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Draft Minutes Of The Adjourned Meeting Of The
CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE Meeting At The
Madras Woodlands Hotel, At 9.30 A.M. On January 31, 1964.

Present: Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P. (in the chair)
Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Sir H. P. Mody
Mr. K. B. Jinaraja Hegde
Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddy
Mr. Anand Chand of Bilaspur
Mr. Hari Har Das
Mr. B. V. Narayana Reddy
Mr. G. Latchanna, M.L.A.
Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy, M.P.
Mr. Lakshman Singh of Dungarpur, M.L.A.
Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh of Ramgarh, M.L.A.
Mr. Bahyabhai V. Patel, M.P.
Mr. Uddham Singh Nagoke
Sardar Basant Singh
Mr. R. N. Singh Deo of Patna, M.L.A.
Mr. P. K. Deo of Kalahandi, M.P.
Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P.

By invitation

Mr. N. Dandekar
Mr. T. Sadasivam

It was decided that, owing to lack of time, only resolutions recommended by the General Council should be placed for consideration before the National Convention. In so far as non-official resolutions of which notice had been given by delegates were concerned, the movers of these should be called to the meeting of the General Council and given an opportunity to explain their resolutions for the General Council's consideration. The possibility of keeping adequate time, or even a whole day, for the consideration of non-official proposals at the time of the next National Convention should be borne in mind.

Business coming up before the General Council meeting later that day was then considered.

The Central Organising Committee decided to coopt Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh, President of the U. P. State Unit, as a member of the Central Organising Committee in place of Mr. S. K. D. Paliwal, who had resigned.

The General Secretary reported on a letter dated January 22, 1964, received by him from the Maharashtra Sarvodaya Mandal, inviting him to participate in a meeting on February 5 in Bombay to consider cooperation between all Parties in furtherance of the Gramdan movement. After discussion, it was decided that the General Secretary should attend the meeting and explain that the

Party was in sympathy with the ideals of the Sarvodaya movement including trusteeship, Rhodan and Sampattidan, but that the Party would be unable to cooperate in regard to Gramdan. After the meeting had taken place, the General Secretary should issue a circular reporting on the meeting as to guide State Parties in regard to the Party's attitude.

The General Secretary reported that several seats in the Rajya Sabha would be vacated and be open for election during the month of March 1964. It was decided that recommendations in respect of nominations of candidates for election to the Rajya Sabha should be invited and that State Units should be requested to arrange for their recommendations including, where necessary, alternative proposals to reach the Central Office of the Party at least ten days in advance of Nomination Day and in any event not later than February 29, so as to enable the Parliamentary Board to consider them and take appropriate decisions. In this connection, Maharawal Lakshman Singh of Dungarpur asked whether the Party would prefer one Party candidate to be returned to the Rajya Sabha or two independents. He was informed that one Party candidate would be very much preferred.

Further Draft resolutions were then considered by the Central Organising Committee and adopted in the following form:

VIII. Resolution on Non-Political Board for Licenses and Permits

The National Convention of the Swatantra Party records its conviction that, apart from many other grave issues, the confidence of the people in the administration cannot be secured and maintained unless the supreme control of the distribution of licenses, permits and quotas in exercise of powers obtained in violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed in Part III of the original Constitution adopted in November 1949 is vested in an independent, non-political statutory Board free from all influences and political pressures and enjoying the same independent status as the supreme judiciary.

This Convention appeals to all democratic parties to unite on this demand and compel the ruling party to accept this reform.

IX. Reference to Sub-Committee of Constitutional proposals

Other than in regard to membership, given by delegates

The National Convention refers the Notice of Amendments to the Party's Constitution given by various delegates in respect of other matters than the membership provisions in the Constitution to a Sub-Committee consisting of:-

1. Prof. N. G. Ranga, President
2. Mr. K. M. Munshi, Vice-President
3. Mr. M. R. Masani, General Secretary
4. Mr. Anandchand
5. Mr. Lakshman Singh of Dungarpur
6. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel,

who will consider them along with other proposals for amending the Party's Constitution and will report within three months.

The National Convention authorises the General Council of the Party at its next meeting within six months to consider the report of the Sub-Committee and to make such modifications in the Party's Constitution as are accepted by a 3/4th majority of those present.

X. Resolution on the Swatantra Alternative

The Five Year Plans of the present Government have failed in their professed objectives. The only things they have succeeded in producing are higher taxes, rising prices and growing indebtedness. The people of India have shown their disillusionment and discontent with the present pattern of planning by the way they have voted in recent by-elections to Parliament.

