

THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY

Before Parliament met on November 9, the Parliamentary Board of the Swatantra Party held an emergent meeting in New Delhi on November 6 and 7 to formulate the Party's policy in regard to the Chinese Offensive and the National Emergency in the country. The following Statement was unanimously adopted by it on November 6:

1. The Parliamentary Board of the Swatantra Party has taken stock of the developments of the past few weeks and of the situation which the Indian people face as a result of the intensified offensive launched by China. This dangerous threat to the territorial integrity of the country and indeed to its independence has to be met. In this task, every patriotic Indian is ready to make any necessary sacrifice and give of his best, as has been demonstrated by spontaneous upsurge for the defence of the country.

2. The Swatantra Party is convinced that the initiative should not be left to the enemy. A defence strategy should now be adopted which will help to snatch and retain the initiative in our own hands. There is no half-way house in this conflict. Victory in this struggle has to be achieved by the adoption of sound military, political and international policies pursued with determination and singleness of purpose.

3. A Defence Council of senior serving and retired generals should be constituted to assist the Defence Ministry.

4. Our men at the front have fought with unrivalled heroism. They should be armed with the best weapons and equipment and supported by aircraft procured from friendly countries throughout the world. The insistence on maintaining the appearance of non-alignment when receiving this vital aid is altogether unrealistic and would cripple the defence effort, besides ruining the economy. Great countries like Britain and West Germany have accepted military aid without surrendering their sovereignty or independence of action.

5. Anti-aircraft defences should be set up at all vulnerable points and civil defence measures organized in adequate measure.

6. The Third Five-Year Plan should give way to a Victory Plan geared to the immediate purpose. A Ministry of Supply should be constituted for the

period of the emergency with over-riding powers of direction over the Ministries of Industry and Commerce, Steel and Heavy Industries, Railways, Communications, Oil, Fuel and Gas, and the Department of Defence Production in the Defence Ministry.

7. When our country is attacked by a Communist power, the concept of non-alignment has little meaning, as the Swatantra Party has been pointing out since the beginning of 1960. If the Prime Minister's admission of a new awareness of realities is to have any meaning, our entire foreign policy has to be revised and brought into close relation with the requirements of the present critical situation.

8. Urgent efforts should be made to establish friendlier relations with Pakistan. President Ayub's offer of co-operation in the formation of a common defence of this sub-continent made two years ago, should be taken up and worked out. All disputes between India and Pakistan should be frozen by agreement for the duration of the emergency, so as to enable the release of substantial Indian armed forces for repelling the Chinese attack.

9. Completely friendly relations should be re-established with Nepal.

10. The Swatantra Party records its grateful appreciation of the spontaneous, prompt and generous manner in which the U.S.A., Britain, Canada and other countries have come to India's assistance by way of military equipment and otherwise.

11. The declaration of a state of emergency should not be made into a charter for winding up parliamentary government. The Opposition should carry out its responsibility of free and frank criticism whenever it is necessary. There has been a commendable shift in the attitude and policies of Government. The Prime Minister's admissions in particular have given rise to considerable hope of change. On the other hand, there are disturbing signs that some old illusions still persist and that the dead hand of these illusions and out-moded policies still lies heavily on the present Government. The Press and the statesmen of the country should not hesitate to speak and write as they feel and advise the Government and guide the people from time to time for furtherance of the country's defence.

12. The Defence of India Ordinance, Bill and Regulations should be closely scrutinised and their administration watched so as to ensure that these do not involve a greater curtailment of fundamental rights, democratic processes and the Rule of Law than is strictly necessary in furtherance of the defence effort.

13. Consistent with the needs of security the fullest information should be made available to the public, and the Press should be given facilities for accrediting correspondents at the front.

14. Steps should be taken for bringing the Chinese aggression before the U.N. for securing the assistance of the world organization and of world opinion in our defence.

The Board also unanimously adopted the following three resolutions pertaining to the National Emergency:

1. Banning of the Communist Party: The Parliamentary Board of the Swatantra Party is of the opinion that, despite the hypocritical resolution of its National Council, the Communist Party of India must by its nature function as a Fifth Column of Communist imperialism in this country. It is therefore necessary that the Party should be banned under the Defence of India Ordinance and Regulations.

2. Joint Committees: In order to prevent party politics entering into the Defence effort, it is desirable that the President of the Indian Union and the Governors of the States should, as far as possible, preside over all joint committees concerning the Defence effort.

3. Defence Effort. Taking note of the appointment and the constitution of the National Defence Council, the Parliamentary Board is of the view that there is still the need for a similar body consisting of senior serving and retired Generals and others to be in continual touch with, advise and assist, the Defence Ministry.

Some State Units had asked for clarification in regard to participation in Joint Defence Committees, especially if members of the Communist Party were invited to such joint committees. The decision of the Parliamentary Board was communicated by the General Secretary to the State Units. A circular issued for the purpose stated among other things:—

(a) Where invited, members of the Party may become members of Joint Committees for the Defence effort after consulting the relevant unit of the Party. Members of the Party will take care to ensure that contributions to the National Defence Fund are voluntary and that no coercion is brought to bear in this connection.

(b) In case members of the Communist Party are members of such joint committees, members of the Swatantra Party should not associate with them. Where such a situation arises, the local unit of the Party or its members may collect funds on their own

and remit them to the Treasurer of the National Defence Fund in Delhi direct. The same principle should apply to Swatantra Party members of Parliament and of the State Legislatures.

ORGANISATION SUB-COMMITTEE DECISIONS

The Organisation Sub-Committee of the Party at its meeting in Delhi on November 7 considered the position regarding the enrolment of members and the question of holding party elections in the context of the National Emergency.

The meeting considered the diversion of effort from the defence of the country which would be involved in a series of elections and in the circumstances decided that enrolment of members should proceed and that no programme for the election of local, State or National Committees of the Party should be fixed for the present. This meant that the earlier decision specifying November 30 as the last date for enrolment of members for purposes of Party elections no longer stood.

At the same time, the Sub-Committee realised the need to gear the Party organisation to its tasks and felt that State Executive Committees should be re-constituted to bring in fresh blood and secure the maximum possible efficiency. In order that this may be facilitated, it has been decided that each State Unit should be requested to submit to the Central Office the names of 50 members of the Party in the State. This would constitute a panel from which a new Executive Committee and its office-bearers may be drawn. It was further decided that this list should reach the Central Office not later than 15th December, 1962. The recommendations would then be placed before the next meeting of the Central Organising Committee for its approval. Before each State unit finalises its list of office-bearers and members of the Executive, the General Secretary or some other representative of the Centre may meet State office bearers and the 50 members recommended.

PARLIAMENTARY GROUP OFFICE-BEARERS

The Swatantra Party Parliamentary Group elected its office-bearers in New Delhi on November 14.

The Parliamentary Board decided to nominate Prof. Ranga as Chairman of the Party's Group in both Houses of Parliament. The following Office Bearers were elected:

Lok Sabha

Leader — Prof. N. G. Ranga
Deputy Leader — Mr. P. K. Deo of Kalahandi
Secretaries — (1) Sardar Kapur Singh
 (2) Mr. Narendrasingh Mahida
 (3) Mr. Pravinsingh Solanki
Chief Whip — Mr. C. L. Narasimha Reddy
Whips — (1) Mr. Himmatsinh
 (2) Mr. Prithviraj
Treasurer — Dr. B. N. Singh

Members of the Executive —

- (1) Smt. Gayatri Devi of Jaipur
- (2) Smt. Basant Kunwar Ba
- (3) Mr. P. K. Ghosh
- (4) Mr. Yashpal Singh

Rajya Sabha

Leader — Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel

Deputy Leader — Mr. Anandchand of Bilaspur

Secretary — Mr. Loknath Misra

Whips — (1- Mr. Jagat Kishore Prasad Narain Singh

(2) Mr. Mirza Ahmed Ali

Member — Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy.

While Prof. Ranga will continue as the Chairman of the Group and Leader of the Party in the Lok Sabha till the end of this Parliament, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel will be Leader of the Group in the Rajya Sabha till March 1934.

SWATANTRA M. P. PASSES AWAY

We announce with deep sorrow and regret the untimely demise of a member of our Party's Group in the Lok Sabha Mr. H. K. Baria of Gujarat. Prof. Ranga in a condolence message said:

"It is tragic that he should have died in the prime of life, just when his services through Parliament and outside are so badly needed during the present national crisis." The Party in Parliament and Gujarat had sustained a "grievous loss" by his premature death, he added.

