

## RAJYA SABHA

*Saturday, the 4th December, 1971/the 13th  
Agrahayana, 1893 (Saka)*

The House met at eleven of the clock,  
MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

### STATEMENT BY MINISTER RE THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE/रक्षा  
मंत्री (SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM) : This  
morning according to the news, Govern-  
ment of West Pakistan have declared war  
upon us.

Last evening the West Pakistan Air  
Force violated our air space wantonly and  
attacked a large number of our air-fields.  
Simultaneously, their ground forces shelled  
our positions along the Western border.  
Their propaganda media has made totally  
baseless allegations that India had launched  
an assault.

The news reached me and the Prime  
Minister as she was leaving Calcutta.  
Immediately on her return we took counsel  
with our colleagues and with the leaders  
of the Opposition parties. We were all of  
one mind—united in our resolve that the  
nation's freedom should be defended, and  
unanimous that the aggressor should be  
beaten back. I am sure that the same sense  
of solidarity will mark our work in the  
difficult days ahead. A state of emergency  
has been proclaimed. We are approaching  
the House to adopt the Defence of India  
Bill. Our feeling is one of regret that  
Pakistan did not desist from the ultimate  
folly and sorrow that at a time when the  
greatest need of this sub-continent is deve-  
lopment, the peoples of India and Pakistan  
have been pushed into war. We could  
have lived as good neighbours but the  
people of West Pakistan have never had  
a say in their destiny. In this grave hour,  
our own dominant emotion is one of con-  
fidence and faith.

We meet as a fighting Parliament. A  
war has been forced upon us, a war we did  
not seek and did our utmost to prevent.  
The avoidable has happened. West  
Pakistan has struck with reckless perfidy.

For over nine months, the military  
regime of West Pakistan has barbarously  
trampled upon freedom and basic human  
rights in Bangla Desh. The army of occu-  
pation has committed heinous crimes,  
unmatched for their vindictive ferocity.  
Many millions have been uprooted; ten  
millions have been pushed into our country.

We repeatedly drew the attention of  
the world in this annihilation of a whole  
people, to this menace to our security.  
Everywhere the people showed sympathy  
and understanding for economic and other  
burdens and the danger to India. But  
governments seemed morally and politically  
paralysed. Belated efforts to persuade the  
Islamabad regime to take some step which  
would lead to a lasting solution fell on  
deaf ears.

The wrath of the West Pakistan army  
has been aroused because the people of  
Bangla Desh have stood and struggled for  
values which the army is unable to compre-  
hend, and which it has suppressed in  
every province of Pakistan.

As the Mukti Bahini's effectiveness  
increased, the West Pakistan army became  
more desperate. Our tradition is to stand  
not with tyrants but with the oppressed.  
And so the anger has been turned upon  
us. West Pakistan has escalated and  
enlarged the aggression against Bangla  
Desh into full war against India.

War needs as much patience and self-  
restraint as does peace. Military regime  
of West Pakistan will go all-out to sow  
suspicion and rumour in the hope of

[ Shri Jagjivan Ram ]

fomenting communal tension and internal trouble. Let us not be taken in by their designs. We must maintain unity and a sense of high purpose.

We should be prepared for a long struggle. High production, agricultural and industrial, is the foundation upon which defence rests. The courage and fighting capability of the jawans have to be backed by the dedication of the farmer, the worker, the technician and the trader. The business community has a social responsibility to resist the temptation to hoard or to charge higher profit. Artists and writers, teachers and students, the nation looks to them to defend our ideals and to keep high our morale. To the women of our country, I make a special appeal to save every possible grain and rupee, to avoid waste. The sacrifice of each of us will build the nation's strength and enduring power.

The brave jawans, airmen and sailors and their tough and resourceful officers will do their duty. Let each of us do ours.

We have stood for peace, but peace itself has to be defended. Today we are fighting to safeguard our territorial integrity and national honour. Above all, we are fighting for the ideals we cherish and the cause of freedom.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I shall call the leaders of the different groups one by one and the speeches should be very brief. Mr. Gurupadaswamy.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is not the time for us and the country to waver, to hesitate and to falter. This is not the time for recrimination or difference and this is not the time when we are to ask the country what the country will give to us. This is indeed the time when we have to

ask ourselves what we have to give to our country and from this point of view and in this spirit, I look upon the present grave situation that is confronting us.

This is a grave hour and also, I consider, a most historic hour to our country. Pakistan has attacked us for the third time in the short history of 25 years and this conflict—I hope other Members will also share my view—is going to be a final conflict to put an end to all conflicts in the future. If this is a war, this will be a war to end all future wars with Pakistan. I think this conflict, this confrontation, this war is going to shape our destiny, fashion our fate and resolve once and for all the future of this sub-continent. Sir, on this occasion I can only pledge my loyalty, my friendship, my co-operation and the loyalty, friendship and co-operation of my party to whatever actions Government is going to take to meet the new challenge posed by Pakistan. Sir, we in Parliament look at this hour as an hour which will fashion our future relations in this sub-continent. In this situation every man and woman in this country and every labourer, every manager and every proprietor of any concern and every officer has got to dedicate himself or herself to the supreme task of meeting this challenge. I am sure the country is strong and the people are brave; I am also equally sure that we are united. I am sure that all the parties represented in Parliament today are unanimous in the resolve to help the Government in this supreme task of meeting this grave crisis only I would give a word of caution; we should not at this juncture waver or try to compromise; I do not want my country to have another Tashkent. We do not want advice any intrusions, any pressures, any persuasion to be brought to bear on us by any outside power. We as a nation will wage this war and we have to win this ultimately.

Sir, finally I would say a word about Parliament. I remember the famous words

of Churchill during the last Great War...

**SHRI ARJUN ARORA** (Uttar Pradesh) : He did not; it was Chamberlain.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY** : He said that Parliament is going to be the supreme instrument of war. Parliament of England met all the time during war period; it met in the day, it met in the night. Parliament was a powerful bulwark of Government in waging war against the Fascists. Likewise, may I appeal to the Government and request my colleagues that Parliament has got to meet from day to day and Parliament has got to work as an ally of Government? There is no difference between Parliament and Government there is unanimity and amity between these two wings. May I say through you Mr. Chairman, that Parliament has got to meet, even if it is for a few hours, every day, not to differ from the Government but to seek more and more solidarity with the Government in its tremendous task and objective. May I in the end say again that my party will wholeheartedly pledge our support in all the tasks and the activities of this Government in carrying on this conflict with Pakistan? Let us hope and trust that very soon, even before Christmas this year, we will see the emergence of a new independent sovereign Bangla Desh. Let us hope and trust also that we will establish permanent peace and stability in this sub-continent.

