

## MEETINGS OF THE CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE AND THE GENERAL COUNCIL

The Central Organising Committee and the General Council of the Party met in Bombay on February 9 and 10. Twenty three of the twenty six members attended the meeting of the Central Organising Committee. The General Council was attended by 69 members representing 14 States.

The Central Organising Committee, apart from reviewing the current political situation, devoted itself primarily to various organisational matters. The General Council, which met for the first time since the Chinese offensive last year, reviewed the resulting situation and adopted a resolution covering the Party's attitude in regard to the Colombo proposals, the continuance or otherwise of the emergency, and the heavy taxation likely to be embodied in the forthcoming Budget. (For text see Annexure A)

The other matter considered by the General Council was an Appeal that had been addressed to it by some members of the Party in Bihar against a decision of the Organisation Sub-Committee and the Parliamentary Board at a joint meeting in Madras last July. The General Council took note of the fact that the Appeal had been withdrawn on the previous day by Mr. Jagat Kishore Prasad Narain Singh, M.P., on behalf of the appellants. The General Council unanimously adopted a resolution reaffirming its confidence in the Central Organising Committee, the Organisation Sub-Committee, the Parliamentary Board, and their members, including Mr. K. M. Munshi, Vice-President, and Mr. M. R. Masani, General Secretary, against whom unjustified allegations had been made in the Appeal. (Annexure B)

On the day previous to the meeting of the General Council, namely, February 9 Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh of Ramgarh had written a letter to the President of the Party which was placed before the Central Organising Committee, in the course of which he expressed his regret for whatever offence he may have given by his Report on the General Elections. In that letter, he wrote: "I unhesitatingly and unconditionally withdraw the offending and damaging paragraphs of the Report." He also mentioned that he had agreed to carry out the Madras Resolution of the Party and had taken steps to implement it.

It was against this background that the General Council of the Party took note of the withdrawal of the Appeal and reaffirmed its confidence in the national leadership and office-bearers of the Party.

## PRESS COMMENT ON BOMBAY DECISIONS

Both the political resolution and the decision on Bihar organisational affairs evoked comment in the Press:

*The Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta commented two days' running, on the Political Resolution.

The editorial comment on the 13th was a reference to the Swatantra Party in juxtaposition to the communists: "While the Swatantra Party is anxious to secure as much aid as possible from 'friendly countries' to strengthen our resistance to Chinese aggression, the Communist Party of India is afraid of India's increasing contact with the Western Powers in this regard..."

The editorial of 14th February devoted itself to a criticism of the General Council's resolution. Averring that the Swatantra Party has "advocated wrong policies to cope with the Chinese threat", it said: "The Swatantra Party which, along with the P.S.P. and the Jan Sangh, voted against the Government of India's decision to accept the Colombo conference proposals with clarifications *in toto*, does not set much store by the moral support and sympathy that have been pouring from numerous countries in Africa, Europe and the Western Hemisphere... The Swatantra Party apparently wants the abandonment of the non-alignment policy at its hour of vindication and triumph."

The *Searchlight* of Patna directed its comments to the decisions of the Party vis-a-vis Bihar. Appreciative of the Swatantra Party's adherence to "principles" without caring for the consequences, the article analysed the Party's outlook in Bihar. (Annexure C of this Newsletter contains extracts.)

## RAJAJI IN BOMBAY

### SHIVAJI PARK MEETING

Rajaji's visit to the city of Bombay to participate in the meetings of the Central Organising Committee and the General Council was availed of by the Bombay Unit to hold various public and Party workers meetings. One such meeting was held at Shivaji Park.

Maharani Gayatri Devi, M.P., vehemently criticised the taxation policy of the Government, stating that eventually such staggering taxation would dry up the very source of income. She indicated that the rules on land-holdings and gold would lead to further corruption and graft.

Mr. N. Dandekar, chairman of the Bombay and Maharashtra units of the Party, presided over the meeting. Mrs. Shantabai Gulabchand welcomed the speakers.

In view of the vital issues raised in the speeches of Rajaji and Prof. Ranga, extracts appear in Annexure D.

### THE BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN MEETING

"The Government must be made to resign in shame"  
—Rajaji

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan saw Rajaji preside over a meeting addressed by Mr. P. J. Shroff, a leading economist, who gave an erudite speech on the 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Gold Policy.'

Mr. Shroff said that the gold rule encroached on the Fundamental Rights of the people in respect of property and in carrying on an honest profession and trade. The unemployment problem, which was already acute in the country, had been further aggravated by throwing out of work about 400,000 goldsmiths. He condemned the manner in which the gold policy was introduced without consulting Parliament. It seemed, he averred, advantage had been taken of the Emergency to wage war on the people by taking away from them what had been theirs for centuries.

In his speech from the Chair, Rajaji said that the "ruinous" taxation and the "catastrophe of gold" revealed the utter futility of placing trust in this Government. Over and above "the humiliation we have been subjected to at the foothills of the Himalayas and the big dose of taxation promised for next month," this new embargo was enough for the people "to ask the Government to resign and go away", said Rajaji.

In the rural areas, where gold is symbolically a measure of security, it is an institution in itself; it has been a ready means of barter, especially for the illiterate, he said.

It is incorrect to state that the ornaments of a woman, especially in the Indian social set-up, were merely objects of vanity or luxury. Ornaments have given Indian womanhood financial security; only when the man of the house was unable to support the family did the wife part with her ornaments and then too it was her birthright to question the husband. Had the Indian woman now questioned the Finance Minister whether he was in the last stages of bankruptcy and what he intended to do with the gold he was denying her? If gold was given up now, where would the nation find the yellow metal when it faced a real emergency? Rajaji asked.

Mr. Bhailalbhair Patel proposed a vote of thanks and, supporting Mr. Shroff and Rajaji in their statements said that, when India achieved independence every ten rupee note had a cover of Rs. 20 in the form of foreign securities held by the Government. Today the cover had been reduced to a mere 90 p.

### CANADA'S DISSOLVED PARLIAMENT AN "OBJECT LESSON"

Writing in *Swarajya*, Rajaji pointed out that the dissolution of the Canadian Parliament, was a lesson in modern democracy.

A question arose in the Canadian Parliament as to whether the policy of defence of the country was adequate. Once the issue took shape, it was a matter of hours before the Defence Minister resigned, a confidence motion was brought up, and the Prime

Minister was given an adverse vote with the result that Parliament was dissolved and fresh elections ordered.

