

Transcript of a Speech Delivered by Mr. M. R. Masani, MP, to the
Progressive Group on Thursday, 6th July, 1967.

A few weeks ago, my good friend Jayaprakash Narayan, who is doing such splendid work of a constructive nature in Bihar for the relief of human distress, made certain remarks about the outlook for the future of our country, in which he gave a warning about the very dubious outlook for democracy in the years to come. For that warning he was chewed up by the Congress Working Committee, who had the presumption to refer to him as an "irresponsible" person. When I read what he had said, I found very little to disagree with or quarrel about. I think he performed a public service in giving the warning.

Let us consider the state in which we find our country today. Economic bankruptcy, with our Rupee falling steadily lower and lower in the markets of world. It was only a year ago that we devalued the Rupee. Already it has sunk well below the level of devaluation. I read yesterday morning that in the free markets of the world, a Pound can now buy about £ 34, as opposed to the official rate of £ 21 and a Dollar can buy about £ 12 as opposed to the official price of £ 7.50

There is moral decay, scandal, charges of corruption testified to by those who have been appointed to investigate them, as happened recently in the case of the head of a former State Government.

An external threat to our Frontiers from China and Pakistan supported by Fifth Column activities in our own country. Our entire North East Frontier and North West Frontier blowing up as a result of the discontent of tribal and border elements right from Kashmir at one end to the Mizos and Nagas at the other. All this is very obvious. If Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan gave a warning that we were going into very rough weather, he was only performing the duty of hoisting a storm signal to warn us.

The recent General Elections raised our hopes. Our democracy showed its vitality. But it is an unfinished victory. We fell just a little short of our targets. For this probably we shall have to pay a very heavy price. When I spoke in the Lok Sabha immediately after the Elections on the President's Address, I said something I would like to repeat today because it is becoming more and more obvious. I said on March 21 : Our entire political system is on trial. If members on this side of the House feel that only the Government is on trial, let me be candid with them and say : No; we are almost as much on trial as those who sit opposite. The whole political system is on trial - the system of Parliamentary democracy in which we believe. All politicians are on trial today and if we fail either on this side or on that side, then there is the danger of the whole lot of us being swept into the dustbin of history as our counterparts in Pakistan, Indonesia and Ghana, to mention only three countries have been consigned to the dustbin of history. Therefore, I appeal to the whole House to beware.

Having sat in the Lok Sabha for the last two or three months since then, I can only say that there doesn't seem to be any kind of response to this challenge. What we see is on the contrary a great deal of self-seeking, an almost universal pursuit of party advantage with very little thought of the country. Constant indiscipline and defiance of the Chair in violation of the first rule of every game that you must bow to the umpire or referee. A lot of noise in an attempt at intellectual intimidation of the other side, whatever it happens to be, and very little sense of national purpose.

This is in painful contrast to the impression which I came back with from Israel when I visited that brave little country a few years ago. I came back, after a very short stay of five or six days, tremendously struck by the sense of national purpose.

Everyone I met however humble, common citizens, who have nothing to do with Government felt that they were taking part in a great common enterprise. As the country advanced they themselves would get a better and fuller life. So they were prepared to make sacrifices for the country and work hard, because the whole country was moving as one. And it was no wonder to me, therefore, when recently we found how this sense of national purpose could be converted in bravery and daring and victory in the field of battle against overwhelming odds. That kind of purpose is lacking in our Parliament and Government today. To illustrate this point and to give you a feel of why I come to these harsh conclusions let us consider how some of these political parties are functioning.

Let us first take the ruling party - the Congress. Fortunately for them and unfortunately for the country they have survived the last Elections with a small majority of between 20 and 25, and with this they are carrying on the country. Like the Bourbons they have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing from their defeat in the recent elections. They have turned their back on the country in almost everything they do and then they have the impertinence to say that the country is behind them ! They continue with every disasterous policy at home and abroad which has brought this country to the mess, in which we find ourselves. One would have thought there was enough nationalisation. But no, they want to nationalise general insurance and banking. One would have thought there was enough taxation and that Mr. Nani Palkhiwala had proved that we were the highest and most oppressively taxed country in the world. But no, we have to add this year another Rs 100 crores to our taxes. One would have thought there was enough inflation and rise in prices but they had to bring in an inflationary budget which I promise you will raise prices, as it is doing now, in the months to come.