**श्री पीताम्बर दास** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आदरणीय सभापति जी, भारतवर्ष की शान्तिप्रियता और सहनशीलता विश्व-विख्यात है, परन्तु इस बार तो हमारी सहनशीलता की पराकाष्ठा हो गई और हमारा दुर्भाग्य यह रहा है कि पाकिस्तान ने हमेशा उसको गलत समझा। It mistook our courtesy for cowardice. हमारे बारे में यह

भी कहा गया है कि They take time to hit back, but when they hit back, they hit back furiously, and I am glad the time has come.

श्रीमन्, जहाँ तक हमारी विजय की बात है, उसमें कोई सदेह का कारण नहीं है क्योंकि पहली बात तो यह है कि जिन मुद्दों के लिए हम हमेशा लड़ते रहे हैं, भगड़ते रहे हैं, परिश्रम करने रहे हैं, उनकी अपनी एक मजबूती है, सात्विकता है। फिर उसके अतिरिक्त, आज जिन ताकतों का दम पाकिस्तान भरता है उन ताकतों के हथियार तो 1965 की लड़ाई में भी पाकिस्तान की तरफ काम करते थे और उस समय पाकिस्तान के जो दोनों विंग थे वे मिल जुल कर काम करते थे। आज तो पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान की टांग बंगला देश में फंसी हुई है और जिन मित्रों का वह दम भरते हैं उनमें से एक मित्र तो रूस के साथ में उलझा हुआ है और दूसरा अपना बचाव करने के लिए उनके साथ समझौता करने के लिए चला है कि जिन से हमेशा उसका संघर्ष रहा है। तो आज विजय के अन्दर कोई सदेह होने की गुंजाइश नहीं है और इसलिए आगे भी We must march forward with heart within and God above.

इसके साथ ही साथ, एक बात यह जरूर है कि हम इतिहास उठाकर देखें, प्राचीन काल का इतिहास और बाद का इतिहास भी, तो हम पायेंगे कि भारतवर्ष ने संघर्ष में कभी हार नहीं मानी। संघर्ष में हम हमेशा विजयी हुये हैं। हम हारे हैं तो संधि में हारे हैं और इसलिए मेज के ऊपर बैठ कर इन ईशूज पर संधि की अब कोई गुंजाइश नहीं होनी चाहिये और प्रधान मंत्री ने भी यही बात कही है, सत्तारूढ़ दल के

[श्री पीताम्बर दास]

और लोगों ने भी यही बात कही है We will not allow another Tashkent to be repeated इस का मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। इतने डिटर-मिनेशन और इतने संकल्प के साथ में जो युद्ध हमारे ऊपर लाद दिया गया है उसका मुकाबला करने के लिए आगे चलें।

इस मौके पर मैं एक बात की ओर ध्यान आकषित कर देना चाहता हूँ। जिस समय संघर्ष होता है उस समय ऊँच-नीच आए, ऐसा सम्भव है, ऐसी स्थिति भी आ सकती है कि जिस में हमको कुछ अन्धकार सा भी दिखाई दे, परन्तु उस में भी हिम्मत हारने की आवश्यकता नहीं है क्योंकि जिस महापुरुष ने बहुत लम्बे अरसे तक हमारे देश का नेतृत्व किया है, वह हमेशा एक बात कहा करते थे, जिसको आज हमें विशेष रूप से याद रखना है कि : Amidst darkness light persists. Amidst death life persists. Amidst untruth truth persists. और इतने भारी विश्वास के साथ सरकार लड़ाई में आयी है और देश का सारा बल, देश की सारी शक्ति, देश के सारे साधन सरकार के पीछे रहेंगे ! मैं अपने दल की ओर से और अपनी ओर से बिना शर्त पूरा समर्थन देने का आश्वासन गाजियाबाद में दे चुका हूँ और उसको मैं फिर एक बार दोहरा देना चाहता हूँ, और इन शब्दों के साथ भगवान पर भरोसा रख कर हम इस लड़ाई में आगे बढ़ें।

‘कदम चूम लेती है खुद आके मंजिल,  
मुसाफिर अगर अपनी हिम्मत न हारे।’

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for allowing me to associate myself with the remarks that have fallen from the lips of the leader of the Opposition and my predecessor. The whole House and the whole

country is behind the Government in facing the aggression that has come upon us. This war has not been a war of our seeking. Our Prime Minister made herculean efforts to avoid this and at a serious time when her presence was necessary in this country she took the risk of going abroad and persuading the whole world to see what is happening in this country. We may have differences. We have argued and talked about it in this House so often, but this is not the occasion to talk about these differences. Today is the occasion to talk of our unity, of our determination to repel the aggressor and, as my predecessors have rightly pointed out, let us take this occasion to see that the victory that we achieve, the peace that we achieve is a permanent peace and we do not have a recurrence of the previous mistakes or mishaps or misfortunes that have befallen us. Let us play our cards wisely. Let us act wisely and I should like to see that we have peace in this sub-continent for many, many years.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, we are once again faced with a cruel challenge and aggression from the Pakistani rulers. We are a peace-loving nation and we have sought all these years nothing but friendship from Pakistan. Unfortunately the Pakistani rulers, backed by US imperialism, have stood in the way of friendship between our two peoples. Even at this critical hour we bear no ill-will to the people of West Pakistan who themselves are victims of tyranny and treachery by their rulers. This is a war imposed on us simply because we wanted to help and we are helping the glorious liberation struggle of Bangla Desh, simply because we have not decided to surrender our principles and our values to the West Pakistani rulers or their imperialist patrons. This war has been let loose upon us because in the battle-fields of Bangla Desh the West Pakistani forces are on the retreat. Day by day they are being driven from one position to another and the mighty advance of the Bangla Desh liberation forces has become today irresistible. This action

