

[Shri N. M. Lingam.] and imperialist aims of conquest. It is heartening to note that the country has accepted this challenge. While doing so we have to bear in mind some of the chief elements in this conflict. One is the attitude of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union bears a tremendous responsibility in the present circumstances. It is up to it to see that this conflict does not become a cold-war tussle. In other words, it should see that India is not converted into a hot theatre in the cold war; just as the United States and the Soviet Union helped to bring peace during the Suez crisis it is up to these great powers to come together to see that the conflict is not intensified and that the aggressor is enabled to be thrown out by us. The responsibility rests not only on the Soviet Union but also upon the East European countries. Sir, our relationship with the Soviet Union has been of the friendliest ever since we became independent. I hope it is founded on deep foundations of understanding of each other's ideals and objectives in the world and if on our part we have not hesitated always to be by their side and to understand their policies, we expect the Soviet Union to understand our basic policies and to stand by us and use its great influence in the conflict in which we are engaged. It is not enough for that country to feel embarrassed because according to them one is a friend and another is an ally.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): No, brother.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: Yes, brother. The most crucial question today in this conflict is the attitude of the Soviet Union and the East European countries and if only they work, as they profess to do, for the preservation of the peace of the world and for understanding amongst nations, the area of the conflict can be narrowed and its intensity can be reduced. If, on the other hand, they wish to encourage the aggressor on the ground that they are brothers or that they are bound by ideologies, then what was prevented from hap-

pening in Cuba might be repeated in this theatre. What the Soviet Union by its great statesmanship helped to do in the Cuban crisis would be undone by its attitude if it does not help to end the crisis in this theatre.

Then I would like to refer to the attitude of our neighbour, Pakistan. It is perhaps natural for a country like Pakistan, if it allows itself to be guided by its lower nature—because every nation, as every individual, has a higher nature and a lower nature—to feel tempted to exploit the situation created by the Chinese aggression on India for its own benefit. For our part if it tries to embarrass us by such an inclination to exploit the situation for its profit, we would only regard it as an extension of the Chinese conflict, as an extension of the aggression of China against us. If, on the other hand, Pakistan shows statesmanship, understanding and realism at this juncture it would, I make bold to say, contribute not only to the lasting friendship of the two countries but also to the solution of all outstanding problems between the two neighbours. I would leave the question at that. It is for the statesmen and the public of Pakistan to assess the situation and act accordingly. It is an opportunity given by history to Pakistan. Their test of statesmanship, their test of leadership, their ability to contribute to peace not only of this sub-continent but also of the world is on trial and I fervently hope that they would rise to the occasion and contribute in so far as it lies in their power for bringing about peace in this part of the world.

Sir, some criticisms were made with regard to the policy of non-alignment that we have been pursuing ever since we attained independence. Non-alignment has been misinterpreted by some as one which tends to make us exclusive, which makes us allergic to certain countries, to certain systems which make us inward-looking. The mistake is not with the concept as with the interpretation or as with

the turn given to it. Non-alignment, if I understand it correctly and I am sure other Members will agree with me when I say as expounded by the Prime Minister, is that we should not be involved in power blocs, in military pacts, so that the Indian personality may be projected fully into the world arena, so that we may be enabled to play our part freely without any fetters, without any obligations, without any commitments we might otherwise enter into with other nations. This policy has paid us rich dividends and this policy does not at all hamstring our efforts to get arms aid in this hour of crisis, because we are friendly with every country, whether it is this bloc or that, north or south, east or west. Therefore, the notion that we are inhibited in going all out for getting aid from friendly countries because of this policy of non-alignment is fallacious. The two have no relationship at all. Non-alignment is a basic policy that we have been following and we are not apologetic about it. We need not put it in cold storage. We need, not have any 'judicial separation' from it. And we take this occasion to proclaim to the world that we stand by this policy. I suppose this interpretation of the policy as I know it and as I presume the large majority of the House understands it is sufficient on this occasion.

While on this question of non-alignment, I would like to deal with one other point. As I said, the conflict has become a challenge to us and threatens to be a menace to world peace. It is, therefore, necessary to look at this conflict from another angle, from the international angle. We have been ardent supporters of the United Nations. We have sent our Forces to Gaza, to the Congo, to Korea and also to Indo-China for the preservation of world peace. So, it is but natural that we expect the world community to come to our aid in this hour of crisis. It is true that ultimately a nation like an individual has to save itself by

its own effort. Even so, in the conic, of the world today, even the mightiest of nations cannot afford to stand alone. It is in harmony with the trend of world opinion if we attempt to mobilise world support, moral and material, in our struggle. It may be that we will not be able to do it effectively within the U.N. framework, but whether it is within the U.N. or outside of it, we must spare no pains to mobilise international action to meet this menace. And in this context I wish to point out that our Missions abroad have not been able to mobilise this support. In the first place, they have not properly presented our case to the Press and the public in the countries to which they are accredited. It is most painful to see in the Press not only of the neutral countries and the so-called uncommitted, non-aligned countries but also of the countries which have come forward to help us, that there is a tendency to place China on a par with us. They talk of a compromise formula. They talk of asking us both to withdraw, to yield ground. So, it is extraordinary. This shows that the presentation of our case has not been effective. At this juncture I venture to suggest that men of outstanding ability and capacity to negotiate, to present our case, be sent to important centres of the world, so that our case may be presented more effectively and in the proper perspective. The House will remember that during times of crisis other nations send their best men abroad to present their case. During the last Great War I think Lord Halifax was sent to Washington. So, the Government should get out of its old rut of sending only certain types of people whom they are accustomed to have in our Missions. They should now make a radical departure and do whatever is necessary so that our case is presented properly and appreciated by the world.

(Time bell rings.)

I have one or two points more before I sit down. One question that

[Shri N. M. Lingam.] I wish to refer to is the strengthening of the home front. Ultimately, unless the home front is strengthened, we cannot succeed in our mighty effort at throwing out the aggressor. In other words, we cannot give up our economic planning, our socialistic aims and our democracy. These are basic. These constitute the needle of the compass to show the direction in which the ship of State is moving. The effort now must be to give meaning and content to these ideals. To the extent you give meaning and content to these ideals, the nation's backbone will be strengthened, our will to resist will be stronger. The country has rallied marvellously round the message of the Prime Minister to repel the aggressor. It remains for the Government to measure up to the will of the nation and do whatever is necessary, not to hesitate to do anything to meet anything that comes in the way of our effort to achieve our aim of throwing out the aggressor. I do fervently hope that the Government will rise to the occasion. Drastic economies are necessary. Drastic situations need drastic measures. Our Plan has to be pruned with the sole purpose of gearing it to production vitally necessary for the war effort and for essential civilian consumption. Everything that has been launched by our attachment to a particular project or which is necessary only in peaceful conditions should be thrown overboard. We should not become slaves to slogans. We should not mind the criticism that we are a bourgeois democracy. We have often heard it repeated by the Peking Radio and the enemy press that we are a nation divided amongst ourselves, that this country is seething with discontent and corruption. It is probably because of such an appraisal of the country that they thought that by the first impact of their armed forces the whole edifice would collapse.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am afraid I have to request you to finish your speech.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: One minute more, Sir. Fortunately for the Chinese aggressor as for any aggressor in the world, the course of events does not go according to his calculations, nor the end of the conflict. He can only start a conflict but he does not know how it will end. Sir, the world opinion is in our favour, the iron will of the nation is in our favour, and with foresight, efficiency, vigilance and ability there is no doubt that we will be able to throw out the aggressor.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before we proceed further, I would like to remind you that I have a very long list of speakers already before me. The Home Minister proposes to begin his reply at 4.45. We shall have to go perhaps beyond 5. If the average length of speech is not more than seven or eight minutes, perhaps the whole list can be gone through. I do not know if Members would show consideration for each other. If some Members take a longer time, then other Members probably will be kept out and they may have something to say which is of vital importance. Either let everybody say it or agree by mutual discussion to say the most important things first. I hate to put a time-limit but I do hope that the speakers themselves would try to be brief. If I ring the bell, it is in order to remind them that they have gone beyond the desirable limit of brevity.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, I must thank you for having given me a opportunity to speak on this historic and momentous occasion. Ordinarily I would not have spoken at this stage when both the Resolutions have received approval and support from every section of the House and when so many speeches have been made and most of the ground has been covered. Yet I have to speak under a sense of duty, duty towards this House, duty towards our leader, the Prime Minister and duty towards the people at large.

Sir, we are faced with a grave and unprecedented emergency. The situation is serious and critical. Everyone of us has naturally given anxious thought as to how we are to face the situation and what is to be done to tide over the crisis, and must have arrived at certain conclusions. I have, and I prepared a note embodying my views and suggestions. I sent it on to the Prime Minister as well as the Home Minister, but I doubt whether, because of the pressure of work, they have been able even to glance through the note. I believe they have set up a machinery for examining all such proposals that are sent to them, for every one of us is applying his mind and comes to certain conclusions. At least they should be examined and considered by somebody.

So far as this House is concerned, I think I owe it to it that I must at least mention some of the points which have not been referred to so far, since during the period of emergency the House is not likely to sit as frequently or as long as it used to do. I would, therefore, suggest that an Emergency Committee of both the Houses may be set up to which the Members of Parliament may pass material information and suggestions for consideration, and the Committee after considering may pass them on to the Ministry concerned. I have made this suggestion because the essential basis of democracy is that collective, cumulative wisdom is always to prevail over the wisdom or intellect of any single person.

Another consideration is that whatever policies we formulate must be considered by as many persons as possible. It is not possible during the period of an emergency to have normal sessions of the House. Therefore, I suggest that it would be in the fitness of things if a Committee of both Houses is set up to consider these suggestions, and the Members will also feel interested in doing their job and passing on such information

as may be available to them. That is the first point I wanted to make, and I hope the House will consider it.

The next point is—as I said, I owe it to my leader and the Prime Minister to say something—it has been said here that he was caught hesitating. That was the expression used. He was found hesitating and therefore he should go in sack cloth and ashes before the country and apologise, not only to the people but to other countries as well towards whom we have not been behaving properly. This has been said by the Leader of a party. Is it an unusual thing that has happened? Were there not occasions when well known persons had hesitated? When the results and consequences of a decision are so far-reaching, a man has to hesitate. He cannot decide without taking a balanced view of the whole situation as to what will be the consequences, and I am one of those who believe, and I think most of us will agree, that the events of the next few months, particularly in India, will determine the course of events in history for some centuries to come, and whatever we do or do not do, is likely to have effect not only on the present generation but on generations to come. Therefore, I am not ashamed that he was found hesitating. But I submit one thing more. He is not entirely to blame. Of course most of the blame will have to go to his advisers whose duty it was to keep him properly informed. After all we know that he has been duped, deceived. He was under a delusion. Only in the other session he gave us the impression that China or the Chinese leaders were anxious for a peaceful settlement. But now we are given a different picture. So, there is no doubt that whatever be the reasons, we have been deceived by the camouflage of fictitious friendship and prolonged negotiations. But the question is what is to be done now? Are we not also to a certain extent responsible? Can we guarantee that any other person in his place

[Shri Mohan Lai Saksena.] would not have committed the same mistake or even a bigger mistake? But he had the courage and strength to admit the mistake. He has accepted it and not only that, he has also offered to appoint a Committee at the appropriate time. Therefore, I may repeat again that we are also to blame, we have to share the blame apart from his advisers.

Then one thing more I may say. He is a gentleman. He was referring to how we have been conditioned. I may say that he is a jewel of a man, a gentleman. He thinks that every one is like him and so trusts him. and we should not be surprised if he is deceived so often. These are not my words. These are the words of his illustrious father. He told me: "Mohan Lai, remember that Jawaharlal is a jewel of a man. He is a gentleman. He thinks that others are like him and he trusts them so there will be many occasions when he will trust others and would be deceived." And then he went on and added after a pause that he is not to blame. "He has led a sheltered life. He has not seen the seamy side of it, and he seemed to blame himself for this". Therefore, I submit that in spite of that, he is the one leader in India about whom I can say that so long as he is there, however much he may be striving for honourable peace, there will not, cannot be any surrender. And in support of this I might repeat the memorable words of his father. He said in one of his speeches in the Central Legislative Assembly at that time, "We are always prepared for an honourable peace". "But so long as there is one drop of Nehru blood in any living child in this country, there will not and cannot be any surrender." I have ventured to say *this* for there are many full-blooded Nehrus still with us. His own son, his greatest gift to the nation is still at the helm of affairs. Not only that, he is the precious find of Mahatma Gandhi, his successor. So, I am sure that there cannot be any surrender.

Then, I am convinced that we are going to be led to ultimate victory. Why? It is because our cause is just. I might say, *dharm* is on our side. We have got a man who is prepared to dare and do things and who has slaved himself literally in the service of the nation, who has worked for freedom and for the prosperity of the country as nobody else has done. So, as the Gita says, where there is *dharm*, where there is Arjun and where there is Krishna, there is *vijay*, or victory. You may ask, "But where is Krishna?" I submit, a Krishna is also with him. I do not mean Mr. Krishna Menon, not even Dr. Radha-krishnan for whom I have got great respect. I mean people behind him. After all, *vox populi*, is *vox Dei*, the voice of the people is the voice of God. So I feel that when the people are behind him, we are bound to win. There should be no doubt about it. If anybody has any doubt, he must make room for others, because diffidence is equally infectious as faith and courage.

Having said so much about the Prime Minister, I am sure we should be concerned to see that he conserves time and energy, time as much as possible, and for that purpose, not today but about eight years back, to be precise in April, 1954, I had sent him a letter that he should not overwork. Why? He was overworking himself. Anybody in his position would break down; nobody would be able to carry on for such a long time. Therefore, he needed regular rest, and relaxation. He needed somebody to control him, to see that he did not overstrain in fact to save him from himself. And I had made a few suggestions at that time. One of the suggestions was that he must have at least six hours of sleep every night, that he must not overwork himself and that he must also have a few persons nearby in whose judgment and foresight he had confidence and who are in a position to tell him without fear or favour as to what they thought about his policies and

programmes. It will be for him to act but he must have the benefit of the advice of these persons. He is a man who is used to that. After all, he has had the backing of two of the most eminent persons of our time, his father and Mahatma Gandhi. In 1929 Pandit Motilal Nehru wrote to Mahatma Gandhi:—

"The situation of 1929 demands the voice of Jawahar and the head of Gandhi. So long as you are behind him, I think the country will come round."

So, I might suggest in all humility that the present situation demands that there should be a council of five which might be available for consultation and advice. I leave the choice to him. I do not want anybody to be imposed on him. But he must have such men; otherwise, the country may have to suffer the consequences. In reply to this letter he had written to me, 'I have read it fully and carefully; I have kept it for reference'.

The other suggestion was that he must have a Minister of State to assist him, whose duty should be to vet the files and papers before they are submitted to him for decisions. Even after the decisions are taken, there is no one to see that they are promptly implemented. So, he must have a Minister of State who can do all this work. Otherwise, all the energy and effort he puts in are not as fruitful as they should be.

Then, Sir, I do not want to repeat the other suggestions in that letter. I have referred also to the inadequacy of the working of the Defence Department, about working of our foreign intelligence and other matters. I need not refer to them. I can only say that it is time that he planned about himself. He should not take any risk, we cannot afford to take any risk so far as he is concerned. Sir, I need not stress this point any further.

I will come to the Resolution itself. Sir, although the Resolution has our full support, I feel it is not as comprehensive as it should have been. It is silent on certain important points. For instance, while it has condemned the Chinese for the way in which they have behaved my foremost feeling is that Peking's perfidious behaviour towards an old friend and staunch supporter like the Prime Minister and the barbarous manner in which the Chinese hordes have torn asunder the ancient ties and traditions of amity and friendship between the two countries have done greater harm to China and Communism than to India and Indian leadership. So far as India is concerned, I think it has served some useful purpose. It has just shaken off the complacency from the Government and brought it into a realistic frame of mind, more than that, it has shaken off the lethargy and the indifference of the people, and they have risen as one man. But there is nothing unusual in it. If a man is asleep and if somebody comes and pricks his foot or even the little finger with a needle, he wakes up and then, of course, he must make every effort to remove the needle. We were rather diffident. You will also bear me out, with proper leadership and suitable approach, the people of India have never failed, and Gandhiji had full faith in the people. According to him—"What was proper leadership?" Proper leadership meant that the leader should not be far ahead of the people, he must be only a little ahead of them, within their reach. But he should never be behind them. But, unfortunately, formerly we were ahead of the people. We were thinking of the take-off stage when millions were being left behind and they did not benefit from the Plan, they did not come within the purview of the Plan. We were thinking of the take-off stage, and it is not surprising that the people were not enthused and did not lend active support to the Plans. On the floor of the House and outside, I had warned the Gov-

[Shri Mohan Lai Saksena.] eminent again and again. Our Plans would not succeed so long as they did not enthuse the people. In a democratic set-up you cannot succeed otherwise. After all, we were depending upon foreign aid, and it was one of the things which perhaps embittered the Chinese most. What was the impression given out? Democrat India had to compete in the matter of planning with Communist China and so, India should be taught a lesson. The Prime Minister pointed out that China had always regarded America as its enemy number one. If enemy number one is helping somebody, he could not be expected to escape the suspicion and wrath of China for long. Certainly he also gets the blame for it. Personally I think that so far as our policies and plans are concerned, they have not yielded the desired results. But in that connection I would not like the Government or the country to be hustled into taking any decision opposed to our policy and professions. We have to carefully and coolly consider our plans and policies and we have to reformulate them in the light of past experience and recent developments.

I know that Panchsheel is a very good policy but we did not have the strength to implement it. True, we are not anxious to grab anybody's land but there were others who were anxious to grab others' lands. Or to expand their sphere of influence. We came in their way and naturally they felt irritated. Our stature was raised, our head was raised but our backbones and feet were not strong and the result was that we have to face the anger and jealousy of our rivals. And not only that. After Bandung, we made no effort to cultivate more intimate relations with the neighbouring countries, to look to their difficulties, to help them. As a matter of fact, in this very letter which I have referred to, I had suggested that—because at that time America had entered into a military aid pact with Pakistan there should be an association of the neighbouring coun-

tries, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia. We had to do it for our problems are common, whether they are developmental problems or administrative problems. But no effort was made to cultivate their friendship. We always tried to cultivate the goodwill of bigger powers with the result that these countries felt ignored. Therefore I want that our Resolution should be explicit, say as to what we are fighting for. You may not define them as war objectives or war aims because we have not yet declared war, but the country should know, the people should know what we are fighting for, that we are fighting not only to repel the aggression, not only to throw out the aggressor, not only for an honourable settlement but for something more. We have trusted the Chinese too much. We know that the country cannot live in peace so long as the border of India and China remains common. We know that China had greater sway over East Mongolia than it ever had over Tibet but still, when East Mongolia was declared an independent State, Soviet Russia not only recognised her independence but also made China recognise her independence. On the other hand, because China had suzerainty over Tibet, therefore we considered the treatment of Tibet by China as an internal affair and we felt we could not do anything in the matter. But the fact remains that for hundreds of years the Chinese had nothing more in common with the Tibetans than with East Mongolia, and yet they overran Tibet and there must be a motive behind it, and it becomes evident now since they have committed aggression against us. Therefore we have got to throw away the aggressor from the boundary of India and beyond, to a safe distance from where there cannot be any danger to the peace of India and the neighbouring countries. The Himalayas had been our natural defence line; it had been our Maginot Line for ages; History tells us that whenever the ruler had neglected

the strategic points and the vulnerable positions in the Himalayas, the country and the people had to suffer.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please cut down your speech. I have given you a fairly long time. Please be brief and conclude.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: I am sorry, Sir, Therefore I was saying this. Let us define our war aims. We must say what they are. We may not change our non-alignment policy but we must not only declare that we stand not only to repel the aggression, to drive them to a safe distance from where they can be of no danger, to us but we must also assure the neighbouring countries that if there is any aggression against them like this we will go to their rescue. Otherwise it is understandable why even they are not able to commit themselves one way or other? They do not know what will be the upshot of this. We must also declare that we are fighting for the principle of peaceful co-existence for which America and the U.S.S.R. both stand. We must also say that we are fighting for democracy, and whichever country wants to help us, we must welcome its help if it is without strings, if it is without any condition precedent, but we must make it clear to the peoples and Governments of the other countries what we are fighting for. Again, the Resolution does not disclose as to what our people are to do or not to do to make our war effort successful. As T. said, I owe a duty to the people. The people are anxiously looking to the country's leadership.

श्री मोहन लाल साक्षेना (बिहार): माननीय सदस्य को चेयर का हुक्म मानना चाहिये।

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: I have great respect for the Chair. I am going to resume my seat. I am in the hands of the Chair. I am finishing. And whatever suggestions I have got in these notes, I will pass them on

to you and you may pass them on to the committee whenever it is appointed. But I was saying that the people want a clear lead a definite lead, not words and words, not more words and Resolutions and speeches. They want deeds and gestures. And what is the gesture that we can give? Mahatma Gandhi, when he launched his struggle for independence, disbanded his Sabarmati Ashram, and said that he would not return to it until Swaraj was attained, so some such gestures the Members of Parliament should make today. One is that we must all merge our parties; the parties should be merged into one united people's party. If that is not considered feasible or possible, then I would suggest that all the parties should suspend their normal activities: they must concentrate on the war effort, the national effort, and work under the guidance of a national people's council. I welcome the assurance given by the Leader of the Communist Group, and though my friend, Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha, the P.S.P. Leader likened it to the embrace of Dhrithrashtra, I think I may borrow another analogy from another epic and liken him to Vibhishan, who pleaded with his elder brother Ravan to restore Sita to Ram, but failing in that effort, he left Ravan, came out and joined Ram, and Ram welcomed and embraced him with open hand. So I welcome the change in him and I hope time will show that they keep up to this welcome change. With these words, Sir, I thank you again for having given me this opportunity.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH (West Bengal): I shall be very brief, Mr. Chairman.

In this grave crises before the country I venture to draw the attention of our colleagues in this House to a warning that was given to us, in January 1950, long before Tibet was taken by the Chinese, by a great son of this country, not a politician but a saint and a seer, who had developed a consciousness and a power which, was

[Shri Sudhir Ghosh.] more than intellectual or mental. He Shri Aurobindo of Pondicherry, while discussing the chances of world union, said in the last chapter of his book "The Ideal of Human Unity", these words about the significance of the emergence of Communist China:

"In Asia a more perilous situation has arisen, standing sharply across the way to any possibility of a continental unity of the peoples of this part of the world, in the emergence of Communist China. This creates a gigantic bloc which could easily englobe the whole of Northern Asia in a combination between two enormous Communist Powers, Russia and China, and would overshadow with a threat of absorption South-Western Asia and Tibet and might be pushed to over run all up to the whole frontier of India, menacing her security and that of Western Asia with the possibility of an invasion and an overrunning and subjection by penetration or even by overwhelming military force to an unwanted ideology, political and social institutions and dominance of this militant mass of Communism whose push might easily prove irresistible." Sir, it seems that this is the menace we are faced with today; not a border dispute with China.

In June 1950, Shri Aurobindo again said on the Korean war:

"It is the first move in the Communist plan of campaign to dominate and take possession first of these Northern parts and then of South East Asia as a preliminary to their manoeuvres with regard to the rest of the continent in passing Tibet as a gateway into India." Mr. Chairman, to day the Chinese have not only passed Tibet as a gateway into India but they have today occupied and settled down in our former military headquarters, Taiwan, which is the gateway to Bhutan and Sikkim and the tea estates of Northern Bengal.

Now we are saying to the world that communism is not our real enemy; our enemy is Chinese chauvinism. It is the crude expansionism of a Chinese Hitler-like regime and not communist expansionism and communist desire for world domination that has challenged the territorial integrity and freedom of our motherland. Vinobhaiji said! the other¹ day that it is a war between two ideologies and two ways of life and it is not a battle for a piece of land. Maybe he was mistaken. Maybe we are right. But many people in the world are today pointing it out to us that ever since Lenin laid down the fundamental communist strategy, in the early years of this century, international communism has acted on Lenin's famous remark that the short-test route from Moscow to Paris passes through Peking, Shanghai and Calcutta or that the battle for Berlin, London or Paris will be waged on the banks of the Yangtze, the Ganges and the Nile. It may be that those who point this out to us to-day are out of date. It may be that international communism has in view of the progress and mellowness achieved in Soviet Russia, renounced such intentions. But the fact remains that the travellers from Moscow to Paris have already passed through Peking and Shanghai and they are not very far from Calcutta and the banks of the holy Ganges.

I have, Mr. Chairman, just now read out to you the words that a saint and seer had to say. Maybe he too was mistaken. But he was a man whose mind was untouched by the kind of politics we are engaged in and he thought and lived on a plane which we politicians cannot reach. It is difficult, therefore, to dismiss him as a man who suffered from the cold war mentality. We, therefore, cannot safely rule out the possibility that he might have been right. I do not pretend to know whether communism is our enemy or Chinese chauvinism is our enemy; but one thing is very clear, the Chinese Com-

munists have not invaded India and massed 12 divisions of troops in Tibet for the purpose of settling a border dispute with us.

I think, Mr. Chairman, the vast majority of our people in this country have now had the shock that we needed. It was more than the Chinese invasion which has given us this shock. We had hoped that our policy of non-alignment, our desire of being a friend to every country and enemy to none might bring Soviet Russia's moral support to India's side against the Chinese or at least guarantee Soviet neutrality. We made the unpleasant discovery that we were mistaken, although we are aware that President Brezhnev talked warmly to our newly-appointed Ambassador, and Mr. Kosygin, the Soviet Deputy Premier, has made some helpful remarks in the last few days. And this, according to some observers, constitutes a shift in the position of our Russian friends. We certainly hope so.

We have also discovered to our sorrow that our efforts for Afro-Asian solidarity did not stop China, an Asian nation, from invading India, nor did it ensure moral support from all our Afro-Asian friends, although President Nasser's understanding¹ of our position has considerably improved during the last few days, and I think we ought to be grateful for such small mercies.