"That is how democracy works where there is a balance of forces and no totalitarianism. No one raised the sobstuff of unity or national danger. The electorate proceeded to choose a new government. There are able men waiting to occupy the places of the dismissed Premier and his Ministers."

"Here in India," Rajaji said, "we have the lamentation about irreplaceable leadership and therefore of compulsory tolerance of universally complained error and mismanagement."

"Unless the nation's leaders at all levels make up their minds to help in building up a strong and ready opposition, democracy must continue to be a make-believe in India. It is just one other Asiatic monarch dressed up in civilized clothes," he concluded.

### NEED FOR AN "UNAMBIGUOUS FOREIGN POLICY"

Rajaji calling for "an unambiguous foreign policy," wrote in the same publication: "The argument that neither the U.S. nor the U.K. asks us to be more closely associated with them and that there is no validity in the advice to seek foreign alliance is unsound. We cannot expect either of them to invite us or press for closer association with them in our interest. It would be improper for them to do so." He added: "The U.S. and the U.K. may even feel that our isolation may, on the whole, be good for them and we may be left to shoulder the blame for the consequences. But, for us, it is not good to be isolated or to take their silence in the matter as indicative of what is good policy for us."

### "TIME TO SAY GO" — RAJAJI

In an article entitled "Time to say Go", Rajaji writes: "We stand exposed before the world as an ill-managed nation. Fifteen years ago through our moral force we had an imperial status of our own." "To-day we stand militarily and morally humiliated and exposed to ridicule."

"Our Plans were based on the foundation of foreign aid which was linked to the cold war and was therefore always an uncertain factor. The recent defence debacle has completely subverted these plans, though this is sought to be saved from view. The Government's proposals for the year will be a more shattering proof of the incapacity and failure of the present regime than any arguments that can be put in words. It is in itself a plain confession of bankruptcy."

"The gold of the rural citizens who had pledged it for the sustenance of their, and therefore of the country's, economy has been suddenly devalued and, in consequence, numerous honest peasants working on the farms and in other essential ways have been ruined without notice, under lawless laws authorised by the proclamation of Emergency and suspension of fundamental rights. The gold is taken over by the moneylender at a much reduced value, and is resold by him in the black-market at a price higher than what prevailed before this catastrophic folly of the Finance Minister. "If the rupee's value is lowered by

inflation, it is this, and not the fault of the people, that incites smuggling of gold into India."

"When the Father of the Nation guided us, if a wrong law was enforced, the people's spirit rose in revolt. Under the heirs of Gandhiji, the spirit of the people has been crushed and they rather seek ways of evasion than protest or resist.

"I beg of the nation to study the resolution adopted unanimously by the General Council of the Swatantra Party, which was conceived and passed, not in a spirit of political partisanship but in grave anxiety and deep concern for the safety and the honour of the nation."

## AND NOW PANCHAYAT RAJ WITHOUT ELECTIONS

The plea of "National Emergency" is invoked by the ruling party and the Government to put off inconvenient issues. One such issue was the question of holding Panchayat elections in Gujarat. The State Government has decided to establish "Panchayat Raj" without elections

All Opposition parties have protested against this decision. It is reported that the State unit of our Party has written to the district and taluk units

to oppose Panchayat Raj without election and write to the State Government to that effect.

## SWATANTRA IN PARLIAMENT

### Debate on President's Address:

The Leader of our Group in Parliament, Prof. Ranga, moved the following motion in the Lok Sabha during the debate on the President's address:

"That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: 'but regret that the address fails to:

- (a) reiterate the nation's firm resolve, as solemnly and unanimously expressed by Parliament on November 14, 1962 to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be; and
- (b) indicate concrete plans or measures to vigorously prosecute the war for the liberation of Indian territory from Communist China's occupation and for the restoration of India's territorial integrity."

An extract from his speech while moving this motion is appended to the Newsletter (Annexure E), as also abridged versions from the speeches by Shri Dahyabhai Patel in the Rajya Sabha and Maharani Gayatri Devi in the lower House.

## NEWS FROM STATE PARTIES

### ANDHRA PRADESH

Shri Latchanna, M.L.A., Leader, Andhra Pradesh Legislature Swatantra Party, carried out an extensive tour, in his home district of Srikakulam. Presiding at meetings in Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam, he called on the people to reject the Colombo Proposals and demand the withdrawal of national emergency, as the present Chinese threat to the country is the same as it was in 1956. Referring to the gold control order, he said that, the gold-smiths who have been deprived of their age old trade, should be facilitated to secure other employment. Shri Latchanna requested the Government of Andhra Pradesh to stop implementation of the Land Revenue Additional Assessment Act, at least during the emergency, for it would encourage the ryots to produce more to meet the demands of the present situation.

The General Secretary of the Andhra Pradesh unit Shri T. Krishnamma, visited Hyderabad and Guntur. He met Party workers and sympathisers and explained the Party's stand on Chinese Aggression. He urged the members to work with greater fervour to educate the people on the democratic principles of the Swatantra Party.

### BOMBAY

Two of the public meetings organised by the Bombay Regional Unit have already been covered in the Newsletter elsewhere. This is a report of other interesting meetings held at Nappoo Gardens, Matunga and Mandvi.

A large body of men and women heard Professor Ranga, Shri Saw Ganesan, President, Tamil Nad

Swatantra Party, Shri S. S. Mariswamy, State General Secretary Shri G. K. Sundaram, Dr. Santhosham and Mr. Lobo Prabhu at the meeting.

Prof. Ranga lashed out at the Government and pointedly said that the erring foreign policy of Prime Minister Nehru in recognising the Chinese sovereignty over Tibet encouraged Communist China to work out its evil designs on Indian territories. Further Indian communists acted as fifth columnists and gave valuable geographical information about the frontier regions to their Communist Comrades in China.

"The terrific communist menace to the country should be squarely fought with the friendly help of democratic countries."

"The Swatantra Party challenged the country's present leadership", said Prof. Ranga.

Mr. Lobo Prabhu said the country faced a danger due to Communist infiltration in the Congress. He suggested the formation of a "Shadow Cabinet" to undo the Congress wrongs.

