Centre and in the States three months before the General Elections. The Board decided that State Units should be left to choose a date most convenient to them for the observance of such a Demand's Day.

Progress with Preparations for the General Elections

(i) Rajaji's Appeal

Rajaji's front page appeal in the July 23 issue of "Swarajya" was discussed at length. The Board welcomed the appeal which called for good and qualified men to stand as Swatantra Party candidates for Parliament and to meet their own election expenses. It asked the Central Office and State Units to broadcast the appeal as widely as possible.

(ii) Special Arrangements re. Gujarat

As desired by the Central Parliamentary Board at its earlier meeting in Bombay, the General Secretary reported on the discussion he had had with Mr. H.M. Patel (who had been invited to be present but who was detained in Delhi at another meeting) regarding certain modifications in the scheme for nursing constituencies and the functioning of full-time field organisers. In this connection, the agreement (copy attached) initialed by Mr. Masani and Mr. H.M. Patel was circulated to members present and recorded.

The Board considered and approved of a note placed before it in regard to the importance of Gujarat and Orissa circulated to members present. The note (~~copy attached~~) urged that the Board should take a keener interest in the development in the States of Orissa and Gujarat in view of the likelihood of the Party making a bid for power in these two States with reasonable chances of success and the repercussions of such developments throughout the country.

The meeting then adjourned.

The adjourned meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board met again on July 23,, at 9.30 a.m.

Present:

Prof. N.G. Ranga (in the Chair)
Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy
Mr. Laxman Singh of Dungarpur

Mr. R.N. Singh Deo
Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh
Mr. M.R. Masani

Mr. N. Dandekar)
Mr. K. Sunderam) by Special Invitation

Progress on Discussions with Democratic Opposition
Parties re: electoral adjustments

The elaboration of the strategy of double rejection viz., rejection of both the Congress and Communist Parties, by the General Secretary in the July issue of the Swatantra Nesletter was noted.

In the course of the discussion, it was pointed out that the Party's functionaries in the States should be cautioned against the Communist tactics of "a United Front from below." The General Secretary read the following extract from Mr. K.M. Munshi's letter to the Board:

"I entirely endorse the policy of double rejection of the Central Parliamentary Board laid down on May 26. If we ally with the Communists, the only result will be that the Swatantra Party will lose its distinctive character and also help them to come in power. No coalition with the Communists had ended except in the complete destruction of the non-Communist ally."

RELATIONS WITH THE JAN SANGH

The General Secretary reported on the progress with discussions now taking place at the State level between the Party's representatives and those of the Jan Sangh.

Gujarat

Although a joint communique had been issued by the leaders of the State Unit and of the Gujarat Jan Sangh, the General Secretary reported to the Board that the talks had, however, not been entirely successful and that certain areas of disagreement had been referred by both Parties to their national leadership for mediation. The General Secretary stated that he awaited a brief on the subject from the State General Secretary, Mr. Jaideepsingh of Baria, who had promised to send him such a brief to Delhi, on the receipt of which he would contact the leaders of the Jan Sangh.

U.P.

The following extract from Mr. Munshi's letter of 18th July, reporting on a discussion he had with Mr. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya was then read out to the Board.

"Upadhyaya met me as I told you, and is willing to stand out from M.P. and work only for some sure seats in U.P.

"I told him that Jan Sangh in Gujarat is very weak and if the Sangh puts up a candidate, it will be only to lose the seat.

"In my opinion, M.P. must be left exclusively to Jan Sangh.

"We have not a substantial hold over U.P.; I am sure our friends from U.P. will agree with me.

"All that we should do is to select a few safe seats in U.P. and let Jan Sangh do the rest. There is a very large selection

of Congress adherents who sympathise with it.

"As far as Rajasthan is concerned, the Congress is unpopular no doubt. There is, however, nothing to show that we can win substantial number of Assembly seats, much less secure a majority.

"I do not know what Maharawal Laxman Singh's estimate is. But if we make an alliance with Jan Sangh, there might be a possibility of a coalition Government coming into existence or at any rate reduce the Congress to a minority, forcing it to have a coalition Ministry."

The President of the U.P. Unit, Mr. B.P. Singh, expressed his strong objection to any attempt at conceding the Jan Sangh's claims as stated above, especially in regard to U.P. He was of the view that such an attempt at bartering one State for another should under no circumstances be accepted, not only in the interests of the State Unit but of the Party as a whole.

In this context, Mr. Dandekar reported on the progress made in his discussions with the Jan Sangh in regard to the Domariaganj Parliamentary Constituency where he would like to stand, provided they could arrive at an understanding with the Jan Sangh.

At this stage the General Secretary reported to the Board the offer made by the Gujarat State Parliamentary Board that Mr. Dandekar could contest from the Godhra Parliamentary Constituency and their wish for an early reply. Mr. Dandekar agreed to communicate his final decision in regard to the choice of his constituency by August 15, 1966.

Maharashtra and Bombay City

Mr. Dandekar reported on the efforts he was making to arrive at an understanding with the Jan Sangh in Maharashtra and in Bombay City.

Rajasthan

The State President, Mr. Laxman Singh of Dungarpur, reported on the progress made in discussions with the Jan Sangh, which were continuing. He stated that the next round of discussions was scheduled for 13th and 14th August.

In the absence of the Maharani of Jaipur and the need to arrive at early decisions in the talks with the Jan Sangh, the Board gave full authority to Mr. Lakshman Singh, the State President, to negotiate with that Party and to submit proposals for the approval of the Central Parliamentary Board.

Orissa

Mr. R.N. Singh Deo reported on the talks he had with the Jan Sangh leaders in his State. Both Mr. R.N. Singh Deo and Mr. B.P. Singh agreed to send interim reports to the General Secretary at Delhi on their talks with the Jan Sangh.