The other discovery we have made, Mr. Chairman, is that negotiations cannot always be an instrument for settling disputes, for in the real world in which we live, power underlies all negotiations.

Now, Sir, what are we to do? The people of India are saying to the Government: "Take our money; take our gold; take our blood." The youth of India are saying to the Government: "Take us and sacrifice us before the cruel god of war, if need be." There can be no question that our energies must be directed at preserving India's territorial integrity

and we must buy arms and equipment from whatever sources are willing to come to our assistance. But are we to renounce our faith in co-existence between communists and non-communist in this world? Certainly not. Are we to scrap our policy of non-alignment? No intelligent Member of Parliament can suggest that we forget our basic policy and make a military alliance with the United States of America and Great Britain. Such a course will be not only un-intelligent and undesirable but also wholly unnecessary. The Governments of Britain and the United States have made it abundantly plain to us that they have no desire to involve India in a military alliance with the West or to compromise India's policy of non-alignment. Indeed, if we go to the Governments of these countries today and tell them that we want a military alliance with them they will feel highly embarrassed.

As I was saying, Mr. Chairman, it is not a change of any kind in our basic external policy of non-alignment or the basic economic or internal policy or building up a socialist society that we need in India today. But we do need, Mr. Chairman, to make our minds free from some of the cobwebs we have developed during the last fifteen years of independence. I think we need to reorient our thinking towards Pakistan. To reorient one's thinking is extraordinarily difficult. It took decades for the Americans to break out of their isolationist view of the world. And it has been exceedingly difficult for many Americans and Europeans to realise that nations that were once their friends have become their opponents and their former enemies have now got to be their allies³ for the sake of survival in this world. But in the last few years I think, Mr. Chairman, we in India have hardened and they in Pakistan have hardened. A real change in attitude involves more than a rational reassessment; it requires a painful readjustment of our emotional feelings.

[Shri Sudhir Ghosh.]

In the past, I regret to say that many of our people in India looked upon Pakistan as India's opponent number one, and China only afterwards. And they wanted that India's defence policy should be geared to this assessment. History has proved that they were hopelessly wrong. The violation of India's territorial integrity by China has confronted Pakistan and India with the necessity of co-operating with each other for survival. If our Pakistani friends imagine that India's adversity is Pakistan's opportunity, they are sadly mistaken. Many of our colleagues in this House may feel tempted to point out how difficult it has been for us to live and work with Pakistan. We may, if we like, point out to each other what is being said about India in the Pakistan press today. But, Mr. Chairman, today it is not right to remind ourselves of all the conflicts we have had with each other over the past 15 years. Not a generation of conflict but more than a century of conflict between France and Germany has been overcome in the last decade. De Gaulle, the leader of the resistance movement against Germany, is today the symbol of Franco-German solidarity.

Mr. Chairman, many wise men shake their heads and pointed out to us that you cannot change the attitude of Pakistan merely by making friendly noises. We know that. But we talk about Mahatma Gandhi. We call him our father. When the father died, did not they in Pakistan shed as many tears for him as we did in India? The time has come for us to remind ourselves of those tears. In his last days Gandhiji used to say that he would like to go and live in Pakistan. The other day the Prime Minister said very movingly that while we may not be a very nonviolent people, we were influenced and moulded in many different ways by Gandhiji and we inherited something from him. If that is so, it should be possible for us today, in

spite of the bitterness of the past 15 years, to make the people of Pakistan see that they are just as much in danger as we are and it is in their interest to work with us without demanding a price for that co-operation. We are all aware that during the last couple of weeks the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain have made great efforts to make Pakistan see that they are just as much in danger today as India and it would be wrong on their part to exploit India's adversity. Mr. Chairman, why should we leave the responsibility of convincing our Pakistani friends to the President of the United States or the Prime Minister of Great Britain? Why should not we discharge this responsibility ourselves? We have in this country a leader who is recognised all the world over as a great man, and a more human man than any other leader on the world stage to-day. Let it be the crowning glory of the dedicated life of the heir and successor of Mahatma Gandhi that he was able with his humility and magnanimity, to remove from the minds of the peoples of India and Pakistan a generation of conflict and bitterness and he was able to persuade them to adjust to the realities of international politics for the survival of each and of both. Thank you.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR (Kerala):
Mr. Chairman, the other day the Leader of our group, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, very clearly and categorically stated the stand of our party regarding the problems that have arisen out of the Chinese invasion.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

He has strongly condemned the Chinese aggression. He has stressed the need for the defence of our country. He emphasised that today the supreme need of the hour is the defence of the country and in doing so he did not hesitate to support the Government in getting arms from any quarters. He emphatically rejected any negotiations that will harm the

dignity and honour of our country. He also expressed that the suggestions put forward by our Government that the armies should withdraw beyond the position of 8th September were reasonable. Finally he also appealed that all the differences among ourselves should be sunk and that everyone should rally behind the Prime Minister because he today symbolises the will, unity and determination of the Indian people. I was also glad to note that many Members of this House welcomed and appreciated the stand of our Party but unfortunately we heard certain discordant notes from some other Members, our P.S.P. friends seem too be perturbed over our stand. The Swatantra leader wanted all of us to be put in jai¹ and our Jan. Sangh Leaders seems to be after our blood. Our appeal to all of them is that whatever be our differences, the situation which we are facing today is so serious that we cannot afford to fight against one another. Now the analogy of Dhritarashtra was quoted here by the P.S.P. Leader. Other Members also referred to it. This is not the first time that I am hearing the analogy of Dhritarashtra from the mouth of the P.S.P. spokesmen. For this obsession I may say that our Home Minister is responsible. Recently in our State of Kerala, he squeezed the P.S.P. out of the coalition. From then on they started with this analogy. It is a temporary phase and I hope they will get out of it soon. But certain other points which he raised deserve an answer from us. Some other friends also expressed similar views. They contend that as long as we are Marxists, as long as we are internationalists, we cannot be believed as to what we are saying now. Some say we are either revising Marxism or rejecting internationalism. We are not revising Marxism nor are we rejecting internationalism. On the other hand Marxism and internationalism in us demand of us to openly condemn China for this aggression. It was pointed out by a Member of the P.S.P.

Group that the Communists have always maintained that no socialist country can commit aggression on another. It is true that it was an article of faith with us that no socialist country should commit aggression on another's country. Forty-five years of the history of the Soviet Union has borne testimony to this view. There was not one instance when they trespassed on another man's territory. Not only that the strength of the Soviet Union has been a source of strength for maintaining the independence and integrity of a number of small nations during the postwar period. You know the story of Cuba, you know what happened in Egypt, you know what happened in Syria. So this was an article of faith with us. So when a socialist country violates that, more than anyone else, it is our responsibility to oppose it. Some people have got again wrong notions about our internationalism.

Internationalism is not dittoing what some other party does. Internationalism is based upon common positions and common tasks arrived at as a result of common discussions. Today as far as the newly liberated countries are concerned, as far as the role of India is concerned, the international communist movement has already made proper evaluation. If Comrade Bhupesh Gupta was very eloquent when he spoke about the role of the Indian Government, it was the understanding of international movement. It was not to praise the Prime Minister that he said so as had been attributed by some. You read any international literature, you read the speeches of international leaders, everyone accepts the role played by India as far as the question of peace is concerned. No communist has ever considered India to be in the imperialist camp. Now look at the propaganda of the Chinese. For months together they were carrying on the propaganda that India is a lackey of American imperialists. Is it a fact? I remember once reading in Chinese periodicals that India is a

[Shri Sudhir Ghosh.]

lackey of American imperialism. Within a week I found, against the opposition of the imperialists, India marching towards Goa to liberate it. I need not quote all these examples. So what I would like to stress is this that China has gone against the understanding of the international movement in its attitude to India. So the thrust against the MacMahon Line is a thrust against the common position taken by the international communist movement. Again it has been accepted and understood by everybody that the supreme task of the day-is to preserve peace and today peace is preserved not only because of the strength of the socialist countries but because of the role, the important and decisive roles that are being played by countries like India and other Afro-Asian nations. They are keeping the balance. This aggression on our soil, if that persists with armed might, if it continues for a longer time, if India is forced, in order to protect its territorial integrity, to break out of the present position and fall into the lap of the Imperialist camp, then what will be the balance of the world forces. And what will be the fate of peace in the world? If any Communist closes his eyes to this fact then I have no hesitation to say that they are going against everything that Communists stand for. If a country with '40 crores of people which is in the peace camp, a country which has contributed much for maintaining peace, if such a country is driven out to the other camp by the military might of a socialist country and if a world war breaks out, that Socialist country should be held responsible for such an eventuality. That is why we say that this aggression on our soil goes against everything that we know and understand of communism and internationalism. We have also to condemn the Chinese for the internal changes that have come about in the political life of the country. Look at what has happened now. Parties which are anachronisms in the political life of the coun-

try, they are now parading as patriots, doing the greatest havoc to the future of the Nation. At least for this the Communists should raise their voice against the Chinese if for nothing else.

But that is not all. There are certain international complications arising out of this aggression by China. I need not go into all the details as to how this MacMahon Line has come to be accepted as our border. As far as we are concerned, we cannot give up our claim to this boundary on the ground that it is British. As far as India is concerned not only this boundary but all the boundaries of India are British made. Everyone knows that. It is a fact of history. The present state of India itself is British made. But what is the Chinese claim? What exactly are these Chinese aiming at? Do they want to resurrect the old Msnchu empire? Then what about Burma? What about Indo-China?

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): They are claiming Burma also.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: They all once formed parts of the old Chinese empire. They were annexed by the British, as we all know. So if this argument against the MacMahon Line holds good it should also hold good in the case of these other countries. This approach, indeed, is very dangerous and if maps are going to be redrawn on the basis of ancient empires it will be an evil day for the whole world.

PROF. M. B. LAL: That will be "neo-communism".

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Then there is another angle from which we have to look at this matter. Take it for granted that the Chinese have not legally accepted the MacMahon Line. But is it not a fact that ever since our independence, the territory within the MacMahon Line has been in our hands, under our administrative control? The Chinese have respected this line and they themselves have assured us that they will not cross the MacMahon Line.

Is it not true that a few years ago •when there was some trouble in Longju, an agreement was arrived at between the Government of India and the Government of China that whatever be their claims the Chinese will not cross the MacMahon Line? At that time, you may remember that we withdrew our forces from certain posts and they also withdrew their forces from Longju. In such circumstances, is it permissible to annex these territories by massive invasion? If that principle gets accepted, then what will be the fate of the world? Here I may point out one or two examples. West Germany has not recognised either the State of East Germany or its eastern border. They say—and it is true—that this division of Germany was made when Germany was defeated in the war and they were weak. They are still claiming the boundary as claimed by Hitler. Therefore, today, can they march into East Germany and other states and occupy them? You know it will definitely lead to a world war. There are several similar instances.

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA (Bihar): On a point of information, is this India-China question similar to the East Germany and West Germany boundary question?

SHRI M. N. GOVTINDAN NAIR: No, the point I am trying to make has not been understood by my hon. friend here. My question is: Whatever may "be the disputes over the boundaries, can you forcibly occupy the area claimed and say we are not going to quit from there? Can you forcibly redraw the boundary on the ground that there is a dispute about it? You cannot do it. So, for all these reasons my contention is that more than anyone else, it is the Communist Party that has to strongly protest and oppose this Chinese aggression.

Now, some friends have raised this question "Why is it that all the Communist Parties are supporting the Chinese and not supporting us?" But I may point out that it is not only

the Communist Parties that have done so. What has happened to the Afro-Asian nations? I remember just before this trouble started, there was a certain, article in some prominent newspapers pointing out that somehow or the other, we are gradually getting isolated from other nations, especially the Afro-Asian nations. To my mind it seems as if the Chinese have timed this aggression when diplomatically we were getting gradually isolated from other nations. I do not want to go into the reasons why or how this was happening. But one thing is very clear and that is that we were not able to put our case through to the various nations properly. To them this appears to be just a border dispute. They are not bothered about history. They are not bothered about the details. So naturally other peoples may not properly understand our position. Though we were indifferent, as far as China is concerned, the position was different. They were carrying on a campaign through their press, their radio and through other channels. Even on the 20th October, when they made the massive attack on our territory, their radio and their press tried to make out that it was India that was invading China and that they were only resisting this invasion by India. The way out is the one suggested by 'tiii' friends here. We should rethink as to in what ways we can counter this propaganda and put our case properly among other nations.

Now, coming to what we should do in the present context certain suggestions that have come up before this House deserve to be examined. It appeared from some of the speeches that one of the casualties may be our policy of non-alignment. When I heard some Members of the Opposition parties attacking the policy of non-alignment, even though I could not agree with them, I could understand them because they were always opposing it. But when Members of the ruling party came in support of such a move and when some even went to the extent of saying, if it is not to be a divorce, let it be at least a tempo-

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.] rary separation, I am tempted to ask them: With what face were they supporting the non-alignment policy? Was it because Pandit Nehru had proposed it that they all agreed to it? Did they ever think in terms of the benefits of the policy of non-alignment that have come to this nation? When you want to give up a policy, you have to think seriously about it. The essence, as I understand, of the policy of non-alignment at a time of lack from a foreign aggressor is that we rely on our own strength for defence. We should be able to stand on our legs and face the situation. That is why we did not enter into military pacts. That does not mean we will not take help from any side. We will take arms from America; we will take arms from Russia; we will take arms from Canada and if Czechoslovakia offers arms, we should take them. But standing on our legs and relying on our energy and our resources we will meet the aggressor. For the first time after independence this test has come whether India has the inherent strength to protect her own borders. The test is not whether America has enough strength to protect Indian borders. We may take help from any country but let us rely on ourselves. Let us not get entangled in any bloc.

(Interruption)

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: Madam, on a point of information. Who opposed this policy of non-alignment from the ruling party? The man who was advocating it has already resigned from the Congress.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): He is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. You can give all that credit to Mr. Mukat Bihari Lai Bhargava.

PROF. M. B. LAL: I am not a Bhargava. I have already explained my position with regard to the policy of non-alignment. I stand by that. But that policy needs to be reorientated in the light of the experience that

we are having presently. *(Interruption)*. You do not understand it but we understand you perfectly. I have been a student of international communism for the past thirty-five years of my life.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am reminded, Madam, of the phrase, "I have come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." That is non-alignment.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Now Madam, I have to warn against another danger. When the hon. Shri Annadurai was speaking yesterday, I very much appreciated his policy but I felt that he tried to put forward a very dangerous proposition. He started by saying that everyone should be united to defend our country. That is good. But then he said that this war was not only a war to defend our borders but that this was a war for a particular ideology. That is to say, apart from conducting this war as a war to defend the territorial integrity and freedom of our country, my hon. friend, Shri Annadurai, wants to raise it to the level of a war for a certain ideology, a war for democracy. After that, he particularly mentioned that a floodwill mission consisting of the Opposition Parties should be sent to all the countries. Why not the ruling party? Here we are faced with a very serious and grim situation; we are faced with a strong enemy and it is the ruling party that is guiding and conducting this war. Why could not he allow some Members of the ruling party also to join them in "that mission?"

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh): If I understood him aright, what he said was that a delegation might be sent including some Members from the Opposition.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I listened carefully to his speech. This is what he said and it has politics behind it. He also said that we should get volunteers, money, arraa-

ments etc. to fight a war for an ideology. This in my opinion will disrupt the country, will bring war to our doors. This is a wrong approach and attitude. Forget not, this is a war to defend the territorial integrity of our country and once our territory is restored we stop the war then and there. If without harm to our honour and dignity an opportunity is offered for negotiation, we should not hesitate to accept it. To bring in ideology, to bring in indirect military aid and military pact—all these will not help the country but will only weaken it. Now about the Ordinance on emergency some Members here said, "These Communists who always have been opposing even ordinary Bills have not said anything against it." Well, should I remind the House that we are facing a situation of national emergency forced by an external aggression? Under such circumstances we do not mind giving the Government any power. We do not grudge it. When we are faced with a serious situation if the Government wants powers to meet it we are prepared to give it. But in the implementation I would request the Home Ministry to be extremely careful because the few instances that have already come before us deserve notice. Now, some people seem to want to carry on the fight against the Communists here? Our Central office has been burnt. That is not all. Last Friday after the session I went to Bombay. I reached there at 10 o'clock. On that day Comrade Dange addressed a meeting and one or two thousand people were deliberately trying to break up that meeting. The audience was to the tune of nearly 30 to 40 thousand. With all the provocations they did not succeed in breaking the meeting. But after that the rostrum was burnt. The photos of the bonfire were published; not only photos of the bonfire were published but the photos of the persons who did it were also published as if they are national heroes. Again, in my State one prominent leader of the Congress said that this was a God-given opportunity to crush the Communists. In Bengal certain offices

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have been burnt. As a member of the Communist Party I can assure you that every member of our Party will, both in letter and spirit, implement the Resolution that the National Council of the Communist Party has adopted. If anyone fails to do that, he will not find a place in the party. Whatever things you may say against us, you all know that we are a disciplined party. So if it is a question of the Communists in this emergency rising to the occasion and rallying with the rest of the people for the defence of our motherland, then I have no hesitation to give that guarantee.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Then why don't you get the statement made by Mr. Ranadive contradicted after your Resolution was passed?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: That is another thing. Mr. Ranadive did not issue any statement after the National Council meeting.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He did it previously but why don't you contradict it?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: The entire Resolution is a contradiction of that statement. The entire Resolution of the National Council is a contradiction of what Mr. Ranadive said to some Press people. So let us search our hearts.

PROF. M. B. LAL: That is a good suggestion.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: . . . , if you have a heart. What is it that you want? Do you want to utilise this opportunity to crush the Communist Party? Do you want to utilise this opportunity to throw out the trade union leaders from the unions? Think about these matters. I do not want to elaborate them. The implications that are there are sufficient to show that the members of the ruling party are forgetting the necessity of national unity at this juncture and trying to

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.] utius- the opportunity for narrow partisan ends. Since today the entire authority is in the hands of the Centre petty considerations of certain States and petty considerations of certain sections of the Congress should not weigh with them and they should see that such trends are kept in check.

Then in the name of the Communist Party false circulars are being circulated. In Bombay while I was there I heard a speech. Fantastic stories are being told. It is said that we have written to the Chinese, 'You please come and attack'.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh): It was Peking Radio which said yesterday that pro-Chinese leaflets were distributed and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's effigy was burnt in West Bengal.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Are you going to believe what Peking Radio says? The Peking Radio is saying so many things. They are more against us than against you. But the question is, is there any instance in any part of the country where the effigy of Nehru is burnt by the Communists? I do not know about the other Opposition parties but as far as we are concerned we are not today even criticising Nehru. We are wholeheartedly supporting him. So this policy of utilising the situation for internal fight will disrupt the country, will weaken national unity and it will not help us to pool our resources to meet the serious situation in which we are. So we hope the Government will discourage such unhealthy trends and see that a proper atmosphere is created for all the citizens of the country to stand together and fight this aggression.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: Madam Deputy Chairman, on a point of clarification I will read out the very sentence uttered by Mr. Annadurai. He said:- "We should form a representative delegation to the United States of

America, to the United Kingdom, to Canada and to such other countries". He does not say

DR. A. SUBBA RAO (Kerala): He said, "representative delegation preferably with members of the Opposition parties".

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are 32 Members who want to participate in the debate. Therefore I would earnestly request Members to be very brief.

SHRI J. N. KAUSHAL (Punjab): Madam Deputy Chairman, I will try to obey the directive issued by the Chair and I will try to be very brief. I have risen for giving my wholehearted support to the Resolution which is before the House. I do not agree with those friends who say that the Resolution is not comprehensive or that it should have embraced certain other things also. As the House knows, the Resolution in unequivocal terms has made mention of the prominent situation which is prevailing in the country today. The Resolution pays homage and tributes to the brave sons of the country who have made the supreme sacrifice and who are fighting to defend our freedom. The entire House associates itself with that sentiment. Similarly, the Resolution has prominently said that naked aggression has been committed and we have been betrayed by a friend by his act of treachery. Then, the Resolution also acknowledges the help which we are getting from friendly countries and the response which the country as a whole has given to the call of the Prime Minister. In the end, which is the most important part of the Resolution, mention has been made that a grim determination has been made by the nation that they will not rest content unless the invader is thrown out of our soil. I suppose these are the prominent features of the situation. Therefore the only point which we need consider now is this that when naked aggression has been committed on our soil what is the need of the hour? I will not dwell

on the ideological or other matters, because much has been said in this House by very senior people. I would only submit that in this hour of our peril, we do look to all the friendly countries for help, help to the extent they can give us. I am glad to say that I was a member of the Parliamentary Delegation which went to Russia very recently and two prominent impressions were created in our minds. Those two impressions were that Russia is a friendly country towards India and that Russia wants peace in the world. Subsequent events which have happened since our arrival in our country have undoubtedly placed a great responsibility on Russia to rise to the occasion. We do feel that Russia is a friendly country to us and Russia should come to our help as all friendly countries are coming. It is not a matter that without Russian aid we may be in difficulties. The point is that for Russia's own prestige, for the greatness of Russia, it is essential that Russian leadership should rise to the occasion. The phrase that when there is a conflict between brotherly and friendly countries they may be in difficulty, I would with great respect submit, has no meaning for great nations, because great nations are great as they are not afraid of saving the correct thing at the proper moment. Since aggression has been committed by a brother country, it is immaterial whether the other country is friendly to you or not. It is the obligation of all great nations to condemn aggression, much more so when aggression has been committed against a friendly country. We do hope that it is not yet too late for the Russian leaders to condemn the aggression and give the moral and material support which is being given to us by all friendly countries. Russia is a friendly country to us and if China has betrayed our trust, if China has played a role which was never expected of a friendly country, then we would certainly expect that the great Russian nation would, at this moment, not fail us. They will not fail us at the international altar, because they are wedded to peace. Well, nobody can

say that peace has not been disturbed. Peace, as you know, is indivisible and if there is aggression on our soil, there is certainly disturbance of international peace.

Then, the other point on which there has been some discussion is, what is the motive for China to commit this aggression? Well, to use the language of a lawyer, I would say that motive is not an integral part of an offence. Motive is only needed to find out whether an offence has been committed or not. Once we know that an offence has been committed, motive loses all significance. In our case there is no doubt in anybody's mind that China has committed an offence not only against India but also against international peace. Well, if that offence has been committed, whatever be the motive the broad fact remains that China has been guilty of an international crime. We should not therefore, waste our breath to find out their motive. The main thing is to gear up our machinery, to muster our courage to throw out the aggressor, so that everybody should know that peace-loving nations can also rise to the occasion and rise like one man as our country has shown, that once peaceful people are attacked, then they fight with such might which is not known to aggressors. Aggressors may have some initial advantage, but ultimately it is the strength of the people, it is the will of the people, which is the determining factor of the result.

Now, instead of dilating on this subject, I would bring to your kind notice what the State to which I belong is doing. Punjab, as you all know, is known as the sword arm of India. Punjab has always been in the vanguard of any struggle and Punjab contribute a major part of the Indian Army. Now, fortunately for us we have a Government in Punjab, which is working with a single minded devotion. We have a leader there in Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, who

[Shri J. N. Kaushal.] is a dynamic personality. He is a person who works with a single-minded devotion once he comes to espouse a cause. Now the various things probably are to;own to the people through the press, but I want to submit for the consideration of the House and of all the States and the people of the country that they have to keep up that enthusiasm which is prevailing in Punjab. Now, may I bring to your notice that Punjab has promised to give twenty lakhs of people for the war? Then, Punjab by now has collected more than a crore of rupees for the National Defence Fund and in the very near future we want to collect one more crore of rupees. Apart from the donations and collections which are being sent directly to the Prime Minister's Fund, these are the collections which have been made by the Punjab Government. And then, as the House knows, Sardar Partap Singh Kairon has announced as the Government policy that over and above what the Government of India under their rules or otherwise do for the soldiers, he would provide land, the Punjab Government would provide land for all the soldiers who want to settle on land after being released from the Army. The Punjab Government have also announced that they would look after the families of all the soldiers who are on the front. They will give employment to them. They will relax all age rules. There will be free education to their children. So, these are matters in which the Punjab Government has taken an initiative for the purpose of promoting enthusiasm in our brave soldiers, who, as I have stated, are making the supreme sacrifice of their life. Then, with regard to preparing the population, the Punjab Government has announced that compulsory N.C.C. rifle training will be given to all students beyond the ninth class. We have also decided to give rifle training to Government servants between the age of 25 and 50. We have also launched a programme for preparing the population for civil defence, for trying to raise Home Guards, and things of that type.

2 P.M.

The other point to which I want to draw your kind attention is this. If arms are provided to Punjab, then every able-bodied man would rise like a soldier. Punjab knows how to defend its frontier, Punjab knows how to lay down its life for the freedom of the country.

Another matter to which I want to draw the attention of the House is this. About 48 Congress M.L.As. in Punjab have submitted to their leader that in this national emergency, when we are asking everybody to lead an austere life, the size of the Cabinet should be reduced. I congratulate those legislators, and I also congratulate Shri Partap Singh Kairon in taking the lead in reducing the size of the Cabinet which is unwieldy.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: Not yet. He has denied the report

SHRI J. N. KAUSHAL: Well, I do not know under what circumstance! the report has been denied, but that was the statement made and I know it for a fact that 48 M.L.As. have requested Shri Partap Singh Kairon to reduce the size of the Ministry, and I am quite sure that the Chief Minister would certainly give due weight to their feelings.

Then I was trying to bring to your kind notice that another need of the hour is that if the country's enthusiasm has to be maintained, then I would very humbly request for a very clean administration in all walks of life, because it is the clean administration which gives the greatest strength and enthusiasm to the people. Whatever be our deficiencies, whatever be our shortcomings, they have to be shared and we have to rise above our pettymindedness, above our selfish ends, and we should try to get the maximum co-operation of the people which has been given to us at this time in such great abundance.