One would have thought their foreign policy of non-alignment had proved a disaster, had so isolated India in the world that they would now discard it. But no, they have to carry on the same loaded pro-Communist policy they have been doing all these years.

Recently we found how far they are out of touch with public opinion on two occasions. Their cowardice in the face of the brutal attack made on our diplomats in Peking when they did not have the guts to break off diplomatic relations with Peking, something that the whole country wanted. And then their perverse, unfair policy in West Asia, where they not only have had the folly to back the losing side, but also the wrong side. In that context, I am sure public opinion is delighted in India that the very loaded resolution which India had joined Yugoslavia and other countries in moving has been rejected by the U.N. General Assembly. The conscience of the world was able to see the unfairness of asking a little country whose very existence was menaced to restore territory and points of vantage to those who are out to destroy it again and who refuse to deal with and refuse to sit around the table with it. And this coming from a country that has talked of peace and coexistence for the last twenty years !

Another symptom of the malaise in the Congress Party was what we may call the Arjun Arora affair. Mr. Arjun Arora was a Communist for many years. Like many other Communists he joined the Congress Party. He made the charge, he is a member of the Rajya Sabha, that these two Congress Ministers were in the pay of Birlas. A very serious charge to make against two leaders of your own Party who happen to be in the Cabinet. The Prime Minister said she investigated the charge with the help of three of her senior colleagues. She came to the conclusion that the charges were false, and so she gave a clean bill to the two Ministers concerned. One would have expected that, immediately after this finding, the Congress Party would have expelled Mr. Arjun Arora from its ranks, because a man who makes malicious and false charges of this libellous nature against two of his senior leaders and colleagues cannot possibly have any place in that political party and certainly not as a member of its Parliamentary group. But something very peculiar happened. Mrs. Indira Gandhi said "Leave him alone, he is right also." Let us all be happy together, let the accuser and the falsely accused people

people all be good comrades." The result was that Mr. Arjun Arora, having got away with his libel, then proceeded to attack other members of the Party for daring to oppose the AICC resolution on the Privy Purses of the former rulers. And even today nobody has suggested that this man should be kicked out of the Party for falsely accusing his colleagues, that is, if the charges were false. Are we to understand then that the charges were not false? Is that why Mrs. Gandhi is protecting Mr. Arjun Arora. Or is it because he too is a fellow traveller? These are some of the questions that arise. Mr. Frank Moraes wrote an excellent article a few days ago called the "Neurosis of Power" where he had some very apt things to say about the Congress Party and its functioning today. He says "The guilty men were routed by India's people at the last General Elections. Yet they hunger for office; the neurosis of power continues to grip the Congress. Nothing more dismays or astenishes one who vocation brings him in frequent contact with the denizens of India's political world than their appallingly low I.Q. as compared with that of a businessmen, professional people, engineers, scientists, artists, educationists, doctors, technologists and bureaucrats i.e. people like you and me, their surprisingly low I.Q. compared to the rest of us, and in the case of not a few, less than even an average college graduate." I hope this will delight the hearts of the students present. Mr. Moraes goes on to say "Their ignorance is generally monumental, their conceit often beyond bounds or justification. Yet the shuddering thought occurs and persists that it is from these individuals that India's rulers are today drawn." I cannot say that this is an unfair picture though it is about members of my own political caste.

There are people who think that if one Congress leader is bad, another will be good, that if only in place of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Morarji Desai were there, everything in the garden would be rosy. I wish I could share that illusion, but I cannot. Frankly there is very little to choose between Congress leaders today at that level. It is true that Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Chavan are striking Left-Wing postures; that Mrs. Gandhi like her father has a weakness for Soviet

Russia and Communism. But, even so, if you judge by Mr. Morarji Desai's Budget, you will find there is little to choose.