THE DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

(a) Resolution on Chinese Aggression

The Swatantra Party's position on both issues, viz. the Chinese Offensive and the National Emergency, was ably put forward by our Leader in Parliament, Professor N. G. Ranga, M. P. While an extract of his speech forms Annexure A to this Newsletter, the full text has been published in a booklet entitled *Swatantra Answer to the Chinese Communist Challenge*.

A matter for gratification was the measure of participation in the debate by many members of our Party in both Houses. In the Lok Sabha among those who spoke were Sardar Kapur Singh, Mr. Himmatsingh, Dr. Basant Narain Singh, Mr. Yashpal Singh, Mrs. Vijaya Raje, Smt. Basant Kunwar Ba and Mr. N. S. Mahida. Extracts from their speeches are reproduced in Annexure A.

In the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel, our Leader in that House, and Professor M. Ruthnaswamy spoke. Extracts from their speeches also form part of Annexure A.

To the Resolution on Chinese Aggression moved by the Prime Minister, nine members of the Lok Sabha led by Professor Ranga and including some Independent members moved the following two amendments:

That at the end of the second paragraph of the resolution, the following be added, namely:—

"and regrets the unpreparedness of the Government to defend the frontiers of India against aggression and invasion"

That for the fourth paragraph of the resolution, the following be substituted:—

"This House gratefully acknowledges and welcomes the moral and material support received from a large number of friendly countries, notably the U.S.A., U.K., and Canada in this grim hour of struggle against aggression and massive invasion, and trusts that Government will take steps to secure massive support from all friendly countries."

The amendments which were pressed to a voice vote were rejected.

Similarly, in the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel and Mr. Anand Chand moved amendments, the former welcoming the moral and material support from friendly countries, especially the U.S.A., U.K. and Canada and hoping that the Government would take steps to secure massive support from friendly countries. The latter's amendment noted with regret the lack of foresight on the part of the Defence Ministry in taking adequate steps to meet the threat of Chinese aggression. These amendments were also not accepted by the House.

(b) The Defence of India Bill

With the resolution on Chinese Aggression adopted, Parliament moved on to consider the Defence of India Bill. The consensus in the House was one of support. While naturally, for tactical reasons, the Communists extended unqualified support to the Bill, the other democratic Opposition Groups, while extending support gave expression to their apprehensions of, possible misuse of the extraordinary powers conferred on the Government especially in a country where respect for democratic traditions and values had not yet struck deep roots.

During the debate on the Bill, our Leader, Professor Ranga, voiced these feelings. He admitted that the Swatantra Party supported this measure but only with a heavy heart for, he said:

"It is a great sacrifice that we are called upon to make — all our civil liberties and all the fundamental rights that are enshrined in our Constitution and also all that goes to help our people to enjoy and to live as human beings."

Further extracts from his speech during this debate have also been included in Annexure A in addition to remarks he made during the discussion on supplementary grants for the Defence Ministry.

A.I.C.C. CIRCULAR

How valid were the fears of the democratic Opposition was soon made obvious through a Circular issued by the Office of the All India Congress Committee. Prof. Ranga, who raised the matter in the Lok Sabha on 21-11-62, read out the Circular, which ran as follows:

"A campaign against the Government Circular No. 23/OD-7/57/ 17491

"A campaign against the Government is carried on by some interested parties particularly the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party and sometimes even the Prime Minister is attacked. It is wrong to permit opposition parties to take advantage of the emergency for throwing mud against the Congress. Extensive tours must be undertaken by prominent leaders, especially by the office-bearers of the Congress Committee.

"Meetings big and small throughout all the districts should be held. Positive stand against the criticism about the Prime Minister should be taken. It must be emphasised that those who criticise him are traitors."

Prof. Ranga, stating that this clearly revealed the attitude of the Ruling Party added:

"How can anybody be expected to believe that these powers are likely to be used by this Government in a responsible and responsive manner, in a respectful and decent manner, in a manner which will rebound to the credit of our Constitution? How can we expect them to use these powers properly? And these are sweeping powers"

OPPOSITION TO CEASE FIRE

The unilateral Cease-fire declaration by the Chinese Communists on November 21 was universally rejected by all Opposition Parties (excluding the C.P.I.) and even responsible Congressmen in office expressed themselves against accepting that offer.

Prof. Ranga took the lead in getting together the leaders of the democratic Opposition Groups and prominent independents in preparing the following joint statement:

"We are convinced that this Chinese offer of unilateral cease-fire is only another of their notorious manoeuvres calculated to cause confusion and disruption in our national front, gain time for consolidation and build up for another infamous offensive and prevent us from mobilising the resources from inside and outside, and create doubts in the minds of our friends in world democracy. We trust that the Prime Minister and Government would not allow themselves to be taken in and weaken our resolve to strengthen our Armed Forces. We want the Government to assure the nation that they stand firmly by the policy clearly enunciated by Parliament in the resolutions unanimously adopted and with redoubled vigour, so that the spirit of National Resistance would not at all be allowed to be weakened by the latest Chinese tactical manoeuvres.

We hope that Parliament will be kept in session and be informed at every stage.

We also hope that the friendly countries which have so readily and generously offered help would continue to speed up their assistance on a massive scale.

Sd. N. G. Ranga.

Sd. Ram Sevak Yadav

Sd. H. V. Kamath

Sd. M. S. Aney

Sd. Atal Bihari Vajpayee

Dated 27-11-62

In a speech in Madras to the students of Pacha-

yappa's College on November 23, Rajaji appealed to the people not to stop their war effort because China unilaterally decided to cease-fire.

He said that by stopping the fighting the Chinese might have hoped to confuse the Indian people's minds and dull their enthusiasm for defence. It might even be possible that the "cease fire is simply for further preparation to attack.

Whether the cease fire gesture was friendly or vicious, India should take full advantage of it. "We should not relax now," he said.

Rajaji said probably the main reason for the Chinese action was the Anglo-American aid which India had received. When the Chinese found that India was getting nearer and nearer to the West, and the West getting nearer and nearer to India, they perhaps, felt that it was not good to progress further.

The Chinese might have decided on cease-fire when they found that their partymen in India — the Communists — were not really as powerful as they thought, and that the trade unions and the workers were not divided as they had hoped. They might also have not planned to go beyond a certain line. Rajaji added that any of these reasons, or all of them together might have led the Chinese to stop fighting.

A day earlier in Bombay on November 22 Mr. M. R. Masani, in the course of a speech to the Commerce Graduates Association, also adverted to the Chinese move and said:

"Public opinion in India has already with impressive unanimity called for the rejection of the trap laid by the Chinese communists in their so-called cease-fire. The right thing for our Government to do is to reject the bait, ask our friends abroad to give us the interceptor planes, ground to air missiles and tactical air support required by our troops, move to the NEFA front three or four crack divisions which are still frozen on our frontier with Pakistan and launch a massive counter-offensive which will throw the aggressors back across the Himalayan passes. If the Prime Minister, shedding his past inhibitions and preconceptions, takes this decision indicated by the national will, he will have the unanimous support of the nation."

He added that the enemy had extended himself fully. He has spread himself very thin. His logistical problems rule out any further advance. He has, therefore, now sought to lure us into a treacherous cease-fire to enforce his October 24 offer, which had been contemptuously rejected by our Government.

To accept the cease-fire terms dictated by the Chinese in their arrogant and offensive note by conforming to it would be to accept defeat, demoralise our armed forces and leave the country open to another attack in future at a time to be chosen by the enemy, Mr. Masani added.

Meanwhile, by speeches on various non-Party platforms and through the columns of *Swarajya*, Rajaji kept plugging away at the various aspects of the threats posed by the Communist Chinese Offensive and the resort to Emergency Powers by the Government. Important points made by him in his various statements, and articles are briefly reported in Annexure B, which also reports speeches by Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. M. R. Masani.

From far off Lagos, the Nigerian capital, came the report of a speech by Mr. P. K. Deo, M.P., Deputy Leader of our Party in the Lok Sabha, at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference on November 7. In the absence of Sardar Hukum Singh, the Lok Sabha Speaker, who had to return to India urgently in view of the Chinese invasion, Mr. Deo acted as Leader of the Indian delegation. Extracts of his speech referring to the Chinese Offensive also form part of Annexure B.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEFENCE FUND

Reports have come in of a variety of ways in which various Leaders of the Party have contributed towards National Defence.

