

12.08 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEM-
 BERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

NINTH REPORT

Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao
 (Shimoga): I beg to present the
 Ninth Report of the Committee on
 Private Members' Bills and Resolu-
 tions.

12.09 hrs.

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

THIRD AND FOURTH REPORTS

Shri H. C. Dasappa (Bangalore):
 Sir, I beg to present the following
 Reports of the Estimates Committee:

- (i) Third Report on Action Taken
 by Government on the recom-
 mendations contained in the
 Hundred and Fourteenth Re-
 port of the Estimates Com-
 mittee (Second Lok Sabha) on
 the Ministry of Transport and
 Communications (Depart-
 ments of Communications and
 Civil Aviation)—Overseas
 Communications Service; and
- (ii) Fourth Report on Action
 Taken by Government on the
 recommendations contained in
 the Thirty seventh Report of
 Estimates Committee (Sec-
 ond Lok Sabha) on the
 Ministry of Health—Public
 Health (Part I).

12.10 hrs.

METAL TOKENS (AMENDMENT)
 BILL*

**The Deputy Minister in the Minis-
 try of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat):**
 Sir, on behalf of Shri Morarji Desai,
 I beg to move for leave to introduce
 a Bill further to amend the Metal
 Tokens Act, 1889.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to intro-
 duce a Bill further to amend the
 Metal Tokens Act, 1889".

The motion was adopted.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: Sir, I introduce
 the Bill.

12.11 hrs.

PETROLEUM PIPELINES (ACQUI-
 SITION OF RIGHT OF USER IN
 LAND) BILL*

**The Deputy Minister in the Minis-
 try of Mines and Fuel (Shri Hajar-
 navis):** On behalf of Shri K. D. Mala-
 viya, I beg to move for leave to in-
 troduce a Bill to provide for the ac-
 quisition of right of user in land for
 laying petroleum pipelines and for
 matters connected therewith.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to in-
 troduce a Bill to provide for the
 acquisition of right of user in land
 for laying petroleum pipelines and
 for matters connected therewith."

The motion was adopted.

Shri Hajarnavis: Sir, I introduce
 the Bill.

12.12 hrs.

RESOLUTIONS RE: PROCLAMA-
 TION OF EMERGENCY AND
 AGGRESSION BY CHINA—
contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now
 take up further discussion on the
 resolutions moved by the hon. Prime
 Minister on 8th November, 1962, along
 with the amendments that are there.
The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs
 has told me that the Government is
 prepared to allot another day for this
 discussion. So, we have got tomorrow

also for private Members to participate in this discussion. They are very anxious. Yesterday, I had as many as 34 Members at half past Seven of the Clock. I had volunteered to sit as long as every one of them could be given a chance. They got impatient and they said that they had no previous notice.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Some of them.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member had finished his speech; therefore, he says so. Today I have got a list of 76 Members. Whatever time might be there and how many extensions we may give to this discussion, it will not be possible to exhaust all these Members. Everyone is anxious to participate no doubt. There ought to be some end to every debate. Therefore, they ought to exercise self-control and self-restraint on themselves and desist from this temptation.

The second thing is this. Minimum time should be spent. Every argument has been advanced and every fact has been stated. It is a repetition that is now coming—most of it. Therefore, the suggestions that any hon. Member might have got may be put forward. Some hon. Members from border areas have told me that they must participate as they are in the frontiers and that they must raise their voice and they must be listened to. Certainly, I will give them an opportunity. But all hon. Members must finish their speeches in, seven minutes, or utmost in ten minutes but not more than ten minutes. It is rather the desire for participation and association than adding anything more to the debates, I suppose. I am prepared to allow that. I will try to accommodate as many as I can. But it should not be expected that every one of them would certainly be exhausted. I had promised yesterday to give time at least to those 34 Members, or rather about forty, who had sat as late as 7.30. Therefore, I am prepared to sit today also so that all those might be given their time. We

will sit late as much as we possibly can.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): May I make a request which I have made before also? I suggest that the House may, at least on this occasion, have an all night sitting so as to give the session the stamp of a national emergency. The nation will be electrified.

Mr. Speaker: The most regrettable aspect of it is that Shri Kamath went away earlier yesterday.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I had to leave for Kanpur.

Mr. Speaker: I made this offer to the House but it was not accepted. I said that we could have a break for dinner and that I would stand the expenses and the Members might sit the whole night.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: That is excellent.

Mr. Speaker: Excellent. But that was not accepted and he left earlier.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: We accept it today.

Shri Lakshmikanthamma (Khammam): It does not mean that others should not have a chance because some of us had fever for the last three days. Gen. Kaul had to fight Bronchitis....

Mr. Speaker: I will take that also into consideration.

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj (Wardha): Sir, you were kind enough to suggest that there are a number of speakers, the time should not be taken by speakers more than seven or ten minutes each. I suggest that if there are new suggestions coming up, then you may probably give more time. Otherwise, the time may even be shortened. Of course, your judgment will be final.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): Mr. Speaker, for three days past we have listened to the discussion on the resolutions moved by the hon. Prime Minister. Different points of view have been expressed in this House. What the country outside and the world at large expects this Parliament to do before it adjourns is to make it known as to what goals are we deciding about the immediate present. The problem before us is to throw out the aggressor. That is the immediate issue before us and I think on this the national will has been firmly and clearly expressed. The Armed Forces fighting on the front and the people have opened the eyes of the enemy. We may have failed but the nation has not failed. I am sure the Chinese must have realised it by now that it was a mistake on their part to take the unpreparedness or the weakness of the Government as the weakness of the nation. Really, in a democracy it is the people who act. These are times when people really show how patriotic and how anxious they are to preserve the integrity of this nation and they have exerted themselves fully. I am sure the leaders may fail but the people will not. I am also sure that the people of this country, if an occasion arises, would show that whatever may happen so far as the integrity of our nation is concerned, they will not give room for any compromise.

When I speak here on this occasion it is not my purpose to talk about differences or with reservations. It is no time for it, nor is it the purpose of my participation at this stage to stir emotions or win a debating point. In the last part of the second resolution which the Prime Minister has moved, it is clear as to what we want. That is the nation's resolve to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India however long and hard it may be. We support it fully and wholeheartedly and unreservedly associate ourselves with the determination of the people. The Prime Minister, just after the invasion, on

October 21st made a broadcast to the nation in which he said that a powerful and unscrupulous opponent had invaded the country and all parties and groups should present a solid and united front before all those who seek to endanger our freedom and integrity. The Praja Socialist Party has pledged its support to the Government and its leader for the continuation of war efforts. Nothing should be done at this time which will hamper our war activities. There have been occasions in this House, you know, when we have accused Government of neglect and complacency and even surrender. But here is a time when we want to surrender ourselves to the Government for the sake of the nation. We were therefore a little bit surprised when we heard that some attempt was being made at this juncture we did not like that idea very much—to make it appear as if we want to censure the Government. We do not associate with any such thing here. At the same time, I do not really think it advisable at this moment to bring the question of personality of the Prime Minister or the greatness of the Prime Minister. I do not know what the communist friends mean when they go on chanting, like the chanting of Vishnu Sahsranamam, that "we are behind the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. They do not say the Government or the Nation. They go on speaking like that. What do they mean? Do they mean that they are loyal to the Prime Minister and not to the Government and the nation that is today determined to throw out the aggressor? Even other friends referred to many things, and to the greatness of the Prime Minister. I do not think it is good that a controversy should be raised over that point. The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, has his own place in the history of the country. In the past, he has been one of the leaders of the nation who has inspired and enthused many millions of our countrymen to undergo sacrifice and suffering, and he was one of the pioneers of our

independence struggle. He is today leading the Government. He is the leader of a party. We want him on this occasion and we offer our unstinted support to the Government that he leads in this country; we offer him our support not as a leader of a party, not as a leader of the Government but as leader of the nation. We want him, as a person who, in the past, has led the nation, on this occasion also—leave his personal preferences and opinions—to resolutely stand for the sake of the nation, to symbolise and to take upon himself the responsibility of carrying out the wishes of the millions of our people in this country.

Therefore, the immediate task that is before us and before the Parliament before we adjourn, is this. The country would like to know what concrete steps we are taking to drive out the aggressor from our land. Therefore, if I say anything, it is not with a view to repeat what has already been said, but to raise some points and to seek clarification from our Prime Minister before we adjourn, in order that the country gets a clearer picture about our plans and programmes. I hope that the Prime Minister, while replying, will please clarify the points.

The first thing that I want to say is this. The Prime Minister very often told us in this House, whenever we have discussed this problem, that this is both a political and a military problem and that we must look at it from that point of view. But so far as his speeches here are concerned—whether he has spoken in this House or the other House—nowhere in his speeches has he unfolded before us the concrete plans of defence that this country at this juncture is going to undertake, or proposes to undertake and what he expects of the people in concrete terms to do at this moment and how the people are going to discharge their responsibilities.

By demanding plans in concrete terms, I do not mean that the Prime

Minister will or should give out military secrets nor about the strategic positions of the army. This is not the forum where that should be done. But I want to point out that repeatedly we are being told both in public platforms and in the Houses of Parliament that a sea of men is arrayed against us, that the ruthless and perfidious enemy is against us, armed with modern weapons, and that it is going to be a long war. The Prime Minister has said in the Rajya Sabha—I am quoting him—"They are not—he meant the Chinese—"defeated; nor are we defeated. In fact it is very difficult for them to think of defeating us and still more difficult for us to defeat them". I humbly beg to submit that these are not very encouraging expressions in the midst of war. Why do we assume this possibility? Is it because our people have suffered initial reverses? Should we think that we will not be able to throw out the aggressor from our land? The initial reverses are not because our armed forces lack the capacity to fight the aggressor; they have shown no lack of capacity, in spite of the fact that they had no proper tools with them.

As you must have read in the newspapers, when our President visited the front, he made a statement and he expressed what the armed forces—our jawans—who were fighting there have told him. "Give us tools; we will win victory". That was the sentiment of the armed forces who are fighting at the front. They are holding on in spite of all these difficulties. For the last few days, whatever news we have received is really encouraging; that is, they are offering very strong resistance to the enemy. Probably we hear very much less about it in this country. My hon. friend Shri Kamath, was quite right when he asked, "let us know actually what is the war situation". The All India Radio would do well by giving us more accounts of the heroic deeds of our men at the frontier than by giving us details about the list of donations

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received in this country. What the country expects and what actually we, as Members of Parliament here want to know from the Prime Minister is this: how quickly are we going to equip our soldiers with the necessary arms and ammunition so that they can bring glory to our motherland.