Mr. Saw Ganesan, President of Tamil Nad Unit of the Party, while criticising the Government for promulgating the Gold Control Rules, which had affected nearly fifteen million people, quoted appropriate Tamil verses which threw light on the present situation. His oratory held the gathering spell-bound and at the end of his speech he received a five minute standing ovation.

At the meeting held at Mandvi, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, Maharajkumar Himatsingh, and Mr. Dayabhai Patel, spoke. Mr. Madhu Mehta presided.

### THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

The Women's Committee of the Swatantra Party in Bombay handed over a consignment of quilted

jackets and knitted scarves for the Jawans to the Army Officer's Wives Organisation in Bombay.

Mrs. N. Das, wife of Major General Das, received them from Mrs. Silloo Lawyer and Mrs. Sosan Panday, Joint Secretary of the Committee.

Under the auspices of the Colaba Unit Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, Leader of the Opposition in the Gujarat Assembly gave an informative speech at a meeting held in the Party office.

The Swatantra leader said that, contrary to popular belief, hardly 1% of the land-owners of Gujarat had large land holdings, almost 51% had less than five acres of land and the remaining majority had less than ten acres. Cooperative farms were more often foisted on the people, for under the surface of this so called Socialistic Pattern of Society, lay the desire of the Government to control the peasantry politically. Cooperative farms deny the villager the right to his individual economy and the villages come to be controlled by a few men who are normally sponsored by the Government. At the time of the General Election these men become the knight-errants of Governmental interests. In India 70% of the population is rural.

Mr. Parmanand Kejriwal, presided over the meeting and Dr. (Mrs) Shantabai Gulabchand proposed a vote of thanks; she paid a glowing tribute to Bhailalbhai Patel, and said that he reminded her of Vallabhbhai Patel "the man of action."

## DELHI

The Swatantra Club held a meeting in New Delhi. Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel, M.P., explained the decision taken by the meeting of the Parliamentary Board in Madras. Sardar Man Singh presided.

Another well attended Swatantra Club meeting was held under the Presidentship of Mr. K. Srinivasan,

Advocate, Supreme Court of India, and one of the executive committee members of the Delhi unit. Mr. K. N. Srivatsan addressed this meeting.

Mr. K. N. Srivatsan stated that the Civil Administration having reoccupied the areas the Chinese have vacated is merely an eye wash. India is debarred from establishing military check-posts, that may act, as a deterrent to a fresh invasion. In a nut-shell, accepting the Chinese cease-fire de-facto and accepting the Colombo Proposals is virtually one and the same thing he said.

In response to the Party's call that meetings be held all over the country to demand the rejection of the Colombo proposals, a workers' meeting was organised by the Karol Bagh Zone of the Swatantra Party at Bapanagar. Mr. A. C. Bisaria, General Secretary, Swatantra Party, Delhi, explained to the audience that the Colombo Proposals were nothing but a hoax and should be rejected.

The Delhi Unit is to be complimented on starting for its own Unit a Newsletter titled *Swatantra Samachar*. Regular reports of activities from each sub-unit of Delhi will appear in this periodical. The President of the Delhi Unit, Colonel, H. R. Pasricha, hopes that "this periodical will be instrumental in infusing a new spirit in the workers".

## RAJASTHAN

Maharani Gayatri Devi, M.P., toured various villages of Jaipur District. The public at large complained of their grievances—mostly of Government officials bringing pressure and coercion to collect funds for the National Defence Fund.

Public meetings at Bagru and Khajiroli, Sikrai, Bandikui and Baswa were held. Besides Smt. Gayatri Devi, M.P., Shri Mathuresh Behari Mathur M.L.A. and Shri Laxman Prasad M.L.A. addressed the meetings.

### Annexure A

## RESOLUTION OF GENERAL COUNCIL

The General Council of the Swatantra Party notes with pride the patriotic upsurge among the Indian people in the face of the Chinese attack and pays its tribute to the members of the armed forces who battled with the invaders under extremely difficult conditions. The military reverses sustained by India and the national humiliation involved in the acceptance of the Chinese unilateral cease-fire are the result of many years of wrong policies in the realm of international relations and defence.

The General Council of the Swatantra Party notes with deep regret the *culmination of these policies in the acceptance of the Colombo proposals in toto*, contrary to the national interest and national self-respect and inconsistent with the solemn resolve unanimously announced by Parliament on November 14, 1962.

As far back as March 1960, this Party had urged that a firm and vigilant policy should be followed in dealing with the Chinese Communist aggression. It was pointed out that when our territorial integrity had been violated and our soil occupied by Communist China, our national policies call for review, so

as to be brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation and the difference in military potential between India and Communist China. Among the measures stressed for ensuring the country's security, stress was laid on the settlement of outstanding issues with Pakistan and serious consideration of the offer made by Pakistan for collaboration in the defence of the Sub-Continent. Unfortunately the Government did not follow their suggestions and the nation had to face disasters.

The Swatantra Party is convinced that the initiative should not be left to the enemy and that a strategy should be adopted so as to enable India to hold the initiative and stem the tide of Chinese ambition effectively. This can be done, the Swatantra Party is convinced, only if the nation and the Government take into full consultation those countries of the world who are one with India in its resolve to repel Chinese Communist aggression. Without fuller consultation of this nature, the Swatantra Party feels that taking *ad-hoc* aid and assistance will not meet the situation. The limited resources of the country do not permit us to indulge in the hope of any success in

isolated effort. Any vacillation or hesitation in seeking co-operation from friendly powers abroad and the attempt, through oppressive, and intolerable taxation, to cope with the situation would be most dangerous.

The ultimate defence of the country is in the mental and moral vigour of the people, and this will be disastrously undermined by inflationary policies, soaring prices and ever-increasing taxation that will develop as a consequence of the Government's present policies. It is essential that the energies of the Indian people should be released from the restrictions they are now subjected to, so that total production in agriculture and all the industries may increase under the incentives of increased returns without the fear of such increase being grabbed by the State. This is the only way to obtain a speedy and substantial increase of national wealth.

The Swatantra Party is of the opinion that the Prime Minister should be left free to achieve friendship and understanding with Pakistan on such terms as he thinks fit, so as to enable the defence of the Sub-continent to be secure against Communist aggression.

The Swatantra Party is not opposed to the Government retaining such powers as are necessary for meeting the enemy's operations. But it is opposed to an indefinite continuance of the powers of emer-

gency when no military activity is in operation or imminent. In no case should such powers be used for stifling criticism or for merely strengthening the party in office.