Members of Parliament: Swatantra Members of both Houses of Parliament decided to contribute a month's salary to the National Defence Fund.

Andhra: Mr. C. D. Naidu, M.L.A. announced he would donate his salary to the Defence Fund till the completion of the struggle.

Delhi: Shri Shiv Ratan Deo Singh, the Raja of Poonch and Member of the Delhi Committee of the Party, has surrendered his allowance from the Government of India for the duration of the Emergency.

Orissa: The members of our Party in the State Assembly have contributed 15 days salary to the National Defence Fund.

The President of the State Unit and Leader of the Opposition in the State Assembly, Shri R. N. Singh Deo of Patna, has contributed 10% of his privy purse every quarter for the duration of the Emergency, to the National Defence Fund.

The Rajas of Dhenkanal and Gangapur and Shri P. K. Deo of Kalahandi have donated 10% of their privy purse during the Emergency and the Raja of Nilgiri, M.L.A. has contributed 10% of his privy purse.

Mr. Janardhan Bhanj Deo, M.L.A. has, in addition to half a month's salary, donated Rs. 100/- to the National Defence Fund.

Rajasthan: Shri Laxman Singh of Dungarpur announced a donation of 10% of his privy purse and 5% of his allowance as a member of the State Assembly to the National Defence Fund till the termination of the crisis.

PARTICIPATION IN DEFENCE EFFORT

Report have come in from State Units of the part played by them in the Defence effort, both in collaboration with the Government and other democratic parties and on their own where such collaboration has been found impossible.

ANDHRA

From Hyderabad the State Unit reports that the Andhra Pradesh People's Defence Committee, of which its Chief Minister is the Chairman, has among its members the leader of the State Legislature Party,

Mr. G. Latchanna, and the State President, Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddy. Similarly members of the Party in different districts of Andhra have served in their respective District Defence Committees.

In Guntur, the District President, Mr. G. Chandra-mouli, participated in meetings held under the joint auspices of democratic parties.

In Hyderabad, the local unit Secretary, Mr. I. L. N. Sastri, and others participated in a non-party procession on November 2.

The Chief Whip of the State Legislature Party, Mr. C. Ramachandra Rao Deshpande, has collected money and remitted it to the National Defence Fund.

ASSAM

The Shillong branch of the Party at a Committee meeting passed a resolution expressing indignation at the invasion of India by Communist China, and offered its unstinted co-operation for repelling the invaders.

In appreciation of the unrivalled heroism with which our Jawans are fighting, the Party has made a financial contribution towards the Defence Fund.

BIHAR

From Jamshedpur in Bihar comes the news of a joint meeting of all democratic opposition parties held on 28th October, when an anti-Chinese Aggression Citizens Defence Committee was formed. Among its Secretaries is Mr. D. N. Sharma of our Party.

BOMBAY

Quite apart from organising public meetings, the City unit of the Party undertook activities designed to help the Defence effort.

At a meeting held in Bombay on October 29, the Party decided to constitute a Public Fair Practices Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Murarji J. Vaidya. The Committee will: (a) mobilise public opinion against all anti-national and anti-social activities; (b) enlist support of all trade associations and allied organisations to persuade their members to observe a 'Code of Conduct' laid down by the Public Fair Practices Committee and request the citizens to sign the Consumer's pledge prepared by it.

Among other things the Consumer's Pledge demands of the consumer an assurance that he will not buy anything at black-market prices; will not hoard essential commodities; will oppose corruption and will refuse to be corrupted, and will obey and respect the laws for the prevention of anti-social activities till the emergency lasts.

The Women's Committee of the Party organised a drive on November 4 to collect woollen clothing and men's shoes for the use of our Jawans and auxiliary forces at base hospitals and elsewhere. A press statement issued by the Party mentioned that the Women's Committee handed over to the Indian Red Cross over twelve hundred woollen coats and trousers, nearly nine hundred pullovers, about a hundred overcoats, over a hundred sheets and about three hundred and fifty blankets, apart from hundreds of pairs of

shoes and other wearing apparel. From the sum of Rs. 3,856.24 nP. which was voluntarily contributed by those unable to give woollens, material is being bought to make garments which will be used at the front.

On November 15, the Chairman of the Bombay and Maharashtra units of the Party, Mr. N. Dandekar issued an appeal for donations to the St. George's Hospital Voluntary Blood Transfusion Service to meet the additional expenses for obtaining extra equipment to cope with the rush of blood donors. The appeal added that any donation, however small is welcome and will be gratefully acknowledged by the Swatantra Party.

DELHI

A largely attended public meeting was organised by the Swatantra Party at Gandhi Grounds, Delhi, on November 6. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Professor Ranga, Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. M. R. Masani were among those who addressed the meeting.

Mr. M. R. Masani, on behalf of the Swatantra Party addressed an All Parties Meeting at L.I.C. Grounds, Connaught Circus, New Delhi, on November 7.

The Convenor of the Delhi Unit, Col. Pascricha, presided, over an all Opposition Parties meeting held at Hauz Kaz.

Six political Parties called for complete isolation of the Communists to win the border war. Mr. Balraj Madhok represented the Jan Sangh, Mr. Brij Mohan, the Praja Socialists, Mr. Har Saroop, Forward Block, Col. Pascricha, Swatantra, Mr. Jaswant Singh, Akali Dal and Mr. N. N. Datta, the Committee 'Against Chinese Aggression'.

GUJARAT

In Baroda, on the initiative of Mr. Kamlashanker Pandya, the leaders of the local units of the Swatantra Party represented by Mr. Pundrikrai Hathi, the PSP, the Jan Sangh and a few Congressmen issued a statement calling for the rejection of the Cease-fire.

Meanwhile the Gujarat unit reports that our Party members have been active in defence efforts in the various Talukas, and in Ahmedabad city.

KERALA

The Southern Zone Unit of the Party in Kerala held a meeting under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Madhava Wariar on November 17. The meeting observed a minute's silence in memory of the Jawans who had laid down their lives in the defence of the country. Mr. Ravindranathan Nair and Mr. Peter Sebastian addressed the meeting. Mr. P. A. Joseph criticised the Congress policy in the State of limiting State Defence Committees to Congress partisans and demanded broad-based committees of all democratic elements excluding the Communists. Mr. K. K. Kuruvilla moved a resolution which endorsed the Parliamentary Board's resolutions on November 6 and 7. Among others who spoke were Mr. V. C. Philipose and Mr. P. J. George.

In Alleppey the Party's Organiser, Mr. Peter

Sebastian, organised a signature campaign demanding the banning of the Communist Party of India.

MADRAS

Our Party in Tamil Nad had found it difficult to co-operate in the Citizens Committee, of which the Chief Minister is the Chairman, in view of the participation in it of the Communists. The President of the State Unit, Mr. Saw Ganesan, declined an invitation from the Chief Minister to join this committee on the grounds that our Party was against sitting in Defence Committees, official and non-official, in which Communists are included. On behalf of the Chief Minister, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam in his reply has declined to part with Communist representation.

The Indian Express, commenting in its issue of November 17, appreciated the Party's reluctance to join this Committee and stated:—"In declining to be associated with it, however, the Swatantra Party has enunciated a principle which must hold good as long as the national emergency exists. Mr. Ganesan is fully justified in saying that the inclusion of the Communists will create confusion in the public mind and lead to grave risks. This truth has been recognised in many other parts of the country, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra notably, which have had a more intense experience of Communism at work than Madras. Above all, it is in perfect sympathy with the feelings of the people today. It is precisely the national good that is likely to be prejudiced by the inclusion of Communists. Apparent unanimity of purpose can sometimes be too dearly bought."

Ironically enough, among the Communists recently arrested was Mr. Kalyanasundaram, who was the Communist representative in the Citizens Committee. In view of his removal Mr. Saw Ganesan has now agreed to join the Committee, it is reported.