One other suggestion which I want to make and which may also be present in the mind of the Government is that, in addition to raising the Army and trying to prepare the population for civil defence, we should also try to raise a considerable number of guerillas because that is very important for fighting in that area where the actual fighting is taking place.

In the end I would only say that our emblem is Ashoka Chakra, and we would request our leader now to turn that Ashoka Chakra into Sudarshan Chakra since there is a dispute between Dharma and Adharma, between evil and good, and in times of need Lord Krishna always wielded the Sudarshan Chakra, and we have no doubt in our mind that our peacetime leader will be the greatest wartime leader also,

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Madam Deputy Chairman, I wholeheartedly support the two Resolutions that have been moved by the Home Minister. We understand today the gravity of the situation. Expansionist China has committed unprecedented aggression against a friendly country like India which has always for the last twelve or thirteen years fought successfully in certain respects for the interests of China and for the seating of China in the United Nations. It is unfortunate that the good intentions of India have not been properly reciprocated or appreciated by the Communist China, and today it has committed unparalleled aggression on India's frontiers. The very democratic way of life that the people of India have been wedded to is being questioned and is being threatened. This aggression has roused rightly the righteous indignation of the people of the country, and they have risen like one man to the support of the Government to repel the aggressor, to throw out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India. This mass upsurge, this mass enthusiasm that has now been created in the people is because of the fact that they cherish freedom, that they cherish

the democratic way of life, that they cherish that their honour and integrity should at all costs be preserved, protected and safeguarded. For that purpose they are prepared to make any sacrifice, and the people of India have shown to the outside world that irrespective of their political ideologies, irrespective of their party affiliations, they have rallied round the Government to defend the country's honour, to defend the integrity of the country and to expel the aggressor from the sacred soil of India.

It is unfortunate, Madam Deputy Chairman, that in spite of the warnings that were given to the Government the country was not prepared to take adequate steps to meet the aggressor. The former Defence Minister had himself confessed that we were outnumbered and outweaponed. It is really an open story how, when the Chinese from 1956 onwards in spite of the understanding that they gave to the Prime Minister have been continuously intruding into our territory and when 14,000 square miles of our territory were occupied in Ladakh area by the Chinese, in spite of these rich* experiences the Government had not prepared themselves militarily to face this militarist China. I understand that some of the soldiers who were airborne were shot at by the Chinese as there was no ground fire to protect them. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Prime Minister has yielded to public opinion in giving an assurance to this House that at an appropriate time a thorough enquiry will be made into this state of unpreparedness and the persons responsible for such a state of affairs will be properly dealt with.

In this hour of crisis when peaceful India has been faced with such a massive aggression or invasion by the expansionist and imperialist China, some friendly countries have come to our rescue. It is very magnanimous of the United States, of the United Kingdom, Canada, France and other friendly countries to have supplied us

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.]

with the war material, with arms and armaments. The country, the Government of India and the people of India will be ever grateful to those nations which have appreciated our stand and have come to our rescue at this hour of crisis without any conditions being imposed. It is really creditable that in spite of our differences and in spite of the strained relations we had, particularly with America over the action that we had taken in Goa, they came to our help at this hour of crisis. It is really commendable that the people of America and the Government of America and other friendly countries have realised that what we are fighting for today is not a question of boundary but a question of the way of life, the democratic way of life, which they all cherish and freedom which they all cherish. Freedom as peace is indivisible and they all very much appreciate the stand that we have taken and the determination with which we want to fight the Chinese.

I would¹ like to sound a note of warning. We have believed the Chinese and we have been duped. The Chinese have betrayed the confidence that we had reposed in them. After such a costly experience, to think of negotiations, to my mind, appears to be not only not reasonable but dangerous. We can think of negotiations about the settlement of the boundary question only when Communist China has vacated every inch of land that it has occupied. Until and unless the territory that has now been under the occupation of the Chinese is secured by us, we will not think of negotiations. The attitude of 'to be or not to be' should be given up and we should be firm in our determination to expel the aggressor.

People have come to support the national effort with all their might. People from all parts of India have been donating gold, have been denoting moneys to the war effort. It is really gratifying and the Government should do all what it can to mobilise

the enthusiasm of the people for the war effort. But that will not be enough. They should also see that they come forward with a Defence Levy to mobilise the resources. The war that we are fighting is going to be a very costly war and, as the Prime Minister has himself stated, it is going to be a very prolonged war. So, we have got to make all sacrifices. The sacrifice should not only be equal, the sacrifice should be balanced. People who have got the capacity to pay more will pay more and the people who have not got the capacity but who have got the will will pay as much as they can afford to pay.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please be brief now because there are so many people to participate.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I would also like to warn the House that a Fascist mentality is being cultivated in this country. When I heard the speech of Diwan Chaman Lall, I was shocked to learn that we should have one party, one leader, one nation. I agree that we are one nation, that we should fight for its integrity, but the question of one party, one leader, that Fascist slogan, should be given up.

In some States people are thinking of weighing the Prime Minister and some Chief Ministers against gold. I can understand their enthusiasm but this enthusiasm is misguided enthusiasm and it should not be encouraged and should be decried.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up now.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Yes, I am winding up.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ten minutes is the time allotted to each member.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I understand that the time allotted to our party

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You had no time at all. It was minus five minutes.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Thank you very much.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you finishing your point?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I am finishing my point.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's most famous maxim for guerrilla warfare is this: "When the enemy advances, we retreat; when he escapes, we harass; when he retreats, we pursue; when he tires, we attack." So, we must be careful about these Chinese methods and the Government and the people of India should be prepared to make all sacrifices to see that the honour and integrity of India are safeguarded and protected and there is preservation of peace. Otherwise, the entire country, the entire world, might be involved in a global war. It would have happened in the case of the Cuban affair but for the timely intervention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the spontaneous response to that call by Mr. Khrushchev.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Tankha. Ten minutes would be enough. There are many speakers to participate this afternoon.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the two Resolutions which have been moved by the hon. the Home Minister but it is with the greatest regret that I do so, regret not because of any action on our part, but for the perfidy which the Chinese have perpetrated on a neighbour with whom it had the most cordial relations for the past two thousand years or more. In fact, Madam, history does not show another instance where an old friendly neighbour has acted more treacherously than China has in its present dealings with India. I can-

not forget the day, some years ago, when Mr. Chou En-lai addressed the Joint Session of Parliament in the Central Hall, and while relating the historic good relations between our countries in the past, assured us of the continuance of the same brotherly relations in the years to come. But today we see Chinese soldiers shooting down those very brothers. I cannot also forget the song of 'Hindi-Chini bhai, bhai' which was sung in the courtyard of Parliament House by the members of a Chinese delegation which visited us two or three years back. I cannot also forget the fact that a small band of some brave medical men from India was sent out to China by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of my revered friend, Dr. M. Atal, to render medical service to that country in its hour of crisis. This valuable help which was given by this small band of medical men has been rendered immortal in a well-known motion picture known as "Dr. Kotnis ki amar kahani".

We have, therefore, to see why a change from a brotherly to an inimical attitude has taken place in China's relations with India. And it gives me considerable satisfaction to note that the responsibility for this change does not lie with us. And, as you are well aware, for some years, past, China has been passing through an internal crisis in its economy and she feared that the Government might be overthrown and therefore she launched this campaign of aggression against our country.

It is because of our good relations with China in the past, which we had no reason to doubt, Madam, that after the Chinese had crossed our border, this country was found wholly unprepared for meeting the menace with which it was faced. The responsibility for this unpreparedness has been placed by a number of parties as also by some of the Congressmen on our ex-Defence Minister. Such a charge can technically certainly be placed upon him as he was the head of the Defence Ministry, and for this he has

[Pandit S. S. N. Tankha.]

paid the price. But to my mind, Madam, responsibility for this un-preparedness really rests not with the Prime Minister or the Defence Minister but with the Parliament itself, which is the supreme authority and which, to my mind, failed to bring home to the executive that the defences of the country were not adequately protected and as such needed greater funds being spent on the manufacture and purchase of arms and ammunition, etc. I cannot remember of any instance where the Opposition brought these facts home to the Government and . . .

Smu LOKANATH MISRA: Many times.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: ... if it failed to do so, it is not justified in accusing either the Prime Minister or the Defence Minister for its own failings. The Prime Minister has told this House, when he intervened during the course of the present debate, that an enquiry would be instituted at the proper time to fix responsibility for the failure of our preparedness. To my mind, Madam, such an enquiry is hardly necessary in view of the failure of Parliament itself to foresee that an attack of this kind will be launched by its erstwhile friendly Chinese. I might however observe, Madam, that whenever any mention of strengthening the defences arose in the House or outside, it was always with reference to our strained relations and defences vis-a-vis our neighbour, Pakistan, and no one ever for a moment doubted the intentions of our greater and more friendly neighbour, China. And if that was so, then why blame anyone else for our own failings and shortcomings? But now that China has betrayed that trust and has, by duplicity, entered our country and has taken a portion of our country, it behoves us to forget the past and to care only for the future. I am indeed glad to find, Madam, that our people who were until recently divided on the question of religion, caste, creed and language, and State boundaries, have, ignoring their differences, stood up

against the enemy like one man and this, Madam, is not only a marvel but a most heartening matter which gives one the hope and assurance that we shall meet the enemy courageously and give a very good account of ourselves in this hour of national crisis. It is also heartening to note, Madam, that in this hour we have the goodwill and the sympathies of at least forty nations, big or small, who have unequivocally condemned the action of China and upheld our stand on the question of our border dispute with her. Some of these nations, particularly so the more powerful and mightier ones, like the U.S.A., Britain, France and Germany, have given, or promised, valuable material aid to us to repel the enemy, and I have no doubt that with this solid support from them and the moral sympathies of the other nations we shall certainly succeed in pushing the enemy out.

That a large part of the world still really exists in two power blocs is evident from the manner in which aid is coming or is promised to us. That bloc of nations which stands for democracy has rendered or promised immediate aid to us, while the other bloc of nations which believe in dictatorship and communism have sided with China, and it would be a sad day indeed, not for India alone but for the world at large, if China succeeds in overpowering and conquering India. So let the nations of the world, big or small, take note, Madam, that if India dies in its fight with China, democracy, not only in the East but in the world as a whole, dies, and therefore it becomes the duty of all freedom-loving nations of the world, who believe in democracy, to save India in this hour of her distress not only with a view to save her but ultimately to save themselves from communism and the yellow peril. In speaking of the two power blocs in the world it is not my intention, Madam, to question the non-alignment policy pursued by our Prime Minister. I have faith in that policy and will welcome its success, if not now, then at any future date to come.

The response of the Indian people—men, women and children—in the hour of the country's distress has been most encouraging both in men and material, and it is now for the leader's of the country to channelise this superb enthusiasm in the best manner possible in order to get maximum advantage out of it, and I am confident this will be carefully done in the near future

In the aid promised *to* us from outside, it is indeed most gratifying to find that it is coming, or will come to us without any strings attached to it so that a self-respecting nation may have no qualms in accepting it, and for all this aid, whether given so far or promised to be given, India is most grateful to all those countries, and in particular to the U.S.A., England and other big nations who have supplied the aid most generously and promptly. It, however, surprises me, to note, Madam, that the air lift of arms aid from the U.S.A. has been completed within the short space of a week and that they await further requests in the matter from this country. Surely, Madam, an unprepared nation cannot be adequately armed in so small a time and as such Government should take immediate further steps *to* call for substantial further material aid from all those countries which have shown their willingness to help us in the matter. It is certainly right of our Prime Minister to have stated categorically that the basis on which all material aid will be taken from outside will be on the basis of payment for it, whether immediately or at a future date but, Madam, I would strongly urge upon the Prime Minister not to let the extent of this material aid depend upon the length of our purse, either in the present or at any future date, since both the quantum of aid and the time of its earliest delivery are most vital for us% in throwing back and repelling the enemy. The countries giving the aid Should rest assured that if India lives, as I have no doubt it will, it will pay to those countries their full dues with *its* blood, sweat and tears.

Let me now come, Madam, to some of the specific matters relating to our future actions for the protection of our motherland.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are going on too long.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: How many minutes have I taken, Madam?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken fourteen minutes.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: Give me a few more minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But then you will be keeping out the other speakers. Make the salient points. Another minute I will give.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: Even though the Prime Minister's call for men, money and material has received an unprecedented response, yet, as the war is likely to last several years, we have to take a long-range view of things and to prepare ourselves for it from now on. I am therefore, Madam, definitely of the view that we must start compulsory military training for our young men from above the high school classes so that, if need be, their services may be available to the country two or three years hence. That the National Cadet Corps and the National Auxiliary Corps also need to be immediately expanded hardly needs a mention since the Prime Minister has already given a call for it, but it is essential that proper arms be made available to them for their training. We must also decide that our young medical graduates and undergraduates, both men and women, should be compulsorily made to undergo practical training behind the lines in the humanitarian work of rendering all possible medical aid to our wounded jawans and officers, and I feel confident such help will be forthcoming most ungrudgingly.

Then there remains the question of our civil defence, which forms an integral part in the defences of a nation. Madam, I do not agree that

TPandit S. S. N. Tankha.]

the life of the people during war should continue to proceed in the same normal manner as in peace time. This, Madam, is an impossibility because, when the country's brave officers and men are fighting in a part of the country, the mood of the country cannot and should not be allowed to be the same as in peace time. While it is true that no undue alarm or panic should be unnecessarily allowed to be created in the country, but in order to show our earnestness for the defence of the country the people should be asked to give up all ostentation and enjoyment of the peace time but should effect all possible economies in their day-to-day life . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I thought that was the last page. You have turned it again.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: ...with a view to effect savings which should go to the war effort. It pains me, Madam, to see large crowds of men and women going about in the Con-naught Place and other markets of the city making purchases, not of essential supplies, but of articles of luxury and ostentation. A call should, therefore, be clearly given by the Prime Minister that such things are wholly unbecoming in a time of country's distress.

As regards the fulfilment of our present Plan programme and its targets in the various sectors, I fully endorse the view that every effort consistent with our war effort should be adhered to in the matter of the essential parts of our Plans, and it is only the non-essential part of it that should be given up, such as those relating to social services, education, medical relief and the like and, in particular, the family planning organisation since its need at the present moment has not only fallen in the background, but its need no longer exists in view of our necessity for greater numbers of men for our fight against the Chinese which is likely

to be a prolonged war for our very existence. Madam, with these words I support the Resolutions.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया :
(मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभापति महोदया, आप ने जो विचार प्रगट करने के लिये मौका दिया, उस के लिये धन्यवाद । जो प्रस्ताव रखे गये हैं उन में, जहां तक इमरजेंसी की घोषणा है उस के लिये दो मत नहीं हो सकते । इस तरह की आवश्यकता थी और इसलिये वह की गई, बहुत अच्छी बात है । किन्तु जो दूसरा प्रस्ताव है जिस में चाइना की कार्यवाही के लिये डीप रिप्रेट प्रकट किया गया है, यह हमारी अत्यधिक भद्रता का परिचायक है और साथ ही हमारी आज तक की अदूरदर्शिता की पालिसी का धोतक है कि हम अपनी नीति के मामले में इतने अदूरदर्शी रहे । हम अभी तक अपने स्वप्न के संसार में घूम रहे थे और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रतिष्ठा के पीछे ऐसे पड़े हुए थे कि हमें यह भी नहीं मालूम था कि हमारे देश की सीमाओं में क्या हो रहा है । हम शांति के अप्रदूत बन कर और पंचशील की मशाल जला कर सर्वत्र शांति का सन्देश देने के लिये गये किन्तु जिन को हम ने शांति का संदेश पढ़ाया वे ही हमारे यहाँ अशांति करने के लिये अपने बेयोनेट और बंदूकों को ले कर सामने आ गये और जिन के साथ हम ने बैठ कर पंचशील के सिद्धान्तों को गाया—जैसाकि सदस्यों ने भी इस के बारे में कहा और मैं उन बातों को दोहराना नहीं चाहता—मगर उन्होंने तिब्बत पर आक्रमण कर के, तिब्बत पर कब्जा कर के वहां के कई लोगों को भून डाला । हम यही चाहते रहे कि यह शांति से काम निपट जाता तो अच्छा होता, मगर धीरे-धीरे उन की भूख बढ़ती गई और वे हमारी तरफ बढ़ते गये और धीरे धीरे उन्होंने हमारे पंचशील के सिद्धान्तों को खत्म कर के और “हिन्दी चीनी भाई भाई” के नारे को मुंह में रख कर हमारे क्षेत्र में घुसपैठ शुरू कर दी । और यह स्पष्ट

इस बात का खेतक है कि हम जिस कल्पना के संसार में घूमते थे वह निराधार था और हम ने यह नहीं समझा कि मनुष्य की कम-जोरियाँ राष्ट्र की कमजोरियाँ हैं। हम इसी आधार पर चल रहे थे कि हम जिस तरह से ईमानदार हैं, स्पष्टवादी हैं, सब के साथ ईमानदारी का व्यवहार करना चाहते हैं वैसे ही सारा संसार करता होगा, किन्तु वैसे नहीं है। जैसे लोहे को काटने के लिये चाँदी से काम नहीं चलता और लोहे से ही लोहा कटता है वैसे ही शठ के प्रति शठता का बर्ताव किये बिना काम नहीं चलता। हम भलाई करते रहे और उस का परिणाम यह हुआ कि उन्होंने हम को नुकसान पहुंचाया और हमारी स्थिति को खतरे में डाला।

अब स्थिति ऐसी है कि आज तक जितनी सारी घटनाएँ घटीं वह तो हुआ, लेकिन आज सब से पहली आवश्यकता यह है कि हम आत्मनिरीक्षण करें। हम मित्र बनाने गये मगर दुश्मन ज्यादा बन गये, हम शान्ति का सन्देश ले कर गये किन्तु हमारे ही यहां अशान्ति हो गई। ऐसी स्थिति में क्या करना चाहिये? जहां तक राज्य चलाने का, रक्षा करने का सवाल है हम किस योजना से काम करें, इस का हम को निर्णय करना होगा। हम दो घोड़ों की सवारी नहीं कर सकते। गांधी जी के सत्य और अहिंसा का नाम ले कर चनें, अथवा हिंसा का उत्तर हिंसा से दें? अहिंसा और हिंसा दोनों को आधार बना कर हम नहीं चल सकते। या तो हमें पूज्य गांधी जी के अहिंसा के मार्ग को पूर्ण रूपेण अपनाना चाहिये और अपने स्वतंत्रता-संग्राम के सेनानियों को आगे बढ़ाना चाहिये, जिस तरह से अंग्रेजों को हटाने में वर्षों तक काम चलता रहा, स्वतंत्रता-संग्राम छिड़ा और विदेशियों को यहां से भगाया उसी तरह से जो चीनी हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण कर रहे हैं उनको भी रोकने के लिये स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के सेनानी आगे बढ़ें और अहिंसा के आधार पर उन्हें बढ़ने

न दें, या फिर ऐसा नहीं कर सकते हैं तो हमारे देश की रक्षा के लिये सच्चे दिल से देश को युद्ध के लिये सभी शस्त्रों से सुसज्जित कीजिये। दोनों में से एक बात का आपको निर्णय लेना होगा। केवल गांधी जी के अहिंसा और सत्य का नारा लगाते रहें और हमारे देश की सुरक्षा को खतरे में डालते रहें, यह कभी भी उचित नहीं हो सकता। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि यदि आप गांधी जी के सिद्धान्तों को लेकर नहीं चलना चाहते हैं तो हमारे देश को शस्त्रों से, शस्त्रों से पूर्णतया सुसज्जित कर दें। यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि हमारे सिपाहियों के पास बंदूक नहीं है, हमारे सिपाहियों के पास टैंक नहीं है, आज हमारे पास अमुक चीज नहीं है, किसी बात की कमी नहीं होनी चाहिये। लड़ाई में और प्रेम में सब कुछ जायज होता है : Everything is fair in love and war. ऐसी स्थिति में ऐसा कहने से कि चीन हमारे ऊपर यह करेगा तो हम यह करेंगे, तब हम रक्षा का उपाय सोचेंगे, इससे काम नहीं चलेगा। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जो ने बहुत अच्छी तरह सोच समझ कर ही कहा है कि कभी भी कोई खतरा आ सकता है, लड़ाई लम्बी छिड़ेंगी और उसका मुकाबला करने के लिये जो कुछ भी रक्षा-व्यवस्था करने की आवश्यकता होगी, वह की जायगी। अभी तक हम पैसिव रेजिस्टेन्स कर रहे थे और अब थोड़ा सा मामला बढ़ा तो अब हम पोजिशनल वारफेयर कर रहे हैं। हमें एक्टिव रेजिस्टेन्स करना चाहिये और उसके लिये हम जितना भी प्रयत्न कर सकें उतना करने की आवश्यकता है। इसके बारे में काफी कहा जा चुका है।

अब जहां तक इसके दूसरे भाग का सम्बन्ध है, हमारी जनता का वर्तमान परिस्थिति में बहुत बड़ा सहयोग रहा है। हम लोगों ने और जनता ने स्वेच्छा से दान देने का, खून देने का, पैसा देने का, मिलिटरी में भर्ती होने का परिचय दिया है, वह बहुत प्रशंसनीय है। इतना ही नहीं, हमारे देश में जितने भी दल हैं, वे सब चाहते हैं कि मातृभूमि की रक्षा के लिये

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया] और अपना बलिदान देने के लिये, हम सब देश की एक इकाई बन कर देश की सुरक्षा का काम करें। लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि यह सारी जिम्मेदारी, सारे देश को इकाई बना कर ले जाने की, सत्तारूढ़ दल पर अधिक है; क्योंकि अभी तक देखा यह गया है कि सत्तारूढ़ दल यह चाहता है कि अपनी दलगत भावना से काम ले और लोगों के मन में यह भावना कायम रहे कि कांग्रेस ही सब कुछ कर रही है और उस लिहाज से अपनी गलती को छिपाने के लिये दूसरे दलों पर आरोप और प्रत्यारोप लगाने का कृत्य किया जाता है। कल ही यहाँ एक माननीय सदस्या ने भाषण दिया और उस में यह आरोप लगाया कि जनसंघ के लोग ऐसा भाषण देते हैं, जनसंघ के लोग ऐसा कहते हैं—उन्होंने कुछ शब्द कहे। जो उन्होंने यह बताया कि जन संघ के लोग यहाँ कुछ कहते हैं, लीडर कुछ कहते हैं, दूसरे लोग कुछ भाषण देते हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि कहने में फर्क कहां मालूम पड़ता है। वहां पर उन्होंने कोट किया—

“We want a war-time P.M. We want a heroic type of brave man who will fight the battle and...”

इस तरह से उन्होंने—शांता बशिष्ठ ने—कल कहा। अब इस में कौन सी ऐसी बात गलत है? (Interruption) शांता बशिष्ठ ने कहा था, उनका कल का प्रवचन मैंने पढ़ा। तो इसमें ऐसी कौन सी बात है? जब राजा भतृहरि श्रंगार शतक लिख सकते थे, तो उन्होंने नीति शतक भी लिखा, और उन्हीं राजा भतृहरि ने वैराग्य शतक लिखा है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के मैदान में अडिग रहे और आज़ादी के सैनिक बनकर निरंतर आगे रहे, उसके बाद जन प्रशासन चलाने का काम किया तो उसमें भी वे अगुवा रहे। हम कैसे यह अपेक्षा नहीं करें कि हमारा यह सेनानी आगे बढ़कर देश की रक्षा के लिये बहादुर लीडर बनकर आगे न बढ़ेगा? अगर कुमारी शांता बशिष्ठ को इसमें खरा संदेह होता है तो मेरी समझ में यह बात

नहीं आती है कि कहाँ इसमें बुराई है? इससे तो यह भावना प्रगट होती है कि हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ब्रेव होकर, एक हीरो के समान आगे बढ़कर, सारे नेशन को एक सूत्र में बांध कर के आगे बढ़ायें।

नेशनल डिफेन्स काउन्सिल में अन्य दलों के लोगों को लिया जाये, ऐसा सभी का कहना था। हम यह नहीं कहना चाहते कि हम को डिफेन्स काउन्सिल में नहीं लिया गया, इसलिये हम सहयोग नहीं देंगे। यहाँ तक कि सिटिजन्स कमेटी बनी उसमें भी विरोधी दल के लोग नहीं हैं, उससे भी पता लग जायेगा कि कौन से लोग उसमें हैं। इसके अलावा, जितने भी विरोधी दल के प्रदर्शन हुए—चीन को भगाओ और चीन के विरोध में, सुरक्षा के बारे में—तो उनसे यह स्पष्ट है कि सब विरोधी दलों ने राष्ट्रीय ध्वज को अपने हाथ में लेकर चीनियों के आक्रमण के विरुद्ध आवाज उठाई। हमारे कांग्रेस दल के लोगों ने केवल चर्खा छाप ध्वज लेकर, उसके आधार पर अपना प्रदर्शन निकाला। क्या यह एकात्मक भावना पैदा करने की बात है, एकीकरण की भावना पैदा करने की बात है? लेकिन अपनी गलती को छिपाने के लिये दूसरों पर आरोप लगा देना, जैसा कि हमारे कुछ मित्रों ने किया, अच्छा मालूम नहीं देता है। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इसके बारे में जरा आत्म-निरीक्षण करेंगे और इस समय देश में जिस प्रकार की स्थिति है उसको सामो रखकर सारे देश को एक साथ लेकर, एक इकाई में बांधने की कोशिश करेंगे। जहाँ तक रक्षा का सवाल है उसमें सारे देश को एक सूत्र में बांध कर आगे बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न करेंगे तो बहुत कृपा होगी।

SHEI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar): Madam Deputy Chairman, I stand here to wholeheartedly support both the Resolutions so ably moved by the Home Minister. We expected that there would be lasting and strong bond of friendship between India and China especially in view of the fact that Panchsheel the Charter of Peace-

tul Co-existence, was specifically mentioned in the preamble to the India-China Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between Tibet and India which was concluded on April 29, 1954. Then again, when Mr. Chou En-lai visited India in June 1955, Panchsheel was reaffirmed in the joint statement issued by the Prime Minister of India and China and therefore our hopes were that the friendship would become stronger day by day. We on our part tried our best to befriend China. India was one of the first to recognise the Peking regime. India has been a persistent advocate of admission of Communist China -into the U.N. for a long time. India has been one of the prime movers in getting China accepted at the Bandung Conference and therefore I say that we had great hopes that there will be lasting friendship and therefore It was not expected that China whom we are befriending would attack us treacherously when negotiations for peace were going on. As a matter of fact India sent a note to China and she replied to it on 13th September but before the reply was sent by China or received by India the Chinese forces on 8th September crossed the Thalia Ridge and threatened the Indian post at Dhola and since then rmssive armies are assembled on our border and many invasions have occurred. All this has happened and in the beginning there were some reverses and some people were taken unawares because this massive invasion was not expected. But now when we see the condition of our people as to how strong is the feeling of unity, how every party has joined hands together and how there is a grim determination to throw out the enemy, our heart feels glad but the feeling of enthusiasm, the feeling of helping the war effort, is not enough. There should be a plan as to how to use the resources of the country for the service of the motherland. It is very essential that the enthusiasm will not l^st long unless every person knows what he has to do. The enthusiasm has to be channelized and therefore there should be a big scheme.

