

to marriage and matrimonial causes among Christians be extended up to the last day of the next session."

**THE EAST PUNJAB AYURVEDIC
AND UNANI PRACTITIONERS
(DELHI AMENDMENT) BILL,
1962**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH (DR. D. S. RAJU): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the East Punjab Ayurvedic and Unani Practitioners Act, 1949, as in force in the Union territory of Delhi.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

DR. D. S. RAJU: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

**REPORT OF THE JOINT COM-
MITTEE OF THE HOUSES ON THE
SPECIFIC RELIEF BILL, 1962**

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Report of the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill to define and amend the law relating to certain kinds of specific relief.

**GOVERNMENT RESOLUTIONS RE
PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY
AND AGGRESSION BY CHINA—
*continued.***

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now the discussion on the two Resolutions moved by the Home Minister and the amendments will continue.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, may I know how long this discussion will continue? Is he going to reply today or tomorrow?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not know. I have a very long list.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think the discussion should continue.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I know. Everybody should be given a chance. So, I think probably we will have to sit tomorrow also and continue the discussion.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI LAL BAHADUR): The whole day tomorrow, Sir?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I could not say that just now. Do you suggest that?

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: I do not suggest it but I think that if possible, we should finish it by tomorrow evening. I mean that should be the latest.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I understand, Sir, that the other House, the bigger House, is going to have a night session. It seems that everybody will be given the chance to speak. It is a good thing. Let us join them in the night session.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not anticipate things. I will decide things.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not think you are excluding . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not including or excluding.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: There might be no night session in the Lok Sabha.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab): Sir, in this very serious and unprecedented situation that faces our country, it is essential and, in my opinion, wise that we should give our unstinted and willing support to the Prime Minister who carries a unique burden. He is, as you know, Sir, one of the two architects of our freedom. And when our freedom is endangered or menaced

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by an unscrupulous enemy, it is but meet and proper that we should turn to the only survivor and begetter, along with millions other people, of our freedom India under his leadership is acknowledged by the whole world to be the most stable democracy from the Sea of Marmara to the Sea of Japan. Not only is it a democracy but under his leadership it is a country which has stood for world peace and for world freedom. We must preserve this country in that particular light. And through you, Sir, I ask the Home Minister to function—I hope my hon. friend, the Home Minister, is listening to what I am saying . . .

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: I am.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL: I am very sorry to interrupt the two Ministers. I am asking the Home Minister through you to function and crush the little colonies of poisonous reptiles that for political ends are prepared to sacrifice the national interest. Above all, I do not want any member of the Congress Party, under whose banner we fought, we suffered and we succeeded in winning our freedom and independence, to be misled or misguided by people who for obvious reasons are playing politics with our fate and our future. The masses of our people, Sir, I know, are roused as never before in living memory, and yet a handful continue to conspire, to sow dissension, to indulge in witch-hunts, to spread false rumours, to endanger morale. I ask the Home Minister to act, under the enormous powers he now holds, but to act with circumspection and with discretion. We know that the dissidents are few and possibly insignificant and the supporters are many. Any man today who seeks to gain a party advantage out of our plight and our misfortune will do so as a traitor not only to India but to the concept of world peace.

I congratulate the leader of a certain party, who sits on my right, for a forthright speech—I am glad he has come back to the House—although I do not agree with much of what he said. But what am I to make of one of his colleagues, also a leader, who, on October 28, at a place called Anaj Mandi in Shahdara, spoke against the Prime Minister in unforgivable terms? He is reported to have said—I am going to repeat it so that every one of you may know exactly what was said—"Jawaharlal has betrayed the country by his stupidity and shamelessness." This individual roused the wrath of the audience to such an extent that the meeting was broken up and he himself ran away to hide in the local Arya Samaj Mandir.

And another of his colleagues has talked in very strange language indeed. He has said, "God forbid we do not have to redden our hands in the blood of our own brethren."

And here is another stalwart among the great patriots of India who, you would suppose, struggled to free India from the yoke of British Imperialism. He exhorts Mr. Nehru to get rid of Mr. Krishna Menon and says, "If he agrees, well and good. If not nobody is indispensable. . . . Far more important"—and I want you, Sir, to remember this phrase of his—"Far more important is it that India should continue independent and free than that Nehru should be Prime Minister. A great responsibility rests on the President. May he discharge it courageously."

This great patriot, so concerned with the freedom and independence of India today, was an able servant of the British, an I.C.S. officer carrying out the policies of a fascist British regime while we sat in British goals, and today as an ex. I.C.S. officer draws a handsome pension to which you, Sir, and I contribute.

I think the world ought to know the stuff that we Indians are made of.

The heart of the vast masses, the industrial workers, the peasants, the middle classes—their hearts are sound, and we are proud of them as we are proud of our soldiers who come from those very classes.

Let it not be forgotten, Sir, that India has often been invaded, temporarily occupied, but never wholly conquered by anybody—and then only with the help of such stooges as the officer whose name I withhold but whose written words I have referred to.

There is something in the will and determination of our people which is unbreakable. You, Sir, will easily recall how true this fact is when you remember that until the British went, here on the sacred soil of India there were the graves of seven vanished Empires. Nearly forty years ago, in my maiden speech in the Central Legislature, I referred to this fact. And now an eighth grave has been added to this cemetery of Empires. Let not the great people of China be misled by their Government, let them not underrate the will and determination of our people, equally great and ancient people wedded to peace and wielding the weapon of peace. As we did, we brought down a mighty Empire and then offered it our hand of friendship which today we value as we value the friendship of the U.S.A. and of the U.S.S.R. and of all others headed by that great leader of Africa, President Nasser of Egypt.

During the Spanish Civil War they coined a phrase which it is worth while to recall and to remember, "They shall not pass." And in this situation is it necessary—I ask my hon. friend the Home Minister—is it necessary to prolong this session? I have no doubt that each one of you, each one of the hon. Members here, no matter to which party they belong, is ready to offer to serve in any suitable capacity when called upon by the Government. In my old age I intend to offer myself for service in the front lines with the brave men

who guard our frontiers today. It is pertinent to ask: Why did the Chinese attack us? This is one of those—in American parlance—one of those 64-dollar questions to which there is no answer.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: 64,000-dollar question.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL: 64,000; my hon. friend knows arithmetic a little better than I do. He says 64,000; I accept the correction.

Now, we befriended them. We gave up the long established principles which governed our relations with Tibet. It had been agreed, as you know, by the British, by the Chinese and by the Tibetans that Tibet should be divided into two parts, an outer part and an inner part, the inner part nearer us, and it was agreed that no Chinese troops should be stationed near us, in the inner part, that is, in the borders that were nearer us, and that the administration should not be interfered with by the Chinese. Yet in 1954, in spite of the fact that the Chinese Government did not eventually accept the agreement, the protocol that was signed, not because they objected to this particular part of it but because they objected to the boundary that was drawn between Tibet and China in the north, we gave it all up; we made a present of it to the Chinese. No other country would have done that. Now, having agreed to this, the Chinese still attacked us breaking away from that friendship that we had for them. And for what reason?

You will notice, Sir, that the Chinese have not settled their score with Formosa. They have not settled their score with many other little areas, not with Hong Kong for instance. They have not settled their score with the little Portuguese enclaves that they have on their coast. And yet, not having attacked Hong Kong or the Portuguese colony, they attack us here, their only friends in the world. They have settled with Nepal. They have accepted the

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MacMahon Line as far as Burma is concerned. They have settled with Nepal, they have settled with Burma and also with Indonesia with which country they had very serious difficulties. We were a sort of window to the world as far as China is concerned, circumscribed and restricted as China is. There seems to be something wrong somewhere, either in the advice they receive from their own officials or in the policies they are laying down. This way lies ruin not only for them but perhaps for the world.

I would therefore say to them: 'Halt your attack. Withdraw lest the world should go up in flames'. And in this process we know that reaction begins to raise its head. Our foreign policy of peace, friendship and freedom based upon not allying ourselves with any military bloc is a policy recognised and appreciated even by the military bloc. This policy is already under attack. When you settle with Burma, with Nepal, with Indonesia, I say to the Chinese: Why not settle with us?

And there are voices heard even against this friendship between India and the Soviet Union. Our Soviet friends also realise now that no circumstance short of the threat of a world war, as happened recently, should or could disturb our friendship. This is what the "New Statesman" said recently and I entirely agree with what they said. In an article that they have written on November 5, its Moscow correspondent has written to the effect that it must have been certain emergence of a world crisis which compelled "Pravda" to write the article of October 23. Since then another article has been written on November 5 in the same newspaper which has taken a little different attitude. Recently, I think, that little work that we were able to do in Stockholm with the Soviet delegation had its effect. I do not claim any credit for any change of policy. But it is quite obvious. Up

to October 25 not one single word had appeared in the Soviet press regarding India-China relationship. Nevertheless, because of that little work it has so happened. I was happy, as says the correspondent of the "New Statesman" also, that the Soviet Union has reverted again to the neutral position that it had before October 25. As I said, Sir, in Stockholm I did this.

But there are other dangers. There are other countries trying to fish in troubled waters. There is our great neighbour, Pakistan. Now, I am, as you know, in origin a Pakistani. My heart beats for them just as it beats for my own country. They are my own people. I do not find any difference between the people of Pakistan and the people of India. They are brothers. They must remain brothers. I would recommend to them what Mr. Sherman Cooper, the Republican Senator, who was Ambassador of the United States in India for some time, has said:

"He said he hoped the Governments of India and Pakistan would find a way to set aside their own bitter feud and present a united front against the invaders.

".....the fact that China had aimed its thrust at India, but not at Pakistan was not significant. He said the Communists evidently were bent on seizing control of strategic mountain passes and other key points on the invasion route from the northeast. From these they would have the option of launching an all-out invasion down through the valleys and into the plains of India or of halting and using their new footholds to back up political and economic pressures on all of Southeast Asia, Pakistan included."

Now, this is the state of affairs and her leaders must halt and see that the necessity today is the preservation and safety of the sub-continent and

not the furtherance of any particular dispute, minor or major, that Pakistan might have with India.

And I hear some voices raised about going on with the war. Naturally, the profit-makers and the money-changers do not want war to cease. But all wars have an end and this war must come to an end sooner or later, the sooner the better. Someone here talked rather in a frightened way about the vast population and potential of China. So do we have. India's potential, agricultural and industrial, is great. We were men of peace. We did not believe that a friend would treacherously attack us. But a roused Indian nation would fight and succeed as did that brave little nation, Great Britain, when left friendless and alone. We are neither alone nor friendless.

Let us, Sir, get on with the work. We have to convert a peace-time economy in to a war-time basis. We must get all the world's engineering experience from wherever it is available, and we must develop new facilities. We must convert existing facilities. We must create immediately new energy sources. Now, this is a task that is of the highest importance, converting our peace-time economy into a war-time economy.

In agriculture, the 1965 target is fixed at 100 million tons. The present target is somewhere less than 80 million tons. You will remember, Sir, that the Ford Foundation's representative two years ago laid stress upon this matter and said that India must aim at at least 110 million tons. We are far behind that particular target. It is up to the hon. Minister for Food and Agriculture to take stock of this situation, not to rest on his oars, to see to it that this minimum target that has been fixed is achieved without any delay. Naturally all this would take a few months. But the old processes must cease. The leisurely method of approach in the administration, which we have inherited from the British, must go. Every I.C.S. officer that we have got

abroad must come back and serve his country. There is no necessity, as I have been saying all over, for all these I.C.S. officers to go abroad. They must come and serve in their own country, take charge of the administration. Sir, I suggest that there is no reason now for slow processes of administration to be continued. The processes of administration must be swift and all dead wood—and I look up to the Treasury Benches—must be pruned and cut right away.

AN. HON. MEMBER: From where?

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL: The heart of our country is sound. It is united as never before. It will march to final success whatever the difficulties and set-backs, and our cry must be: 'one policy, one nation, one leader.'

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI (Madras): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise today to support the motion brought forward by the Home Minister not only on my behalf but also on behalf of the party to which I have the honour to belong, the D.M.K. Very rarely indeed legislative bodies with one mind confer extraordinary powers on the Government, and the very fact that all the parties are united in arming the Government with emergency powers is proof positive that here has arisen a state when group and political differences ought to be submerged in the one cardinal principle of safeguarding the dignity, independence and freedom of the country.

Sir, I was reading the news about Chinese incursions while I was confined in a cell at the Central Jail, Vellore. Naturally, I was infuriated at the ruling party. But when I read the news about the incursions of the Chinese, the most depressing period of my jail life were those three or four days when I was reading that wave after wave of Chinese aggressors were crossing the frontiers and our warriors in spite of the valiant fight that they put forward were forced to give up certain places and

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certain posts. This is a time not for elaborate explanations of the situation. This is a time indeed not for discussing a motion. I would consider the motion brought forward by the Home Minister not as a motion to be discussed and debated, but we meet here today to solemnly pledge ourselves to the one great task of driving out the aggressor from our frontiers.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Therefore, it is that as soon as I was released on the 24th of last month, I issued a statement that the party to which I have the honour to belong, the D.M.K. Party, would put a moratorium on all its activities, agitational or otherwise, and direct its entire energy and place its entire apparatus at the disposal of the Government of India to thwart the ambitions of the aggressor.

That there is an aggressor, one need not doubt. Whatever may be the aim of the aggressor, our aim is clear. We want to safeguard the dignity of the country as well as the dignity of democracy. It is not usual at this stage to probe into the ideological causes of this great conflict. I do not consider this to be a mere incursion. I do not consider this to be a mere invasion. I think whether knowingly or unknowingly, we are now engaged in an ideological conflict. The world is divided today into two camps, the democratic and I shall call the other camp as undemocratic. I will not name them but I would say that there are two camps today in the world, the democratic and the undemocratic and there is, we know, the principle of co-existence. If democracy is to co-exist with other systems of government, democracy should show that in times of crisis and tension, it is as strong as, if not stronger than, the other systems of government. Therefore it is that the democratic bodies, forgetting political differences and political prejudices, even placing

bickerings into the background, have come forward to pronounce with one voice that aggression shall be defeated, that the Chinese shall be pushed back to their frontiers.

Sir, the news came as a shock to men of my type and when I say men of my type, I refer to people who did not have previous occasion of listening to or addressing august assemblies of this sort. I represent the man in the street. We were all along thinking that no country would dare to aggress this country because we were so confident that our principle of non-alignment, our principle of neutrality has been appreciated by intelligent countries of the world. We were also very confident because of the great friendship that was forged between China and India by the Prime Minister of India, the one man who championed the cause of China when China was friendless at the U.N.O.—at every international forum. And even in this House and the other House, it was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who stood as the champion of Chinese independence, it was he who was pleading for the entry of China into the U.N. Organisation and therefore it was that we had a legitimate confidence that there would be no clash at all between China and India. We thought that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would have instilled the full Bandung spirit in the Chinese mind but knowing the Chinese history we know that China and Chinese stand more for puzzle than for explanation, and therefore it is that while we were confident that the Bandung spirit has entered the very souls of the Chinese, when we read about the Chinese incursions and invasions, we were a bit shocked.

I realise that there are other parties which are not as shocked as myself because they have been issuing notes of warning from time to time from this and the other House that our policy of appeasement, that our policy of non-alignment, that our policy of neutrality, that this policy

of decrying military blocs and pacts is going to land us not in the land of happiness but in the land of danger and, therefore, it is that some of the Members of the other political parties who were issuing warnings, rose up in this House and in the other House to say that what they had feared all along had come to pass but even in that, there was a note of restraint and responsibility. That can only be found in the noblest of democratic assemblies and in this House all these 3 or 4 days all the discussions that took place and the sentiments expressed were so responsible and there was so much of restraint that the Prime Minister has come forward with a courageous statement to say that at a suitable time an enquiry would be conducted into the nature of the unpreparedness and the persons responsible for that. It was only the most courageous of men that could have come forward to order an enquiry into it and whatever may be the differences that we as opposite political parties may have, and we do have differences with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the head of the administration, as the Leader of the Congress Party, nobody doubts his claim to the great role of being the redeemer and resurrector of this nation and as the repository of the ennobling ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. Therefore it is that when some of us offer our suggestions, it is with that noble spirit that the democratic leader comes forward half-way to meet us half-way and considers the suggestions given by us.

We have to find out one thing because it is very necessary to strengthen our war effort. We have to find out the exact attitude behind the Chinese incursion or invasion. Why should China fight over the frontier when this country has been prepared to sit round a table and discuss the frontier question? Why should the Chinese come wave after wave and occupy such near places as Tawang, dig trenches there, make Tawang into a military camp and await the proper

moment to leap forward? What was it that was done by this country to infuriate China and why should the Chinese people think that their frontier lies very near Uttar Pradesh? If we probe into the attitude of the Chinese, I think we will have to come to the other problem which I mentioned earlier that this is an ideological conflict. The Chinese think that our policy of non-alignment, that our policy of neutrality means weakness. They think that we are left without friends. They think that because we are wedded to the principle of Panchsheel we cannot fight. I would say that the Chinese have got a defective sense of grammar. We have been all along saying that we will not fight. That does not mean that we cannot fight. Our warriors at the valley of the immortals have laid down their lives and our tributes and homage we have paid to those warriors who have laid down their lives. More than to them, to their families we owe our homage and tributes. More men are there with increased striking power and we will have to prove to the Chinese that when we say that we will not fight, it does not mean that we cannot fight. Therefore it is that more and more arms ought to be supplied to the warriors there and the whole country should stand alongside those warriors at the front. During war time the home front is as important as the actual battle-field.

In the minds of men today we find a remarkable unity of purpose and a determination which only doughty warriors can command. The resources of the people and the response of the people are pouring forth spontaneously and in increasing measure. But we will have to ponder whether this is enough. Our Prime Minister has stated that it is going to be not a war for months or years, but it is going to be a prolonged affair. If it is going to be a prolonged affair, are we not legitimate in demanding that we should formulate our policy to meet not only a prolonged struggle but also the situation when China thinks it can

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declare war on India? They are even today saying that there is no war between India and China. Their agents of propaganda are saying that the real friendship between the Indian people and the Chinese people has not been disturbed, that they have occupied only their own territory and not Indian territory. Sir, the peace offensive of China is as terrible as its war offensive. Therefore it is that we should be clear in our minds as to how, where and to what extent, we should commandeer the resources of this country. True it is that men and women even in the lowest strata and also from the highest strata have come forward with their help and contributions. But while the poor men have come forward and given princely sums, the Princes have been very poor in their contributions. Therefore it is that I would say that the amount spent on the privy purses of the Princes ought to be cut down for one year, at least for one year, so that the man in the street may know that this is a time when everyone is prepared to sacrifice in a graded manner.

SHRI ANAND CHAND (Himachal Pradesh): On what will they live, if it is cut down entirely, those who have no reserves?

AN HON. MEMBER: You will have to rehabilitate them.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: If the condition of the Princes is so precarious, we shall certainly help them.

SHRI ANAND CHAND: Thank you.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: If there is an appeal from this House, the Princes will not be pleading as my hon. friend over there was pleading, because a Prince is not only a titular head, but he should be a Prince in character, be noble in character, and when the whole country is faced with such a danger, it will not be beyond his capacity or ability to give up his privy purse.

Another thing that I would suggest is that if it is going to be a prolonged war, we have to consider what ought to be the method by which we should arm our men. How are we going to arm our men at the front if the front is to be extended, as I am afraid it will be extended? What sort of weapons are we going to supply to them? I was very happy to hear the Prime Minister tell us the other day that production is going apace, that factories are working round the clock and that more and more automatic weapons are being produced. But we should remember that while we go on producing them, China will not be keeping quiet. Perhaps, they are producing more weapons today. Because they live behind the iron curtain we do not know their real strength. We do not know their potential strength and we do not even know who are their potential friends. Therefore, I would suggest that we should draw on the goodwill of the forty and odd countries who have expressed their willingness to help us. And in drawing upon their goodwill, the principle of non-alignment should not stand in our way. This country exists not for non-alignment, but non-alignment exists for this country. Therefore, if we find that non-alignment stands in the way of the security of this country, I would far rather forgo the principle of non-alignment than forgo the independence of the country.

Sir, I may also point out that though theoretically the principle of non-alignment is unassailable, the practical implementation of this principle has left grave doubts in the minds of the powerful countries of the world. Non-alignment, certain countries think—and they have got a right to think so—is only a cloak, a convenient cloak we are having. I do not remember the name of the person who made it, but a statement was made that our principle of non-alignment is only a method or policy adopted for getting aid from both the blocs. That is the result of the practical implementation of the principle of non-

alignment. Perhaps, our representatives at the U.N.O. have woefully failed to impress on the minds of the Powers the basic implications of this principle of non-alignment. I do not name anybody. But I would remind this House that a cloud of suspicion has been created by some of the words and some of the deeds that we have indulged in, in the last ten or twelve years. Therefore, I would ask the Government to choose such men to the U.N. Organization as can place before the world a clear enunciation of the implication of the principle of non-alignment. I do not say that such and such person should be sent, nor do I say that we should avoid such and such men. The country knows well who ought to be sent and who ought not to be sent. Perhaps, the country may not know who ought to be sent, but the country knows who ought not to be sent. Therefore, I say that though the principle of non-alignment as such is theoretically correct, in the practical application of that principle, there ought to be some liberalisation. What should be the guiding principle in the application of this non-alignment? I find from the dictionary that alignment is good and men conversant with motor cars would know that without alignment a car never moves. Therefore, non-alignment is a negative thing and it should not bar our progress. If by non-alignment we mean that we are not going to allow ourselves to be placed in or dragged into any military bloc, I can understand and appreciate it. I do not want India to be dragged into any military pact. But if it means that we will not move and move in the right direction, then it means that we have not understood clearly or that we have not been told clearly the implications of this principle of non-alignment. Therefore, I would say that all the democratic forces should align themselves. All the democratic forces should align themselves in counteracting the baneful effect of the undemocratic forces.

Therefore, I suggest that while drawing on the goodwill of the forty

and odd countries that have declared their intention towards our country, we should send a representative delegation to the United States of America, to the United Kingdom, to Canada and to such other countries as are friendly towards us, so that we can build up an arms aid consortium with those countries. We cannot pay for all the arms that we need. Nor do I think we can go on producing more and more arms as more and more Chinese invade our country. Therefore, I suggest that this "arms aid consortium" should be established and a goodwill mission for this purpose should be sent forthwith to the U.S.A., the U.K., Canada, a representative delegation preferably, with members not from the ruling party but from the opposition parties. I say this because we should show to the world outside that it is not only the ruling party but all the other parties also are interested in maintaining the Government's policy. I would say that we may even call for volunteers from other countries that are favourably disposed towards us. There is nothing wrong in that. There is nothing derogatory in that. I do not mean to say that our battles are to be fought by other soldiers. But I would very much like the world to know that there are people who are prepared to lay down their lives for the cause of democracy. Therefore it is that I would suggest that this goodwill delegation that I propose should tour these countries, collect funds, collect arms, and also collect volunteers, so that China may know that our principle of neutrality is not something negative but something that is positive, that our principle of non-alignment is not negative but positive, that our attitude has created such an amount of goodwill in the minds of democratic countries that we are able to draw from the bank of goodwill, from this international bank of goodwill, at our will and pleasure. These are some of the suggestions that I want the ruling party to consider.