Only the other day, Mr. Morarji Desai showed how he puts loyalty to the Party above the interests of the country when, having voted against the resolution for abolishing Privy Purses, he came to Bombay. He was asked what his position on this subject was. And he said, "Yes, it is true the abolition of privy purses of ex-rulers would be a breach of faith with those with whom this agreement was entered into. But that step has been recommended by the A.I.C.C. and I am bound by it. But this, when I read it, appeared to be a non-sequitur. It just does not follow. If somebody asked me to break faith, how am I bound by it. I always have an option. First of all, Conference decisions are not binding on democratic parties. It is only in the Soviet Union, it is only under Fascist and Communist dictatorships that the Government is bound by a party decision. In no part of the free world does any government ever consider itself to be automatically bound by resolutions passed by its political caucus. It may or may not carry them out. The reason for that is very sound, that the Government of a country does not owe responsibility to its party but to the electorate, who elected the Members of Parliament to whom they owe allegiance. In other words, Parliamentary Democracy means that the Government owes its mandate to the electorate and not to its party caucus. Mr. Morarji Desai, in giving that answer, showed an acceptance of a totalitarian pattern of Government. What was more, he showed obtuseness about the option open to him. What I would have liked to hear him say is "As Finance Minister, I shall not carry out this bad recommendation against which I voted. And if the Party or the Prime Minister want me to carry it out, they will have my resignation and will have to find themselves another Finance Minister. This is what any politician, any Cabinet Minister in the British Government would have said. It would have come naturally to them. The sad thing is that Mr. Morarji Desai who probably is the best of this bad bunch apparently did not even think of this alternative.

He followed his Party blindly before and he got Kamarajed as a result by his former Prime Minister. My fear frankly as a friend of his is that if he goes along this path, he will then be Kamarajed again by his former Prime Minister's daughter. He could do a great deal for the country but, unfortunately, since he puts Party above the country, I am afraid he is going to be a disappointment. It seems to me that when the Congress Party, which is already sinking, sinks faster and the ship is almost under the water and only the rear deck is still above water with the flag flying, there we will find Morarji Desai like Casabianca "The boy stood on the burning deck whence all but he had failed." This, I fear, is going to be Mr. Morarji Desai's sad fate, wedded to the wrong Party long after it has served its purpose.

Let us turn from the Congress Party to the two Socialist Parties, the PSP and the SSP, the Siamese twins who will not cooperate but are still sewn together whether they like it or not. The other day my good friend Madhu Limaye said in Hyderabad, I think, that they were the only pure Opposition. All the others were only partial oppositions. I was very amused to read that, because quite frankly, as I watch the scene, the two Socialist Parties appear to me to be mere satellites of the Congress Government and the Congress Party. After all their programme and the Congress programme are very close to one another. They all talk of democratic socialism, and it is very difficult, when you are so near the Government, to be really in opposition. Look for instance, at the abolition of the privy purses. At a time when many Congress members are opposing this silly move, this morning's papers show you that the leader of the PSP, Mr. S. N. Dwivedi, and Mr. Madhu Limaye, the leader of the SSP, have rushed forward to sign a letter to the Prime Minister saying: "Never mind your own Party, we are with you. You bring in a Bill and we shall vote for it. Is this the role of a pure Opposition?"

The fact is that the Socialist parties are torn within

themselves. They are suffering from ~~Schizophrenia~~ - a split personality. That is because they are democratic socialists and democracy and socialism are incompatible in one context. There is nothing like democratic socialism possible in this country any more. Thanks to the pattern of socialism that Pandit Nehru imposed on this country, socialism in this country has been anti-democratic. State Socialism or State capitalism of the Nehru pattern which we are practicing is essentially Soviet Socialism and this kind of Socialism cannot coexist very long with democracy. So the poor socialists, who are nice people, who are my personal friends and my former comrades, are torn in two. On the one hand they are good patriots and democrats, on the other they cannot and will not renounce their dogma or state socialism. I think, imperceptibly perhaps, they are moving our way towards democracy and away from socialism. My friend Dr. Lohia has now come to a point of equi-distance. He once used to be equi-distant between the Soviet Camp and the Atlantic Camp. Now he is equi-distant between the Camp of Free Enterprise and the camp of State Capitalism. He says both are equally bad. I am glad because that is 50 % progress. It is better than saying that the State is always right and private enterprise is always bad. He says "Both are equally bad, both are equally reactionary. A plague on both your houses!" The problem that arises then is what do we do meanwhile. Anyway, it is a move in the right direction. I really hope that ultimately those who call themselves democratic socialists in the country will realise that they will have to take a stand for democracy and if socialism was to go by the board it is too bad but it will have to go by the board. This is the choice some of us made many years ago.

