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SWATANTRA PARTY

CONFIDENTIAL

FOR MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL
COUNCIL ONLY

REPORT ON CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE JAN SANGH SINCE THE
THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE PARTY
IN BANGALORE

It will be recalled that the General Council when it met in Bangalore on January 31 and February 1, 1964, had heard a brief report in regard to the efforts made by the Party to achieve understanding with the Jan Sangh and other opposition parties. At that time, the General Council was informed that the Jan Sangh had declined to enter into discussions that would lead to any far-reaching united action between the two Parties but had agreed to the idea of entering into an electoral understanding. It was also reported to the General Council that the General Secretary had issued a circular to State Units on December 16, 1963, (copy attached) covering the area of agreement ascertained between him and the General Secretary of the Jan Sangh but that the General Secretary of the Jan Sangh had failed to issue a corresponding circular to the State Units on his own side as arranged between them.

2. Arising from the discussions in Bangalore, a resolution was unanimously adopted by the National Convention (copy attached) which gave expression to its determination to continue to try its utmost to secure the cooperation of other democratic parties in avoiding inter - oppositional contests during elections.

3. On February 8, 1964, Mr. Masani forwarded the resolution to Mr. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, General Secretary of the Jan Sangh, along with a covering letter in which he mentioned: "You will see from this (the resolution) that we have, in the light of your reply and other factors, bowed to the 'insuperable difficulties' that appear to come in the way of more ambitious efforts and decided to concentrate on the more limited but still important objective of electoral understandings with your Party and other democratic opposition parties both in regard to by-elections and the General Elections of 1967."

4. On February 21, the General Secretary wrote again to Mr. Upadhyaya mentioning that, since the Parliamentary Board of the Jan Sangh was due to meet on March 3, "it would be a good idea if you were kindly to bring the matter up at the meeting of your Parliamentary Board so that it may consider what concrete machinery might be set up to explore the possibilities as between the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party." Mr. Masani proceeded to observe: "We are all of the opinion that this effort should commence right away in so far as the General Elections of 1967 are concerned as it is found that, at a later stage, commitments are made and vested interests develop on both sides which are difficult to overcome."

5. Mr. Upadhyaya replied on March 3 mentioning that the letter had been placed before their Parliamentary Board for consideration. He stated: "Whatever efforts are necessary in this direction will be made. But till such time that this understanding is not made clear there will be some uncertainty at various levels." He drew attention to elections to the Rajya Sabha and Legislative Councils that were then proceeding in certain States and expressed the hope that understanding would be found possible between the two Parties.

6. On April 7, the General Secretary wrote to Mr. Upadhyaya recording his satisfaction that the local units of both Units had cooperated satisfactorily both in Rajasthan and U.P. in regard to the recent elections to the Rajya Sabha and the Legislative Councils. The General Secretary then went on to suggest: "Our view is that concrete machinery needs to be set up at the Centre which can perform two functions:-

- (a) plan the allocation of constituencies between the two Parties both for Parliament and the State Assemblies, in the next General Elections. Our view is that this planning needs to be done from right now as otherwise vested interests spring up on both sides, and the respective Parties, with all the goodwill in the world, find it difficult to resile from their own commitments.
- (b) guide State units in regard to Parliamentary and Assembly by-elections that may come up from time to time."

Mr. Masani mentioned that he would be in Delhi from April 14 till April 23 and requested Mr. Upadhyaya to suggest a time when they could meet.

7. No reply was received to this letter.

8. On April 16, the General Secretary drew the attention of the General Secretary of the Jan Sangh to the smear campaign developed by Mr. Chiman Shukla, Secretary of the Jan Sangh in Gujarat, calling for Mr. Masani's resignation from the Lok Sabha on the ground that his views did not fit in with those of the Jan Sangh in regard to Sheikh Abdullah and Kashmir. He wrote: "While of course the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party wherever they disagree, as on this matter, should be perfectly free to pursue their respective points of view, don't you think that, since both of our Parties have agreed to enter into discussions for working out an electoral understanding between our parties, members of both parties should refrain from going out of their way to attack members of the other Party as a result of these differences in their points of view? ...I thought I would bring this matter to your attention and leave it to you to consider what guidance to give to Shri Chimanbhai Shukla and those members of your Party who might be inclined to do things that may come in the way of the much larger objective and purposes of furthering democracy and combating communism which we have in common."