The General Council of the Swatantra Party desires to impress on the people and the Government that no risk can be taken in regard to the Communist Party of India, which is ideologically at one with the enemy.

The attempt at Gold control and interference with the customs of the people and the age-long tradition of investment of savings in gold have produced widespread confusion and distress. Apart from unemployment among a numerous class of skilled artisans, the gold regulations have thrown into utter confusion the part which gold ornaments worn by the common folk served in rural credit. This sudden interference with the way of life of our people is totally unjustified and unwise.

The General Council of the Swatantra Party is convinced that unless these policies of Government are given up, it would be impossible to cope with the Chinese threat which has taken the nature of a permanent menace.

—Proposed by Mr. K. M. Munshi

Seconded by Mr. M. R. Masani

#### Annexure B

### RESOLUTION RE: BIHAR

The General Council takes note that the Appeal preferred by some members of the Party in Bihar against the decision of the Organisation Sub-Committee and the Parliamentary Board taken at Madras last July has been withdrawn; and the General Council re-affirms its confidence in the Central

Organising Committee, the Organisation Sub-Committee and the Parliamentary Board, and in their members including Shri K. M. Munshi, Vice-President, and Shri M. R. Masani, General Secretary.

Moved by — Mr. N. Dandekar.

Seconded by — Mr. Saw Ganesan.

#### Annexure C

### EXTRACTS FROM COMMENT IN "SEARCHLIGHT" FEBRUARY 12, RE: BIHAR DECISION

"It must be said to the credit of the Party's high command that unlike its Congress counter-part it did not choose to compromise with indiscipline in the name of solidarity. It resolutely stuck to its principles without caring for the consequences. Ultimately it has triumphed....

"If the Swatantra leaders of Bihar bury their quarrels and start with a new slate, the party can recover its position which it has lost during the last 11 months. Indeed it can become even stronger than it was a year ago. The Congress strength in the Bihar Assembly has been already considerably slashed and the possibility of its losing an overall majority in the next general election cannot be ruled out. The Swa-

tantra Party can be a possible alternative only if it keeps its house in order....

"It will be good for the health of democracy if there are two powerful parties, one to form the Government and the other to function as the main Opposition. The Communist Party stands condemned after the Chinese invasion. The remote possibility of any merger of the Praja Socialist and the Socialist parties has dimmed the prospects of any united Socialist opposition to the Congress. The Swatantra Party which has already secured a firm footing in Bihar because of various factors could have made itself capable of offering an alternative to the Congress rule."

# EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES OF RAJAJI AND PROF. RANGA AT SHIVAJI PARK

## RAJAJI

"I am not bothered about China's ancient friendship, I am bothered about their present enmity. It is a very great underestimation, if I tell you that they are twice as powerful as we are." Expressing the view that negotiations "sans alliance", would perforce lead India to accept the terms of a more powerful enemy, he said "I say it with all the conviction I can command, that, if tomorrow Shri Jawaharlal Nehru gives up his hesitation, gives up his fear and apprehension about it but makes a proper, firm public statement about 'our friendship with America and Britain' there will be no war between China and India; 'If you once get entangled in negotiations with an enemy who is more powerful than you, you will have to accept his terms. By all means, enter into negotiations, after we have secured friendship with America and Britain on proper firm terms. Then you can negotiate on terms of equality.'"

Nehru's doctrine of non-alignment was incomprehensible. "When we take not only money for our economic aid and we have begun to take actual help for military purposes and when we propose to take more and more of it what is the good of talking about non-alignment. If Russia, belonging to the same bloc as China really give us material help for warfare let Jawaharlalji take it. There is no question about it. I don't object to it. But they are going to send their planes by ship and by railways. That is like conveying motor-cars tying them on to bullock carts." Rajaji added "Jawaharlal may ask me, 'Are you sure that Britain and America will fight on our side?' I would then have to tell him that what you have hitherto done may throw some doubt in the matter but I am still sure we can get them to help us, although what you did before makes the matter more difficult. The elder statesman reiterated that an alliance with the Western Powers, apart from placing India on par with the enemy would act as a deterrent to the Chinese, stop further bloodshed on the Frontiers and ensure peace.

The increased taxation and the new Gold Rules, made Rajaji remark; "Instead of fighting the Chinese, it is (the Government) making grand preparations in Delhi to fight our people." To him the policy of non-alignment led to the need to enter into an arms race which without foreign aid was the root cause of this egregious taxation. Eventually, the stress on heavy taxation will mow down the morale of the people, he said, will leave them too limp, burdened with their own sorrows and having no desire to fight. "It is not the military equipment that fights, it is the man, that fights with the military equipment," Rajaji stated.

The Chinese invasion, he said had claimed what he had said in his previous statements "that our planning policy is wrong, that our defence policy is wrong and that our Government is wrong."

## PROF. RANGA

Prof. Ranga addressing the meeting held the people who voted from North Bombay, bringing Menon into

power, responsible for the catastrophe the country was plunged into. Prof. Ranga asked, "When China launched the invasion, where was the Defence Minister? You were all in love with him, you elected him." He continued: "I want to warn the people of Bombay not merely against this gentleman, but against that mind which was responsible for the rise of this gentleman to power."

"Why is it that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was so very unwilling to part with this gentleman? Prof. Ranga asked.

Prof. Ranga recollected the time when Mr. Masani, then in Parliament, quite starkly and without equivocation had warned Mr. Nehru of the state to which the defence forces had been reduced. Rajaji in his return from his world tour had advised Mr. Nehru to take over the portfolio of defence himself and remove Menon from the Ministry.

"Yes, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was ready, because the whole country became agog, began to clamour for his (Menon's) resignation. Because for once the whole country was able to open its eyes. And yet Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not prepared to get rid of this man straightaway and in good grace. He parted with him in part. Half a divorce only. Then it needed another shock to the country and the people and a clamour and a national agony for freedom from this kind of threat of fifth column activities."

The Press, especially the *Current* Prof. Ranga said, took up cudgels for the "morale of the national defence forces", in a most "courageous manner." A crescendo of criticism was built up. "But Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru dismissed all our complaints, sent away Thimayya much too early" stressed that a new Chief-of-Staff, comparatively naive was appointed and a number of lesser men were promoted to the rank of Generals.