Then we come to the Jan Sangh. The Jan Sangh is believed to be a "rightist party" like our own. So far as I am concerned, let me turn away the compliment. I see nothing "rightist" about the Swatantra Party. The Swatantra Party, is a liberal party, it is a middle of the road party, neither rightist nor leftist. Those terms

have no meaning any more. They are idle umbrella words to cover up lots of things. But the Jan Sangh is supposed to be a rightist party. And there are many good friends of mine in business and otherwise who have got illusions about the Jan Sangh. They think that the Jan Sangh is a strong pillar of private enterprise, of individual freedom, and so on. Upto a point the Jan Sangh is anti-communist and anti-socialist like ourselves. But I think this kind of over-simplification can be dangerous. Let me give you one or two examples. Two or three days ago there was an illegal strike by Air-India pilots. The Government, through Mr. Karan Singh, the Tourism Minister, denounced the Strike as illegal and called upon the workers to go back. The workers incidentally are some of the highest paid people in this country getting much more than many of us take home - the pilots of Air India. Anyway they were asked to resign from this illegal strike. The Members who spoke from various sides supported the Minister. Even the communists kept their mouths shut, knowing the strikers had no case. But the only champion the illegal strike found in the House was Mr. Kunwarlal Gupta, the Whip of the Jan Sangh- a very active and vocal member. He got up and attacked the Government and the Corporation and said that the strikers were quite right in going on strike. That was not what you would have expected from the Jan Sangh. And the same Honourable Member had given notice of a Private Member's Bill called the Foreign Aid (Maintenance of Account) Bill, which would provide that any Indian, individual or institution, who received even five or ten rupees from some foreign institution or friend must immediately rush to declare it to the Government of India, keep an account of that money, and then submit that account at the end of the year - the kind of ultra communist, totalitarian regimentation which should not even occur to a member of what is called a "rightist party."

There have been recent manifestations that the Jan Sangh or part of its ran and file, is very much inclined to be "leftist" in the bad sense of the word. Let me quote a sentence from the

Organiser which is the official organ of the Jan Sangh. It is a bright weekly journal. This is what it said among other things - "there is not much common between the Bharatiya Jan Sangh and the Communist Party of India. But we are all children of Bharat Mata. And we are all heir to the spirit of the twentieth century. That surely is some base to try to build on." At which Link, the Communist Journal in Delhi, wrote two long articles on the Jan Sangh full of praise for the sense of realism that is coming over the Jan Sangh. It said : "Experience is driving large sections of the Jan Sangh rank and file and middle leadership to the conclusion that the political future of their party lies neither in trying it to the apron strings of Swatantra nor in seeking a common language with the Congress, but in turning more and more to economic radicalism and in building friendly relations with the Left parties." The Weekly then goes on to say : " In all his talks and public speeches Mr. Nana Deshmukh (he is one of the most powerful RSS Jan Sangh leaders) has never uttered a word against the Communists. And has shown a willingness to take a practical view of all economic problems." In the Punjab says Link, the shift in the emphasis of the Jan Sangh is even more marked. "With regard to Communists, their attitude of absolute hostility has changed to one of cooperation on agreed points. I could go on reading chunks out of these two long articles. But the whole analysis and it is a very interesting one, shows that the Communists are now beginning to hope that they can have a "United Front from below" with the RSS and the Jan Sangh and eat into them. So, in case any of my friends have any illusions that the Jan Sangh is a consistent anti-socialist party, I would seriously ask them to think again.

Then we come to our good friends the Communists. The Communists are now in United Front Governments in Punjab, UP, Bihar, Bengal and Kerala. I once wrote a "History of the Communist Party." A little of it still remains in my mind and that is about the nature of "the United Front." It is the same throughout the world. There is nothing special about a communist United Front in India, China,

Germany or anywhere else. There is a pattern. The pattern is that the "Communist United Front " is a device of the Communist Party to swallow up and destroy its rivals. Rakosi, the former dictator of Hungary, called it "salami tactics". The technique is that you first join with four parties. Then you combine with three of the four to destroy the fourth, telling the three "you are good progressives like us, but that fellow is a reactionary, let us get him out." So they all three murder the fourth. Then three are left like the "nine little nigger boys." Then they get hold of two and tell them the third fellow is a reactionary. Let us finish him. So they do away with the third. Then two are left. Ultimately one is left. And then they swallow up that last one. This is what happened in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and a string of other countries. This is what is going to happen if our fellow-travelling friends in these States are not careful about these gentlemen in the Punjab, UP, Bihar and Bengal and Kerala. Moscow was once asked by telegram by the British Communist Party in the twenties - "What should we do about Mr. Henderson ?" Mr. Henderson was then the leader of the British Labour Party. "Shall we support the Labour Party or not?" And the answer came, "Yes. We shall support Mr. Henderson as the rope supports the hanged man." This is all what communist support means. And that is the process to which my good friends Sardar Gurnam Singh, Mr. Charan Singh and Mr. Mahamaya Prasad are going to be subjected. They are becoming prisoners of their Communist allies. If they don't look out, they will be destroyed in the process. What is happening in Naxalbari is particularly significant because there is a common border for all practical purposes with Communist China. This is very important, because it may make all the difference between survival and destruction. Malaysia had a guerrilla war on its hands, if you remember, a few years ago. It was only after a great deal of fighting they were able to destroy the Communist guerillas and today Malaysia is one of the most forward looking, progressive States in Asia under its most enlightened leader, Tunku Abdul Rahman, a good friend of India. But then Malaysia had no common frontier