RELATIONS WITH S.S.P.

The correspondence between Mr. Madhu Limaye of the S.S.P. and the General Secretary of our Party was then reported to the Board. There was considerable discussion on the difficulties in the way of negotiations with this Party.

In regard to the question of supporting candidates of other Parties in Constituencies where we had electoral adjustments, the Board was of the opinion that this matter should be left to the individual candidates concerned who should work out the relationship at constituency level in the light of the circumstances obtaining in that constituency.

RELATIONS WITH JANA CONGRESS

Mr. R.N. Singh Deo reported in detail on political developments in the State and the progress of negotiations with the Jana Congress.

The General Secretary reported that Mr. Pabitra Mohan Pradan, leader of the Jana Congress, had in conversations with him and Mr. Dandekar expressed their readiness to accept the Swatantra Party as the main opposition and work under the Leader of the Swatantra Party after the election, whether in Government or in opposition. He gave an assurance that they would make this clear publicly at a time when an electoral adjustment was arrived at later this year and well in advance of the elections.

In the light of the discussion, the Board welcomed the report of the discussion with the Jana Congress and other Groups and authorised the President of the Orissa Unit, Mr. R.N. Singh Deo, to continue discussions with the Jana Congress and other opposition groups on the following basis:

1. That the objective of the Swatantra Party in the General Elections next year is to make a bid for power in the State of Orissa and if this move should not succeed to work for the establishment of a Swatantra-led Government;
2. That the Party should put up not less than 100 candidates for Assembly seats;
3. That we expect the Jana Congress to adhere to the statements and assurance of Mr. Pabitra Mohan Pradan recorded above. In the event of Jana Congress resiling from this position, the Swatantra Party in Orissa should decide to fight the election on their own;
4. Mr. Singh Deo reported that Mr. Harekrishna Mahtab had been asked at State level to prepare a Draft of a common programme. Now that Mr. Mahtab has not produced the draft which he promised to do by July 5, he should be informed that the matter may be treated as closed and that the State Unit of the Swatantra Party would be preparing its own Manifesto.

While on this subject, the Central Office was asked to issue a circular clarifying the distinction between the Central and State Manifestos.

JANATHA PAKSHA

The General Secretary reported on the talks he had had with leaders of the Janatha Paksha of Mysore. The Board welcomes these talks and asked the General Secretary to continue his discussions with them. In this context, he read out extracts from a letter received from Mr. T. Subramania, a leader of that Party, asking for some financial assistance. The Board re-affirmed its earlier stand that electoral adjustments should not be linked with financial support and that the General Secretary should reply to Mr. T. Subramania accordingly.

RELATIONS WITH KERALA CONGRESS

The Board then heard a report on the talks between Rajaji and the General Secretary and representatives of the Kerala Congress. The Kerala Congress wished to contest certain Parliamentary Constituencies on their own platform, but those elected would sit with the Swatantra Party's group in the Lok Sabha. In so far as our own candidates were concerned, the General Secretary conveyed the information contained in a letter from the State Vice-President, Mr. K.K. Kuruvilla, that the Kerala Congress had agreed to our Party's candidates being set up in several Assembly Constituencies in the area where they had influence.

At the same time, the General Secretary conveyed the request of the Kerala Congress for certain assistance. He also conveyed the assurance of the leaders of the Kerala Congress that their decision to sit with the Party's group in Parliament was, however, not conditional on any support given by our Party.

The attitude of the Party's Unit in the State to cooperation with the Kerala Congress was also considered and an extract from a letter from Mr. Madhava Warriar, the State General Secretary, was read out to the Board.

After considerable discussion, the Board authorised the General Secretary to continue these talks.

RELATIONS WITH D.M.K.

Rajaji reported on the position re: the DMK and said that while relations between the State Unit and the DMK were cordial, no formal meeting had yet taken place to negotiate adjustments.

JOINT MEETING INVITATION

An invitation received from Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh, M.P. to a Joint meeting of all opposition parties in Delhi on 28th August was considered. It was decided after discussion that no notice need be taken of the invitation.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS COMMISSION

The President, Prof. Ranga, drew the attention of the Board to another letter he had received from Mr. Morarji Desai, Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission, in reply to Prof. Ranga's earlier letter declining to meet him in connection with the work of the commission. The latest letter from Mr. Morarji Desai requested Prof. Ranga once again to meet the former. The Board requested Prof. Ranga to reply reiterating the earlier decision of the Party not to participate in the work of the Commission till after the General Elections and to draw Mr. Desai's attention to the reasons outlined by Rajaji in the July 23, issue of Swarajya for not participating in the Commission's work.

SARDAR DARSHAN SINGH PHERUMAN'S FAST

Telegrams and letters received from the General Secretary of the Punjab Unit of the Party, Sardar Basant Singh, regarding the fast undertaken by Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman, the President of that Unit, were then brought to the attention of the Board. The Board,

while condemning the refusal on the part of the Governor and of the police officers in not allowing a deputation of kisans led by Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman to meet the Governor, appealed to the State President to call off his hunger strike immediately. The Board asked the General Secretary telegraphically to communicate this to him at Ambala Central Jail where he was imprisoned.

POPULAR DISCONTENT IN U.P.

The State President of U.P., Mr. B.P. Singh, drew the attention of the Board to the increasing popular discontent in his State against the policies of the ruling Party in the context of the present economic situation. He read out a Resolution adopted by the State Committee at a recent meeting regarding the strike by Government servants in U.P. resulting in a break-down of the administrative machinery. The Board supported the demand made by the State Committee that, in the context of a break-down in the administration, the President of the Republic should be urged to take over the administration of the State immediately.

The meeting then terminated.