Meanwhile, our Party has continued to do whatever it could for the defence effort in that State. On 18th November a public meeting was held at Mylapore under the auspices of the Indian Citizenship Association. Representatives of the Congress, P.S.P., D.M.K., Tamil Arasu Kazhagam and our own party represented by Mr. S. S. Mariswamy, the State General Secretary, participated. At the meeting it is reported that Mr. S. A. A. Aziz, Secretary of the Tamil Nad Congress, made certain offensive and uncalled for remarks. The retort from the Swatantra Party's Secretary evoked thunderous applause from the audience. Apparently Mr. Aziz indulged in some provocative remarks against those who condemned the non-alignment policy of our Government by characterising it as "mean-mindedness". The State Unit reports that the attack was obviously directed against Rajaji. The State General Secretary in his reply deplored the use of a joint platform by a member of the Congress to raise points of controversy which had little to do with constructive defence efforts. He said one could very well retort to Mr. Aziz and condemn his own remarks as "silly mindedness" but in the context of the situation he would refrain from such characterisation. Mr. Mariswamy condemned inclusion of Communists in the defence committee in Madras.

The State Office has put out the resolutions and the statement of the Parliamentary Board in Tamil.

MYSORE

Mysore was another State where our Unit has found it difficult to cooperate in the official State Defence Committee's efforts as a result of Communist participation. The attitude of our Party was made clear to the Chief Minister of the State and we had reluctantly to keep out. The State Unit has on its own initiative tried to collect funds and send them direct to the National Defence Fund.

ORISSA

In Orissa the State Unit has been cooperating in the State Defence Committee where the President of the State Unit, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, is a member.

However, in a press statement issued by the State President on November 24, he has deplored the haphazard and arbitrary manner in which the Defence Committees have been functioning in Orissa.

Meanwhile it is reported that the Party has encouraged members of the Party to donate gold and money for the Defence Fund and to enrol themselves in the Homeguard. Our members have contributed in cash, gold and ornaments to the National Defence Fund.

On 1st November Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, Mr. Harihar Patel, Raja Raj Dev, Chandrasekar Singh and Gangadhar Pradhan donated blood which was despatched the same night to the front.

PUNJAB

The Punjab Unit of the Swatantra Party held an emergency meeting on November 4 under the presidentship of Jathedar Udamsingh Nagoke to discuss the invasion.

On 30th October, the State Secretary, Sardar Basant Singh, addressed a meeting arranged by the Patiala Municipality and later participated in a huge procession on 2nd November. At this meeting a local Communist Party representative who tried to get on to the platform was hooted by the audience and had to leave

the meeting in a hurry. Since that time, members of the Communist Party have considered discretion the better part of valour and kept away from public functions connected with the Defence Effort.

Sardar Basant Singh also participated in a meeting called by the State Congress President, Sardar Darbara Singh.

At Amritsar the President of the State Unit, Jathedar Nagoke, held a public meeting and explained at length the Statement and Resolutions of the Parliamentary Board.

RAJASTHAN

The State President, Mr. Laxman Singh of Dungarpur, declined an invitation by the District Congress President of Dungarpur to participate in a public meeting on November 1, on the ground that among those who had been invited to speak from the platform was a Communist and it was the Party's policy not to have anything to do with them.

On November 2, the Party convened a public meeting at Dungarpur where the audience was more impressive than that of the meeting held by the Congress Party along with the Communists the previous day. The State Unit President, the District Convenor, Mr. K. N. Sharma, General Nathoo Singh, Mr. G. C. Jain and Mr. Manilal Bawsara addressed the meeting.

On November 4 Mr. Laxman Singh of Dungarpur and Mr. K. N. Sharma agreed to serve on the District Committee to help in the Defence Effort as no Communist had been included. The State Unit President announced personal cash and gold donations to the Chief Minister's fund.

However, the State President, who is also the Leader of the Opposition in the Rajasthan State Assembly, declined to serve on the State Defence Committee, to which he had been invited by Chief Minister Sukhadia as the Government had also invited Communists. In this connection, states a report of the Party from Dungarpur, "We have the support of the Jan Sangh and the P.S.P. in the State Legislature".

Between 8th and 15th November, various meetings were held by the Party at Sagwara, Galiakot and Bhilora in the Dungarpur district and Rhikabdeo in the district of Udaipur.

NEWS FROM STATE PARTIES

As is to be expected, the Chinese invasion of our country put everything else into the background. This was also the case with the organisational activities of our Party in the various States.

ANDHRA PRADESH

Commenting on the "All Party Agitation Campaign" against the Land Revenue (Additional Assessment) Act, 1962, sponsored by the Communists, Mr. G. Latchanna, M.L.A., leader of the State Legislature Party, said that the Swatantra Party had nothing to do with the campaign sponsored by the Communists. He said that since the Communists endorsed the Third Five Year Plan and all taxation measures of

the Ruling Party, it was meaningless for them to campaign against the Land Levy Act. He appealed to Party workers to organise a door to door signature campaign against the Act independently in the name of the Party and put pressure on the Government to repeal the Act.

On behalf of the Andhra Pradesh Kisan Sammelan, Mr. G. Latchanna presented a memorandum seeking a moratorium on the implementation of the obnoxious land levy till the cessation of hostilities with China. Expressing the Kisan Sammelan's strong opposition to the Act, the memorandum explained that they had already decided to launch a satyagraha if the Andhra Government went ahead in its implementation. The memorandum further pointed out that the

Bihar Government had withdrawn its Land Revenue Bill before the declaration of the Emergency and the U.P. Government had withdrawn its land legislation after the Emergency was declared.

DELHI

The local unit of the Swatantra Party has further spread out the net-work of its organisation.

A workers meeting was held at Bawana village and a Primary Unit was inaugurated under the Presidentship of Mr. Maheshya Bharat Singh. Thakur Yashpal Singh, M.P., addressed this gathering. Other units were inaugurated at Multani Dhand, Pahar Ganj and Jhandewalan.

GUJARAT

Membership campaign in Dehgam Taluka, Mehsana, Surat and Jamnagar is reported to be proceeding apace.

Shri Bhailalbhai Patel has been able to persuade Dr. Jivraj Mehta, the State Chief Minister to discuss problems relating to Kutch with Shri Himmatsingh and Shri Gulabrai Dholakia M.L.A. Hitherto, it is reported, that the Gujarat Government did not even consider discussing the matter. It may be recalled that the Lok Sabha and five Assembly seats in Kutch were annexed by the Swatantra Party in the last General Elections.

MYSORE

The Malleswaram Constituency Study Circle, was addressed by Mr. V. S. Natarajan, who gave a talk on "The Transport Bottleneck". These Study circles have been most educative and are drawing increasing interest from the public every time.

ORISSA

Swatantra Party members of the Select Committee in the Assembly have often given minutes of dissent on Bills which have proved most useful to members and at times have set the pattern for the debate. Shri Harihar Patel's, minute of dissent on the Orissa Public Demands Recovery Bill 1962, was very much appreciated and referred by all members of the Opposition Parties and groups who participated in the debate. A number of amendments suggested by Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, during discussions on the motion, for reference of Orissa Port Trust Bill, 1962, to a Select Committee, were accepted by the Government and were incorporated in the Bill by the Select Committee. Shri Ghasiram Majhi's, suggestion, was also accepted on the Orissa Tenants' Relief (Amendment) Bill.

Often, after consulting representative members of the Party, the Government has accepted various amendments and at times been influenced to move a few themselves.

Mr. R. N. Singh Deo moved a resolution recommending that the Government should abolish the system of leasing out the Mahua flowers and fruits of the State Forests. Free transit passes and export permits, should be issued on payment of reasonable

royalty. The resolution was discussed and the final reply of the Chief Minister was most disappointing and contrary to his earlier preliminary reply. It was pressed to a division and lost by 42 to 61 votes. Communist and P.S.P. members had also supported this resolution.

Earlier Shri Maheswar Nayak had given notice of an adjournment motion referring to lack of Civil security and the lethargy of the Police in Kalahandi District. The Chief Minister in his reply said that there could not be adequate protection, because of the opposition to the Orissa Security Bill from the Opposition Parties. At this unsatisfactory repartee, the Opposition led by Mr. R. N. Singh Deo walked out of the Assembly as a mark of protest. The Opposition, also protested by a walk out, during the discussion on the Indian Stamp (Orissa Amendment) Bill, 1962.

In view of the declaration of Emergency and promulgation of the Defence of India Ordinance, Government withdrew the Orissa Security Bill. Earlier, the local Unit of the Orissa Swatantra Party, under the Chairmanship of Sri Shyam Sundar Misra had arranged a meeting to protest against this Bill.