The proceedings of the recent sessions of the Congress Party in Bhubaneswar show that there is every intention of perversely persisting in policies that have already proved a failure. In the Party's view, nothing less than the scrapping of the Third Plan and its replacement by an altogether new policy will save the country from widespread distress and national bankruptcy.

The Swatantra Party is not for laissez-faire nor is it opposed to all planning. It reiterates its stand that all planning must be devised and carried out within the framework of the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution and calculated to achieve the welfare of the people.

The Swatantra Party's approach to the problems of economic development and planning would be to apply to each policy and measure the test suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, namely to ask if the step contemplated is going to be of any use to the poorest and the weakest members of the community. In the light of such a test, the Swatantra Party believes that the present approach to planning needs to be replaced by one which provides for the following:

1. A proper order of priorities starting with the increase in production and the provision of pure elementary necessities such as drinking water, food, clothing and shelter and employment.
2. A reallocation of the role of State and Free enterprise so that the State may perform its proper function of providing the infra-structure through the provision of roads and railways, efficient communications, irrigation and facilities for the peasant such as easy credit, cheap electric power and education, both technical and general; while all other economic activity should be left to competitive enterprise.
3. The incentive of legitimate gain under conditions of competition among producers.
4. The elimination of monopoly in both State and Free sectors so as to provide maximum efficiency and service at minimum cost to the consumer.

5. Reducing to a minimum governmental controls and regulation to foster economic expansion and minimising corruption.
6. The maintenance of stable prices through the observance by government of measures of monetary discipline.
7. The revision of policies relating to taxation including land so as to foster saving, investment and employment opportunities.

XI. Resolution on the Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill

The Swatantra Party considers the Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill to be a dangerous attempt further to erode the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution. By extending the word 'estate' to include every form of landed property owned by the most humble peasant in full freehold right, the Bill seeks to hold the sword of Damocles over the majority of the population of India in respect of their most sacred possession. The expropriatory principle so far applied to Zamindars and other feudal landlords is now sought to be extended to ryotwari holders who are full owners of the land as well as to every other type of land ownership. The attempt to give retrospective effect from 26th January 1950, to this distorted definition of 'estate' makes this Amendment a gigantic fraud on the Constitution and on the people of India. The fact that this amendment to the Constitution is sought to be made in order to undo a recent judgement of the Supreme Court of India makes it all the more reprehensible, being unabashed disrespect of law and the independence given by the Constitution to the Judiciary.

In view of the extended interpretation of 'public purpose' to cover doctrinaire experiments in land reform, such as collective and cooperative farming, the Swatantra Party cannot help coming to the conclusion that this Amendment is designed as an instrument held in terrorem over the peasants of India by which the collectivisation of the land envisaged by the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress Party could be legally enforced. The failure of the Nagpur Resolution to secure voluntary acceptance of joint cooperative farming has evidently made those in authority decide to move on to coercive methods. If this Amendment becomes law, the smallest peasant can be faced with the brutal alternatives of surrendering his land to a so-called cooperative farm or of being expropriated by law on payment of nominal compensation which he cannot challenge in a court of law.

Even after the decision of the Supreme Court declaring the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act ultra vires as it sought to apply to ryotwari land, this Amendment to the Constitution did not form part of the Congress Party's Manifesto for the General Elections in 1962. The present Government has, therefore, no mandate from the electorate to carry through such a far-reaching change. Indeed, this Amendment violates a solemn assurance given to Parliament and the people by the Law Minister of the Congress Government, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, during the discussion in Parliament on the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill on 1st June, 1951, that the provisions contained in article 31A would not be employed for

the purpose of dispossessing ryotwari tenants. The Law Minister had further assured the House that whenever any such measure comes before the President of the Republic for consideration, the undertaking given by Government would be binding upon the President in considering giving his sanction so far as any such measure is concerned. The Swatantra Party expresses its confidence that, should the Government seek to press this Bill through the present Parliament, the President will desist from giving his assent to it.

The Swatantra Party was established in 1959 to defend Farm, Family and Freedom in this country. This amendment which seeks to destroy the Farm, and through it the Family and Freedom, cannot but meet with the strongest opposition from the Party. The Party calls upon its members to develop an intensive campaign throughout the country so that public opinion may be educated and the implications of this Amendment explained and understood. The Party calls upon its Members of Parliament in both Houses to fight this Bill to the bitter end and appeals to members of other democratic Opposition Parties to join this Party in its resistance to this attack on the Fundamental Rights of the people.

In connection with the last item, the question of giving permission to members or units of the Party to resort to Satyagraha or other forms of direct action was considered but, due to lack of time, further consideration was adjourned to a meeting on Monday, February 3 at 9 a.m.