Madam, I am very glad that we have had an assurance from the Govern-

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ment side that the price level will be kept because the home front depends entirely upon the keeping up of the price level. War creates scare only when people find the necessities of life denied to them or when the prices of necessities of life are soaring high. Therefore, if the Government comes forward with the assurance that the price level will be kept up within the reach of the masses, then the home front will be very strong and very solemn. As far as the food front is concerned, the Food Minister has assured us that we need have no misgivings about the stock but stock is not as important as future production and, therefore, future food production should be at a very high level and the very pertinent and very timely suggestion given by the hon. Shri V. T. Krishnamachari about the food front may be looked into. I would also suggest that when we want the peace-time economy to be geared to war-time economy, measures ought to be formulated and a Directorate of Economic Affairs should be established because it is not very easy to correlate peace-time economy to war-time economy; peace-time economy is based on plenty and war-time economy is based on scarcity and, therefore it is that a Directorate of Economic Affairs should be set up to correlate peace-time economic machinery to war-time purposes. For all these things, I would suggest that the ruling party should take other political parties into its confidence. I am not thinking in terms of Defence Committees and the like but I am pointing out about an intimate contact between the different political parties and the ruling party. Any suggestion ought to be welcome; any contribution ought to be welcome and any suggestion ought to be welcome by the ruling party so that we can move not as this or that political party but as a solid phalanx to meet the Chinese attacks.

Madam, I do not think I should travel over controversial ground but one hon. Member did take us into that controversial subject. He was

saying that our attitude towards the Tibetan crisis was not wrong. I beg to differ from that. We have got very vital interests in Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal because they form the natural buffer States of India. You will find ample evidence in history of the Yellow peril, whether it is during the Huan Dynasty or during the revolutionary period of Sun Yat Sen, China has become the Yellow peril and a world-wide danger. Of course, now there has been a mixture of yellow and red and I do not know what colour it comes to but the Yellow peril is well known and whenever China becomes strong, it spreads its covetous eyes on the frontiers of other countries. I read the speech of a very great dignitary of China after the Tibetan incident. Instead of saying that Tibet belongs to China, he indulged in a curious logic. He said that Tibet belongs to China and Bhutan, Sikkim and Ladakh belong to Tibet and, therefore, Ladakhis, Bhutanese and Sikkimese are Tibetans and that they must come to the great motherland of China. Madam, if this theory is translated into action it may not be merely a sort of prolonged conflict but it may even lead to prolonged war and you should be prepared for all eventualities. Therefore, it is that I suggest that we should forthwith formulate schemes for taking into our fold the democratic countries and I hope that they would come.

Madam, I read the other day the appeal issued by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. Gopala Reddi, asking newspapers to come forward to donate space. I forthwith offer to donate as much space as the Minister desires in all the dailies and weeklies which our party has got but while donating this space I would request the Information and Broadcasting Minister to gear up the radio to war-time purpose rather than to peace-time purpose. I was very much pained to hear time in and time out our Radio telling us, "Chusul is still in our hands" as if it is a re-

grettable thing that it is in our hands. Our radio should become the charge-house for emanating propaganda of the right sort to counteract the propaganda of the other side. Why not we think of asking the members of different political parties to talk over the radio? Why not we get our jawans, some of them, to talk of the difficult terrain and the dangers that they have to face? Why not we ask our people who have donated to come and announce their donation over the radio stating that they have donated so much and asking others to donate? Madam, propaganda is such a delicate weapon that today we find that non-democratic countries know full the implications of propaganda rather than democratic countries. Therefore, while I am prepared to offer space in the papers which our party has got, we have got two or three dailies and ten or fifteen weeklies, I am saying that the propaganda system ought to be geared up and the other parties should also be given proper place so that we might march as one people wedded to one principle, having one aim and that is to chuck out the Chinese and safeguard the country.

Madam, I do not want to take much more time of this House. I would have very much liked this Session to end with this plea so that we might meet again, come forward and discuss other items. If we go on discussing other items and other Bills, I think we are disturbing the solemnity of the occasion and, therefore it is that in supporting the Resolution brought forward by the Home Minister, I enter the name of the D.M.K. in the roll-call of honour that is being now formulated for the safety, for the dignity and future of this country and this nation.

Thank you.

1 P.M.

SHRI ANUP SINGH (Punjab):
Madam Deputy Chairman, my hon. friend, Diwan Chaman Lall, made a

reference to some early invaders who came to this country. It is perfectly true they came often in large numbers; they came surreptitiously. But I think there is one notable difference between what we are witnessing today and what we witnessed in the country before. Nobody in the earlier periods, however, had any pretensions or friendship with India. They came as buccaneers; they came as freebooters; they looted here and there and they went back. Some of them consolidated their positions but this is certainly the most unprecedented phenomenon that we are witnessing today that up till the very last minute the Chinese proclaimed to be our friends and all of us have been chanting "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" which was ostensibly designed to lull us into complacency and indifference while the Chinese Government and the Chinese people were mobilising their resources.

Madam, a great deal has been said about the Chinese people and there have been some speculations as to their real motives. I do not think anyone of us is in a position to assess accurately or even approximately the inner motives that have prompted the Chinese to launch this premeditated and unprovoked aggression on a friendly country. And I think it becomes all the more tragic when we look back to the last few years. I remember in 1942—or was it 1943—when General Chiang Kai-shek and Madam Chiang Kai-shek came to India I happened to be in New York at that time. The East West Association headed by Pearl Buck organised a great banquet, one of the biggest that I have ever attended, in commemoration of the growing friendship between India and China. Mr. Wendell Wilkie who had toured the world presided. I represented unofficial India and the late Shri Shanmugam Chetty spoke for official India and the theme of all speeches, as I remember, was that the growing friendship between India and China would constitute the biggest and the strongest bulwark

[Shri Anup Singh.]

against instability and aggression in Asia. These speeches were played up over the radio and the Press and they were welcomed. That was very long ago. Subsequently, or rather about the same time, when the Japanese invaded China, the Indian National Congress passed a Resolution exhorting the people to boycott Japanese goods both as a protest against Japanese aggression and as a mark of sympathy for the Chinese people. Some of you might have read the exchange of letters that took place between Rabindranath Tagore and Mr. Noguchi, the Japanese philosopher. I remember distinctly in one of the letters—I speak from memory and cannot quote the exact words—which Rabindranath Tagore wrote to Noguchi, he said, "I subscribe to the idea that Asia should belong to the Asian people but unfortunately I do not fully agree with you; when you are simultaneously attacking the Chinese you are laying the foundations of Asia for Asians on the skulls of the Chinese and if and when you come to India the superstructure might be finished with the Hindus and Muhammadans" Who would have thought at that time that the day will come within a few years when the Chinese will be building a new superstructure and invading India? I mention these facts to bring home to us the very anomaly and the tragedy of the situation with which we are confronted.

Not very long ago I came across an essay written by Bertrand Russell in 1922—40 years ago. The title of the essay is "Chinese Character" and Russell at that time was Professor of Philosophy at the Peking University. And I think two or three of his observations are really worth quoting. Mr. Russell was very eulogistic about the Chinese people. I do not know what he will think about them now but he said, "Among their great ethical qualities I place first their pacific temper which seeks to settle disputes on grounds of justice rather than by force." Pacific temper. Then

he goes on to say, "Seldom is a clash pushed to its ultimate brutal issue." Then Mr. Russell gave the other side of the picture. He said, "There is however another side to their character. They are capable of fighting in excitement often of a collective nature. It is this element in the character of the Chinese which makes them in spite of their habitual caution the most reckless gamblers in the world." This was said in 1922.

Now, a number of explanations have been given as to the real motives of the Chinese. I also want to cite a conclusion arrived at by some of the most noted political scientists of America. Somebody might say that they were prejudiced but they were eminent scholars and they were engaged in a serious study of the "Future Prospects of Communist China." That is the name of the book and it was written in 1955. This is their conclusion: "The final objective of Communist China makes expansion of Peking's authority in Asia compatible with the avoidance of major diversion of domestic reserves and the maintenance of a political and ideological base for later assertion of leadership in Asia." Then they go on to say, "The Chinese Communists hope to lay such great pressures on the Asian States through conventional political efforts to pose as the leading power of Asia." This then is the phenomenon that we are confronted with—a unified, confident, ambitious group of men deeply committed to the use of totalitarian techniques who have mastered the mainland of China and I think in view of what has transpired, in view of what we are witnessing today, this conclusion arrived at by a group of eminent scholars is amply vindicated.

Now, Madam, the problem which we are facing requires, as all of us are agreed, the united unbreakable will of the Indian people. While the Chinese have attacked us on the military front they have also launched a most vicious and calculated propaganda to demoralise our people and

to win their case before the rest of the world. I fully subscribe to the idea expressed by some speakers that our propaganda front both in the country and particularly outside, is very weak. I met a friend who has just recently returned from a very extensive tour of the African countries and he has come back with the feeling that it was rather depressing that a vast majority of the people there do not know exactly what the Indian stand is. Many of the leaders of the countries that had got independence recently complained to him that whereas the Chinese Embassies went out of their way to invite those leaders and to personally explain to them the Chinese point of view our Indian Embassies did not take the corresponding trouble or the initiative. He also said that the literature distributed by the Chinese was far more effective. Of course, we can say that we do not compete with them in telling lies but I do not think that this prevents us from telling the truth to the people. The Chinese have put out a number of pamphlets but unfortunately our Ministry of External Affairs has not put out even one which will compare favourably with theirs. We have monumental documents, but it requires a great deal of research to get at the basic facts. I would suggest, therefore, that our Information Department in the Ministry of External Affairs should immediately utilise the services of some competent people either within the Ministry itself or some journalists who are capable of presenting and putting forward our case in a pungent, readable and simple language. I think that should be done.

I also support the view expressed by the leader of the Opposition Party here that a deputation of goodwill should be sent to some of these countries. Objection might be raised immediately that we have our official Embassies there. We have our men stationed there. But I can assure you from my personal experience that the voice of an unofficial delegation

is invariably stronger than anything that might come out from our Embassies. People do not read those things and many times they throw them into the wastepaper basket. But the visit of an unofficial delegation will dramatise the issue, it will be highlighted and it will enable us to put forward our point of view before the other countries.

Then, I would say that although I am temperamentally against any kind of military conscription, I think there are times when such inhibitions should be brushed aside. I think we are in for a long struggle and we should not fool ourselves any longer that we can cope with the situation by still postponing that we will do it tomorrow or the day after. We do not want to be caught napping again. I would, therefore, urge the Government to seriously consider the possibility of mobilising all our resources, including conscription of man-power, to meet any contingency that we might face.

Then, I would commend the example of the Punjab Cabinet. It has been reported today that they have cut down their number from thirty to whatever the High Command might allow. I think it is a good example and it should be followed by other States.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL
(Gujarat): Why not at the Centre?

SHRI ANUP SINGH: I include the Centre also. If there is any possibility of eliminating some people who are not very useful, why not? But I think in the States particularly the Ministries are rather overloaded.

Finally, I would end with a little couplet, which is very old. I am sure most of you are familiar with it, that whenever the honour of any individual or country is involved, all other considerations are set aside. The couplet is:—

इस जहाने फानी में यों दिल को बहलाया करो,
आबरु मिटने से पहले आप मिट जाया करो,

SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, what an irony of fate that we are meeting and discussing these Resolutions in this hour of national emergency. Each one of us has without any reservation extended our fullest support to the Resolutions and undoubtedly I also join in the long list to praise the jawans, who have laid down their lives. I am sure the rehabilitation of the jawans is also being done by the Government and that it is under their active consideration. The visit of the President of India to Tezpur has given a great encouragement to those persons and I am sure that such visits will not only be continued but will also be more and more.

The Chinese interpretation of Panch-sheel, to which they were willing partners, has been exposed, not once but times without number and it is a matter of great regret that the Panch-sheel which had been accepted by them so openly has been violated. I remember a couple of years ago one military person conveying to me the information that when Mr. Chou En-lai had visited Khadakvasala, he was accompanied by a number of Chinese soldiers and other men of his group. At that time they were carrying certain cameras in their belts and photographs of all the arms and ammunition that were lying there in the different armouries were taken by them. During lunch time, as is the usual custom with the Armed Forces, when they put their belts and revolvers on the hangers, one of the Indian Army personnel went and scrapped all the photographs. This information also went to the Defence Department and I do not know if it was not considered enough that the Chinese intentions were quite different. I would also like to refer to the statement made by Mao when he referred to Tibet as the palm of China and as my friend, Mr. Annadurai said, he did say that NEFA, Nepal, Bhutan Sikkim and Ladakh were all considered to be the fingers of China. Not only this. In

Pakistan also automatic weapons were imported by them. As had been said only yesterday, Pakistan's military competence is even now better. In spite of the fact that so much of arms and ammunition have come from America and other countries, there is not the slightest doubt that Pakistan's military power is definitely very much more than what India has got even now. But I am one of those who feel that a long discussion on such delicate matters is not in the interests of the country, nor have I any intention to say much about it. In fact, I feel that a lot has already been said.

It is necessary that a sense of urgency is created, a sense of urgency particularly in the field of defence production. I know from personal knowledge that a number of industries can be converted straightway from peace-time production for civilian consumption to war-time production. But it is rather regrettable that nothing much has been said to the industry as yet as to what they are expected to do. Particularly, in the case of fertilisers, they can be shifted to acids, chemicals can be converted into explosive materials and the production of man-made fibres can be switched on to tyre cords and other war materials. Not only that. The most important is steel. If I remember rightly, during the last war Tatas and the other iron and steel companies manufactured 110 types of steel for the sake of war. Is it not possible to convert straightway whatever steel we manufacture—it should have been converted much earlier—to suit the needs of the war as we require it?

The Prime Minister, in one of his statements yesterday, said about compulsory military training. Nothing could be said and endorsed more than that. I would add to it only one thing, viz., girls who are studying in colleges should be given compulsory training in nursing also, because training in

nursing is as important as military training in a war. I am sure Government must have ensured the necessary measures—and not as it happened in the past when we were a little far from the realities, as has been said,—so that we are ready to meet any attack. The risk of air raids cannot be minimised and there can be no doubt that that might also be one day a surprise. In such a case all arrangements should be made for the protection of our strategic industries, particularly the steel and other industries, the C.O.Ds and other Defence Department installations which are most essential to help us to fight the war. I am pointing out from a little personal knowledge that a lot needs to be done in that respect.

I am one of those who believe that this is the time when relationship with Soviet Russia is one of the most important things for us to maintain. Never, in fact, has been the time more important than it is now. We are most grateful to the Western Powers, particularly the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries which have come to our rescue at this hour. There is a statement that was made by a United States Judge when he said that in times to come there would be six Powers in the world, four in the East and two in the West. He referred to the East to mean India, Japan, China and Russia. There is need today to see that our friendship with Russia is strengthened to maintain balance of power in South East Asia. They may give us the aid that they have promised or they may not give us the aid. But their friendship is more valuable, which we must maintain, and we cannot also forget the fact that Russia's relations with China are not any good either. Some sort of an undeclared war is going on between them also particularly in relation to the Sinkiang problem and also the Outer Mongolia issue. In this light our friendship with Japan has got to be strengthened. Japan may be very helpful to us in developing industrial ties which we need most for

the defence and for preparation for the war.

The Chinese expansionist policy has been acknowledged everywhere, and I can say that not only it has shocked the nations which are helping us but it has shocked the entire world including the Communist world. No greater blow to the Communist ideology could have been struck than what the Chinese expansion has done. It may be that blood is thicker than water, and our Communist friends and Communist countries may not openly and officially agree to it, but the fact remains that this expansion policy of Communist China has created and given a great set-back to the Communist ideology. The Prime Minister's statement that it was Chinese expansion and not Communist expansion is one worthy of great appreciation.

Our relationship with Pakistan is also a very important one. It particularly pains us when we read in the papers that not only they have objected to the supply of arms to us but they have also stopped and put a ban on allowing arms and ammunitions by road from Turkey. In this hour of crisis which is bound to affect each and everyone in this region sooner or later, I do hope that better sense will prevail in our neighbouring countries and that the old bond of friendship and brotherly feelings that we all possess will not only be strengthened but will help each one of us in stopping this brutal aggression that has been committed on us.

Madam, economic sanctions by the Commonwealth countries also need consideration. While I would reiterate our gratefulness to the Western bloc for the great help that they have given us, I would request our Home Minister and the Government of India that they should also approach the Governments of Canada and Australia particularly to see that the supplies of wheat and other essential articles that are even now being sent by them to China are stopped. Undoubtedly we

[Shri Sitaram Jaipuria.]

all know that China is hungry today. Their men are dying, but for them men's lives are no consideration. The supply of wheat to China on the one side and the supply of arms and aids to us on the other side to some extent mitigates and nullifies their support to us, and I am sure that if the matter is brought to their notice, they will not only think over it but also consider it very sympathetically and will see that a embargo on supplies of food-grains to China is put straightway.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us all that the entire country is with the Government and has been extending all its support. Particularly about the industries, I can say that the industries are already considering—and many of them have already announced their donations—a voluntary charge for the National Defence Fund. But more than the question of contribution to the Defence Fund is that, as has been said, the sum total of individual wealth is national wealth. Similarly, the money that belongs to any individual belongs to the country and belongs to the State and to nobody else. I am sure that not only the industries but the Princes, as has been said a little earlier, will contribute, as some of them have already done, to the maximum of their capacity, because this is not a contribution, as I would say, but it is an obligation that each and every one of us is supposed to be under without asking for it. I for one have no intention of making it a public or a political issue for saying anything. I am a businessman. I know only to work, not to speak, and I am prepared to offer my services. I know a little bit how to run industries. I know also a little bit how to administer. If there is any State Government which wants my services to run any industries or any defence establishments anywhere, I am prepared to offer my services to the Government. If there is a loss, it would be mine. If there is a profit, it would be Government's. I will run it so long as the Government wants me to run it. One of my cousins has

already been sent to the army after the emergency was declared. So, whatever else is required from the industry all over the country will be available to the Government without the slightest hesitation.

Madam, leadership is one of the most important things. When we ask for help from Western countries, a pure and simple demand of ours is not going to give us the desired help. We have got to be specific. We have got to tell them what help we exactly require. The same question also arises with regard to help inside the country. To the country at large we have got to say what exactly we require from which person, from which society, from which particular State, from which community and from which group of persons. It is only then that that particular help will be available to the Government and the resources can be canalised in a manner which will be best suited to the country's needs. In fact I would say that when the question of payment comes, we should not bother about it. If the Western countries are prepared to give us help on long lease, we should accept it. If they are prepared to give us on any other basis, deferred payment basis,—they themselves are saying that payment is no consideration—we on our part should try to do the maximum that we can do. We are a great country and we must behave too like a great nation.

In the end, Madam, I will only quote what Mahatma Gandhi said: We do not want to attack, but if we are attacked, we will defend and defend till last.

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Punjab):
Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the two Resolutions moved in this House by our Home Minister. I fully associate myself with the high tributes paid to our brave soldiers by my colleagues of this House.

In the annals of the military history of the world the records of the soldiers of the Indian Army had already been

brilliant. In fact the Indian soldiers ranked amongst the best soldiers of the best armies of the world. The Indian Army of the pre-independence period used to be completely isolated from our nation. But even then our soldiers fought bravely and achieved many brilliant victories fighting under their alien commanders who could not even speak their language correctly. Patriotism which is the greatest and noblest human virtue to propel and inspire the soldiers for the highest sacrifices used to be considered a crime in the Army of those days. The only force which impelled our soldiers to fight bravely under very difficult conditions and situations was their strong discipline and their loyalty and devotion to their commands. It is for the first time now that our soldiers imbued with the spirit of patriotism and dedication to their country have entered the battlefield under the leadership of their own brave, patriotic and able commanders, with a burning desire, and an unshakable faith and determination to kick out the devils from our sacred soil. It is for the first time that our soldiers have been encouraged and inspired to find that not only the love and affection of the nation, not only the appreciation and admiration of the nation, but the will and the determination and all the wealth and resources of the entire nation are solidly behind them, with them and in them. It is very difficult and in fact it cannot be done; in these modern and national wars, no dividing line can be drawn between the soldiers and the civilians. We are all inseparably united and moulded into one whole. This supreme realisation of our oneness has penetrated deep into the minds of the entire nation. The soldiers and the civilians have been truly integrated, and I think that with this process alone, half of the battle is already won. A nation which possesses an undefeatable will power can never, never be defeated. Let the Chinese invaders understand this that final victory will be ours. There is no one in this country who has the slightest doubt about it. We will not

rest or relax till we have killed or kicked out the last invader from our soil.

It is about time that we frankly confessed that whatever initial setbacks we have so far suffered on our fronts are due only to some pious but unrealistic policies being pursued in Delhi but not due to any fault or lack of fighting spirit of our soldiers. We have been in a way the victims of our own goodness. We forgot George Bernard Shaw's famous words that "it is dangerous to be too good in this world." But thank goodness, now having learnt a bitter lesson from a treacherous enemy, practical wisdom has dawned upon us. From heavenly ideals and pious hopes, we have been compelled, even now against our own will, to land in a world of bitter realities. And it is now for the first time that we are bravely and squarely facing our enemy under the inspiring, able and determined leadership of our tried and trusted leader, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. He has led us in the past from victory to victory and no one in this House or in the country has any doubt about it that his this victory will be the greatest because this battle is also the greatest. Our cause is just, sacred and noble. We are fighting this battle also for world peace. We want to teach a lesson to a cunning enemy that aggression does not and will never pay. It is a battle between right and might. The right backed by mighty might is going to smash the evil might of an uncivilised, brutish, treacherous and notoriously mean enemy.

I must congratulate Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister of Punjab, for his prompt announcement followed by a practical plan to take full responsibility for the families and children of those soldiers who will suffer and sacrifice in this war. In this respect I will request our Home Minister to advise the other Chief Ministers to take similar steps in their respective States. That statement of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon had an amazing effect upon our soldiers. I

[Shri Mohan Singh.]

have met very many of them and practically every one has told me this. And why not? Is it not our responsibility to look after the children and families of those brave sons of our country who go to the fronts, fight, suffer and sacrifice everything there? I am sure, every State will follow the noble example set by the Chief Minister of Punjab.

I want to divert the attention of the House to another important matter. The aggression by China has practically drawn all the attention of the Government and also of the country. Yet, there is another equally dangerous dictator sitting on the fence and waiting for his opportunity. I hope—and I am sure—that our Government is fully aware of it and is properly prepared to meet the evil designs of the dictator of Pakistan. India's difficulty will be his opportunity, and we cannot afford to risk another surprise attack and be caught unprepared once again. I think we must be prepared to fight this war on two fronts. Whether we like it or not, we cannot help it. The only course left open to us is to be prepared to meet this danger bravely with strength, resolution and determination. To us in Punjab this danger appears to be a very realistic one for we feel that for the Pakistan dictator it is a question of now or never. In Punjab we are ready and duty-bound to take the brunt of any aggression from this border. But I do not think we are adequately prepared for that. We can raise and train also an army of about 20 lakhs from Punjab alone. Fortunately, our Chief Minister is doubly conscious of this heavy responsibility which has fallen on him. We want nothing else but only arms, arms, more arms and yet more arms. You give us the arms that we require and we give you complete security and guarantee that there will be no aggression from that front. We must not take lightly the unholy alliance between the dictators of Pakistan and China. Fortunately, the spirit in

Punjab is unsurpassed and wonderful. Only if the Centre can feed this spirit with arms and ammunition, I assure you that the aggressive designs of the dictator on this border will be sealed for ever.