We are told that the manufacture in our own factories in recent weeks has improved considerably. This is good so far as it goes. But is that enough? Are we in a position to speed up this production to such an extent that our emergency requirements would be met? I do not think our policy stands in our way. We have by now received aid from different friendly countries, and we are grateful for them. The Prime Minister has rightly stated in an interview, as follows: "We have to defend ourselves and we take such help as we can get but still we do not want to join any military bloc and that in essence is non-alignment". I think this interpretation of our non-alignment policy at this juncture is realistic and practical. We have no inhibitions, and we welcome aid from any friendly country. But what we want to know is, why is it that we have not made any new request for arms from the United States? It has appeared in the papers that whatever aid we were getting from the United States, their supply would be completed by today, and it has been announced by the Department of the United States Government that there has been no fresh request from the Government of India in this regard. We want to know whether the aids that have already been received are sufficient, or are considered to be sufficient to meet our emergency requirements, or is it because—the Prime Minister will enlighten us on this—we have not been able to gear up the defence organisation to execute quickly our policy and take quick decisions, or, they themselves are not in a position to know the period we

have in view,—because, as has been said, it may be a long war—and to know what will be our total requirements. These are matters which need immediate attention.

Mr. Speaker: I do not think I will be able to give him more than 15 minutes. He has taken 13 minutes.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I am sorry I would like to have 10 more minutes, and I will finish within ten minutes. I know that a National Defence Council has been formed and that there is also an emergency Committee of the Cabinet. I would only suggest that that is not enough. It is better that we form a War Council consisting of the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, the Chiefs of Staff and some experienced generals like Gen. Thimayya who will look into this question, assess the position and take quick decisions. At the same time, we must also reorganise our civil administration in such a manner that the decisions are immediately executed. For that purpose, of course, there is some reshuffling in the Cabinet. A new Defence Minister is being appointed. Whether it is desirable to have a new Minister of Defence or whether the Prime Minister himself will continue to keep that portfolio for himself it is left to him to decide. But the need of the hour is that such large-sized Ministries, not only at the Centre but in the different States, should be streamlined and smaller Cabinets for that purpose should be established.

I will next take the question of political policy. I have no doubt in my mind, as I said, that our gallant soldiers and generals are equal to any army in the world and more than that, and will do a good job if complete freedom is given to them as to how to fight to secure our defence, and this flows out of the political decision that we take.

Now, the resignation of Mr. Menon has been accepted. Rightly, the Prime

Minister has taken a democratic decision. There is no reference in the House, of course, to that aspect. There is also the other thing. The Prime Minister has announced that we will have an inquiry commission to go into the question of reverses. So far as that question goes, I hope, a thorough investigation takes place as soon as the tension is eased and the responsibility either on the limbs of the administration or on the persons concerned is placed and they are thoroughly punished. But I have still a doubt in my mind on which I want a clarification from the Prime Minister. It is this. Mr. Menon has gone—it is all right. But I want to know whether the Government does realise that a certain emphasis, a certain twist, that was given to our defence policy for which we have paid such a heavy price has also been given up. That is the question I want to put. From the tone and temper of the speeches that the Prime Minister has made—I may be wrong, quite wrong—I have carried this impression that, as the Defence Minister stated on October 21, after the invasion of October 20—I mean the ex-Defence Minister—that we will fight on and on till they agree to negotiate. Are you really fighting for talks? Are our jawans shedding blood only to enable us to talk to the Chinese? What is the sanctity about the September 8 line? I fail to understand that. They have repeatedly refused it. They have threatened that military action alone can make India come to senses. That is their threat. When we fight, we fight for a victory. When we achieve victory, then only we are in an advantageous position to negotiate. Is this the time when we create confusion?

Sir, the only explanation that the Prime Minister has given to the Rajya Sabha is this, that it creates a good impression on the rest of the world. I am afraid, here again, we are again repeating our past mistakes and we are still slaves to our old ideas. What we want is this. What the people want is that we must get

back our territory not by negotiation, but by action. The Prime Minister himself in his Resolution, in the first para, has stated that China has betrayed his trust, the trust of the nation. Again, he has himself characterised this Chinese invasion as not an eighteenth century or nineteenth century attack but as a Hitler-like attack. If that is so, can he put any faith at all in the Chinese words? If we can trust the Chinese now, how is it that we still hope that any talks at any stage would be fruitful or would be honoured by such an enemy?

Now, Sir, about the world opinion, the less said the better. I humbly ask the Prime Minister: would this country have ever been able to free Goa if we had always looked to the world, as to what impression it would carry on the world? Because of this world opinion, we are paying a very heavy price in Kashmir. Let us not talk about it. For five years, the Prime Minister has repeatedly stated this. If the world opinion has not yet realised that the Prime Minister of India always stands for peace and we follow a peaceful policy, let them not understand it. Let us not devote more time on this. Let us devote more time on building up the morale of the country. Let us build up the atmosphere that the entire nation would stand together to fight the enemy with all the energy that they command.

Lastly, I want to refer to one thing and finish with that. I would not enter into the argument with the Prime Minister about the ideological aspects of this struggle. Two esteemed comrades of my party have spoken elaborately about it. But one thing is certain, when the Prime Minister says that it is the Hitler-like attack. It should be remembered that Hitler, whenever he planned attack—it is not only a military attack—he had planned it before how to create confusion and weaken the morale of the civilian population in the respective democratic countries which he could

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overrun without any great difficulty and he had quislings all over the world.

Here is a situation where we are more interested in really building up the morale of the country and where there are elements in the country which are by their speeches, by the action, by the talks, negotiations, this and that, are trying to create this type of mentality amongst the people. It may be communists' intentions: it may not be communists' intentions. If our Prime Minister could not believe communist China, I do not know how could he believe in the words of Indian communists. After all, the communists are brothers, whether they belong to India or to China. Therefore, I would again humbly submit to him that these aspects of the question should be given serious consideration for the very thing that in this country we do not want any confusion whatsoever to be spread amongst the people at this juncture. I would go so far as to suggest, as he has said while explaining the Communist Resolution, that this Resolution of the Communist Party probably has helped other communist parties in the world to understand the Chinese position—if that is so—then let our communist friends be sent to all other communist countries excepting China, let them go as goodwill delegations and explain to the communist countries the right stand of India and till the pendency of war, let them remain there.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Sir, I must confess that I am speaking with a considerable amount of restraint today, primarily for the reason that the subject does not allow any free speeches on details and secondly because on this subject we cannot afford to be very exuberant and then again the people are not in the know of facts. Therefore, it is not possible to discuss this subject in detail because, after all, military strategy and all the matters are such on which the people have a

little knowledge and I do not have much knowledge. But, as the House has already been discussing for one or two days, there are some salient points which cannot miss the attention. This is one thing.

I would—since there is a limited time—just enumerate the points that I have noted down. This must be confessed—and I feel like confessing—that there was a state of unpreparedness as far as this attack is concerned and the Prime Minister also so candidly confessed it. In fact, we have been duped by China because we were always under the impression that the negotiations could yield result or fruit. But China has been using this as a sort of camouflage, just going on making preparations. Every time, when there is some arrangement for negotiations, they go on making preparations for war and we honestly wait for the result of negotiations. This is a bad strategy.

Sir, I must say, now again there is the talk of negotiations. In the first place, I might warn the Prime Minister that, whatever be his views, I mean, today, it is not a question of causing any annoyance to any person or so and that the country's cause is much dearer than any person's cause. I must tell him that people are not happy with any idea of negotiations now. They are feeling very much annoyed and if he starts any negotiations, he must take pretty good care to see that the sentiments of our people are not hurt now. But there is one thing which I must also confess and that is that these negotiations are also helpful. A war is a strategical war, where you would want time to prepare yourself as China has been doing all right. If there is some pretence for negotiations, I would frankly say—but on the other hand you must be making full-fledged preparations—I would not mind delay because I wish there must be some delay so that we might just put up our arrangements on a proper footing.

The Prime Minister has also once mentioned it. There is some misunderstanding about the aims of the war, whether Chinese only expect to gain some territory or it is the ideological war. I am of the view that it is both. It is for an accession of territory as well as ideological. If it were not ideological, then all the rest of the countries, the eastern countries, all the other communist countries should not have kept silent as they have done now. It is quite obvious now.

The country is shocked. Everybody knows that the entire generation stands today as one man to fight the enemy. But, Sir, I must also confess that in the Government I do not find, at least we have not been able to just feel or sense, that sense of emergency as the people feel. I think the people have beaten the Government down in their enthusiasm. If there is anything, it is quietly going on. All normal things are running on absolutely in the normal way—on Saturday there is a holiday, Sundays are holidays, things are moving and files are going. I do not know what special arrangements have been made. That is one thing which I want to stress. Even this Parliament—I may be pardoned, Sir.....

Mr. Speaker: I must convey to him that at least in the Army Saturdays and Sundays are not now holidays.

Shri Tyagi: Then I come to the question of principles. We on this side of the House belong to a party. We have got our own aims, our own policies and our own objectives. We are not going to change them. For instance, the non-alignment policy is one on which we have withstood all sorts of criticisms so long. We are not going to give it up. That is a fact. Another thing is the socialist pattern of society. That is our aim. We have been opposing communism only because we have got our own pattern of society about which we have considered, we have decided

and on which we have faith. We must bring it up. These are the principles on which we stand—at least our party. We are not going to budge an inch

But I want to make one thing quite clear. Our policy of non-alignment is not to be used as a religious dogma. Any policy of a politician cannot be used as a religious faith. We have got to go according to the times, emergencies and all things. All those things have to be taken into account. So politics is also a sort of strategy. So long as we do not lose our principle or aim, it is open to us how to behave at a particular time. Even during the non-cooperation days Gandhiji was very keen that we must all be non-violent; but we sometimes indulged in violent activities. By that our principle was not lost. Therefore, this policy of non-alignment is not to be treated as a dogma. In this connection, Sir, I might just refer to you the case of Communists, for instance, during the last war. I have here *Mr. Churchill's Memoirs*. I shall read a portion from it for the interest of the Parliament. He says:

“Up to the moment when the Soviet Government was set upon by Hitler they seemed to care for no one but themselves. Afterwards this mood naturally became more marked. Hitherto they had watched with stony composure the destruction of the front in the Balkans. They had given important economic aid to Nazi Germany.....”

Sir, this is to be noted—Soviet Russia giving aid to Nazi Germany. Then it says:

“...and had helped them in many minor ways.”

But their policy or their aims were not in the least affected. He goes on to say:

“Now, having been deceived and taken by surprise, they were themselves under the flaming

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German sword. Their first impulse and lasting policy was to demand all possible succour from Great Britain.....".