the part of the West Pakistani military rulers is an act of mad gamble, is an act of desperation, but we know that when they are desperate they know no law, they know no human decency or any such thing. We should be prepared for facing all kinds of attack and treachery by them. The Pakistani military rulers have dared to attack our country because they have got the backing of US imperialism by way of arms and otherwise. But for that backing they would not have perhaps plunged into this dangerous war, which does no good. This will immensely harm the cause which the people of Pakistan and we cherish. Our aim is quite clear. In this war that has been imposed upon us, we have no other aim except to safeguard our territorial integrity and our territorial integrity shall be defended with all our unity, with all our strength and with all our might. If the Pakistani rulers and their imperialist masters think that they can thereby deter us from rendering our help to the Bangla Desh liberation struggle by fulfilling the pledge that this nation has given to the noble cause, they are profoundly mistaken. This act of aggression on the part of the Pakistani rulers will only strengthen our determination to render more help and more assistance for the triumph of the Bangla Desh liberation struggle. We make it absolutely clear. Nothing on earth can stop the triumph of the Bangla Desh liberation struggle. In this connection, I mention, there should be no delay whatsoever in recognising Bangla Desh, taking our responsibility openly and fully. All things are gone. The Americans and others have been bluffing us. They have been manoeuvring. Now, they want to internationalise the Bangla Desh issue and turn it into an issue between India and Pakistan and thereby get away with it. That shall not be allowed. Here on the Indian soil, we must defend our soil; there in Bangla Desh, we must render every assistance so that Bangla Desh liberation becomes a living, shining reality of victory. That should be our aim.

I need not say very much on this occasion. It is a matter of shame and sorrow that the Chinese Government has lined up behind Pakistan and other imperialists. But then, there are the other Socialist countries. There is the Soviet Union, our friend, who is with us in all difficulties and troubles. There are other Socialist countries who would undoubtedly appreciate and understand the situation we are facing, the just war we are fighting, the cause of human dignity we are upholding, by shedding the blood of our jawans and our people. We expect appreciation by the international community and above all, by all freedom and peace loving people.

Finally, Sir, before I sit down, I assure our party's support to the Government in all its defence efforts because this is not a partisan issue. This is a national issue, and the whole nation must stand united, as never before in meeting the challenge and repulsing the threat. In this hour, more than ever before, communal peace and harmony are of paramount importance, and we must uphold them, again, with all our moral strength, with all our effort. This is our motto, this is our shield. Peace among the communities is our shield. Unity is our shield. We must not allow anyone to take advantage of the situation, to spread communal suspicion and communal distrust. We are all brothers in the common fight, in the common struggles, members of all religions, members of all communities, members of various political and other associations. Here is solid unity. I think Government can count on this unity. Sir, I do hope that Government at the same time will not allow the reactionary and vested interests to take advantage of the situation. The democratic rights and liberties of the people must be respected and they should be given full initiative to play their rightful role in meeting this challenging situation, so that this great nation of ours can prove its mettle and worth even in this crisis which has been imposed upon us. We again pledge and express our full solidarity with

[ Shri Bhupesh Gupta ]

all those who are standing for the cause of national defence. We send our fervent good wishes to the people of Bangla Desh; to the valiant liberation fighters. Our hearts go out to them. Let them strike at the citadels of the Pakistan Army in Bangla Desh and storm them till every single West Pakistani troop has been withdrawn from Bangla Desh. There shall not be any rest or let-up on our part. This is all I have to say. Once again, I say, let us go and meet the challenge with courage, with unity, with resolve and with the faith that we shall win, our posture will win; so will win the people of Bangla Desh.

**SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) :** Though there was hardly any time for me to consult my party colleagues on this grave crisis, I can say with the fullest confidence that our party stands solidly behind every effort made to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our motherland. I look upon this occasion as the turning point in the history of India. It is my conviction that out of these fires a new India will be born. We have the honour and privilege of defending not only our values and our freedom but also of helping our valiant neighbour, Bangla Desh, to defend its freedom and its values against a common aggressor.

May I make an appeal to all sections of our country, especially the students, the youth, the kisan and the mazdoor and, last but not the least, the businessman and the industrialist to forget their sectarian interests and disputes and stand shoulder to shoulder with our jawans whose sacrifice knows no limit?

तस्माद् उत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय कृत् निश्चयः

**SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala) :** Mr. Chairman. Sir, the military clique of Pakistan by its senseless and deliberate attack on our aerodromes and the shelling of our positions along the borders

has thrust a war which very few of us wanted on us. But, Sir, this is a sequel to the help, support and participation which our people have been extending to the liberation struggle of the people of Bangla Desh against a callous military junta of Pakistan.

Our party has always said—and I am happy that even in this very House I had yesterday the occasion to reiterate that decision—that if in pursuance of the unanimous desire of our people to help the Bangla Desh people in their liberation struggle, we have to face a war from the military clique in Pakistan, then the entire people of this country will stand as one man to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity. I want to reiterate that position of our party once more in this House.

At the same time I would take this opportunity to warn against certain dangers inherent in the situation. First of all, let us be clear that we are fighting this war for the Bangla Desh people, and it is high time if we are to make our fight any realistic, any sensible, then we should recognise Bangla Desh here and now. There should be no delay in that matter. After all, what are we fighting for if we are not fighting for the Bangla Desh people? And we have to warn against the danger of any jingoist stand on our part to turn the whole thing down as if it is the Pakistani people whom we are fighting against. In fact the very fact that we are fighting for democracy for human rights in Bangla Desh shows that we are also fighting for the human rights and the democracy of the entire Pakistani people against the military junta that has been oppressing them. Therefore, we should not fall into these jingoist stances and we should be clear as to who is our enemy and whom we are fighting.

Thirdly, Sir, there is a danger that certain sections, certain reactionary circles

may utilise this opportunity in this country to fan up communal struggle, to fan hatred against the minority community on this count or that count. Sir, our fight for the Bangla Dosh people, our support to them is the very essence of the fight for democracy, for secularism and for the universality of the Indian people. Therefore, Sir, if in giving support to Bangla Dosh if we lapse into that sort of communal attitude, then we will be defeating the very purpose of our fight and we will be making sacrifices, which our nation will be making in this fight, in vain. Therefore, we should also warn that we should not lapse into the danger of any communalism, any antagonism against minority communities in this country, and I am sure this country will stand united in this hour of trial and will make our sacrifices a success.

Thank you.