PUNJAB

To strengthen the Party Unit in Haryana, Chaudhuri Inder Singh, has organised four Vidhan Sabha Constituencies in Mohindergarh District. Following are the office-bearers:

Mohindergarh District Unit

Chaudhri Sher Singh	Dist. Convenor
Pandit Raghunath Singh	Dist. Secretary
Nazir	Dist. Secretary

Dadri Constituency

Ch. Shamsheer Singh	Convenor
Shri Kehar Singh	Member

Kanina Constituency

Shri Harnam Singh	Convenor
Shri Sultan Singh B.A., LL.B.,	Member

Narnaul Constituency

Shri Madan Lal Bagi	Convenor
Shri Ram Autar Bohru	Member

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

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Available from the Central Office of the Swatantra Party,
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Annexure A

Much as we would have liked to publish the full text of speeches by our members in Parliament in the last few critical weeks, we deeply regret that space prevents this. We have had therefore reluctantly to content ourselves by reproducing the salient features of the various speeches by our members in both Houses of Parliament.

In the Lok Sabha

Prof. N. G. Ranga

During the China Debate on November 8:

I wish to express our gratitude and pay homage to all those thousands of our brave and patriotic Jawans who died fighting for the freedom of our country.

I wish to say that we deeply mourn the loss of freedom and national autonomy of Tibet and I express my sympathy for all those millions of Tibetans who are today groaning under Communist and imperialist oppression.

If any of our friends would care to look into *Window on China* written by one who is very close to our Prime Minister, many years before Panchsheel was even talked about, he would find that Mao Tse tung was clever enough to get these things incorporated into the India-China Treaty over Tibet and leave our Prime Minister and various other people under the impression that it was being presented to the World as a contribution of India's statesmanship.

Then the Prime Minister said that he sent out these letters of his to various heads of State and Prime Ministers in different parts of the World. But that was done only last month. . . The Prime Minister should have done this much earlier and many more times, and prepared the mind of all these friends in different parts of the World.

There is also the question of the South East Asian Countries, and also African nations for the achievement of whose freedom we did so much in so many spheres of World politics. How is it that so large a number of them are not able to associate themselves, line up with us in their sympathy and in their preparedness to give us support today?

At long last we have evidence of the triumph of democracy over the personality cult. It was this personality cult which did a lot of damage in Bombay not so long ago. Fortunately for us, we have become witness to the triumph of democracy, so that we can hope to have better leadership in the Defence Ministry from now on.

I am very glad that this emergency has been declared at long last. Only during the last session, I think, my hon. friend Shri P. K. Deo who acted as our leader, asked the Prime Minister to send away the Chinese Embassy and consider that there is a state of war between India and China, and I was

told—I speak subject to correction—that the Prime Minister taunted him whether he wanted India to declare war, and even went to the extent of saying that his attitude was bordering on war-mongering.

Then, they talk about negotiations. Negotiations on what basis? For the time being they say 8th September. Where is it guaranteed that it is not likely to be 20th October, and some time later 8th November because this session has begun today? There must be some certainty about these things.

I for one wish to make it very clear indeed that in this country there are people, millions and tens and hundreds of millions of people who certainly would not be content so long as the Chinese are allowed to remain in possession of even one inch of our sacred soil.

In England there is what is known as a wartime leadership and a peacetime leadership. Today we are at war. We have been forced into war by the Chinese. Are we having just that leadership that we really deserve, that we need, that the people really demand? It is for the Party in power to think about it.

How are we to become strong if we hang on to this non-alignment policy? Yes, there is a voice, and a powerful voice, not only from Shri Mukherjee (Communist M.P.) but all those people who are behind him. They say it is built into our culture. Non-attachment is certainly built into culture, thanks to Lord Krishna. But even that non-attachment has been put to very effective use by Mahatma Gandhi in order to help our country and achieve freedom. But this non-alignment—I do not know from where my friend comes to the conclusion that it is built into our culture. Non-alignment has not served us; does not serve any longer. The sooner we get rid of it the better.

I am glad that the Prime Minister had told this House that all those democratic countries, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, France and so many other countries have been noble, decent and democratic enough to offer unconditional support in an unstinting manner, respecting the Prime Minister's long-felt attachment to this non-alignment. They do not wish to upset him. All credit to them. But that is not a compliment to our Prime Minister or to his non-alignment policy. I wish to express my gratitude to all those countries and also those other countries which have gone with our Prime Minister in support of his suggestion that the Chinese should be asked to withdraw to where they were on the 8th of September.

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The Hon. Prime Minister talked about the Plan. We also want a Plan but that should be a Victory Plan. By all means Plan in order to achieve Victory and direct all your resources to that end. But why do we have this Planning Commission any longer? Even ordinarily it was useless and now it becomes much more useless; indeed it can even be a nuisance.

We stand here as an Opposition Party, and we have been sent here to play the role of a responsible opposition in our Parliamentary democracy. The moment we give up this role, the moment we follow the advice now so suddenly tendered, for their own reasons, by our friends of the Communist Party, we cease to be a parliamentary democracy. To them, to the Communists, Parliamentary democracy has no fascination. Therefore they find it easy now, when it is so very convenient to them on this occasion, to give us advice that we should not say anything which is likely to upset the peace of mind of the great men on the other side. I cannot agree with them. We are here to play our role as an opposition as a responsible opposition, as a cooperative link in our total democracy, a democracy in which it should be possible for the Government to gain from the criticisms that are made from time to time by the opposition.

But that does not mean that we do not line up with all the rest of the country in strengthening and in maximising the defence effort, in promoting the national will of resisting against aggression. We are with the government, and we are with all the other political parties which are sincerely bent upon supporting this national effort.

During the Debate on Supplementary Grants November 19

I find we are still unprepared to face our responsibilities in regard to the present war. I was told on good authority—nevertheless, I speak subject to correction—that some friends from abroad connected with other governments, friendly governments, were asking for details as to what kind of support we need from them and some of their representatives were also here and they were waiting for the convenience of our government. I was told that in the first instance they had to wait for fifteen days before they could possibly get any kind of detailed assessment of our needs and the kind and magnitude of the help that we needed in different aspects of defence equipment. Even now it is not yet quite clear to them, as press reports go as to how many aeroplanes we want, what type of aeroplanes, when, from which country and so on. It appeared in the newspapers that America was asked to send aeroplanes, the American Government agreed to it afterwards when our representatives were asked by the American authorities as to the details of the type we require, our representative told them that they were awaiting advice from India with the result that they did not get it. We do not know how many aeroplanes are being supplied—we need not be told about it—but we would like to be assured that our Government are first of all alive to our needs and our

Government have got sufficient number of experts to advise them in this particular regard.

Under the circumstances would it not be wise on the part of the Government to think in terms of obtaining support from abroad on a massive scale? You cannot possibly have this kind of a massive support from other countries unless you make up your own mind in regard to your own political attitude. It is in that connection that so many of us have been repeatedly demanding that the Government must make up its mind as to whom it wishes to invite as friends and on whom it is going to depend primarily. It is no good going on dreaming of some kind of support that might possibly come or materialise either from Soviet Russia or from any of her satellite countries in Europe. We have been waiting long enough and it is time now that the Government make up its own mind.

If we suggest, as many people have been suggesting, that there should be a national government, the question arises whether it should include representatives of the Communist Party. I am opposed to that. There also, the Government has to make up its mind in regard to its attitude towards the Communist Party. It is high time for my hon. friend the Prime Minister to revise his own views. He has expressed his views the other day. I did not wish to interrupt him while he was speaking. I am clear in my mind and I am sure a large number of people belonging to various other political parties, excluding the Communist Party also are clear in their own mind that in this national crisis, we cannot very well depend upon the communists to play a patriotic role as we can expect from the other political parties. My hon. friend the Prime Minister is not prepared to make up his mind.

During the Debate on the Defence of India Bill November 21

These are sweeping powers which are sought to be given to the Government. Since we are all unanimous in our anxiety to strengthen our national resistance and the national will to throw away the aggressors and regain every inch of our sacred soil that has been desecrated by the Chinese Communist government, it is natural for us to be willing to clothe the Government with as much power as can be considered necessary by the competent authorities.

But this is also the occasion, Sir, when we have to examine whether we have a Government in our country and governments in the States which can really be expected to play fair with individuals, groups of individuals and various institutions of people in their efforts to live as law abiding citizens and also in their efforts to help the nation to achieve success in this war. These are the two objectives. We have to live as free citizens, we have also to discharge our duties towards the nation in its effort to achieve victory in this war.