Even USA never felt they were violating their own principles or policies when they were in distress. They went and demanded all possible succour from Great Britain and her Empire. Further it says:

"...the possible partition of which between Stalin and Hitler had for the last eight months beguiled Soviet minds from the progress of German concentration in the East. They did not hesitate to appeal in urgent and strident terms to harassed and struggling Britain to send them the munitions of which her armies were so short."

Same is our case today. It goes on to say:

"They urged the United States to divert to them the largest quantities of the supplies on which we were counting, and, above all, even in the summer of 1941 they clamoured for British landings in Europe regardless of risk and cost, to establish a second front. The British Communists, who had hitherto done their worst which was not much, in our factories.....".

Now he talks about his own Communists. We have also our Indian Communists. He said:

"The British Communists, who had hitherto done their worst, which was not much, in our factories, and had denounced the 'capitalist and imperialist war', turned about again overnight and began to scrawl the slogan 'Second Front Now' upon the walls and hoardings."

This was in the times of stress. Therefore, I submit, if we take bulk

aid from the United States, the United Kingdom or from other countries, let it not be misunderstood that we are falling into the trap of other countries as far as ideology is concerned.

I shall quote a few more lines about the pact they arrived at.

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the U.S.S.R. have agreed and declare as follows:

(1) The two Governments mutually undertake to render each other assistance of all kinds in the present war against Germany.

(2) They further undertake that during this war they will neither negotiate nor conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement."

This was the agreement arrived at between two warring ideologies. Now, if we take some bulk help from some countries, all types of motives are being attributed. I, therefore, say that maintaining our full-fledged non-alignment policy we must be free to accept aid of whatever nature it may be that is needed in this time of emergency.

I must also confess that the statements of Her Majesty the Queen and the Prime Minister of England in their Parliament and President Kennedy in the United States of America have really touched the very heart of our nation. We are very much indebted particularly to the United Kingdom whom we fought and fought like anything. We have been their prisoners for years together—the Prime Minister and all. Despite all that unpleasantness they have come forward because they realise that it is an ideological war which might upset India's freedom. I do not believe that they will restrain themselves in Ladakh or NEFA or somewhere. They might go further.

I must warn, Sir, that our position in Assam is very precarious today.

It is a narrow strip of 35 miles which is the connecting link. It is very risky. The emergency laws have been promulgated by the President. I think the correct time has come when we must see to it that they are as a strategy applied to the border States with full force. Otherwise, there is the fear of trouble in Assam any moment. The Pakistanis have blocked our ships in the river Brahmaputra. I am glad our friend Dr. Ram Subhag Singh had been there and he has made some arrangement for the supply of food and other stores there. But we are in trouble. Navigation has been stopped in Brahmaputra. This is what the Pakistanis are doing. I do not know what their intentions are. That is another danger before the country. Let us, therefore, not sleep over it. We must beware of all that.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Rai-ganj): They have stopped the traffic from Calcutta to Assam.

Shri Tyagi: Yes. There is only a narrow little road or rail which connects us. As soon as that is cut off we are cut off. That is the position. It is a very important and serious matter.

Sir, I do not want to talk about all these matters on the floors of this House. I only want to just draw the attention of the Prime Minister to these problems. I hope he has already got them all in view.

It is surprising that Australia should be supplying wool and wheat to China still. Australia is a Commonwealth country, and we expect the least that at this moment our enemy should be provided with food by another friend. It is in war, Sir, that friends and foes are all put on trial.

The Warsaw Pact countries are silent today. Let us stick to our

policy of non-alignment, but we must also know who is who. If they are not friends in need they are not friends indeed. I must, therefore, say, whatever might be the sympathy of our politicians towards them—maintain it—their silence is calculated.

About Indian Communists, I am very glad there are friends as charming as Shrimati Renu Chakravarty whose speech was full of patriotism. But they cannot deny that there are other comrades in the country who do not see eye to eye with them. I say, Sir, whether they be Congressmen, PSP members or Communists, we go by individuals. Any individual who is now patriotically inclined and is actively supporting our war efforts must be taken into confidence and all those who are suspects must be suspects whether they are in this party or in that party and enough vigilance is to be kept over them.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member must conclude now.

Shri Tyagi: Sir, I am speaking after a long time.

Acts of sabotage in the Darjeeling District have come to our notice. What are the Government doing? What is their Intelligence Department doing? They must be alert now. It is a border district. Chits are being distributed with the promise that when the Chinese come they will pay as much price to you and for your grain etc. All this is going on. What are these emergency laws meant for? As soon as they were promulgated we expected that they would be applied. They are not being applied in the manner in which they should have been applied.

Sir, I will cut short and come to civil defence. There is a lot of talk about our total mobilisation. I do not know what it means. The Government must eschew all types of slogans now. The Government should take note of it. Things must be done actually and not said or talked about.

An Hon. Member: That is correct.

Shri Tyagi: Under this total mobilisation, it is said, every student shall have NCC training. Do you expect all the students to go to the Army? Why waste your military talent there? I would suggest that in the border area the villagers must be provided with rifle training. It is no use teaching marching right and left. All that is of little use in the Army today. The whole pattern of Army warfare has been changed. I suggest that we go further. In the border area the villagers must be provided with rifles so that they may have a sense of security to start with and may have that national and patriotic spirit to fight the enemy.

Then, I can well understand mass mobilisation had they taken note of as to how many overseers and engineers are engaged in the private sector. Are we so sleepy that we have taken it for granted that China would not go further and start bombing places? If war goes on, the strategy of war is that they must upset and destroy our industries. Have we taken enough precautions against air raids? They say that air raids may not come. I do not rely upon the hopes of these politicians. India's fate cannot be risked on hopes and expectations. Even if it is a waste let it be a waste but we must now prepare ourselves fully for anti-aircraft weapons. Air protection must be given. I do not know what the strength of our Air Force is but thousands of planes must be had now and we must have bulk aid at any cost. This is what I emphasise and the House also agrees with that.

I am sorry that our information has not been quite upto the mark. Last night I tuned in to Peking Radio and the House will be surprised to know the manner in which they are doing propaganda. They say, "There is chaos in India. Prices are mounting too high. Unemployment is on the increase. Nehru is the biggest bourgeois. The cultivators are

unhappy on account of high rents. Prestige of the Congress Party is at the lowest ebb. Nehru is out of date—a symbol of imperialist feudal forces."

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): You are carrying the Chinese propaganda.

Shri Tyagi: This is their propaganda. They say, "Indian troops opened fire on 1982 occasions."

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Why are you relaying it here?

Shri Tyagi: This is the propaganda that they are doing to influence our own people. Further, they say, "Socialistic pattern of society is a hoax." This type of propaganda is being done in Hindi and in English on the one side and we are still behaving like this.

Mr. Speaker: Now the hon. Member must conclude.

Shri Tyagi: I shall say a few words about economy. We must eschew all non-essential expenditure. I am afraid, the Government is not doing it. It is wrong to beg even a pie from the people if the Government are not justified in their way of living, their way of behaviour and their administration. They have not eschewed all non-essentials. Essentials must be pursued. Various types of huge expenditure is being incurred. What is the sense in that? Even in the British days they were not spending like that. Every time there is an annual report of every public sector plant. Its cover alone will cost Rs. -[8]- or Rs. -[9]-. What is all this? It looks cheapish, I must say. I am very much against them. We must put an end to extravagance in the Government and I hope Parliament will support me in this.

Shri Morarka (Jhunjhunu): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the House has been considering for the last four days the two Resolutions moved by the hon. Prime Minister. These Resolutions hardly

raise any controversy. This, according to me, is hardly an occasion for entering into any controversy or for scoring any debating point. The issue before the House is very simple, namely, that China has committed a naked aggression, a ferocious attack and a brutal invasion. They have in their possession several thousand square miles of our territory and they have killed several of our jawans. We have to meet this attack, throw back the enemy and win this war. There are no two opinions about that and, I submit, there can be no two opinions on this proposition.

It is idle and irrelevant at this stage to enquire why the Chinese have committed this aggression. It may be that they wanted to disrupt our economic development, or that they wanted to expand their empire, or that they wanted to humiliate India in the world, particularly, before Asia. Or, it may be that they wanted to expand their Communist ideology. Whatever it may be, an enquiry of that nature is irrelevant now for the purpose of our army. It may have some relevance for our diplomats.

The hon. Prime Minister, while moving the Resolutions, said that for the last five years India has been confronted with China's aggression in the North. It is true that we were having difficulties with China but it was never expected that China would launch such a massive attack on India. That is the reason why India did not prepare fully for the purpose of a war with China. These aggressions were being committed on India for the last five years and unfortunately we could not stop them. President Kennedy recently said in the context of Cuba:—

"Aggressive conduct, if allowed to grow unchecked and unchallenged, ultimately leads to war."

In the House of Lords Earl Attlee said the other day:—

"If you do not stand up against aggression you are helping the aggressor."

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It is a good ideal to be self-sufficient in defence production and to meet all the defence requirements from our own home production. But we cannot forget that a modern war needs almost everything that is produced. There is hardly anything which is not needed by Defence. There is hardly any country in the world today which can fight a modern war depending entirely upon her own resources. Even the most advanced countries with long industrial background and of military history and with experience of several wars had to take help from other countries. The development of defence industries is not only a long-drawn out process but it requires the support of a network of technological laboratories and scientific institutions which, again, cannot be created in a short time. Therefore we should not hesitate or have any inhibitions in obtaining our requirements of arms, ammunition, weapons and other equipment from friendly countries. We have our principles not to have military alliances or to have military aid from any country. There are second principles and consistent with our policy of non-alignment. But, I ask, is it not that only free people are entitled to have principles? What principles can the satellites have and what is the value of those principles? Therefore, even in order to preserve our policy of political neutrality and our policy of non-alignment, it is necessary to become strong. We can become strong only by having the arms and equipment that we need. If our courage is ever to be trusted and our claims ever to be recognised again by either friends or foes in the world, it is imperative for us to win this war.

13 hrs.

Our policy of non-alignment or neutrality can be best sustained by our strength and not by our weakness. We must be strong, not to commit aggression but to prevent it. Unless we are strong, our neutrality and our independence will always be in jeopardy. We would run the constant risk of being dragged into

[Shri Morarka]

a war. It is a lamentable fact, but it is a true fact even in this era of civilisation in the 20th century that our rights can be preserved only by our might.

We are grateful to the nations who have expressed their sympathies to us in this hour of crisis. We are still more grateful to the nations who have sent us the military equipment, arms, etc. which we needed so urgently. We have received active help from the U.S.A., the U.K., Canada, France and other western countries. We have also received full moral support from Malaya. It is disappointing that the Communist countries with which also we have very friendly relations, have not given us any material assistance, nor have they even expressed a few words of sympathy. This is not a help for our development purposes, for our economic development or for our Third Five Year Plan which they may or may not offer. This is the help which we needed for our very existence, for survival of our freedom and democracy.