Now, I want to say a few words about our Communist friends. Unfortunately, none of them is present in the House. I welcome the statement which they have issued, but it is only a step in the right direction. I do not doubt the patriotism or genuine desire of Shri Dange, along with some more comrades, to bring his party to the right lines. But, unfortunately, the number of such comrades in this party is very limited. One is shocked to read that even in their national executive there were quite a good number of them who opposed this resolution and who were not ashamed to associate themselves with our enemy. I cannot understand—if they were so patriotic—why they did not expel those members from their party. I would ask them, if there were any such elements in any Communist country, would it be possible for them to move about alive in that country?

When we want to fight foreign aggression, we cannot afford to have amongst us enemy's friends, his well-wishers and even his active helpers. I fail to understand the mentality of our own Government. We allow them to live amongst us, and when it becomes dangerous for them to move about, dangerous from the public, we give them protective detention and treat them as our State guests. Such elements in our country must be publicly tried and publicly punished. This is the least we can do for them. We must be firm. There should not be any doubt left in anyone's mind that we mean business and we will not tolerate any such nonsense where the honour and security of our country is concerned.

I can understand and also tolerate the attitude of the Chinese who are living in our country, but I cannot understand the attitude of our own Gov-

ernment. Why we are tolerating such people who pose as Indians and are acting as Chinese. If we cannot give them that treatment which they so thoroughly deserve, then the least I would suggest that we should do for them is to send them to China and ask them to fight against us openly, and not stab us from the rear. One enemy amongst our ranks is more dangerous than a thousand enemies who are fighting us from abroad.

So, this Resolution, I feel, is only meant for public consumption because an Indian Communist always places the interests of his party before the interests of his country, and when an Indian Communist abruptly turns patriotic, we should always beware of him.

Madam, I think no nation can be truly moulded, consolidated and integrated till it has fought a national war and has defeated a powerful enemy. In the course of our preparation to defeat the present invader, I am sure we will achieve something very noble and very desirable for our nation which in centuries of peaceful life we could not have achieved. Destiny has thrown us into the battle-field, we are on a great historical trial, and the way our nation has risen to the occasion, the way other friendly nations have boldly come to our help, I have no doubt in my mind that despite the initial set-backs the final victory will be ours. It will be a victory of the right and it will be a terrible defeat of treachery, deceit and arrogant armed might.

Thank you, Madam

SHRI D. B. DESAI (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to express my support to the two Resolutions moved by the hon the Home Minister. At the outset I pay my humble homage to the heroes who have laid down their lives fighting the Chinese invaders on our borders.

Madam, we Indians have been taught in our primary schools and secondary schools that the grand

Himalayas is the sentinel that has guarded the Indian continent and the nation against the evil-intentioned forces, if any, in the north. But we have to see with our own eyes that old sentinel victimised and insulted by the so-called friendly neighbour of India.

Madam, the Chinese Government and the people who lead that Government, the Communist Party of China, have expressed time and again friendliness towards the Indian nation, friendliness towards the leaders of the national Government of India. But at the same time they expressed with some reservation the friendship with the Indian people and the Government. We are now fighting against one of the quickest, intelligent and, perhaps, equal opponent in the world. I do not bother about the arms they are having. I do not bother about the political system they are having. Perhaps, we are equal to them. The Indian people have shown thoroughly in the last month that every Indian, whoever he may be, is prepared to fight the Chinese invader to the last. But we have to consider the peculiar conditions, the peculiar strategy of the Chinese Government with which they are fighting us. If I may say so, Madam, the Chinese Communist Party and their armies have the peculiar, pet theory of protracted war which implies attack, negotiation, compromise, attack and gains. That is the theory of protracted war. With this theory they have driven out the Chiang-Kai-Shek regime. With the same theory they have extended their regime in Tibet. With the same theory they are behaving with the Indian nation, with our Government.

In 1954 our friendship was written down on paper. Till then the leaders of both the countries were all the while advocating that the great people of India and China were friends; they were friendly towards each other. But after two years we have seen that the Chinese occupied some territory in Aksai Chin. They have constructed a road and at the same

[Shri D. B. Desai.]

time they were talking with us about friendly negotiations about a number of things which we thought were in the interests of both the countries. Our Government could realise the illegal occupation of Indian territory. They sent protest notes, accepted some explanations, again sent some protest notes. The correspondence which has taken place between the two countries might be the biggest in the world. Even the friendliest country on the other side might not have undertaken such a huge correspondence. We have been sending protest notes. We have been sending and asking for explanations. So, what I want to submit here for the consideration of the Government is this theory of protracted war that we have to face. I would suggest that it is not the place to dwell on the points. How to challenge this theory, how to counter this theory, is, perhaps, the concern of the military experts and we should not dwell on it here in public. But my point here is that even after our Prime Minister has expressed that this is a protracted or long war—this is not a war of two or three days, or one or two years—I fear lest we should be trapped in this theory of protracted war. When the Chinese ask for negotiations, it should be conveniently taken for granted that they are preparing to attack us, and if we go into the trap of negotiations, perhaps, we may be trapped. That is the major point to be considered in connection with India-China relationship.

Madam, there is no doubt that the situation we are passing through is a very serious situation. The country has to face a great challenge. A bigger country like China has invaded our frontier.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.]

We have to consider actually what has prompted the Chinese Government to invade our frontier or what was the actual reason of this invasion. Do they

want our territory? Do they want their territory to be secure, or do they want to victimise the Indian leadership? I think we must have a correct answer for this; otherwise we may be failing in tackling the problem.

To my mind, Sir, the Chinese Communists are following a theory of cold revolution, a revolution which they think can be extended through the help of one country, through the agents of one country to the other. The communist literature or theory opposed to this, non-communist thinking as they call it, is not acceptable to the Chinese. They think that a new country freed from the clutches of colonialists is a safe ground to launch out on a cold revolution. Therefore, I think that this is not a border trouble, this is not a struggle to secure the Himalayas to the Chinese side or to this side but it is a struggle where we have to maintain our freedom, to decide our future, not only political freedom which we have achieved at the cost of thousands of our heroes, but we have to maintain our freedom, to decide our future living, our future pattern. In this attempt I think none can dictate to us, neither the communists nor the capitalists. None can dictate to a nation which is determined to decide its future. And in this perspective we have to consider this Chinese aggression.

Sir, it is heartening that the entire nation has risen to the occasion. Everybody in the country is coming forward with some sort of donation, some sort of offer to the Government. There is, therefore, no doubt that we will face the aggressor and defeat him.

We have to consider certain 2 P.M. aspects of our defensive efforts. Now, there is an upsurge of public contributions in the country but at the same time I would like to draw the attention of the House to the Ordinance issued by the Bengal Government. They had to

issue an Ordinance expressly prohibiting non-authorised persons from collecting donations. That means we have such people who can collect money in the name of the nation and misappropriate or appropriate for other purposes. Therefore, when the Government is trying to divert its entire energy to the defence efforts, we must chalk out certain schemes to regulate and divert the entire popular energy to the war effort. Now, people are donating blood, money and material but actually we have no schemes. A number of people go in the streets and ask for contributions. Perhaps, it may hurt the feelings of the man who is contributing to the nation's cause and it must be assured that every pie which has been collected for the National Defence Fund is secured in the right hands. So, our Chief Minister of Maharashtra has devised one very good scheme which I would recommend to the Government of India. It is a five-point programme which has a specific task that every individual in the State can be able to help the country or contribute to the defence effort and everybody, small or great, rich or poor, able or disabled, can be proud and can be definite that his energy is going to be useful to the nation's cause. That scheme is a three-sided scheme. One is to collect money, collect blood, collect men and collect material but the other is the justice in it. He has appealed to the workers and industrialists in Bombay that the workers should contribute one day's wages to the National Defence Fund and at the same time the industrialists should contribute an amount equal to the wage bill. That means in Bombay something like 7 lakhs of people are working in the factories and the wage bill will be something like Rs. 12 lakhs and the contribution from the industrialists which will be equal to the wage bill will come to Rs. 12 lakhs. That means in one day the Government of Maharashtra will be able to collect something like Rs. 25 lakhs in Bombay only. In other parts of the State they have introduced the same scheme and the workers and the in-

dustrialists have agreed to implement the scheme. Then there are popular committees which will encourage the people, organise the people but at the same time they will not collect money. They will direct and advise the people to contribute whatever money they have through the banks, post offices or the authorised agencies. All the popular committees are being led by the elected representatives in the districts. As much popular element as can be accommodated in those committees has been accommodated. So, this type of scheme should be, with some amendments if necessary, followed throughout the country.

There is again enrolment or taking the help of the young men in the country. Conscription or no conscription—I do not go into those details—but anyhow we must have a standing army of able-bodied men to be ready to fight back the Chinese at any time and at any point. Yesterday the Prime Minister warned in a Delhi public meeting that the Delhi people should be ready for air raids. The Government also has to prepare for this. When we say that we may have air raids, we do realise the danger of a total war. We must be ready for it. It is not a war for borders, I want to make it perfectly clear. Perhaps, it may be extended or enlarged but at the same time it may also become a total war. The Government has categorically stated that we do not want war, that we are for a peaceful settlement but at the same time we have to prepare for a total war if it is forced on us.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): It may lead to world war also.

SHRI D. B. DESAI: I do not think so. It may but at the same time even if it is a world war, we cannot be silent spectators. We cannot lose our country, lose our territory on account of the fear that it may lead to a world war. I do not advocate war. We definitely want a peaceful settlement but at the same time that does not

[Shri D. B. Desai.]

mean that we should not be prepared. That does not mean that we should succumb to any attack from the enemy.

One more point for the consideration of the House and that is that the foreign policy of the Government has been put under fire by a certain section in the House. They say: "Throw away the non-alignment policy". I fail to understand what actually they have in mind. Have they in mind that the people or the country that has fought for freedom, that is fighting for maintaining the integrity and dignity of the nation should surrender the same in the international sphere because alignment with one bloc or the other, does it not mean surrendering our sacred freedom to one bloc or the other? We want independence, we want freedom for the country but at the same time we want freedom and independence in the international sphere also. That is actually what has been followed in the past but due to the reverses or due to the Chinese attitude towards negotiations and international relations, some people, those who supported the non-alignment policy till now, have become panicky and at the same time some people who were advocating a positive policy of alignment are now taking advantage and saying that we should pursue a policy of alignment or have friendship with one country or the other. I would ask them this. Today China is attacking India and we are seeking help from other friendly countries and according to these people we have to sign pacts or agreements whatever they may be, political, military or strategic, with the countries of the Western bloc or with countries that can help us. Supposing Pakistan attacks us, are we going to the communist bloc? The same logic takes us to the other line of action, because we have now two neighbours. One is the communist neighbour, communist dictatorship is there and the other is—what type of dictatorship I cannot say but it is—a military dictatorship. If

we have to face both types of dictatorships, then we will have to be always going here and there and losing our independence and freedom in international affairs.

Perhaps, I may say that this independence which we have maintained up till now, and we believe it will be maintained, has assured us a place and a positive place of dignity in the international councils. Do these people want us to lose that? America and also the Soviet Union, these two countries, these two big countries, are not prepared to have any adverse relations with India. What does it mean? It means that India as an independent nation is pursuing a policy of independence, that India pursues a foreign policy of a free and independent nation. Therefore, the world's balance itself is dependent on the desire of the Indian nation. Both these countries realise that and that is the real achievement of India's foreign policy. With some initial reverses or set-back on the Himalayan frontier, are we to lose the permanent advantage that we have secured in the international sphere? Therefore, I would like to stress here that this policy of non-alignment, our independent foreign policy, must be maintained, because that policy alone will give us strength in the international sphere, give us dignity in the international sphere. We can ask anybody to help us because we have been fighting for a right cause. We can straightway ask the United States or any other country for help. We can straightway ask the Soviet Union also, saying that we are fighting for a right cause and we want their help. If at all they believe in peace, if at all they believe in international justice, then the big countries, whichever it may be, the Soviet Union or the United States of America, will have to help us. That is the position we have to take. Therefore, I submit to the House that while pledging my complete support and my party's support to this Resolution and to the steps taken by the Government of India, I would request the hon. Home

Minister and the Government of India to be firm and to have a firm policy to counter this invasion and also to maintain the dignity of the country in international affairs and in international relations. Thank you

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) Mr Vice-Chairman, we meet on a very solemn occasion, the first occasion of its kind, after we attained our independence. Thus we have to bear in our minds, not only during these deliberations but also in our day-to-day life, and while we pay homage to those who have sacrificed their lives to save the honour and integrity of the country, we should always have in our minds the present position and we should see that not a single thing is done which would directly or indirectly go against the efforts made to strengthen the defences of our country.

Sir, I rise to support the two Resolutions so ably moved by our Home Minister. Before I express my comments on them, I would like to pay my humble tribute to the standard and the moderate tone of the debate that has been kept up by this House, and particularly I would like to refer to the leader of the Communist Party here and the leader of the D.M.K. I think it has become evident that the whole country and in the Houses of Parliament, indeed, everyone, irrespective of political differences, is united and determined to drive the invaders, invaders who till the other day were our friends but who have stabbed us in the back. Sir, I fully appreciate the significance of the resolution of the Communist Party and the speech of the hon. Member here and I have no reason to doubt his sincerity. But certainly, in line with that resolution and in line with the speech that the hon. Member delivered, I would offer them two suggestions. Firstly, I would say that on all those who have not agreed with that resolution, the Communist Party will keep an eye and will see that they also fall in line with that resolution, and if they or any of their party

followers do anything which is unpatriotic and anti-national, the Communist Party itself will oppose them and see that they are brought to book, that they will not support them. If someone is arrested, the leader of the group will not plead their cause. That will not be right, because that will give rise to suspicion and doubt. The right thing for the leader of the Communist group would be to see that the rank and file of the party is also as patriotic and as honest and as helpful in our defence activities as the leader who subscribed to this Resolution.

The other suggestion that I would make to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is this. So far as the Communist Party in the socialist countries is concerned, and so far as the Communist Party in the other countries is concerned, it is time that they established the *bona fides* of the party and preached and told them that we here are in the right, that our cause is just, and they should convince the Communist Party that they should, in their own spheres, whether in the socialist countries or in the other countries, stand with us and support the cause of India, because it is a just cause, irrespective of the fact that we are now opposed to a communist country. That will certainly not only help the Communist Party in the eyes of the world, but will also give substance to their professions. It will stabilise the world political thought and it will help to restore conditions which have been disturbed in Asia by this unprovoked aggression, and also political conditions in the world at large.

In so far as the D.M.K. is concerned, I must congratulate the leader and his party. As a matter of fact, it does appear that in these dark clouds there is a silver lining. This unity, this upsurge of emotions and feelings from all sides of the country, is the surest guarantee that this country will fight even to the last man and drive the invaders out.

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.]

Sir, I have been undergoing a very serious crisis of confidence. I say a crisis of confidence, because I was one of those who had been with the parliamentary delegation to China under the leadership of Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar. Sir, the affection and regard that we received there and throughout that period, also whenever our Prime Minister went to that country or whenever their Prime Minister came to our country, have been so much. We fought for the admission of that country into the world forum. I have seen all this and at this juncture I see that for all the affection and love we had shown them, in return we have received a shock and without any rhyme or reason, our country, our sacred land, has been invaded by an unscrupulous neighbour. I do not know whom to trust and whom not to trust and I think the ultimate conclusion to which we arrive is that we should be strong in our own country.

In the final analysis it is only the people of our country who will stand this shock and this invasion. Let that unity which has come about on account of this grave crisis be strengthened. Let us forget the small things; let no forget small prejudices and, as has been said all round in the country and in the Parliament here, let us pledge ourselves to see that we remain united, we do not quarrel for petty things but do everything that will go to strengthen the activity which will lead to final victory against the aggressor. I would like the Opposition parties to consider the proposition that there will be no strikes, no agitation and no demonstration but only solid work in the best interests of the country so that we may go through this trial in a successful way. I have no doubt that this feeling has to be canalised by the Government so that the feeling of the people may be taken advantage of in order to consolidate our defences.

Sir, we are most grateful to the United States of America, to the United

Kingdom, to Canada and all the other countries who at this difficult hour have come to our rescue. My feeling of gratitude goes deeper when I know that they have given this help without any condition or without any strings but acknowledging and recognising our policy of non-alignment. I have no doubt that this is a new chapter in the history of the friendship of those countries and ours and I have also no doubt that in the future, our policy of non-alignment—there may have been a little over-emphasis here or an under-emphasis there—will be more balanced so that we may say that the friends who have come to our rescue will have no reason to complain that we have not strictly followed the policy of non-alignment. Sir, I am also grateful to Russia. The other day the Prime Minister gave us an assurance that they are prepared to help us and to carry out the commitments that they have already made. I quite appreciate the difficulty of Mr. Khrushchev and the people of Russia. They have had to face the Cuban crisis and the statesmanship of Mr. Khrushchev has solved that problem. He will have more time to think of this other important problem, that is, the strained relations between India and China, and I do hope, because our cause is right, because we have not invaded their country, our country has been invaded, the Russian people and the Russian leaders will also consider the matter and see how they can help us in this matter irrespective of their party affinities.

Now, Sir, I would say a word to our neighbour, Pakistan. Sir, it pains us, it pains everybody, as Dahyabhai Patel said the other day and as Diwan Chaman Lall said today, that at this difficult hour, Pakistan should try to make love to China or that China should flirt with Pakistan. If you consider it from any point of view, there is no affinity between China and Pakistan. Till the other day we have lived as brothers and even today there are so many common points between these two countries which they cannot have

with China. The only common factor is the enmity of India but how can a friendship based on enmity and hatred last? At this juncture, President Ayub and other responsible people of our neighbour country, Pakistan, should realise the delicacy of the situation. Even now there are hundreds of families which are divided and settled in east and west, half of the families in India and half in Pakistan. Let them realise that and also realise the best interests of Pakistan. Let them understand that India has done every good turn to China. What have we got in return? Let this be a lesson to them. Their friendship will be as temporary as anything and if they can injure India, I am sure the problem of Pakistan will be still easier for them.

Another thing that I would like to say at this juncture is that Pakistan should take a lead from her friends, from the attitude of the United States of America and the United Kingdom. We had differences with them but at this hour of our difficulty, when not only India's interests but the very democratic principles and the democratic way of life are endangered, they have come with all the things to help India. Is it too much to expect from Pakistan and her leaders to ponder over the matter and to see how they can help and support India at this crucial hour? I have no doubt it is a great task. Such opportunities come very rarely in the life of a nation. If the leaders of Pakistan realise this situation and take a new line of good relations, of sympathy and support to India, I have no doubt President Ayub will go down in history as one of those statesmen who have brought India and Pakistan together. I do hope they will realise this and I have no doubt that the people in Pakistan and India will most heartily welcome such a move.

Now, Sir, I would just place before you certain points that I have experienced during these three or four weeks of the emergency and the difficult times that have come. The first

thing is about military training. Though conscription may not be necessary sufficient arrangements should be made for training. Till the 5th of November, there were no adequate arrangements, at least in my State. The feeling is there, the emotion is there; let us take advantage of it and make suitable arrangements to take advantage of this thing.

The other thing is, information about martyrs should also be given to us at the right and proper time. Very recently there arose a rumour that Brig. Mohd. Sayeed who is at the front had been killed. There were condolences and naturally in some of the meetings also a reference was made but ultimately a message came through saying that he was alive. So, I would say that proper arrangements should be made to see that this information is given in proper time, especially of those persons who lay down their lives so that we can arrange through people's committees or through the Government to express our sympathy and to give their dependants all possible help. I am very happy to learn that the Chief Minister of Punjab has undertaken to do everything possible for the families of such persons. I do hope his example will be followed by other Chief Ministers. It is our duty. When they have laid down their life let us do our best and see that their families are fully looked after and supported by the nation.

Regarding rumour-mongering, we have come across all sorts of rumours. One was why we should fight for this barren land. Such things are very dangerous and they have to be effectively controlled. Such whispering campaigns, if they go on, are bound to affect the morale of our people. I would through you appeal to the authorities concerned to see that such whispering propaganda is put an end to and see that things are arranged in such a way by the Home and Information Departments that they carry on the right sort of propaganda in addition to the publicity

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.]
through All India Radio and through
other means both inside and outside
the country.

Lastly, I would add that it is a good
fortune of the country that this crisis
has developed when we have at the
helm of affairs, Shri Jawaharlal
Nehru. The forty-four crores of
people of this country . . .

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Forty
crores.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: . . .
have got implicit confidence in him.
He has had the guidance and training
from the Father of the Nation. He
has been receiving instructions dur-
ing the freedom struggle from the
Father of the Nation. He has led us
successfully. During the period after
independence also he has tried to
build up a modern welfare State and
to do his utmost to improve the
economic condition of the people. I
have no doubt that during this grim
struggle he will take us through to
victory and we will see that not only
the invaders are driven out but we
who have been mostly thinking in
terms of non-violence and peace also
have a grip over the realities and do
all that is necessary to prove that we
can do things not only for peace but
in war also, especially when we are
faced with an enemy, safeguard the
honour and integrity of our country.

Thank you.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT
(Delhi): Sir, this is such an occasion
when sometimes we do not know
what exactly to say because the feel-
ings run high and there is much
anxiety all round. A big shock we
had when China invaded our country
and it has been very difficult to
absorb all the realities of the situa-
tion that have developed.

Now, there has been a lot of talk
about our not understanding the
Chinese designs and intentions. I
suppose it is not easy to understand

anybody's intentions and even in law
there is a fiction that even the devil
does not know the intention of a per-
son. So, this fiction which is there is
very true. It is extremely shocking
and outrageous but such things have
happened before when Nazi Germany
invaded other countries, when France
collapsed, when the United Kingdom
was bombarded in the last Great War.
Even earlier too in various wars this
has happened and history has only
repeated itself now as far as India is
concerned. I think such things hap-
pen even among ordinary human
beings. Sometimes when children
grow up, when they begin to stand
on their own, when they become inde-
pendent, they do not care for the
family. Even among brothers this
thing happens. And that is exactly
what has happened to us from our
neighbouring country for which our
country did so much, whose cause
we promoted. That country has now
let us down in a very brutal manner.
That is how things happen anyway.

Now, another thing that I have not
been quite able to appreciate is the
criticism that we were not prepared
for this. Preparedness, as far as I
can understand, is a relative thing.
You are prepared for what? You are
prepared for what you expect. The
question is whether you expected a
large scale attack or a minor skirmish
on the borders, or whether you
expected one or two cattle being
lifted or a warlike operation. As far
as I could see, in my humble opinion,
nobody really in this country
expected that a war of this size and
dimension and of this type would be
thrust upon us. As far as prepara-
tions are concerned, everybody knows
in this House that we were preparing
for normal defences not for a major
aggression. People had some idea
that preparations were being made to
fortify our borders, to strengthen our
posts which were being set up. Roads
were being built and such prepara-
tions were going on as were possible
in those conditions in the Himalayan
terrain. We should realise that what
actually happened was much more

than what we normally expected. You can prepare for normal defence. You do not always prepare for a big war on the entire border. We were not, we are not and we have not been so far at least a warlike nation. We as a country were not thinking in terms of war and were not preparing ourselves for war. Therefore, I do not understand how it could be said that we were not prepared. We were prepared according to our strength, according to our resources. The strength of the army, the sanctioned strength, has been fully maintained, I believe. Probably, the Defence Minister knows, the Prime Minister knows and all other Ministers know that preparations were there; only the details were not given out. It is my belief that preparations were there as far as they were possible, considering the circumstances, considering what sort of threat we were expecting from across the Himalayas. Even in our songs we have been saying that no enemy will come from across the Himalayan ranges and that our country is fully protected in the north. We find this in our national song and other songs. So, we have never even dreamt that any army would come down upon us from the Karakorum Pass and other passes in the Himalayas. We thought it was hardly possible. But unfortunately it is now there; so to say much on this so-called preparedness is stretching the matter too far.