\*SHRI KANCHI KALYANASUNDARAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Chairman, at this juncture we are in the midst of a serious crisis. It is not the first time that Pakistan has attacked the Indian sub-continent. Pakistan attacked us twice before. In the same manner, the Pakistani warlords have now launched an aggression against us. We have been living peacefully. The Pakistani aggression against us deserves condemnation. This time we should teach Pakistan a lesson so that Pakistan do not dare attack us again. The war which we are fighting now is not only for the purpose of defending our freedom but also for a great cause. We are fighting this war for the purpose of defending the democratic rights of the people of Pakistan. We are not only defending the democratic rights of our country but also defending the democratic rights of the people of Pakistan by fighting this war. We should teach a lesson to the Pakistani warmongers who are now ruling Pakistan. This should be the last war with Pakistan. We should see to it that Pakistan does not

dare to attack us again and again by clipping her tail. As long as Pakistan is in the international map we should make them live peacefully with us and we should make Pakistan understand this point at this moment. I feel that this war should be a decisive one; while the war is going on now, we should not allow another 'Tashkent' to take place. We already know what the Tashkent Agreement has done to us. An English proverb means 'pay the Devil its due'. At this juncture Pakistan will understand only one language and that is force should be met with force.

At this juncture, on behalf of the D.M.K. Party, I join the people of India in offering our wholehearted and unstinted support and also in making sacrifices to maintain the integrity and independence of India.

Thank you.

SHRI B.V. ABDULLA KOYA (Kerala): Mr. Chairman, Sir, perhaps as expected, Pakistan has now started aggression on our Indian territory in a calculated and dastardly manner. It is now the sacred duty of every Indian, whether he is a Muslim or a Hindu or a Sikh or a Christian, to dedicate everything he has and to sacrifice to his last drop of blood for the defence of our dear mother-country, India. The war is to be waged till the enemy is crushed for all time and the Indian borders are safe for ever from such aggression in future. I on behalf of myself and on behalf of my party—the Indian Union Muslim League—pledge our wholehearted support to the Government and we are prepared to sacrifice everything for the sake of the safety of this country at this hour of challenge from the unscrupulous Pakistani aggressor.

श्री कुम्भाराम आर्य (राजस्थान) :  
सभापति महोदय, मैं "जय बंगला देश" कहूँ

[श्री कुम्भाराम आर्य]

कर उसके साथ अपने मन की कहना चाहता हूं। हम शान्तिप्रिय लोग थे और शान्ति के साथ रहना चाहते थे, हमारा पड़ोसी बंगला देश भी शान्ति के साथ रहना चाहता था लेकिन पाकिस्तान के हुक्मरानों ने उनको बर्बाद करने की ठान ली। भारत जैसा शान्तिप्रिय देश अपने पड़ोसी की दुर्दशा को नहीं देख सका और उनकी रक्षा के लिये आज तक प्रयत्न करता आया। उन प्रयत्नों के परिणामस्वरूप आज पाकिस्तान हम पर हमला कर रहा है।

इस अवसर पर हमको इस प्रतिज्ञा और निष्ठा के साथ कटिबद्ध होना है कि बंगला देश के अन्दर भी लोकतांत्रिक सरकार स्थापित हो और भारत अपनी अखंडता के साथ पाकिस्तान को इस चुनौती के लिये एक ऐसा सबक दे दे कि फिर वह अपनी जिन्दगी में सिर उठाने की हिमाकत न करे। इसके लिये एक ही बात है कि इस देश का एक-एक इंसान खास तौर से जिसके खून के अन्दर गर्मी है वह इसके लिये कटिबद्ध हो, वह खेत के अन्दर भी काम करे और युद्ध के मैदान में पाकिस्तान को नसीहत देने के लिये भी काम करे लेकिन उसके साथ उसकी एक इच्छा है कि उसका एक बार आगे रखा हुआ कदम किसी के कहने से, किसी के दबाव से, किसी समझौते से, पीछे नहीं हटे। हम इस बात के लिये दृढ़-प्रतिज्ञा हैं। हमारा देश सदा से शान्ति रखता आया है और आगे भी शान्ति रखने के लिये, पाकिस्तान को सबक देने के लिये विवश है, उसका और कोई इरादा नहीं है।

इस मौके पर मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेरा भारतीय क्रान्ति दल, मैं और हमसे सम्बन्धित जनता सारे के सारे

इस देश के लिये सहयोग ही नहीं खून देने के लिये तैयार हैं लेकिन उस खून के बदले में केवल मदन से इतनी अपेक्षा रखते हैं कि जिस जगह पर हमारा खून बहे उस घरती पर हमारा कब्जा सदा बना रहे, इसमें कमी नहीं आने पाये।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं भारत सरकार को भी बधाई देता हूँ कि जिसने सहनशीलता की कोई हद नहीं रखी और पानी नाक से ऊपर जब आने लगा है तब इसने यह कहा है कि अब इमरजेंसी डिक्लेयर करना चाहिये। इतना साहस इतनी सहिष्णुता मैंने राजनीति में कहीं-कहीं देखी जो यहाँ देखने के लिये मिली है। सहिष्णुता और शान्ति को सदा कायम रखने के लिये, पाकिस्तान जो इसको अशान्त बनाने की कोशिश में लगा है उसे भी शान्त कर देना चाहिये ताकि हम सुख, शान्ति और समृद्धि के साथ फलें फूलें। इसके साथ फिर मैं कहता हूँ कि यह लड़ाई हम नहीं लड़ रहे हैं पाकिस्तान लड़ रहा है और बंगला देश को गुलाम रखने के लिये लड़ रहा है। हमें बंगला देश को आजाद कराना है, अपनी शान्ति को कायम रखने के लिये पाकिस्तान को सबक सिखाना है और इसके लिये देश का एक-एक इंसान तन, मन, धन से सरकार का साथ देगा और पाकिस्तान का विरोध करेगा। जय हिन्द।

سرور نریماندر سنگھ برار (پنجاب):

چوہدرین صاحب—مجھے خوشی ہے کہ آپ نے مجھے موقعہ دیا۔ جہاں تک کہ دیس میں تھوڑی گبھراہٹ ہے وہاں مجھے کچھ تھوڑی سی خوشی ہو رہی ہے کہ اس موقعہ پر میری قوم کو ایذا جوہر دکھانے کے لئے دشمن کے دانت کھٹے کرنے کے لئے ایک موقعہ ملا ہے۔ آپ سب جو پنجاب سے واقف ہیں یا پنجابیوں