The National Defence Council at the Centre will not do. There must be its branches not only in the States or the districts but in each panchayat and every man should know what work he is to do. There must be a feeling of urgency, a feeling that we have something to do at a very very early stage. Therefore I feel that we should utilise this great enthusiasm in the service of the country. When we go and see the places where people are being admitted in the army, we find a large number of people are there but I am sorry to say that the doctors are not enough and people have to wait for days together for being examined in order to get into service.

Again we find that there are people w<ho are anxious to help and they come and ask: "What are we to do?". There is no plan so far and I feel that it is necessary that a great plan has to be prepared at the Centre and every panchayat, every State, every district know9 about it. So my submission is that this great enthusiasm has to be used and we should see that things are done in a definite manner. "Ve are getting a lot of money, we are getting also warm clothes and we are getting other things. But what is necessary is that the investment should be in war bonds because from charity you cannot get that amount of money required for our war effort. Therefore we should enthuse the people to invest in these war bonds. We are grateful to the foreign powers who have come and helped us at the time of need and it is really very heartening that we, who belong to no bloc, have been offered all sorts of help from people only because our cause is the right cause and China has committed a great aggression. The question row is about the Five Year Plan. The Five Year Plan is in certain respects more necessary thyn before. We want more cloth, we want more food, we want more ammunitions, we want more medicines and we w^nt so many other things which are essential for the war effort and therefore we

[Shri Mahesh Saran.] should devote more attention to the production of these things. Of course those things which are not so essential can be stayed, for example, buildings and things of that sort. There is another suggestion of min◇ which I wish to place before the House and that is that every person should devote at least one hour every day to some effort which will help the war effort. We must do it and become really war-minded. We must feel that although the war is at the border, the war is near us and we should think of it every minute and get ourselves prepared for it. So if we do something for one hour every day, it will be of very gre-U help. So far as Members of Parliament are concerned, there was a time when we were busy in helpgh to make laws but the time has come for us to do other things. We have to go to our constituencies and try to organise the constituencies and there'ore I would request the Home Minister to convene a meeting of the Members of Parliament and give them particular jobs and particular places where they have to go to work A'.I these things have to be decided.

As there is very little time I have only to say that India is fullv prepared and there is a grim determination to turn out the enemy. Only all this energy and all this enthusiasm must be channelized and must be used for the service of the country. Thank you.

SHRI S. C. DEB (Assam): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to offer my fullest surroort to the two Resolutions moved by our Home M'nister. While doin^ so I also offer my respectful homage to our jawans and officers who sacrificed their lives on the border.

Madam, various points have been raised in the several soeeches made here and I do not want to go into them in detail. I would only refer to a few points very briefly. The other day the Prime Minister declared here,

in connection with the charge levelled against the Government of being unprepared especially in the NEFA area, that they will be having an enquiry on this charge. This will satisfy hon. Members here and public outside. But I have to submit, Madam, that we were not aware of the technique of the Chinese leaders. Were we prepared for what the Chinese leaders have done? That is the questioa The technique of the Chinese leaders is to speak of peace and then to deceive. It was a case of deception, naked brutal deception. We could not even imagine that a neighbouring country of ours would do that, because for centuries we had cultural relations and good relations had developed between the two countries. Therefore, we were, I think, somewhat lenient towards China and that made us very much embarrassed and this aggression made us so astonished We could not imagine that the Chinese attitude would become such.

I would humbly submit that the technique of China for a very considerable time has been aiming at leadership not only of Asia but over Russia also. That is the technique of the Chinese leadership of the present day. It is a challenge not only to democracy and world peace, but it is also a challenge to Russian leadership. Russia has been trying to have peace in the world. We have seen what happened in Cuba and Russia's policy in Cuba. There she has worked for peace. Why? Because now the world is too much materialistic and Russia saw that the U.S.A. with all the necessary materials, was pre-oared, and she had to go back and withdraw the missiles from Cuba. This policy is now ruling the whole world. Unless we are materially well equipped, unless our war efforts are strong and as strong as China's we cannot be satisfied. We are declaring that China is more powerful nnd that they are having all the war materials with them and so on. So I say unless we also get equally prepared, China cannot be resisted. We must see to that first. We must not

have any negotiations unless this Chinese aggression is first vacated. There should be no question of any negotiations now. That should be the attitude of the Government.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is the attitude.

SHRI S. C. DEB: Maybe, but our past actions have not proved that. We must bear in mind that this is not a mere border question or border aggression. It is actually aggression against democracy and world peace. The Chinese leaders' way of thinking is that they should overcome the Russian policy in regard to communism. That is why so many other powers in the world are ready to help India in this hour of her need. We welcome all the help that these powers outside India offer us, including the help from Russia, in this hour of crisis, because this fight is of democracy against chauvinism. We see the Communist Party helping the country and that is because democracy and socialism are challenged by the Chinese. They have learned it and realised that it is not really "China-India Bhai. Bhai." It is an aggression of a particular type against socialism and democracy. That is why the Communist Party has realised that China should no longer be supported.

AN HON. MEMBER: Thank God, they realise it now.

SHRI S. C. DEB: Therefore, I would like to submit to the Government that all the present enthusiasm in our country should be properly channelised and directed towards resisting the aggression. India has to be prepared for a long-drawn out resistance against China. All our forces and all our efforts should be mobilised towards that end. It is a very welcome thing that all the parties in the country are supporting the measures that have been taken by the Government and the stand taken by our Government. There is only one India and there is only one feeling, namely, that

India comes first, that democracy is first, that peace is first

AN HON. MEMBER: And socialism?

SHRI S. C. DEB: Democracy and socialism go together in my mind. Therefore, I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that we are all determined to make all efforts to meet this danger. All the efforts of our people should be channelised in the proper direction and we should also have proper arrangements for civil supplies, especially in the border States that are primarily affected. There the supply position should be improved and under no circumstance should this effort be slackened.

Next I want to say about our propaganda and our broadcasts. Our propaganda should be so made that every section of India's population is enthused and the morale is maintained at the present high level. I find that the Chinese are having their propaganda machinery stronger than ours and we feel that our propaganda machinery is not up to the mark as compared to theirs. Compared to their propaganda machinery our propaganda machinery is lacking. This thing should be taken into consideration and the peoples of the world should be given a clear idea of how the Chinese are a deceiving people and how India's case is right and honest. Thank you. 8 P.M.

شہری اے - ایم - طارق (جس اور
کشمیر): میڈم ڈپٹی چیئرمین -
چار دن پہلے اس سیمینار میں گھریلو
ملکیت نے جو پروگرام دکھا ہے میں
اس کی حمایت کرتا ہوں - میں ان
شہیدوں اور ان جوانوں کو سلام بھیجتا
ہوں جنہوں نے ہندوستان کی آزادی
کی خاطر ہندوستان کی حفاظت کی
خاطر اپنی جانیں قربان کیں - اس

[شری اے - ایم - طارق]

کے ساتھ ہی میں اس ایوان میں اس بات کا اعلان کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم ہندوستان کے لوگ بلا لحاظ مذہب و ملت اپنے وزیر اعظم کی پالیسی کی حمایت کرتے ہیں۔ ہم جانتے ہیں کہ اس وزیر اعظم نے ہر مشکل وقت پر ہماری صحیح راہنمائی کی ہے۔

میدم قیتی چھرمین - چھن کہ حملہ نے صرف ہمارے دوستی کے اعتماد کو ہی نہیں ہلایا بلکہ ہماری ان خواہشات کو بھی جو ہم قائم رکھنا چاہتے تھے چین کے ساتھ اور دوسرے ملکوں کے ساتھ اس کو بھی ہلایا ہے۔ ہمیں آج انتہائی افسوس ہے - ہمیں کوئی پریشانی حملہ سے نہیں ہے کیونکہ ہم میں اعتماد ہے یقین ہے اور ہمیں اس بات پر بیروسہ ہے کہ جواہر لال نہرو کی رہنمائی میں آخری فتح ہماری ہوگی اور یقیناً ہماری ہوگی۔ لیکن ہمیں افسوس ہے تو اس بات کا ہے کہ چین نے دوستی کے پردہ میں دشمنی کی، ہماری پیٹھ میں چھرا گھونپا۔

ہمیں چین کا مقابلہ کرنا ہے اور ہم یقیناً کوشش کریں گے اور اس کے لئے انتہائی ضرورت اس بات کی ہے کہ ہم سب ملکر اپنے دامن کو اس بات کا یقین دلائیں - ہمیں اس وقت چھوٹی چھوٹی باتوں کے بیچ میں پوز کر اپنی قومی طاقت کو ضائع

نہیں کرنا چاہئے - مجھے انتہائی افسوس اس بات کا ہے کہ کچھ لوگ کچھ درست ایسی بات کرتے ہیں جنہیں کچھ ناراضگی ہو، شاستری جی سے ہو یا اردو سے ہو کہ صاحب انہوں نے بہت سے لوگوں کو اپنے قریب رکھا اور ان کو نہیں رکھا لیکن اس کا موقع یہ نہیں ہے کہ ہم اس وقت ایک عجیب غریب قسم کا کھچڑا اچھالیں - اس وقت اس چیز کی ضرورت ہے کہ میں شاستری جی ہوں پندت جی ہوں میں ہندوستان کی فوج کو اپنا پورا تعاون اور امداد دوں -

مجھے انتہائی افسوس ہے ہندوستان میں چھپنے والے کئی اخباروں سے شکایت ہے - اس وقت جب کہ ہمیں فوج کا اور لوگوں کا اعتماد بڑھانا ہے ہم ان کی حوصلہ شکنی کرتے ہیں - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ بہت سے دوست اس طرح کا سوچیں کہ ہم اس طرح سے چین کی مخالفت کر رہے ہیں لیکن ہم یقیناً اس سے چین کی حمایت کر رہے ہیں - یہ طریقہ نہیں ہے - جنگ کے زمانے میں کسی ملک میں یہ نہیں ہوا ہے کہ ہم یہ کہیں کہ ہماری فوج کے پاس ہتھیار نہیں ہے ہماری فوج کے پاس وردیاں نہیں ہیں، رسد نہیں ہے - یہ کام تو چینوں کا ہوا چین کے لیڈروں کا تھا - ہمیں تو یہ کہنا چاہئے تھا کہ چین کے اندر افراطی ہے، چین کی اقتصادی

حالات خراب ہے لیکن آج ہم خود یہ کہتے پڑتے ہیں کہ ہمارے سپاہیوں کے پاس جوتے نہیں ہوں۔ اس سے کیا اثر پڑے گا ان سپاہیوں پر جو کہ وہاں جانے والے ہیں۔ میں کسی بھی آدمی کو، کسی بھی اخبار نویس کو، کسی بھی سیاست دان کو امان کرتا ہوں کہ وہ مجھے یہ ثابت کر دے کہ ہمارے کسی فوجی کے پاس وردی یا جوتے نہیں ہیں۔ چونکہ ہمارے درست دلی میں رہتے ہیں؟ مدراس میں رہتے ہیں؟ بمبئی میں رہتے ہیں اس لیے انہیں شاید کشمیر کی آب و ہوا کا معلوم نہیں ہے۔ میں چیلنج کرتا ہوں کسی بھی مسٹر کو کہ اس وقت بھی سرینگر کی سڑکوں پر اگر وہ ننگے پیر چلے تو وہ تین مدت سے زیادہ زندہ نہیں رہیں گے۔ جب کہ سرینگر کی بلندی پانچ ہزار فٹ ہے اور لداخ کی تو چودہ ہزار فٹ کی بلندی ہے۔ تو وہاں اگر انسان کے پاس وردی نہ ہو، مکمل ہتھیار نہ ہو اور اپنے کو بچانے کا سازوسامان نہ ہو تو پھر وہاں وہ زندہ نہیں رہ سکتا۔ آج بھی وردیاں ہمارے پاس کھوں نہ ہوں۔ آخر ہماری فوجیں پچھلے چودہ سالوں سے ایسی آب و ہوا میں رہ رہیں ہیں۔ ہماری فوجوں نے سرحدوں کے موسم میں پاکستانیوں کا وہاں مقابلہ کیا اور ان کو ہتایا۔ یہ اس کا ثبوت ہے کہ ہمارے فوج کے سپاہیوں کے پاس یہ

سب موجود تھا۔ آخر اتنی بڑی فوج ہے اتنی بڑی ریسرچ ہے جس کو اتنی اونچی جگہوں پر پہنچانا ہے تو ہو سکتا ہے کہ کہیں ایسی چھوٹی موٹی بات ہوئی ہو لیکن اس کا اس طریقہ سے ذکر کرنا ٹھیک نہیں ہے یہ ان کی حوصلہ شکنی ہے۔ میں ہوم منسٹر سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ انہیں ان اخباروں کی طرف تھوڑی سی توجہ دیلی جائے اور مجھے امید ہے کہ ہندوستان ٹائمز یا انڈین ایکسپریس کے جو ایسے کارٹون ہیں کہ "Why was my husband so poorly armed?" ان کے بارے میں جو بھی ایکشن لے سکتے ہوں وہ لے لیں گے۔

اس کے علاوہ سیٹم قبیلگی چھڑ میں۔ میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ افراد کی جنگ نہیں ہے یہ اصولوں کی جنگ ہے اور ہمیں اصول کو مڑانے کے لئے اور اصولوں کی خاطر اس کو لونا چاہئے۔ جس وقت ہوم منسٹر صاحب اپنی تدبیر فرمائیں میں ان سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ وہ اس ایوان کو بتائیں کہ چینی سب سے پہلے ہندوستان کی سرحد پر کب آئے۔ اگر یہ حقیقت ہے کہ سب سے پہلے ۱۹۵۱ء میں انہوں نے قدم رکھا شروع کیا تو ۱۹۵۱ء سے ۱۹۵۷ء تک ہماری حکومت نے کیا کارروائی کی۔ اس دوران میں کتنی فوجی سڑکیں ہلائی گئیں؟ اس دوران میں ہماری آرٹیلری

[شری اے - ایم - طارق]

ٹیکٹریز نے کتنا کام کیا۔ کتنا مقبول پیدا کیا۔ اس کے علاوہ میں انصاف کی خاطر جمہوریت کی خاطر اور اس ایوان کی خاطر یہ جاننا چاہوں گا کہ ۱۹۵۷ء سے لے کر ۱۹۶۲ء تک کیا ہوا۔ انداز میں کتنے سوکھیں بلیں۔ نیفا میں کتنی سوکھیں بلیں۔ سب سے پہلے کس نے فوجوں نیفا میں بھیجیں۔ میں ہوم منسٹر سے انصاف کے نام پر درخواست کروں گا کہ وہ ان باتوں کا جواب دیں۔ میں کسی خاص جماعت کا آدمی نہیں ہوں۔ میری جماعت خالص کانگریسی ہے میں مسلمان ہوں جس کا مجھے اعتراف ہے مختصر ہے۔ میں پاکستان کا دشمن نہیں ہوں گو میں پاکستان کے ہاتھوں میں شکار ہوا ہوں ظلم اور تشدد کا۔ میں پاکستان سے دوستی چاہتا ہوں۔ ہم نے ہمیشہ اس بات کا اعلان کیا ہے کہ ہمیں پاکستان سے دوستی کرنی چاہئے۔ پاکستان ہمارا ہمسایہ ملک ہے۔ پاکستان میں ہمارے بڑائی بستے ہیں؟ دوست بستے ہیں۔ میں پاکستان کی حکومت سے بھی اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ وہ ہندوستان کی حالت کو مدنظر رکھے۔ یہ خطرہ صرف ہندوستان پر ہی نہیں سارے ایشیا پر ہے۔ لیکن میں پاکستان کے سربراہ سے درخواست کروں گا کہ وہ پاکستان کے اخباروں کو ہمارا مذاق اڑانے سے ہم کو ذلیل کرنے سے

روکھیں۔ انہوں نے ایک خط میں یہ لکھا ہے کہ پاکستان کے اخباروں کو روک نہیں سکتے ہیں۔ مجھے انتہائی افسوس ہے۔ پاکستان کے صرف دو اخبار ہیں ایک قان اور دوسرا پاکستان ٹائمز اور پاکستان ٹائمز قانریگلی حکومت پاکستان کے ہاتھ میں ہے۔ ارد قان بھی ان کے ہاتھ میں ہے۔ پاکستان کی جمہوریت جو ہے وہ ہم سب جانتے ہیں۔ میں ہوم منسٹر اور اس ایوان کے معزز ممبران کے سامنے صرف ایک کارٹون کو پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں اور میں اس کے ساتھ ہی جنرل ایوب سے درخواست کروں گا کہ وہ اس طرف توجہ دیں۔ یہ ایک کارٹون ہے جس میں پلڈت جواہر لال نہرو کو دکھایا گیا ہے اور یہاں لکھا ہے—

"Here stands in his perpetual glory the Great Neutralist Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, son of Motilal Nehru, the discoverer of India and the mighty conqueror of Kashmir, Hyderabad, Junagadh and Goa: Present status unknown."

میں درخواست کروں گا جنرل ایوب سے کہ ایک طرف چینی حملہ آور ہے ہماری پیٹھ پر چھرا گھونپ رہا ہے۔ تو پاکستانی دوستوں کو یہ زیبا نہیں دیتا ہے کہ وہ ہمارے دلوں پر تیر اندازی کریں۔ یہ تیر اندازی کا وقت نہیں ہے یہ ہاتھ میں ہاتھ دے کر آگے بڑھنے کا وقت ہے۔

(Time bell rings.)

Madam Deputy Chairman, kindly-give me three minutes. Thank you,

میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب سے درخواست کروں گا کہ ہندوستان کی جمہوریت میں کسی فرد واحد کو یہ حق ہے کہ وہ کسی باہر کے ملک کے سوبرا سے قومی معاملات میں خط و کتابت کرے۔ میں ہوم منسٹر سے درخواست کروں گا کہ جنرل کرپٹا اور پیڈنٹ کے درمیان جو خط و کتابت ہوئی ہے وہ اس ایوان کے سامنے رکھی جائے۔ مقدمہ میں ان کی اطلاع کے لئے یہ درخواست کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جنرل کرپٹا نے اس خط و کتابت کو ہندوستان میں شائع نہیں کیا لیکن پریذنٹ ایوب نے اس کارپونڈنس کو قان اور پاکستان ٹائمز میں دیکھ کر دیا ہے۔

Here it tells:

"Delhi ignored all amity moves by Pakistan: Cariappa asked to seek Kashmir solution."

I would like to know how an individual has got the right to decide our political problems.

اس کے ساتھ ہی - مقدمہ میں اپنے دوستوں سے اس ایوان کے معزز ممبران سے درخواست کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان کسی فرقہ کی کسی مذہب کی کسی ذات کی کسی فرد واحد کی ملکیت نہیں ہے یہ ہم سب کا وطن ہے اور ہم کو اس کی حفاظت کرنا ہے۔ ہمیں یہ سوچنا ہے کہ جب ایک طرف ہم چین سے لڑ رہے ہیں تب ہم اس ملک کو افراتفری میں نہ ڈالیں۔ میں اس

سلسلہ میں ایک خط پڑھتا ہوں اور اس خط سے مجھے امید ہے کہ میرے درست باجپٹی جی کی جن کی میں کافی عزت کرتا ہوں انکھوں کھل جائیں گی۔ اس ملک میں ہمارے سیاسی لیڈروں کو چاہے ان کا نام باجپٹی ہو بھوپتھی گپتا ہو لال بہادر شاستری ہو یا حافظ محمد ابراہیم ہو یہ کہہ کر بدنام کرنے کی کوشش کی جا رہی ہے کہ ہندوستان کے سب پولیٹیل لیڈر کرپٹ ہیں اور اس کرپشن کا ایک ہی علاج ہے کہ جنرل تھیمیا فوج کو سنبھالیں اور فوج کا چارج لیں۔

In the Indian paper 'Statesman' Overseas edition of 10th November there is a letter written by someone who says in this letter:

"Every Indian politician with a few honourable exceptions is notorious for his ignorance of military matters. Mr. Nehru should therefore utilise the services of a retired General as Deputy Defence Minister. General Thimayya among others would be ideally suited for this purpose."

AN HON. MEMBER: Shame.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: There is no question of shame or no shame.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your one minute is over, Mr. Tariq. Please wind up.

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق: یہی وہ حالات ہیں جو ممبران کے سامنے دکھانا چاہتا ہوں۔ پاکستان میں جو نوجوانی انقلاب آیا اس سے پہلے

our friends but which is misquoted in foreign countries.

[شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق]
یہ چیزیں شروع کی گئیں کہ سیاست دان بے ایمان ہیں ہم ان پر بھروسہ نہیں کر سکتے لہذا ہمیں فوجوں کے ہاتھ میں سب کچھ دینا چاہیئے۔ مجھے اس بات کا اعتراف ہے کہ ہم ہر آدمی سے مدد لینا چاہتے ہیں۔ امریکہ سے لینا چاہیئے، برطانیہ سے لینا چاہیئے اور اگر کمیونسٹ ملکوں سے بھی مل سکے تو ان سے بھی لینا چاہیئے۔ لیکن ہماری ان دوستوں سے بھی نہیں توقع ہے کہ وہ امداد کو امداد سمجھیں گے خیرات نہیں سمجھیں گے وہ ہمارے دل نہیں دکھائیں گے۔ میڈم قیٹی چھرمین۔ میں ایک درخواست آپ کے سامنے رکھنا چاہتا ہوں۔

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up now.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Here is 'Newsweek' a very important page. In yesterday's issue it shows a cartoon...

اس میں دکھایا گیا ہے کہ پلڈت جواہر لال جی نہرو اور مسٹر کرشنا مینن نے ہمارے سرحدوں میں تو می گنز چلا رہے ہیں اور ان کے سامنے مہاتما گاندھی کھڑے ہیں یعنی نیندا کے پہاڑوں سے گاندھی جی اتر کر آئے ہیں۔

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How is all this relevant?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: It is relevant to publicity and propaganda made by

تو میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب سے یہ درخواست کروں گا کہ ان تمام حالات کا ہم ذکر کریں۔

صرف ایک مدت اور۔ کل اس ایوان میں ہمارے ایک انریبل ممبر ہز ہائی نس مہاراجہ اندر مہندر سپر سلطنت انگلشیہ مہاراجہ جے پور نے یہ فرمایا تھا کہ ان حالات میں اس بات کی انتہائی ضرورت ہے کہ اس ملک میں قیٹی پرائم منسٹر ہو۔ میں جاننا چاہتا ہوں کہ آخر ان تمام چیزوں کی فوری ضرورت کہا ہے کہ ہمیں قیٹی پرائم منسٹر بھی اسی وقت چاہیئے، ہم کو پارٹی کو بھی بدلنا چاہیئے۔ ہم جانتے ہیں کہ تیر کہاں چلایا جاتا ہے اور نشانا کون بلایا جاتا ہے لیکن میں اس ایوان کو لوگوں کو یقین دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم جہاں ایک طرف چینی حملہ آور کا مقابلہ کریں گے وہاں ایسے لوگوں کا بھی مقابلہ کریں گے جو ہمارے وزیر اعظم کو نشانہ بنانا چاہتے ہیں۔

میڈم۔ کل پاکستان کی سفیر نے مصر میں ایک اسٹہٹمنٹ دیا ہے اس اسٹہٹمنٹ کو میں چیلنج کرتا ہوں۔ انہوں نے کہا ہے کہ ہندوستان میں پانچ کروڑ مسلمان ہندوؤں کے غلام ہیں ان کے اعمال

ہوں - ہمارے پاکستان کے لوگ ان کے ہاتھ سے بچا کر ان کو آزاد کرینگے - میں پاکستان کے سفیر کو پاکستان کی حکومت کو اور دنیا کے لوگوں کو یہ بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم یہاں کے مسلمان پہلے ہندوستانی ہیں اس کے بعد مسلمان ہیں - ہندوستان ہمارا وطن ہے - ہم ہندوستان کے لئے مرینگے ہندوستان کے لئے جھٹیں گے - نہ ہوں پاکستان سے مطلب ہے اور نہ دنیا کی کسی اور طاقت سے -

ان تمام الفاظ کے ساتھ میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب کی اس تصویر کو اپنی حلیت دیتا ہوں اور ان تمام فوجیوں کو سلام پہنچاتا ہوں، ان تمام لوگوں کو مبارکباد پہنچاتا ہوں جنہوں نے ہماری فوجی طاقت بڑھائی اور اس کے ساتھ ہی میں شری کرشنا میلن کے شاندار کام کی تعریف کرتا ہوں -

†[آءی ۴۰۰ ۴۰۰ تاریخ (جम्मہ اور کشمیر): مڈم ڈیٹی چیئرمین، چار دن پہلے اس سبھا میں شرے لڑی منتری نے جو پڑستاو رخوا ہے میں اوسکی ہیمایت کرتا ہوں۔ میں ان شہیدوں اور ان جوانوں کو سلام بھجتا ہوں جنہوں نے ہندوستان کی آزادی کی خاتیر، ہندوستان کی ہیفاجت کی خاتیر اپنی جانیں قربان کیں۔ اس کے ساتھ ہی میں اس اعلان میں اس بات کا اعلان کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم ہندوستان کے لوگ بھلا لیہاڑ مچھو و میللت اپنے وچیرے-آجیم کی پولیسی کی ہیمایت کرتے ہیں۔ ہم جانتے ہیں کہ اس وچیرےآجیم نے ہر

†[] Hindi translation.