The Gold Control order was another thunderbolt. The prolongation of the 'Emergency' gave the Government 'this dreadful opportunity to experiment with its ideology. Men in every walk of life had been adversely affected by this order. Prof. Ranga asked, "Is there any guarantee that all that the people have given wholeheartedly and ungrudgingly would be used adequately?"

## Swatantra Answer to Chinese Communist Challenge

C. Rajagopalachari  
N. G. Ranga  
K. M. Munshi  
M. R. Masani  
H. P. Mody  
N. Dandekar

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## THE DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

## In the Lok Sabha

Prof. N. G. Ranga

I am sorry to have to say that I do not find it possible to express satisfaction with the President's Address. At the same time I would like to express my admiration and appreciation of the services that President Radhakrishnan has been rendering ever since he has assumed this high office. Unfortunately for him, it has become his duty to come to the joint session of both Houses and present this Address which has been prepared for him, naturally, by the Cabinet. So, when we speak about this Address, I am sure every one understands that we are having in our minds only the Government and its policies and not the personality or the feelings of the President.

I am glad that the President stressed one important point and said that "the issue of the Chinese aggression has been and is today the overriding issue before us and everything else has to be considered in that context. The freedom and honour of a country must be given the first place, the President goes on to say, and if a country cannot defend them other matters lose significance and so the nation's activities have thus been concentrated on this basic issue." I join issue with this last statement in the Address:

"The nation's activities have thus been concentrated on this basic issue."

I find that this is not the case. There is plenty of evidence to support my statement. Even the amendments that have been given notice of by some hon. Members of Parliament belonging to various political parties speak of this. An amendment complains of the "Government and bureaucracy having used the emergency powers to coerce and browbeat the common people" and yet another complains about "the Congress Party machinery being utilised for serving narrow partisan political ends, to wreak vengeance on political opponents. Another amendment refers "to the worsening economic conditions and unemployment conditions prevailing in the country." In this connection we need remember the fate of the goldsmiths. Five million of them have been thrown into unemployment in a callous manner. The Government has been saying that they have been trying to find employment through various industrial concerns that they have been bringing into existence and also with the help of labour exchanges. And what did the labour exchanges contribute? They found employment only for three lakhs of people out of eight lakhs of vacancies registered and 18 lakhs of people who sought employment from them. Only for three lakhs of people they found employment. But, on the other hand, by one stroke of their pen, through one fiat of the Government, they put out of action and out of employment as many as five million goldsmiths who were not beholden to Government for their employment, who had been pursuing their own hereditary employment and who are highly skilled people and who are dependent upon their employment and when this fact was brought to the notice of my hon. friend the Finance Minister, he was

grand enough to say that such social revolutions would have to take place; when they do it, so many people have to suffer and the nation must be prepared to accept that kind of suffering. That is the credit for callousness, if I may so so.

And as if this is not enough, our friend the leader of the Communist Party was saying that some discrimination is being shown against the Communist Party. If it is really an emergency, as we have said sometime ago, Government should have been able to take up its mind in regard to its policy towards the Communist Party. Nobody need have any feeling individually in regard to any member of the communist party. But one thing is clear: the communist party of this country is part and parcel of the world communist movement, and they have stronger fraternal feelings and dealings with the communists in other countries, more especially with Soviet Russia and China, than with us, the ordinary citizens, of this country, as everyone knows.

If the Government continue their present policy, naturally they will make themselves liable to be criticised in the manner in which my hon. friend Shri Gopalan has criticised them, because, it is no good treating them as a constitutional party and, at the same time, not treating them also on a par with other sections of our citizens.

Therefore we join issue with the Government in regard to the manner in which it has been misusing or using this emergency.

Now, we are very soon going to be presented with a budget. My hon. friend, the leader of the communist party, was asking the House not to invite any assistance from western countries, democratic countries which are friendly to us and which share the same ideals as we do. Why should we not seek their assistance? Because it is felt by some people that it is beneath our dignity. Even the Prime Minister lent support to this wrong view, according to me. If it is beneath our dignity to seek assistance from other countries in this perilous position, has it not been beneath our dignity all these years to have been depending on these western countries for thousands of crores of rupees of economic assistance in order to implement our Five Year Plans?

If we were prepared to accept all that assistance, would it not be statesmanlike on our part to take the possibility of getting assistance from all those countries into consideration when we begin to formulate our own budget? It is indeed brave for anyone to suggest that we should stand on our own feet and on our own resources in order to carry on the defence programmes and plans. But when we cannot justify it and back it up with our own resources without at the same time letting our country go bankrupt, that sort of declaration would become a bravado and not an expression of bravery. We have necessarily to depend on and seek the assistance of those various countries, which would be willing to come to our rescue, because they share our common ideals, if we do not want our country to go to pieces and our people to be destroyed in the process of throwing

out the aggressor, regaining our national freedom and maintaining our national integrity.

I was shocked to find in the President's Address absence of any reference to China as being *Communist China*. It is not the old Buddhist China which is at war with us; it is not, Formosa-China which is at war with us, but it is communist China which is at war with us. That is why I was very glad indeed when my hon. friend, who moved this motion on behalf of the Congress Party, said that there is this struggle between the two ideologies. We stand for parliamentary democracy. We stand for human rights and they stand for totalitarianism and communist dictatorship. If anyone cares to think for a minute as to what had happened since the World War, he will find that after the war was over, the old imperialism has been liquidated more and more and a new imperialism has begun to swallow more and more countries. What has been the fate of the satellite countries of East Europe? What is happening to various other small countries in Asia? Why is it that so many countries in South-East Asia are shivering in their shoes? It is just because communist China, "the People's Republic" of China, is now opening its big eyes and looking at them.

While we are in the process of achieving this victory, are we to undermine the fundamental rights of our people and the fundamental culture of our country, which is based upon self-employment? Are we to dismiss the self-employment of more than 100 millions of peasants and artisans and even the 5 million goldsmiths as of no account at all? Is that really the intention of the Government?

We stand for reform and reconstruction. Let it be clearly understood that the Plan as has been conceived here, by this Government is different from and has got to be different from the "Victory Plan" that has got to be developed in this emergency if this emergency has any kind of a meaning at all, because this Plan of theirs has been based upon their socialist ideals and their socialistic programmes. If the Government is willing to be liberal enough to make sacrifice from their end, just as they have been asking all other people to make sacrifices during this emergency, then they have to sacrifice only their dogma, their ideology and their affection for Soviet Russia, Soviet China and Sovietism as such. Are they not prepared to do that at least? If they are not prepared to do it, I can only say that they do not deserve to shoulder the responsibility, to shoulder the leadership of this country during this crisis.