سے واقف ہیں اچھی طرح جانتے ہیں کہ ان میں کبا اسبورت ہے کیا کچھ کرتے رہے ہیں کبا کچھ کریڈنگ - ۱۹۶۵ کی جنگ میں آپ نے دیکھا کہ جہاں گولیاں برس رہی تھیں - تو وہیں چل رہی تھیں دھرتی ہل رہی تھی وہاں ہماری بچیوں تک نے گولیاں کی پرواہ نہ کرتے ہوئے جوانوں کو کھانا پہنچایا - آج جنگی دیر سے فوج وہاں بیٹھی ہوئی ہے اتنی دیر سے ان کا چائے کا انتظام کرنا گاؤں سے دودھ لسی لانا جہاں ضرورت ہوئی پانی کے ٹل لگوانا یہ سب پننجابی آج بھی کر رہے ہیں - اس وقت جو حملہ ہوا ہے اس کو بھی آپ نے دیکھا - سب سے بڑا نقصان پننجاب میں ہوا -

جہاں تک میری قوم سکھوں کا سوال ہے یا میری پارٹی کا سوال ہے تو ہماری بنیاد گورو گوبند سنگھ جی نے رکھی - انہوں نے ہمیشہ لڑائی شروع کی ظلم کا مقابلہ کرنے کے لئے - اس میں مجاہدتی اور مہاراجی کا کبھی کویشچن نہیں ہوا - کسی کے خلاف ظلم ہوا تو سکھ کی تلوار ہی نکل سکتی ہے - تو ظاہر ہے کہ ہم گورو گوبند سنگھ کی اولاد ہیں جنہوں نے اپنا سارا پیروار لڑتے لڑتے ختم کروا دیا - ”چڑیوں سے باز لڑاؤں تو گورو گوبند نام کہاؤں“ - یہی چڑیوں سے باز کے تکتے کروادوں تبھی مجھے گورو گوبند سنگھ کا نام کہلانے کا حق ہے - ظاہر ہے ہم کس بات کے لئے اس دفعہ لڑ رہے ہیں -

پھر اس سلسلہ میں آپ ایک بات دیکھیں کہ اس وقت ہمارا گورو دواروں کے لئے ایک مورچہ لگا ہوا ہے اور کچھ لوگوں نے سوچا ہے کہ یہ گورنمنٹ سے لڑائی لڑ رہے ہیں پتہ نہیں اسکا ملک کے لئے کیا اثر ہوگا - یہاں میرا سرکار سے تھوڑا گلہ ہے حالانکہ اس کا اس بات سے کوئی تعلق نہیں ہے جو اس وقت ہمارے سامنے ہے کہ جہاں تک ہماری

وفاداری کا تعلق ہے - ملک کے ساتھ وفاداری کا تعلق ہے - ہمارا ایک ایک بچہ ایک ایک سپاہی چاہے جبل میں بیٹھا یا باہر بیٹھا ہے ملک کے لئے قربان ہوگا - تو میں ایبل کروں گا...  
श्री अजुन अरोड़ा : तो मोरचा वापस ले लीजिए ।

سردار نریندر سنگھ برار : ارجن جی یہ کہہ رہے ہیں مورچہ واپس لے لیجئے - تو میں صرف یہ کہوں گا کہ جو ہماری پارٹی ہے جس بات پر وہ ناراض ہوتی ہے وہ ایک طرح سے بیٹے کا باپ سے گلہ ہے تو وہ شکایت تھیک کرنے کی کوشش کرنی چاہئے - ارجن جی کی بات پر میں کہوں کہ میرا خیال ہے یہاں بابو جگجیون رام بیٹھے ہوئے گورنمنٹ میں بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں - تو اپنے فرض کو دیکھتے ہوئے یہ معمولی سا جو حق مانگ رہے ہیں اس کو ایک بار ہم کو واپس کر دو - ان کو اس وقت پر ضد نہیں کرنی چاہئے اور جو ارجن جی کہہ رہے ہیں ان کی منشا کو پورا کرنا چاہئے -

آخر میں میں ایک چیز اور کہوں گا کہ جو پننجاب کا بارڈر ہے اس میں ایک بڑی ان سبکدوشی ہے لوگوں کے دماغ میں کچھ خطرات ہیں تو ظاہر ہے اس کے لئے وائسایز کے واسطے فوراً انشورینس کا اڈینجمنٹ کرنا چاہئے تاکہ لوگوں کا اعتماد بنا رہے - وہاں حالت ایسی ہے کہ...

कई माननीय सदस्य : हो जाएगा ।

سردار نریندر سنگھ برار : شکریہ آپ کا اگر ہو جائیگا - ان باتوں کا خیال کرنا چاہئے - جہاں تک لڑنے کا تعلق ہے مرنے کا تعلق ہے میری قوم آپ کے ساتھ ہے ہر جگہ آپ کا ساتھ دیگی - میں ارجن جی کی بات بولوں گا کہ سرکار ہماری مانگ منظور کرے - اس سے زیادہ میں بول نہیں سکتا ہوں، بیمار ہوں -

†[सरदार नरेन्द्र सिंह ब्रार (पंजाब) :  
चेयरमैन साहब, मुझे खुशी है कि आपने मुझे मौका दिया। जहां तक कि देश में थोड़ी धबड़ाहट है वहां मुझे कुछ थोड़ी सी खुशी हो रही है कि इस मौके पर मेरी कौम को अपना जोहर दिखाने के लिए, दुश्मन के दांत खट्टे करने के लिए एक मौका मिला है। आप सब जो पंजाब से वाकिफ हैं या पंजाबियों से वाकिफ हैं, अच्छी तरह जानते हैं कि उनमें क्या स्प्रिट है, क्या कुछ करते रहे है क्या कुछ करेंगे। 1965 की जंग में आपने देखा कि जहां गोलियां बरस रही थीं, तोपें चल रही थीं, धरती हिल रही थी, वहां हमारे बच्चों तक ने गोलियों की परवाह न करते हुए जवानों को खाना पहुंचाया। आज जितनी देर से फौज वहां बैठी हुई है उतनी देर से उनका चाय का इन्तजाम करना, गांवों से दूध-लस्सी लाना, जहां जरूरत हुई पानी के नल भी लगवाना, यह सब पंजाबी आज भी कर रहे है। इस वक्त जो हमला हुआ है उसका भी, आपने देखा, सबसे बड़ा नुकसान पंजाब में हुआ।