میشکل وقت پر ہماری سہی رھنوماہی کو ہے۔

مڈم ڈیٹی چیئرمین، چین کے ہمارے نے سرفہ ہمارے دوستی کے اتماد کو ہی نہیں ہلایا بلکہ ہماری ان رواجیات کو بھی جو ہم کام رখনا چاہتے تھے چین کے ساتھ اور دوسرے ملکوں کے ساتھ اوسکو بھی ہلایا ہے۔ ہمیں آج ایںٹھائی افسوس ہے۔ ہمیں کوئی پڑشانی ہمارے سے نہیں ہے، کیونکہ ہم اتماد ہے، یقین ہے؛ اور ہمیں اس بات پر بھوسا ہے کہ جواہر لال نہرو کی رھنوماہی میں آخیری فٹھ ہماری ہوگی اور یقیناً ہماری ہوگی۔ لیکن ہمیں افسوس ہے تو اس بات کا ہے کہ چین نے دوستی کے پدوں میں دوسمندی کی، ہماری پیٹ میں ڈھرا ڈھپا۔

ہمیں چین کا موبابھلا کرنا ہے اور ہم یقیناً کریں گے اور اوسکے لیے ایںٹھائی جھرت اس بات کی ہے کہ ہم سب میل کر اپنے رھنوما کو اس بات کا یقین دھلاویں۔ ہمیں اس وقت ڈھوٹی-ڈھوٹی باتوں کے بیچ میں پڑکر اپنی کومی طاقت کو جاتا نہیں کرنا چاہیے۔ میں ایںٹھائی افسوس اس بات کا ہے کہ کچھ لوگ، کچھ دوست اسی بات کرتے ہیں جنہیں کچھ ناراجگی ہو، شاستری جی سے ہو یا اوروں سے ہو کہ ساہب انہوں نے بھت سے لوگوں کو اپنے کریو رخوا اور انکو نہیں رخوا، لیکن اسکا موبکا یہ نہیں ہے کہ ہم اس وقت اےک آجیو-گریو کسٹم کا کچھ ڈھلاویں۔ اس وقت اس چیز کی جھرت ہے کہ میں، شاستری جی ہوں، پڈیت جی ہوں، ہندوستان کی فوج کو اپنا پورا توبابھن اور ایںڈاد دوں۔

میں ایںٹھائی افسوس ہے ہندوستان میں اچھپنے والے کچھ آخواریوں سے شیکاوت ہے۔ اس وقت جب کہ ہمیں فوج کا اور لوگوں کا اتماد بڑھانا ہے، ہم انکی ہوسلا-شیکنی کرتے ہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ بھت سے دوست اس تڑھ کا سوچیں کہ ہم اس تڑھ سے چین کی موبالفت کر رھے ہیں، لیکن ہم

[श्री ए० एम० तारिक]

यकीनन इससे चीन की हिमायत कर रहे हैं। यह तरीका नहीं है। जंग के जमाने में किसी मुल्क में यह नहीं हुआ है कि हम यह कहें कि हमारी फौज के पास हथियार नहीं हैं, हमारी फौज के पास बंदियां नहीं हैं, रसद नहीं है। ये काम तो चीनियों का था, चीन के लीडरों का था। हमें तो यह कहना चाहिये था कि चीन के अन्दर अफरा-तफरी है, चीन की इकतसादी हालत खराब है। लेकिन आज हम खुद यह कहते फिरते हैं कि हमारे सिपाहियों के पास जूते नहीं हैं। इससे क्या असर पड़ेगा उन सिपाहियों पर जो कि वहां जाने वाले हैं? में किसी भी आदमी को, किसी भी अखबार नवीस को, किसी भी सियासतदा को एलान करता हूं कि वह मुझे यह साबित कर दे कि हमारे किस फौजी के पास वर्दी या जूते नहीं है। चूंकि हमारे बहुत से दोस्त दिल्ली में रहते हैं, मद्रास में रहते हैं, बम्बई में रहते हैं, इसलिये उन्हें शायद काश्मीर की आब-हवा का मालूम नहीं है। में चैलेंज करता हूं कि किसी भी मेम्बर को कि इस वक्त भी श्रीनगर की सड़कों पर अगर वह नंगे पैरों चलें तो वह तीन मिनट से ज्यादा जिन्दा नहीं रहेगा। जबकि श्रीनगर की बुलन्दी ५,००० फीट है और लद्दाख की तो १४,००० फीट की बुलन्दी है। तो वहां अगर इन्सान के पास वर्दी न हो, मुकम्मल हथियार न हों और अपने को बचाने का साजो सामान न हो तो फिर वहां वह जिन्दा नहीं रह सकता। आज ही बंदियां हमारे पास क्यों न हों। आखिर हमारी फौज पिछले चौदह सालों से ऐसी आबोहवा में रह रही है। हमारी फौजों ने संधियों के मौसम में पाकिस्तानियों का वहां मुकाबला किया और उनको हटाया। यह उसका सबूत है कि हमारी फौज के सिपाहियों के पास यह सब मौजूद है। आखिर इतनी बड़ी फौज है, इतनी बड़ी रसद है, जिसको इतनी ऊंची जगहों पर पहुंचाना है तो हो सकता है कि कहीं ऐसी छोटी मोटी बात हुई हो लेकिन इसका इस तरीके से जिक्र करना ठीक नहीं

है। यह उनकी हौसिला-शिकनी है। में होम मिनिस्टर से दरखवास्त करता हूं कि उन्हें इन अखबारों की तरफ थोड़ी सी तवज्जह देनी चाहिये और मुझे उम्मीद है कि हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स या एंडियन इक्सप्रेस के जो ऐसे कार्टून हैं कि "Why was my husband so poorly armed उनके बारे में जो भी एक्शन ले सकते होंगे वह लेंगे।

इसके अलावा, मेडम डिप्टी चेंबरमैन, में यह समझता हूं कि यह अफराद की जंग नहीं है, यह उसूलों की जंग है और हमें उसूल को मनवाने के लिये और उसूलों की खातिर इसको लड़ना चाहिये। जिस वक्त होम मिनिस्टर साहब अपनी तकरीर फर्मायें में उनसे दरखवास्त करता हूं कि वह इस एवान को बतायें कि चीनी सबसे पहले हिन्दुस्तान की सरहद पर कब आये। अगर यह हकीकत है कि सबसे पहले १९५१ में उन्हो ने कदम रखना शुरू किया तो १९५१ से १९५७ तक हमारी हुकूमत ने क्या कार्यवाही की। इस दौरान में कितनी फौजी सड़कें बनाई गईं। इस दौरान में हमारी आर्डनेंस फैक्ट्रीज ने कितना काम किया, कितना मैटीरियल पैदा किया। इसके अलावा मैं इन्साफ की खातिर जम्हूरियत की खातिर और इस एवान की खातिर यह जानना चाहूंगा कि १९५७ से लेकर १९६२ तक क्या हुआ? लद्दाख में कितनी सड़कें बनीं? नेफा में कितनी सड़कें बनीं। सबसे पहले किसने फौजें नेफा में भेजीं? में होम मिनिस्टर से इन्साफ के नाम पर दरखवास्त करूंगा कि वह इन बातों का जवाब दें। में किसी खास जमायत का आदमी नहीं हूं। मेरी जमायत खालिस कांग्रेस है। मैं मुसलमान हूं, जिसका मुझ एतराफ है, फख्र है। मैं पाकिस्तान का दुश्मन नहीं हूं गो मैं पाकिस्तान के हाथों में शिकार हुआ हूं जुल्म और तसद्द का। मैं पाकिस्तान से दोस्ती चाहता हूं। हमने हमेशा इस बात का एलान किया है कि हमें पाकिस्तान से दोस्ती करनी चाहिए। पाकिस्तान हमारा

हमसाया मुल्क है। पाकिस्तान में हमारे भाई बसते हैं, दोस्ते बसते हैं। मैं पाकिस्तान की हुकूमत से भी अपील करता हूँ कि वह हिन्दुस्तान की हालत को मद्दनजर रखे। यह खतरा सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान पर ही नहीं, सारे एशिया पर है। लेकिन मैं पाकिस्तान के सरबराह से दरखास्त करूंगा कि वह पाकिस्तान के अखबारों को हमारा मजाक उड़ाने से, हमको जलील करने से रोकें। उन्होंने एक खत में यह लिखा है कि पाकिस्तान के अखबारों को रोक नहीं सकते हैं। मुझ इन्तहाई अफसोस है। पाकिस्तान के सिर्फ दो अखबार हैं एक 'डान' और दूसरा 'पाकिस्तान टाइम्स' और पाकिस्तान टाइम्स डाइरेक्टली हुकूमते पाकिस्तान के हाथ में है और 'डान' भी उनके हाथ में है। पाकिस्तान की जुम्हूरियत जो है वह हम सब जानत हैं। मैं होम मिनिस्टर और इस एवान के म्यूअज्जिज मेम्बरान के सामने सिर्फ एक कार्टून को पेश करना चाहता हूँ और मैं इसके साथ ही जनरल अय्यूब से दरखास्त करूंगा कि वह इस तरफ तबज्जह दें। यह एक कार्टून है जिसमें पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को दिखाया गया है और यहाँ लिखा है :-

Here stands in perpetual glory the Great Neutralist Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, son of Motilal Nehru, the discoverer of India and the mighty conqueror of Kashmir, Hyderabad, Junagadh and Goa: Present status unknown."

मैं दरखास्त करूंगा जनरल अय्यूब से कि एक तरफ चीनी हमलावर है, हमारी पीठ पर छुरा धोप रहा है। तो पाकिस्तानी दोस्तों को यह जेबा नहीं देता है कि वह हमारे दिलों पर तीर-अन्दाजी करें। यह तीरन्दाजी का वस्त नहीं है। यह हाथ में हाथ देकर आगे बढ़ने का वक्त है।

(Time bell rings.)

Madam Deputy Chairman, kindly give me three minutes, thank you.

मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से दरखास्त करूंगा कि क्या हिन्दुस्तान की जुम्हूरियत में किसीने

फर्देवाहिद को यह हक है कि वह किसी बाहर के मुल्क के सरबराह से कौमी मुआमलात में खतोकिताबत करे? मैं होम मिनिस्टर से दरखास्त करूंगा कि जनरल करिअप्पा और प्रसिडेंट के दरम्यान जो खतोकिताबत हुई है वह इस एवान के सामने रखी जाय। मैडम मैं इनकी इत्तला के लिए यह दरखास्त करना चाहता हूँ कि जनरल करिअप्पा ने उस खतोकिताबत को हिन्दुस्तान में शायी नहीं किया लेकिन प्रेसीडेंट अय्यूब ने इस कारसपोंडेंस को 'डान' और पाकिस्तान टाइम्स में रिलीज किया है। Here it tells:

"Delhi ignored all amity moves by Pakistan: Cariappa asked to seek Kashmir solution."

I would like to know how an individual has got the right to decide our political problems.

"

इसके साथ ही, मैडम, मैं अपने दोस्तों से इस एवान के म्यूअज्जिज मेम्बरान से दरखास्त करना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान किसी फ़िरक़े की, किसी मजहब की, किसी जात की, किसी फर्देवाहिद की मिल्कियत नहीं है। यह हम सबका बतन है और हमको इसकी हिफ़ाजत करना है। हमें यह सोचना है, कि जब एक तरफ हम चीन से लड़ रहे हैं, तब हम इस मुल्क को अफ़रान्तफ़री में न डालें। मैं इस सिलसिले में एक खत पड़ता हूँ। और इस खतहे से मुझे उम्मीद है कि मेरे दोस्त वाजपेयी जी की, जिनकी मैं काफ़ी इज्जत करता हूँ, आँखें खुल जायेंगी। इस मुल्क में हमारे सियासी लीडरों को, चाहे उनका नाम वाजपेयी हो, भूपेश गुप्ता हो, लालबहादुर शास्त्री हो या, हाफ़िज़ मोहम्मद इब्राहीम हो, यह कह कर बदनाम करने की कोशिश की जा रही है कि हिन्दुस्तान के सब पोलिटीकल लीडर करप्ट हैं और इस करप्शन का एक ही इलाज है कि जनरल थिमैया फ़ौज को संभालें और फ़ौज का चार्ज लें।

[श्री ए० एन० तारिक]

In the Indian paper 'Statesman' Overseas edition of 10th November there is a letter written by someone who says in this letter:

'Every Indian politician with a few honourable exceptions is notorious for his ignorance of military matters. Mr. Nehru should therefore utilise the services of a retired General as Deputy Defence Minister. General Thimayya among others would be ideally suited for this purpose.'

AN HON. MEMBER: Shame.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: There is no question of shame or no shame.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your one minute is over, Mr. Tariq. Please wind up.

श्री ए० एन० तारिक : यही वह हालात हैं जो मेम्बरान के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। पाकिस्तान में जो फौजी इन्कलाब आया उससे पहले ये चीजें शुरू की गईं कि सियासतदां बर्झमान हैं, हम उन पर भरोसा नहीं कर सकते, लिहाजा हमें फौजियों के हाथ में सब कुछ देना चाहिए। मुझे इस बात का एतराफ़ है कि हम हर आदमी से मदद लेना चाहते हैं। अमरीका से लेना चाहिए, बर्तानिया से लेना चाहिए और अगर कम्युनिस्ट मुल्कों से भी लेना चाहिए तो उनसे भी लेना चाहिए, लेकिन हमारी उन दोस्तों से भी यही तबक्को है कि वह इम्दाद को इम्दाद समझेंगे; खैरात नहीं समझेंगे। वह हमारे दिल नहीं दुखायेंगे। मैडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन, मैं एक दरखास्त आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up now.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Here is 'Newsweek' a very important paper. In yesterday's issue it shows a cartoon...

इसमें दिखाया गया है कि पंडित जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू और मि० कृष्णा मेनन नेफा की सरहद पर टौमी गन चला रहे हैं और

उनके सामने महात्मा गांधी खड़े हैं यानी नेफा की पहाड़ियों से गांधी जी उतर कर आये हैं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How is aV. this relevant?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: It is relevant to publicity and propaganda made by our friends but which is misquoted in foreign countries.

तो मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से यह दरखास्त करूंगा कि इन तमाम हालात का हम ज़िम्मा करें।

सिर्फ़ एक मिनट और। कल इस एवान में हमारे एक आनरेबिल मेम्बर हिज हाईनेस महाराजा इन्द्र महेन्द्र सुपर सल्लनत इंगलिशिया महाराजा जयपुर ने यह फ़र्माया था कि इन हालात में इस बात की इन्तहाइ ज़रूरत है कि इस मुल्क में डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर हो? मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर इन तमाम चीजों की फ़ीरी ज़रूरत क्या है कि हमें डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर भी इसी वक्त चाहिए? हमको पार्टी को भी बदलना चाहिए। हम जानते हैं कि तीर कहाँ चलाया जाता है और निशाना कौन बनाया जाता है? लेकिन मैं इस एवान के लोगों को यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हम जहाँ एक तरफ़ चीनी हमलावर का मुकाबला करेंगे वहाँ ऐसे लोगों का भी मुकाबला करेंगे जो हमारे वज़ीरेआज़म को निशाना बनाना चाहते हैं।

मैडम, कल पाकिस्तान के सफ़ीर ने मिश्र में एक स्टेटमेंट दिया है। इस स्टेटमेंट को मैं चैलेंज करता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान में पाँच करोड़ मुसलमान हिन्दुओं के गुलाम हैं, उनके यरगमाल हैं। हमारे पाकिस्तान के लोग उनके हाथ से बचा कर उनको आज़ाद करेंगे। मैं पाकिस्तान के सफ़ीर को, पाकिस्तान की हुकूमत को और दुनिया के लोगों को यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि हम यहाँ के मुसलमान पहले हिन्दुस्तानी हैं, उसके बाद मुसलमान हैं। हिन्दुस्तान हमारा बतन है। हम हिन्दुस्तान के लिए मरेंगे, हिन्दुस्तान के

लिए जियेंगे। न हमें पाकिस्तान से मतलब है और न दुनिया की किसी और ताकत से।

इन तमाम अलफ़ाज़ के साथ मैं होम-मिनिस्टर साहब की इस तहरीक को अपनी हिमायत देता हूँ और उन तमाम फौजियों को सलाम भेजता हूँ, उन तमाम लोगों को मुबारकबाद भेजता हूँ, जिन्होंने हमारी फ़ौज़ों ताकत बढ़ाई और उसके साथ ही मैं कृष्ण मेनन के शानदार काम की तारीफ़ करता हूँ।]

श्रीमती उमा नेहरू (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
श्रीमती जी, हाउस के सामने जो प्रस्ताव है, उसको मैं सपोर्ट करती हूँ।

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

चीन की अज्ञानता, जहालत और ताकत का चमंड देखकर मैं हैरत में हो गई हूँ। चीन आज अपने हाथों से अपनी मौत का इंतज़ाम कर रहा है। आज इस पर भगवान् की मार है, जो यह हिमालय पर्वत से टक्कर लेने के लिये बढ़ा है। यह वही चीन है जो हजारों वर्ष से अपनी सभ्यता और ज्ञान के लिये मशहूर था और यह वही चीन है जो कुछ भरसा हुआ "चीनी हिन्दी भाई भाई" के नारे लगाता था और आज दिन भी उसकी हालत यह है कि वह बेहयाई से हमारी फ़ौज़ों में अपनी फ़ौज़ों को चलाता है तो उस वक्त भी यह नारा लगाता है "हिन्दी चीनी भाई भाई"। इस कम्यूनिस्ट चीनी की बेहयाई देखकर आज सारा देश एक होकर हमारे सामने चीन का मुकाबला हिम्मत से करने के लिये खड़ा है। आज हमें बहुत ही खुशी है यह देखकर कि जिस वक्त इस देश पर मुसीबत आई तो यहां जितनी पार्टियां थीं, कम्यूनिस्ट तक, सब मिल कर एक हो गईं। यह देश के लिये मुबारक अवसर है कि इस वक्त सब एक हो कर चले और एक ही आवाज से सबों ने यह कहा कि जब तक दुश्मन को हम अलग नहीं करेंगे हम चैन से बैठने वाले नहीं हैं।

हमने चीन का इतिहास पढ़ा है और आज भी चीन के इस आक्रमण को देखकर

जब हम सोचते हैं तो हमें इस बात का ताज्जुब होता है कि ये चीनी जो इस वक्त हमसे लड़ने आए हैं, ये चीनी कौन हैं, जिनकी सभ्यता के बारे में हमने इतना सुना और देखा? लेकिन आज ये चीनी आस्तीन के सांप बन कर भारत के ऊपर जो चढ़े आ रहे हैं उसका कारण क्या है? इसका कारण बड़े और से हम देखें कि जो भाई भाई कहते थे आज ये ही हम पर हथियार चला रहे हैं। यह क्या बात है कि जो ये ऐसा कर रहे हैं? चीन को यह मालूम नहीं है कि जिस वक्त हमने इस देश में प्रतिज्ञा की थी, जिस वक्त हमने इस देश को आजाद किया था, हमने प्रतिज्ञा की थी इस बात की कि हम अपने आत्मिक बल से, अपनी ताकत से, जब कभी भी मुसीबत आयेगी, हम इस देश को कभी गुलाम न होने देंगे। आजादी के बाद हमने यह प्रतिज्ञा की है और आज दिन भी हम उस प्रतिज्ञा को भूलें नहीं हैं। हजारों हथियार लेकर वे आये, कुछ भी वे करें, लेकिन मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि अंत में हमारी विजय होगी।

मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है, जब मैं अखबारों को देखती हूँ, पढ़ती हूँ, कि इस समय हमारी परीक्षा हो रही है। हमारी हालत यह थी कि पन्द्रह साल से, जब से हम आजाद हुए, हम रात दिन तरह तरह के हर पहलू में अपनी उन्नति कर रहे थे, हमने तरह तरह की योजनाएँ बनाई और इस वक्त देश में बहुत तरक्की हुई है और हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर नेहरू की उन्नति देख कर और यह सब देख कर चीन वाले प्रसन्न नहीं हैं। मुझे इस बात का पूरा यकीन है, चाहे वे हमारे भाई मानें या न मानें, कि यह वह लड़ाई नहीं है चीन की कि वह भारत को इन्वेड करने जा रहा है। असल में, वह मानें या न मानें, यह दो आइडियालाजीज़ की लड़ाई है, डिमोक्रेसी और कम्यूनिज्म का मतभेद है। एशिया में भारत ऐसा पहाड़ देश जो है जो डिमोक्रेसी में विश्वास करता है, वह चीन को कब मंजूर था कि उसके रास्ते में, उसके बीच में, आए। इसलिये

[श्रीमती उषा नेहरू]

वह जितना कमजोर करेगा भारत को उतनी उसकी विजय होगी और उसको सफलता मिलेगी, ऐसा चीन का विश्वास है। असल बात यह है, कम्युनिज्म और डिमोक्रेसी की मुठभेड़ होना।

अभी मेरे भाई हमारे सिपाहियों का जिक्र कर रहे थे। आज हमारे सिपाही बड़ी बहादुरी से लड़ाई के मैदान में गए। मैंने देखा कि हमारी माताएं जो हैं, किस खूबसूरती से अपने बच्चों को उन्होंने आशीर्वाद दे दे कर उनसे कहा कि जाओ, तुम्हें विजय हो, जाकर लड़ाई लड़ो।

हमने एक अजीब बात देखी कि छोटे-छोटे बच्चे भी आकर पूछते हैं कि इस समय लड़ाई की क्या खबर है और अगर चीन आयेगा तो हम उसे भगा देंगे। इस तरह का जोश हमें मुल्क में चारों तरफ दिखाई देता है। इस वक्त सवाल हमारे सामने यह है कि हमें क्या करना है? इस समय एक ऐसा मौका आया है जबकि देश की स्त्रियों के लिए यह फर्ज हो जाता है कि वे अपना ध्यान इस समय रचनात्मक काम की तरफ दें। हमारे बहादुर सिपाहियों के जो बालबच्चे यहां पर छूट गये हैं उनका खयाल रखें, उनकी तकलीफों को दूर करें और उनके लिए हर चीज का बन्दोबस्त करें। यूं तो हर प्रान्त के बारे में मैंने सुना है कि वहां पर कुछ न कुछ कमेटियां बन रही हैं और वहां पर औरतें बराबर सिलाई का काम कर रही हैं। मैंने भी यहां कांस्टीट्यूशन हाउस में ऊन मंगाकर औरतों को दिया है और हमारी बहनें रोज कांस्टीट्यूशन हाउस में बैठकर वीर सिपाहियों के लिए जो देश की रक्षा के लिए लड़ रहे हैं, मफलर, मौजे, दस्ताने और चरसियां बना रही हैं। ये काम तो हम अपनी तरफ से कर रहे हैं, लेकिन हमें हुक्म मिला है कि हमारे वीर सिपाही जो लड़ते हुए घायल हो गये हैं उनके लिए रात के

के कपड़े तैयार करें। हम सब औरतों ने यह काम शुरू कर दिया है। इस तरह के काम तो बहुत से करने को हैं, अगर हम करना चाहें। तो मुझे एक ही बात कहनी है और वह यह है कि मैं इस समय विवाद की बात नहीं जानती हूं, जिस वक्त लड़ाई हो रही है उस वक्त सारा देश एक होता है। आप लोगों की अलग अलग पार्टियां हों लेकिन इस वक्त हम सब लोगों को एक होकर चलना है। और मैं चाहती हूं कि हम सब लोग मिलकर इस समय एक नेशनल अण्डे के नीचे काम करें। इस नेशनल अण्डे के नीचे आप सब लोगों को आना है और इस काम को मिलकर आगे बढ़ाना है।

दूसरी बात मैं अपने कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों से कहना चाहती हूं। मैंने उनकी बात अभी सुनी और उन्होंने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के बारे में जिक्र किया। उनकी आइडियालाजी सही है या नहीं, मैं यह बात नहीं कहना चाहती हूं लेकिन मुझे अपने कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों से साफ साफ कहना है और इसमें कोई मतभेद की बात नहीं है, कोई बुराई की बात नहीं है कि कम्युनिज्म पर हमें विश्वास नहीं है। मैं यह बात बिल्कुल साफ तौर से कह रही हूं और किसी तरह से भी कम्युनिज्म के साथ फलट नहीं करना चाहती हूं। कम्युनिज्म और हममें बहुत फर्क है। आप चाहे कितना ही कहें कि हम मुल्क के साथ हैं, आपके साथ मिलकर काम करेंगे, लेकिन हमारा और मुल्क का आपके ऊपर विश्वास नहीं है। हमको इस बात का विश्वास नहीं है कि आप मुल्क को सही रास्ते की ओर ले जायेंगे। इसका कारण सही है; क्योंकि आप यह बात सोचें कि अगर भारत की बढ़ती हुई फौजें "भारत की जय" कहती हैं तो उधर से कामरेड भाई जरूर आपको देखकर 'कामरेड भाई कामरेड भाई' कहेंगे तो फिर उस समय देश किधर जायेगा? इसलिए इस समय