It is a great sacrifice that we are called upon to

make—all our civil liberties and all the fundamental rights enshrined in our Constitution and also all that goes to help our people to enjoy and to live as human beings.

I am not able, Sir, to say to myself that I have a Government which can be expected, not only momentarily but throughout this emergency, to show as much respect, as much consideration for the rights of citizens as well as ordinary persons in our country as the people are now expected to bestow all this authority on the Government.

In the process of our efforts to achieve that objective of victory, we should also be extremely careful to see that the freedom and fundamental rights of the people, their institutions, social, economic and political, do not come to be smothered.

Only the day before yesterday I think, my attention was drawn to a circular issued by the topmost office of the ruling party. It came to be reproduced in the daily papers also. According to that circular every one in this country should hail Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the one and only leader and any one who tries to say anything against him, who does anything at all which can be looked upon by the ruling party as not being respectful enough, helpful enough and prayerful enough towards that leader that person has got to be treated as a traitor...

This is the attitude of the ruling party and it is from the ruling party that we have this government. And we are asked to entrust all these powers to this ruling party and to this Government. How can anybody be expected to believe that these powers are likely to be used by this Government here as well as by the State Governments in a responsible and responsive manner, in a respectful and decent manner, in a manner which will rebound to the credit of our Constitution? How can we expect them to use these powers properly? And these are sweeping powers.

I do not want the Government to do anything to endanger the economic freedom and economic independence that our peasants today enjoy through their self employment and their small holdings. I do not want the small holders in this country, and there are tens of crores of them, in any way to be harassed and be suppressed or even subverted. In State after State in the recent past legislation has been passed in order to increase the land revenue. It is an offence against the peasant. In some places it has been raised by 100 per cent.

I appeal to the Government that just as they do not expect the workers or peasants or any other people to go on strike or satyagraha and thus take any offensive against the Government in this national emergency, so also the Government should take this kind of offensive against peasants and impose upon them these additional burdens.

The following are highlights from speeches by other members of our Party in the Lok Sabha who spoke in support of the two amendments moved by Prof. Ranga during the China debate:

Dr. B. N. Singh — November 9

I fail to understand why elder statesmen like Rajagopalachari, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Jayaprakash Narain, Kripalaniji and General Cariappa among others should have been left out from this National Defence Council. These gentlemen are second to none in their nationalist character and they are persons who are today loved and revered by a great majority of Indians. The whole constitution of this Council smacks of partisanship which I am afraid should not be our approach today, when democracy is at war with totalitarianism.

We cannot forget the disadvantages and the shortcomings with which India is faced today on account of the unrealistic and impracticable policies so long pursued by the Congress Government, which are responsible for the reverses that we are facing today in our frontiers and which may continue for some time more to come till we are fully fortified. The greatest mistake which the Congress Government has committed since we attained independence is that we have not been able to distinguish friends from foes and vice versa. We scoffed at those who extended their hands of friendship and hugged and embraced the countries which tried to lull us to sleep and robbed us unawares. We are very grateful at this juncture to all the countries which have come to our aid, and more especially the United Kingdom, USA and Canada, who have without any hesitation offered all help to India, and which has today helped us to sustain ourselves and stop the first phase of robbery of our territory.

I would like to submit that the National Defence Council as formed by our Prime Minister has become rather conspicuous on account of the absence of some of the greatest Indian nationals. It could be called a Congress Defence Council or at best a Defence Council based on socialist pattern but certainly not a National Defence Council.

Sardar Kapur Singh — November 12

The Sikhs, at this juncture of the history of our country now demand that their inalienable right and privilege of dying for their country before others should be conceded to them.

Such is the answer which the Sikh people would like to make to those who have suspected them of harbouring separatist tendencies, of confusing politics with religion, and of thwarting national integration, during the past fifteen years. By willingly and enthusiastically undergoing this ordeal of fire the Sikhs hope to convince every one that the only separation that they long for is the right to maintain and grow their group individuality; that the only sovereign state that they want to acclaim and preserve as their own is the one which extends from the outskirts

of Holy Amritsar to the Kanyakumari, that they subordinate politics to religion for the fundamental reason that nationalism though it may enable the patriot to meet death, can do nothing to explain it, that the only integration that is acceptable to them is the one which concedes existence of diversity as the only sure basis of unity.

I support the amendment moved by Prof Ranga. This Resolution will further remain incomplete, unless we specifically record our unreserved acknowledgement of the graceful and true friendliness with which the Governments of the great peoples of the U.S.A., the United Kingdom and Canada in particular, have offered to extend help to us. Likewise we must be grateful to the other forty or more countries of the world who have sympathised with us.

Smt. Vijaya Raje — November 12

It appears that the members belonging to the Congress and Communist Parties which are apparently the best aligned parties in the country today have not welcomed the approach of the Swatantra Party, and in their anger, have tended to lose their sense of judgement. I admit that everyone of us is entitled to hold his or her own opinion and impression on the subject. I would only submit that only time and events will prove whether this policy of non-alignment in its present form has been beneficial to the country or not.

In this grave situation which is fraught with the most dangerous possibilities, it becomes imperative that we should seek the support and cooperation of our neighbouring countries.

In this connection, I would like to suggest that we should come to some agreement with Pakistan. I know, of course, that the efforts in the past have failed, but I do not think that this should deter us from exploring fresh avenues to come to some accord with Pakistan.

More unfortunate are our relations with Nepal whom for centuries we have had the closest religious and cultural ties. I hope that Government will do everything in their power to remove all outstanding misunderstandings and establish the old friendly ties once again.

I shudder to think of what the fate would be of these smaller countries which are bound to be the next victims of this Chinese aggression. Let Pakistan and Nepal take note that the Chinese Dragon which has opened its mouth wide in order to swallow India is not going to allow them to ride him bare-back.

Now, the strange factor that has come to light in this time of strain and stress is the peculiar attitude of certain countries with whom we have had close and most cordial relations in the past. I would particularly like to mention the attitude of the UAR in the initial stages who only came out with an offer of

mediation. It is an irony of fate that we who so eagerly took up the cause of Egypt during the Suez crisis, even pushing into the background the Hungarian revolution of 1956 where even school-going children fell victims to the Russian tanks, and on which issue we then thought it proper to talk with great restraint, should only receive an offer of mediation which at its best is as Lord Home is reported to have very aptly described as an offer of mediation between a burglar and his victim.

Shri Narendra Singh Mahida — November 13

I am a fully militarily qualified person. I know what arms, what wars, are. I have also been a pilot, and I wish to bring it to the notice of the Members that they should not under-rate China at all.

We must fully understand what China is. It is a world power, and no amount of shouting will do any good. Every Indian will have to rise to the occasion, lose his sons or cousins to the extent of one-third of the persons, and unless every young and able-hearted man takes up a rifle in his hands, no amount of volleys of these words will save you. Through you, Sir, I want to emphasise on the Prime Minister that every young and able-bodied man in this country should be given full military training.

Shri Himmatsinh — November 13

It is not merely brave words of determination that will bring home victory; but only hard work, firm policy and thorough preparedness both mentally and physically that will count.

To say that we were taken by surprise or that because of the treachery of the Chinese, we had to lose ground would only be deceiving the nation. There can be no greater crime than that. While the Chinese were building an efficient network of roads in Tibet, we did nothing on our side. Even when they committed aggression, the nation was kept in the dark. In spite of lack of proper means of communication, our brave troops were posted in vulnerable positions, they had no snow shoes and when the actual action began, our boys were using bolt action weapons while the enemy had automatic weapons. Were it not for the difficult mountainous terrain and bravery in fighting of the jawans of whom the whole nation is proud, one shudders to think what the result might have been.

For all this, it is the Government who stand accused and instead of a straightforward admission of the Himalayan blunder, all that we get today is excuses and vague words by way of explanation, while the enemy gains another concession. Instead of grimly telling them that we shall neither talk nor negotiate till every inch of our territory is vacated, the Prime Minister has offered to talk if the Chinese withdrew to the line which they occupied before the 8th September in the eastern sector.

Mr. Yashpal Singh — November 14

When India pleads for the membership of China in the U.N.O., the whole world cannot help laughing at our folly. Even a great fool will stop talking such nonsense in such a delicate hour. It would have been better if our Prime Minister had less deep knowledge of international policies. Today our country has no use for Panchshila, but needs military strength.

