

THE EMERGENCY

With the acceptance by the Government of India of Communist China's unilateral cease-fire and the situation on the frontier returning to pre-offensive days, leaders of the Swatantra Party have made statements suggesting withdrawal by the Government of the National Emergency.

Writing under the heading "Not short or long but permanent" in regard to the Chinese threat across the border, Rajaji said that the hot war had suddenly ended by an unilateral decision of China. "We are now on the business of long term security and defence. The kind of steps for meeting the emergency of the hot war between China and India which were then taken have no longer any relevancy. An armistice has come into being. We must now see what has to be done to meet the continuing Chinese menace which is not only big but also permanent."

Rajaji added: "We should not prolong the laws of emergency but restore normal laws that secure adequate power for the government of the day and at the same time protect the rights of citizens. Emergency laws should have a termination. It would be absurd and anarchic to maintain extraordinary powers for Government through a period of admittedly permanent conditions. Otherwise, it would mean that owing to the permanent neighbourhood of a powerful communist expansionist nation, we too definitely give up democracy and adopt a different type of political life and governance, such as prevail in totalitarian countries. It would be a silent conquest for communists and a defeat of democracy. The emergency laws should therefore go now, fundamental rights and democracy fully restored and firm alliances with democracies abroad negotiated for the permanent defence of India."

Addressing a press conference in Lucknow on December 27, Mr. M. R. Masani asked for the withdrawal of the Proclamation of Emergency in the country now that the Government had accepted the Chinese cease-fire proposals and "we had moved from the phase of active hostility to that of armistice."

Mr. Masani added that on the Prime Minister's own admission the dangerous expansionism of the Chinese could last for years. Democracy might be liquidated meanwhile, he warned.

He elucidated the point by saying that only that part of the proclamation which related to the curtailment of civil liberties should be withdrawn, while those which are necessary for rearming the country and removing its military unpreparedness may remain.

Referring to the arrest of three patriotic young men

in Delhi, Mr. Masani affirmed that this was a case of misuse of the emergency powers by the Government.

THE DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

In the December issue of the Newsletter we had reported exhaustively the debate in Parliament on Chinese aggression and the Defence of India Regulations and Bill. Two more speeches by Maharani Gayatri Devi during the China debate and by Shri Anandchand of Bilaspur on the Defence of India Bill in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha are reported in Annexure A and B respectively.

Seldom has a Parliamentary session been fraught with more significance for the country, perhaps even for the course of history, than the session recently concluded.

In the concluding debate in the Lok Sabha on December 10, notice of a Substitute Motion was tabled by members of the Swatantra Party. It referred to the motion by Shri Nehru regarding the border situation resulting from invasion of India by China, and emphasised that the country was pulsating with a spirit of sacrifice and patriotic fervour, ready to meet the Chinese challenge but said that the Government had failed to give the expected lead. The Government should make the nation and the nations of the world fully conscious of the fact that the cease-fire proposal of the Chinese was treacherous and sought to leave the aggressor on Indian soil. It prevented India from fortifying and guarding strategic passes and places. It also left various strategic mountain passes leading into NEFA, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Chusai in the hands of the invaders, apart from an airfield and forty three check-posts in the Ladakh region. The substitute motion urged that:

1. There should be no negotiations till the Chinese withdrew to the actual customary, traditional and lawful boundary;
2. The resolution passed unanimously by the House on November 14, 1962 should be upheld. Rapid arming and garrisoning of the country should take place and the Chinese notified that, if they failed to withdraw completely, India would be compelled to launch an offensive to retake her territories;
3. The Government should refer the Chinese Aggression to the U.N.
4. India should break off diplomatic relations with China;
5. India should seek massive military aid from

friendly nations as it was a fight of democracy against communism;

6. The Government should make every endeavour to establish viable political relations with Pakistan and Nepal;
7. The Dalai Lama should be allowed to act freely on the political plane.

Two speeches in the Lok Sabha by Prof. N. G. Ranga and Mr. P. K. Deo during the debate on the Cease fire have been reported in Annexure A.

Angry words were exchanged between the Prime Minister and the members of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha after the initiation of the debate on Chinese proposals on December 10. No new or significant point was made by the Prime Minister in the course of his reply to the debate and the back benches heatedly interrupted all the time. During one such fiery exchange, Prof. Ranga was heard to exclaim: "He should have been dismissed long ago. .he has failed us so many times."

To give the reader an idea of the atmosphere that prevailed in the House during the debate we give below an extract from one such exchange that took place between the Prime Minister on one side and Prof. Ranga and Maharani Gayatri Devi on the other with certain remarks made by the Speaker:

"Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: My difficulty is that Prof. Ranga pretends to be an expert about things he knows nothing (interruption) I am sorry.