I shall take up one or two points raised by hon. friends here. Mr. Mani said that we should close the Chinese Embassy here. Some others also pointed out that our Embassy people in China did not have all the facilities which others enjoyed here in New Delhi. It is very well known to everybody that in all free countries there are a large number of foreigners in the various Embassies and there are no restrictions imposed on them, whereas in Russia, China and such other countries even the people of the diplomatic corps are under very heavy restrictions, restrictions of

movement, travel, activities, and so on. Even there are restrictions on how many they would invite to a dinner, what is going to be served. Even such things are controlled in Russia and China. We know that; there is nothing new about it. Therefore, to say that we should impose restrictions on them here is not correct. That is our way of doing things. We are a free country and we function in a free way. We do not function like communist countries. We do not follow their practices. That is why we allow them this type of freedom which is not allowed in communist countries. If we close down their Embassy here, we will be closing down any type of approach or any means of communication with them. We will be breaking off our relations with them altogether. It will not be very helpful. Our Government policy is this. Whenever there is an honourable way of doing things for a settlement or negotiation, our country is always open to negotiation on honourable terms. We have never wanted negotiations on any other terms, but it is always there that we do not want to close the door to any type of honourable negotiations. Considering this policy, I do not understand why we should close down the Embassy of China in New Delhi. Also, it would be rather small on our part and not a very mature step to take this very drastic measure. We still hope—maybe hope against hope—that some good sense will prevail.

They have taken the role of an aggressor, a very brutal and unscrupulous aggressor. They have damaged their own prestige, not only in Western countries, but even in Asia. No Asiatic country can really look upon China's action with much respect or regard or any appreciation. They have condemned themselves in the eyes of the world by their own action and nobody could believe them. Even the Communist Party has condemned them. Whatever their motives might be, the fact remains that the Communist Party of India

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht.]
has taken steps to condemn the Chinese aggression, which, I think, will be an eye-opener not only to China, but also to the other communist countries. I congratulate and appreciate the Communist Party that they have had the courage, that they have had the guts to condemn the aggression of China, and they did take an independent line, which has never been done generally except by Yugoslavia, in international communism or whatever it is. This is a good step. I cannot say what their motives are, but on the face of it their resolution supports the Indian stand. The Chinese and other countries cannot use this resolution against us, as they can use many other things.

Then, Mr. Mani suggested that the National Defence Council should have many other people, also some other members said, that the National Defence Council should include people like Rajaji and others. Well, I am very doubtful and rather fearful as to what all these people will do, as to what they are going to do, or what they have been doing in the recent few weeks and what all things are happening not only on the stage but also behind the stage, in public meetings and other meetings and in the various platforms available to them. I think having Rajaji is not the crux of the problem. Having other leaders is not the crux of the matter either.

I may also point out one more thing. Mr. Vajpayee said the other day that we made a mistake in that we were not ready, but they will give their full co-operation to the Government of India and to the Prime Minister and so on and so forth. Much as we appreciate his offer, along with the C.P.I. resolution, I wonder very much as to what exactly their intentions are, because in all their public meetings and other platforms and through their newspapers they have been condemning us. They say that they forgive the Prime Minister and the Government of India for all their

acts of omission and commission and there is a long charge-sheet against them. They say: "Now, we want a war-time Prime Minister. We want a very heroic type of brave man, who will fight the battle and who will be like Churchill. We do not want a Chamberlain." This has been their slogan in every public meeting and even in meetings called by the Government, by the Delhi Administration, by the Mayor of Delhi and on various other platforms. But their newspapers have been harping upon this time and again. They say that they want not a peace-time and peace-loving Prime Minister, but a warlike and war-time Prime Minister like Churchill. England did away with Chamberlain at that time because he was having negotiations and treaties with other people and then the war came. Then the English people chose Churchill instead of Chamberlain. And they also want to do that thing. This slogan is going on from every platform, from every place. And if they come in this House and they make claims about friendship and co-operation and so on, I have very grave doubts as to what they mean. If they really mean it, they should support their thesis by their action and by their behaviour. But if they are going to sabotage our work in the field among the public at large, in their public meetings and through their newspapers, then Mr. Vajpayee, my friend, should not say such things in this House, because that is not tallying with facts as they are. I am sorry to say that a large campaign has been carried on by the Jan Sangh, by the Swatantra Party and sometimes by the P.S.P. also making similar charges against the Government and particularly against the Prime Minister.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): That is not correct. Question. The P.S.P. has made this charge that the Government was not making adequate preparations to meet the challenge of the Chinese.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: I agree that the P.S.P. is not as fore-

most or that they have made such charges of lack of preparation. But the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh have gone completely overboard in condemning various types of work done by the Government, condemning the Prime Minister also, in public meetings and in everything. This sort of propaganda and assiduous campaign by various names and people is going on, which I think is not the best way to co-operate with the Government, which they profess to do. If they want to co-operate, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party should do it honestly and sincerely and not sabotage the work in the field and go on making very pious statements in the Houses. Therefore, I have very serious objection to taking such parties and representatives and individuals in the Defence Council, who in their intention, in their mind and in their heart of hearts do not want to support the Government, but really want to undermine it and do undermine it in very many ways. This is the talk of the town in Delhi also. Everything comes out in the newspaper editorials throwing a lot of mud on the Government, the Prime Minister and also the former Defence Minister, wanting that not only the one should go but the other also should go and things like that. So, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra are not sincere in what they are saying. I see everywhere what they are saying and it seems to me in every nook and corner of Delhi and other places that their action and their behaviour do completely belie what they say in this House.

Then, one thing I will point out. My time is short. The press has maintained good standards sometimes. Our press is very good as far as I can see in many ways compared to the press I have seen in foreign countries, which is as good as yellow press, barring a few papers. But I must also say that sometimes, either due to the policy dictated by their bosses or by some of the editors who happen to do

it because of the various relationships they have with the political party leaders, or whatever may be in the background, unfortunately, some sections of the press become a party to various things going on here, which does not always give us credit, which does not really build up our national effort. Nor does it build up the morale of our country or of the fighting forces, which is absolutely necessary. Partly some of the papers have carried on a bad campaign, along with the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party. Some of the press people even sit in the Central Hall and other places talking all the time that there is no unity in the Cabinet, that there is no unity among the Cabinet members, that some Ministers want negotiations and so on, very loosely and confidently. They go on all the time and I would request the hon. Home Minister kindly to look into this, because it is very serious, and our press reporters are supplying information not only to the Indian press but to the foreign press also. They are carrying on such a campaign and such loose talk that there is no unity in the Cabinet. "They want negotiation with China. They practically want to surrender the country, etc. etc." Some of those Ministers whose names they mention have spoken and I happened to be present. We were some of the sponsors of the meetings held in Delhi where all our hon. Ministers came and spoke to the public of Delhi. We happened to be there. We have organised those meetings. We know that the Ministers of our Cabinet have invariably said that we shall have no dishonourable settlement, that we shall have no negotiations on terms of surrender. We shall negotiate only on honourable terms and in an honourable way. But these gentlemen of the press go round amongst various groups of people condemning that there is no unity, that some of the Ministers want this and want that. So, the ordinary people who generally believe things, who do not see behind the whole show, are likely to be misled, think-

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht.]

ing that, maybe, there is no unity in the Cabinet, maybe that some people want to go this way and that there are some other people who want to go the other way. This has a very bad effect on the people generally. All the MPs do not always suspect their motives. They do not know what it is. Some of the proceedings of the meetings came out in the press also. It is unfortunate that a few people should go round saying such things. It is very harmful and it is very demoralising. And the ordinary people generally believe that when the press is saying something, there should be something in it. They are the people who know the things and so it must be correct. All this is very wrong. It is a very harmful thing that they should be a party to it. Some of the papers carry on a policy which is doing more harm to our country at this point than good and the Home Ministry should take steps about it.

Then, our policy has come in for criticism, non-alignment, socialism and so on. There were various cartoons also ridiculing the statements by various Ministers, as if we are not going to fight the battle on the NEFA border, but probably in the farms and in the factories and so on. Fortunately, our Prime Minister has been repeating from every platform that our farms and factories are as important as our guns, that the battle is to be won in the farms and factories by our citizens and by our people in the civilian platform which front is as important as the military front. I hope that we will understand that and that the press will not ridicule this either because this is the way of not allowing the people to understand what the Prime Minister wants the people to understand that they must be ready, that every single child must be ready in this country to take up whatever responsibility he or she can. By condemning here, there and everywhere, we are not really building up our country or our morale or our prestige abroad.

People outside also may be partly sharing what the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party people may say. They may also be sharing some of the feelings expressed here. They have been wanting many things to happen which have happened recently in our history. So, when we accuse the Communists of having extra-territorial loyalties, I suppose there may be certain individuals also apart from the C.P.I. members, who may be having extra-territorial loyalties. That is not something quite out of the way or irrelevant. When they attack this policy of non-alignment that has always come in for criticism by various countries of the world—some of our own political parties have condemned it and criticised it—they are taking this opportunity to condemn it once again thinking that because of the exigencies of the situation and the crisis we are facing, probably, we will cling to the first country that comes to our rescue and that we will hold on to them in the hope that this non-alignment can be done away with, that we should pool our resources and fight with one bloc or the other.

We very well know the Eastern bloc and the Western bloc, what their interests are, and so on, and the fact that they have always wanted that we should align with the one or the other. But I think we have always had the opportunity to, we always did, purchase from one or the other, from all the countries as a matter of fact. The fact is that when we were buying these MIGs, there was an uproar in the country as if we were committing a grave crime by buying these things from Russia. Now, the same people are criticising as to why we did not buy these things, why we did not make preparations regarding ammunition, and so on. This is rather contradictory. I need not comment any further on that. But the same sections also bring up this question of non-alignment, particularly the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party. But the fact remains that we always

wanted things from countries where it suited us, and I think our country can continue to buy things from where it suits us. After all we are not getting charity from any country if they come to our rescue. Maybe, Russia came to our rescue when the Kashmir resolution was taken up in the United Nations during the general elections, when it was going to have serious repercussions in our country; Russia came to our rescue with its veto and turned the tables. Now the Western countries are coming to our help. We certainly appreciate the help they are giving us, we like it very much. I hope they will help us by giving us arms, ammunition, etc., at reasonable prices. We do appreciate it. But the fact remains that the question of alignment is decided and dictated by many many considerations, not only the war with China. Suppose we had a war with Pakistan. Every time Pakistan has threatened: What action America has taken, why they are building them up militarily, and so on. Why do they not ask them now as to why they are having an agreement today with China, between Pakistan and China? If America was so keen about it, they should have seen to it that there was no agreement between Pakistan and China. So, this alignment is dictated and controlled by many factors; economic factors, economic facilities, conveniences of the people, their fear of their neighbouring countries, their fear of a crisis like the Cuba situation that developed two weeks back at the same time when we were having our trouble, which really restrained the hands of Russia.

Of course, Russia is our friend, it has been our friend, and we hope it will continue to be our friend, but if I were in the place of Russia, I would certainly give help to India at this point. I would stand by a country against which aggression has been committed. I would stand by that country. I would condemn a country which has committed aggression. I would expect that Russia would rise above these things and not merely go

with its brother communist country. If they believe in right, they should stand by a friendly country, that is India, and stand by us at this hour when we have always looked upon them as friends and have appreciated their diplomacy in the past and the help they have given us. Even today we appreciate the fact that they are carrying out all their promises made in the past and are supplying us all the things which they were supposed to do. They have helped to build up our economy as have the Western Powers. So, we would expect them to be impartial and objective even in this conflict and help us rather than stand by China or be restrained due to the action of China, because China itself has earned a very bad name not only in the Western countries but in the communist countries and in Asia and Africa also.

SHRI SAWAI MAN SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, for the first time our Parliament is meeting under the clouds of war, a situation that has been created by the short-sighted policy of our Government and the consequent failure of its diplomacy. There has been much said about the unpreparedness of our Armed Forces. Whatever may be the reason for it, the Defence Ministry must take the fullest responsibility.

I have had the privilege of serving in our Armed Forces in peace and war, and I can assure you that we have the finest army in the world, and that army, if it were led well and equipped properly, will take on any invader. It is our duty now to see that we provide the best leaders and the best equipment for our Armed Forces which the country is capable of giving.

Perhaps, you do not know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that in time of war it is much easier to provide equipment than to train soldiers. When we talk of training a soldier, a soldier who will be able to go and fight on any front, it takes anything from eighteen months to two years. What-

[Shri Sawai Man Singh.]

ever have been the unfortunate losses or sacrifices that have taken place on the various fronts, we must see that in future that sort of massacre of our troops is not repeated.

The President has declared a state of emergency in our country, and it is the duty of every Indian to put his heart and soul into the effort, for only then it will be possible for us to save our country from disaster. We must also remember that if we are to go up to our public and approach them with the appeal that we have to get together for the cause of our country and give our life, blood and our possessions the Government must also set the example. I find that the public find it rather difficult to understand at the moment that here we are asking our public to make every sacrifice and on the other hand we are supporting China in the United Nations and our diplomatic relations with them still continue the same. However, I am not here to criticise our Government but to give concrete suggestions in the interests of our country.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

The first and foremost is that the Prime Minister must nominate a Deputy Prime Minister not only to share the heavy burden that has fallen on his shoulders at this juncture but also to create confidence in the public, for it will be only then that the public will realise it. After all in this situation we must be prepared for everything. The public must have confidence that he can take over any task and all civil authority must be worked on the lines of military operations where every single man knows who his next successor is in case of any accident. God forbid that anything should happen to the Prime Minister for he is the real saviour of the country today and we must rally round him, but we must know that in case of anything happening the public does have the confidence that there is a man to step in. Gen.

Thimayya be put in overall command of the Armed Forces with 3 P.M. the designation of the Chief of the Defence Staff and with the rank of Field-Marshal. It would only then be possible for our Armed Forces to work in one united team. In times of war, it is most essential—and if success is to be achieved—that all the three Services work in the greatest *esprit de corps*, which could only happen under one commander.

We must also look upon Pakistan as a friendly neighbour rather than an aggressive one. We must make some pact or come to some understanding with them, for we have a large trained army sitting idle on that front, which could very well be utilised against China.

Mahatma Gandhi's great ideals of non-violence were of great value in achieving our independence. Today, in a world of unrest and of nuclear atmosphere, it is not possible for us to remain alone, and we must make some kind of pact and come to an understanding with America and England, our reliable friends. In President Kennedy we have a man of vision and great courage and a sincere friend of India. He will give us anything we ask. England has always been our supporter and, bound by ties of Commonwealth, will help us in every way. There is far too much at stake to allow false prestige, protocol and self-righteousness to sit back and hesitate to seek help from these two great friendly countries, for we are on the verge of a war, a long and a costly one. Let there be no doubt about it.

شری پیر محمد خان (جموں اور

کشمیر): جناب قومی چیرمین صاحبہ

میں آنریبل ہوم منسٹر صاحب کے

دونوں ریزولوشنز کی تائید کرنا ہوں

اور چاند نے ہمارے ملک پر جو حملہ

کہا اس کے متعلق کچھ کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ چائینا نے ایک طرف نیفا میں اور دوسری طرف لداخ میں ہمارے ملک پر حملہ کیا ہے۔ نیفا کی طرف کی بازندری ۱۲-۱۹۱۲ع میں فیکس ہوئی تھی جس میں چائینا بھی ایک سائیڈ تھا اور لداخ کی بازندری ۱۸۴۲ع میں فیکس ہوئی تھی اس میں بھی چائینا ایک سائیڈ تھا۔ دونوں عہد ناموں میں ان کے ملک کی طرف سے نمائندگی موجود ہے اور اس کے دستخط ہیں۔

اس وقت دیکھنے کی بات یہ ہے کہ کیا لداخ اور نیفا کے علاقے اپنے فرقاتل - زرخیز ہیں اور ان فائدہ مند جگہوں کو حاصل کرنے کے لئے اس نے حملہ کیا ہے۔ ایسا سمجھنا غلط بات ہے۔ دراصل یہ لوائی کمہونزم اور ڈیموکریسی کی ہے۔ کمہونزم کا خاص اصول یہ ہے کہ ساری دنیا کو کمہونزم کے ماتحت لایا جائے۔ کسی جگہ وہ صلح سے کام لیتا ہے اور کسی جگہ لوائی سے قابو میں کر لیتا ہے اور کسی جگہ صلح اور لوائی دونوں طریقے چلاتا ہے۔ چنانچہ ہم دوسری صف میں آتے ہیں اور ہم پر صلح اور لوائی دونوں حربے برتے ہیں۔ نیفا کا پہاڑی علاقہ یا لداخ کا پہاڑی علاقہ لینے کے واسطے یہ لوائی نہیں ہے بلکہ یہ لوائی ہے ہندوستان کو لینے کے واسطے۔ اس سے زیادہ یہ کہنا اچھا ہوگا انڈین سب کلتھڈ

کو لینے کے لئے کیونکہ ہمارے پیوسی کے لئے اس سے بچنا بہت مشکل ہے۔ اب یہ سمجھ کر کہ یہ ایک نظریات کی جنگ ہے ہم نے جو نظریہ اختیار کیا ہے اس کو صحیح سمجھا اور پاکیزہ سمجھ کر اختیار کیا ہے لہذا اس وقت ہمیں یہ چاہیئے کہ اپنا تن، من، دھن اس لوائی کو دیتے ہیں اور اپنے ملک کو بچانے میں لگا دیں۔

ہم پر ایک قسم کا اچانک حملہ کیا گیا اور اچانک اس واسطے کہتا ہوں کہونکہ نگوسیشنز بھی چل رہے تھے۔ ٹروپ سروملٹ بھی ہو رہا تھا۔ سہاں جا رہی نہیں اور سب کچھ ہو رہا تھا۔ اس لئے ہم اپنی شرافت کی وجہ سے یہ بات سمجھ - اپنی طبیعت اور ان کی وجہ سے یہ بات سمجھ کہ ایسی حالت میں دیدہ دلیری نہیں کی جائے گی۔ جب بات چیت چل رہی ہے تب حملہ کرنے کا کوئی سبب نہیں ہے تو اس وجہ سے جو کچھ حملہ سے پہلے ہونا چاہیئے تھا شاید اس میں کچھ کمی رہی۔ شروع میں ہمارے جو ریورسز ہوئے ان سے ہمیں مایوس نہیں ہونا چاہیئے۔ ہمیں اس وقت یہ دیکھنا چاہیئے کہ جب فرسٹ اور سیکنڈ ورلڈ وار ہوئی تو اس وقت ریورسز کس طرف تھے اور پھر آخر میں فتح یا ہار کون

[شری پھر محمد خان]

ہوا۔ اس وجہ سے ہمیں گھبرانہ نہیں چاہیئے۔ اس ملک نے بہت اچھی طرح سے سمجھ لیا ہے کہ ہمارے سامنے حالت کیا ہے۔ اور ہمیں اپنی وقار اور آزادی کے لئے کیا کرنا چاہیئے۔ یہ تو خوشی کی بات ہے کہ اس طرف سے ہمیں بالکل تسلی ہے۔

اس وقت دو جگہوں پر یعنی لداخ اور نہٹا پر ایک قسم سے لڑائی روکی ہوئی ہے ایسی حالت جب ہو تو اس کی دو وجہیں ہوتی ہیں۔ ایک یہ کہ دشمن کسی بڑی بات کے لئے تہاڑی کر رہا ہے۔ مہاجر آفیسرو کی بات ہو یا اس طرح کی کوئی بات ہو۔ یا موجودہ حالت میں دنیا کی طرف سے اس کے اوپر جو بوجھڑا ہو رہی ہے اس سے وہ نروس ہو چلا ہو۔ اور یہ سوچنے لگا ہو کہ کون سا ایسا راستہ ہے جس سے اس مشکل سے باہر نکلا جا سکے۔ تو ایسی صورت میں ہمیں یہ نہیں سمجھنا چاہیئے کہ لڑائی سست پڑ گئی ہے۔ ہمیں اور زیادہ کوششوں کرنی چاہیئیں۔ ہماری فوج نے نہٹا اور لداخ میں بہت بہادرانہ کام کیا ہے اور یہ بات ہستوری میں یادگار کے طور پر رہیگی۔ کل ہی ریڈیو میں ہمارے ایک این۔سی۔ او۔ کے بارے میں بتایا گیا کہ وہ

آٹھ یا دس چھٹی سولہویں کو مارنے کے بعد خود بھی مجھوت ہو گیا۔

تو یہ ہمارا یقین ہے کہ ہمارے جوانوں کے مقابلہ میں طاقت میں مصحت اور مہمت برداشت کرنے میں، حب الوطنی میں، دلہری میں چاہنے والے کسی مقابلہ میں نہیں ہیں۔ لداخ میں اسی طرح انڈین آرمی بھی کام کر رہی ہے اور ہماری جموں اور کشمیر ملہشیا بھی وہاں آپریشن میں حصہ لے رہی ہے۔ ہماری ملہشیا نے وہاں اتنا بہادرانہ اور عمدہ کام کیا کہ گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا نے ان کی اس بہادری اور عمدہ کام کرنے پر ان کا اسٹیمس جو کہ انڈین آرمی سے کم تھا انڈین آرمی کے برابر کر دیا اور اب وہ تلخووا پبلشمن اور دوسری چھڑوں میں انڈین آرمی کے برابر ہیں۔ ہماری ملہشیا کے لوگ جو کہ ہماری ریاست کے ہیں ہمیں ان پر فخر ہے اور ہمیں یہ توقع تھی اور یقین تھا کہ وہ یہی کام کریں گے۔ کیونکہ وہ ان باپ داداؤں کی اولاد ہیں جنہوں نے ۱۸۴۲ء میں نہٹ اور چائیلڈا کی مشترکہ فوج کو اس جگہ شکست دی تھی اور اس شکست کے بعد سن ۱۸۴۲ء کا عہد نامہ ہوا تھا۔ انہوں نے یہ ثابت کر دیا کہ وہ ان بزرگوں کے نام لہوا ہیں جنہوں نے پہلے بھی چائیلڈا اور نہٹ

دونوں کی مشترکہ فوجوں کو وہاں شکست دی تھی - اس وقت ہماری دیہات کی ایک یونٹ کے پاس اس لڑائی میں چھینا ہوا چائونا کا فوجی جہلڈا موجود ہے -