Sir, so much has been said about the wrong manner in which defence collections have been made. I am inclined to agree with them. I have myself come to know the wrong manner in which in very many places—not in all places—the local officers have exceeded the limit of persuasion. Not only the officers, even the Ministers have done it. And the curse of it all is—as if these wonderful ministers are prepared to make contributions to build up our defence—they are not shy enough, they are not sensitive enough to avoid the unseemly demonstration as if they happen to be bridegrooms. Sir, this is not the time when we have to gloat over these as bridegrooms and get

ourselves weighed with currency notes and other things.

Then, Sir, there is this Gold Control Order, I do not know which particular genius in our political life has been responsible for having imposed this very unpopular order. My fear is that this order will meet with the same kind of fate that prohibition has met with. Worse will be the fate of our country under this Gold Control Order. My hon. friend was asking why the Government has not been able to get much gold in spite of the fact that the order was promulgated two months ago. It is just because all this money is only imaginary.

What is happening? All this gold is not piled up in 3000 or 3,00,000 coffers. They are to be found in small trinkets on the necks, hands and fingers of our women, the poor people in their cottages. What is more it is a very important thing among the Hindus that their women must have their *thali*. Is this the proper way of going about in this emergency and making war preparations by creating, this fear in the minds of our women that even *thali* is likely to be taken away one of these days? My hon. friend says that we may put a ceiling. You may put a ceiling at a particular level, but where is the guarantee that that ceiling will not be reduced with the result that some unpopular or stupid or silly officer would go and desecrate the honour and self-respect of our women by demanding that the *thali* also should be given over (Interruptions).

I say that this Gold Control Order is unpopular, is wrong, is untimely, and what is more, is likely to cause a lot of harm indeed to the creation of the spirit of support in this emergency.

What sacrifices have the ruling party made? Are they prepared to give up their affection for licences and permits, quotas and controls? No. On the other hand, one after the other, their own authorities have written a number of articles in "*Our Economic Resources*" published by the Publications Division, how they are preparing schemes for more and more controls and how they are trying their best to push in their pet schemes and giving effect to their pet dogmas through the III plan in the hope that by the time this emergency comes to an end they would be able to achieve their socialistic re-organisation of the country. It is this that is going to do a lot of harm to the national effort.

If this is the manner in which this emergency is going to be utilised I wish to say that it is time that Government made up their mind to end this emergency. Let us free ourselves from this emergency. At the same time, let us prepare ourselves by every peaceful means, by every lawful means,—because there is plenty of legislation on the statute book in order to curtail the rights of people who indulge in unruly, unsocial and anti-national activities. If the Government are not prepared to do that, all that I can say is that this government will not be able to succeed in making this emergency serve the national purpose for which it has been proclaimed. And if they are not prepared to give up this emergency and, at the same time, abandon their own partisan, and dogmatic way of dealing with these things, and their vicious way of dealing with these things, then all that I can say is that the opposition would not be able to co-operate with them.

I wish to thank the President for his Address. It is almost a year ago since Dr. Rajendra Prasad addressed the new Parliament. Since then many catastrophic things have happened to our country. The people of India have lost faith in the way in which our Ministry has handled the three most important aspects of Government, namely, defence, economy and foreign policy. They were also wrong in their estimate of Chinese intentions. In any true democracy they would have had to resign. But fortunately for the ruling party in the face of Chinese aggression the whole country rose as one. Members of the Opposition resolved to help the ruling party in this crisis. We passed unanimously the Defence of India Act. We felt sure that the Government would rectify its mistakes and that they would act correctly and bravely and get for India the support of all friendly countries who share our ideals. But now the shooting war is over and a cold war has begun. When the Chinese withdrew, the Government was left bewildered but I must say that they were very quick to take advantage of the situation. All our hopes that they would remedy their mistakes were dashed to the ground for as soon as the Chinese withdrew and we were not threatened by immediate invasion the ruling party who had suffered a great loss of prestige for having accepted the Chinese dictation started rushing around all over the country making speeches to cover up their mistakes. They tried to silence us under the Defence of India Act. The All India Congress Committee even issued a directive which said that anybody speaking against the Prime Minister would be looked upon as a traitor. I think this directive has now also been extended to his daughter. Recently, in a magazine in a column where people write to the editor some questions and they get an answer, somebody wrote to the editor asking: "Why was Mrs. Indira Gandhi chairman of so many committees?" And the answer was given: "Because she was clever in choosing her father." This editor has now been warned. I ask you: is this the way the Government should use these emergency powers?

Their audacity to take advantage of the near invasion and humiliation of our country has no parallel in history. If this is the way they are going to utilise the emergency then the sooner it ends the better for the people of our country.

It is not only the Congress who are taking advantage of this Emergency but undue pressure has been brought by the officials all over the country, especially in the rural areas. I am not talking from hearsay. I know; I have seen these things myself and I am sure that my colleagues in this House on both sides will bear me out in this statement. Recently, I read in the papers that our Home Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri made a statement in the Press that he was shocked by the way the officials were oppressing the poor people in our rural areas. Let me assure you, Sir, that this is not an isolated case. It is happening all over the country. Take for instance, the Defence Fund. I believe one of my colleagues in the Communist Party happened to mention... (Interruptions) something about a mass meeting that took place in Jaipur and he said something which was written about the mass meeting in Jaipur in