Smt. Gayatri Devi: If the hon. Prime Minister had known anything about anything, we would not have got into this mess today.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not catch what the hon. Member said.

Mr. Speaker: That was nothing very important.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, I did not catch what the hon. Member said. It is a patent fact. . .

Mr. Speaker: What we cannot hear is not important at all.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati) (PSP) But we heard it.

Smt. Gayatri Devi: I might repeat it.

The Speaker: The Maharani Sahiba need not worry. Prof. Ranga is strong enough. He can answer. . . (interruption)

Smt. Gayatri Devi: After all, if the hon. Prime Minister and the Government had a knowledge of all these things, they would not have got us into this mess.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot bandy words with a lady member. . . (interruption)

Shri Hem Barua: Chivalry

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: One of the biggest — it is not often said in public but I shall say it — is the future of the relations of the Soviet Union with China. This is a world question in which every Chancery in the world is deeply interested, whether it is in the United States, England, France, Germany, Yugoslavia or any other country.

Shri Ranga: Another dream."

OPPOSITION M.P.s PLEA

A letter to the Leader of the House, signed by Prof. Ranga and other Opposition spokesmen stated that it was much to be regretted that their suggestion that, as long as the Emergency lasted, Parliament should be summoned and be in session for at least a week every month besides the regular sessions was rejected. An informal Parliamentary Committee

should be formed because of the Emergency comprising of Leaders, deputy leaders and a representative of each Opposition group and of the Ruling Party and a few other important leaders of the House, which would be convened frequently, and act as a liaison between the Government and the Parliament if the latter was not in session.

In another letter to Shri Satyanarayan Sinha, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Prof. Ranga and other opposition leaders wrote that various M.P.s were keen on visiting the Frontiers which were affected by Chinese aggression. If accommodation and arrangements for a large number of men was problematic, then the areas could be visited by small groups of six to ten. First hand knowledge acquired by these visits would be most useful to the Parliament.

WITHDRAW POSTERS WITH MR. NEHRU'S PICTURE

Speaking at a reception arranged for him by the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Swatantra Party, Prof. N. G. Ranga demanded the withdrawal of posters with Prime Minister Nehru's pictures issued by the Government exhorting the people to support defence efforts. "Mr. Nehru", said Prof. Ranga, "is the Prime Minister but he is not India. Through such posters Mr. Nehru was being approximated with the motherland." Prof. Ranga said that such posters were being issued to exploit the present situation for party interests. He added that this personality cult was unconstitutional and unseemly. "It would be quite another thing if pictures of the President who was also the Commander in Chief, were displayed or better still pictures of our jawans who had died in battle." He also stated that the seriousness of the Chinese challenge required that Mr. Nehru devote his entire energy to being Prime Minister and delegate his other responsibilities to his cabinet colleagues.

Referring to the suspension of the Constitution relating to fundamental rights he said, "though in name we are in a democracy we have invested the government with totalitarian powers. The Government is not national or a coalition government but a party government. Even in the party it is the ruling group. To this government, party and group, we have given away the privilege of fundamental rights. This is a very great sacrifice we have been asked to make in the very beginning of the national emergency and it is the duty of Government to save the people from the clutches of totalitarian and powermad politicians."

ARREST OF THREE PATRIOTS IN DELHI

Writing in *Swarajya* of December 29, Rajaji referred to the arrest of three anti-Communists in Delhi and said:

"On December 15, three young men who are definitely opposed to communists and actively organised work in that direction and are as good patriots as anybody else, Sri N. N. Dutta, Sri Roop Narain and Sri Dharampal, were arrested in exercise of the powers taken under the Defence of India Act. These young men had issued a joint open letter to members of Parliament questioning the correctness

of the policies followed by the Government and criticised Sri Nehru. The arrests will make people think that it is not quite safe to organise anti-Chinese opinion. The powers taken to meet an emergency should not be used in this way when China's unilateral cease-fire has been practically accepted and converted into a defacto armistice. We cannot afford to let the rule of law thus die in our country, making an excuse of the Chinese danger. Almost all important organs of public opinion have unequivocally condemned these arrests. If Government does not revise its wrong decision, it means that it will build the Defence of India Act into a barbed wire fence around Sri Nehru."

Addressing a public meeting in Cuttack on December 17, Mr. Masani described the arrest of the three young men in Delhi as "misuse" of the Defence of India Act and said it was strange that while top leaders of the Communist Party were given facilities to go out of India, those pointing out mistakes of the Government were arrested in Delhi.