जहां तक मेरी कौम सिखों का सवाल है या मेरी पार्टी का सवाल है, तो हमारी बुनियाद गुरु गोबिन्द सिंह जी ने रखी। उन्होंने हमेशा लड़ाई शुरू की, जुल्म का मुकाबला करने के लिए। इसमें मेजाटी और माईनटी का कभी क्वैश्चन नहीं हुआ। किसी के खिलाफ जुल्म हुआ तो सिख की तलवार ही निकल सकती है। तो जाहिर है कि हम गुरु गोबिन्द सिंह की ओलाद है जिन्होंने अपना सारा परिवार लड़ते-लड़ते खत्म करा दिया। 'चिड़ियों से बाज लड़ाऊ तो गुरु गोबिन्द नाम कहाऊ' यानी चिड़ियों से बाज के टुकड़े करवाऊं तभी मुझे गुरु

गोबिन्द सिंह का नाम कहलाने का हक है। जाहिर है कि हम किसी बात के लिए इस दफा लड़ रहे हैं। फिर इस सिलसिले में आप एक बात देखें कि इस वक्त हमारा गुरुद्वारों के लिए एक मोर्चा लगा हुआ है और कुछ लोगों ने सोचा है कि यह गवर्नमेंट से लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं। पता नहीं इसका मुल्क के लिये क्या असर होगा। यहां मेरा सरकार से थोड़ा गिला है, हालांकि इसका इस बात से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है जो इस वक्त हमारे सामने है कि जहां तक हमारी वफादारी का ताल्लुक है, मुल्क के साथ वफादारी का ताल्लुक है, हमारा एक-एक बच्चा एक-एक सिपाही, चाहे जेल में बैठा या बाहर है, मुल्क के लिये कुर्बान होगा। तो मैं अपील करूंगा . . .

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : तो मोर्चा वापस ले लीजिए।

सरदार नरेन्द्र सिंह ब्रार : अर्जुन जी कह रहे हैं, मोर्चा वापस ले लीजिये। तो मैं सिर्फ यह कहूंगा कि जो हमारी पार्टी है, जिस बात पर वह नाराज होती है, वह एक तरह से बेटे का बाप से गिला है, तो वह शिकायत ठीक करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। अर्जुन जी की इस बात पर मैं कहूंगा कि मेरा खयाल है यहां बाबूजगजीवन राम बैठे हुए, गवर्नमेंट में बैठे हुए है, तो अपने फर्ज को देखते हुए यह मामूली सा जो हक मांग रहे हैं, उसको एक बार हम को वापस कर दो। उनको इस वक्त पर ज़िद नहीं करनी चाहिये और जो अर्जुन जी कह रहे हैं, उनकी मंशा को पूरा करना चाहिये।

आखिर में मैं एक चीज़ और कहूंगा कि जो पंजाब का बार्डर है, उसमें एक बड़ी इनसिक्वोटी है लोगों के दिमाग में कुछ खतरात है, तो जाहिर है, इसके लिए बार

लासिज के वास्ते, फौरन इन्वोरेन्स का अरेंजमेण्ट करना चाहिए ताकि लोगों का एतमाद बना रहे। वहां हालत ऐसी है।

कई माननीय सदस्य : हो जाएगा।

सरदार नरेन्दर सिंह ब्रार : शुक्रिया आपका अगर हो जाएगा। इन बातों का खयाल करना चाहिए। जहां तक लड़ने का ताल्लुक है, मरने का ताल्लुक है, मेरी कौम आपके साथ है। हर जगह आपका साथ देगी। मैं अर्जुन जी की बात बोलूंगा कि सरकार हमारी मांग मंजूर कर ले इससे ज्यादा मैं बोल नहीं सकता हूं, बीमार हूं।]

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA (Maharashtra): Mr. Chairman, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used a famous expression when we became independent in 1947 that he was keeping a tryst with destiny. To my mind this is a tryst with our destiny. At that time in 1947, we responded to our destiny by trying to build a new India. In my opinion this time also we will respond to our destiny with courage, unity and solidarity.

Sir, this war is going to affect not only the future of our country, but the future of South Asia. There is a saying that those whom God wishes to destroy, He makes them mad first. General Yahya Khan is mad, we all know that. He is on his way to destruction. But I want to emphasise this fact. Let this be the last war in Pakistan. I want to see the destruction of Pakistan. When I say destruction of Pakistan, I say I want to see the destruction of all that Pakistan has stood for. Pakistan has stood for military dictatorship, military tyranny, hostility towards India, two-nation theory, suppression of democratic rights and every principle which is enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

As against that, we have stood for democracy, for freedom, for neighbourliness and for all human rights which we

value. So, Sir, this is a fight not only between India and Pakistan as two territories, but it is a fight between two ideas and I say that unless we destroy the evil for which Pakistan stands, unless we destroy the evil for which Pakistan stands we will not be able to bring peace in this part of the world.

Sir, let us no more talk about a defensive war. We have had enough of it. Now the war with Pakistan is an offensive war. We have always tried to avoid war as far as possible. But, Sir, now the aggression has come and let us go all out and finish this business once and for all.

Sir, if I might put it, Pakistan was conceived in sin and it is dying in violence. A part of Pakistan is already destroyed. Bangla Desh constitutes the Majority of Pakistan, which forms part of Pakistan. But what is left will be destroyed by the action of Yahya Khan. But I will agree with my friend, Mr. Gupta, that the first answer we should give to Pakistan today is to recognise Bangla Desh. That should be our first answer and for heaven's sake, let us know this. I know that international pressures will be put on us. The wise men sitting in New York and in other chancelleries will tell you how we should behave and what we should do. But we know our national interests best. God knows that we have waited long enough, we have put up with insults and we have put up with aggression from Pakistan. The time has now come when we should solemnly be determined not only to put an end to this aggression, but also to see that never in future is there any aggression from that part of the world.

Sir, I want to assure one thing to the Government and the Prime Minister. I think this is the time when we should sink all our differences. We should only think of one thing and that is the defence of our country and the defeat of Pakistan. Sir, I want to assure the Prime Minister that one and all of us will stand behind her as our leader and see to it that she leads us to triumph.