Communist China. But North Viet Nam has.

The Peking Communists have invented a new technique. To surround people in large numbers, to shout at them, to assault at them to degrade them, to humiliate them. This is the Gherao. What the Communists are doing in Calcutta to managers, technicians, employers of labour, their political opponents, is nothing but the carrying out of Mao Tse Tung's brutal tactics of the "Red Guards" in his own country. Naxalbari is, as of now, a symbol of that disease.

People say it is another Telengana. I would like to warn them that that is a false analysis. Telengana in Andhra was far away from the borders and the Indian Army and police were able to put an end to it because no power from outside could come in and intervene on behalf of the Communists in Telengana in 1948. Naxalbari is not Telengana. It is much more dangerous than Telengana, because it is possible for infiltration to take place from Communist China into Naxalbari, as in Viet Nam, across the frontier. Therefore, if Naxalbari grows, as it looks like doing, it is going to be much more dangerous to our country than Telengana ever was. Telengana, later on, will look like a picnic, compared to what we are going to face in Naxalbari. The Chinese Communists make no secret about the fact that they have got a foothold on our territory. First they said, I am quoting from the Indian Express of June 30th a Radio Peking broadcast. "We have established a communist regime in a 240 square mile area in India for the first time. On 1st July then went further: "Naxalbari is the front paw of the revolutionary armed struggle launched by the Indian people under the guidance of Mao Tse Tung." And it hailed the emergence of the revolutionary armed struggle. And in case Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee does not know his fate, the poor man seems to be incapable of thinking for himself any more, they described his government as "a tool of the Indian reactionaries to deceive the people." So he should know what will happen to him if the time comes. Peking Radio went on the air two days later, on July 4th, to make fun of the Central Government's inability to tackle the Naxalbari rising and predicted that "the days were not far off when Mao Tse Tung's thought

would guide the entire Indian people. A patch of red area has already been established under revolutionary Indian Communist Party and very soon it will spread to other parts." Peking Radio said, quoting a Peking Daily editorial. "The rebellion by the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling District is a spark of Chairman Mao's thought growing on Indian soil." Peking Radio said Naxalbari was just a beginning. And that very soon bases would be established in other parts of the country. And then a gradual takeover of the cities would be effected. This is a very clear indication of when Peking thinks it is going to take Naxalbari in our national life.

Now let me tell you what is happening in the city of Calcutta. Unfortunately, the Bengal press is so terrorised these days by these gondas that they are frightened of reporting of what is going on in Calcutta. A Congress member of Parliament was physically assaulted. I will read to you a letter that Mr. Bimal Kanti Ghosh, the MP has written to the Prime Minister : Telling her of what happened to him in her domain. He said: "First of all they snatched away my pen, spectacles, money and amulets. Thereafter, I was completely stripped of all clothes and made stark naked. Simultaneously they numbering forty or fifty men, began to assault me with fist blows, shoes and a piece of bamboo. I fell on the ground but the assault continued. Then they pulled me up, dragged me to the Grand Trunk Road which is at a distance and in that naked condition I was paraded on the road before hundreds of people who, being terror stricken, did not venture to raise any voice or protest or to run to my rescue. I was made to kneel down occasionally (just like our diplomats in Peking) and then kicked on my face and abdomen with boots as a result of which two of my front teeth are hanging loose." He writes this from a hospital. "There have been many injuries on my face and internal haemorrhage in my right eye which is without vision. They pressed my throat again and again to throttle me. The upper lip has been torn to pieces, which has been stitched. Marks of injury are present all over the body and the entire back

is marked with stripes caused by assault with the piece of bamboo. Things continued in this fashion for a long time. Ultimately they said that they would kill me. They began to drag me by the road which runs from the GrandTrunk Road to the near refugee colony. But on the road they stopped and began to quarrel among themselves regarding the method and manner of killing me. At that time they became somewhat unmindful of me. Just at that time, three local men swooped upon me, snatched me away from the clutches and took me to a nearby house." That is how this wretched man survived. This is happening in our country where we are supposed to have a democratic constitution that safeguards us from this kind of behaviour.