The President of the Maharashtra and Bombay city units of the Party Mr. N. Dandekar issued a press statement on hearing of the arrests on Dec. 17. He said:

"The arrest and detention of Mr. N. N. Dutta, Secretary of The Committee Against Chinese Aggression, Mr. Roop Narain, Secretary of the Reception Committee, Himalaya Bachao Sammelan and Mr. Dharampal, Secretary of the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development, causes a good deal of concern because it indicates that the fear widely expressed in Parliament that the emergency powers under the Defence of India Act might be abused was not altogether unjustified.

"Admittedly, these three young political workers were actively engaged in organising and consolidating anti-Chinese opinion. It may be that they also resorted to criticism of Government policies and particularly of the Prime Minister. But in my opinion, in a democratic country, this is hardly an adequate reason for arresting them and thereby putting an end to the excellent work they were doing in mobilising public opinion against the Chinese Communist invasion of India.

"Apart from the misuse of the Defence of India Act which these arrests indicate, such action is bound to have the disastrous effect of undermining the people's WILL TO RESIST the Communist Chinese.

"It is hoped that the Government of India will have wiser second thoughts and, by setting free these three gentlemen, fulfil the solemn assurances they gave in Parliament that the powers conferred on them under the Defence of India Act would be used with discrimination and respect for the Rule of Law.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

Addressing a public meeting in Madras on December 19, Rajaji categorically affirmed that India should enter into firm alliance with America and Britain and take positive steps for greater amity and friendship with Pakistan. He urged that Prime

Minister Nehru should visit these countries for this purpose. "It was not prestige that needed to be saved now," he said, "but the country's interests and integrity."

He added that the initiative for offensive, time and place of fighting had been allowed to be with China. The cease-fire declared unilaterally had also been allowed to become an armistice.

Rajaji went on to add that he would not be surprised if China took the initiative again to declare war against India. Stating that China was a powerful enemy, Rajaji said: "To match its strength militarily any amount of deficit financing and additional taxation would not suffice. Help and assistance of world powers like America and Britain should therefore be obtained. The Communist Chinese had recognised the strength of these forces and hence had not done anything to take over Hongkong and Formosa.

Referring to what he termed as Russian wrath, Rajaji expressed the opinion that "there was no need to fear that India would invite Russia's wrath by an alliance with the West. In fact Russia would welcome an opportunity to point out to China how its policy and approach had misfired and had led India away from them.

Rajaji regretted that some Congress leaders had chosen to construe as treachery any expression of dissatisfaction at some of the things the Government did. The national emergency, he affirmed should not be exploited by the ruling party to strengthen its position in the country."

In a reference to the release of some Communists, Rajaji warned that it was a dangerous thing to have left some Communists free while arresting some others.

Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy who presided over the meeting said that the Swatantra Party gave its whole hearted but not uncritical support to the Government in furthering the war effort.

Prof. Ranga who also addressed this meeting said that victory would be ours because Dharma was on our side. If there had been a reversal, it was not because of any weakness or fault of the Jawans but because of the country's misfortune to have the kind of leadership it now has.

Mr. G. K. Sundaram Vice-President of the Madras unit stated that China seemed to have its own five year plans — first to absorb Tibet and secondly to absorb that part of India which would give her the upper hand.

THE DRIFT BACK

While in Lucknow on December 27, Mr. M. R. Masani, addressed a press conference.

Mr. Masani said the Prime Minister's recent interviews with certain foreign correspondents had shown that he was drifting back to his old illusions. He had apparently learnt nothing and forgotten nothing during these troubled days. This was a grave danger to the country. It might lead to a disaster which overtook the country two months ago.

NEWS FROM STATE PARTIES

BOMBAY

The Bombay Unit has been collaborating actively in the war effort with other democratic groups. Nearly 400 Swatantra Party volunteers in the City helped in collecting funds on the 16th of December which was observed as 'Victory Day'.

The youth section of the Unit has been co-operating with the National Youth Front which has been started in Bombay with representatives of all major democratic political parties. Mr. Madhu N. Mehta and Mr. Girish Munshi are our representatives on this Front. Party workers from various constituencies are also doing useful work as members of the Citizens' Defence Committee at the constituency level.

Rajaji arrived in Bombay on the 19th of December. He made a major political speech on 23rd December while addressing a distinguished gathering of Bombay citizens at a dinner organised by the Bombay Branch. Brief extracts from the speech are reported in annexure C.

A Discussion Group Meeting was organised by the Colaba Unit of the Party under the presidency of Prof. P. J. Shroff on December 14, on the subject "Chinese Aggression and People's Duty."

A Reception was given to Prof. N. G. Ranga on December 12 when he visited Bombay.

Rajaji's birthday was celebrated by the Party with a meeting of Active Workers when the following resolution was unanimously adopted.

"We, the workers of the Swatantra Party (Bombay Region) in felicitating Rajaji on his 85th birthday pledge ourselves to the cause of Swatantra. We shall not rest, we shall not slacken our efforts in driving the invaders out of the country and strengthening the cause of individual freedom."