ہمیں ایسے احتیاطی تدبیریں کافی اختیار کرنی چاہیئیں - کہونکہ ہمارا دشمن وحشی اور بے اصول ہے خاص کر ایر ریڈ پریکٹس کی طرف ہمیں خاص توجہ دینی چاہیئے - اور یہ نہیں سمجھنا چاہیئے کہ اس نے ابھی تک ایر فورس کا استعمال نہیں کیا اس لئے آئندہ بھی نہیں کرے گا - جس وقت اس کو ایر فورس استعمال کرنے میں فائدہ ہوگا وہ ایک سہلکتہ بھی دہو نہیں لگائے گا اور ایر فورس کو استعمال کرے گا - تو ہمیں اس کی قیہنلس کے واسطے فلی ریڈر ہونا چاہیئے - اور اپنی ایر سٹریلکٹہ کو بھی جتنا ہوسکے زائد کرنا چاہیئے -

ہمیں ایسے تھوڑے فالو اپر پلان میں کٹوتی نہیں کرنی چاہیئے کہونکہ انڈسٹری اور ایگریکلچر ایک ایسا فیلڈ ہے جو کہ ہمیں وار میں مدد دیتا ہے - خاص کر جو ہماری بارڈر ایسٹیس ہیں ان میں قطعاً کوئی کٹ نہیں کرنا چاہیئے - تھوڑے فالو اپر پلان میں وہاں اگر کچھ گٹ وٹ ہوا تو اندھھے کے وہاں کے لوگوں کے مورال پر اس

کا کچھ اثر پڑے - وہاں لی کا مورال ہائی رکھنے کے لئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ بارڈر ایسٹیس میں کم از کم کوئی کٹ نہ ہو - تو جہاں تک ممکن ہو سکے وہاں نارمل حالات رکھے جائیں - تاکہ وہاں کے لوگوں کا مورال کافی اونچا رہے -

ہم چند دنوں سے دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ آل انڈیا ریڈیو اب کچھ اچھا کام کر رہا ہے - اس میں کوئی شک نہیں ہے کہ وہ پہلے کچھ سست تھا - مہری یہ تجویز ہے کہ آل انڈیا ریڈیو کو جنگی امداد جو ہمیں مل رہی ہے اس کے متعلق خبریں دینے میں کچھ احتیاط کرنی چاہیئے - کہونکہ ایسی خبروں سے ہمارے ملک میں تو جو چیز آرہی ہے اسکا ہمیں تو پتہ ہی ہے مگر اس سے دشمن بھی فائدہ اٹھا سکتا ہے - مثلاً ایسی نیوز دینا کہ ہر تین گھنٹے کے بعد ایک ہوائی جہاز آرمس لے کر فلاں جگہ آ رہا ہے یہ ہو رہا ہے وہ ہو رہا ہے لڑائی کے زمانہ میں یہ چیز ٹھیک نہیں ہے - جو ملک ہمیں مدد دے رہے ہیں ہم انکے مشکور ہیں - ایک بڑی خوشی کی بات ہے کہ اس مشکل وقت میں ملک کی طرف سے جس جذبے اور ایثار کا اظہار کیا گیا ہے یہ بھی ہستری میں سرنے کے حروف سے لکھ جانے کے قابل ہے -

[شری پیر محمد خاں]
نیشنل فیڈلس کونسل جو نمائندگی
کئی ہے اس کے متعلق ایک ممبری
تصویز ہے کہ اس میں جو ممبروں کے
دیمانڈ انسر میں ان کو کم از کم یہاں
دکھا جائے۔ جہاں فیڈلس منسٹر
اور پرائم منسٹر ہیں۔ ان کے علاوہ
چیف آف اسٹاف تو تینوں یہاں
ہیں ہی۔ اس طرح ملٹری میٹرس
میں یہ بھی جلدی پرائم منسٹر اور
فیڈنس منسٹر کو مل سکیں گے کسی
سجیشن کے متعلق سوچنے میں۔
یہ ممبری ایک تصویز ہے جس پر فور
دکھا جائے اور ممبرا خیال ہے کہ اگر اس
پر عمل کیا جائے تو فائدہ ملے گا۔

جہاں تک چائیلڈ کے ساتھ بات
چھت کرنے کا متعلق ہے یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ
ہمارا اسٹیٹ یہ ہے کہ آٹھ ستمبر سے
پہلے جو اس کی پوزیشن تھی وہ اس
کو اختیار کرے۔ مگر میں یہ کہتا
چاہتا ہوں کہ ۸ ستمبر سے پہلے بارہ
ہزار اسکوائر میل تو ہماری ریاست کا
علاقہ اس کے پاس تھا۔ ممبرا سجیشن
یہ ہے کہ اب ہم یہ شرط لگائیں کہ
ایگریجیشن اس نے کہا ہے اور ہم
بات چیت اس وقت کریں گے جب کہ
جتنا ایگریجیشن اس نے کہا ہے پہلے وہ
اس کو ویکیف کرے۔ اور اب اس
نوائی کو ہمیں اس کے اختتام تک
پہنچانا چاہیئے اور اس کو نامکمل
نہیں چھوڑنا چاہیئے۔ ہاں بیشک

ہماری عزت اور ہمارا ملک برقرار رہے
اگر کوئی بات چیت ہو تو اس میں
کوئی حرج نہیں ہے مگر اب تو سوال
یہ ہے کہ وہ پہلے ہمارے ملک میں
سے نکل جائے اور پھر اس سے کوئی بات
چیت کی جائے۔ شکریہ۔

†[شری پیر محمد خاں (جम्मू اور
کاشمیر) : جناب ڈپٹی چیئرمین ساہیبا،
میں آنارےبل ہوم مینسٹر ساہب کے دونوں
ریجولیشنز کی تائید کرتا ہوں اور چاہنا
ہے ہمارے ملک پر جو حملہ کیا اس کے
موتالیک کوئی کھانا چاہتا ہوں۔ چاہنا ہے
ایک طرف نپا میں اور دوسری طرف لداخ
میں ہمارے ملک پر حملہ کیا ہے۔ نپا
کی طرف کی واڈنری ۱۹۱۳-۱۴ میں فیکس
ہوئی تھی جس میں چاہنا بھی ایک ساڈڈ تھا
اور لداخ کی واڈنری ۱۹۵۲ میں فیکس
ہوئی تھی۔ اس میں بھی چاہنا ایک ساڈڈ تھا۔
دونوں گھدناموں میں ان کے ملک کی طرف سے
نوماندگی موجد ہے اور اس کے دستخط
ہے۔]

اس وقت دیکھنے کی بات یہ ہے کہ کیا
لداخ اور نپا کے علاقے اتنے فرڈائل-
جرخے-ہے اور ان فاڈدمنڈ جگہوں کو
حاصل کرنے کے لیے اس نے حملہ کیا ہے؟
ایسا مماننا غلط بات ہے۔ دراصل یہ
لڈائی کمونیزم اور ڈیموکریسی کی ہے۔
کمونیزم کا خاص اصول یہ ہے کہ ساری
دنیا کو کمونیزم کے ماتحت لایا جائے۔
کسی جگہ وہ سولہ سے کام لیتا ہے اور
کسی جگہ لڈائی سے کام لیتا ہے
اور کسی جگہ سولہ اور لڈائی دونوں
ہرے چلاتا ہے۔ چنانچہ، ہم تیسری صف
میں آتے ہیں اور ہم پر سولہ اور لڈائی دونوں
ہرے برتے ہیں۔ نپا کا پھاڈی علاقہ یا
لداخ کا پھاڈی علاقہ لینے کے واسطے یہ
لڈائی نہیں ہے بلکہ یہ لڈائی ہے ہندوستان

को लेने के वास्ते । इससे ज्यादा यह कहना अच्छा होगा, इंडियन सब-कन्टिनेन्ट को लेने के लिये क्योंकि हमारे पड़ोसी के लिये उस से बचना बहुत मुश्किल है । अब यह समझ कर कि यह एक नजरियात की जंग है , हम ने जो नजरिया अख्तियार किया है उसको सही, सच्चा और पाकीजा समझ कर अख्तियार किया है । लिहाजा इस वक्त हमें यह चाहिये कि अपना तन मन धन इस लड़ाई को जीतने में और अपने मुल्क को बचाने में लगा दें ।

हम पर एक किस्म का अचानक हमला किया गया; और अचानक इस वास्ते कहता हूं क्योंकि नगोशियेशन्स भी चल रहे थे, ट्रप मूवमेन्ट भी हो रहा था, तसल्लिया भी दी जा रही थी और सब कुछ हो रहा था । इसलिये हम अपनी शराफत की वजह से यह बात समझे, अपनी तबियत और उमूल की वजह से यह बात समझे कि ऐसी हालत में बीदादिलेरी नहीं की जायेगी । जब बातचीत चल रही है तब हमला करने का कोई मतलब ही नहीं है । तो इस वजह से, जो कुछ हमले से पहले होना चाहिये था शायद उसमें कुछ कमी रही । शुरू में हमारे जो रिवर्सेज हुए उनमें से हमें मायूस नहीं होना चाहिये । हमें इस वक्त यह देखना चाहिये कि जब फर्स्ट और सैकंड वर्ल्ड वार हुई तो उस वक्त रिवर्सेज किस तरफ थे और फिर आखिर में फतहयाब कौन हुआ । इस वजह से हमें बहराना नहीं चाहिये । इस मुल्क ने बहुत अच्छी तरह से समझ लिया है कि हमारे सामने हालत क्या है, और हमें अपने वकार और आजादी के लिये क्या करना चाहिये । यह तो खुशी की बात है कि इस तरफ से हमें बिल्कुल तसल्ली है ।

इस वक्त दो जगहों पर यानी लद्दाख और नेफा पर एक किस्म से लड़ाई रोक दी हुई है । ऐसी हालत जब हो तो उसकी दो बजहें होती हैं । एक यह कि दुश्मन किसी

बड़ी बात के लिये तैयारी कर रहा है— मेजर आफेन्सिव की बात हो या इस तरह की कोई बात हो, या मौजूदा हालत में दुनिया की तरफ से उसके ऊपर जो बौछार हो रही है उससे वह नरबस हो चला हो और यह सोचने लगा हो कि कौन सा ऐसा रास्ता है जिससे इस मुश्किल से बाहर निकला जा सके । तो ऐसी सूरत में यह नहीं समझना चाहिये कि लड़ाई सुस्त पड़ गई है हमें और ज्यादा कोशिशें करनी चाहियें । हमारी फौज ने नेफा और लद्दाख में बहुत बहादुराना काम किया है और यह बात, हिस्ती में यादगार के तौर पर रहेगी । कल ही रेडियो में हमारे एक एन० सी० ओ० के बारे में बतलाया गया कि वह ८ या १० चीनी सोलजरो को मारने के बाद खुद भी शहीद हो गया ।

तो यह हमारा यकीन है कि हमारे जवानों के मुकाबले में ताकत में, मेहनत और मशक्कत बरदाश्त करने में, हुब्बुलवतनी में, दिलेरी में चाइनीज किसी मुकाबले में नहीं है । लद्दाख में इसी तरह इंडियन आर्मी भी काम कर रही है और हमारे जम्मू और काश्मीर मिलेशिया भी वहां आपरेशन में हिस्सा ले रही है । हमारी मिलेशिया ने वहां इतना बहादुराना और उम्दा काम किया कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने उनकी इस बहादुर और उम्दा काम करने पर उनका इस्टेटस जो कि इंडियन आर्मी से कम था इंडियन आर्मी के बराबर कर दिया और अब वह तनख्वाह पेंशन और दूसरी चीजों में इंडियन आर्मी के बराबर है । हमारी मिलेशिया के लोग जो कि हमारी रियासत के हैं हमें उन पर फख है और हमें यह तक्को थी और यकीन था कि वह यही काम करेगे क्योंकि वह उन बाप दादाओं की औलाद हैं जिन्होंने १८४२ ई० में तिब्बत और चाइना की मुश्तरका फौज को इस जगह शिकस्त दी थी और उस शिकस्त के बाद सन् १८४२ का अहदनामा हुआ था । उन्होंने यह साबित कर दिया कि

[श्री पीर मुहम्मद खान]

बहु उन बुजुर्गों के नाम लेवा हैं जिन्होंने पहले भी चाइना और तिब्बत दोनों की मुश्तरका फौजों को वहां शिकस्त दी थी। इस वक्त हमारी रियासत की एक यूनिट के पास उस लड़ाई में छीना हुआ चाइना का फौजी झंडा मौजूद है।

हमें अलबत्ता अहतियाती तदबीरें काफी अख्तियार करनी चाहियें क्योंकि हमारा दुश्मन बहशी और बेउसूल है। खास कर एयर रेड प्रिकौशन की तरफ हमें खास तवज्जो देनी चाहिये और यह नहीं समझना चाहिये कि उसने अभी तक एयर फोर्स का इस्तेमाल नहीं किया इसलिये आइन्दा भी इस्तेमाल नहीं करेगा। जिस वक्त उसको एयर फोर्स इस्तेमाल करने में फायदा होगा वह एक सेकेंड भी देर नहीं लगायेगा और एयर फोर्स को इस्तेमाल करेगा। तो हमें उसकी डिफेंस के वास्ते फुल्ली प्रिपेयर्ड होना चाहिये और अपनी एयर स्ट्रेन्थ को भी जितना हो सके जायद करना चाहिये।

हमें अपने थर्ड फाइव इयर प्लान में कटौती नहीं करनी चाहिये। क्योंकि इंडस्ट्री और एग्री-कल्चर एक ऐसा फील्ड है जो कि हमें वार में मदद देता है। खास कर जो हमारी जोर्डर स्टेट्स हैं उनमें कतन कोई कट नहीं करना चाहिये। थर्ड फाइव इयर प्लान में वहां अगर कुछ कट बट हुआ तो अन्देशा है कि वहां के लोगों के मोरल पर उस का कुछ असर पड़े। वहां उनका मोरल हाई रखने के लिये यह जरूरी है कि बोर्डर स्टेट्स में कम से कम कोई कट न हो। तो जहां तक मुमकिन हो सके वहां नौरमल हालात रखे जायें ताकि वहां के लोगों का मोरल काफी ऊंचा रहे।

हम चन्द दिनों से देख रहे हैं कि आल इंडिया रेडियो अब कुछ अच्छा काम कर रहा है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि वह पहले कुछ सुस्त था। मेरी यह तजवीज है कि आल इंडिया रेडियो को जंगी-इमदाद जो हमें मिल रही

है उसके मुताल्लिक खबरें देने में कुछ अह-तियात करनी चाहिये क्योंकि ऐसी खबरों से हमारे मुल्क में तो जो चीज आ रही है उस का हमें तो पता ही है मगर उससे दुश्मन भी फायदा उठा सकता है। मसलन ऐसी न्यूज देना कि हर तीन घंटे के बाद एक हवाई जहाज आर्म्ज ले कर फलां जगह आ रहा है, यह हो रहा है, वह हो रहा है—लड़ाई के जमाने में यह चीज ठीक नहीं है।

जो मुल्क हमें मदद दे रहे हैं हम उनके मशकूर हैं। एक बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि इस मुश्किल वक्त में मुल्क की तरफ से जिस जजबे और ईसार का इजहार किया गया है वह भी हिस्ट्री में सोने के हुरफ से लिखे जाने के काबिल है।

नेशनल डिफेंस कौंसिल जो बनाई गई है उसके मुताल्लिक एक मेरी तजवीज है कि उसमें जो मिलिटरी के रिटायर्ड आफिसर हैं उन को कम से कम यहां रखा जाये, जहां डिफेंस मिनिस्टर और प्राइम मिनिस्टर हैं। उनके अलावा चीफ आफ स्टाफ तो तीनों यहां हैं ही। इस तरह मिलिटरी मैटर्स में यह बड़ी जल्दी प्राइम मिनिस्टर और डिफेंस मिनिस्टर को मिल सकेंगे किसी सिचुएशन के मुताल्लिक सोचने में। यह मेरी एक तजवीज है जिस पर गौर किया जाये और मेरा ख्याल है कि अगर इस पर अमल किया जाये तो फायदेमन्द होगा।

जहां तक चाइना के साथ बातचीत करने का ताल्लुक है, यह ठीक है कि हमारा स्टैंड यह है कि ८ सितम्बर से पहले जो उसकी पोजीशन थी वह उसको अख्तियार करे। मगर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि ८ सितम्बर से पहले १२ हजार स्क्वायर मील तो हमारी रियासत का इलाका उसके पास था। मेरा सजेशन यह है कि अब हम यह शर्त लगाये कि एग्रेशन उसने किया है और हम बातचीत उस वक्त करेंगे जब कि जितना एग्रेशन उसने किया है पहले वह उसको वेंकेट करे और

अब इस लड़ाई को हमें उत्तक इक्ष्ताम तक पहुँचाना चाहिये और इस को नामुकाम्मेल नहीं छोड़ना चाहिये । हां, बेसक हमारी इज्जत और हमारा मुल्क बरकरार रहते अगर कोई बातचीत हो तो उसमें कोई हर्ज नहीं है, मगर अब तो संवाल यह है कि वह पहले हमारे मुल्क में से निकल जाये और फिर उस से कोई बातचीत की जाये ।
शुक्रिया ।]

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SATT Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman, I like to extend my full and whole-hearted support of myself and my party to the two Resolutions moved by our Home Minister on the most naked, massive, unprovoked and preplanned aggression by Communist China on our sacred soil and on the consequent declaration of emergency by the President last month.

Madam, this is the most solemn occasion when we are facing a very grave crisis and when every citizen of India has to discharge an obligation to the motherland with greatest restraint of responsibility. It is most heartening and encouraging that today the entire nation of 438 millions stands as one man behind our great Prime Minister to expel the Chinese aggression from our sacred soil. There are no differences whatsoever existing today. There has been unmistakable manifestation of deep rooted attachment to the unity and integrity of the motherland by people of different parties and of different regions. In short, Madam, we have achieved national integration in a split second.

Madam, the heroic deeds of our soldiers at the front are without parallel in history and I consider it my duty to join with others who have spoken before to offer my respectful homage to the memory of our soldiers—the worthy sons of India—who died at the front defending not only our frontiers but also our integrity and honour. They are the martyrs to the

glorious cause of our motherland. I have only to say that the blood of our heroic soldiers calls us to redouble our efforts to see that every inch of our sacred soil, now occupied by the enemy, is restored the soonest possible moment.

Madam, I am happy and proud that at this hour of trial we have not only been united as never before but that we have got also the world of democracy and freedom extending their support and sympathy to us. I am particularly grateful to the United Kingdom and the United States for the manner and the substance of their aid in our defence against the Chinese aggressor. I also appreciate the sympathy extended to us particularly by Malaya and the mediation efforts of Egypt. At this juncture I cannot but deplore the very unfriendly attitude taken by our neighbour, Pakistan—both the Government and the press—towards us in trying to take advantage of our difficulties. Such an attitude at a time of adversity is, to say the least, not only extremely shortsighted but also most disgraceful. I only wish that not only Pakistan but all the countries of Asia will understand that on the independence and strength of India depends the honour and freedom of the entire continent, and realising this will join India in resisting and defeating the expansionist and imperialist Communist China which is the menace of the century, as our Prime Minister has rightly called it.

Madam Deputy Chairman, our Prime Minister has rightly warned the nation that this struggle against Communist China will be a long drawn out struggle. Therefore, I want the entire country now to develop a military outlook to mobilise all possible resources and the entire nation to be conditioned to face the brutal and naked aggression. I would, therefore, suggest that students, particularly of colleges all over the country, must be given military training. I want that during the emergency the entire na-

[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Saif]

tion should observe an austerity derive, give up all paraphernalia of wasteful expenditure, abandon all meaningless ceremonies, stop drinking and merry-making at the clubs, and give proof of saving every Naya Paisa for the national effort. We must not only sacrifice our cash and coin, gold and savings but also contribute blood for the defence of the motherland.

Madam, I would require the A.I.R. to meet the propaganda offensive of the Peking Radio, as has been pointed out by my good friend, Mr. Mani. I feel the Information and Broadcasting Ministry is not working today with a spirit of emergency. I want patriotic songs and music of the war drums to be heard on the A.I.R. to revolutionise the outlook of our people and keep up the morale always high.

Madam, I would also like to point out most emphatically that the Government both at the Centre and in the States must act with the greatest speed and the utmost economy in stepping up our resources for the war effort. War effort should be the main and the only consideration during the emergency. I would, therefore, desire that the Prime Minister should constitute a War Cabinet of a small but compact size of not more than 10—12 persons, more efficient and of young blood, on a war footing. The States also should give up the so-called broad-based Ministries and have smaller Ministries of 5—7 persons. I am glad that the Government of Punjab is already moving in this direction.

As far as Parliament is concerned, Madam, I would venture to suggest that as we have to respect the democratic set-up of our country and take the leaders of public opinion into confidence, it should meet only for a very short duration but frequently, say, at least once a month or so, to transact important and urgent business. I feel we could preferably have evening sessions for limited hours,

cutting short the Question Hour. By doing so the Government will be able to devote more time and energy for the main task of the defence of the country and plan the defeat of the enemy at the earliest possible time pushing it out of our sacred soil.

Madam, it is not the time to talk of alignment or of non-alignment. It is the time to secure from our friends, from whichever source possible, all possible arms, ammunitions, weapons and bombers, to strike and strike hard in defence of our integrity and honour against the aggressor. Alignment and non-alignment are the problems to be discussed in peace time, and not at a time when we are actually at war.

Madam, God has blessed us with an unprecedented, spontaneous upsurge of national unity. Our cause is not only just but sacred. We fortunately have a Prime Minister who is not only the head of the administration but the undisputed leader of the nation. He has unique stamina, energy, courage and determination even at this ripe age. Let us pray for his health and strength, take a solemn pledge to stand by him at this hour of trial, when the unscrupulous aggressor is trying to undermine our hard-earned freedom. I am sure and I feel convinced, that by the blessings of God and with unity in our ranks and determination in our hearts, this man of peace, this architect of our freedom will lead us to victory and prove himself to be the best leader even at a time of war.

Thanking you, Madam, I conclude.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND (Madhya Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the two Resolutions before us with all the emphasis at my command. The country today has shown as never before perhaps, that though some time ago we may be hundred and five fighting amongst ourselves we are now one-hundred-and-five against others according to the old age of hundred Kauravas and five Pandavas. It is

very necessary even for people from the party, which is the Government party, to speak and express their solid support to the Government as has been done by men and women of all other parties including the Communist Party

Madam, we have been trying to be sometimes apologetic about our non-alignment policy. Sometimes we have been naturally defending it. But, I for one feel that we have nothing to be apologetic about our non-alignment policy. If anything, we should be proud that our non-alignment policy has given the world peace all these years, after our independence, in any case. Just imagine the fate of the Power blocs with India, with its almost 400 million people, siding one bloc or the other. There would have been conflagration long ago. Therefore in spite of incurring disfavour and criticism, our Prime Minister, and the country behind him, have stood firm on this non-alignment policy. But now I feel, keeping to this non-alignment policy, when attacked by another country—the popular word being ‘aggression’—we should not fight shy of getting help from anywhere, notwithstanding non-alignment, and also not wait until help is actually required but provide for it in advance. In fact, we are doing that. As has been announced, even the U.S. SR has agreed to supply the MIGs by the 15th of December. They should have done this earlier.