In this context, I would like to refer only to the attitude of the U.S.S.R., not to say of Czechoslovakia which has sent 14 train loads of arms to China. What has the U.S.S.R. advised us? Their first advice is not to appeal to the western countries for arms because it would involve India in the cold war. The second advice of their U.N.O. delegate, Mr. Zorin, is, don't put any pre-condition for negotiations; start negotiations without any conditions with China. The third advice is, that the McMahon line. . . .

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore): Has it not revised that attitude?

Shri Morarka: They have not revised it officially so far, because I have at least not read anything where they have suggested that we should not negotiate. Even now, their papers regard the Chinese proposals as constructive suggestions and as an ex-

pression of goodwill and we should pursue them.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: On reasonable terms: that is the word qualifying.

Shri Morarka: About the McMahon line about which the hon. Lady Member from the Communist party also spoke, this is what the Russian paper "Pravada" had to say:

"The notorious McMahon line which was never recognised by China was foisted on the Chinese and Indian peoples. Imperialist quarters did everything within their power to provoke an armed clash by speculating on the border conflicts connected with this line."

These are the views which the U.S.S.R. has about the McMahon line.

Not only this. All the modern arms and equipment which China is using today against Russia. . . .

An Hon. Member: I wish it were so.

Shri Morarka: . . . I mean India, are made in Russia. Last but not least, it seems that if Russia is serious that China should come to terms with India, Russia is in a position to bring it about because Russia controls today the very valuable requirement of war which it supplies to China, namely petroleum. There is no other country from where China is getting this. If Russia stopped petroleum even for 10 days, China will have to come to terms with India. In the past, no doubt Russia has helped us and we have helped Russia, not only on terms of reciprocity, but on the principles of Pandh Sheel and friendship. But I am sorry to say that Russia has not come up to the expectations of the Indian people. The Indian people are therefore feeling really doubtful about the genuineness of Russian friendship.

Contrast this with what the Western countries, namely the U.S.A. and the U.K., have done for India. The first thing they have done is, categorically, they have recognised the McMahon line as the northern boundary of India. They have generously supplied all our needs of arms and equipment and have promised to supply whatever more we needed. Not only this. For our sake, they have asked Pakistan to come to some understanding at least for a temporary period so that our military forces which are locked up on the Pakistan border may be released. They have approved—this is important—our policy of non-alignment. Both the U.S.A. and the U.K. have given unqualified support to our policy of non-alignment. I may quote here what Ambassador Mr. Galbraith said the other day here in New Delhi:

“The military assistance which the United States is giving India is not intended to involve India in a military alliance or otherwise influence her policy of non-alignment. We have often said that we accept India's policy in this regard. We would not change our stand now. I told the Prime Minister this a week ago on Monday. The same point was made last week in the United States by the Assistant Secretary of State, Phillips Talbot. Our aid is designed to help defend India's independence and not to compromise it.”

Similarly, in the House of Commons, Harold Wilson said:

“More, let us have no sneering about India's neutrality. . . . because at crucial moments in the history of the past ten years, that neutrality has enabled India to exert decisive influence in securing peace, first in Korea and at a critical moment in Indo-China.”

All the countries which are giving military help that we need are in full agreement and they have approved our policy of non-alignment completely.

Sir, I wish to make a few suggestions. My first suggestion is that the Government of India should borrow from the people gold. The gold should be borrowed repayable after 15 or 20 years and without any interest. I have a feeling that if you borrow gold from the people for the purposes of war, you would get most of the gold that is lying in hoards. My second suggestion is that the Defence bonds which we are issuing here may also be sold abroad. During the last world war, the British war bonds were sold on the continent. Thirdly, we must set up a machinery right from now to mop up the extra money income of business, industry and other rich people by additional taxation and that of farmers and labourers by compulsory saving. My fourth proposal is, to increase our production, we must for the duration of the emergency, to increase the working hours from 8 to 9. The next suggestion is, to import raw materials, stores and spares on whatever terms possible for our defence industries particularly and utilise all the idle capacity of our industrial units. Finally, I say, secure arms, aircrafts and other equipments, the latest and best available from any country that can give us and get them not only to meet the present emergency, but also to provide against future contingencies.

In this context, I wish to say a word about modern arms. When a suggestion was made that we must have foreign experts here to train our people, objection was taken. I am myself not in favour of having any foreign troops to fight our battles. We have enough of our own. We have better soldiers than any other part of the world has. But, the point is, modern arms and equipment are very intricate, complicated and of special nature. For that purpose, if we have to have trainers, there is no use in saying on ideological grounds that we should not have these people here. If you are not going to have trainers here, but have only arms and ammunition, how is that going to serve the purpose?

[Shri Morarka]

In this context, I would like to give you a small quotation from the speech of Brig. Sir John Smyth, who, speaking in the House of Commons the other day, and who has experience of 30 years' stay in India, said:

"However, the Indians do need very urgently modern weapons and it is no good sending those modern weapons unless we send with them personnel who can really explain them to the Indian units and teach them how to use them."

He made it clear that non-combatant personnel should be sent. He did not say that any troops should be sent here.

A modern war, according to me, cannot be fought only on the battlefield. The efforts of the soldiers on the battle-field have to be supplemented by the diplomacy in the drawing rooms or the banquet halls. Both the Generals and the diplomats have to do their respective jobs. Both have their respective fields to do their duty in. I feel that since this is an expert job, and we have the experts of both the types, they must be given a free hand, both of them, to show their mettle. The political affiliations, military alliances and foreign co-operation are all arranged by diplomats, and these are the things which ultimately determine the fate of a modern war.

In conclusion, I would only say one or two words about this emergency. During an emergency like war, such as the present one, many things have to be suspended; I say 'suspended' deliberately, and I want to distinguish it from 'given up'. The supreme task before the nation remains only one, and that is to win the war; everything else comes next. Emergency is declared, our fundamental rights are suspended, and in future, more steps may be taken to meet the situation. In war-times, strange things happen. You know that during the last world

war, the USA and the USSR formed into a military alliance only to throw out the totalitarian regime of Hitler. If the two diametrically opposite ideologies of the USA and the USSR could come together to win a common war, there is no difficulty for us in temporarily relaxing our principle to obtain the aid that we so badly need for winning the war, from whatever source it may come.

Finally, I would say this that our nation is a nation of peace. We never wanted a war. It has been forced on us. Even now, if peace is coming to us, we would welcome it, but we want an honourable peace, a peace without gain to the aggressor.

Shrimati Vijaya Raje (Chatra):
Before I commence, I would like to pay my tribute to those great sons of India who have lost their lives in the defence of our country. No words of praise are enough to describe their acts of exemplary courage which will be written in letters of gold in the pages of Indian history. The best tribute that we can pay them under the circumstances would be to stand united in this hour of our severest trial, until we have driven away every Chinese soldier from out of our territory.

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

My hon. friend Shrimati Renu Chakravartty was very critical, the other day, of the Swatantra Party and doubted its sincerity. For her infor-

mation, I would like to say that the president of the Bihar State Swatantra Party has offered his helicopter to the Prime Minister to be used as an ambulance plane, apart from offering his personal services. For my part, I have already written to the Prime Minister and have offered my personal services in whichever field he might choose to use them, and have donated half of my salary which I draw as a Member of this House, till the end of the hostilities.

The tragedy in NEFA has been rendered more poignant because of the manner in which our troops have been killed. I hope that Government will see to it that a mistake of this magnitude is not repeated, lest the future historians of the world may give this verdict on India that here is a country which sent her troops to the battle-front with their boots on but with no ammunitions in their pockets.

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

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

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

We are glad that the Governments of Sikkim and Bhutan have lent their support and have assured us of their friendship. I hope Government will do everything in their power to help them to maintain their territorial integrity.

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

It is now not only a question of our survival but of the survival of democracy in this world. If India fails to defend her frontiers and falls a victim to the Chinese aggressor, then, one of the strongest bastions of democracy would have fallen and a great light gone out of this world.

We who are wedded to the principles of democracy and have tried religiously to follow them in our national and international policies must do everything in our power to maintain and preserve it at any cost.

Now, the strange factor that has come to light in this time of strain and stress is the peculiar attitude of certain countries with whom we have had close and most cordial relations in the past. I would particularly like to mention the attitude of the UAR in the initial stages who only came out with an offer of mediation. It is an irony of fate that we who so eagerly took up the cause of Egypt during the Suez crisis, even pushing into the background the Hungarian revolution of 1956 where even school-going children fell victims to the Russian tanks, and on which issue we then thought it proper to talk with great restraint, should only receive an offer of mediation which at its best is, as Lord Home is reported to have very aptly described as an offer of mediation between a burglar and his victim.

Sir, I think, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to all those countries and particularly to the United States of America and the United Kingdom and Canada for their unstinted support and the prompt manner in which they responded to our appeal for arms.

[Shrimati Vijaya Rajee]

I agree, Sir, with the views expressed by my esteemed colleague, Shri Anthony, that, had it not been for this timely aid, we would not have been able to stabilise our position in the NEFA so quickly. I am sorry to say that no special reference is made to these great countries in the Resolution moved by Hon'ble Prime Minister. Though in the past our policies tended to create some misunderstandings, there has been, by and large, great deal of sympathy and understanding of our problems in these countries. It seems absurd, therefore, to say that we should still insist on getting this aid on payment basis. We are fighting a formidable foe on our frontiers. I fail to understand, Sir, why we should not accept this aid in the gracious spirit in which it is offered. Drawing on our past experience of China and following the present trend of events today, we should be prepared for the very worst and even an aerial bombardment should not be considered altogether an impossibility.

Therefore, Sir, I suggest that we should lose no time in constructing proper air raid shelters in all important towns and cities in our country so as to make the people prepared for such an eventuality.

Secondly, Sir, I would suggest that a proper scheme should be worked out for the rehabilitation of all the families of our disabled soldiers and particularly those who have lost their lives in the battlefield.

Thirdly, Sir, I suggest that all cultural delegations to foreign countries should be stopped forthwith. The number of officers sent abroad to negotiate trade agreements, etc. should also be reduced to the minimum.

Then, my last suggestion is that we should do away with the luxury of maintaining Governors in each State; but, if it is found to be a necessity, I would say that the President should appoint Zonal Governors. This, in my

opinion, will, to a large extent control the expenditure that is incurred in maintaining these large high-salaried posts. Of course, Sir, economy in all branches of administration should be imposed very strictly. In the end, Sir, I will sum up my speech in the words of the Vedic Seers:

‘उत्तिष्ठ जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान्नि बोधत’

“Arise, Awake, and stop not till the goal is reached”.