DELHI

A Swatantra Party meeting was held at the N.S.C.I. Prof. N. G. Ranga, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Thakur Yashpal Singh, Sardar Kapur Singh and Mr. Morarji Vaidya spoke.

A public meeting was held at Karol Bagh which was largely attended and addressed by Thakur Yashpal Singh, M.P. Another meeting was held at Constitution Club and was addressed by Prof. N. G. Ranga and Thakur Yashpal Singh.

The Party Office has further spread its organisation in Kuncha-Pariram, Shahadara and Dev Nagar by opening three new units.

Colonel H. R. Pasricha, referring to a report that the leaders of Delhi's political parties had decided not to criticise Mr. Nehru or the present Government during the emergency, clearly asserted that the Swatantra Party would always uphold the democratic right of political expression and offer healthy criticism whenever necessary.

The Party's Statement of Policy regarding the Chinese offensive has been translated and printed in Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi and widely distributed.

GUJARAT

Initiating the debate on the official resolution on Chinese Aggression in the Gujarat Legislative

Assembly on December 17, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, our State President and leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, severely criticised Congressmen who condemned critics of Prime Minister Nehru as 'traitors'. He was joined in his criticism by the P.S.P. Leader, Mr. Ishwarlal Desai.

Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel read out a passage from *Congress Patrika*, the official organ of the Gujarat Congress which described the Swatantra and Jan Sangh leaders as 'traitors', because of their criticism of Prime Minister Nehru.

Turning to the Treasury benches he asked whether the Defence of India rules were to be interpreted as the Defence of the Congress Act. "The nation", Bhailalbhai affirmed, "was not the property of any individual or party. It was the duty and the constitutional right of the opposition to watch over the way in which the frontiers of the country were guarded. Those who failed to protect them were answerable to the people" he thundered.

Among other Swatantra members who spoke during the debate were R. N. Patel and Mr. Manmohandas Desai.

The Gujarat Unit reports the participation by Lt. General Nathu Singh in a Youth Rally sponsored by the Gujarat Youth Organisation among whose members is Mr. Pravin Singh Solanki M.P. of our Party. Subsequently the Lieutenant General visited Vallabh Vidya Nagar, where he addressed students.

Mr. K. M. Munshi who was in Ahmedabad on the 16th, addressed a press conference at the Party's office. Lieutenant General Nathu Singh also took part. Subsequently the General also met party workers where discussions in regard to stimulating party activities at the district level were held.

The President of the Gujarat Unit, along with a number of leaders from Kutch, met the Chief Minister, Dr. Jivraj, to discuss the issue of Inamdari Rights and the victimisation of Kutch. The Government of Gujarat has agreed to make some concessions but on certain issues they are still very adamant. All concerned are hoping to arrive at a workable solution.

MYSORE

On December 25 Mr. V. P. Menon, a member of the Central Organising Committee of the Party, unveiled a portrait of Rajaji at the office of the Malleswaram Constituency unit in Bangalore city.

Speaking on the occasion, Mr. V. P. Menon who has been keeping indifferent health in the recent past, said that two reasons had prompted him in spite of his indisposition to participate in the function; firstly it was a great honour for any Indian to be associated with Rajaji and to do honour to a great man of this country; and secondly he held the workers of the Party in Malleswaram in great esteem as persons who have been carrying on ceaseless party activity.

Referring to the performance of the party in the recent General Elections, Mr. V. P. Menon thought that it was encouraging. He drew a comparison with the Swaraj Party who he said were not as successful as the Swatantra Party when the former contested elections for the first time.

In a reminiscent mood he referred to an anecdote

last month when Rajaji was asked by someone at a public meeting as to what he (Rajaji) was doing between 1947 and 1950 to have an opposition at that time. Pat came Rajaji's reply, "There was no occasion at that time for me to form an opposition. There was Vallabhbhai Patel there."

ORISSA

The Executive Committee of the State Unit met in Bhubaneswar from the 17th to 19th December. The meeting passed a resolution moved by State President Shri R. N. Singh Deo paying homage to our jawans and officers who had laid down their lives for the country.

Another resolution condoled the sad demise of Mr. Baidyanath Hota, an enthusiastic worker of the Party who died in a jeep accident.

A sub-committee was formed for drafting rules for elections to the different committees of the State, districts and constituencies in accordance with the Party's constitution.

The Committee on the recommendation of the Kalahandi District Unit decided to expel Shri Kapil Narayan Tewari of the Party for his acts of indiscipline.

On the 18th, among those present at the Committee meeting was the Party's General Secretary, Mr. M. R. Masani.

