

Role of Opposition in National Emergency
(Commerce Graduates' Association)
Thursday, 22nd November, 1962.

I

Two concepts of national unity.

Totalitarian and democratic - Hollister

AICC circular good example of the first. (Read)

Elimination of Krishna Menon has not ended infiltration of communists

Best example of democracy at war Britain in W.W. II

Freedom of press and discussion part of process of winning.

e.g. in the middle of the War Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, released Sir Oswald Mosley.

Supported by Churchill:

"The power of the Executive to cast a man into prison without formulating any charge known to the law and particularly to deny him judgement by his peers for an indefinite period, is in the highest degree odious, and is the foundation of all totalitarian governments whether Nazi or Communist. It is only when extreme danger to the State can be pleaded that this power may be temporarily assumed by the Executive. And even so, its working must be interpreted with the utmost vigilance by a free Parliament."

Parliament functioned normally even when Chamber bombed.

By-election: Immediately after the outbreak on September 8, 1939, agreement between parties not to contest any by-election during the war - the Party previously holding the seat being allowed to nominate the new candidate without opposition. (Quoted from the Daily Telegraph - 3723)

II

The Role of the Opposition Parties.

Opposition is valuable in war time as in peace time.

Even after national Government formed in Britain in May 1940, several Labour M.P.s were encouraged to sit in opposition and to function as such till the end of the War.

Role of the Opposition dual -

1. To give all out support to War effort
2. To play oppositional and critical role in regard to Government policies judging each on its merits.

Acid test - Will it help win the War?

In September 1939 Neville Chamberlain Prime Minister.

Symbol of appeasement since Munich.

Peace monger - "I have brought you peace in our time".

Generally felt man with such record could not be expected to become great War leader.

- (a) Failure to understand nature of enemy - Hitlerism
- (b) Responsible for unpreparedness and defeats
- (c) Temperamentally unfit for the role
- (d) Need for change of image.

Labour Party invited to coalition but refused.

Quote: Fifty Years' March - The Rise of the Labour Party -
by Francis Williams (Pages 355 and 356)

24/10
"Nor is there need to restate the reasons why, so long as Neville Chamberlain remained head of the Government, Labour, while putting the whole force of its massive strength behind the war effort, rejected the invitation to participate in the Government. It would have been impossible for any Labour man to have worked with confidence under a Prime Minister Labour so much distrusted and whose blindness and folly had contributed so greatly to world disaster. So long as he was in charge, Labour felt that it could work best for victory outside the Government"

But Chamberlain refused to retire and clung to office.
One disaster followed another.

On May 7 and 8, 1940, great debate in Parliament

Labour and Liberal Parties moved vote of no-confidence in
Chamberlain Government.

Conservatives divided.

Mr. Attlee : "Mr. Chamberlain talks about missing the bus.
He and his associates have missed all peace
buses, but not the war bus. In this life-and-
death struggle we cannot afford to have our
destinies in the hands of failures and men
who need a rest."

Mr. Amery : Who quoted Oliver Cromwell : "You have sat too
long here for any good you are doing. Depart,
I say and let us have done with you. In the
name of God, go."

Mr. Herbert Morrison : ~~"He~~ feared that if these men and others
remained in office we ran a grave risk of losing
this war. The issues were too great for us to
risk losing it by keeping in office men who had
not shown themselves too well fitted for the task."

Mr. Duff Cooper : It was not right to taunt the Opposition with
unwillingness to accept the responsibility because
it was unwilling to accept a certain leadership."

Two days after the debate Mr. Chamberlain resigned, on May 10.

The same day Labour Party agreed to join the Government.

"The National Executive of the Party have unanimously ~~ag~~
decided to take their share of responsibility as a full
partner in a new Government under a new Prime Minister which
would command the confidence of the nation."

Shows how mature democracy makes necessary
dispositions. "best change comes..."

III

What is our situation today?

Ten years' of neutralism and appeasement
Refusal to understand the nature of communism.

1949 - Rushing forward to embrace Mao and turning our back
on Chiang half way through War.