दुलाई करने की बात नहीं है, यह तो अलग-अलग आइडियालाजी की बात है। असल बात तो यह है कि चीन आज हमारी योजनाओं की उन्नति देख नहीं सकता है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर नेहरू का देश को तेजी से आगे ले जाना देखकर वह जल मरा है। उसको डर है कि अगर इस तेजी से भारत में उन्नति होती गई तो एशिया में भारत का मुकाबिला करना दुश्वार होगा। भारत का शान्ति से रहना और उन्नति करना कम्युनिज्म के लिए अच्छा नहीं है। भारत का बढ़ना डेमोक्रेसी का सारे एशिया में छाने के समान है और इससे कम्युनिज्म को कड़ा धक्का लगेगा। इसलिए डेमोक्रेसी को दबाने का एक ही तरीका था कि वह भारत पर हमला करे और उसको पनपने न दे, ताकि भारत अपनी योजनाओं को कामयाबी के साथ न पूरा कर सके। इसी वजह से चीन ने हमारे बाहर पर हमला किया है और हमें परेशान कर रहा है, ताकि हम अपने प्लान न चला सकें और अपने मुल्क में तरक्की न कर सकें। मेरे सामने तस्वीर का यह नक्शा है।

मेरे भाई तारिक ने अभी यहां पर स्पीच दी और मैं उनसे कहना चाहती हूं कि जिस जगह पर यानी हाउस से आप अपनी स्पीच दे रहे हैं, वह कोई चौराहा नहीं है बल्कि आप जिस जगह स्पीच दे रहे हैं वहां से सब बातें सारे संसार को फ्लेश होती हैं। अगर किसी हिन्दुस्तानी को कुछ भी कहना है, कार्टून या पेपर के बारे में कहना है, या कोई दूसरी बात कहनी है तो यह जगह नहीं है। उन्हें आनरेबल होम मिनिस्टर साहब से मिलकर इस तरह की बातें कहनी चाहियें। मैं उन्हें खास तौर पर सलाह देती हूं कि इस मौके पर अगर और नोग कहें तो दूसरी बात है मगर हमारे जो सिपाही हैं उन्हें ऐसा नहीं करना चाहिए। जो तकलीफें हैं, उन्हें आप होम मिनिस्टर

साहब से प्राइवेटली कह सकते हैं। इस जगह पर खड़े हो कर आप अखबारों की बातें कहने लगे कि अय्यूब साहब ने यह कहा, फलां ने यह कहा है, इस तरह की बातें नहीं कही जानी चाहियें। इस समय वह समय आ गया है, जब हम सब लोगों को अपना सारा ध्यान मुल्क की हिफाजत के लिए लगा देना चाहिए, कंस्ट्रक्टिव कामों में लगाना चाहिये और सबको एक झंडे के तले आ जाना चाहिये। आज हमें अलग अलग झंडे और अलग अलग पार्टी की बात नहीं करनी चाहिये बल्कि सारे देश को नेशनल झंडे के नीचे आकर कदम बढ़ाते हुए आगे बढ़ना है और जब तक हम चीनियों को ठिकाने से न लगा दें तब तक हमें चैन से नहीं बैठना है। अगर हमने मिलकर ऐसा किया तो अवश्य हमारी जीत होगी।

SHRI M. A. M. NAICKER (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I hope I shall avoid ringing of the bell by you. I whole-heartedly support the two Resolutions under discussion. I may say that the second Resolution is very well drafted. The first paragraph of the Resolution draws the attention of the world to the perfidious and treacherous aggression on the part of China, which dissembled to be a friend by accepting the principle of coexistence based on Panchsheel. It is very necessary that we should forcefully bring this aspect of the case before the world. The second paragraph appreciates the valiant struggle put up by our jawans and pays homage to the martyrs. Then, the third paragraph rightly appreciates the magnificent response on the part of the public. Forgetting all petty differences, they have arisen as one man and have pledged to support our Prime Minister and the Government. Then, it also refers in the next paragraph to the sympathy and moral and material support offered by about forty or so countries which have come to support us in our hour of travail without any strings being attached. And lastly we affirm our determina-

[Shri M. A. M Naicker.] tion to fight to the finish and stem this aggression. It may now look as though it is upon one country, but if we analyse and see, it is a war between two ideologies, namely, totalitarianism and democracy.

In this connection I want to submit that a democratic system of government has got certain disabilities in the matter of gearing up the administrative machinery during a period of war. Therein a totalitarian State has an advantage. Therefore, what we should now do is to see that the democratic trappings and other procedures are minimised as much as possible. We cannot give up the set-up of democracy, but whatever could be given up must be given up. The machinery should be made very effective and trimmed. Quick and speedy action is very necessary at this time.

Then, we have heard speeches condemning the attitude and the way in which the Departments, especially the Defence Ministry worked. I want to dispose of it in one sentence saying that we must forget the old chapter and begin to think of a new one. There is no use crying over spilt milk. We must be satisfied with the assurance the Prime Minister has given that he will go into the question of why the drawbacks and defects were there and why we were not able to meet the sudden aggression. It would be useful for the future. And so we must be satisfied with that assurance and we must leave it at that. Now what we should be concerned about is constructive action. There is no good theorising about ideology and other things. The danger is there. It is a very grave danger. It is involving not only one country but ultimately it will involve all democratic countries. (Time bell *rings*). As I said, the public response was very good, but we should not be carried away by the enthusiasm exhibited. But what is important is to organise that enthusiasm and the trength of the country properly. We

now want money. Then we want manpower. Then the necessities of life should be there, and there should be no trouble about that because we should have the whole of our population behind the war effort, that is, the home front should also be taken care of. There is no good of thinking about the war front alone. The home front also should be properly guarded. We must look into these things and see that the necessities of life like cloth and food and other things are made reasonably available. There should be a certain amount of austerity in all our expenditure. Therefore, the whole thing must be on a war footing.

With regard to collection of money, I want to say only one thing. The other day while I was going in my car, some people stopped the car and asked for some donation. By the very look of the people who stopped me I suspected that they were not for collecting the money and sending it here but for taking it away. Therefore, we must be guarded about it because there are bad characters who will exploit and take away the money. So, the organisation should be perfect and it should see to it that not a single pie is drained away in that wrong way.

With regard to the war front, some people are downhearted that we are confronted by a treacherous enemy with a large number of soldiers and all that.

AN HON. MEMBER: People are not downhearted.

SHRI M. A. M. NAICKER: Some are thinking that it is a big army and so on. But I wish to state that history gives good examples of how small armies have been able to defeat big armies. For instance, in the battle of Thermopylae we know how a few thousands stemmed an army consisting of lakhs and lakhs men. Then in the battle of Austerlitz also a small army was able to defeat a big army. Therefore, it does not merely depend

upon numbers. Of course there is something in numbers, but the strategy, manoeuvre and the time chosen for attack, all these things are necessary. Therefore, I submit that a super-war Council should be constituted with all experienced people who should think of the strategy and properly look after the war; otherwise there will be many difficulties.

Sir, the instrument to implement -all these things is the Government -under the leadership of the Prime Minister, and therefore we must strengthen his hands and show the sense of the unity of the country and the sacrifices the people are willing to make. That must be made quite clear. Now instead of resorting to words about this matter I will explain my idea by a story.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : It is time to wind up.

SHRI M. A. M. NAICKER: That is why I am telling you a small story so that I can wind up. In a house there were a number of rats, and particularly one rat was able to jump here and there and take away anything however high the place the house-owner placed it in. The other rats could not do it. The house-owner wanted to know how this particular rat was able to take away things hanging from a high place. So he was watching. He found out that the rat went to a particular corner and there jumped and scaled over the wall. Then he was wondering why that rat should go there. Then he dug it out and saw a number of gold coins there. So, because it had so much money and treasure, it gave it courage and strength and it began to jump easily. Similarly if we as a united nation stand by and give courage and enthusiasm and show that the people are entirely with him, it will be a source of strength for the Prime Minister and the Government to successfully conduct the war.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE
: West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman,

I rise to give my wholehearted support to the two Resolutions moved by our hon. Home Minister. To every part of the Resolutions I am giving my *unreserved* support. I fully associate myself with the homage paid to the jawans who fought and laid down their lives on the frontier and also with the sentiments expressed on the splendid response of our people and the implicit faith which they have placed in our leader, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. So far as Panditji is concerned, I will not go into many details, and I entirely agree with our friend, Shri Mohan Lai Saksena, in whatever he has said that he is a jewel of a man and many other things. Panditji who fought all his life for democracy, for freedom and for peace has now become our War Minister for the same ideal of preserving the democratic rights and fighting for the peace of the whole of humanity in the world and also for the socialist pattern of society which under his leadership we are building up.

Sir, having said this, let me also point out another aspect of the enemy by whom we are confronted today and who has invaded our country. One of my friends, Shri Sudhir Ghosh, has referred to Shri Aurobindo's ideal of humanity. I have no time to go into those details, but I would request those friends here who are interested to read that book, specially the last post-script chapter which he added in that book after China became a Communist country. In order to understand the real problem, our past experience of war will not help us much. Today the whole world is aligned into two warring camps on ideological basis. One thought that the existence of the other was a perpetual menace to it, one of them must live and the other must go. That was the nature of the alignment when we became independent. Panditji without aligning in this ideological warfare stretched his friendly hand to every country, every nation. This non-alignment must be read along with the other thing, peaceful co-

[Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose.] existence. We were non-aligned in their ideological war, but at the same time we stretched our hands of friendship to every country, every nation that we have no enmity with anybody, that they are all our friends. Today that is being realised by these two camps. On Cuba the other day Mr. Khrushchev has said that it is not a victory for the United States but it is a victory for reason. This non-alignment and peaceful co-existence is being appreciated by those two camps slowly and gradually. In that book Shri Aurobindo has pointed out that a time may come when the international Communism, the militant Communism may realise that without a basis for peaceful co-existence the whole civilisation may be wiped out. All these things he pointed out in 1950, immediately after China became Communist.

Sir, I will not take up much time. I appreciate and welcome the speech made by my friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, and also made today by Shri Govindan Nair. There may be some reservation in some friends' minds here about their support but I would like to trust the Communist Party as such when they passed that resolution. Individual Communist members may act differently. Then our Home Minister is there to take the most drastic, merciless and severe action against them. There, we must, not bring in any other consideration. They have also—both Shri Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Govindan Nair—condemned the Chinese aggression. To day when Mr. Nair was speaking in support of the McMahon Line, he raised some points, but probably for want of time he could not conclude them. He was trying to draw attention to this plea that the McMahon Line was drawn at a time when China was weak or was under some duress, etc., etc. He was making out the point—that was my reading—as to what we are going today in the case of Germany. Russia is going to conclude a Peace Treaty on the basis of

the same line, imposed upon Germany. So, he was trying to bring in some argument in favour of recognising the McMahon Line by China.

Now, I would like all of us to realise the real character of our enemy. Yesterday, I read in 'The Statesman' a news item "Strictly Chinese". I would like to draw the attention of our Members to these few lines—

"A feature of the high-pressure propaganda campaign launched by the Chinese in the wake of their massive invasion of Indian territory is that familiar words have altogether unfamiliar meanings.

Here are some of the words used by Chinese propagandists and what they mean:

Frontier: A frontier is where the Chinese want it to be.

Traditional border: The border as the Chinese choose to show it on their maps. (The maps, of course, change as the Chinese invaders move forward.)

Aggression: Indians' defence of their own country.

Self-defence: Chinese invasion of Indian territory.

Frontier guards: A large army, equipped with tanks, mountain guns and heavy mortars, used to invade a neighbouring country.

Peaceful settlement; Submission to Chinese conquest and acceptance of terms offered by the Chinese Government."

So, this is really our enemy, and I would beg of you and of our Government not to expect that there will be a negotiated peace.

Sir, I would like to point out only one thing. We have offered that if they withdraw beyond the September 8 line, then we are prepared to nego-

tiat« with them. I do not believe it. I believe that many friendly countries are trying, in their sincerity and also in their honesty. But they will never succeed. Why? Mr. Govindan Nair raised the point that socialist countries cannot invade any other country. He was trying to justify it. But at the same time he forgot that Hitler also called his party's philosophy as national socialism. It is not the word but the manner in which it is being interpreted by some people whose number is about seventy crores, who have regimented their lives and who are armed to the teeth. Thy want to devour th_e whole world. Let us not make any mistake about that. Even if they withdraw to the 8th September line, I am very certain that at the negotiation table the Chinese representatives will adopt the same tactics as they have done in invading India. They will try to bully our representatives into submission and the whole negotiations will fail. I have no doubt about it. Let us not slacken our efforts.

Another point is th_{is}. Panditji has played a unique role in preventing a third world war. But today he also must have realised that it is no longer m his hands. On the East German question, Mr. Khrushchev gave an ultimatum that he would sign a Peace Treaty by the 31st December and Mr. Kennedy replied that the signing of the Treaty would mean declaration of war. Panditji could not prevent that exchange of ultimatums. On Cuba, Mr. Khrushchev said that he had ordered his fleet to go there and Mr. Kennedy's reply was that he had ordered his fleet to intercept and encircle it. Ultimately, he had to withdraw. Now he says that it is a triumph of reason. Yes, it is a triumph of reason. It is no longer in Panditji's hands today. It must be in Mr. Khrushchev's hands. Let it be there. So, let there not be even an iota of doubt that even if the Chinese withdraw to the September 8 line there is goingj to be any negotiated peace. They are going to bully our representatives there with the same tactics that they adopted to bully India into

submission by the massive army with which they have invaded this country. So, let us be prepared for that. If there is a third world war to be fought, well, the whole of India must take that grim resolve. And if it is to be fought, then we shall fight it here and now because the entire civilisation has been challenged; not only ours, but the whole human civilisation has been challenged. Everything which we value in our lives has been challenged. It is no use living this life under the perpetual threat of those seventy crores of people armed to the teeth, bullying us. Civilisation will have *no*-more meaning then than if a third world war is to come. With that resolve, we must organise ourselves to defend our territory and drive these people out of our Indian territory.

SHRI H. V. TRIPATHI (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, may I express my gratitude to you for giving me some opportunity to speak out my mind? It is a special occasion when the whole nation has risen to sacrifice everything to protect our country. I stand here in support of the two Resolutions moved by the hon. Home Minister. The Resolutions have received the commendation of the whole House practically. At this time, we find support on all sides. Our jawans have sacrificed everything and are doing every bit to the last drop of their blood. We have to pay homage to trios? who are no more, who hava shed blood and who have dedicated their lives in order to protect our country. We eulogise the national upsurge that we find in the country to give their all in order to secure the freedom and integrity of the country. At the same time we have to express our thanks to those friends who have come to support us with everything that we need, including armaments, without any strings attached to it. They are prepared to give us those things at our demand, at a price that we pay and with no obligations and no commitments. We have to fight a big war, a? war which will involve us for years to come. We have to analys*

[Shri H. V. Tripathi.] the factors that have led to this, w also that our military strategy may be correctly formed Communism is a world force, and they have a global strategy for every action that they take which involves expansion of world communism as such. So when China has taken up this role of enlarging her territories, I do not believe that China has been doing it simply with a view to extending the Chinese empire. I am not prepared to believe that the Communist Party as a whole had no knowledge of it, or there was no tacit or even implied consent of the Communist Parties of the world. If that is so, we have to be very careful in the assessment of forces which are for us and which are against us. Russia has helped us a lot. She has come to our rescue in so many of our industrial enterprises. But then Russia has herself said that China is her brother country, and it is true that she is her brother country. When there are two adverse forces, Communists on one side an non-Communists on the other side, they are at balance regarding their might, and so it is quite natural that Russia should rely on China than on any other country, and so would it not be too much for our capacity to strain the emotion of Russia to an extent that she might ce able to break her alliance with China? Not that I do not understand the relationship between China and Russia at present, China with her population of 650 millions and a large country at her beck and command, with ruthless myriads of people with war experience of the last so many decades, while fighting Japan as well as while fighting Chiang Kai-shek, it is no doubt that China is ruthless, and if China is expanding, Russia must be having her own trepidations. But whether those trepidations are enough for us to count on Russia's rupport is the question. Even if Russia remains neutral, we should be thankful to her. Russia is a great country. 11. is the progenitor of communism which has brought this communist State for the first time on the face of the map of the world.

China ilea to wrest those laurel* from her hands, and it is quite in the fitness of things that Russia may not be having the same soft corner *vis-avis* China, but from this to expect that we can strain those bitter relations to an extent as to make them come out with us in our struggle with China I am not very hopeful about. I wish all that might happen because one day, Russia too, if this extraordinary step has been taken by China without the consent of Russia or without the consent of the communist forces elsewhere, Russia will have to make China go alone. But that is another "if" and I am putting it before you. So, Sir, we have to think again when we are building up oui strategy, our military strategy and foreign policy.

So far as foreign policy is concerned, I have nothing to say regarding non-alignment. Only its interpretation has to be more clarified, it has to be properly undrestood. Non-alignment does not mean that \vi ha'e to isolate ourselves. We are not going to take the sins of others. We are not going to tie ourselves down to do everything good, bad and indifferent that the other country does. But we have to have our friends; we have to have our allies; we have to have those who can help us in time of need. A friend in need is a friend indeed. If we properly understand this non-alignment policy, we are not going to tie ourselves down to other countries. This is the only meaning that I understand.

After having said all this I would now say about the future work that we have to do. Well, Government at this time is on test. The jawans have done their bit; friends have done their bit and the nation is ready at their command. It is the Government which has to do its bit which has to mobilise all the resources at its command so that proper utilisation may be made 6f them. The War Council may be formed of war veterans. I do not know who they are; of course they have to be expert in the art of war and defence strategy. They must give

us a list of their demands; they must tell us as to what they need and production and supply should come into commission and they should be so organised and so mobilised that they should fulfil the demands of the military strategists. With this we have also to see that the articles of consumption and other articles needed for the prosecution of war are available at proper prices, and this is another function which has to be performed. Every person, man and woman of all ages, the old, the adults and the children, have all to be mobilised according to their capacity for work and the requirements have to be fulfilled according to their needs.

श्रीमती ताराबाई साठे (महाराष्ट्र) :
माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने सदन में जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करती हूँ। हम कहते थे, हिन्दी चीनी भाई भाई। उससे सारा देश गुंज उठा था। और आज यह दुःख की बात है कि चीन भाई का प्रेम और कर्तव्य छोड़ कर हमारी पवित्र भूमि लेने का यत्न कर रहा है। क्या इससे ज्यादा कोई घटना दुःखद हो सकती है ? हमारा पंचशील तत्व चीन ने अपनाया था लेकिन आज उन्होंने ही वह काट डाला है। परन्तु हम भारतवासी उस तत्व को दूर करना नहीं चाहते। हमें विश्वास है कि उसी तत्व से जग में शान्ति रहेगी और देशों देशों में झगड़े नहीं होंगे। हमें यह भी विश्वास है कि अन्त में सत्य की ही जीत होगी।

हम तो यही कहते हैं कि हम पंचशील नहीं छोड़ेंगे। लेकिन इसका यह मतलब नहीं कि हम किसी को अपनी पवित्र भूमि पर पैर रखने देंगे। अपने मुल्क पर हम किसी का भी हक कबूल नहीं करेंगे। यह हमें बर्दाश्त नहीं होगा। इसलिये हम कहते हैं कि चीन की सेना को पीछे जाना चाहिये।

आजकल पीकिंग रेडियो से यह झूठी बात सुनाई जा रही है कि भारत उन के मुल्क 878 RS—8.

पर हमला कर रहा है। हम बार बार कुछ नहीं कहेंगे तो जग में यही प्रसिद्ध होगा कि भारत चीन के मुल्क पर हमला कर रहा है। आप कहावत जानते होंगे कि यदि झूठी बात सैकड़ों बार कही जाय तो सुनने वाले वही सच्ची समझते हैं। इसलिये हमें अपनी आवाज और भी जोर से उठानी चाहिये और सबको बताना चाहिये कि चीन ही हमारे मुल्क पर हमला कर रहा है।

4 P.M. उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारा भारत अभी एक बड़ी समस्या में पड़ गया है जो कि इससे पहले कभी नहीं हुई थी। इसलिये हमें जनता को सिखाना चाहिये कि ऐसी परिस्थिति में कैसा बर्ताव किया जाना चाहिये। भाषण से बर्ताव ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण है। जनता चीन के बारे में सब कुछ जानना चाहे तो हमें वह बताना चाहिये। लेकिन हमें जनता को यह बात जरूर बतानी चाहिये कि सारी बातें कभी नहीं बताई जा सकती हैं। पिछले वलंब वार में सभी दोस्त राष्ट्रों में बताया जा रहा था कि सभी जगह हिटलर सुन रहा है और लोगों को सोच समझ कर बातें करनी चाहियें। राष्ट्र की महत्वपूर्ण बात किसी को भी समझानी नहीं चाहिये। हर रोज हमारे अखबारों में सभी वार्ताओं को छापा जाता है और यह लिखा जाता है कि किस देश से मदद आ रही है, कैसी आ रही है और कैसे आयेगी। कोई समझदार आदमी यह नहीं कहेगा कि जनता को हर रोज इस तरह की बातें बतलाई जानी चाहियें। इससे तो जनता को कोई फायदा नहीं होगा और दूसरों को इससे ज्यादा फायदा हो जायेगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब तक चीन हमारा मुल्क नहीं छोड़ेगा तब तक यह झगड़ा चलता रहेगा इसलिये सारे देश में मोबिलाइजेशन होना जरूरी है।

बहुत से फ़ैक्टरी वाले अपनी फ़ैक्टरी और सेवाएं सरकार को न्यौछावर करने के लिए तैयार हैं। इसका फायदा उठाना

[श्रीमती ताराबाई साठे]

जरूरी है और इसलिए सभी काम को आरडि-
नेशन बंग से होना अत्यन्त जरूरी है।

इस चीज का जरूर विचार करना चाहिये कि पिछले वार में क्या हुआ। उस काल में सभी वस्तुओं की कीमत बढ़ गई थी। ज्यादा घन के लालच में बाजार में बिकने वाली चीजें भी हम नहीं पा सकते थे। नाछा करने की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ गयी थी और कीमतें भी बढ़ती ही चली जा रही थीं। ये सब बातें इस समय नहीं होनी चाहियें। हमें इस तरह का बन्दोबस्त करना चाहिये कि जनता को सब चीजें ठीक कीमत पर और आसानी से मिल जाय।

इस युद्ध में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी और सरकार के पीछे हम, सारी जनता खड़ी है इसलिये हमें विश्वास है कि इस तरह की बुरी बातें नहीं होने द्ये। लेकिन हम सब लोगों को भी सावधान रहना बहुत जरूरी है। झूठी वार्ताएं नहीं फैलाई जानी चाहियें नहीं तो उसका जनता पर बुरा असर पड़ेगा। आपको याद होगा कि कई साल पहले बम्बई में यह अफवाह फैला दी गई कि नमक नहीं मिलेगा। लोग इस खबर से बहुत घबरा गये और नमक खरीदने के लिये दुकानों में जनता की भीड़ लग गई और उसकी कीमत भी बढ़ गई। इस अफवाह का नतीजा यह हुआ कि दो दिन के भीतर नमक की कीमत दस गुना बढ़ गई। जब बाद में सरकार ने बताया कि नमक काफ़ी मिलेगा तब जनता में घबराहट का निर्माण हुआ। इसकी थोड़ी जिम्मे-
दारी हम महिलायें अपने कंधे पर ले सकती हैं। हमें यह निश्चय करना चाहिये कि हम जरूरत से ज्यादा चीजें नहीं खरीदेंगे यानी होर्डिंग नहीं करेंगे। हमें सब को यह बतलाना चाहिये कि "जो सबका होगा वही अपना होगा।"

हमारे देश में शादी के वक्त बड़ी बड़ी पार्टियां हुआ करती हैं और उस में जरूरत से ज्यादा खर्च होता है। इस तरह की पार्टियों में अनाज मिट्टी

में मिल जाता है। उस को भी हमें रोकना चाहिये। इस तरह के सब काम हमारी महिलायें अच्छी तरह से कर सकती हैं। मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि हमारे देश की बहनें इस तरह की बातों को अच्छी तरह से समझेंगी और अमल में लायेंगी।

हमारे वीर सिपाही जो चीनियों को देश से हटा रहे हैं उन शूर-वीरों के पीछे हम सब बहनें खड़ी हैं। उन्हें सुयश मिले यही हम सब बहनों की प्रेम भरी इच्छा है। उन के बाल-बच्चों की देखभाल करना भी एक महत्वपूर्ण काम है। इस तरह का काम महिलायें अपनी जिम्मेदारी पर कर सकती हैं। यही हमारा काम है जिस से हमारे वीर सिपाहियों को दुश्मन से झगड़ते समय किसी प्रकार की चिन्ता न हो। मेरा विश्वास है कि हमारे देश की बहनें इन बातों की ओर अवश्य ध्यान देंगी और इस काम में मदद करेंगी।

लुच्चे और पंचमस्तंभी लोगों से हमें सावधान रहना चाहिये। इस तरह की विकट स्थिति में ये लोग बहुत गड़बड़ मचाते हैं और अपना काम कर लेते हैं। ऐसे लोगों को सरकार को समझाना चाहिये और इस के साथ पंचमस्तंभी और जिन का "देशप्रेम" का सेन्टर आफ ग्रेविटी याने मानविन्दु देश के बाहर रहता है उन लोगों को भी समझाना चाहिये। इस समय मुझे उस दुर्घटना की याद आती है जब १२ जुलाई १९६१ को पूना में पानशेट डैम टूट जाने से भारी बाढ़ आई थी। १३ जुलाई की सुबह पूना में सब लोग बहुत दुखी और बुरी हालत में थे। जब वहां के लोग अपने टूटे फूटे घरों में वापस आ कर अपनी बहुमूल्य चीजें मिट्टी से निकाल कर "जो कुछ मिला वह अपना" ऐसे समय

कर सामान इकट्ठा कर रहे थे, उस समय इन समाजद्रोही और लुच्चे लोगों ने ऐसी अफवाह शहर में फैला दी कि फिर बाढ़ आ गई है। लोग यह जानते थे कि पानचोट डैम में अब पानी बिल्कुल नहीं बचा है तो भी वे लोग उस अफवाह के कारण सामान छोड़ कर इधर उधर भागन लगे। इस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि समाजद्रोही लोगों ने इस स्थिति का फायदा उठाया और लोगों की मिट्टी से निकली हुई चीजों तक को चुरा लिया। इस तरह से वहाँ के लोगों का बहुत बहुत नुकसान हुआ है और हमें इस संकट के समय इस तरह की चीज न होने देने के लिये पहले से ही प्रबन्ध कर लेना चाहिये। इस तरह की बातों को रोकथाम करना हम सब लोगों के अपने ही हाथ में है। ये सब हो सकता है यदि हम लोगों को ए० आर० पी०, होमगार्ड, स्काउटिंग और चीजों को बाँटने की शिक्षा दी जाय। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि यदि इस तरह की शिक्षा दी जायेगी तो हमारा कल्याण होगा और जनता में वैयं बढ़ाने के लिये उस की मदद होगी।

हमारी बहुत सी बहनें हमारे जवानों के लिये गरम कपड़ा तैयार कर रही हैं। कोई यह पूछ रहा था कि इस तरह से हम कितनी मदद कर सकेंगे और कितने कपड़े मिलेंगे? अगर सरकार चाहे तो हजारों स्वेटर मिलों में तैयार करा सकती है। हाँ, सच बात है। इस में ज्यादा समय भी नहीं लगेगा और सरकार यह काम कर भी रही है। लेकिन यह बात याद रखनी चाहिये कि अगर हमारी बहनों से तैयार होने वाले स्वेटर जवान पहिनेंगे तो उन्हें ज्यादा अच्छा लगेगा और ज्यादा ताकत मिलेगी। उन्हें जब अपनी बहनों और माताओं के हाथ से बनी हुई चीजें मिलेंगी तो उन्हें मालूम होगा कि किस तरह से जनता उन के पीछे खड़ी है। इस का असर यह होगा कि हमारे वीर सिपाही अधिक जोरों से, ज्यादा ताकत से और उत्साह से चीनियों को हटा देंगे और

हमारी जीत अवश्य हो जायेगी। आप ने मुझे बोलने का जो समय दिया, उस के लिये मैं आप को धन्यवाद देती हूँ।

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not normally request for time to make speeches. Usually I have found that the point of view that I have to express has been equally well—sometimes better, sometimes worse—expressed by other eminent speakers. During the last two or three days I repeatedly made a request for an opportunity to speak a few words on the historic Resolutions before the House, because I felt that this is not the time when solidarity with the cause can be expressed in a remote manner or in an indirect manner. This is a time when each man and woman in the country must pledge his or her support and take his or her resolve fully, frankly and directly.