Isn't it a shame for us that on October 22 the B.B.C. announced, "Guns used by Indian troops in N.E.F.A. are guns left over from the second world war." Isn't it a shame for us that a big country like India has bought vampire jets from a small country like Indonesia? We are still behind Indonesia in technical progress.

It is the good luck of our Prime Minister that so far no Churchill has been born in our country and Chamberlain is alone ruling the country. Till now what we have achieved is known to all. Our Govt. is always talking about 8th September. May be because the Govt. considers that on that day Chinese forces were not on our soil. Our Govt. believes too much on negotiations.

Today the burning question of Indian politics is that why Communists who termed Pandit Nehru as "traitor" during the National Movement should now behave as if they are dying for his love? The answer is clear—the C.P.I. has a hope that Communism can be spread under the wing of Pandit Nehru. Without any doubt we can say that if there were any other government in power, the Communists would not have been allowed to flourish.

It is never too late to mend. There is still time to mend our ways and differentiate between a true friend and enemy.

Smt. Basant Kunwar Ba

I would like to congratulate our Prime Minister who has got Shri Krishna Menon out of Defence in order to save our democracy and our country.

Even after knowing fully that the Chinese were attacking our frontiers for the last six years we were content to manufacture Espresso Coffee machines and things like that in our factories meant for producing arms. All these were because of Shri Krishna Menon only. He considered that Pakistan was the only enemy of India and only on that border had he massed the majority of our troops.

It is my opinion that we have to come to some settlement with Pakistan in order to save our Eastern and Western borders. General Ayub's offer of a military pact between our two countries is not new. I believe that such a pact will be beneficial for both the countries. If this comes into effect we can shift the large number of soldiers who are at present patrolling the Pakistan border to halt the Chinese invasion.

As we already know, the Communist Party is not faithful to India. This is quite obvious now and

remembering this the Party should be ended. I don't understand the policy of our Government in arresting only ten or fifteen leaders of the Party. If that party is to be finished, all the members should be arrested and the party should be banned.

Shri Pravinsinh Solanki

It has been repeated over and over again that seeds of Chinese aggression were sown when our Prime Minister came to a settlement with China and handed over Tibet to Communist China knowing fully that to believe the Chinese is equivalent to throwing oneself into the fire. We were busy shouting 'Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai'.

Even when the example of Korea was in front of us our leaders had no hesitation in declaring that China was never our enemy, nor is at present and will never be in future because our relations are more than 4000 years old. If any of our leaders tried to say something about it, we were given the assurance that China can never attack India so long as the high wall of the Himalayas is in between the two countries.

The sad thing is that still our Prime Minister is trying to continue with his slogan of Panchshila and non-alignment. Till now we thought that Russia was our friend and we believed that in the event of Chinese aggression, Russia would never go against us even if it did not help us. Today the nature of Russia's friendship lies naked in front of us all. We understand everything still we are hesitant to accept it, may be because we are afraid of Russia. Russia calls China as 'brother' and India as a 'friend'.

I believe our Prime Minister is aware of the fact that our sterling balance is only 116 crores. Even after this if he wants to buy arms, then we are doing nothing else but ruining our country's economy.

(Speeches by other members including Maharani Gayatri Devi could not be reported here since the texts were not available at the time of going to press. They will be included in our next issue)

In the Rajya Sabha

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel — November 9

I am very sorry that we have come to this plight, that the suspicions that we have had about China have come true, but much more sorry am I to find our Government utterly unprepared for what was coming. With great humility I will say that our Government has been caught napping and I expected the Government to have stood up in sack cloth and ashes apologising to the country.

It is very gratifying to note that the people of this country have been able to assert their will. And it is also gratifying that the Prime Minister has accepted the will of the people, the verdict of the people.

The free world is there to befriend anybody who is in difficulties. If we have not got equipment,

equipment will be available from people who love their freedom, because people who love freedom do not know any geographical boundaries.

This Government is forming a National Defence Council. They are calling it an emergency. I would like to warn the Government that the emergency is yet to come. It is just the beginning. This is a crisis, and I would like to warn the Government not to use this crisis as a means of taking more and more power unto itself. This Government is sufficiently greedy of power. Let not their greed for power overcome them to utilise this opportunity for taking more power and, if you please, more money to waste. The war is to be fought with guns and bullets and not with coffee percolators that our defence factories are making.

"Government should take a leaf out of the book of democratic countries and proceed to form a Government that will inspire confidence in the people. I do not talk of National Government. I know there are certain friends sitting near me who talk of National Government because they are only hoping to be called to get in. I have no such hope. I prefer to perform the role of a healthy opposition that draws the attention of the Government to its failings.

But we must be assured that people in the Government are democratic people who believe in democracy, who believe in the freedom of this country above all. I read to you what Lenin said. "We have to work like a woodworm. We have to eat into the beings of the Government and strike when it is weak and then it will crack. Then the country will be before us." This is the Communist Party's way of proceeding.

I think the first step that this Government should take is to come to terms with Pakistan. We gave them a rebuff when they tried sincerely to come to terms with us. I should say we have not understood them. They are people who are our flesh and blood; they have been in this country. They have been with us. Let us come to an understanding with them and fight the common enemy.

Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy — November 12

As I rise to speak in this debate I feel I must confess to a number of emotions. One is the emotion of satisfaction that the Government is at last becoming aware of the realities of the international situation, especially as it has been created by China; also at the Govt.'s awareness of the seriousness of the Chinese aggression. I feel still greater satisfaction at the promptness of the action taken by the Government in issuing this Emergency Ordinance which we shall soon be called upon to approve. Although this is a drastic ordinance, it shows that the Government believes that all the resources of the country must be mobilised in order to meet this aggression from China. I hope that the Government, in executing this Emergency Ordinance, will remember that we are a free and democratic State, as was pointed out by my hon. Member friend, Shri Annadurai this morning.

We have been abjured by the Prime Minister not to indulge in post mortem examinations. Now, no one conducts a post mortem examination for the pleasure or the fun of the thing. A corpse is a disagreeable thing and one wants to dissect it to find out what are the causes of its dissolution and death in order that the bodies of other people may be so treated that they will not succumb to the disease from which the late lamented body suffered. Many of the defects and deficiencies of the late Defence administration have been exposed in the very first weeks of this war.

The former Defence Minister was notorious for his likes and dislikes, so much so that in the Army he has created, among the high command, a pro-Krishna Menon and anti-Krishna Menon party. Efficiency and merit were not the only passports to high command in his time. All these must be changed immediately. It is a matter of good augury that an entirely new statesman, outside the present Union Ministry, has been invited to become our future Defence Minister.

The British bequeathed to us at Kirkee an Ammunition Factory, at Ishapur a Rifle Factory, at Aravan-kadu a Cordite Factory, at Jabalpur a Gun Carriage Factory and in Cossipore a Gun and shell factory where even field guns and Howitzers were manufactured. These factories have only to be developed and put on modern lines in order to meet the demands of defence production.

The Prime Minister himself has confessed that they have been living in a world of unreality. They have talked of the Chinese as peaceful and peace-loving people. Their whole history, we were told, showed that they were a pacific people. But there are two strains in the history and culture of the Chinese people. There is the peace strain represented by Confucius and his teaching and there is the military strain represented by other Chinese philosophers. As early as 500 B.C. a Chinese philosopher Suan Tzi published a book on the Art of War in which he has said, "The Art of War is of vital importance to the State." "The Art of War," he also says, "is dependent upon three factors," "one of which was the moral law and if you enquire what the moral law is that he advocates, he says, "the moral law makes the people to be in complete accord with their rulers so that they will follow them regardless of their lives, undismayed by any danger." It is a wonderful definition of moral law.

Another Chinese philosopher Kwagtze—700 B.C.—would have an army so powerful that "no war is needed to intimidate and subjugate other States." Still later another Chinese philosopher Shang Yang said, "The State must be able at its will to go to war against any State." Then we have in later times Mao Tse-tung in so many of his works saying that war is the key not only of domestic but also of international and foreign policy. In the face of all this history, in the face of this strain in Chinese political thought, how could any Prime Minister, how can any Government be so misled as to believe that the Chinese people had peaceful intentions towards India? A change of policy is therefore required.