Shri H. P. Chatterjee (Nabadwip): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am an independent member out and out though I sit here in the Communist bloc and pardon me if I give my views that may not be the views of others here. They are only my personal views. The C.P.I. has passed a very good resolution. They are totally with us, I know. All of them are with us. How well did Professor Mukherjee and Shrimati Renu Chakravartty speak? We should not question their bonafides. That is very wrong if we do that. We should not question each other about our bonafides.

Now, Sir, let me go to the problem before us. I say that the first mistake that we did was that, because of our love of the Chinese, we were simply blind and allowed them to do whatever they liked. When the Chinese attacked Tibet, we should have taken notice of that. If Nepal could get representation in the United Nations, what fault had Tibet committed that it should not have that? In 1951, when the Chinese were just entering Tibet, I went there, crossing Nathula on foot. I am accustomed to mountains. I offer my services here for the front. In the first World War, I was in the University Corps with Netaji Subash Chandra Bose and I have had some military training. If Government send me there, I am going to fight the Chinese there. I offer my services.

When I was there in Tibet, the Tibetans who were very anxious and worried immediately asked me: "Why is it that you are not objecting to this Chinese invasion of our Country?" I said that "You are historically and culturally akin to them". They said "No, we are more akin to you, our mystic formula for prayer that we repeat is 'Ohm Mani Padme Hum'. That is clearly Sanskrit. The Chinese write from the top to bottom but we write like you from left to right. We are more akin to you. So, why don't you object to this invasion?" Sir, there is a strong argument in favour of that. I find that we do something and afterwards we repent. We partitioned our country. Was that right? I do not say that all mistakes can be rectified. Now we cannot take back Pakistan. Now, to free Tibet, we shall have to go over the Himalayas and fight the Chinese. That may not be possible. But enlightened world opinion should compel China to disgorge Tibet. The Tibetans said: "We are a different nation; sometimes the Manchus invaded us and sometimes we invaded them. Why do you allow us to be swallowed by them?" Now, Sir, you see that this so-called Communism is nothing but jingoism. That is worse than Nietzscheism, Bonapartism and Hitlerism. They are now thrusting their own system of Government on Tibet. If this is allowed, then, we cannot object to colonialism. They, the Chinese, were the first to sign *panchsheel*, that is, the five principles of co-existence with us. In spite of our two different systems of Government, we proclaimed that we can live in peace, all over the world. That was right. But now you see what has happened. They have given good-bye to all sense of decency by violating the five principles of co-existence. Instead of settling border disputes by friendly talks they invaded our country and wherever they come, they say, that is their frontier. Even on the 11th of November, in the *People's Daily*, they have written that they were taking more territory of India to teach Indians a lesson.

They say that we are lackeys of the western democracies. That is the way they speak, they write and they think about us. They were once jingoists and war-mongers. They adopted Communism but could not shed their jingoism. They have ill-digested Communism. They are after world hegemony. In fighting this menace we should be serious enough and we should stand by the Government, whoever may be running the Government. I differed from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on many matters. I was there in the Congress for 30 years. For the last 12 years I was not there, because I found that the common man was neglected. But this is not the time to raise all these questions. Full loyalty should be given to the Government. Since he is now running the Government, we should all stand behind him and try our level best to see that we come out successful in this great calamity that has overtaken us. If we do not take steps in time, soon, Assam will be cut off and Pakistan will stab us in the back. I am afraid that all these things may happen.

In the latest article of *Pravda* on 5th of November, they have objected to one-sided aid by western democracies being given to us. When they fought Hitler, U.S.A. gave them one-sided aid. If that is permitted, why can't this be permitted in our case? As I said, we should stand by the Government, whoever may be running the Government. We should at once go in for conscription. Wherever we could get our arms, we should take them. No doubt, non-alignment is the best policy.

Russia, of course, is a different proposition. I had been there recently. You were also there. They have great love and respect for us. But at this crisis, when our country has been attacked, if they now do not check their ally, what shall we think of them? Did they not get aid from the U.S.A. when Hitler attacked them? What is wrong in our getting aid from the U.S.A? *Pravda* in its issue of 5th

[Shri H. P. Chatterjee]

November has displayed a tone which is slightly better than it did in its previous article on the subject. But even in the latest comment, it has asked why the western democracies are helping only one side. Did the USA help Germany during the last war? They helped only one side. Do the Russians want the U.S. people to see that we are butchered by the Chinese hordes, these jingoes? They are nothing short of jingoes. See how they have attacked us, unprovoked. After all preparation, they are hurtling down upon us over the Himalayas like an avalanche with their tanks, mortars and other war weapons. We were unprepared. We are a peace-loving people. We believed in them. If our leader has erred, he has erred for his great love of peace. Pandit Nehru is known all over the world for his love of peace. If he has erred, it is in that respect that he has erred.

Now, we should not raise any controversial question. Inter-party feuds should be stopped. We should all stand by the Government as one man. We should work in that way. Even at this old age, if need be, I offer my services. I may go to the front if they send me. I shall love it. This is the time when we must be very serious. There is no question of ideology and other things. Non-alignment or non-alignment is not the question now. We must stop this invasion of our country.

This is my opinion which I want to go on record as an Independent Member. I am very sorry to see certain trends that are not desirable. The Prime Minister does not want that. Certain things are happening which should not happen. There are my communist friends. They are very serious about this; they want that the Chinese should be stopped. But they are ridiculed. This is not the correct thing. We are not fighting the Chinese by talking like this. I know that the communists are serious in this matter. I attend their parliamentary party

meetings also. So I can speak about it. Let all party feuds be stopped now. Let us all combine and fight the Chinese.

Dr. Melkote (Hyderabad): As per your statement, I wish to make my observations brief and short. I rise to support wholeheartedly the Resolutions so ably moved by our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

It is our first duty to offer condolences to the bereaved families of our gallant jawans who are no more with us today. They have fallen as a result of fighting the brutal aggressor, the Communist Chinese. All glory to them. Next, it is our duty to warmly congratulate our fighting forces who are stemming the onrush of massive Chinese forces on our frontiers on the snowclad Himalayas. They are writing history with blood. All praise and victory to them. They deserve all our support and we assure them that they would not ever be forgotten or forsaken.

Thirdly, we appreciate the magnificent response in men, blood and money that the country has come forward to offer in response to the appeal made by the Prime Minister. We are afraid that this affair with China is going to be a long-drawn affair and, therefore, it has become necessary to channelise all this patriotic fervour in the right direction so that the response that has been evoked may sustain all times. All glory to our people.

Fourthly the first casualty that occurs in a war is truth. All glory to our Prime Minister who has been truthfully giving out facts, a thing that has occurred for the first time in world history.

Fifthly, as a responsible office-bearer of the biggest national organisation of the workers, the INTUC, and as the President of the National Defence and Telegraph Federation, may I be permitted to mention that all

the workers in the factories, the public and the private sector included, the ordnance factories, the workers in the Telegraph Communication Department and the Railways have all been quickened by a magnificent patriotic fervour, the like of which has never been seen before, and they all have taken a decision not merely not to go on a strike but to work hard and harder every minute of their lives and to offer the maximum production in every sector. They have already come forward to donate a day's wage, many have enlisted in the fighting forces, many have offered blood and clothing. But this is not all. They have expressed their willingness to work round the clock, to make not merely no demand whatsoever till the enemy is thrown out of our border and the country is rid of this menace, but to work not just for 8 hours a day but as many more hours as may be needed on every day of the week for the nation.

Under these circumstances, it is necessary for Government to consider whether it is not feasible to accept this extra work, if necessary free of wages for a part of the time, after the usual hours of work have been put in, rather than cut a day's wage. I leave it at this but desire to reiterate that our workers in the fields and factories are prepared to make every kind of sacrifice to uphold the honour, dignity and valour of our beloved motherland. I appeal to the Prime Minister to take work from them. They are our valiant soldiers working behind the lines. They should be treated as such and if this dignity is evoked, the nation would have created a bulwark for the sustenance of democracy and valiant soldiers for stemming any enemy anywhere. Would our leaders pay heed to this appeal?

Before I proceed further, let me warn our leaders in the Government not to tinker with the sentiments of our people. The families of the fighting forces, their little children at home, the small property or a few

acres of land left behind by our valiant jawans have all to be tended carefully by the nation. The jawans should be made to have an easy mind and to concentrate their attention on the enemy. Let their absence from their homes not be permitted to be taken advantage of by any unsocial elements anywhere. The family and property of the jawan are the first care of the nation. It is absolutely necessary that the nation should pay attention to this seriously.

Let me turn to the policies of the Government. Nothing is easier than to attack these policies. It is easy to appear to be wise after the event. But may I ask all those who have so far criticised the policies laid down by our Prime Minister whether they were right in doing so? As serious students of history, they should have known by now that these 50 years we, the Indian nation, have contributed to the real writing of the history of this world. We have made epoch-making history all along. The manner we won our freedom, the manner we have worked with our five-year plans these 15 years the manner we have helped in our own small way the weaker nations of the world to attain their independence and the way we have worked to end war and usher in peace so that man may attain dignity and work for his all round betterment is all known to the world. Can we have done any better? Whether politics-ridden governments support us or not is immaterial. We have struck a wonderful soft cord in the hearts of all the men and women of the world for the lead we have given to usher in real peace and prosperity in this world. Is this a small matter? Was not all this due to the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, which kindled godliness in the hearts of people? Has not this noble tradition been carried forward boldly and unflinchingly by our Prime Minister?

Our opponents may ask us today, of what avail is all this? What avail? What a question? Are we to follow

[Dr. Melkote]

the mentality of others and in turn turn ourselves to brutes? Non-violence of the brave is what has been taught to us. Unflinchingly we shall fight and fight with arms too, because we have yet to learn and evolve techniques and prepare ourselves to face such perfidious attacks on a non-violent nation.

But even otherwise, are we justified in criticising our Government's policies? Is it not a fact that the magnificent result achieved by democratic planning has been the admiration of the world? I am aware of the drawbacks. We could have done much better. But was not this a challenge to the totalitarian planning by the communist countries? Would they have survived if we had succeeded? It is my conviction that it is not the MacMahon Line that has caused the ire of China; it was our democratic planning that was coming in the way of their imperial expansionist designs. We are coming in their way. If we now succeed in stemming the onrush of the Chinese forces and succeed thereafter in our planned economy, what better prospect could we hold for democracy than this?