A few resolutions were adopted unanimously:

A resolution paid tribute to the brave officers and jawans of the Indian Armed Forces and homage to those who had laid down their lives; expressed gratitude to the United States of America, United Kingdom and other Western Democracies who had come to India's assistance; noted with regret the delay in the functioning of the State Defence Council, resulting in lack of co-operation and clear guidance; welcomed the setting up of State Defence and Citizens Councils; Regretted the controversy created by arbitrary changes of names in the Council; condemned as undemocratic the A.I.C.C. circular dubbing critics of Jawaharlal Nehru and of the Government as anti-national; cautioned against coercion, intimidation and threats of use of defence rules and use of Police and Defence Department officials in raising cash and gold contributions for defence funds, the result of which was discontent and demoralisation.

The resolution recommended the need for clear directives to persons and agencies in charge of contributions to the Defence Fund not to make them as compulsory levies, and the folly of asking persons unable to contribute gold or gold ornaments to buy gold at high rates in order to make up quotas of gold contributions; urged the need for preventing official misuse of powers under the Defence of India rules even in petty matters and called upon all Party units in the State to cooperate and participate fully in defence efforts, explain the stand of the Party and the issues involved, and help in raising the people's morale.

Another resolution dealt with Orissa Government's proposal for the abolition of six sub-divisions and their amalgamation with others and protested against this move.

A third resolution noted that the paddy crop

position in the State had deteriorated further due to damage by insects and the need for greater relief measures and more elaborate arrangements for preservation and distribution of stocks including opening of cheap grain shops and also to stabilise prices of articles in use throughout the State.

Mr. Masani, addressing members of the Executive Committee, dwelt on problems of party organisation, and suggested that local units should collect their own finances, pointing out that in democratic parties in Western countries, the local units of that Party, not only collected money for their own needs but also sent financial contribution to the Central organisation for the running of the national party.

The General Secretary who was in Orissa from the 17th and 19th December addressed a public meeting at Cuttack on the 17th where he elucidated the Party's stand on Chinese aggression. He once again outlined the various steps necessary to secure the defence of this sub-continent and repel the Chinese Communist invasion.

Calling for a reference by India of the Chinese Aggression to the U.N. Security Council, Mr. Masani said that this would put the Soviet Union on test.

If the Soviet Union exercised its veto, as it was sure to do, it would be exposed, he added.

Mr. Masani also thought that the condemnation by the U.N. of communist China as aggressor would enable all countries friendly to India to send arms and under the auspices of the U.N. it would also educate the misaligned nations which assembled in Colombo recently, and which could not agree on naming the aggressor.

The meeting was presided over by Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, Leader of the Opposition and President of the State Unit. In the course of his remarks Mr. Singh Deo affirmed that no fruitful results could be achieved through a policy of appeasement and that India should remain vigilant in the face of Chinese duplicity.

On December 18 Mr. Masani addressed students of the Samarta Chandrasekhar College at Puri on the subject "Democracy at war". Later that day he addressed a largely attended public meeting.

On the 19th he met press representatives at Bhubaneswar.

Shri R. N. Singh Deo, President of the State Unit, undertook an extensive tour of his home district of Balangir exhorting people to give their wholehearted support to the war efforts of the Government and expose the inherent motives behind world communism. He addressed several public meetings at Patnagarh, Titilagarh, Sonapur and Palamgir.

RAJASTHAN

The Executive Committee of the Rajasthan Swatantra Party held a meeting in the Government Hostel, Jaipur, to condemn Chinese Aggression. Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P. participated. In his speech he emphasised that while there would be unstinted co-operation from the Party to drive the aggressors back, they would not participate in any activity in association with the Communists.

The Jodhpur Unit of the Swatantra Party celebrated Rajaji's birthday with a flag hoisting ceremony.

Speeches in the Lok Sabha

MAHARANI GAYATRI DEVI**During the China Debate on November 10**

There are those who would not criticise the Government at this juncture but I feel that I would be failing in my duty if I do not point out one or two omissions that they have made. One cannot undo the ill which has already been done. It is the duty now of all patriots to realise our dangers and difficulties and to look ahead to see how best we may meet or solve them. I do not, therefore, wish to be unduly controversial. But, sir we must try and work together and avoid fruitless party bickerings and strife here at home.

Presuming, Sir, that the Prime Minister and the Government did know as they should have, about the build-up on the approaches to the frontier on the Chinese side of the border, they must have known of this aggressive action at least four years ago. What did the Government do by way of measures to counteract these aggressive operations? Apparently nothing. In truth, sir, any thinking person must be shocked to think of the failure of our Government in defending our frontiers. The Hon. Member there has just told us that as far back as 1955 the ex-Defence Minister and other army officers were inspecting the Ladakh border. What did they do then to ensure the safety of our frontier?