I would like to remind the House of one interesting thing which would throw some light on the Chinese thinking. Not that it is not known but it is better to remember it again. People who have gone to China during the last seven or eight years have all been struck by one fact. Even an ordinary Chinese who used to come in contact with visitors as guide, etc. used to tell them, while discussing off the record, that China which had the oldest civilisation, as they used to put it to the visitors which had the largest population and which was the biggest in size in Asia, should na-

turally be the leader of Asia. Also, about their ways of attacking other countries, when they wanted, they used to have one cry all over the country. In 1954 they felt that they should have Taiwan and even in the gardens the grass and croton borders used to have the motto that “we must have Taiwan”. In the schools the children used to utter that cry as a mark of greeting. When these people were asked why they wanted Taiwan, then they never had the liberty to give a reply though they were educated men and women—MAs, and college graduates and social workers—they gave no reply even when they knew it. They just usually tell the visitors that they would give the reply a little later and after 3 or 4 days they would come back and say that for the question which was asked as to why they wanted to have Taiwan only and why they did not go against Hong Kong or Macao, the reply was that their Government would by and by take all those places. Therefore this idea of marching against other countries has been there right from the beginning of China's first Parliament meeting.

Though China pretended to be a friend of India, as we have just been told, we realise that she has been behaving in a treacherous way. It is a fact that Mr Chou En-lai wanted to be the modern Chenghiz Khan and the modern conqueror of the world, that also is not hidden, the way that Chenghiz Khan is held out as a big hero in all the propaganda carried on in that country. Yet India has been trying, in our friendly way, in our attitude always to be helpful to others to plead or advocate Chinese case at the UN. Even today we have been trying to say, even in this House our Prime Minister has said, that we cannot expect the smaller part to represent China, that is Taiwan, and expect the whole country to go unrepresented in that comity of nation, the UNO. What did we get in return? We got China all the time that Mr Chou En-lai had been coming here—three visits he paid to this country—occupying post after post stealthily.

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.] every time when he was here, when asked that something should be done about the determination of the Mac mahon Line, the reply used to be in a characteristic way that they have been so very busy, that they had no time to think over the border question. On the other hand we have to remember at a time how China, which was never ready to understand the principle behind the Mac Mahon Line and told India and the world that the Mac Mahon line between India and China was settled when India was under foreign rule, was prepared to acknowledge that same line with Burma. These facts ought to be known to the people, even to the common people and then only we will know what kind of treacherous enemy we have to contend with.

Perhaps, at this stage we should not use the word 'enemy'. I suppose we should not use the word 'war' also. We should use the word 'aggressor' and the word 'aggression' because we are not yet at war and we are hoping that even at this stage China which perhaps banked on a world conflagration through Cuba might realise that in an affair of this kind, it is both sides which will lose and, therefore, through common friends China also would agree to India's open invitation for negotiations on very modest terms which India has put to her. As a matter of fact, there are quite a number of people in the country who do not see why we should say that they should take up the position which they had occupied on 8th September. They rather feel that it should be the position where they had been even three years ago before the Aksai Chin road was built. I would, therefore, suggest that in addition to the efforts that are being made by so many friendly countries, our India-China Friendship League, our Democratic Women's Federation, our peace conference, who have been so active in this country, should go to China, court the friendship of the Chinese, go there again and should use their good offices with their opposite numbers on the

other side and see that this madness which is sure to lead to human destruction on a large scale is stopped. After all the Democratic Women's Federation could put it to the women in China as it used to be said: "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world". Where are the women in China to give proof of that adage? The Chinese women though they were, even in peace time, given a grand military uniform and when talking to women social workers from other countries some of them looked like Generals on actual battle-field, what voice have they today? They should demand that decisive voice. This appeal from the women of India, from the women of the world, should reach them and they should ask their friends in power, Mr. Mao Tse-tung and Mr. Chou En-lai and others, to cry a halt to this madness, to this proof of treachery.

With regard to ideas of China, there is one more thing which we have to put across to our friends in Russia and that is with regard to the Warsaw Pact. Russia, it is said, is going to give all military aid including aeroplanes and perhaps airlift also to China. By Warsaw Pact both those countries are pledged to give support to each other in times of aggression but it is necessary to ask Russia whether China asked or consulted her when indulging in this adventure or aggression and if, as it must have been, she had not been consulted exactly about the steps she has taken or she intends taking, Russia is certainly not morally bound to help China. Russia that wants to stop world conflagration as she has shown by her action in Cuba, owes it to humanity that even in this case she should not come forward to respect her Warsaw Pact

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore): China is not a member of the Warsaw Pact.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: Well, may be Peking pact or a secret pact. I am open to correction but I am not quite sure about the

ground on which she feels morally bound to help China when China did not consult her in this particular aggressive action. Or did she?

There is one more thing about the Communist Party's attitude here. Everybody has paid a tribute to the Communist Party for coming forward . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: No, I have not.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: . . . barring perhaps, the P.S.P. people. I am open to correction again but people paid tribute to them for coming forward in the way in which they did to make a statement on the floor of this House, but I cannot help expressing a feeling of surprise why that particular statement had to be put down, and read out by such a supereloquent person as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. Perhaps, he was afraid that any word here or there that might escape him might not perhaps give out their own personal feeling and give out all their new determination. Whatever it may be, it is very necessary for the Government, therefore, to keep a very close eye on the activities of every person, it does not matter to what party he may belong, especially the neo-converts who are likely to indulge in sabotage. The Government knows, as was said on the floor of this House by one of the speakers on the other side, that some members of the Communist Party have unguardedly expressed that if a certain thing is not done or if a certain thing is done, they would hamper the war effort. Therefore, before such people get a long time to do these things, they should be closely watched, to whatever party they may belong and out of whatever motive they may be doing these things, even if according to them that is in the people's interest

Then there are a few things about the home front to which I would like

to refer. One is about Parliament not sitting very long. This has already been mentioned here by one of the speakers and by others in the other House also. It has been suggested that the time taken over parliamentary business by officials and others could be very well devoted in a better way to more constructive and more urgent work. Besides, during the Question Hour, we are sometimes apt to ask questions which do not do much credit to our desire to make one united all-out effort to victory. Also, sometimes, certain information is given in reply to certain questions put inadvertently, which is not to our advantage. The main point is that we are going to agree to this Ordinance and the whole country is united behind the Government. So, nothing much is gained by sitting and discussing everything at this time. Later we may meet for a few days or weeks and pass all those extraordinary measures which the Government might have to take by means of Ordinances. Some people feel that this may mean the surrendering of our civil liberties to Government. Well, I differ from such a view, because there is a point up to which we have to hand over our powers in these momentous times, to the Government and we need not, therefore, question the right of the Government to do everything necessary in this time of emergency in the interest of the country.

As was pointed out, the front or the place where the fight is going on, is not the only place to be guarded. The home front is also very important as time passes. Therefore, it is very necessary that the Government should appoint honorary workers, experienced workers, village-wise and lane-wise, to take stock of the requirements of the people, in the matter of their foodgrain requirements and other such things, and also incidentally, to see that everybody, in a united manner, is contributing to this effort in order to keep the fight going on until the victory is won or enemy is driven out.

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.]

Much has been said about the press and the way news is doled out by the press. I am sure the Home Minister will take steps to advise the press in a suitable manner. It has to be realised, however, that just as rumour-mongering is likely to lead to mischief, unnecessary information given out in the press though calculated to raise the morale of the forces on the front and also of the public, is likely to give out too much information to the people who are against us, or if you want to call them by that name, our enemies. I feel and I hope the stage has not yet come to consider China as the enemy and I hope that they will even now see the force of public opinion in India and the force of world opinion behind India, and try to stop this madness of an aggression and negotiate terms which would be honourable to India. After all, a dacoit cannot say that whatever he has taken should be kept by him and then he will decide what should be done about his dacoity or what action should be taken against him. This aggression by China is nothing short of dacoity on an international scale and, therefore, it is but right that China should vacate this aggression. China must realise that if she wanted a path through Aksai Chin to go to Sinkiang, some arrangement could be made. Even today from East Pakistan to West Pakistan, the Pakistanis can pass through our country. All these things can be done by special arrangement. The excuse that she wanted a passage through Ladakh to go to Sinkiang is absolutely without any basis or foundation and China's action today in NEFA shows nothing except her imperialistic desire, as I said a little earlier, to be the conqueror and leader of Asia. Thank you.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, 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 Government'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. friend, Shri Annadurai this morning. Even in England they had the Defence of the Realm Act and none of the liberties of the individual were done away with. It may be necessary under this Emergency Ordinance to see that some fundamental rights of the individual citizen are curtailed. I hope that in executing the several clauses of the Ordinance that deal with the fundamental rights, they will see that only the enemies of the State are proceeded against and not ordinary individual citizens.

The last emotion is one of wonderment at the wonderful reaction of the people of India to this Chinese aggression. Altogether spontaneously the people of India, as one man, have risen to protest against the Chinese aggression and have offered all kinds of help and contributions, financial and physical, to the Government in order to help it in the present crisis. But this satisfaction is tempered by the hope that this emotional state both among the Government and the people will be sustained, that this dramatic outburst of the people and of the Government will be continued at a certain level of action, that in all our work and action we may act as sober, mature citizens of a free democratic Republic and adjust our future conduct, both of the Government and

the people to the circumstances that may arise.

In regard to this aggression, we must look a little into the past of the Government's performance. We have been advised by the Prime Minister not to indulge in postmortem 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 other bodies, 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 Defence Administration have been exposed in the very first weeks of this war. In one of the first speeches that I had made on the Defence Ministry, I pleaded that we should have a whole-time Defence Minister and not one that divides his time and energy between the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry for U.N.O. affairs. I cannot help thinking that it was this part-time work of the 'late lamented' Defence Minister that is largely responsible for the defects and deficiencies of his Ministry. Another defect of the former Defence Minister was his unresponsiveness to public opinion. He never took people, not even the Parliament, not even his own parliamentary party, into his confidence about the state of the defences of the country. To question after question that I put to the Defence Ministry in regard to the state of the defences, in regard to the state of our personnel, in regard to the state of our equipment, the invariable reply was that it was secret and confidential and that information could not be revealed in the public interest. Then, 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 an anti-Krishna Menon

party. Efficiency and merit were not the only passports to high command in his time.

All these must be changed immediately, Madam Deputy Chairman, and 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. We hope that he will give up all these sins of omission and commission which have brought the state of our defences to this sorry state. I hope he will look only to efficiency and merit as the only passport to high command.

In the nineteenth century in England they used to have a saying, "The British Empire will come to an end when it is Buggin's turn". Buggin representing the senior incompetent officer. Now, let us not come to that position. Let us send to our command in NEFA and in Ladakh men who are experienced in battle and in war. Let us not send inexperienced people who have to win their laurels. When the posting of the present Commander in NEFA was criticised by members of the public, the Prime Minister retorted by saying that he was among the bravest of the brave but among Commanders we do not only want bravery, we also want brains. Bravery in a military officer must be taken for granted. When we have tried Generals like General Thimmayya and General Thorat, why should we give to this particular person the command of our forces at this critical juncture in NEFA? I will, therefore, appeal to the Prime Minister and to the Government to see that the services of these tried Generals are requisitioned and they are brought back into active service. Their place is not on the newly formed Defence Council; their place is in the Army Council, in the Council of the Chiefs of Staff. They should be there. General Thimmayya might be made Commander-in-Chief of our Forces and let him appoint men that he knows, officers that he

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy.]
knows, officers who have had battle experience and that will give confidence to the army and to the people.

I am glad also that a new Supply Minister is to be appointed making up for another deficiency in the Defence Administration. He must co-ordinate the manufacture and distribution of all kinds of military supply. He must make use of all the Ordnance factories that we have already. The British bequeathed to us at Kirkee an ammunition factory, at Ishapur a rifle factory, at Aravankadu 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. If necessary, prototypes and model plants and designs should be imported from England and the United States of America and even instructors and skilled workmen might be imported so that our defence factories may be put on the road to production all round. But, Madam Deputy Chairman, defence and foreign policy are intimately connected with each other. Defence, after all, is a function of foreign policy.

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 Confucious and his teachings 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 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."

4 P.M. It is a wonderful definition of moral law. Another Chinese philosopher Kwangtze—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. Only that State is powerful which can attack another 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 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.

I have no doubt that the Prime Minister will not under any circumstances give up the policy of non-alignment. He is wedded to it. But then there are three ways of dealing with a person or idea to which one is wedded. One is downright denunciation. This we cannot expect of our Prime Minister. The other is turning the blind eye on it at convenient moments. This is open to him and he is doing it at present. The third is a strategic retreat; it may be temporary no doubt. For the duration of the war we might put non-alignment in cold storage; a sort of judicial separation between him and the non-alignment policy may be effected. It is not an absolute divorce. Later at some convenient time he can come back to it. He may say, 'I am still wedded to it' as he says so often in public; he said so only yesterday. A man and a woman who are separated by judicial separation may

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, it is fifteen years since we attained our hard-earned freedom and since then we have been in a very peaceful and non-interfering way, doing our own work with the result that all other countries were looking at us with admiration. We were making very rapid progress and suddenly in an unforeseen way we have been pushed into this unfortunate situation. But probably this is only the first occasion when the whole of India from top to bottom, all sections of people of all creeds, of all ages, of all vocations, have been able to rise as one man to show their loyalty and patriotism. We have never had an occasion to defend our own country. Our soldiers have in the past fought for other people; never for our own

[Shri C. Ammannappa Raja.]

country. So, probably, China has done us indirectly a good turn to show that our people can fight for our own country and that though we have always been a non-violent people, peace-loving people, we can also answer a most treacherous and brutal invasion like this.

The Himalayas have always protected us and it is time for us now to protect the Himalayas. Our people have taken up the challenge. The people of China and the Government of China may be thinking that they are great in numbers. No doubt they are great in numbers but that is not all that is wanted. We know the story of Mahabharata where the Kauravas were very much more in number than the Pandavas who triumphed in the end. Though the Pandavas were very few in number and very much under-armed and under-ammunitioned than the Kauravas, they won the fight. So also it is not just our strength alone that China has to face. The people of other countries know what is right, what is just, what is fair, and they also have been condemning the aggression by China. None of these countries expected a war like this, an invasion like this particularly on our country which has always been doing good to all the countries which have been in trouble.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.]

The call of the Prime Minister for support and help from our people has come in a great measure. Even a child of five is thinking of how to help the war effort. I was surprised when a small boy came to me and said: "Panditji has said that steel must be used for war effort and I am going to collect all the horse shoes and send them to the Prime Minister." That is how our people are thinking, how each individual could contribute to save our motherland. Our soldiers are giving their blood for us and our

people here are prepared to give their blood for the soldiers. And in every way they are trying to contribute, not only men and women but even children. Women, of course, are trying their best to see in what way they can help our soldiers. They have been knitting. They have collected clothes. They have been collecting donations and all that. And we are getting them in abundance. Now, we know that we did not realise in the past that China is an enemy of ours. So, we were not prepared to face China and send it back to its proper place.

I am afraid so many people in our own country sometimes carry on propaganda that is not helpful at a time like this. Many people have paid tributes to the Leader of the Opposition here who has made a wonderful speech. You cannot find one flaw in it. It is excellent. But I am surprised that even the Ordinance, or any clause or any word of the Ordinance, has not been criticised by that party. They never spare an Ordinance like this. They criticise it. This whole-hearted support looks a little suspicious. Not only that. At the end Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said that he was sorry that some of his partymen were arrested. What else should be done for them? When they indulge in anti-national activities, I do not know what would have happened to them in some other country. We have only arrested them. What else would we do? I expect that they should have punished their members themselves. They did not do any such thing. They did not bring to the notice of the Government the activities that they were indulging in. On the other hand, they come and say that it is very wrong that these people should have been arrested. What else to do? That is the least we can do to them. I am surprised that Mr. A. D. Mani—even though the Communists did not say anything about civil liberties and the Ordinance and what we are trying to do in the emergency—had said that civil liberties should be protected. Is

it civil liberty or would it be criminal liberty if these people are left at large? We have to take severe steps.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not want to interrupt, but these matters are in a way *sub judice*. Charge-sheets, etc. would be given. I think it is not right for the hon. Member to say all these things here. This is all I would ask her. She should be at least kind in this matter, if nothing else. I repudiate all that she has said, but that I will do later on.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: I do not quite follow what he has said. (*Interruptions*) I was surprised that Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam made a speech of that nature in Madras and it was rousing the people and the labour against the Government. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta offered to read the "Hindu".

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have done it and I made enquiries about it.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: Will you please do it at the end of my speech if you get it, and let us see whether there is any difference?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How do I know that you would be referring to an obvious untruth?

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: I am not able to follow. I ask Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to read the "Hindu" whatever has been reported in the "Hindu", if it is different, and it will help him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Kama-raj Nadar, the Chief Minister of Madras does not take that view of that speech and you will be glad to hear that he is one of the Chief Ministers who have included the Communist Party.

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Please continue.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: Whatever it is, it is really a very disgraceful thing to say, if the statement is true. It has not been contradicted. I hope some action has been taken against him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Will Shastriji come to my rescue?

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: I hope that the Chair will tell him not to disturb me. I am not used to these disturbances in Madras. I was there for a long time, but we were not used to this type of activities. I was discussing and I was surprised, I called one Communist friend. We happened to meet. I suppose I should not disclose a drawing-room conversation, but that only gives out the pattern of their thinking. He only said, perhaps, it was an indiscretion of Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam. Is it mere indiscretion? That is the way they were thinking. So, I hope the Government will be alert. You know our foreign enemy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I rise on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): What is the point of order?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How can I be rude to her? Therefore, I say please yield. The point of order is this that a person is being named called Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam and it is being repeatedly suggested that he made an anti-national speech. Yesterday or rather the last day it was suggested. I contradicted it. I said it was not so. Again, the person is not here. He is not in a position to defend himself. The suggestion is being made. You will remember that once . . .

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Let us hear him. What is the point of order?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Our country's women are known for their patience. Our womanhood is known for its patience. Now, the point of order is this. It is a serious thing. The person is not here, not in a position to defend himself, and it is being said that he made an anti-national speech and it is reported by the press. It is utterly unfair. I deny all that. I repudiate it with all responsibility. He wanted to convey exactly the opposite thing. Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam is one of those who have been campaigning in Madras for everybody's defence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): It is a debatable point, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. There is no point of order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is a point of order. You should ask this name to be expunged from the whole of the proceedings. My contradiction should be recorded. Otherwise the country will get a very wrong impression of it. Is it fair?

(Interruptions)

SHRI SATYACHARAN (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, you had been too liberal in giving him so much time. Let the lady continue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): There is no point of order. Let her continue.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My point of order is raised. You may disallow it. I have been contradicting it. *(Interruptions)*. If you disallow it, it will be a precedent. I shall return to this kind of thing again. My point of order is this that Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam is not here. Something is being attributed to him to make him look anti-national.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I find no point of order. Let her continue.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then, I shall name from tomorrow.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: I do not know what should be expunged and all that. Anyhow, I hope our Government will be very alert and see that our Intelligence Department is strengthened. I know that in Kerala which is a corner of our country, all sorts of propaganda are being carried on, that is, actually the area which has been covered, which has been taken now by China belongs to them and not to us. I know this because some old man came and said: "Why should Panditji after all wage a war against China? It is their land, let them take it." That only shows how this kind of propaganda is being carried on. This is a very dangerous thing to do. I know that even in the garb of friendship and all that, this party is devoted to that kind of work. We know from 1942 onwards how we had to face our Communist friends in Andhra Pradesh and particularly in West Godavari from where I come. They go and take shelter and food from their friends. After some time when they find that they are not their friends, they go and kill the whole lot. We have to be aware of that. I know there will be enough strong language. Unless we become aware of such a situation and know who is who, it will be very difficult for us. We can face an external enemy, but we have to be very careful about an internal enemy.

There are other countries who in a most generous way have been extending help to us, and we are really grateful to them, even though they were not quite satisfied with our external policy in the past. They know that democracy is in danger, and they want democracy to live; otherwise the result will be very disastrous. Mr.

Annadurai was saying about people being democratic and undemocratic. I would call people who are opposed to democracy as anti-democratic.

Then these Pakistani people, who were living along with us until the other day, not only want to give no help to us in our hour of need but want to prevent other people from giving help to us. It is like cutting the nose to spite the face. What will be their future they are not able to understand. They are only gloating over our difficulties. Let them realise that unless they come to our help or at least keep quiet, they are also in danger. Let them realise that the borders must be protected, that the neighbouring countries must be protected; otherwise this menace will spread to them also.

I am sorry again to say that some of our Swatantra Party friends are suggesting that there should be a different Government or different leader. I do not know whom they have got in mind. It is very wrong to think of such things. They really must be patriotic and unreservedly do all that is possible to strengthen the hands of the Government and particularly our Prime Minister who is respected greatly not only in our country but in other countries also. Why should they come out with a suggestion like that? That is a peculiar policy adopted by the Swatantra Party, and they have got a very ununderstandable leader also.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: What is the policy to which the lady Member refers, the policy of the Swatantra Party? What is that policy?

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: That there should be a different Government set-up; to change the Government, to change the leader, all that. They have been suggesting that, I have heard in the other House also.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Not the party as such. It was an individual Member who did that.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: I am sorry. All right, let it then be some Swatantra Party members or friends from the Swatantra Party.

I am glad that a very efficient National Defence Council has been formed. They will certainly see to the needs of our soldiers and the needs of our country. They will also see that the output of arms and ammunitions and other things are speeded up. It is good that we are really catching up and the Chinese were not allowed to proceed any further and they have been checked where they are.

I would just like a clarification from Mr. Annadurai. When he was speaking, he said that "this" country must be helped. I do not know whether he said "our" country at any time. I hope he does not consider it as distinct or different from "our" country. So, I hope they will all feel nationally as if they are one nation and not anything different from us. I hope they have no feelings other than what the whole nation is feeling today, and I hope all people will without any reservations, to whatever party they may belong, come to help in whatever way they can so that we may give a good rebuff to China and send them back to their original place.

SHRI B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO: (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I rise to offer my whole-hearted support to the Resolutions moved by the hon. Home Minister. While doing so, I do not propose to traverse the whole ground or the background covered by those who have preceded me and who have spoken at length, nor do I wish to repeat all or even some of the invectives or the condemnatory words employed by them in respect of the patently treacherous aggression committed by China, though the latter deserves all those words and even more.

[Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao.]

I entirely agree that our fondest hopes about China's professed friendship have collapsed like a house of cards. I also agree that the belief that a newly emerged socialist country like China, an ancient and a big country with more than two millennia of friendly and cultural contacts with us, will hardly be so unscrupulous as to invade a peaceful and friendly country like ours, is fully exploded. Maybe our hopes and expectations were themselves entirely misplaced; may be our own basic faith in human goodness, the persistent and consistent support that we gave China, the solemn declaration of China repeatedly affirming the Bandung principles of *Panchsheel*, the basic inconsistency of a new and rising socialist country attacking a friendly neighbour, the general climate for world peace which was being assiduously and consciously built up by humanity and ourselves, mostly contributing to it, all these factors and considerations contributed to create around us a somewhat artificial sense of peace and security, and we succumbed to it naturally as unsuspecting, peaceful and good men would always do. The Prime Minister himself has analysed these factors and admitted that there was some unwarranted credulousness on our part, and he has also agreed that there was unpreparedness on our part. There were certainly some in this House and in the other House who had been telling or warning us that some of these events would come. And they were warning the Prime Minister against pursuing his policy of non-alignment and so on and so forth. There were also some shrewder members of the Congress Party themselves who felt that perhaps we were more credulous about the alleged friendship of the Chinese than we ought to be. However, conceding all these things, I would not, as a member of the Congress Party, feel either apologetic or hesitant in accepting the responsibility for entertaining ideas and views which have later proved to be woe-

fully wrong. We did the common mistake which every good man does. We thought that the other party that we were dealing with was as good and as honest as we claimed that we were. There was a clear error of judgment on our part, and if we think that it was a Himalayan blunder, it was a blunder of which the whole nation should be conscious, and I think it is a responsibility which should be shared by all of us—I say by all of us because even some of us who felt that we ought to be more careful of the coming danger perhaps did not dare to express our views openly. It is also possible that some of us felt that the danger was there, but still we thought it better to wait hoping that even at the last moment there might be a change of heart and good sense might prevail over China.