We have a vast population, poverty stalking us due to centuries of foreign domination, with illiteracy and ill-health and starvation facing our population, and with not-too-friendly a neighbour, Pakistan, but having on our borders communists of the worst brand along the northern border, with weak neighbours on other sides, what better could we have done to sustain democracy than to ask for peaceful co-existence and non-alignment as our policy? The critics may say that this was a wrong policy. Is it so? The alternative was to join the ranks of the communist nations or the democratic nations. In either case, you had to arm yourself to the teeth. Was this to have been your

policy? You willingly accepted to give a lead to other nations on how nations should live amicably, and if you had armed yourself, could you have carried conviction? Shri Rajagopalachari, Shri Dhebar Bhai and Shri Divakar met with response everywhere, and our leaders in Russia as well, just because you talked and acted what the heart said and that is why the nations gave us a hearing.

Mr. Speaker: It cannot be more than ten minutes.

Shri Lahri Singh (Rohtak): He is reading, from A to Z.

Mr. Speaker: If it is to be read, it should not be more than ten minutes.

Dr. Melkote: Let us not forget we wrote glorious history under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership and have already written a few chapters of glorious history under the superb and noble leadership of our Prime Minister. I say all glory to Panditji for his unswerving loyalty to ideals. It is not given to man to see the future. But let me assure you and let there be no mistaking in that, we would have no other leadership than Panditji, and all this talk of change of leadership is frittering away the national energy at a time when we should conserve it most. I repeat again, all glory to Panditji. I congratulate him for so readily responding to the sentiments of the people in dropping Shri Krishna Menon, and God willing, under the spirited leadership of Panditji and the new Defence Minister, Shri Chavan, we shall write the valiant history of the brave.

I spoke of Shri Krishna Menon. But let me congratulate him warmly as well. I have had occasion to rub him on what he thought the wrong side. He is an intellectual giant. It has been a wonder to me how these two giants, Panditji and Shri Krishna

Menon could have come together as one man. Look at Shri Krishna Menon, out of office now, but bold and patriotic as ever. It is an enigma to me who co-operated with whom, Krishna Menon or Panditji.

Shri Gauri Shanker Kakkar (Fatehpur): This is enough to give him another doctorate—the thesis which he is reading.

Mr. Speaker: I had stated that in this special debate, I would show some concession and that Members might consult their notes frequently, but the manner in which it is read it does not appear that anything is being recorded or can be recorded even by the tape-recorder.

Dr. Melkote: I will place it on the Table of the House.

Mr. Speaker: I cannot allow that.

Dr. Melkote: I have always spoken extempore.

Mr. Speaker: If he is just reading it, I could not allow him more than ten minutes. He has already taken 12.

Dr. Melkote: I shall end now.

Shri Lahri Singh: Last paragraph, let him read!

Dr. Melkote: The past history of the Communist Party in India has been one of betrayal, disloyalty, causing of disunity and strife and what not. A watch should be kept over them. Let us think that their hearts have changed and they will yet remedy the situation. While keeping a close watch over them, let us welcome all efforts of help and loyalty and patriotism to the country.

I come from Andhra Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh is behind this Government in every respect. I have been especially asked by the Muslims to mention here that they are one with us, to do every sacrifice as Indians.

In the end, let me say....

Mr. Speaker: I thought the end had come!

Dr. Melkote: My son, myself and my daughter-in-law are all medical doctors. My second son is an automobile engineer and my third son is a student in the college. All of us have offered ourselves to fight the enemy.

An Hon. Member: Very good. Very important.

Dr. Melkote: We should be utilised. The fervour of the people should be utilised to the last. With that I beg your leave to hand over these papers.

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी (बलरामपुर):
 अध्यक्ष महोदय, यहां पर बहुत आवश्यक विषय पर हम लोग दो, तीन रोज से बात कर रहे हैं पर मुझ को इस बात का बहुत खेद है कि जितनी गम्भीरता से इस पर बात होनी चाहिए थी मेरा खयाल है कि वह उतनी गम्भीरता से नहीं हुई है।

हमारे देश पर जब से विदेशियों का आक्रमण हुआ है तब से इमरजेंसी डिक्लेयर हो गयी और डिफेंस ऑफ इंडिया रूल्स लागू कर दिये गये। जल्दत इस बात की थी कि उन तमाम चीजों को सामने रखते हुए वह और भी ज्यादा गम्भीरता से बातचीत करते। चूंकि समय कम है इसलिए मैं उस पर ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लगाना चाहती कि आज हमारे देश में या हम लोगों के दिल में कितना जोशखरोश है और जिन्होंने हमारे देश पर आक्रमण किया है उन के लिए कितनी नाराजगी है। मेरा ऐसा विचार है कि तमाम देश भर में इस पर दो राय नहीं हैं कि विदेशी आक्रमणों का बड़े अच्छे तरीके से मुकाबला करना चाहिए। इसलिए उस को प्रकट करने में संसद् का और समय नहीं लेना चाहती हूं।

एक बात मैं कहना चाहती हूं। जब से युद्ध की घोषणा हुई है जितने भी लोगों ने और जो हमारे सदस्यों ने चाहे यहां और चाहे बाहर जितनी भी बातचीत की है उस से एक चीज मुझ को याद आती है।

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

मालम नहीं जो उपमा में देने चली हूँ यह कहां तक मुनासिब है लेकिन वह बातचीत सुन कर मुझे तो ऐसा लगा जैसे हमारे यहां जब भोजन किया जाता है तो सब से पहले जब भोजन आता है तो उसको प्रणाम किया जाता है और जितना समय खाने में लगता है उसके बाद एक दफा फिर प्रणाम करते हैं कि भगवान ने उनको भोजन दिया। शुरु करते वक्त भी प्रणाम और आखिरी वक्त भी प्रणाम। बीच का जो समय होता है उसको खाने में लगाते हैं भोजन चबाने में लगाते हैं। ठीक यही बात भाषणों के सम्बन्ध में हुई है। हमारे यहां बहुत सारे भाषण जो हम ने सुने उन में भाषण जब शुरु किया जाता है तो हर सदस्य ने कहा कि हम प्रधान मंत्री के हाथ मजबूत करना चाहते हैं और जब भाषण खत्म हुआ तो आखिर में भी कर्ता कि हम प्रवाण मंत्री के हाथ मजबूत करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन बहुत से सदस्यों ने जो बीच बीच में टीका टिप्पणी की उस से कुछ ऐसा मालूम हुआ कि जो कुछ वह कहते थे उस से प्रधान मंत्री के हाथ मजबूत नहीं होते हैं। कम से कम मेरा ऐसा बिचार है।

में अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप के द्वारा माननीय सदस्यों से कहना चाहती हूँ कि यहां कुछ सदस्यों ने पर्सनालिटी क्लट की भी चर्चा की। कुछ व्यक्तिगत बातें कीं। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि अगर एक नेता नहीं रहता है तो कुछ पवाह नहीं हमारे देश में सैंकड़ों नेता पैदा हो जाते हैं। यह तमाम बातें कीं। मेरा उन मित्रों से कहना है कि यह कोई हाथ मजबूत करने वाली बातें नहीं हैं। मैं उन से सफाई से कहना चाहती हूँ कि आज हमारे देश का एक एक बच्चा जो विदेशी आक्रमण का मुकाबला करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ है उस के सामने सिर्फ यही नहीं है कि विदेशियों ने देश पर आक्रमण किया बल्कि उन के दिल में आज यह भरोसा और विश्वास है कि हमारे देश का नेतृत्व आज एक बहुत ही सुयोग्य व्यक्ति के हाथ में है। समस्त देशवासियों का उन के महान् नेतृत्व में अगाध विश्वास है।

यहां पर भी और बाहर भी हमारी जौजों और हमारे जवानों के बारे में जो तरह तरह की बातें कही जा रही हैं, अगर में उनको इस सदन के सामने न रखूँ, तो अनुचित होगा। यह कहा गया है कि हमारे जवानों के पास काड़े नहीं हैं, जूते नहीं हैं, कमीजें नहीं हैं हमारे जवानों के पास ये चीजें हैं या नहीं, इस बात का जवाब देना हुकूमत का काम है। मुझे इस बारे में कुछ मालूम नहीं है। लेकिन मुझे हैरानी और अफसोस है कि ऐसे एतराज उन जगहों से उठाये जा रहे हैं, जिन के बारे में मुझे शुबहा है कि गरीब आदमियों के साथ कमी भी उन की हमदर्दी नहीं रही होगी। वे दिल्ली के मैदानों में ऐसी बातें कह कर लोगों को जोश दिलवा रहे हैं, उनको भड़का रहे हैं। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि अगर उन का अना इतिहास देखा जाये, तो मालूम होगा कि जवानों या गरीबों के लिए कमीजों की चिन्ता तो क्या, वे अपने स्वार्थ के लिए उनको खाल भी उतार लें। (Interruptions).

श्री प्रिय गुप्त : (कटिहार) : वे कौन लोग हैं? तो एस्ट्रुक्चर टाकिंग।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर में कोई गलत बात कहूँ, तो आप उसको राइट आफ कर दीजिए। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि इस किस्म की बातें सुन कर दिल को चोट लगती है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप खुद ही गलत बात न कहें, ताकि मुझे राइट आफ करने की जरूरत न पड़े। माननीय सदस्य कान्ट्रोवर्सल बातों में न पड़ें।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : इस वक्त देश के सामने बहुत बड़ी विपत्ति है। उस विपत्ति का फायदा उठा कर कुछ लोग ऐसा प्रचार कर रहे हैं, जिस से देश की रक्षा व्यवस्था मजबूत नहीं हो सकती है। मैं अर्ज करना चाहती हूँ कि जिस तरह से नुकता-चीनी करने वालों

के दिलों में रोष, नाराजगी और जोश है, उनी तरह मेरे दिल में भी है। इसलिए अगर मैं अपने विचार इस सदन के सामने प्रकट करती हूँ, तो दूसरों को उन्हें मुनना चाहिये।