The Prime Minister has explained to us the difficulties of manufacturing arms in our ordnance factories. Apparently, there was the question of patents and insufficient foreign exchange. What little foreign exchange we had is said to have gone to our Plans for our economic development.

It is not as though our ordnance factories were at a stand still. They were producing articles some of them totally divorced from the requirements of warfare and, as a result, our brave jawans were hurled with outmoded arms against the well equipped Chinese.

The Prime Minister also told us that the large forces of the Chinese could not be seen from the Thagla Pass. But, surely, our intelligence can penetrate beyond the range of vision.

I understand and I cannot but admire the high moral tone of the Prime Minister in not wishing to be beholden to others for help. It is his high-principled desire that we as a nation should stand on our feet. As a principle, none can object; but we have, I regret to say, to fight for our lives, our very existence and our ideologies if India is not to become a satellite State just as Poland, Hungary or Tibet. What, then, can we do to save ourselves?

Let us get one thing straight, one thing in its true historical perspective. When have we ever been anything but a militant nation? May be in the last few years when we accepted the principles of Panchsheel, but before that for centuries we have constantly had to fight the invader.

PROF. N. G. RANGA**During the debate on the Cease Fire Resolution on December 10**

I have been hoping against hope that since at long

last the Chinese have come out with their clear and unequivocal ultimatum to us, the Prime Minister would have gone to the last limit of his patience and given his clarion call to our country that since China has forced us into war we are at War and therefore we must be prepared now to think in terms of war and act up to our responsibilities in this state of war and not be bothered about all these various peace offensives which the Chinese have been placing before us. I am disappointed, Sir, with his speech this morning.

But, at the same time, it is necessary for us, for our Government to seek plain massive military assistance and aid of all kinds from all friendly Nations by calling them into association—We are not calling it alliance or pact or anything like it—with us in this defence of World Democracy as against this Communist and imperialist aggression. This morning, I was wondering why the Prime Minister was avoiding the expression “Communist China”, and he himself has said about China in one of his speeches: ‘I must confess that the Chinese attempt to make falsehood appear to be truth and truth to be falsehood has amazed me’. Then he said: ‘To say that we are committing aggression on Chinese territory is a kind of double talk which is very difficult for a man of my simple mind to understand’. That is because he happens to be a liberal and famous liberal too. He happens to be a man who is wedded to truth, to certain decencies and honesty. But, unfortunately, we are faced with this fight which is brought up in the communist ways, ideology and methods, and it is no wonder that he is amazed and perplexed with their amazing capacity for double talk (Interruption). That is why it is high time that he realised that this is a way inflicted upon us by China because China is imperialistic and also Communistic.

It is a pity that even now we have not thought of giving freedom to Dalai Lama to function here as a free man as the head of his own people as he had been. We do not seem to be willing to learn anything from China. While she has been carrying on the struggle with us, she arranged special friendship with Nefa, with Pakistan and with Burma. What have we been doing? Therefore, the time has come when we should give this opportunity to Dalai Lama to function freely. We ourselves have placed all these restraints on him. It is a sin, according to me, that we have allowed that country to be swallowed up by China.

SHRI P. K. DEO**During the debate on the Cease Fire Resolution on December 10**

I do not wish to go into the question of our unpreparedness in view of the Prime Minister's promised enquiry to be held at the appropriate stage, but I would like to point out that the catastrophe at Sela and Bomdila has generated a new enthusiasm and a new determination in the minds of Indians to save this country till the nation sheds its last drop of blood.

At this psychological moment, we get a peace

offensive, so to say, of China. The first offensive came with the three-point proposal which was duly rejected by our Government and within 30 hours, of the Prime Minister's pledge to the nation that we will fight to the last, came the second offensive, by which they claim that they will withdraw even behind the 8th September line which has been the suggestion from our Government as the basis for further talk. They say that they will go even behind the 8th September line; that they are prepared to go back to the 7th November, 1959 line, but the attitude and the action of the Chinese have clearly unfolded their intention and their mind.

In this connection, I beg to submit that most of us on this side of the House do not subscribe to the stand of our Government regarding the 8th September, 1962 line, because it is contrary to the very pledge we have taken on the floor of this House in a solemn way. By the 8th September line the Chinese will still be in occupation of 14,000 square miles of Indian soil.