Now yesterday, the Bengal Cabinet met and they ran away from their duty. Having given two ultimatums that if certain people did not surrender by a certain hour, the police would go and arrest them, under Left Communist pressure, they passed a cowardly resolution that the police must do their duty but they must not arrest these goondas who have murdered people and against whom warrants for murder are pending. It is quite clear to me that the present United Front Government of Bengal is unfit to protect the lives of the people of Bengal and their liberties. Either they must now mend their ways, kick out the Left Communists from their Government, restore order and protect the people of Bengal from this tyranny or they should go. There cannot be any more tolerance of these Chinese Communist conditions on our soil.

There are some who say that, because this is a non-Congress Government, we should keep quiet, we should adopt a double standard of morality, we should go on condemning Congress governments when wrong things happen but keep our mouths shut in a guilty silence because some non-Congress Government is doing it. This must stop. I for one am not prepared to be gagged even if I am in Opposition today. What is this animal called "non-Congress"? What kind of animal is this? Are we to be described by a negative?

Just because I am not a Congress man, am I to keep company with thugs and murderers ? What have we of the Swatantra Party, who are democratic, got in common with these Fifth Column traitors who follow Mao Tse Tung and are trying to destroy our country ? We have nothing in common with them. Yet I have been told : "You are part of non-Congress !" I refuse to belong to this kind of conglomeration which has nothing in common. And that is why I say that it is time that this non-Congress nonsense must stop. Let us call things by their proper names. Let us not connive at wrong doings because a non-Congress Government or a non-Congress Party is better than the Left Communist Party, as many people do, let us consider them for a few minutes. I do not deny that very important changes are taking place in Soviet Russia. They are encouraging changes. They are changes on the side of reason, away from madness, a returning sanity and acceptance of human nature, a very slow, grudging acceptance of the right to human happiness though not yet of human liberty. But at least things are better than they were under Stalin. Let us be grateful for that. Let us wish the Russian people well -- that they will gradually advance to freedom and join the rest of humanity in freedom. I am distinguish between Soviet Foreign Policy and Mao tseTung's Foreign Policy. I am not blind to these distinctions. But I do say that, as between one fifth column dictated to by Peking and another fifth column dictated to by Moscow, there is nothing to choose. Both are equally evil and dangerous to the freedom of our country and our democracy.

When the election campaign was on, a new radio station opened in Moscow or somewhere on Soviet soil called "Radio Peace and Progress" Our Government has done its best to hide from the Indian people what went on over "Radio Peace and Progress", but being a democracy as we are, truth has leaked out. And Mr. S. K. Patil has done his bit in giving publicity to that truth. "Radio Peace and Progress" took a direct hand in the Indian General Elections. You may not have listened to it, but there are other people who were influenced by it. Radio, Peace and Progress campaigned actively on the side of the Communist Parties and their friends, and actively against us democratic who are

the enemies of totalitarian dictatorship. A party that they attacked more than any, I am proud to say, was the Swatantra Party. Rajaji, Prof. Ranga and I were all called names - we were American agents, we were imperialist stooges and so on. Rajaji was described as a "right reactionary", and so on.

What did they say about the Congress Party? It is very interesting. They started distinguishing between Congressmen. Some Congressmen were "progressive" and others were reactionaries? From this you will be able to judge who are the stooges of Moscow and who are the patriots. Our fellow patriots who were called reactionaries like us, were Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. S.K. Patil. Radio Peace and Progress from Moscow run by the Soviet Government, which claims to practise Panchshila, said this about Morarji Desai and Patil: Morarji Desai and S.K. Patil act as if they are not Indians, as if they are not born of Indian mothers." In case you think that the Radio operator went off his head and poor Kosygin did not know about it, Pravda and Izvestia, the two official papers of the Soviet dictatorship denigrated Patil and Desai in language with Pravda and Izvestia under Stalin has reserved for enemies. Patil was described as the "unashamed lackey of American imperialism" and Desai as a "puppet of Indian monopolists."