इस विपत्ति का फायदा उठा कर हमारी योजनाओं की नुकता चीनी की जाती है। यह कहा जाता है कि हमारी योजनायें गलत हैं, यह क्यों नहीं किया, वह क्यों नहीं किया। मैं सिर्फ सफाई से कहना चाहती हूँ कि आज जो गरीब से गरीब आदमी भी अपनी आधी या पूरी तन्हाह दे रहा है, जेवर दे रहा है, औरतें अपने सुहाग की निशानियां दे रही हैं, उसकी वजह क्या है। सिर्फ आजादी की बात नहीं है। सिर्फ देश पर आक्रमण की बात नहीं है। आज हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों ने आजादी की कीमत को महसूस कर लिया है। आज वे जानते हैं कि यह आजादी कुछ मुट्ठी भर लोगों के लिए नहीं ली गई थी। आज हिन्दुस्तान का बच्चा बच्चा जानता है कि आजादी हमारे लिये ली गई थी, हम सब लोग इस के हिस्सेदार हैं। आजादी इसलिए ली गई थी कि देश के बच्चे बच्चे का स्तर ऊंचा हो, इस बात का रीयलाइजेशन आज देश के कोने कोने में हो रहा है। आज देश का बच्चा बच्चा, मजदूर, किसान, कर्मचारी और दूसरे लोग सरकार या देश या नेहरू जी के साथ इस लिए हैं कि वे पिछले दस बरसों के दौरान कार्यान्वित की गयी योजनाओं की वजह से आजादी की कीमत ज्यादा समझते हैं बनिस्वत उस वक्त के, जब कि वे हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी हासिल करने के लिए लड़ रहे थे। इस लिए मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि योजनाओं पर यह आक्रमण करना बहुत गलत बात है।

कल माननीय सदस्य, श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री, की एक बात से मुझे बहुत दुख हुआ। उन्होंने कहा कि हम को पाकिस्तान से खतरा है और जो छः करोड़ आदमी पाकिस्तान का रेडियो सुनते हैं, उन से भी हुशियार रहना चाहिए। इस विपत्ति के समय आज हम को एक

एक की मदद लेने की जरूरत है और देश का बच्चा बच्चा मदद करने के लिए तैयार भी है। लेकिन इस वक्त मैं उस विषय में नहीं जाना चाहती, क्योंकि उन के और दूसरे साथियों के विचार हमेशा से ऐसे रहे हैं। मैं सिर्फ यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि आज इस मुसीबत के वक्त, जब कि देश दुश्मनों का मुकाबला कर रहा है, हमारी सीमा पर जो फौजें लड़ रही हैं, जो जवान लड़ रहे हैं उन में हिन्दू भी हैं, मुसलमान भी हैं, सिख भी हैं और ईसाई भी हैं, ब्राह्मण भी हैं और हरिजन भी हैं। तमाम लोग देश की रक्षा के लिए वहां पर जिन्दगी और मौत की लड़ाई में पड़े हुए हैं। वे लोग वहां पर सिर्फ हिन्दुओं की रक्षा करने के लिये नहीं गए हैं, या सिर्फ मुसलमानों या सिखों या ईसाइयों की रक्षा करने के नहीं गए हैं। वे लोग वहां पर मातृभूमि की चप्पा-चप्पा भूमि की रक्षा करने के लिये जान देने के वास्ते गए हैं।

इस लिए अगर आज यहां पर ऐसे लोगों की बातों से ऐसा वातावरण पैदा हो कि हमारे वे जवान, जो कि अपने घर और बीबी-बच्चों को छोड़कर सीमा पर हमारे देश के लिए लड़ रहे हैं, यह महसूस करने लगे कि हमारे घर के लोग सही सलामत नहीं और हमारे बीबी-बच्चों और मां बाप पर शुबहा किया जा रहा है, तो वे हमारे लिये कहां तक लड़ेंगे। यह बात हमारे देश की रक्षा के लिये अच्छी नहीं है। मैं आप के जरिये उन लोगों से बा-अदब अर्ज करना चाहती हूँ कि चूंकि उन के अपने कहने के मुताबिक हमारे देश पर आक्रमण से बड़ा खतरा पैदा हो गया है और उसका भी मुकाबला करने के लिए सब को मिल कर पूरी तरह तैयारी करनी चाहिए, इसलिए उन को इस बारे में ज्यादा ज़्याला रखना चाहिए और ऐसी बातें नहीं कहनी चाहिए।

जहां तक पीकिंग रेडियो का ताल्लुक है, वह तो दुश्मनों का रेडियो है। उस से तो कुछ उम्मीद करना फिजूल है, क्योंकि वह तो हम लोगों को परेशानी में डालने के लिए मौके का

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

पूरा फ़ायदा उठाया। लेकिन हमारे यहां भी ऐसी बातें कहीं जाती हैं—संसद् के सदस्य वे बातें कहते हैं, राजनीतिज्ञ कहते हैं—और उन के बारे में हम सब को केयरफुल होना चाहिए, क्योंकि अगर हम गैर जिम्मेदारी से और बगैर सोचे समझे ऐसी बात करेंगे, तो दुश्मन, चाहे बे पीकिंग में हों या किसी दूसरे मुल्क में, उसका ज्यादा से ज्यादा फ़ायदा उठा सकते हैं।

यहां पर मैं कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी को मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूं कि उस ने बुद्धिमता से काम लिया। अफ़सोस यह है कि यह बुद्धिमता साल भर पहले क्यों नहीं आई। उन को उसी वक्त सही पोजीशन अच्छी तरह समझ लेनी चाहिए थी। लेकिन अगर आज उन्होंने समझ लिया है, तो आज भी उनको मुबारक हो। जिन लोगों की कार्यवाहियों और बातों से देश के हितों को नुकसान पहुंचता है, अगर सरकार उन पर कड़ी निगरानी रखे, तो उनको एतराज नहीं करना चाहिए। जैसा कि माननीय सदस्य, श्री त्यागी, ने कहा है, ऐसी टेंडेसीज़, ऐसे वक्तव्यों, ऐसे अख़बारों, और ऐसे भाषण देने वालों—चाहे वे किसी भी जमाअत के हों—के खिलाफ़ भी इसी सख्ती से कार्यवाही की जाये जो कि हुकूमत की ताकत को कमजोर करते हैं, उस को छोटा दिखाते हैं, जिस से सीमा पर लड़ने वाले हमारे जवानों को यह विश्वास होता है कि हमारी हुकूमत कमजोर है, या हमारे पास खाना, सामान, या हथियार नहीं हैं, क्योंकि मैं समझती हूं कि इस किसम के कार्यवाहियां, वक्तव्य और भाषण हमारी रक्षा व्यवस्था को कमजोर करते हैं।

Shri Manabendra Shah (Tehri Garhwal): Mr. Speaker, Sir, according to your instructions we are supposed to give suggestions only and I would, therefore, like to confine myself to civil defence and to a particular aspect of it. We have created committees and in every town they

are doing something or the other for the civil defence. I am afraid that in their zeal people might be forgetting about the civil defence of those areas which have occupational hazards, I mean those areas which are within or which are adjoining those areas which the Chinese claim as theirs or those areas which may be in danger from the Chinese aggression. For this purpose, I will take the example of the mid-Himalayan region firstly, because, in this area we have these three months of winter to prepare ourselves, secondly it is more thickly populated than either NEFA or Ladakh; and thirdly with few changes here and there to meet the local conditions, basically whatever I suggest for the mid-Himalayan region, would equally be applicable to the other areas also.

14 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

I have to make the following suggestions. Firstly, a militia on the lines of the Ladakh scouts should be created because the Garhwalis who come from the mid-Himalayan region are not only martial in race but have a lot of ex-soldiers who can easily be enrolled in the militia which could thus be easily created.

Secondly, I am to suggest that a labour corps of those people coming from the adjoining areas of battle hazards should be created. Such a system of labour corps was introduced in the last world war also. It would have an advantage that if there is an attack and they have to be evacuated or they become refugees, then the question of their rehabilitation would not arise, because they are already rehabilitated in the form of the labour corps.

Thirdly, we have to make now a blue-print of the operation refugees—as you may call it—or operation

evacuees in the same manner as you make an operational plan for actual fighting. This operational plan will naturally have to be made in consultation with the field commander the area concerned.

In areas where the inhabitants can be prevented from going into the danger zone, that should be done. For example, to make it clearer, I mention the people known as Jads who are of Tibetan origin. They more or less live in the adjoining areas bordering Tibet. They have two houses—a winter residence and a summer residence. In winter they come down to the winter residence. Therefore my suggestion is that they should not be allowed to go back into that danger zone in which their summer residence is situated. As they have already got their living place in the winter residence area, it is very easy for them to continue staying in that area. But in such a case, because the winter residence is only a temporary residence, the Government may have to make some schemes for agriculture, grazing or trade, because they do all the three: some are occupied in grazing with horses, sheep, goat or cattle, some are engaged in the woollen industry or they do agriculture. So, depending on the kind of work they do, they would have to be helped a little for continuing their stay in a temporary place permanently.

Fifthly, we have to channelise the evacuation of the refugees—the refugee movement—and in this, the Government should firstly plan the routes in which they would be channelised; secondly, they should keep a proper assessment of transport facilities and its control; thirdly, prepare halting stations where stocks of food and medicine must be kept before hand; fourthly, in their final halting place, stocks of food, medicine, blankets and cloth should be kept ready to be issued to them; fifthly, arrangements for their occupation in such a place should be made.

I am very glad that our hon. Finance Minister is just now here, because my next suggestion probably concerns him more than others. That suggestion of mine is primarily to lessen the burden on the Government. My proposal is that a new sort of bond should be created for those people I am referring to, a bond which would be a separate type of bond in which they can put their cash or kind, and that money would be refundable to them if they have to evacuate their homeland and go somewhere else. Therefore to that extent the Government's burden would be lessened. A separate type of bond would be a very useful thing which can be issued specifically in the event of such an eventuality. If they have to leave their homeland, the Government can pay both the principal as well as the interest accrued thereon.

These are broadly the suggestions that I want to make. I would again try to impress on the Government that we have only got about three to four months in which we have to prepare for proper civil defence of such areas. Therefore, we would have to take immediate steps in this respect.