which it was said the Maharajah of Jaipur had given only Rs. 2 lakhs to the Defence Fund. I should like to state that this is not quite correct. The meeting was not held to collect money for the national defence fund. It was just a mass meeting at the time of the emergency in which all parties took part. There were members of the Congress Party, Jan Sangh and also the Ram Rajya Parishad and the purpose was not to raise funds. Secondly, the Maharaja of Jaipur has given far more than Rs. 2 lakhs to the Defence Fund and did not wish to publicise it. At that meeting somebody happened to mention this. In any case I would like to say that my husband has contributed about forty per cent of his privy purse for the current year to the National Defence Fund in different ways. I would like to know how this would compare with the communist funds that they have got not only from this country but from secret sources abroad... (Interruptions) However, I agree with him that the percentage that the poor people have to pay to the Defence Fund is far more than the rich have paid. That is why I have brought up this question. Even though the Prime Minister says that contributions to the Defence Fund should be voluntary, people are being forced to pay into this Fund. The Prime Minister wrote to all the Chief Ministers of States telling them that on no account should the contributions to the Defence Fund be made compulsory. But it is shocking to find that this order has not been carried out. The Government have ordered their officials to extract money forcibly from the people whenever they go to transact any business with the Government. Unless they do this, the Government business is not transacted and they have to go away disappointed. Therefore, I feel that if there is one Central Defence Fund it will be good. That Central Defence Fund should be in the President's name. In that case, it would eliminate the sense of competition that is going on in the different States and districts. The absence of this is one of the main reasons why the people have been forced to pay. If, on the other hand, there is a Central Fund, preferably in the President's name, under Central control, the people would be sure that their money would go to the right place and they would make their contribution voluntarily.

At the same time I would like to suggest that this money for the Defence Fund should be handed over immediately to the Defence Ministry, for, the people who contribute to the Fund fondly believe that they are giving something to the jawans who are fighting or for the purchase of equipment or for some comfort to the troops whereas in actual fact it is completely misused. When we asked a question about the Defence Fund, the reply was that Rs. 27 lakhs are being used for the comfort of the troops and that 12 lakhs have been given to each Chief Minister to keep up the propaganda in the country to collect more funds! Do we give all this money for that reason? That is absolutely rubbish. If the Citizen's Council cannot be run without the money from this Fund, then I suggest that they should be scrapped. Few people on these committees know anything about defence, and they could be easily dispensed with. I do not know at whose instance these committees were formed—certainly not on the advice of the Members, either of Parliament or of the State

Assemblies. These committees are certainly not representative of all the patriotic forces in this country and they cannot help us in the war against China. All they are doing at present is party propaganda and self-propaganda. It is high time now that our leaders stopped thinking on party terms. If they would only give India the priority, and their party the second place, they would go a long way in rectifying their mistakes. But they would rather keep on amending India's sacred constitution to suit themselves and to serve themselves than to change their election manifesto and their Five Year Plans.

I would like to say a few words about the gold control order which has been proclaimed by the Government in an autocratic manner, without taking into account the repercussion which it is likely to have on the economic structure of our country and the sentiments of our people. For centuries the people of India have put their savings in gold and it has stood them and the country in good stead. Now, they have been deprived of this right and the people have been asked to invest in small savings which, in the present day inflation in our country, is equivalent to asking them to put their savings or earnings in a scrap of paper. May I ask, is this practicable? Is this fair on the poor people of this country and particularly for the poor women in rural areas? Are they to go and invest their savings in this scrap of paper? Through centuries, through invasions, the people of India have kept their gold and that economically has been the saving grace of our country.

The President, in his Address, said: "At present no actual fighting is taking place. But the experience of the last few months has warned and steeled us and made us resolve to protect ourselves from this menace and to strengthen our defences and economic structure to the utmost. Our Government is devoting itself to this urgent and vital task."

But is our Government really doing that? While China is building roads and aerodromes, what have we done to strengthen the defence of our country? Our armed forces have suffered a tremendous humiliation and have had to retreat in the face of the enemy. They were once among the finest fighting forces in the world. They are anxious to recover their lost laurels, and if the time comes they will fight again. Therefore, we must see to it that they have the right sort of equipment this time. So, we must act quickly and equip them with modern weapons and other necessities. We must not forget the lesson of being militarily unprepared. We must not forget where the dogma of *Panchsheel* has landed us. By all means negotiate. But until and unless we are as strong as our enemy we cannot negotiate on an equal basis, — (interruption) and we shall have to give in.

Sir, in the last few days a most extraordinary thing has happened in our country. I am quoting from the *Indian Express*:

"It was two weeks after the cease-fire that India formally requested the study of her air-defence needs with a view to possible intervention by American and Commonwealth inter-septor squadrons to defend the Indian cities in the event of a fresh Chinese invasion."

When, on such a request from India, the joint study team proposed an air-umbrella, a delegation of the communist party of India and some of their

fellow-travellers met the Prime Minister, who strangely enough, was said to have told them that the Government had not discussed any proposal for an air-umbrella with the visiting mission, nor have the Government itself considered any such proposal. But immediately came a contradiction again in the *Indian Express* from which I quote:—

"Mr. Galbraith is stated to have asked the Government of India to take steps to tell the people that the mission's arrival was in response to India's urgent request to consider the air-umbrella plan."

In the light of these facts, would it be that the Prime Minister would rather placate the communists of India and abroad and, in doing so, embarrass the Government and the people of the United States and India? Surely, the Prime Minister must realise that the communists in India have a vested interest in this matter because they saw in this air-umbrella a potential risk to their ultimate goal in this country. Therefore I appeal to the Prime Minister not to feel humiliated in receiving the wholehearted aid from countries which have a common cause with us.

In these days, when it is essential for us to step up our production, specially in agriculture, I feel it would be a good thing if the Government would be kinder to the peasants who are the backbone of our country and from whose families 90 per cent of our patriotic and brave jawans come. I am sorry to say that these people are being unnecessarily harassed. They are being taxed beyond their means. I feel they should be given every encouragement to produce more. The agricultural production of our country would, I am sure, increase if our peasants could be assured of their land proprietorship and if they were given some concessions in land revenue. I earnestly implore the Government to examine this question.

In conclusion, I would implore the Government to be realistic and not put their party policies before the interest of the country. They have succeeded in humiliating us in the eyes of the world, and what is even worse, they have humiliated, as I have said before, our armed forces of India which were amongst the finest in the world. If they cannot redeem the shame and humiliation they have brought to this country, then, I would appeal to their patriotic sentiments and ask them to consider whether the time has not come for a radical change in the leadership of our country.

I would remind the leaders that India comes first—service before self—and that no one is indispensable.