Let us examine why these peace proposals came from the Chinese. I would like to analyse in my own way these peace proposals. The Chinese in a short period had marched in such a speed that they must have spread themselves and thinned out and it is very difficult for them to keep the logistic line in this mountainous terrain which will be snowbound very soon and impassable and it will be difficult for them to keep the supply line to their advance post. That might have prompted them to come out with this proposal. Secondly, they selected a time which they thought will synchronise with the highly inflammable situation in the Caribbean. They thought that the United States might get involved with the situation in Cuba and may not be in a position to come to the military aid of this country. But they were completely disillusioned in this regard. I praise the statesmanship of Mr. Krushchev in pulling out the various missile installations in Cuba and the Russian Army from the Caribbean so that a peaceful situation has developed there and it is now possible for the United States to come with all help to this country. They never expected that timely and magnificent response will come from the West in U.S.A. and U.K. for which we are so grateful in this House.

I had the privilege to represent this country in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference and I

could say that all the Commonwealth countries have got tremendous goodwill towards India.

All these factors influenced China to come out with this proposal. There is nothing new about it in combining diplomacy with war. If you will read the various writings of Mao Tse Tung, you will find he says: "In military terms our war consists in alternate adoption of the defensive and the offensive". It is the same hot and cold treatment which is used by the communists as the technique of torture to break down the morale of their victims and their resistance power in extracting confession. There is nothing new about that.

Let us examine all the implications of this proposal. Firstly, in the NEFA they do not recognise the Thag La ridge as the MacMohan line. They say the line is further south of the Nam Ka Chu river which they call as Kechilang. If we accept the offer we will have to forego Tawang, Dhola, Longju, Walong, Dhipula and other mountain passes which are of strategic importance to us. In the middle sector we will have to dismantle our defence build up in our border and we will have to withdraw to an area of 2500 square miles including Bara Hoti, Niti and Nana Passes in U.P., Shipki la in the Punjab. It further bars us from re-establishing the 43 checkpoints in the Ladakh region and the Daulet Beg Oldi air field and the Chushul airstrip which we have still held against heavy odds and, against incessant Chinese attacks and heavy casualties. The acceptance of the proposal will have far-reaching military and political repercussions. Militarily it will extricate the Chinese from dangerously exposed positions which are not adequately supported by the line of logistics. Further it will demoralise our forces who are now better equipped. They want that a fighting chance should be given to them so that they can get back their honour. Politically it is a deceptive mirage to lure the Indian people from the high resolve, to counter the splendid solidarity of this country and to dampen the spontaneous upsurge that has been in this country. Further, it will have a very bad effect in the case of our neighbours like Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim who bank so much on our retaliatory powers.

Taking into consideration all these factors, I beg to submit with all humility that it is a treacherous trap to humiliate us. They want that India should eat humble pie but it is not possible. The entire proposal should forthwith be rejected.

Annexure B

In the Rajya Sabha

SHRI ANANDCHAND

During the debate on the Defence of India Bill

Much has been said about the Chinese invasion, aggression against India, about the various provisions of the Bill to mobilise the home front against the aggressor and various other matters. So far as I am concerned, you would pardon me if I strike a note a little out of keeping, I should say, because looking back at the picture as a whole today, I find myself a little confused.

I would like now to make only two or three submissions about the Defence of India Bill. This Bill

has been wholeheartedly supported in the other House and it has received general support in this House from all parties even from the Communist Party.

One is the question of Fundamental Rights and the other is the misuse of power by State Governments. In the very basis of the scheme of emergency, once the emergency is declared, it is understood that the Fundamental Rights are liable to be curtailed. Under the provisions of article 359 I believe the President has already issued orders curtailing liberties of life and person, so far as articles 21 and 22 are concerned. Now, what I would like to submit is that even in a

FLASH BACK

Bhavan's Journal, Fifty years ago
From the pages of Bhavan's
Journal, August 23, 1959

Is Renunciation Necessary?

Vithoba

There is a wide spread belief that in order to attain God-realisation one has abdicate all secular functions and repair to the forest. Dnyaneshwar, the great Maharashtra saint, disabused this belief while he was barely 18 in the case of his own father Vithoba who was himself a God-man.

Dnyaneshwar: The best Samadhi (concentration) is to engage in the affairs of the world and check the sense objects and be indifferent to them by opposing them with the sword of steady *gyana* (realisation of unity) like Janaka. Though the *gyani* (sage) mixes with *agyanis* and acts many parts with them, he will ever remain experience of the supreme Bliss. If one holds the light in his hands and asks darkness to remain, will it remain? Similarly, if after vanquishing the ignorance that one is the body or its internal organs one has attained the knowledge that one is Supreme itself, will *agyanas* remain even if it is bidden to remain? After realising that Self, Iswara, and the world etc., are all unreal, will maya come even if it is invited?