1950 - Betrayal of Tibet - throttled Dalai Lama's appeal in U.N.

p 54-5 Despite all warnings - "For Democratic Foreign Policy"
NEVA - did stay over Himalayas

Mao's own warnings:

"Power grows out of a barrel of a gun".

"There are only two camps. Anyone who talks of neutrality
is a fraud."

Ranadive's letter to Mao of 12th October 1949 and Mao's
cable in reply:

"Full support of the Chinese people to the Indian Communists
in their 'struggle'. Hope that the day was not far off
when India too would be liberated by the Communist Party
from the oppression of Anglo-American imperialism and
its Indian lackeys" - i.e. Nehru.

Despite these warnings dismissed as cold war.

c.f. Turkey to Philippines -

Refusal to ~~fight~~ cold war invites hot war.

1954 - Panch Sheela

Immediately thereafter infiltration begins but suppressed
till 1959.

Nehru's letter to Chou (Quoted from Swarajya of October 20, 62)

"We did not release to the public the information we had
about various Chinese intrusions into our territory by
Chinese personnel since 1954, the construction of a road
across Indian Territory in Ladakh and the arrest of our
men in the Aksai Chin Area in 1958 and their detention.
We did not give publicity to this in the hope that peaceful
solutions of the disputes could be found by agreement
between the two countries without public excitement on
both sides."

1960 - Appeasement and increasing aggression.

Has the lesson been learnt?

Hopes aroused - P.M. in Parliament 25th October :

"We were getting out of touch with reality in the
/and modern world/were living in an artificial atmosphere of our
own creation." (Times 26.10.1962)

Bwt
7th November : P.M. to Congress Parliamentary Party.

(Times,
8.11.1962) "He deprecated wild suggestions made by the
Opposition Parties, some of whom advocated
the conquest of Tibet." Mark the word Conquest!

8th November : While bowing to popular demand for ejection of
(Times:10/11) K.M. wrote "This is of course not a parting."

9th November : In Parliament:

(Times,
10.11.1962) "He ridiculed widespread Opposition demands that
there be no talks until the invaders pulled out
completely."

(Times,
10.11.1962) "Described the cynical and hypocritical resolution
of the C.P.I. Council as a resolution which was
"clear and nationalistic" as good as could be
drafted by 100% nationalists."

10th November : In Rajya Sabha :

"It is very difficult for Chinese to ~~difficult~~ defeat
us and it is still more difficult for us to
defeat the Chinese." (*Nudega, 18/11*)

14th November : In the Lok Sabha -

(Times,
15.11.1962) "that"we should undertake the job of liberating Tibet
at the present moment or at any moment seems to
me extraordinary and fantastic and has no
relations to reality... even if we have the atom
bomb"

11. 11. 62 *On 11th Nov 1962* "I don't think mean
we were pursuing a wrong policy. I wanted
to point out that we had not been vigilant
enough!" *Times 12/11/62*

Clearly, gulf between P.M. on one side and Parliament, Chief Ministers, Congress Party and army on the other.

Hindustan Times (16.11.1962) editorial - Off-Key :

"The whole House was behind him to a man in pressing forward with the objectives of the official motion, admirable alike in its wording and sentiment. Here was an opportunity for a calrion call to action, a call for which the entire nation was waiting. Mr. Nehru did not respond to the mood. He was content to make a partisan speech, defending what he was not seriously asked to defend and failing to give the one assurance for which there was a universal demand, that a new chapter would begin of firmness in decision and resoluteness in policy."

Rajeshwar Patel in New Age (18th November, 1962)

"...the mere removal of Shri Krishna Menon is not going to help the country. The entire machinery which thinks in those terms has to be recast ~~and~~ or realigned and overhauled."

Quote Insaf:

In Exp 9/11

U.S. News and World Report (November 26, 1962) - Worldgram

"At the front, this is the word from "a U.S. News & World Report" staff man:

"Impression you get in visiting the war zone is that the Indian Army is far ahead of Nehru's civilian Government in its thinking.

"Nehru apparently clings to the hope Russia will somehow restrain Red China.