**In the Rajya Sabha — 20-2-1963**

**Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel**

We are grateful to the President for the Address that he gave us, the inspiring message that he gave us. The concluding sentences, and particularly the Sanskrit quotation that he mentioned at the end of his Address, are still ringing in my ears. I, however, felt that the Address, being a prepared speech, was something different from what normally he says in an extempore speech. On the 23rd of December the President visited Bardoli and his memorable words on that occasion are worth repeating:—

"Indian reverses in NEFA should be regarded as

a matter of sorrow, shame and humiliation. We have to retrieve our lost prestige. India's freedom, security and honour are the things which are endangered today. The qualities of courage, discipline and organised determination for which Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel stood are required of the nation now to overcome the shame."

I will not read out further. I would like to know whether the Government is working on these lines. I am afraid I have doubts. Parliament took a firm resolve on the 14th of November to vacate the Chinese aggression. Since then a lot has happened. An Emergency was declared. Is the Emergency visible today? If we are going to vacate the aggression, we shall require the means. Either we build them ourselves or we procure them from friends. But just words of assurance are not going to carry us anywhere.

As regards agriculture, the President's Address says:—

"Agriculture, which is the most important sector of our economy, has undergone material developments and agricultural production has increased considerably. Intensive agricultural programmes have led to increases in per acre yields of rice, wheat and barley."

But this does not reveal the correct picture of the agricultural situation. No doubt agricultural production advanced over the period between 1949-50 and 1960-61 at the rate of 3.8 per cent. per annum, the annual rate of increase in productivity being 1.5 per cent. and that of area 2.08 per cent. There was, however, no overall advance in agricultural production.

Fluctuations in agricultural output are no doubt to a great extent due to the vagaries of monsoons, but there have also been a number of other causes which could have been avoided. The policies and proposals of the Central and State Governments regarding ceiling on land, food procurement and distribution, and co-operative cultivation have contributed not a little to aggravate the situation by introducing factors of uncertainty and insecurity all round.

As regards industry, the President's Address indicates that the upward trend in industrial production has continued. Industrial production is estimated to have increased by about 9 per cent. during 1962 as against 6.1 per cent in 1961. Generally speaking, the rate of increase in the last decade has been stagnant at about 9 per cent per annum. The rate of growth could have been much higher but for certain obstacles, such as want of raw materials, spare parts and components, coal, power and transport and the like. Government procedures have also been responsible for impeding the rate of growth. There is a virtual ban on plans of expansion and development of industry. This is clearly evident from the announcement that applications for licence for over 210 industries will not any longer be entertained.

Even at this critical juncture Government policies seem to be hampered by old ideology and fail to meet speedily and effectively the exigencies of the situation. There does not seem to be any measurable heightened activity in the public sector enterprises either.

I shall now refer to the general economic indications during 1962. National income recorded 2.2 per cent. growth during 1961-62 over the previous year,

when it increased from Rs. 12,690 crores to Rs. 12,970 crores. The Third Plan envisages an overall growth of 30 per cent or 6 per cent per annum over the five years. No estimates are available for the current year 1962-63. However, considering the general setbacks suffered in vital sectors like agriculture and industry, the rate of expansion in the Gross National Product is unlikely to record the 6 per cent increase envisaged under the Plan.

The employment situation is far from encouraging. The number of applicants on the live registers for jobs has gone up from 18.6 lakhs in January 1962 to 22 lakhs in September and October. The registration rate has also gone up from 2.7 lakhs to 3.15 lakhs and the placement rate from 36,000 to only 39,000 during the same period. Attention to these problems has been drawn by a recent Survey on Unemployment and Structural Change made by the International Labour Office. The quantum of backlog of unemployment at the beginning of the Third Plan and the extent of job opportunities to be created during the current plan.

The President's speech is virtually silent on the deteriorating foreign exchange situation. On the one hand, while our imports have been cut to the bone, our exports on the other have remained more or less stationary. The share has steadily declined though world export markets are expanding at a brisk rate. We have not been able to make a headway in the emerging markets of Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Currently we have the largest deficits with the E.C.M. countries. The U.K. to which country we export a quarter of our total exports, is anxious to join the ECM, presumably because it feels that the Commonwealth countries are not in a position to take much of its sophisticated manufactures.

To add to this we have taken up a new policy, namely the gold control policy. The Finance Minister feels that control on gold is going to save his drain of foreign exchange. It is doubtful whether this policy is going to be successful and where it is going to lead us. Gold has been a matter of sentiment, of saving for years and years. The poor peasant, the cultivator, saves a little money and he puts it on the person of his wife as gold. That has been his bank for years. Unless this habit is changed in this country, regulations of this type are not going to help. But there are some people who believe that by making laws life and everything can be regulated. I am a believer in prohibition. I do not drink, but I cannot say that the prohibition policy has succeeded, particularly in Bombay. I have very little doubt that the same will be the result of this gold control also.

In the first few days of that anxious period (Chinese aggression) that we had, I was one of those who asked the Prime Minister whether we were going to ask foreign aid, for massive foreign aid, sufficient foreign aid that would be necessary to repel the aggressor. The Prime Minister assured us that sufficient foreign aid had been asked for and that it would be forthcoming. I would like to ask the Government whether that was the end of it. What is the Government doing to revise its policies and to strengthen its position and the defence of the country so that we may not be caught napping again? In case of a further attack, should we need an air umbrella or not? Does the Prime Minister want to placate Mr.

Bhupesh Gupta by saying that we need not have an air umbrella?

Now, do we want the aggression to be vacated in terms of the Resolution passed by Parliament or not? That is what the country would like to know. Have we got the wherewithal for that? Have we got the means and the equipments for that? Where is all this equipment to come from? The Defence Minister Shri Chavan when he took office very early said it in Bombay that he had no hope of getting anything from the Soviet Union. I am glad the Defence Minister began his role with a clear mind. I hope that after his coming to Delhi and after his contacts with the senior Cabinet Members he has not been indoctrinated into a hesitating and wavering habit, because he said something different a few days back.

It is with very great sorrow that I say that the Prime Minister seems to be taking us the wrong way. We love him. We followed his leadership when he was taking us the Gandhian way. Is he now going the Khrushchev way? Mr. Khrushchev was angry with China because of this Chinese aggression. Not because this aggression was on a friendly country, but because this Chinese aggression of India had hurt the cause of international communism. Mr. Dange paid a hurried visit to that country. I do not know what he brought back and whether he brought a brief from Mr. Khrushchev for the release of friends of Mr. Gupta. Let not the Government shut its eyes to the lessons of history. What happened in Czechoslovakia? How did Hitler take over Germany? Remember all that.

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(For Private Circulation)