I do not wish to take much of the valuable time of this House. I wish to invite the attention of the House to two or three important points. Firstly, I find that in spite of the general acknowledgment of the seriousness of the situation, the grave crisis which has overtaken us, there is still a tendency on the part both of Congressmen and our friends in the Opposition parties not to resist the temptation to find fault, to rub it in, and to take some small advantage

in the situation. This is not the time, Sir, for loose talk.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Perhaps that is why the slogan, "one nation, one party, one flag" is being raised.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: I have heard Shri Mukat Behari Lai patiently and I request him to bear with me. I shall firstly address a few words to my friends in the Jan Sangh Party. The Jan Sangh is a well-organised party, with a number of young workers all over the country. They have been trained in a particular manner and to function in an oppositional manner in everything. I appeal to

[Shri Umashankar Dikshit.] tum to realise that it is not enough for the leader or for some important people in the Sangh to express solidarity with the country in this hour. It is necessary to contact all the members of the Party, every organ of the Party, and to impress upon them the need for self-restraint and for coming into line with the national line in this emergency. For instance our friend, Mr. Chordia, quoted certain words from a speech or a writing in order to show that the writer or the speaker had not tried to weaken the leadership or to put the leadership in a weak light. He said that all that was said in that writing or speech was that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should become braver, should lead the country in a brave manner, in a strong manner. It is not even a very subtle statement. It is easy for anybody to understand that such a kind of direct or indirect statement or any such action weakens the leadership, weakens the country, weakens the very spirit of resistance which you claim you want to rouse in the country and to strengthen it. Therefore it is necessary to exercise the greatest amount of responsibility and care at this time.

Another word I want to address to friends in the Communist Party. There was a time in the early thirties when I was associated with a few prominent members of the Communist Party. I have had some knowledge of the working of the Communist mind. Knowing! all that, I say that it is something of Importance that the Communist Party of India has made such a forthright statement on this occasion. Mr. Nair took great pains to explain the communist belief and to plead that their bona fides should not be suspected. What I want to tell them is this. There is a passage, there is a very difficult part which the Communist Party has to live down. At the time of the last war, against the general wish and trend in the whole country, just because some resolution had been passed by the Soviet Communist Party, the friends went round saying-

ing that it was a People's War and then things went on changing from time to time. Even recently, before this Resolution was passed, there were men in the Communist Party who could find logic enough not to be certain about the character of the Chinese action and about the nature of the duty of Indians at this juncture. That it should be possible that such doubts exist in the minds of Communists like Shri Ranadive and Shri Jyoti Basu is certainly a matter for serious consideration for responsible leaders of the Communist Party. You have to prove your profession in practice, I say to them. It is now the time to prove, and the proof will be either by giving of life or of property or something very dear to you. If the Members of the Communist Party—and this test will apply to everybody else, not merely to the Communists—prove that they have not failed in this tests, nobody will blame the Communist Party. On the contrary they will be as greatly respected as any other patriot in the country. It is not enough to say a thing because, apart from ideological reasons, the past is there and such an occasion for test had never come to the Communist Party before. The fact that the other Communist Parties in the world are still silent, at any rate have not yet come out with any forthright statement, shows that there are reasons for the people not to be so sure. At the same time I say that it would not be fair for the Congress, or for any reasonable person in the country to take a kind of blanket attitude towards all the Communists. This is a time when every friend counts. Everyone who is willing to come round and say that he is with us should be given an opportunity to prove his profession. Please remember that a public commitment is not easy for any party or individual to brook in practice. You remember, gentlemen, when the late Mr. M. A. Jinnah was there in the League and a resolution was passed favouring the independence of India. It so happened that within a short time the Lea-

gue was compelled to go back on that resolution because they found that with such a public commitment it was not possible for the Muslim League in India to go against the Congress line of action. Therefore I say that we must respect the public statements of leaders of the parties irrespective of the school of opinion to which they may belong in the country.

Further, I wish to say that so far as China is concerned, there is no reason to believe that they had a border dispute to settle. China had no border problem, with us. They did not know that there was a border problem. If they really wanted a border question to be settled, they would not have disclaimed and disowned their own maps. Normally they would have said 'Yes, there is a problem, we are going to discuss it with you. At A, B, C or D there is some difference in alignment or some area this way or that way and we want to settle.' There was nothing of the kind. They went on saying 'These are old maps, made by Chiang Kai-shek Government or by other Governments. We have not gone into the question, we are going to look into the question'. This went on. Then after China had made public declarations adhering to the Panchsheel principles, after Mr. Chou En-lai had gone to Bandung and reiterated, those principles, within a month or two their army quietly entered Bara Hou. I do not want to go into many details, But it is my opinion that the Chinese leadership made those declarations and affirmations and invented slogans like 'Tlindi-Chini Bhai Bhai' in order to be able to throw dust in our eyes and in the eyes of the world. In a measure they¹ succeeded. They are using those slogans still.

The other point I want to stress is that in the face of this Chinese invasion it is necessary to have one and undisputed leadership, and, as I said in the beginning, we must not do any-

thing to weaken that leadership. We must come together. If there are any unresolved problems, we should point them out. We should point them out without any hesitation; but at the same time so far as action is concerned, so far as maintaining an atmosphere in the country is concerned, we should move with great care and with great sense of responsibility and patriotism. Thank you.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY (Orissa): Sir, I stand here to support the Resolutions moved by our hon. Home Minister. Enough discussion has taken place on the floor of this House. I do not like to take much of the time of the House. We have already discussed a lot about the unpreparedness of our Government to meet the situation arising out of the Chinese aggression. It is true that like a totalitarian country a true democratic and peace-loving country will not remain prepared for a war. At the same time it is also true that a democratic country can mobilise itself within no time, as we have found in India now. On the basis of the development work done in our country for the last fifteen years, we can think of defending ourselves from foreign aggression. We have seen how in the Second World War, the allies seemed to be defeated at the first instance. But in the long run it was proved that they were not defeated. We also know how Nazi Germany had prepared itself for a long time for war. In spite of all this talk about our unpreparedness, we have been able to defend our country till now, and Sir, the whole world will see that we shall defeat the aggressor in spite of this so-called unpreparedness. What is required at this moment is to maintain calmness and to remain concentrated, without allowing ourselves to be agitated. This calmness is actually contagious, powerful, it dominates and quietens and it puts things in order and organises them. By this I do not mean that we should sit quiet, that we should busy ourselves with nothing. Par from it

[Shrimati Nandini Satpathy.] Today this calmness is a great force and a great power. In fact all who are truly strong and powerful, are always very calm and it is only the weak who are agitated. The other day I happened to listen to the Peking radio roaring like a coward and preaching falsehood against our country. This is a sign of their inner weakness. As soon as one becomes truly strong one becomes peaceful, calm and quiet. We have the power of endurance and we can face all our trials without getting upset. This true calmness is always the sign of strength./ We find our people to be very calm. We have suffered a lot and we are prepared to suffer more now. All our power, energy and material force, ought to be collected assembled and concentrated to this effort, without a shadow of agitation and we should be ready for action when the supreme order is given.

Sir, more than 80 per cent, of our population live in the villages and it is they who produce the food for our fighters and for us who are here. Among them a new outlook has been developed and a new vigour generated. If this is properly mobilised and channelised in the proper direction, I am sure no military power on earth can stand in the way of our progress. It is good to see that we are moving in that direction. But a lot of work is yet left to be done. Gold and money are collected. At first sight it may look like a demonstration, but one can find the spirit working behind all this. In order to mobilise the landless peasants we must ask for donations of land also. That will mobilise the country even to the last person. That is what Vinobaji is aiming at. According to him this is the second line of defence.

There is the question of planning our country's development and we have to discuss it. We cannot do away with it. Since this fight will be a long-drawn one, we must look at this planning very seriously. We

must think again about our centralised planning. If the planning fails at the centre, the whole country has to suffer. So I think the planning should be decentralised. The villagers should be asked to make their own planning so that if the planning in one village fails the neighbouring villages may not suffer.

Some of the learned Members here are of the opinion that the Government should give up our policy of non-alignment. They forget that that is exactly what the aggressor wants us to do. Vinobaji has stated the other day that China has not attacked our country for a piece of land. They want us to deviate from our path the path which we have been following since attaining our independence and which has brought us prestige and the goodwill of the world. China wants to thrust on us Communism which our people do not want to follow. We have worked for world peace and we shall go on working for it. All the preparations that go on in our country for defence are for this end only. We have not become free only for our own sake, but for the sake of the whole world. India has to play a definite role in the world. That is the reason why we have to stick to our path now, a path to which Gandhiji has taught us to stick, whatever may be the difficulties. If we lose our balance at this time of emergency we shall be inviting a greater danger not only for ourselves but also for the whole world. This policy of non-alignment is itself the greatest contribution for maintaining world peace and this most of the countries have recognised. This policy of ours had also brought us respect from countries that are powerful in weapons and wealth and this we would not have ordinarily got.

Next I would say that we must be cautious about all the loose talks and gossips and remarks. As I have already said, India cannot be made a warring nation and we should remember that our leaders who have led us perfectly at the time of peace, will

also lead us on the correct path at this time of emergency. So there should not be any question or talk about this.

While concluding, Sir, I cannot resist the temptation to quote a few words of Shri Aurobindo, the greatest yogi of our times. He said:

"This nation is not a new race, raw from the workshop of Nature or created by modern circumstances. It is one of the richest races, with the greatest philosophy on this earth, most indomitable in vitality, most fecund in greatness, most wonderful in potentiality. After taking into itself numerous sources of strength and foreign strains of blood and other types of human civilization, it is now seeking to elevate itself into an organised national unity."

Sir, we should now be aware of the great task that is before us and make ourselves fit for that. Thank you.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU: . Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Resolutions before the House. The Indian approach to the Sino-Indian question has been to see how to reduce and ease tension or create an atmosphere for peaceful negotiations in the dispute, and secondly to strengthen India's position and defences and hold China as far as possible.

We laid more stress on the former and the record of the long-drawn exchange of notes and letters and memoranda bears testimony to this. As far as the latter is concerned, we failed and let us admit that. We failed because we did not assess the foreign policy of the People's Government of China in a proper, historical and realistic perspective and the Chinese interpretation and dialectics and her hatred for "peaceful coexistence." No doubt the strength of our outposts could never have been strong enough to hold the aggressor as the enemy could choose his time and occasion, and the

forces that he could deploy. This declaration of emergency and the two Resolutions which have been moved by our Home Minister are a turning point in our history. Instead of containing the Chinese aggressor we resolve to turn them out of our sacred land; instead of talk there is action and behind that action stands the mighty will of 400 million people of India united and strong. Questions have been asked and they have been rightly asked, what are the motives of China? Why this betrayal of faith, friendship, truth, decent behaviour in international dealings and Panch-sheel? Is it only to humiliate India in the eyes of Asia? Is it only to hamper the progress that India is making economically and politically as a free democratic Republic? Is it jealousy that 'makes China use vile abuse and a campaign of calumny and perfidy or hypocrisy? Is it to add to its prestige that the Chinese regime has done, as had been done when they demonstrated their capacity to stand against the armies of the United Nations in Korea? Is it only to enable the Communists internally to rally the Chinese patriot? in support of a regime whose popular enthusiasm according to some observers, is falling? Or, is it to divert the attention of the Chinese people from the failure of the "great leap forward" and the widespread disappointment caused by such mad policies? Or, is it that India was chosen for that act because the Chinese regime thought that India was a State alone unsupported by any alliance, a State that did not believe in thermonuclear deterrent, a State whose armies were small in number and less equipped than China? Why is it that China wants to take history backwards by claiming to inherit all the territory which formed part of the Manchu Imperialist Empire or held under suzerainty by Emperor Chien Lung? The Emperor had humbled and subjugated Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang, Taiwan, Burma and Annam and also vanquished the Gurkhas. Even today Chinese text books contain the maps and the Chinese Manchu Empire which they want to reclaim. If the dream of

[Dr. M M S. Siddhu.]

Mao to imitate Emperor Manchu were to come true, then there will be no frontiers, no international boundaries and no independent nations in Asia and the Far East. If, for a while we were to believe that all these factors have contributed to it, there is another factor which, in my opinion, is more, important and that is the kind of interpretation of "inevitability of war" as accepted by the Chinese. Mao Tse-tung does not mince words. He believes that wars are inevitable and even desirable—mark the word 'desirable.' Speaking on "Protracted War" he said, "Even if there would be another warring period after this (Sino-Japanese war) it will not be far from permanent world peace. Once man has eliminated capitalism he will reach the age of permanent peace and will never again desire war". In another place he says, "War is the highest form of struggle in existence since the emergence of private property and social classes, for settling contradictions between classes, between nations, between States or between political groups at given stage of development." To the Chinese, wars are classed as just and unjust—wars by Chinese for proletarian revolution are just and others unjust. Mao Tse-tung is not concerned even with the dread of Thermo-nuclear war. Mao ridiculing the view that the Atom Bomb made Japan to surrender said that the march of Soviet Armies defeated Japan and the "left"—by this he meant a group of the Chinese Communists—should have no illusions about it. China believes that if 300 millions were to die in thermo-nuclear war, even then they would be left with 300 millions. It is well known that Chinese Communism is Stalinist or neo-Stalinist. It is invested with great intellectual dishonesty, hypocrisy and calumny. While Comrade Khrushchev raised the banner of peaceful co-existence, against personality cult and revisionism, the world was made to believe that a socialist State cannot be an aggressor, though Communism has never been a peaceful process. It was with the weight of

the Red army or through 'their intervention that all States in Europe and in Asia have been turned into Communist countries. If we were to ask, why is it that co-existence is believed neither by Albania nor by China, the answer most probably has been better given by Comrade Hoxha of Albania. Referring to peaceful co-existence he said: "Do perhaps these self-styled Marxists . . ."—he was referring to the Russians—"... think that we should hand the keys of our country to the Greek monarcho-fascist so that their line of peaceful co-existence may win or the seizure of power in Greece in a peaceful and parliamentary way may be achieved?" China also thinks the same way. Otherwise through peaceful and negotiated ways she can adjust the border but she i_an-not get chunks of land to spread Communism.

China uses good, dignified and tempered language for peace proposals to create a false sense of peace so that the neighbours are trapped in complacency and caught disunited. China wears a mask of peace and friendship to dupe its neighbours to succumb to Chinese 'just war'—a war of aggrandisement, expansionism and adventurism. It is worse than that of imperialism and Fascism.

Therefore much to our dislike war has been forced upon us and we have been forced to defend our country. We must accept the challenge and wholeheartedly prepare ourselves for a long-drawn war. We shall not rest till every inch of our land is freed. We shall be vigilant and not be taken unprepared till the present Communist regime lasts in China. We shall ally ourselves with all those who believe in decent behaviour in international dealings, Who respect freedom and who do not have ill will and aggressive designs.

A word about the Communist Party of India and its doings. The Communist Party of India passed a resolution—a good resolution—but still it

was passed only by a two-thirds majority. One-third of them either did not like it or they were still thinking in terms of whether China is aggressor or is not an aggressor. At the same time it 'harps on nationalism. To a nationalist once the frontier is crossed, the person who crosses the frontier is an aggressor. There cannot be any quibbling about it but to the Communists nationalism is not an article of faith as we understand it. To them it is just a concept of national bourgeoisie.

In the end I would only say this. As far as our task is concerned, it is great. Let us pledge ourselves to combat falsehood, calumny and perfidy with truth, confidence and trust that the ultimate victory will be ours. Let us outstrip the production in the fields and factories so that superior fire power is made available to our jawans. *

Thank you.

SHRI J. H. JOSHI (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I support the Resolutions moved by the hon. Home Minister. The massive and unprovoked, aggression by China has cast very dark shadows in all the corners of the country. It has shown to what extent deceit, fraud, calumny and treachery of the Chinese can go. So far as lies and untruth are concerned, the Chinese are resorting to Nazi tactics, tactics whereby they are out-Goebbelsing Goebbels. But in a case like this in which war has been imposed upon us by China, to some extent it is we who are to blame. It is human nature to protect the valuables which he has in his possession but, Sir, freedom, independence and integrity of the country are far more valuable than the most valuable thing of the people. We were rather complacent and we put much trust and faith in our neighbour. We were planning our own economy; we were planning to build our economic prosperity. We were planning to eradicate poverty, destitution, disease and illiteracy from our country. While we were busy with this task our

neighbours were planning some other thing. They were planning to sharpen their weapons, to manufacture destructive arms. While we were planning for co-existence with other countries, they were planning for the non-existence of our country and other neighbouring countries. Now/ this is a great treachery on the part of our neighbour but it is their history, it is their tradition and it is their culture to which they are heirs for centuries.

Now, in an emergency like this there is a duty and an obligation cast upon us all. We should plan our resources in such a way that we try to build up our economy so that it may strengthen our war effort. Therefore without taking much time I would like to give some suggestions and I shall be very brief.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

The first thing is that we should not forego the policy of non-alignment. There is a section of opinion which wants to push us in a direction whereby we may forego that policy. It is a policy which has given great benefits to us in times of peace and it is that very policy which is going to help us in times of war.

The second thing is that we should give a call to the people of the country; we should introduce compulsory military training to all persons who are above 21 years of age. We should also introduce military and physical training in all our schools for all students beyond the age of 18. This is a national calamity. It is, I should say, a blessing in disguise. We were becoming very soft and no nation which is soft has survived in this world which requires a hard life. It appears that there is God's design in this and let us therefore submit to that design and prepare the nation for the tough job that is ahead. We have to face a very powerful combatant but our history, our tradition, our valour, our achievements in earlier battles, all these give us enough inspiration. Our cause is just but the mere fact that the cause is just is not sufficient. W»

[Shri J. H. Joshi.]

must have strength enough to defend that cause*. Therefore, the whole nation must be given a clarion call and a programme should be drawn up whereby the entire nation may be up in arms wherever called upon to do so.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI LAL BAHADUR) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to the House for the unanimous support the House has given to both the Resolutions I moved the other day. My task has been made lighter by the intervention of the Prime Minister who has dealt with many important points and also certain basic matters concerning the Chinese aggression. I shall therefore say a few words on some other points raised by hon. Members.

It is quite clear that we are all agreed on one matter, that there has been a pre-meditated and well-planned aggression by China on our country and it is the will and desire of every section of this House and of the people outside that we should resist the aggression and try to get back our territories which have been occupied by China. The anxiety expressed in this House has been about our reinforcement, getting adequate arms and equipment and providing other facilities for our armed forces. I can quite appreciate it and very well understand the feelings of hon. Members. I can assure the House that the Government is most vigilant about it and not only vigilant but we have already started on this work some time back, that is, about a month or so before, and we feel that we will have to do it on a bit scale, on a very big scale indeed. The Raja of Bilaspur was somewhat doubtful that when we say that it would be a lion? 'Irawn-out struggle we might get somewhat complacent and it may have some weakening effect on our countrymen. I might tell him that he need not have any doubt at all of that kind. It is clear to us that we have to reinforce our army both in men and material, in arms, weapons, etc. We

will have to do it in three stages, if I may put it that way. We have to provide especially the necessary arms and equipment, some of them of quite a big size immediately. Then, we can find the rest of it within another short period of four, five or six months. And naturally we will also have to depend on our own production. It may take a longer time. So, production in our own country is absolutely important. Thereby I do not minimise the need and necessity of reinforcing our troops as early as possible. In fact, I have used the word 'immediately'. It must be said to the credit of the United States of America and the United Kingdom, the two countries, that they have helped us. Of course, there are other countries which have offered their help and assistance. Recently Australia and Canada have done it

SHRI C. D. PANDE: France* also.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: France also. So, it is difficult to name the countries and some hon. Members have suggested certain names to be mentioned in the Resolution in an amended form.

SHRI ANAND CHAND (Himachal Pradesh): May I know from the hon. Minister whether any aid that has come from the United States or the U.K. till now has come to us free or whether we have paid for it? (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Questions later on. Listen to the speech first

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: I think the hon. Member has got great experience in administration also. He has ruled a State for a long time.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: A small State.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Maybe a small State, but he himself is a powerful and effective man and he has been so. He has dealt with us also as Congressmen fairly effectively before. Though our general policy is that we take aid and assistance without any

things, we have to pay for them also on reasonable terms, maybe lend and lease or whatever the scheme might be. However, as I said, we are especially thankful to the United States of America and the United Kingdom, who have moved in the matter quickly and we have already received a good deal of help and assistance from them. France also I have mentioned. As I said, it is very important that we should think of our own production in the country. Ultimately we will have to depend on our own production and for that we have to dovetail the production both in the private sector as well as in the public sector, and also in our ordnance factories. There are a number of our public sector undertakings which are producing engineering goods. They could be easily switched on to produce materials or goods which are needed for our Army. In fact, some of our public sector projects have already planned for it. The Defence Ministry is drawing up and have drawn up items of goods which are to be produced in those factories. They may not produce the usual goods for which they are meant or they were built for. Naturally they have to give the first priority to the needs of defence. Similarly, there are a number of private industries. Some of them are already producing goods for the Army, but they have to be switched on to other things, to other requirements. Therefore, it has become essential that all the industries, whether in the private sector or in the public sector undertakings of the Government of India and the State Governments, as also the ordnance factories, etc., will have to coordinate their work and activities. Mr. Govinda Reddy rightly referred to this point of co-ordination. It is true that there has to be proper coordination not only in the matter of production, but also in the matter of supplies and other things. The Government have during the last few days given active thought to this matter. I have no doubt that proper co-ordination will be achieved. Of course, part of it has already been

brought about. We will have a fully planned and well-co-ordinated schema in so far as actual co-ordination of work is concerned in regard to our war effort. I can only say that we fully realise that at the present moment the greatest importance has to be given to the supply of arms and equipment and I hope we will, be able to meet the army's needs and requirements.

Something was said about information and broadcasting. I need not go much into that, I entirely agree with the views expressed by hon. Members of this House for the stream-lining of information and broadcasting arrangements. It seems that we may have to install a more effective radio apparatus in different parts of our country and the Department has to keep itself in closest touch with the press. We may also have to seek the assistance and help of some professional experts in this regard. Last evening I received a letter and a scheme from the Minister of Information and Broadcasting suggesting the way they want to reorient their line of work. Without going into the matter further I can only say that we would welcome the help and advice of hon. Members of this House. In fact, I would be happy if the Minister of Information and Broadcasting will meet some Members of this House and get their views in the matter. It would undoubtedly help him as well as help in the improvement of broadcasts, etc.

Something was said about civil defence. In that regard also I do not want to take much time of the House. I have always said that the Army fights on the front and on our frontiers, but we have to be ready in our cities, in our villages, on our roads and in our lanes. And for that the morale of the country has to be built up. If we are courageous, if the nation is determined to go ahead, the Army gets sustenance and the Army with redoubled strength will

[Shri Lai Bahadur.] pursue their objective with faith and courage. It is, therefore, essential that we should keep up the morale of our people and prepare ourselves for any eventuality. I have spoken to the Chief Ministers of all the States. I have discussed these matters with them and they have already started taking various steps in this regard. Some of the important points are these. First, of course, I propose to appoint a Director-General of Civil Defence in the Home Ministry.