But there were some other Congress people who were not reactionaries, and who were very much pleased and supported; Moscow Radio said that they should be elected by the Indian people. And who were these people? They were Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Kamraj Nader and Mr. Krishna Menon. These were the three shining lights of progress and patriotism whom the Communists wanted to see back in office. So this is what they are upto.

Recently, a very interesting book has been published in India by Lalvani Publishers "Moscow's Hand in India" by Lalvani Publishing House. It is written by a Swiss Research worker, whom I happened to know and who is an extremely reliable analyst of the situation. He has visited India many times and has done a

wonderful piece of research which I am sorry to say none of us Indians have been able to do. He has collected here evidence of the Soviet Embassy and the Soviet Government's intervention in our political life - in the press, in publishing and so on. It tells of the way in which the Soviet dictatorship is trying to subvert the Indian constitution and Indian democracy and capture power for its stooges and Fifth Column in this country. I would advise you to get this book quickly for two reasons: It is selling out very fast, it has got a quality of James Bond about it but is quite accurate. Secondly, the Soviet Embassy, has, I am told, demanded that this book be banned, because it tells the truth about the Soviet Embassy. So please get this book quickly while you can. Now what does this book contain? Just very briefly it contains data to show that the Soviet Government spends ten million dollars every year on propaganda in India, on bribing newspaper people, on financing publishing houses, on sponsoring publications, and so on. You may not know that today the Communist Party of India is the biggest press owner in this country. The Jains own the Times of India, the Hindustan Times is owned by the Birlas, but the Communist Party of India is the biggest press monopolist in this country with the Soviet money that is coming through the Embassy. It owns, according to official reports, 18 dailies, 20 weekly journals, two fortnightlies, 12 monthlies and one quarterly. The names are listed in an appendix in this book. The book also shows that the Soviet Embassy from day to day guides the activities of the Communist Party and all its publishing agencies, like the New Age News Service, which is a news service for handing out material. Mr. Sager has been able to get hold of documents which were put out by the New Age News Agency sometime in the Summer and Autumn of 1965. He has checked it with literature put out by the Soviet Embassy in its own name. And through this research he was able to establish that the stencilled material which the New Age News Agency put out was stencilled on the typewriters in the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi. There are handwriting experts and there are typewriting experts. Now Mr. Sager handed over

the evidence to the Zurich Police Bureau, paid a fee and said : "Will you kindly tell us whether these two documents and there were a series of them, were or were not typed on the same typewriter ? And the Zurich Bureau gave a report which is published in this book to say that these documents put out by the New Age News Agency of the Communist Party of India were actually typed on typewriters in the Soviet Embassy on which the Soviet Embassy put out its own stuff. Now this proves that the Soviet Embassy is at the back of the Right Communist Party. It proves that the Right Communist Party is nothing but the paid hirelings of the Soviet Government and it also proves that the Soviet Embassy, through the Communist Party, is carrying on activities which as an agency it is not supposed to do as an Embassy. There is a thing called the Third Country rule which is part of normal diplomacy throughout the world - that when you are in another country you must not attack governments which are the friends of that country. Now, the Soviet Embassy cannot attack the American Government in its own name. But it has used the New Age News Agency to break the Third Country Rule and carry on Anti-American propaganda through its cats paws.

When this was brought to the attention of our Government, Mr. Chagla had to answer a question in the Rajya Sabha some months ago and you will be amused at his answer. He said, "Yes, we received this complaint and we asked the Soviet Embassy who said they did not do it so the matter is closed." I complain to a policeman - "Look this man is putting his hand into my pocket. He is picking my pocket." The policeman asks him : "Were you doing it ?" The man says "no" and the policeman says "Mr. Masani, he is innocent - you can go away." Would I be wrong in saying that our Government is becoming a satellite Government of the Soviets ?

Now, in this situation, what is a democrat to do ? There is a very real problem here which I would like you to consider.

Every day, that the Congress Government is in office, the country drifts to economic disaster and political chaos. But if

we throw this Government out and form a "non-Congress Government" like the Governments in Punjab, UP, Bihar and Bengal, then the Communist Fifth Column comes into the Government and we only accelerate the drift to chaos and destruction. This is a real dilemma. I call it the Democrat's Dilemma. What is an Indian democrat to do under such conditions? He can neither prop up the Congress Party in power nor can he bring it down. For if he does, a vacuum is created for the communists to step in. Our Party, the Swatantra Party, has decided that we will not sit in a Government with Communists. We will not be a Party to a coalition government in Delhi of which Communists are members, because we know what has happened in other parts of the world. We know what is happening in Bengal today. Then what do we do? This is a very real problem which all of us will have to face in the coming weeks and months.