9. No reply was received to this communication.

10. On May 11, the General Secretary wrote to Mr. Upadhyaya bringing to his notice two developments:

- (a) The reported statement of Mr. Balraj Madhok in Jaipur on April 27 reported by the Times of India News Service while talking to newsmen at a function organised by the Rajasthan Working Journalists Union: "Any talk of secession, whether direct or indirect, amounted to treason, Sheikh Abdullah and Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan as well as the Swatantra leaders, Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Minoo Masani, were thus guilty and 'the law should take its course in dealing with them.'" The General Secretary pointed out that he did not know if Mr. Madhok had been correctly reported but had noticed that Mr. Madhok had not cared to contradict the statement attributed to him.

(b) The other matter was the disturbance at a public meeting organised by the Swatantra Forum in Calcutta on May 2 alleged to have been caused by Jan Sangh Workers. The General Secretary mentioned the names of the two persons involved and inquired whether or not they were connected with the Jan Sangh.

11. To this letter also there was no reply.

12. In its issue of May 18, the Organiser (the organ of the Jan Sangh) carried an item from Bhilwara entitled "Upadhyaya Charges Swatantra With Violating Commitment" (copy attached). In the course of that speech made at an election meeting, Mr. Upadhyaya alleged that one of the conditions agreed to between the General Secretary of the Swatantra Party and himself, reduced to writing, was that where a seat fell vacant, that party would be given a prior option to fight the by-election which had contested that particular seat in the 1962 elections. In view of this, complained Mr. Upadhyaya, the Swatantra Party should not have put up a candidate in Bhilwara.

13. On seeing this report, Mr. Masani wrote to Mr. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya on May 22 drawing his attention to this report and saying: "If this report is correct, I am afraid you have done a great injustice to us. There was and is no understanding between us of the nature you imagine. I would request you to look at the note we drafted together on December 5, 1963, as well as my General Secretary's Letter No.60 circulated to our State Units, which I put in identical terms and of which I sent you a copy with my letter of December 18. I enclose a copy of the note and General Secretary's Letter No.60 for your ready reference. The understanding was altogether different, and that was in regard to vacancies created by death or resignation or disqualification of a sitting member of the other Party at the last Election. Since a Congressman won the last election in Bhilwara, you will see that that particular clause has no relevance. The real difficulty has been that we have failed to establish close liaison and machinery at the Centre on the lines contemplated by us in our memorandum of December 5. I have repeatedly in correspondence requested you to get together with me in setting up such a machinery in both my letters to you of February 21 and of April 7. I am afraid I have received no response from you in regard to the urgent necessity of setting up such machinery without which such incidents are bound to happen. You will forgive me for saying that the responsibility for the nonexistence of the machinery, as of now, is certainly not mine. I trust that in the light of the facts that I have drawn to your attention, you will be good enough to write to the Organiser and withdraw the unjustified complaint made against us." The General Secretary also sent a contradiction on similar basis to the Editor of the Organiser for publication.

14. Mr. Bin Dayal Upadhyaya replied on May 30. Ignoring the need to withdraw the unfounded allegation of breach of faith that he had made against the Party, Mr. Upadhyaya's rather surprising comment on the Bhilwara incident was: "The misunderstandings that have arisen in regard to the different by-elections have not been good. If we were to keep the 1962 by-elections as the basis, then it would be good, otherwise it will be difficult to avoid conflict in the forthcoming by-elections. Whatever happened at Bhilwara has angered our workers." While dealing with the earlier letters from the General Secretary calling for discussions in regard to the setting up of machinery to guard against such incidents during by-elections and the working out of an electoral understanding for the next General Elections, the Jan Sangh General Secretary wrote: "In view

of the report of the Delimitation Commission in respect of the 1967 elections not being ready, it will be difficult to give thought from a businesslike point of view." No reply was vouchsafed to the inquiries re.Mr. Balraj Madhok's statement or incidents in Rajkot and Calcutta.

15. On June 8, the Organiser carried Mr. Masani's contradiction and correction followed by a thoroughly unsatisfactory comment from the General Secretary of the Jan Sangh. Seeking to distort the issue and justify himself. The report is attached.

16. On June 16, the General Secretary of the Swatantra Party wrote to the General Secretary of the Jan Sangh expressing his deep distress at his evading his obligation to withdraw the baseless charge of bad faith made against the Swatantra Party and at his advancing as a reason for not proceeding with discussions in regard to an electoral understanding the fact that the report of the Delimitation Commission was not available.