All these factors and various other factors led us into what the Prime Minister himself has described as an artificial atmosphere of peace and security. We have now woken up, and therefore I do not know whether it is really necessary for us to go into the chain of events that led to this debacle, at this moment when we are concerned with the discussion of the Proclamation of Emergency and the Resolutions placed before the House by the hon. Home Minister. We should, I feel, accept the responsibility for it without any mental reservation and proceed further, and think as to what we should do. We, perhaps, thought that warnings coming from other political parties were rather premature and that they were unnecessarily suspicious or considered it inadvisable to recognise the coming danger till we actually saw it, expecting always that good sense would prevail. But whatever might be the causes that have led to this predicament, we are in it, and we have to face it. And I feel that it would serve not much useful purpose to worry about our past thinking or error of judgment. It is, I think, not necessary to discuss all that background. Any attempt to over-empha-

sise these aspects in a prolonged debate for three or four days like the one we are having in Parliament, in both these Houses, might, besides being in a sense futile, create among the more practical and pragmatic nations of the world an impression of utter lack of sense of urgency on our part. Indeed, it would have been immensely appropriate if we had all greeted the Resolutions placed before us by the hon. Home Minister with unanimous applause and set our seal of approval on them dispensing with all this luxury of long-winded speeches, and getting about to work and mobilise the country and the nation for defence. But as we are facing a war for the first time after independence and as we advanced the date of the session of Parliament for the specific purpose of discussing the situation arising out of the Chinese aggression, we are all expressing our opinions and discussing the situation threadbare, during which some of us are also expressing views and sentiments which are not, perhaps, in keeping with the solemn occasion and which might sound sometimes as discordant notes in the great harmony that we have been able to create in the country as a result of this national danger.

Sir, while there is no doubt that this massive and well-prepared attack by the Chinese has come as a sudden avalanche, it was not altogether unindicated. We had a fore-taste of it in 1959, and probably, if we had prepared ourselves during this period to fight this coming danger, the element of surprise over the sudden attack would not have been of this magnitude. However, as everybody agrees, such misfortunes prove to be sometimes blessings in disguise. There is a Persian line—

خدا شرے بر نمی آرد کزو خیرے نباشد

Khuda sharre bar name arad kazoo
khair nabashad.

"There is no misfortune brought about by God through which some good does not arise or result."

The whole country has today risen as one man and rallied round our leader and Prime Minister for national defence. There is today again visible a tremendous and surging wave of patriotism and nationalism and a spirit of sacrifice which characterised the people of our country during our struggle for freedom. This is so even in a more intensified form today because it is now a question of defending and protecting our national dignity and honour, which have been ours for the last fifteen years and which we are determined to protect. The immediate and spontaneous response of the country irrespective of party affiliations and ideological differences to the appeal of the Prime Minister is a source of inspiration and lays a sound foundation for the ultimate and final victory that must be ours. We, as a nation, are at our best in a calamity and I am sure we can rise to meet it as few nations can. Disasters purify us and galvanise us into action. Normalcy dispirits us and nearly breaks us. It is only peace that is plucked out of danger and calamity that can truly uplift us, and that can be really creative. It is, therefore, that this challenge of national danger has already begun to cement the national forces in a more spontaneous and lasting manner than any conscious effort on our part towards national or emotional integration can do.

All political parties in the country including the Communist Party of India have unequivocally condemned China's aggression and expressed their determination to fight the aggressor till he is on the other side of the Himalayas. The resolution of the Communist Party of India is of great importance. We have all listened with rapt attention to the speech of Shri Bhupesh Gupta. His denunciation and condemnation of China's aggressive policy and his impassioned appeal to the nation for determined

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resistance can hardly be improved upon by any of us either on this side or on that side. Past experience of Communists in general may certainly justify to a certain extent the feeling of scepticism and suspicion given expression to by Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha through his graphic reference to the embrace of Dhritarashtra. But I think we should take our friends at their word and trust them to implement their resolution. I do not think that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta should really object to the Government helping his party by taking into protective custody or putting out of mischief such recalcitrant dissidents of his party as are found indulging in the violation of the party resolution. I think that is what the Maharashtra Government did, and I am sure he will not pick up a quarrel with them for that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I interrupt the hon. Member to say that Mr. B. T. Ranadive was arrested here? After the National Council meeting he had not even gone to Bombay. He was here. He was taken from one of the houses of Members of Parliament. So, where and how could he violate the resolution?

SHRI B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO: I am very grateful to my friend for the explanation, but he will agree with me when I say that the whole country was aware of the consistent manner in which Mr. B. T. Ranadive and his friends were opposing the policy of the other group in the Communist Party and if I am not mistaken, he and his followers all over the country are still creating suspicion, rather strengthening the suspicion of the rest of the country against the Communist Party by some of their activities. I can certainly enlighten him on certain points.

I came recently from Hyderabad. I do not know who is responsible for creating this kind of propaganda, but I can give him one single instance. I was told by a very reliable and

authoritative person that in a distant village in the Nalagonda district of Hyderabad—with which my friend is amply acquainted—a beggar woman, a Chattani woman, who goes begging, came to the house of a friend of mine and was asking him as to why Pandit Nehru was sending hordes of young men, thousands of young men to the front and getting their heads chopped off by the Chinese when the Chinese were prepared to compromise with us, and why for the sake of a few thousands of acres of land—barren land and mountainous land, which was uninhabited—Mr. Nehru was fighting the Chinese. I ask my friend who was responsible for putting this kind of idea into that beggar woman of a village in Nalagonda district.

Well, I have also had some experience of my Communist friends in Telangana; my thoughts naturally go to them, and I cannot resist the conclusion that there are elements in the Communist Party of India which still cling to the fanatic pro-Chinese idea, and they have not altogether discarded it. You may say that the resolution has come much later and one could wait for the results of the resolution. I agree. If my friend, Mr. B. T. Ranadive and his other colleagues and followers . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: An hon. Member of this House has been arrested, Mr. Limaye, one not belonging to the Communist Party.

SHRI B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO: Mr. Limaye has been arrested. All right. Whoever he may be, I shall be very happy if all these friends of ours change their mind and try to conform to the spirit of the resolution of the Communist Party of India and allow you, the leaders of the Communist Party of India, to implement that resolution in full and leave no doubt in the minds of the rest of the country about their sincerity. I want that welcome change to come about in our friends.

(Time bell rings.)

Just a couple of minutes. I am sorry I had to digress on account of my friend's interruption, but if you will kindly give me a couple of minutes more, than you have allotted, I think I will be able to add one or two things.

Now, Sir, there has been a lot of discussion about the correctness of our policy of non-alignment, about the correctness of our policy of trying to negotiate and get a peaceful settlement of all our disputes. I do not feel ashamed of having adopted that policy. Non-alignment or neutrality or trying to settle matters through peaceful negotiations, these are ideals to which we are still wedded, and I hope we will continue to be wedded in spite of what my friend, Professor Ruthnaswamy, has said just a little while ago. I do not think any 'judicial separation' or an 'absolute decree of divorce' is necessary between these principles and the Prime Minister and our leader. All that we have got to do in the shape of freely getting aid from all friendly countries, in the shape of superior and effective arms, all that we have got to put up as resistance to the Chinese, can be done within the ambit of the policies to which we have been wedded, and there is absolutely no immediate danger of these policies having to be renounced in order to wage an effective war against China. That being so, all talks about giving up the Plan or giving up the policy of non-alignment or neutrality, etc. are irrelevant to the present situation, and I do not think we should indulge in any detailed discussion of the background of these policies or of the necessity to change these policies at the present moment. Well, negotiations. Some people talked of negotiations and said, "Why should we talk of negotiations?" I agree with them. We have not yet begun to fight the battle seriously. Where is the question of negotiations with China at the present moment? Why should we think of it and make it a bone of contention at the present moment?

We are certainly not going to talk of negotiations. We have no doubt offered some terms. Those terms have been rejected. As long as our enemy is there on the border and he is not thrown back behind the Thagla ridge, there is no question of talk of any negotiations, we have been assured by our Prime Minister. Therefore, there is no need for any discussion of that aspect of the matter.

Now, there has been a lot of discussion about the possible motives of China in committing aggression on our country. Of course, as one of our hon. Members put it, in the American parlance, that question seems to be one of 64,000 dollars, a sort of Chinese puzzle which nobody can answer. These are Chinese puzzles because the mind of the Chinese is really very mysterious. It is impenetrable. They are great gamblers. They are also perhaps traditionally land-grabbing people. They are also very proud of the old Chinese Empire which extended beyond their frontiers. All these things are there. But in this respect I do agree that we cannot be complacent by thinking that the motives of China are merely confined to the acquisition of 50,000 miles of land of which 20,000 have already been grabbed by them. It is not the mere cupidity for these 50,000 miles . . .

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala):
50,000 sq. miles, not miles.

SHRI B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO:
. . . I stand corrected—that prompted them to invade India. I think they are not as foolish as some people think they are. There might be deeper motives. Maybe that our war with China today is not an ideological war, but we cannot rule out the possibility that China's aggression is both geographical and ideological. I would like that we realise this fact. I do not wish to go into detail as there is no time but just one thing I would say.

We know firstly the recent principles of communism expounded by the

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leader of China, Mao Tse-tung. He believes in the inevitability of war for the purpose of propagation of socialism. He also says that this threat of a nuclear war is like a 'paper-tiger'. It has no fears or no dangers, according to him. He says again that even if this nuclear war destroys half the world, the other half still remains and he says that in another few years the population of the world will again become 2,700 mililons. But the good result, according to him, would be that the world would be rid of imperialism and there will be socialism throughout the world. Very simple remedy for him! So simple and yet so diabolical! In the face of these things that we know, I think, we should be aware of the possibility of other motives and act accordingly.

Sir, I do not wish to prolong my speech. In fact, the whole country has rallied round our Prime Minister. And whatever suggestions have been made from various quarters about resources, I am sure, the Government is considering them seriously. The only need of the hour is to unite and place a moratorium on all our controversies, whether it is the Punjabi Suba or Dravidasthan, whether it is the river-water dispute or whether it is the question of boundaries. Let all these things be settled, because it is a propitious moment to create real unity in the country and dispose of all these silly and petty questions before we launch—we are already launching upon—upon our resistance against China.

With these words, Sir, I commend the Resolutions to the acceptance of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Before I call the next speaker, I would like to have the opinion of the House about sitting up to 6 o'clock. There are a large number of speakers. If the House agrees, we might sit till 6 o'clock.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): There are quite a large number of speakers and the list will not be exhausted tomorrow. So, if you all agree, we will sit till 6 o'clock.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: At 5-15 we have the meeting of the Defence Consultative Committee.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: You can go there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): (After taking the sense of the House) The House will sit till 6 o'clock. Mr. Suresh Desai.

SHRI SURESH J. DESAI (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I wholeheartedly support the Resolutions so ably moved by the hon. the Home Minister. Sir, we are in the midst of an undeclared war as a consequence of the wanton and unabashed aggression by China on our country. It is a defensive war. But a war does not always remain defensive or offensive. After a certain time all wars become a total war, and once it becomes a total war, then the bombardment of supply lines, means of communication, depots, factories and cities takes place one after the other and it results in a full-fledged war.

Sir, our Prime Minister has said the other day that it is going to be a cold-blooded and long struggle and we have to be prepared for it. It is a challenge not only to our integrity and independence, it is a challenge to our ancient civilisation, our culture and to our very way of life. And that challenge has got to be met, in any case, by putting in the best of our sacrifices for the sake of our country.

Sir, different motives are being attributed to the Chinese for their aggression. There are certain minor motives also attributed to them, namely, that they want to divert the attention of their people from the eco-

conomic disaster that they are facing, or that they are jealous of our economic progress or that they want to put Russia in its proper place because Russia is helping the underdeveloped non-aligned countries. Also, it is said that China while paying lip sympathy to co-existence is embarking upon an international world revolution. All these are minor motives. The one motive which is clear is that China wants to dominate the whole of Asia and wants to humiliate and destroy Indian democracy which is stumbling block in its way.

Sir, I believe that China in its aggression has miscalculated many things. China miscalculated the bravery and the heroic traditions of our jawans. China miscalculated the determined mood of our Government to resist all further aggression. China miscalculated the defiant spirit of our people. China also miscalculated our readiness to accept foreign military aid from whatever sources available. China miscalculated all these things.

At this critical juncture, Sir, it is of absolute necessity that our policy should be framed with the utmost care. I would particularly refer to our external affairs policy, the policy of non-alignment. Sir, the policy of non-alignment has been criticised rather naively in certain quarters. This policy of non-alignment was well-suited to us in peace time and it is, to my mind, equally well-suited at this critical juncture. While we are very thankful and very grateful to America Britain and Canada for all the help that they have given us, at the same time we should make no change in our policy of non-alignment. Firstly, even Britain and America do not want us to change our policy of non-alignment. While giving all the aid, they have never hinted that they want us to change our policy of non-alignment. Secondly, Sir, what is much more important is that neither Britain nor America

nor the other countries that are giving us help are prepared to embark upon a world war for what is called our border dispute. And after all, if a world war comes, the first target will be our own country; our own country will be completely ruined. Therefore, our policy should be such that we should not aggravate the dispute. We should not actively pursue a policy which will make our country a sort of a playground for a world war. Nobody wants a world war today. Russia retreated in Cuba simply because the world came on the verge of a global war. Neither Russia nor the Western countries today are interested in having a world war for what they call a sort of border dispute. But at the same time we have got to prepare for any calamity. Suppose a world war is thrust upon us for reasons beyond our control, then we should bravely face it. It is not that we should be afraid of or nervous if a world war or a total war comes upon us. We should bravely face the war but at the same time our policy has to be so carefully framed that we should not actively work in a direction which may enlarge the conflict, which may aggravate the conflict or bring about a world war.

Our relations with Russia have to be very carefully maintained. If Russia maintains her supplies of whatever commitments Russia has made, well and good. Even if she does not maintain that, and if Russia does not help China in any way, that is also in a way good for us. We have to see, therefore, that this relationship is carefully maintained. Within the communist bloc there are so many power pulls and there are bitter bickerings between Russia and China as is quite well-known. Only the other day Premier Hodja of Albania—and Hodja is something like an agent or a mouth-piece of China—attacked Premier Khrushchev in a very vulgar way rather. He said that Prime Minister Khrushchev was a sworn enemy of the socialist camp and of the international communist and working class move-

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ment. He also went on to say that Premier Khrushchev was a revisionist and in the communist jargon, 'revisionist' is something as bad an abuse as calling a person a traitor. All these power pulls are there. We have to be very careful and balance these international forces and sift the international forces very carefully and frame our policy with the utmost care and caution.

We should not aggravate the dispute. We should not give up our policy of non-alignment which will directly land us into the American lap and aggravate the dispute on our soil. At the same time we have to be prepared for any aggravation of the dispute which may come about for reasons beyond our control. So, the policy of non-alignment, to my mind, which has paid us very well in peaceful days, is equally useful to us and equally fruitful to us at this critical juncture and I do not see any reason why this policy of non-alignment should be given up.

The other day our esteemed Prime Minister also mentioned about the need for total mobilisation of the resources of the country. Total mobilisation is absolutely necessary. Today it is not merely the fighting forces on the front which count but also the worker in the field and factories. He is also equally important because the war effort on the front has to be sustained by an equally massive effort in our fields and factories. This effort has to be a threefold one. Firstly, whatever means the fighting forces require must be immediately met or obtained. Either we produce them or we obtain them from other countries but that is priority number one. Whatever the fighting forces require must be met. Secondly, the civilian supplies have also to be met. Of course, the people will have to do without many things. People can be frankly told and an appeal should be made to their patriotic sense that these cannot be obtained. The people will certainly go without them. After all there may be a

number of commodities which may be in shortage because we may have to supply them to the front but at the same time people should be kept informed about it. Then the people will certainly go without the things. But to maintain the morale of the people, the civilian supplies in essential needs have to be maintained as far as possible. Thirdly, what is much more important is that our development plans should not suffer. Of course, those superfluous projects which have no direct bearing on the war effort, we may give them up but at the same time we may have to include in our Plan certain new projects which have a direct bearing and which will strengthen our war effort and such new projects will have to be included. In the last War, even Russia imported from America complete plants for tyres and tubes, for oil refineries, for building vehicles, etc. Russia took on lease and lend from America 11 billion dollars worth of equipment. Suppose we have to import even complete plants from America for our war effort, certain plants which we deem absolutely necessary for our war effort, we should do so. We cannot go on building them just now in our country. We can import the complete plants under lease-lend from America or from any other country. I do not merely say from America but from any other country that may help us with complete plants and we may take them because the war effort must be built up and sustained. This is of the utmost necessity for us today because total mobilisation may require every effort on the part of our fields and factories, a massive effort which will require a well-knit organisation. I hope a Ministry of Supply will soon be set up so that a well-knit organisation comes into existence which will arrange for all these supplies according to the priorities.

Sir, I do not want to take up more time of the House at this late hour. The country has rallied round our Prime Minister with a monolithic support. The spirit of our jawans at the front, the spirit of our people, the

spirit of our nation, men, women and children, is simply magnificent. We have to rise to the occasion and I am sure under the able leadership, under the stout leadership of our Prime Minister, we shall drive away the aggressor from our soil and maintain the independence, honour and dignity of our country. Thank you.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: **Mr.** Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Parliament for the first time in its life is meeting under the dark shadows of the invasion of our sacred territory of India—by whom?—by an age-long friend, whom we believed, with whom we cultivated assiduously all the friendship, with all love and affection that we could have. When we think of this country, China, our memory naturally goes back to thousands of years before when the message of compassion, the message of loving kindness, the message of maitri, crossed the Himalayas from this country to China to find a habitat and a home. Similarly, the ancient wisdom of China crossed the borders and came down to India to enrich the life and culture of this country. Ever since centuries before we have been friendly to this nation and even recently, even with the Kuomintang regime we have been very friendly. I remember that during the war period Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, the then ruler of China, had to speak very favourably about giving responsibility and freedom to this country even to America and other countries also. We also know how friendly our beloved leader, the present Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, was to the entire nation of China. As things would have it, facts of life were recognised and when the Kuomintang regime was driven out of their country, the same hand of friendship was extended to the present regime of the People's Republic of China. We have spared no pains to keep the friendship of this country and its great people. For all that we did, I do not want to go into the history of our relationship with the People's Republic of China—it is a well-known history—the return was

this, this naked aggression, this unabashed aggression on our territory by a friend whom we trusted all along and for ages before. What does it show? It only shows that it is not communism as it is made out here, it is not that the world is divided into a communist bloc and a democratic bloc. I can prove here and now that the world is not divided on that basis. That is the very strength for the non-alignment of this country. The world is not divided into a communist bloc and a democratic bloc.

Sir, things of history, of the hoary past, come to my mind. In this world of ours, on this planet, there were men like Chenghiz Khan. There were tyrants like Chenghiz Khan. There was also the philosophy of Bonaparteism which wanted to control the entire world and be the conqueror of the world. There was recently, as we know, Hitlerism which also wanted to control other nations and become the ruler of the entire world. And then again there was this Stalinism also leading to the same self-glorification. But all these have come to utter ruin and destruction. Will this Mao-ism, the ideology of this new Chenghiz Khan, survive? Will this perfidy, this faithlessness and this sort of treachery, will this succeed? If they think so, they are utterly mistaken. Today the world is more united than before and it is united to repress and destroy aggression, to destroy injustice united to establish justice in the world. I am quite sure the nations of the world are wide awake and this Mao-ism will not be allowed to survive on this planet. It will find its own destruction. About that I have not the slightest doubt. If anybody thinks that this is a question of Communism on the one hand and democracy on the other, he is utterly mistaken. It is not so. What have we done to China that she should make this naked aggression? We have only extended the hand of co-operation to China all along. We pleaded their cause and we were almost the first to recognise the Government of the People's Republic of China. We pleaded their cause in the

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councils of the world. And in return for all that, what do we get? This naked aggression. Will this last? I myself believe that this will not last and Mao-ism will get destroyed. It will be buried under the Himalayas, the very Himalayas whose sacredness is attempted to be destroyed by China. I am sure the Chinese people are not behind this Mao-ism. This is only Mao-ism, it is only aggrandisement. It is only boundless avarice for territory that has brought about this state of affairs. This injustice shall be put an end to and I have no doubt that it will be put an end to.

True, the situation today is like this. This aggressor, this perfidious aggressor, has taken advantage of our friendship to do what? The rape of Tibet was committed and in that we had to acquiesce on account of certain situations, on account of history, not on account of the bigness of Mao-ism. And then what happened? He built roads and roads in Tibet were built right up to our frontiers. Large concentration of military power was made in Tibet. We were not aware of it; probably not. We were not aware of the evil designs of this aggressor. And then in an underhand manner, aggression was committed in 1956 in Ladakh on our territory, even before the ink was dry on the Panchsheel agreement. In 1956, at the time of the Panchsheel agreement, there were cries of "Hindi-Chini, Bhai Bhai". Our 44 crores of people with one voice cried out "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai." But then this yellow dragon had come down here with a human skin on. This was the state of affairs. And then this aggression took place slowly and steadily and this penetration was extended right up to Ladakh and to Aksai Chin. When questioned, the people were shot down. When these things took place, this Nehru, this man of truth, this man who does not bear any illwill to anybody, no malice to anyone, what could he say? He was only saying that this dragon would be somehow tamed, tamed by his goodness. He tried his best. But

the penetration increased and increased and it has come to what it is today.

Sir, this man, this present ruler of China, he has no qualms about anything. He had put a line in Ladakh, what is called the 1956 line, which ran from Karakoram to the Konka Pass through the lower reaches of the Qhip Chap River and the Galwan River. It was then like an arc. It was a concave line, this 1956 line. But in 1960, during the Chinese talks with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, it became a convex line and came from the Karakoram, through the upper reaches of the Chip Chap River and the Galwan River, right up to Demchok where Tibet, Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir meet. It became a convex line. On this man, who changes boundaries as he likes, this man who alters maps to suit his own conveniences, we can absolutely have no faith. Will this man survive? Many wicked men like him have passed into history and he will also go the way of all wicked men. There is absolutely no doubt about that. So, I say we can have no faith in this man and the only thing to do is to destroy Mao-ism. Otherwise there is nothing. We do not bear any ill-will to the people of China, but this philosophy must be put an end to. Otherwise the whole world is in danger. Its only purpose is subjugation. What else is the big motive behind this attack on India? He wants to humiliate India. India is a big nation which has stood for truth, for Ahimsa and for anti-communalism and everything virtuous in human life as it exists on this planet. And the idea is to subjugate this nation, to break its spirit and by doing that, by humiliating this nation, China can become the biggest nation and then it can easily subjugate the entire Asia. That is the idea. It is not a question of small territory here or there. It is a question of subjugation. What can poor neighbouring countries of South-East Asia do? They will have to submit to this dragon. Therefore, essentially the fight is between Mao-ism represented

by expansionism and perfidy and deceit on the one side and on the other this Nehruism, representing truth, this sacred truth which is his heritage from the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. And truth will win. About that there is no doubt. For the present, let us leave it to the test of time.