श्री गंगाशरण सिंह (नाम-निर्देशित) :  
 आदरणीय सभापति महोदय, हमारे देश की यह परम्परा नहीं रही है कि किसी को लूटने के लिए, किसी पर अत्याचार करने के लिए या किसी देश पर कब्जा करने के लिए हमने हथियार उठाये हों। हमने कभी दूसरों पर आक्रमण कर कब्जा करने की, अत्याचार करने की आज तक चेष्टा नहीं की है। लेकिन इसके यह माने भी नहीं रहे हैं कि जब हमारे देश पर कोई आक्रमण हुआ, तो हम कायरों की तरह घर में घुसे रहें और बैठे रहे। हमारी जो नीति रही है उसका संक्षेप में हिन्दी के एक बड़े कवि तुलसीदास जी ने दो लाइनों में उसका उद्धरण लक्ष्मण के मुँह से कराया है -

जो रण हमहि प्रचारे कोऊ,

लडहि सुखेन काल किन होऊ।

हमारी नीति यही रही है कि अगर हम एक बार प्रचारे गये तो फिर उसमें पीछे हटने वाले नहीं हैं। हमने प्राप्ति नहीं किया, दूसरों पर कब्जा नहीं किया, लेकिन अपने देश की हिफाजत के लिए, अपने देश की मान्यताओं की हिफाजत के लिए हम बराबर सलग्न रहे हैं। और जब मैं देश की बात कहता हूँ तो मेरी नजर में, मेरा मतलब मात्र एक भूभाग से नहीं है, मात्र कुछ व्यक्तियों के समूह से नहीं, मैं ऐसा नहीं समझता हूँ। मैं अपने देश को मानव की उच्चतम भावनाओं, उच्चतम सिद्धान्तों और उच्चतम नीतियों का प्रतीक मानता हूँ। यह प्रतीक हमारा शुरू से कायम रहा है और आगे भी कायम रहना चाहिये। इसलिए अगर हम आज देश की हिफाजत के लिए हथियार उठाते हैं, तो हम सिर्फ भूभाग के लिए नहीं, भूभाग भी है, मनुष्य भी हैं, लेकिन उन मान्यताओं के लिए, उन

सिद्धान्तों के लिए, उन नीतियों के लिये हथियार उठाने हैं, जिनका हमारा देश प्रतीक रहा है।

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ खास कर उन मित्रों से, जो हमारे देश में भिन्न-भिन्न विचारधाराएँ हैं, भिन्न-भिन्न जो मतभेद हैं, उनके चलते समझते हैं कि हमारा देश छिन्न-भिन्न होगा, हमारा देश खत्म होगा, या हमारे विरोधी सफल होंगे। मैं उनसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश की यह परम्परा नहीं रही है। जैसे हमने दूसरों पर आक्रमण नहीं किया उसी तरह आपस में झगड़ते हुए भी, दूसरों ने जब हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण किया, तो हमने उसका मिल कर मुकाबला किया। यह आज की परम्परा नहीं है, हमारी पुरानी परम्परा है।

हाल की बहुत सी घटनाएँ भी आपके और हमारे सामने हैं, लेकिन पुरानी घटनाएँ भी हैं। महाभारत के जमाने का वाक्या है कि जब दुर्योधन को यक्षों ने पकड़ लिया और युधिष्ठिर से यह कहा कि दुर्योधन तो आपका दुश्मन है, उसको आप हमें सजा देने दीजिए तो युधिष्ठिर ने जो बात कही थी वही हमारे देश की संस्कृति रही है। युधिष्ठिर ने कहा था आपस में विवाद के लिए हम पाँच और सौ हैं, आपस के मतभेद के लिए हम कौरव और पांडव अलग-अलग हैं, लेकिन जहाँ विरोधियों का प्रश्न है, हम उन के लिए 105 हैं। वही हमारे इस देश की अवस्था है कि हमारे विचारों में भले ही मतभेद हों, बहुत से मामले और बहुत सी चीजों में भले ही हम में मतभेद हों, लेकिन जहाँ किसी दूसरे के विरोध का सवाल है हम भिन्न-भिन्न विचारों के रखने वाले, भिन्न-भिन्न मतों के लोग भिन्न-भिन्न तबकों के लोग एक हैं, उन मान्यताओं और सिद्धान्तों को बचाने और चलाने के लिए

मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि जहाँ तक हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर की, हमारी सरकार की और हमारे देश की सहनशीलता का प्रश्न है, वह चरम सीमा तक पहुँच गयी है। और जो सहनशील होते हैं उनकी परम्परा रही है मनोविज्ञान के हिसाब से भी और ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं के आधार पर भी कि ऊँच कर वह जो कदम उठाते हैं वह आखिरी कदम होता है। इस सम्बन्ध में भी महाभारत में एक दूसरी घटना आती है। श्रीकृष्ण ने शिशुपाल को वचन दिया था कि वह उसके मौ कसूर तक माफ करेगा। और जब तक वह 99 कसूर करता रहा तो दूसरे लोगों को आश्चर्य होता था कि श्रीकृष्ण क्यों उसे बर्दाश्त करते रहे हैं। इतने बड़े-बड़े कसूर करता था कि दूसरे लोग उलझन में पड़ जाते थे कि श्रीकृष्ण उसको सजा क्यों नहीं देते। जब उसके 99 कसूर पूरे हो गये तो श्रीकृष्ण ने उसको आगह किया और कहा कि तुम्हारे 99 कसूर हो चुके हैं। मैंने सौ कसूर तक माफ किया था। और जैसे ही उसने सौवाँ कसूर किया उसका सिर धड़ से अलग होकर जमीन पर पहुँच गया। मेरा खयाल है कि उसी तरह से हमारी सहनशीलता चरम सीमा पर पहुँच गयी है और अब हमारी कार्यवाही भी श्रीकृष्ण की कार्यवाही की तरह ही होगी और बीच की कोई बात उसमें नहीं होगी और कसूर करने वाले को फिर कसूर करने लायक नहीं रहने दिया जायगा।

कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं जो आज हमारे विरोधी हैं। वह यह समझते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान बहुत से मामलों में कमजोर रहा है, वह बंटा हुआ है और वे लोग हमारी कमजोरियों की तरफ हमारा ध्यान दिलाते हैं। उनसे मुझे अधिक नहीं कहना है, लेकिन मुझे विश्वास है कि वह दिन दूर नहीं है कि जब हमारे

देश के लोगों के चलते और हमारे जवानों के चलते और हमारे लड़ाकों के चलते उनसे जो आज हम पर शका प्रकट करते हैं, जो समझते हैं कि हम पीछे हैं, जो समझते हैं कि हम कायर हैं, जो समझते हैं कि हम लड़ नहीं सकते हैं, जो समझते हैं कि हम विजयी नहीं हो सकते हैं, यह गर्व के साथ कह सकेंगे कि :