He would naturally be a high 5 P.M. level officer who will have to go to various States, not only sit here in the office but actually see what is being done and how this scheme is being implemented. Of course the other States will also have Directors. We have specially to strengthen our Police Force. I should not mention these things and therefore I would like to avoid mentioning because of the war situation. Of course the Police may have other shortcomings, their own shortcomings or loopholes. But the Police on the borders, wherever they have been posted, have done a remarkable job and they have been extremely helpful, and in the present circumstances we have to expand our Special Police battalion. The expansion would have to be very big indeed. Besides that, we have to organise Home Guards, and especially as I said in the border States and in the border districts we will have to give training in rifle to able-bodied men; whether it is Garhwal or Almora* or whether it is Himachal Pradesh or other areas in the east or west, We must give training to lakhs of our people living in those areas. That work has also to be taken up. I need not refer to the National Cadet Corps and other bodies about which the Prime Minister spoke the other day.

We have also to take special care of our essential installations and means of communication. We have to be extra careful about our electric

and water supplies. We have also to see that foodgrains and essential articles in certain areas are always available, whether it is Assam or North Bengal especially—I am referring to those areas because the means of communication there are fairly difficult in that part of the country. So we have to take care of essential goods like foodgrains, cloth, oil, salt, sugar, and so on, these are four or five things of which we have to take a good deal of care and there should be no shortage. For that we will also have to look after the roads because to depend entirely on the railways will not be wise, and therefore we have to see that the roads are workable throughout and that we have enough of vehicles.

Finally, especially in the border districts I have requested the Chief Ministers that they must post the best and the most efficient officers of their States. It is essential because the man on the spot has to take decisions himself. If he has always to refer to the Chief Minister or to the Commissioner, he is just not the man who should be working there. In those areas every moment and every day people expect some guidance and it is therefore essential that we should have the best of our officers there, and the best of our officers must be prepared to undergo the suffering or inconveniences in those areas. It is therefore essential and I am glad that all the Chief Ministers have agreed that this will have to be done.

Something was said about Pakistan, and it is true that we have our own differences with Pakistan. But even these political differences have not created that gulf between us as has happened in the case of the other country, and it would be wrong on our part at this moment to create any situation in which communalism gets an upper hand and we create some kind of division amongst ourselves. I know that it sometimes hurts us to read some of the comments made in the newspapers of Pakistan; they

have been very harsh indeed, especially the one which I saw a few days before, the editorial of the "Dawn". Yet it is not the papers which really place the Government point of view. Hon. Members must have read in the newspapers, and I was glad to see, what the President of Pakistan has written to our Prime Minister, the letter he has sent in reply to the letter sent by our Prime Minister to all the heads of Governments. I am glad about it, and although I will say that the newspapers in Pakistan should not try to gloat over the difficulties faced by any one of us, President Ayub Khan, a great soldier as he is, can rise to the occasion. I am, therefore, glad to say that what he has written is a nice letter to the Prime Minister. I need not read the whole of it but one of the paragraphs of his letter:

"It is a matter of great regret to me that this dispute should have led to Intensified military activities and induction of new war potential thus endangering the peace and stability of the region in which Pakistan is vitally concerned."

So it is not only India that realises the fact that the whole region is in danger, it is not only India that is in danger, but he has also said: We in Pakistan are wedded to a world of peace and friendly relations with all neighbouring countries but especially with India. This is just what was expected of President Ayub, and I know that this letter would be welcomed by this House as well as by the whole country.

I might also add that although there has been a somewhat unfortunate and slightly critical statement by the King of Nepal, yet we have to remember the fact that we must have the best of relations with Nepal. Nepal is a close neighbour of ours and we have had other ties from the immemorial past. Therefore, from our side we have all good wishes for Nepal. We have nothing but feelings of friendship for that country. There are some people who are trying to

create misunderstanding between Nepal and India. Some of them talk as if India wanted to put Nepal in a subordinate position. It is far from the truth, absolutely wrong and full of lies. I do not want to add anything more except to say that we will do nothing which will create any kind of bad blood, and we will definitely like to keep the best of relations with Nepal.

I would now like to refer to the political parties and their attitudes. I am glad that Shri Dikshit has just now said something about the political parties, about the Communist Party of India as well as the Jan Sangh. In fact I endorse what he said, but let me say a few words about the Communist Party first. Well, I must pay a compliment to the Communist Party for their resolution which was passed in their National Council. It is something absolutely new, and I do not think that ever before in the history of the Communist Party or the Communist world this kind of defection has happened or this kind of decision has been taken. It was indeed very bold and courageous on the part of the so-called rightist members, if I may use that word. But I am glad now that Bhupesh Gupta is also in the right for the first time. He has always been trying to be in the left. In fact, if I am not betraying him, he was in the • • • Lobby before. But I am sorry . . .

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SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is unfortunate. The hon. Minister should not make that remark. I am very sorry that he had made that because he is the Home Minister and to say such a thing is very unfair.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: I am sorry.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am only in one Lobby and that is the India Lobby and no other Lobby.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: I am very glad that at last wisdom has dawned.

•Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri Lai Bahadur.] If only a few days before I had said that Shri Bhupesh Gupta was a leftist and was for China, when this massive attack had not come—I think we all greatly welcome the change now— (Interruption). However, I am glad that he does not like those remarks and I do not want to press them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is misinformed by his police agent. He can call me and ask me. I can trust him. I sit on this side of the House. Fortunately or unfortunately, I occupy this position. The hon. Minister for whom I have got great regard can always call me and ask for my views. I shall volunteer to give my views at all times.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Well, I have complimented Shri Bhupesh Gupta for his views and I said now that he is in the right.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have always been right.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Still . . .

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Too good to be true.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: No, I take him at his face value. I do not want to question his bona fides. But, in fact, the Communist Party has always made mistakes in the past. Their judgment and their assessment of the situation, in so far as our country is concerned, have always been wrong, not wrong, absurdly wrong, if I might say so, because I have my own personal experience and I know that it is the experience of all of us who sit on this side of the House.

However, there are two things in so far as the principle of Communism is concerned. Well, it can be acceptable to many, I might say that there are others who will differ. But there may be many in so far as the objective of Communism is concerned, a classless society. But there are two

things which the Communist Party will have to give up, if they really want to. In fact, I would welcome it if they like to sit some time on this side of this House, provided they give up . . .

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Then we will have no House at that time.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: There are two things. One is that they should consider about the means. If they continue to believe in violence and if they want to bring about a change through violence, well, it would be most unfortunate.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I can . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please listen to the Home Minister.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: And the Communist Party has to realise that it is a democratic form of Government. I know that Shri Bhupesh Gupta is going to say that they have already done so. But I might again emphasise. It is a very important matter. If they have to function in a democratic form of government, in a democracy, they have to give up violence or thinking in terms of any violent movement or overthrow of the Government. (Interruption). And the second thing is—again I know that Shri Bhupesh Gupta will get angry—to give up their extra-territorial loyalty. These are the two things. Therefore, I greatly welcome what the Communist Party has said, and, as I said, I complimented the Communist Party that they have made a radical departure from the past and I do consider it a very important event in the history of the Communist Parties in the world. And, therefore, if the Communist Party really wants to serve the people, the country, it will have to do these two things, and this will pay the party and perhaps pay to the country as a whole.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Will you kindly yield for half a minute?

AN HON. MEMBER: Afterwards.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I just make it clear. As far as the first thing is concerned, with regard to violence, the constitution of our party which we hold sacred says that the Communist Party will work for social transformation through peaceful means. The fact that we have been working in Parliament for ten years would testify, in fact, to what we preach. Therefore, he should be clear.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated): The Communist Party uses it only as platform for its propaganda.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Well, we will do our propaganda. That we do but peacefully.

The second point is, we have no extra-territorial loyalty whatsoever. This is what the Americans talk about us and our good Home Minister will not kindly believe it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Half a minute is over. Yes, the Home Minister.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Well, Madam, now Shri Bhupesh Gupta has got somewhat upset. But I know. If only a few days before I had said a word against China, if I had said a word against their policy, if I had spoken even a few words about their programmes, against them, I am quite certain—and he will also agree with me—that if he had got the opportunity, he might have pounced upon me. Anyhow, this distance. Madam, and your being in the Chair prevents him from doing that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now he has turned a new chapter.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: One can, Madam, understand internationalism and also humanism. But the internationalism of the Chinese and the Americans. If I might use harsh language, is just a crude, narrow and bigoted approach. It is imperialism

in its veiled form. But what China has done and is wanting to do to others is expansionism in its naked form. Now what better justification could there be for our position than the speech of Bhupesh Guptaji himself? I would very much like that he sends his speech to Peking because if it goes from us, they will not accept it or they might say that we are trying to deceive them. But if it goes from Bhupesh Guptaji—we can make arrangements for that if he so likes—it would really be good for China. At least the Chinese will be able to understand how the members of the Communist Party feel about their aggression and the role China is playing.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras): Let him broadcast it on the radio.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: All India Radio.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: It should certainly be done. In fact, it had struck me, and I would certainly like that it is put on the radio. However, I have nothing but good words and compliments for Shri Bhupesh Gupta. But my regret is that still there are quite a few members of the Communist Party who do not agree with the approach and outlook of Shri Bhupesh Gupta or some of his other compatriots.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Some individuals.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: It is not some individuals, and it is not restricted to a few. That is my regret. I am sorry for it. But recently, Shri Jyoti Basu wrote to me and said that I had said something in Assam, in Tezpur, and he was rather angry over it because he thought that I had stated something which was not quite correct. I read a statement of Shri Jyoti Basu before I went to Assam and I was really shocked to read it. I saw later on that he had contradicted this statement. So, I accept that when once a contradiction is issued, I have nothing to say, not a word more.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: AM the papers of Calcutta reported correctly except one. That paper you have unfortunately read.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: But may I say that even the contradiction really does not take us very far? And he says,

"We have always stood for the defence of our country including the strengthening of the defence of our border. Can India and China not demonstrate the same statesmanship in a more restricted sphere by at least agreeing to seek the help of friendly mediators for a peaceful solution? I ask. Why is it not possible for our Government as well as the Chinese Government to agree to seek the help of friendly mediators?"

"Look, I mean an Indian speaking in this manner:

"Why should each Government stick to its own point of view? In case a cease-fire is possible, further talks should be pursued by the representatives of India and China."

Just keeping both India and China on the same level; no distinction between India and China*. That is what Mr. Jyoti Basu's contradiction means.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: As if he is Mr. Nkrumah.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Well, he made a speech and I need not give my own interpretation of it. But even I am not quite sure about his assertion that he always stood for safeguarding the territorial integrity of India. What he really means is not clear, whether he would safeguard the territorial integrity only of that part of territory which is considered by the Chinese as India*, or something else. Well, it is a difficult thing to interpret. Anyhow I am sorry to say that even this, contradiction does not make the position of Shri Jyoti Basu quite clear.

I have also learnt about the provocative speeches made in the South by the members of the Communist Party . . .

SHRI C. D. PANDE: By Shri Kumaramangalam.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: . . . and in fact one of the members said that it was the provocative statement of the Prime Minister before going to Ceylon that led to the attack by the Chinese on India, something fantastic to say. But it has been said and it was also added that India was not fully equipped for a war a country like China and it was felt that the MacMahon Line itself was imaginary and not properly defined. Even in some other areas also it has been the case and where of course the attitude of Bhupesh Guptaji has not been appreciated, and it has been commented that the Party has revolted against International Communism and is following in the footsteps of the Nehru Government by becoming the tail of imperialists. Well, if this is the condition, how can they really be enthusiastic about holding anti-China public meetings and collecting contributions for the National Defence Fund? "Vishal Andhra", one of the papers of the Communist Party continues to highlight statements designed to prove the good intentions of the Chinese. The speech of Premier Chou En-lai at a reception to the North Korean Delegation, and the statement of the Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party on November 5, declaring that the Sino-Indian conflict would only help war-mongers, reactionaries and imperialists were publicised in the Party organ. This is what some of the party papers are doing, and I am told that there is some kind of talk about the international line which the Communist Party of India should take. If I may put briefly how they think about the international line, it is like this that Marxism-Leninism holds that bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are antagonistic to each other. Basically, bourgeois nationalism, that is nationalism and their

international line and their international approach are contrary to each other. Some self-styled Marxist leaders like Shri Dange have departed from the principle of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The masses of Indian Communists should be true to this ideal.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Are you quoting from the "People's Daily"? We repudiate it. We reject this kind of understanding.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: All right, the hon. Member rejects it, but anyhow it has been one of the most important and influential papers expressing the views of the Communist Party.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: It is not disowned by the party,

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh): Is it still continued?

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Well, continuation, etc., it is an important question, and some hon. Member on the other side referred to the comments and the way the news has been flashed in the newspapers. I know it has not, and I have full knowledge of those statements, but I must say—the House may not generally agree with me but slightly—that our way of doing things is different. I do give a chance to the newspapers and to others also. Maybe, just for a moment they are upset; they might be angry; they might be annoyed with many things, and let them express themselves as frankly as they like. Even let them be as critical as they like. But that stage has passed. They have done it for one month or so. But in future I would appeal to all! the newspapers and to all the other friends that now there is no time for criticism or condemnation. If there are shortcomings and weaknesses, do come and please point out to us and we will try to rectify them, or we will explain our viewpoint and it is just possible we may be able to convince you or convert you. Some

of the papers which have written recently, I mean their comments have been very undesirable and they have created bad flood in the country. So my appeal at the present moment is that they must remain careful in this regard, and nothing should be said or done which will in any way have an adverse effect on our war effort, and of course, if they do not accept the advice, well, Parliament will be giving us powers to deal with such newspapers or with such individuals.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: We give full powers to you; you can do whatever you like.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Madam, when I have referred to what generally some of the other members of the Communist Party have said, I do not want to be unfair to the Communist Party *in toto*. I shall now quote from a resolution—in fact this is the spirit which the Communist Party members have to show and demonstrate—and this is a resolution part of which I would like to read in this House, resolution of one of the State Communist Parties, and this resolution says,

"The National Council of the Communist Party of India has welcomed this appeal and assured the Prime Minister that our party will mobilise all its strength in its support shoulder to shoulder with other patriotic forces in the country. At the same time we declare explicitly that even if we are excluded from the collective efforts for national defence, we shall still devote all our energy to the same cause. This is a duty we owe to our country and our conscience. The test of one's sincerity and conviction is action and the coming test will prove our sterling sincerity indeed."

This is further what the party has said:

"In the crucial need of the day the acid test of our patriotism is for each and every citizen in the coun-

[Shri Lai Bahadur.] try to give monolithic support to Prime Minister Nehru, to strengthen his hands and to carry out his behests. He is the country's supreme Field Marshal, the Commander-in-Chief."

This is the spirit and this is the attitude which we must commend to all the other members of the Communist Party.

Madam, I shall now say a few words about the Jan Sangh. I hope I shall not be contradicted if I say that during the last two months the Jan Sangh has been highly critical of the Government and of its action. I do not mean to say that they opposed our action on the frontier. But the criticism of the Government has been so severe during all these days that it has created a lot of misunderstanding amongst the people. I was surprised to get a telephone message from Shri Trivedi, perhaps the leader of the Jan Sangh in the other House, saying— he actually used the words, *Apne Jan Sangh ko gali diya*—that I had abused the Jan Sangh last evening. I addressed a public meeting in Delhi. I was amazed to hear the word "abused" because—I hope I am not claiming much—I am almost incapable of using abusive language. Abuse is something vulgar. But, of course, dealing with *danda* is something different. So I was surprised when he said this. I told him that what I had said was like this. I did say in the public meeting that I was sorry that there had been a good deal of criticism of the Government during the period of emergency and I had said that this was not the time when political parties should try to exploit the situation for their parties' interests. I had a¹ so added that both the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh had to realise this fact that it would be wrong if some kind of confusion or misunderstanding were in the public mind. It is not only the Jan Sangh or any other party, but even Congressmen and Congress Committees have to realise that this is not an occasion or oppor-

tunity when the Congress would or should try to show off itself or its work. The Congress has not to take advantage of the present situation as an organisation or as a political organisation. Similarly, no other party should do that. It was only this that I had said. I did not use a single harsh word against any individual or against the Party. But, Madam, I must admit that I have been receiving somewhat depressing or disquieting reports. And it is not today that I am saying this. A few days before I had thought of meeting Vajpayeeji. I know he is an important leader and a very sober leader and I thought I sho^d discuss these matters with him and it is just possible that he might be able to satisfy me and it would really be good if I feel satisfied. But I do want to mention to him certain matters. And I do hope that nothing would be done either by the Jan Sangh or any other political party to be indifferent to the national interests and think in narrow groups.

I do not know if Vajpayeeji said it but this is sometimes a general comment in the ranks of the Jan Sangh that we should have a war-time leader. They try to make a distinction between a peace-time leader and a war-time leader. I hope he will pardon me, if I may say so, that unfortunately, the Jan Sangh had not been born then when we were fighting the freedom struggle. They have not really suffered for the country and they do not know what determination we had shown under the leadership of Gandhiji to fight the British imperialism.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Madam, may I remind the hon. Home Minister that I was behind the prison bars in 1942 though I was a student of the Intermediate class? If the Jan Sangh was born in 1951, it is not our fault. We might be younger in age. Is it a crime to be younger in ages?

SHM C. D. PANDE: You were a Congressman then.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: It is, therefore, Madam—I never said anything about Shri Vajpayee—that Shri Vajpayee is more sober. Those who have been in the movement and those who have fought for the country do realise their responsibility; they have got some experience of the difficulties of administration. However, I hope that it is not presumptuous on my part to say so—we have, of course, been far, far away from Gandhiji. I am nothing but just an humble soldier. I have been and I am even now—yet we have learnt something from him and it is this that we shall stand for. We shall live and We shall die for truth and for our country. And is there any other better leader in this country, any other man, who has stood by these principles during the last fifteen years since Gandhiji's death except Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru?

May I—I do not know if I will have his permission to say that but may I—say that recently or some time back a gentleman went and met him, quite an important person? He was rather feeling depressed over the advance China had made. He made certain suggestions, something like, "Why not talk and discuss?" You know Panditji's temperament in these matters. Well, it seemed—I mean—he was furious. Perhaps if he had got the strength, he would have thrown him out of the window. He is not prepared to listen to any advice, even a word which would suggest that we should give in or we should negotiate with dishonour. Well, he is a man who will fight, who has fought for the honour of the country and he will continue to fight for the honour and dignity of the country. I would, therefore, like to say, please do not create any misunderstanding in this special situation about the leadership. I know that except for some people, generally the country is behind the Prime Minister. For God's sake, please do not create misapprehensions or misunderstandings in the mind of the country. And even if we talk to them—talking is neve*- bajyjed—it will &• mi ei

strength and with no sense of defeat or weakness.

Well, I am sorry I am taking a little more time of the House. But I was a bit surprised to hear from Shri Vajpayee that the Prime Minister made a mistake when he said that the Chinese would be driven out or he had issued orders for driving out the Chinese . . .

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: I did not say that the Prime Minister made a mistake in saying that the Chinese would be driven out. I wanted to know whether the Prime Minister was informed of our preparedness or otherwise when he asked the army to throw out the Chinese.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: All right. Then I shall not deal with it. But it was quite clear and obvious in those circumstances for the Prime Minister to have issued those orders. It meant no doubt sacrifice and suffering on the part of our troops but then if he had not done it, I do not know where the Chinese would have been today. It was essential. There are occasions when our people, when our countrymen and when our troops and forces of the army have to undergo tremendous sufferings and have to make sacrifices in the interests of the nation and it was an occasion and I think he gave just the right and proper lead when he said or when he issued the orders that we must resist them at any cost.

About referring to the political parties, I do not want to mention the name of someone, the gentleman does not belong to any political party, he may be an independent and it is a small thing but what effect does it produce? This is what he said:

"The Government and other top ranking officials are responsible for allowing the aggression to make so much advance."

Then he made a reference to the list of articles necessary for supply to the army personal »»d Uien added;

[Shri Lai Bahadur.]

"The public have got every right to see the account."

He continued saying: "The Congress-wallas have not purchased India and the country is not for the Congress-wallas alone and 'Desh' 'or India is more valuable than Congresswal-las" . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Who said?

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: I do not want to mention the name. It is an important person.

AN HON. MEMBER: Is he a Member of this House?

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA: Was this speech made here?

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: No, outside. I got it only the day before. Then I get a card today, this morning from Bombay and the speech was made somewhere in the east and this card of almost an illiterate person said what am I doing as the Home Minister and could I not prevent or stop these things;—because he says in his letter that this speech has created a very bad effect, adverse effect, on the people in those areas. He has even added that even collections have stopped for the time being because of accounts and everything as if we are swallowing or trying to swallow the whole of the money we get. Therefore I said that these are small matters •but these things do create a wrong impression on people's minds and it has to be definitely avoided.

Before I conclude I might say that we are fighting a dangerous enemy and we should be prepared for gains as well as reverses. The preparation of the Chinese is on the whole of the Himalayan frontier, Their concentration is almost on every Important post. We cannot therefore belittle it, whether it is Ladakh or Himachal Pradesh, or U.P. or West Bengal or Assam. The whole of the area is in a way, if I might say so, flooded with the Chinese army and we have therefore to be extraordinarily careful and should not get somewhat depressed or

dejected if something happens because after all it is our determination which will take us far and which will help us in fighting the Chinese forces. Within a very short period we have to build up our strength to face the Chinese in all eventualities and we have to stand up to a man if we want to drive out the aggressor and the enemy. I should perhaps mention what one of the Canadian papers has said about our struggle. It says:

"In the minds of many people of the West there never has been any question as to where India really stands in terms of ideals for which she struggled and traditions she inherited. . . ."

"India has remained the foremost bastion of freedom on the continent of Asia" and therefore, "let us make no mistake. This is our fight. India must win it whatever the cost to us of the free world in arms, in materials or in the markets of China."

"The stake in the India-China border fighting is a vast continent That makes it our fight as well as India's."

Having said all this, I must say that we should pay our heartfelt tribute to all the parties which have lent their full support in the cause of the freedom of our country, in our present crisis and who are determined to carry on this struggle. I was glad to hear the other day the speech of the D.M.J.C. Party Leader and the wholehearted support he lent to this Resolution. As I said the other day, I did not actually mean to say that the States do not physically exist. The States do exist, they are there and they have to function effectively. Yet what I meant to say was that mentally in our action we are all one and there is no difference at all between one State and the other. The problems of religion, the problems of communalism, regionalism, language, all that have vanished in no moment and I hope that China will realise what the strength of, a democratic Government U, .how

democracy functions and when there is an emergency, how the whole nation stands behind the Government. So as I said before, I would, before I conclude, request 'hon. Members who have proposed certain amendments—I do not say that some of the amendments have no sense or substance, they have but I would request them—not to press those amendments and I would be very happy indeed if this Resolution is hailed and passed unanimously.

I would like to conclude with a word that in the existing situation our Leader, the Prime Minister, and the Government can only promise the people toil and sweat until final victory is won. Let us pledge, let us resolve that we shall not relax, that we shall not rest

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That this House approves -the , Proclamation of Emergency issued by the President on the 26th October, 1962, under clause (1) of article 352 of the Constitution."

The motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the amendments to the second Resolution to vote.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

1. "That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added, namely:-

'and not lay down arms till this is achieved.'"

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

2. "That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added, name-

"This House resolves that India is committed to a Free Tibet, only with whom the McMahon Line can serve as our boundary. The boundary with China can only be North of Kailash Manasarovar and East flowing Brahmaputra." ••'

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then there are two amendments in the name of Shri Anand Chand.

SHRI ANAND CHAND: Madam, after hearing the hon. the Home Minister I would beg permission of the House to withdraw my two amendments.

**Amendment Nos. 3 and 4 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then amendment No. 5 stands in the name of Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha. Do you press it?

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA: Madam, in view of the statement made by the Prime Minister and the assurance given by him that an enquiry will be held regarding our unpreparedness, I would like to have the permission of the House to withdraw my amendment.

'Amendment No. 5 was, by leave, withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 6 and 7 stand in the name of Shri A. D. Mani.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): In response to the hon. Minister's appeal I would beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendments.

**Amendment Nos. 6 and 7 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then there are amendments Nos. 8 and 9 standing in the name of Shri Dahya-bhai V. Patel. Do you press them?

•For texts of amendments, vide cols. 512-213 of Debate dated the 8th November 1962.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): I am not withdrawing my amendments because in substance they mean the same thing as the Resolution. We are not opposing the Resolution. It is clarification that we seek and I would appeal to the hon. Home Minister to accept my amendments.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

8. "That at the end of the second paragraph of the Resolution, the following be added, namely:—

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

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

9. "That for the fourth paragraph of the Resolution, the following be (Substituted, namely:—

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

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now I will put Resolution No. 2 to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"This House notes with deep regret that, in spite of the uniform gestures of goodwill and friendship by India, towards the People's Government of China on the basis of recognition of each other's independence, non-aggression and non-

interference, and peaceful coexistence, China has betrayed this goodwill and friendship and the principles of Panchsheel which had been agreed to between the two countries and has committed aggression and initiated a massive invasion of India by her armed forces.

"This House places on record its high appreciation of the valient struggle of men and officers of our armed forces while defending our frontiers and pays its respectful homage to the martyrs who have laid down their lives in defending the honour and integrity of our - Motherland.

"This House also records its profound appreciation of the wonderful and spontaneous response of the people of India to the emergency and the crisis that has resulted from China's invasion of India. It notes with deep gratitude this mighty upsurge amongst all sections of our people for harnessing all our resources towards the organisation of an all out effort to meet this grave national emergency. The flame of liberty and sacrifice has been kindled anew and a fresh dedication has taken place to the cause of India's freedom and integrity.

"This House gratefully acknowledges the sympathy and the moral and material support received from a large number of friendly countries in this grim hour of our struggle against aggression and invasion.

"With hope and faith, this House affirms the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Madam, Shri Bhupesh Gupta has sent a message to me. To the word which I used, about his being in the * • • lobby, he protests and wants that that word should

Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

be removed or expunged. Well, Madam, I have no objection and it may be removed, because I do not want to hurt his feelings.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, the word will be expunged.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Or whatever expression it was.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fifty-three minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 14th November, 1962.