What is our duty now? We are faced with a very serious situation, it is true. I am glad that under the illustrious leadership of our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the entire nation to the last man is now united to throw out the aggressor. We shall certainly do so. We do not have the weapons now, but the world has arms and forty odd countries of this world, forty odd nations on this planet, have come forward and expressed their sympathy and support. The necessary aid is coming and will come in a larger and larger measure and I am sure we will be able to stand up to this aggressor and teach him a lesson. Therefore, we have no fear on that ground.

We have very fittingly paid the most glorious tributes to the jawans who are fighting on the snowy peaks of the Himalayas, against the dragon that has come over there. I am sure this dragon will be taught a lesson. For every jawan fighting there it is said that some thirty or forty people must be working hard on the home front here. The big idea of the present ruler of China, of this Mao-ism is to come in the way of the development of our country. If economic development of this country takes place, then India would become a mighty country but he does not want to allow this to happen. His 'leap forward' having gone to dogs, he is now out to destroy the Five Year Plan of Jawaharlal Nehru through which he wanted to build up the economy of this country. He does not want to have a prosperous neighbour by his side. This is the way every wicked man behaves. So, we shall have to see that our Plan does not suffer in any way. Our leader has sent out a

clarion call that every man working in the field, every man working in the factory, every man working in the office, every man working in this country, shall have to be a soldier in the home front. For every jawan who is fighting on the front thirty to forty men will have to work in the factory in the field, in the office, in fact in all departments of human life in the country. That we have to do. First of all, industrial development should never be allowed to slacken in the country and I am sure that steps are being taken for that purpose. I would submit through our worthy Home Minister that for every type of industry there must be a committee with which a Parliament Member is also associated. Make all of us work, work night and day, to see that the fullest capacity in every line of industry is developed, that no capacity shall be allowed to remain idle in any factory anywhere. More factories have to be established as my predecessor was saying. This is the opportunity to thwart the evil designs of the invader and now is the time for India to show its mettle and to bring about greater and greater production. If production is the key to the prosperity of human beings it is also the key for deserving freedom and for preserving it well.

I want to say one word with regard to agricultural production in this country. I have always made my views known to this House and pointed out what a tremendous lack of implementation is there in regard to agricultural production programmes in the country. The Five Year Plan by itself is excellent; it is very well conceived but implementation is woefully lacking. I want to tell the Home Minister what is happening in this regard. I had an opportunity to visit his own province and I found that 80 per cent. of the dung produced by livestock was being burnt. I have also calculated that 25 million tons of nitrogenous manure can be produced from out of the dung of cattle. For producing one million tons of nitrogenous manure you are spending crores and crores of rupees while

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all these 25 million tons of organic manure are allowed to go waste by being burnt. So, the burning of dung must be stopped immediately. If under the stress of this national emergency we do not stop this burning of this valuable manure, we shall never be able to do so. I have been an agriculturist for the last 30 years. Even when I was in the college I have heard it being said that the Report of the Royal Commission had pointed out that the dung was being burnt and wasted. In the context of the present necessity you will have to stop burning the dung. You will have to take it up with the Agriculture Minister. Ever since I came to Parliament I have been telling this to the Minister of Agriculture but it has fallen on deaf ears. You will have to take it up under this emergency. Instead of being burnt, if the dung is put to proper use you can double the production, make it triple or quadruple if it is worked up for three years. We can produce three times; in place of 100 tons we can produce 300 tons. So the agricultural production programmes have got to be specially taken care of.

Now, I come to irrigation potential. At a tremendous cost to the exchequer you have constructed many projects but the usage of the irrigation potential is not said to be even 25 per cent. This state of affairs surely will lead to destruction. It has got to be remedied. No natural resources should be allowed to be wasted. Let us teach everybody. In every village you have got your village level worker. You have got to make him emergency-conscious; orientate him to defence purposes. Every action of ours whether in Parliament or outside must be defence-oriented. Everybody everywhere must become defence-oriented. That is the surest way to throw out the aggressor. For everything you want to get done you can make use of Parliament Members and I am sure they will all do it. You should form committees for agriculture, for industry. In every village, the village panchayats are there. Luckily, our organisation is

built up properly. Right from the base we are having a perfectly good organisation, right up to Delhi. We have a good organisation from Halli to Delhi as we say in Mysore and the entire organisation has got to be defence-oriented.

I would only say one thing more and that is this. Everywhere, in every home, in every hearth, in the mind of every man, what is wanted is Nehru's effort. The type of effort that we want everyone to put in is the effort of Mr. Nehru. A symbol like this must go out to the country; you must give a symbol to the country—Nehru's effort, Nehru's efficiency, Nehru's economy. That is what is needed. That is the surest way to destroy Mao-ism on the other side of the Himalayas.

SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM (Assam):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, we meet here today at a most crucial moment of our history. We are assembling here in this emergent session of Parliament to consider a life and death question. A big, powerful, but ruthless and treacherous neighbour of the north has all of a sudden invaded India. And we are discussing unitedly irrespective of party creeds how best we can meet this challenge of our unscrupulous neighbour.

India and China are two gigantic countries of Asia. They were great friends. Their civilisations were based on similar religions and culture. For thousands of years there were mutual help and sympathy between these two countries. History has not recorded any instance of any quarrel or conflict between them. Even in modern times, in the recent past, the Indian people, particularly our Prime Minister, rendered considerable moral and material assistance to China in her fight against imperialism. India respected the Chinese people and the choice of their Government. India was the first country to recognise the present regime of the People's Republic of China. India has all along been supporting China's cause for a seat in the United Nations. Even then the

People's Republic of China thought it fit to repay India with treachery and fraud and invade India by massive aggression. I do not believe that the masses of the Chinese people would like to disturb the age-old bonds of friendship and goodwill between them and the Indians. But alas! they are helpless under the present regime of China.

What is the nature of this attack of China? Is it really a boundary dispute as they want the world to believe? Or is it a manifestation of the expansionist and imperialistic tendencies of the adolescent vigour of the present regime of China? At the initial stage of the dispute she gave the impression to India and to the world that she had bona fide doubts about the position of the MacMahon Line which India and the world have been recognising as the international boundary between the two countries. At one stage some Chinese maps were discovered showing the Brahmaputra as their southern boundary. When this was pointed out to the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, he said that they had been prepared during the regime of Chiang Kai-shek, that India should ignore them and need not bother about them. Now, they are crying at the top of their voice that the MacMahon Line is the creation of British imperialism and they do not recognise it. "Tell us then"—I ask China—"tell the world what according to you is the India-China boundary? You don't say that. Is your boundary that line in India upto which you can push us back?" This clearly shows that they do not really believe that there is any dispute over the boundary. Their present behaviour has arisen out of expansionist and imperialistic ambitions and to hide this they are calling our resistance expansionism and our Prime Minister the leader of Indian reactionaries. The present regime of China severing all connections with her past history and culture, throttling her glorious past civilisation, is living a ruthless totalitarian way of life.

She is jealous of her great neighbour India which has been developing and building herself up in a democratic way, basing her social structure on her glorious culture and traditions. She is jealous of India's policy of non-alignment by which she has risen in international reputation. On the contrary, except doing a great military build-up, she has not been able to do anything to remove poverty and miseries of her people. She has not been able to remove famines from the country. Thousands of people die every year in famine. The present regime likes that thousands die in famine and war, because it cannot feed the teeming millions of the country. She fears that the smaller nations of Asia might not follow her. She wants to insult and humiliate India before them. She throws an indirect threat to them that when she can insult and humiliate India like this, they are not safe before her. They should better follow her and remain under her shelter and protection.

China today not being in the United Nations is ignoring all world opinions and is behaving like a rabid dog. She does not know what she is doing. She does not know where all these her activities lead her to. This sort of treacherous and ruthless aggression by massive invasion by a country over her peace-loving neighbour is unheard of and unthinkable in the modern world. China knew India was busy in building up herself economically. She knew India had not spent much in her military build-up. She knew that India had thought that she was committing only stray aggressions here and there across the border. She knew that India had not known that she had been preparing for a massive invasion of Indian territory. And she treacherously took full advantage of it on the 20th of last month. This invasion threatened the security of India and necessitated the Proclamation of Emergency by the President on the 26th. Thank God mighty India has been roused.

[Shri Baharul Islam]

Our leaders were crying hoarse for national integration. This invasion by China has united the entire nation determined to drive out the aggressor. The Proclamation of Emergency has been welcomed by all sections of people all over the country.

The people of Assam in particular have welcomed it because the Chinese aggression is on her threshold. On receipt of the news of the invasion, the people of Assam became alert and ready to do anything to drive out the invader. They were holding meetings in different places, calling themselves to be united and were waiting for directions from the leaders. They, of course, did not know what precisely they had to do. They thought that the Government of India was not taking the invasion seriously. When they learnt about the Proclamation of Emergency, they realised that our Government meant business and were determined to drive out the Chinese invader. Although they thought the Proclamation ought to have come a little earlier, they welcomed it and became ready to do anything necessary to save the country.

India since the beginning of her history has been a peace-loving, religious country. Peace through religion has been the tradition of this country and her whole civilisation and culture are based on this. Independent India has been pledged to peace, national and international, and could not think of any war against any country, far less against any neighbour. She was busy in her national economic development in order to remove the poverty of the masses. She had to weigh whether, consistent with her policy, it would be more fruitful to spend more money on development or on defence, and she preferred to spend more money, and rightly so, on her economic development. I say rightly because if more money was spent on defence, than on development, the Indian masses would have suffered, and there would have

been more men in India to invite Chinese people today into our country. India could not think that the People's Republic of China professing to be all out for peace could be so treacherous and ruthless and that she could commit aggression by massive invasion of her peace-loving neighbour all of a sudden.

There is no instance in history that anything gained by force, fraud, treachery or dishonesty can last long, while history abounds with examples that things based on truth endure. As our policy is based on the sound principle of the Panchsheel, as we have no malice to anybody but friendship and goodwill to all, I am firmly of the belief that we will ultimately drive out the Chinese aggressor.

Amongst our neighbours, our relations with Nepal were very cordial. Although recently they were a little strained, we are glad to learn that our present relations with her are satisfactory. Burma and Ceylon are our friends. We hope our relations with Pakistan, in spite of differences, will improve soon for mutual interest and benefit. It will be in the interests of all Asiatic nations to check this barbarous attack of the People's Republic of China on India. The present regime of China, as our Prime Minister has aptly put it, is a great menace of this century. If India is not safe before this menace, no country in Asia is safe.

At this hour of crisis India is receiving arms aid from friendly countries, particularly the U.S.A., U.K., France and Russia. We have rightly done so. We are receiving arms not to invade any country, not to wage war against anybody, but for self-defence. Right of self-defence is the most elementary human right. Then, the question arises, by receiving arms aid from foreign countries, do we deviate from our avowed policy of non-alignment and in fact join some power bloc? Certainly not. Joining

this bloc or that presupposes absence of peace. While the principle of non-alignment presupposes peace and regards everybody with any creed to be a friend. But sometimes situations may arise when a nation turns back the clock of civilisation by centuries and behaves barbarously. It attacks a neighbour. It brutalises itself and the neighbour. Then, it does not mean that the victim, who is a believer in non-alignment, ceases to be such a believer, if she receives arms aid for self-defence. That is why we have received arms aid not only from the U.S.A., U.K. and France, but also from the U.S.S.R.

Permit me, Sir, to speak a few words about Assam at this hour of crisis. At this time the Government of India has a special responsibility to Assam because of her strategic position. Assam has been passing through a series of calamities. The devastating flood of 1959 made the people poor and miserable and before they could recover from the strains, they were the victims of two unprecedented floods this year, one in June and the other in August. These two floods have washed away the entire paddy crops which constitute the staple food of the people of the State. In the wake of this came the strike by the crew of the R.S.N. and I.G.N. Company plying steamers between Assam and West Bengal. Assam depends on the rest of India, particularly West Bengal, Bihar and U.P., for very many commodities, including essential articles of daily necessities such as common salt, dal, mustard oil, sugar and the like. About 45 per cent of these commodities are carried by the steamers of the said company from West Bengal to Assam through Pakistan. The rest is carried by railway. This year in the second week of October there has been a strike by the crew of the steamers at Barisal in Pakistan. As a result seventy steamers laden with goods bound for Assam have been held up there. The railway, at least a large part of it, carrying goods to Assam is

necessarily to make room for goods to our jawans fighting in the north eastern region.

Therefore, the supply position in Assam can be easily imagined. Assam has bitter experiences of wartime conditions of supply during the last Great War. People had to purchase common salt at Rs. 4 per seer. It is said that the present war will be a long drawn one. I request the Government of India, therefore, to take immediate measures so that the supply position in Assam may be improved.

I respectfully suggest that immediately a fleet of an adequate number of inter-State trucks to carry goods to Assam by road may be run daily between Assam and West Bengal. For this purpose the three missing bridges over the rivers Mauas, Ai and Beki should immediately be constructed.

The road called the Gohain Kamala Ali running parallel to and close by the foot of the hills on the northern border of Assam should immediately be improved for military supply up to Tezpur and beyond.

I further respectfully suggest that the railway communications in Assam and the bottleneck between Assam and the rest of India should be immediately improved. To meet cases of emergency, the broad gauge railway line should be extended from Siliguri to Jugijhone via Bongaigaon to provide an alternative route.

The massive aggression of China is on the north east as well as on the north west region of India. Although on the forefront of the war, the people of the State of Assam have not only not lost their morale but on the contrary they are maintaining a very high morale. Since the Chinese massive aggression on Indian territory on the 20th October, the people of Assam have become alert and mentally ready to fight the Chinese aggression. People held meetings at

[Shri Baharul Islam]
different places and discussed about what measures they had to adopt. Men and women, young and old, and particularly students came out in large numbers and placed their services at the disposal of the leaders for use to fight the aggression. I suggest that the Government of India should utilize the services of these young men particularly in the N.C.C., Village Defence Parties, Home Guards, and so on, and I also request the Government of India to see that military training is imparted to those found suitable.

We are grateful to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the hon. Home Minister, for his visit to Assam immediately after the proclamation of emergency on the 27th October. He met people and addressed meetings. His visit at this hour of need has strengthened and enthused the people of the State. His speeches have given them guidance in discharging their duty at this grim hour of our history.

The people of Assam as well as of the rest of India are solidly behind our leaders, particularly our great Prime Minister Nehru, as one man to drive out the aggressor.

In the end I pay my respectful homage to the martyrs and conclude my speech.

SHRI J. S. PILLAI (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, let me assure you at the outset that I will be as brief as possible. At this late hour I do not want to make a boring speech. Repetition, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is always jarring to our ears. So, I would be as brief as possible.

We all know the history of the border dispute. It is unnecessary for me to trace back the events that are taking place in the Himalayas to their origin. Suffice it to say that we have committed blunder after blunder. I use the word "we" knowingly. I repeat the word, Mr. Vice-Chairman, knowingly, I use the word

"we". Though the Government is primarily responsible for the present debacle, we are not free from blame. We know the policy of the Government and we approved of it either openly or tacitly. We had so much faith in our leaders that we were afraid to question them. So it is too late now to apportion the blame on anybody.

On account of the cry of some people one Minister has been made the scapegoat for all the sins of commission and omission of the Government. By Government I mean ourselves. He had resigned and his resignation has been accepted. I do not blame the Prime Minister for accepting his resignation. Under the circumstances he has done what anybody would have done if he were to be in his place.

On an occasion like this I am reminded of an event which took place in days of yore and which has been beautifully described in the Ramayana. After the return of Sita from Lanka some people suspected her chastity and decried her. Rama knew her to be pure and chaste, but in order to please the populace of Ayodhya he sent her away to the forest. Similarly, the Prime Minister and as a matter of fact some of us know that Mr. Krishna Menon is not to be blamed wholly for all that is taking place on the other side.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is only one version.

SHRI J. S. PILLAI: So in order to please some people the Prime Minister has accepted his resignation.

Even this war has done us one good. It has brought together people of various shades of opinion of our country. I wonder whether a war or a crisis is necessary to bring us all together. You would remember that during the British regime we were all

united. Our object was to drive away the British. (*Interruption*) When we attained freedom, fissiparous tendencies arose among us. Even in dramas which are enacted to inculcate unity among the people, a crisis has to be introduced into it to bring about unity. I hope that some of us have seen that drama enacted by the A.I.R. the other day.

AN HON. MEMBER: Dharmasala.

SHRI J. S. PILLAI: Thank you. The theme is this. There were three families: one Bengali family, one Madras family and one Punjabi family. The Madras family was mocking at the Bengali family as "machwallas". There were quarrels. Suddenly one man fell dangerously ill, and all of them went to his rescue and there was unity, with the result that there were inter-marriages. So, even in dramas we want some crisis to bring people together.

As I have already told the House, one thing that this Chinese aggression has done is what the Integration Committee is not able to do. As I have already told you I will be brief. I want to make a request to the Government, that the Government should take Parliament into their confidence. I hope I have the ears of the Minister. The Government should take the Parliament into their confidence and post us with the developments that are taking place from day to day in the Himalayas. They can do so by issuing bulletins every day. They need not reveal top secret. Such bulletins can be issued. If they do so, they can suppress rumours which are very much current nowadays. I hope I have the ears of our Minister. I need not repeat as probably they will look into the report. When he gives the reply, I hope he will give us an assurance that he will take the Parliament into confidence.

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY (Madras): Sir, while I rise to support the Resolutions moved by the hon. Home Minister, I would like to join my colleagues

in paying my humble tribute and homage to the martyrs who had fallen fighting the Chinese on our frontiers. Real homage can only be paid by driving out the enemy from our soil. Our country is a peace-loving country. We have always been trying to establish peace in the world. We are fighting for total disarmament, to prevent nuclear war and to end the cold war that is going on in the world. We have no aggressive designs against anybody. We wanted to build peace in the world through our principle of Panchsheel, the principle of co-existence. We did not prepare ourselves militarily because we did not have any military design, but we are prepared only to some extent to defend the country. Of course, we were not fully prepared. The Prime Ministers of China and India signed the Panchsheel. Our Prime Minister was sincere when he was doing it but Mr. Chou En-lai, we do not know, how sincere he was and what he meant by it. It appears that the five principles contained in the Panchsheel of the Chinese are untruth, unfaithfulness, treachery, aggression and unfriendliness.

So, according to those principles, China has committed aggression and made a naked invasion of our country. This has stirred the soul of our country and the 440 million people of the country have risen up as one man against this treacherous, barbarous and dastardly attack. India was never as much united as it is today. We all stand behind our Prime Minister, the symbol of India, the unifying force of the country today. Come what may, we have risen to throw the Chinese out of our soil. We do not want an inch of their land and we cannot leave an inch of our land.

Sir, the Chinese aim is expansionism. That we will not allow in our country. We will kick them back. But there is another thing. The effect of their aim is to retard the economic progress of our country. We are a young nation, deep-rooted in democracy. We build the economy of our country in a

[Shri K. S. Ramaswami]

democratic way. The two Five Year Plans have succeeded exceedingly well. All the countries of the world are watching our progress towards our goal, which is a Welfare State. Many countries of the East as well as of the West gave us economic assistance to carry out the Five Year Plans and to build up socialism in this country. The progress is amazing. This was an eye-sore to our erstwhile friend, China. I do not know what is happening to their economy. Only the other day, while moving the Resolutions, the hon. Home Minister gave us an inkling of it.

War, Sir, we will win. Victory will ultimately be ours. At the same time we should be in a position to continue the economic development of our country. We have to see that we do not overburden our economy with huge war-time loans. Many countries in the world, more than forty countries, have sympathised with us openly, issued statements, and some of the countries like the U.S.A., the U.K., Canada and France have come to our assistance. They are willing to give us military aid. It is a good thing that we get aid on a commercial basis. We may also get aid on a lease-and-lend basis. If some of the countries offer us unconditional and free help without any strings attached to it, I do not know why we should not accept it. We tell them that we cannot leave the policy of non-alignment. It is a policy to which we are wedded. We are not going to leave it. Yet, if they lend us their support, let us be grateful in accepting it. Let us not suspect them and reject their friendly help. After all, they are giving help for a noble cause, to preserve the freedom, integrity and sovereignty of a nation. Have we not sent our army to the Congo? Have we not sent our battalions to the Gaza Strip? Is it for any return? No, Sir. In the same way, if it is to serve a good cause, let us get help in this hour of crisis. Sir, we are prepared to receive help from the right or the left, from whichever

quarter it comes. So, let nobody mistake us on that score.

This struggle may be a long-drawn one. My humble suggestion is that we must try to end it as quickly as possible. The enemy is interested in prolonging this war. Unless we muster strength, get help from others and push out the enemy, he will not come to terms. Only when we are strong and on the offensive will the Chinese think of some negotiations and of settlement. We will try for it. If this is going to be a long-drawn war, of course, we are prepared for that too. We have to prepare ourselves. While we get aid from other countries, we should also build up our own defence industries and begin to produce all kinds of modern weapons and heavy weapons. While doing so, we have to train the whole nation as territorials and militias to operate as guerrillas and commandos. We have to train the people to harass the enemy, demoralise him and prevent him from entrenching in our soil. Government should beware of fifth columnists. Sir, by allowing so many Chinese in our country to remain, I do not know how far they are aiding China. Let us beware of them. We should take ruthless action and suppress them.

Silver and gold are pouring in from every corner of the country. We welcome it. One expectation from the people, something greater than this, is that they should be prepared for more sacrifices. They should deal properly with the blackmarketeers, with those who raise prices unnecessarily and those who hoard things with the sole object of profiteering. Anti-social elements should be curbed by the people. They should form citizens' committees and other committees and see that the morale of the nation is kept high. No doubt our Prime Minister has given the lead. The clarion call has come. Let us arise, awake and stop not till we drive out the Chinese.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to give my

whole-hearted support to the two Resolutions before the House so ably moved by the hon. Home Minister. Sir, it is indeed a solemn and historic occasion when this august House resolves to mobilise all the resources of the country, mental, moral and material, to the supreme effort of ejecting the aggressor from the sacred soil of our motherland.

Sir, it is not necessary at this stage to go into the motives behind the Chinese aggression on our land. We have been dealing with this problem for the last seven years. In the beginning this started as a cartographic aggression. Now, it has assumed a magnitude which threatens not only to become a major conflict between the two countries but also to engulf the world itself in a conflagration. Sir, it is in a way good that the world is shocked that such an aggression has

taken place by a neighbour professing friendship in season and out of season for a country which has helped it when it was almost an outcaste in the comity of nations. The world's conscience has been aroused and it will not be surprising if the world community itself takes it as a challenge to the peace of the world, to all the attempts made inside and outside the United Nations to bring peace to this troubled world.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Lingam, you can continue tomorrow.

The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 13th November, 1962.