“वह जो कहते थे कि हम पर मौत है

छाई हुई,

देख ले वह आज हम है मौत पर

छाये हुए।”

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Chitta Basu

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Sir, it is a great moment of history and trial for the nation. And this is because we are in the midst of a war. And this war is not of our choosing; this has been imposed on us. Sir, the nation is called upon, therefore, to meet this challenge of the aggression from the border across. This war is not only for the defence of our sovereignty and freedom and the integration of our country, but this war is for defence of the ideals of our life, in defence for which we have lived and we live today on our soil, that is, the ideals of Democracy, Freedom and Secularism. Therefore, this is a war in defence of our cherished ideals. And for this war there is the necessity of a total mobilisation because it is a total war. This war is not to be fought only by the brave Jawans, by the Defence Forces on the borders, but this war is to be fought by the man behind the plough, also by the man in the mill, and also by people of all walks of life. This is a total war, and it needs total mobilisation. It has to be borne in mind that this war is not directed against the people of Pakistan, because it is known to the world outside and it should be repeated again and again that we have been forced to take part in this war in defence of our ideals. And the success and the victory, about which I have no doubt, would also bring about the

[Shri Chitta Basu]

liberation and freedom of the people of Pakistan from the yoke of Yahyas and Bhuttos and will ensure them the freedom of shaping their own destiny in unfettered freedom.

**12 NOON** In this connection I also want to pledge our wholehearted support to all actions, all efforts of the Government. In that matter, I think, all the political parties of the country would sink and shape all their differences and strengthen the defence preparedness of our country.

I also want to address an appeal to all the peace-loving and freedom-loving people of the world to assert themselves and restrain their respective Governments not to feed the warlords of Pakistan and also ensure a climate in which there can be stability and peace in this region.

I once again want to urge upon the Government that the people of Bangla Desh who are fighting valiantly for the freedom of their country should be recognised and the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Bangla Desh also should be recognised without further delay because it is on account of Bangla Desh that we have been forced to take up this position. The fitting reply to the greatest warmongers of Pakistan would be to recognise immediately the Government of the people's Democratic Republic of Bangla Desh.

Sir, I conclude by once again appealing to the Government to recognise the People's Democratic Republic of Bangla Desh.

**SHRI B. D. KHOBRA** (Maharashtra) : Sir, since I have been elected as Deputy Chairman of this august House, I have refrained myself from expressing my views, during the last two years, on most important subjects that were considered in this House. But in view of the aggression that has been unleashed by Pakistan, I am constrained to express

my views. On behalf of my party—the Republican Party of India—I express our solidarity with the Government and the people of this country.

Sir, many spokesmen of different political parties have expressed their views on this solemn occasion. I would like to associate myself with the views that have been expressed by the political leaders of this great nation.

Some of the Members have expressed the view that we should take advantage of this opportunity and should try to teach a good lesson to Pakistan. May I remind this House that in 1965 when Pakistan committed aggression against our country, we had taught Pakistan a good lesson ? Perhaps Pakistan has forgotten that lesson. Pakistan has again committed aggression against our country, and I have no doubt in my mind that our jawans who are fighting on the front will definitely teach a good lesson to Pakistan which can never be forgotten by Pakistan.

Sir, our country has tried to help the liberation struggle in Bangla Desh and, therefore, the wrath and fury of the Pakistan military junta have been diverted from Bangla Desh to India. We will definitely face heroically the aggression that has been committed against our country and I have no doubt in my mind that the jawans who are fighting on the front will crush the Pakistani aggression with all the might and force at their command.

I would not like to take much time of the House. I would like to express only one view and that is, we have to face this aggression because of Bangla Desh.

There has already been inordinate delay in recognising Bangla Desh. If we have to face this aggression because of Bangla Desh, I feel the time has come now when there should be no further delay in recognising Bangla Desh.

I would like to express on this occasion unstinted, unqualified and unconditional support of my Party, the Republican Party of India and the weaker sections and the down-trodden people of this country, whom our Party represents. I may mention that the classes which we represent are poor; perhaps they may not be in a position to donate gold or money, but I can assure you, this House and through you the Prime Minister and the Government of India that our poorer people will shed the last drop of their blood and sacrifice their lives for maintaining independence, integrity and unity of this country.

I do not want to recall the experiences of the 1962 and 1965 aggression when the people of down-trodden community had exhibited their bravery and valour and had sacrificed their lives in defending the integrity and independence of this country. Leave apart the experiences of the 1962 and 1965 aggression; if you go through the pages of the history of this country—whether it was during the days of Shivaji or whenever there arose an occasion to defend the independence of this country—our down-trodden people have always sacrificed their lives to maintain and achieve the independence of this country. Therefore, on this solemn occasion, I would like to express on behalf of myself, and my Party our solidarity with the Government and I would like to assure that we are prepared to make any sacrifice that will be called upon us to do to maintain the independence and integrity of this country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, I wish to add a word in this hour of trial. The whole House and indeed the whole nation is solidly united. In this war which has been thrust upon us, there is no doubt that victory will be ours. Every individual, and every group, I am sure, will strive their utmost and will make their contribution to the achievement of this goal, the victory. Our cause is just. We are fighting

for certain ideals and certain principles. The military forces are the military forces of a great nation. They are assured that the whole nation is behind them and there cannot be any doubt that ultimately we shall succeed in preserving our ideals and principles.

#### PROCLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE 352 OF THE CONSTITUTION

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE/  
रक्षा मंत्री (SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-clause (b) of clause (2) of article 352 of the Constitution a copy of the Proclamation (G. S. R. No. 1789) of Emergency issued by the President on the 3rd December, 1971, under clause (1) of the said article.

#### RESOLUTION RE. PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY UNDER ARTICLE 352 OF THE CONSTITUTION

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE/  
रक्षा मंत्री (SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

“This House approves the Proclamation of Emergency issued by the President on the 3rd December, 1971, under clause (1) of Article 352 of the Constitution.”

*The question was proposed.*

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY): Sir, I will be very brief. The time has come to decide whether we should work as a great country or remain small. This is the crucial question before us, whether this country is going to be a country of giants or a country of dwarfs. There are moments in the history of nations when nations have got to achieve their greatness through