The Genius of Hindu Civilisation

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

Parasara, one of the sages of India, married Satyawati, a fisher girl who became the mother of Vyasa, the compiler of the Mahabharata and other epics and Puranas. Such intermarriages or unions were of frequent occurrence throughout Indian history. Chandragupta who belonged to a lower caste married Kumari Devi of the Licchavi clan who was either a Brahmin or a Kshatriya and



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country like England during the last war the right of Habeas-corpus was not denied. A person who been taken into custody had the right of Habeas-corpus. On the suspension of articles 21 and 22 so far as that right of a citizen of India goes, to my mind it is a very important point and it needs looking into very closely.

My friend from the Communist Party was very vehement about the detention of members of the Communist Party. There were others who said that the Communist Party as such have misbehaved and they have themselves to thank for.

Annexure C

(Extract from a speech delivered by Rajaji on December 23, 1962.)

The present preference to the policy of non-alignment corresponds to discussion of Advaita when we do not practice it, but only debate upon it. The people who defend non-alignment now are more particular about proving that Nehru was right rather than anything else. Before the present disclosure of China's intentions and when we were concerned with the Cold War between the West and Soviet Russia, I was also a non-aligner. The problem now is how to restore a balance of power in Asia against China, not at all whether we should join one side or the other in the cold war between the West and Soviet Russia.

Any talk now about war and war conditions has no meaning after the cease-fire unilaterally declared by China and the silent acceptance of it by our Government, without any attempt to use our military strength for recapturing the places lost to the Chinese.

The talk about the emergency also is wrong. "Emergency" is a correct word when it is a temporary disturbance of peace. But today the menace is permanent and not temporary. The menace arises out of imbalance of power in Asia which must be remedied, not by temporary measures, but must be met by the acquisition of additional power through alliances with foreign nations, who are equally interested with us to contain Communism and to deter ambitious aggression on the part of Communist China.

Pakistan is weaker than India, but it becomes necessary to cultivate and establish friendly relationship with Pakistan if we wish to develop strength against China, to deter her from aggression. We cannot fight on two fronts or even without fighting present sufficient strength on two fronts to deter aggression. We must decide in our minds whether a settlement with Pakistan is a number-one necessity or not. In my opinion, it is number-one necessity in order to be able to stand up to China. If any statesman places friendship with Pakistan as number two and settlement with China as number one, I would totally differ from him. If friendship with Pakistan is absolute number-one necessity, we must educate the public to accept whatever will be agreed upon between the two governments. We must leave the solution to the two governments. Public proposals and public debates on the proposals will provoke further difficulties and prevent any settlement.

We cannot run an armament race against China. We would be financially ruined if we attempted it. We cannot tax our people to produce the finances for

If we think that the Communist Party of India is misbehaving and it is an anti-national Party, we should ban it straightway. There will be then no question of one member of the Party being sent abroad—he is a very hon. Member and I have nothing against him being sent to countries abroad—perhaps to represent the communist point of view to Russia and elsewhere and another member of the Communist Party's upper hierarchy—I refer to a person from Andhra Pradesh, I would not name him, and a Member of this august House—being placed in detention. These two things do not go together.

such an armament race. Nor can we afford to fill the gap by deficit financing. If we undermine the National stamina by over-taxation or by inflation, we shall be weakening ourselves instead of strengthening the Nation. We must therefore depend upon firm alliances and treaties for the defence of India.

Of course, even after such treaties for defence with foreign governments, we shall have to do our best to raise our defence potential and incur the necessary expenditure for it. But that cannot be carried to the point of ruining the country by far too heavy taxation or by further inflation.

The Dharma of government is to govern justly and with care for the welfare of the nation. The Dharma of opposition is to criticise the government justly and with care. Both Government and Opposition should fulfil their respective dharmas. The doctrine of Swadharma applies fully here also. Better one's own Dharma even imperfectly done than another's Dharma well performed.

If government wishes to avoid all public criticism and consider it necessary to take vast powers, it must give up its party character and convert itself into a national government. This has not been done now, and therefore the duty of the opposition must continue to be performed with justice and concern for the public welfare.

If the emergency has changed from its temporary character into a permanent menace and the cease-fire has resulted in a de facto armistice then a new situation has arisen. It is not war or emergency. The government should consider again whether it can go on as a party government or shed its party character. So long as the Congress Party continues to govern without changing its party character, the opposition must continue to maintain democracy by criticism. Democracy and Independence must both be maintained and preserved. Just as in the lying-in-hospital, the doctor should not allow either baby or mother to die and both lives are precious and must be looked after, the opposition must continue to function and fulfil its Dharma. Democracy must be preserved and not sacrificed on account of the enemy's aggression. It would be absurd to keep the Defence of India Act going for all time which would follow if it has to be retained all the time the Chinese menace remains. The menace is permanent.

It is distressing to note that the Prime Minister is not half enough alive to the need for the two things to be done: Settlement with Pakistan and firm treaty of alliance with the Western Powers.

(For Private Circulation)