To me there does not appear to be any short cut. In a democracy you have got to educate your masters. We have got to educate the people the reality of this problem. Unfortunately, time is running out. We cannot take too long over this education, otherwise we shall be destroyed before we are educated. It is a very dangerous and difficult situation.

But I think there is a third way out. Neither a Congress Government nor a non-Congress Government with Communists in it. And I conceive it is the duty of good democrats, including members of my Party to work for a new Government in place of the present one in which all democrats come together but the Communists are kept out. The democrats must come together irrespective of party labels and today's barriers. You can call it a Government of all the Talents. If you can leave out the Communist talent for subversion! You can call it a National Government, but it is a very ambiguous phrase because a national Government, most people would say, should include the Communist Parties also. Therefore I reject the slogan of a National Government.

I would call it a Government of Democratic Unity. A Government representing the unity of all democrats to save the

country from external and internal threats. Can such a Government be formed ? I believe it can. I believe that such a Government can be formed provided a hundred Congress members of the Lok Sabha can decide to turn their backs on Pandit Nehru's disastrous policies and to join hands with us to form a new Government. More or less this is the arithmetic - we want a hundred Congress MPs to join in forming a coalition government with the Opposition Parties minus the Communists. I believe this can be done, but the process of education on all sides has to go further. On the opposition side, the blind hatred of the Congress, which they richly deserve for their misdeeds for twenty years, has to be controlled. I am not against anger with the Congress, I feel angry also. But we have to control that anger when worse evils appear on the scene. That does not mean we have to line up behind Mrs. Indira Gandhi and take the country to perdition. We have to throw her Government out the first moment we can. But we shall have to replace her Government with something better, not something worse. And if a hundred Congress members of Parliament had the patriotism and the intelligence to realise that they have come to a dead end, that this is not the path, then I think that this can be done tomorrow. But where are these hundred intelligent, patriotic Congress members of Parliament ? There are many in the lobbies, many in the Central Hall, but none when it comes to the floor of Parliament. Congressmen today are the backward children in our liberal school. If we cannot do this, if we shall lose the race- because this is a race between the intelligence and patriotism of the Indian people on the one hand and the onset of disaster, this Vietnam descending on us, on the other. Because that is what Naxalbari is going to be. It is not going to be another Telengana. It is going to be a Viet Nam. Who is going to win this race ? This is the big question.

If we lose the race, then I am afraid our young democracy will die and we shall follow the path of Pakistan, Ghana and Indonesia.

What happened in those countries ? The politicians were selfish, the politicians wrangled among themselves, the politicians forgot the country, they clung to power when the people had lost confidences in them. In the end the people turned against all politicians, threw them all out and turned to the Army to save them. In Pakistan, it happened in a peaceful way; in Ghana also it happened luckily in a peaceful way because Nkrumah happened to be away in Peking at the right moment. But in Indonesia where Mr. Soukarno simply refused to hand over power years after he had lost the confidence of the people, something very horrible happened. In the end, the people took the law into their own hands and 500,000 men, women and children were butchered because they were communists or pro-communists. I am an anti-communist, but I do not want that to happen in our country. I think that we should save our country without going through some of those horrors. But what are we to do with these Sukarnos of ours ? Some of them go on saying there can be no coalition government in peacetime. We must rule alone. They have got 38 % of the people behind them but they don't want to share power. Now I ask these people - 'If you say there can be no coalition in peacetime how is the Republic Government to be carried on if in the next elections you lose your majority ? More than half the countries in the world today have coalition governments in peacetime, for the simple reason that no one party gets a majority. And the King's Government or the Queen's Government or the Republic's Government has to be carried on. You cannot have anarchy in a country because you don't want a coalition. So these backward children, who cannot think in clear terms, have to be educated to realise that when you do not have 50% of the people behind you it is your job to form a coalition government, to form a broadbased government which can stand up against external dangers and against internal threats.

I am an optimist and I would like to think that we shall through, but I would be failing in honesty and frankness if I did not say that, watching Parliament, sitting there and watching this happen, I would not put our chances of survival higher than 50-50. I think it is an even chance that democracy will survive.