"Indian military men see no alternative but to win the war. They appear pretty realistic on what they face. Every day they discover more proof that 10 years of napping must be made up somehow, and quickly.

"Said one officer : 'Our Prime Minister was fond of standing on his head. May be he saw world issues that way. I hope he is on his feet now.' "

Congress Government has only 45% of electoral support
Opposition has 44% splintered.

Absence of alternative Government never more keenly felt.

Correct role of Opposition - DUAL

Precisely what all opposition parties have been doing.

e.g. P.S.P. - nearest to Congress - NO-Negotiations Week
just concluded.

Demand for banning the C.P.I.

Jan Sangh - ditto

Socialist Party - demands change of government altogether.

Swatantra Party - Essence of Statement.

- 1) snatch initiative from enemy, bomb enemy bases in Tibet.
- 2) arming of our men, no question of paying.
- 3) bring Chinese communists before the U.N. to secure support of friendly countries.

Woodrow Wyatt : (Hindustan Times - 18.11.1962)

"It may not be possible to dislodge the Chinese without United Nations ~~and~~ or friendly troops."

Rajaji (Swarajya - November 17, 1962):

"The initiative must be wrested from the Chinese. Their military bases must be attacked. This requires an enormous volume of procurement of arms of all kinds, virtually amounting to a complete de facto alliance with the Western Powers. Without this, India cannot cope with the present crisis. The Chinese power is too big for India to face alone."

- 4) Recognise Dalai Lama and arm the khampas.
- 5) friendship with Pakistan - release three or four crack divisions.
- 6) scrap outmoded concept of non-alignment.

Quote No. 11 of the Statement.

Ranga's speech in Parliament (Delivered on 8.11.1962)

Answered
3 weeks
A 200 C
VKM: One Leader

Measure of cooperation.

Bhailalbhai Patel Vice-Chairman of Gujarat Committee
R.N. Singh Deo in Orissa ditto.

Cooperation in all other States including Maharashtra
except Mysore, Madras and Bihar.

But amused to see Madras Communist member arrested.

Bombay Fair Price Committee and Women's Committee for
collection for Red Cross.

Over 2000 woollens
Rs. 3500/-
7/8 women from fresh Aid sent to be trained by
Red S.
Blood Bank for collection of Plasma

Not a Cold

Chinese offer of cease-fire

Analyse - Repetition of October 24 - already rejected
Distinguish from September 8.

14/11 P.M. In Parliament on the 20th November (Indian Express of 21.11.1962)

"India would not accept any compromise on Chinese terms and would fight on till victory."

Public opinion unanimous

Entire press, all opposition parties, except Communists, joint statement, Congress Party, e.g. Mahavir Tyagi, Kannamwar, Shantilal Shah.

To accept or bow to terms dictated by Chinese in their arrogant and offensive note by conforming to it would be defeat, demoralise our armed forces and leave our country open to attack at enemy's choice.

Define acceptance as indicating conformity in action while protesting in words.

What is the correct thing to do?

- Enemy fully extended
- Spread himself out very thin
- Logistical difficulties rule out further advance

Right thing to do to reject the bait, ask friends abroad to provide interceptor planes, ground to air missiles and tactical air support, move three or four crack divisions from Pakistan fronts and throw a massive counter-offensive.

Patriotic Indians tormented by question whether P.M. has capacity to shed past inhibitions and pro-communist bias and lead the country to victory.

Can he transform himself into great war leader?

Notes:
1) *Divide & weaken resolve*
2) *Demoralise*
3) *Prevent*
4) *Driving force*
5) *Drive wedge between friends*
6) *Withdraw from exposed position*

Involves break with past.

e.g. Hindustan Times (2.11.1962) cartoon "You are half dismissed so that we may half fight to half win this half war."

I do not know the answer.

Need for vigilance

Eternal vigilance is price ~~of~~ for liberty.

1. U.N. -
 2. Pakistan - Common Defence against whom?
 3. Fifth Column - ^{History} Revolution - Sandeher - Confusion
- Democracy at stake - All Circles