Annexure B

Outside Parliament, party leaders in the course of speeches, articles and statements referred to the situation in the country arising out of the Chinese invasion and the National Emergency. We have with us reports of such speeches and statements by Rajaji, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. M. R. Masani and Mr. P. K. Deo which we have summarised below.

Shri Rajaji

(Excerpts from articles in various issues of SWARAJYA)

We do not want witch hunting of any kind. But we cannot gamble on the reliability of obviously unreliable people. We cannot run risks in the protection of national security. There can be no clearer cause for caution than in that of a group of people in our own country wedded to the same principles of governance, and to the same claims of an international revolution as China stands for. When a great Communist Power attacks us without understandable reason or motive and daily mouths the principles of communist philosophy and communist methods, it is too much of a gamble to take the Communist Party of India or its members into the confidence of our defence efforts either at the Centre or elsewhere. All non-communist parties should make this clear to our Prime Minister. Several Chief Ministers of States have realised this and taken the necessary steps to keep the communists out of their committees, but there are some notably Madras, which have not listened to the warning. The Swatantra Party has made its protest clear by refusing to join committees wherein the communists are taken. The party will have to do whatever it can for helping the national effort without the advantage of membership in committees formed without considering the patent danger of admitting communists. If nothing else, the public mind would get utterly confused if any State government insists on hob-nobbing with communists and this should be enough reason to abstain from the wrong step.

In the process of defence we should not let democracy be lost. The declaration of emergency has been followed with collection of funds and gold, and suspension of fundamental rights and assumption of dictatorial powers by the Government but not by the formation of a non-party national government. If we allow a kind of creeping non-party national government, if we allow a kind of creeping totalitarianism to seize the governance of this country, the enemy in a way gets what he wants. We will have brought into being a communist regime without Mao conquering us. We must defend democracy even while we carry on our fight against the enemy and pool all our resources for that purpose. Otherwise we shall have lost something more precious than NEFA.

'For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his soul?—Mathew 11,26.'

(Swarajya, November 24)

Non-alignment has no meaning any longer. The major partner of the communist world is fighting us and the other partner has been immobilised as far as the Sino-Indian conflict is concerned. In addition to this, we are getting aid and assistance from the

West. What is there left for non-alignment? Unless South Asia acts in time, holds on together and joins up with the West well before hand, for offence and defence, the way will be paved for its absorption into China the same way as Hungary and Czechoslovakia were absorbed in the Soviet empire. There are enemies enough inside to help the communist invaders and make it look like revolution. Let us take care and act betimes.

It would not be wise to accept the unilateral declaration of cease-fire by China at face value. By no means should it result in the slackening of our defensive and offensive efforts. It should not be allowed to become a vacation for the enemy to consolidate his newly acquired position without any impediment offered by us. Our preparations to recover positions lost in the recent days should not be suspended or relaxed even though there may be no firing on either side. Genuine steps towards peace must be welcomed. But often in war, strategy and deception may put on the cloak of a gesture of peace. The Government is right in being wary."

(Swarajya, December 1, 1962)

It is no use pleading that our country had been geared up to Peace and Gandhism and that Communist China took us by surprise. Facts make these pleas wholly untenable and not even plausible. Our Government was attending to MIG deals and the purchase of an aircraft carrier and projects of building minesweepers and warships, all wholly contrary to the theory of gearing up to Peace. It was not Gandhism but vaulting ambition and want of capacity for realist appraisal of needs. There is no question, again, of surprise. Communist China had been known to have been at it for years and we had been assured by the Prime Minister that now that we had notice, everything had been righted.

(Swarajya, November 10, 1962)

Mr. K. M. Munshi

Mr. Munshi addressed the Press Guild of India on November 20. Reproduced below are excerpts from his speech on the occasion:

I find from my record that as far back as July 12, 1953, I drew the attention of the Centre to the growing Chinese menace on the Tibetan frontier and the need for prompt defensive measures. We are now paying dearly for 'what the President aptly described as 'the credulity and negligence' of those responsible for the policies of this country.

This is the time for hard-headed realism and not for being carried away by wishful thinking or by minimising the danger.

The Chinese aggression is the first step in the plan to occupy parts of India, East Pakistan and Burma, aimed at the ultimate conquest of South east Asia.

An attempt to distinguish between Chinese expansionism and Communist aim of world conquest is illusory. If in this conflict with India, China comes out victorious, there will be no democracy, no freedom, no independence for us, no culture as we understand it, and no moral and spiritual values which we prize...

This situation demands a revolutionary re-appraisal of all our plans, policies and programmes. In fact, such a re-appraisal is in process—but I regret to say haltingly. There can be only one policy and programme, that of mobilising men and resources for a total effort of driving the invader out.

Mr. M. R. Masani

Mr Masani addressed a number of meetings in the City on this subject, organised both under the auspices of the Party and other organisations. Summaries from two speeches delivered under the auspices of the Commerce Graduates Association and of the Party in Kalbadevi are given below:

Dealing with the role of an opposition in the present national emergency which was the result of a decade of misguided policies of neutralism and appeasement of communist expansionism, Mr. Masani said that the Praja Socialist Party, the Jan Sangh, the Socialist Party and the Swatantra Party had all taken a correct attitude in performing a dual role of giving all out support to the defence effort while adopting a critical attitude of judging governmental policy on its own merits, the touchstone being whether or not it would advance the cause of winning victory over the enemy. Tracing a parallel with the situation in Britain during the last World War, Mr. Masani described how the British Labour Party then in Opposition had refused to join a coalition government or give support to the Conservative Government led by Mr. Chamberlain so long as that apostle of appeasement remained the Prime Minister. It was only after a year of defeats had led to Mr. Chamberlain's resignation that the Labour Party joined Mr. Churchill's war time coalition government. Undeterred by the timid maxim "You must not change horses in mid-stream", the mature British democracy had shown how the political dispositions necessary for the achievement of victory could be taken in war time.

(At Commerce Graduates Association Meeting on November 22)

The Prime Minister's statement in Parliament on November 30 in regard to the basis for negotiations with Pakistan on Kashmir was described as "most unfortunate" by Mr. Masani. Expressing the fear that, unless this position was rectified, the hope of Indo-Pakistani friendship that had been roused would be dashed. Mr. Masani asked: "How can an agreement to negotiate without any preconditions be reconciled with the Prime Minister's banging the door on any change in the *status quo* in Kashmir?"

Discussing the withdrawal of Chinese troops as a result of the cease-fire, the speaker observed that the

cease-fire had proved more deadly than the military advance of the Chinese communist army. While the latter had geared the nation to fight on till victory, the former appeared to have paralysed the Indian Government's will to continue the fight. By allowing the Chinese troops to withdraw unmauled, the Indian Government had failed to give effect to the national will to reject the cease-fire and continue the fight. The people and the armed forces had been let down badly.

The immediate task before the Indian people was to press for a reference of the Chinese invasion of India to the United Nations so that China may be declared an aggressor and the military and material assistance coming to India may come under the banner of the United Nations. Public opinion should also demand a settlement of the dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir in order to facilitate the common defence of the sub-continent.

(Under the auspices of the Bombay branch of the Swatantra Party at Kalbadevi on December 1).

Mr. P. K. Deo

The Acting leader of the Party in the last session of the Lok Sabha, Mr. P. K. Deo addressed the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in Lagos, Nigeria on November 7. We reproduce a relevant extract from his speech relating to the Chinese invasion:

Even though China has committed aggression since the last five years and has been in possession of twelve thousand square miles of Indian territory, we have consistently followed a policy of peace and negotiation. In this regard I do not subscribe to the policy of complacency followed by my Government. But it is no use to do this post mortem. It is a fait accompli that China has committed aggression and we will have to face it for which we are all united, irrespective of party affiliation.

Many a time we have gone out of our way to support Chinese case in the Council of the world. We have been paid back evil for good. We have been subjected to massive and brutal attack.

It is not a question of boundary adjustment; it is not a question of conceding a few square miles this side or that side, but the question of standards of international behaviour. A big question mark is posed before us whether the law of the jungle, that might is right, is going to prevail, is going to be the dominating factor in this world. When India with one-fifth of the world's population crosses swords with China which is one-fourth of the world's population, then about half of the world has been engaged in the grim fight. I am very grateful and on behalf of the 440 million Indians I express my most sincere gratitude for the kind words spoken by my hon. friends in this House, and to the various friendly nations inside and outside the Commonwealth for the moral, material and military support they have been giving us.

(For Private Circulation)