श्री चांडक (हिंदवाड़ा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सदन में आज चार दिनों से प्रधान मन्त्री जो द्वारा रखे गये दो प्रस्तावों पर चर्चा हो रही है। इन प्रस्तावों के जरिये न केवल इस सदन का वरन् समूचे भारत का हृदय और निश्चय प्रगट होता है यह बात मानी हुई है कि चीनियों ने जिनके साथ हमने काफी मित्रता रखी और जिन के प्रति हमने बहुत अधिक ईमानदारी दिखाई, जिनके साथ हमने अच्छे सम्बन्ध रखने की पूरी पूरी कोशिश की, लेकिन हमारे मित्रता के हाथ को उन्होंने फिटकारा और भारत पर अन्यायपूर्ण फौजी आक्रमण किया। यह आक्रमण न केवल भारत पर ही किया गया बल्कि

[श्री चांडक]

इस रूप में समस्त सभ्य और प्रजातांत्रिक राष्ट्रों को और विश्व शान्ति को भी खतरा पहुंचाने की चेष्टा की है। यह एक महान् संकट हमारे सामने आ खड़ा हुआ है और इसका हमें मुकाबला करना है।

इसके बावजूद भी हमने यह निश्चय किया है और हमारी यह पालिसी रही है कि हम नान-एलाइंड रहें, हम किसी भी ग्रुप में शामिल न हों। भारत ने पंचशोल का सन्देश दुनिया को दिया है, भारत ने विश्व शान्ति का झण्डा फहराने में अग्रदूत का काम किया है, संसार को शान्ति का सन्देश दिया है। हम किसी पर आक्रमण करना नहीं चाहते। हमने तो इस प्रस्ताव के जरिये अपना यह पक्का निश्चय, हिन्दुस्तान की समस्त जनता का पक्का निश्चय, व्यक्त किया है और कहा है कि हम एक एक इंच जमीन भी अपनी चीनियों के कब्जे में नहीं रहने देंगे और उनको खदेड़ कर ही चैन लेंगे। आज इस मुल्क में एक नया ही वातावरण देखने को मिल रहा है। अभी हमारी बहन सुभद्रा जोशी जी ने कहा कि भारत के लोग, भारत की जनता अपनी स्वाधीनता के मूल्यों को समझ गई है। यह ठीक बात है। बरसों तक अपनी कुर्बानी देकर, बरसों तक अपना बलिदान देकर हमने यह आजादी हासिल की है और अपनी प्रगति के महान् काम में हम आज लगे हुए हैं। जो आजादी हमने हासिल की है वह थोड़े से लोगों के लिये नहीं की है, बल्कि सारी जनता के लिए की है। यही कारण है कि जनमानस आजादी के मूल्यों को समझ गया है। अब हिन्दुस्तान का बच्चा बच्चा हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री जी की आदाज पर, उनके बहने पर अपने मुल्क की स्वाधीनता की रक्षा के लिये सब कुछ बलिदान करने के लिए तैयार है। आज वह चीनियों के खिलाफ लड़ाई करने के लिये अपना सर्वस्व न्यौछावर करने के लिये तत्पर है, आत्म-समर्पण करने के लिये तैयार है। भारत का हृदय आज जाग

उठा है। आज जो वातावरण है, वह स्वयं-स्फूर्ति का है, मुल्क के अन्दर जो जागृति पैदा हुई है, चेतना पैदा हुई है, जो हमलावर को अपनी घरती से हटा देने की आवाज़ उठी है, उसका अधिक से अधिक उपयोग, ज्यादा से ज्यादा उपयोग होना चाहिये और अपनी भूमि को जितनी जल्दी हो सके, दुश्मन के चंगुल से बचाना है और उसको वापिस लेना है भारत की घरती से चीनियों को खदेड़ बाहर करना है। इस प्रस्ताव में यह निश्चय व्यक्त किया गया है और उसका मैं हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ। आक्रमणकारियों के प्रतिकार के लिये जो तैयारियां हो रही हैं, जिसमें जिन मुल्कों ने हमारे साथ नैतिक सहानुभूति प्रगट की है, तथा इस आपत्ति के समय हमें शस्त्रों से मदद दी है और दे रहे हैं उन सब मित्र देशों को मैं हादिक धन्यवाद देता हूँ तथा युद्ध का सामान भेज रहे हैं। और भी जो कोई लोग हमारी मदद कर रहे हैं, उनका भी मैं आभार मानता हूँ और इसके लिये उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। हमारे सैनिकों ने बड़ी बहादुरी के साथ, बड़ी हिम्मत के साथ कम संख्या में होते हुए भी, चीनियों का जो मुकाबला किया है। और उन्होंने अपने आप को देश की खातिर बलिदान किया है, मुल्क की आजादी की रक्षा की है। इस तरह से जो सैनिक वीर गति को प्राप्त हुए हैं, उनके प्रति मैं अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ।

आज जो नव चैतन्य का वातावरण पैदा हुआ है, मैं देखता हूँ कि इसी तरह का वातावरण सन् १९२० में पैदा हुआ था जब गांधी जी ने आजादी की आवाज़ लगाई थी और मुल्क को एक झंडे के नीचे एकत्रित किया था। जब उन्होंने यह सन्देश दिया था और तब जो राष्ट्रीय एकता की स्थिति पैदा की गई थी, जो चैतन्यमय वातावरण पैदा हो गया था, मेरे डायल से वही स्थिति और वही वातावरण आज भी हमारे यहां पैदा हो गया है। आज की स्थिति में हमारे मुल्क की सब की

मिली जूली एक ही आवाज होनी चाहिये । एक नेता, एक आवाज, एक नारा और एक तिरंगा झण्डा होना चाहिये जिसके नीचे हमने आजादी की लड़ाई को लड़ा था । मैं यह कहूंगा कि आज वही वातावरण, वही स्फूर्ति हम में पैदा हुई है । मुझे विश्वास है कि आज समूचे राष्ट्र का विश्वास हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू में है, जो कि हमारी पिछली आजादी की जंग के भी सेनापति रहे हैं और सौभाग्य से आज भी हमारा सेनापतित्व करते हैं । आज मुल्क जाग्रत हो उठा है और हमने निश्चय कर लिया है कि किसी भी हालत में हम चीनियों को अपने मुल्क की एक इंच भूमि पर भी नहीं रहने देंगे ।

यहां तीन चार दिनों में बहुत सी बातें हुई, और उनमें कई प्रकार की बातें, भले ही वह डाइरेक्ट हों या इन्डाइरेक्ट हों, हमारी नानअलाइनमेंट की नीति के ऊपर भी कही गई है । मैं तो यह कहता हूँ कि हमारी नानअलाइनमेंट की नीति हमारे स्वतन्त्र भारत के लिये और जो मुल्क अपनी तरक्की करना चाहता है और संसार को शान्ति का सन्देश देना चाहता है, उसके लिये सर्वश्रेष्ठ नीति रही है । पहले थी, आज है और आगे भी रहेगी, ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है । उसी नानअलाइनमेंट की नीति के कारण आज संसार में हमें अधिक से अधिक महानुभूति मिल रही है और हमारे देश का मस्तिष्क ऊंचा हुआ है । मैं तो यह चाहूंगा कि आज की इस आपत्ति को देख कर ही हम अपनी नीति को न बदलें । हमने दो संकल्प किये हैं । एक तो यह कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति नानअलाइनमेंट की रहेगी और दूसरे सोशलिस्ट समाज की रचना का । हमारी यह दोनों नीतियां साथ साथ रहें और चलें । उन में किसी प्रकार का अन्तर नहीं होना चाहिये । हां, एक बात जरूर है जिस को मैं थोड़ा अनुभव करता हूँ कि जो हमारे मित्र राष्ट्र अमरीका, इंग्लैण्ड, कनाडा वगैरह आज स्वयं आकर अपनी इच्छा से, स्वयम् की स्फूर्ति से हमें हथियार तथा युद्ध सामग्री वगैरह

सप्लाई कर रहे हैं, जो शस्त्र वगैरह दे रहे हैं, चाहे वे किस्त पर दें या और किसी तरह से दें, उसमें हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये । यह बात जरूर है कि वह बिना शर्त के हो । जब वे कहते हैं कि उसमें कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है कि वह किसी कारण से दे रहे हों, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि उस को स्वीकार करने में आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये, उसको स्वीकार करना चाहिये ।

अन्य दूसरी बातें भी यहां कही गई है । मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि आज के इस मौके पर मैं इस बात को कह सकता हूँ कि हम सब अपने को सैनिक समझें । जैसा पंडित जी ने कल कहा हमारी सारी आगे की प्लैनिंग इस आधार पर होनी चाहिये कि फार्म और फैक्ट्री तथा अन्य सब जगह काम करने वाले अपने को सैनिक समझें । मैं तो कहता हूँ कि हर नागरिक आज देश में अपने को सैनिक समझ, और जितनी जनता में एनर्जी है, शक्ति है, चाहे आर्थिक शक्ति हो चाहे शारीरिक शक्ति हो, चाहे बौद्धिक शक्ति हो, जिसका भी उपयोग दुश्मनों को जीतने के लिये और अपनी टैरिटरि से हटा देने के लिये हो सकता हो, उसको पूरी तरह से काम में लेना है । यह सारी शक्ति मुल्क में पड़ी हुई है, लेकिन उसको चैनेलाइज किया जाय और ठीक से आर्गनाइज किया जाय । मुझे आशा है कि हमारी सरकार इन ओर पूरा पूरा ध्यान दे रही है । इसलिये हमारी जो प्लैनिंग है वह तमाम इसी तरह से होनी चाहिये जिसको आप विकटरी प्लैन कह सकते हैं, और इस दिशा में ही हमारी सारी शक्तियां लगनी चाहियें । प्लैनिंग इस तरह की हो कि हर चीज का उत्पादन, सप्लाई, तथा अन्य कृतियां जिसको वार एफर्ट कह सकते हैं, वार मेटैरियल्स कह सकते हैं, चाहे फील्ड में हो या फैक्ट्री में हो, उसकी क्रियायें जल्दी जल्दी होंगी । कदम बहुत तेजी से उठने चाहियें और हमें सब प्रकार की तैयारियां करनी चाहियें । मैं नहीं समझता कि हमारी सरकार इस ओर ध्यान नहीं दे रही है । केवल यह

[श्री चांडक]

सोचना है कि हमारे यहां टोटल मोबिलाइजेशन हो। स्थिति ऐसी हो कि चाहे कला का क्षेत्र हो, चाहे रेडियो हो, लेखन-प्रकाशन कि हर जगह से ऐसी चीज निकले जिनके जरिये से मुल्क में एक उत्साहमय वातावरण पैदा हो और अनुशासनबद्ध लड़ाई की तैयारी हो सके। हमारा पक्ष न्याय का है, सत्य का है और अन्त में हमारी विजय होगी, यह बात सही है, लेकिन हमारी जितनी बातें हैं वह लोगों को ठीक से मालूम हों जायें। लोगों की सारी शक्ति का उपयोग इसी ढंग से होना चाहिये। इस समय शासन के जरिये, चाहे केन्द्रीय शासन हो या राज्य शासन हो या व्यक्तिगत जीवन हो, हर एक जगह कम से कम और आवश्यक वस्तुओं का ही उपयोग हम करें। जो चीजें अत्यन्त आवश्यक हों, उनका ही उपयोग हम करें। बाकी जो खर्च हों, जिसको फिजूलखर्ची समझा जा सकता हो, उनको खत्म करना चाहिये। डेबर भाई ने एक सजेशन दिया था कि हमारे दो डिपार्टमेंट्स ऐसे हैं। एक तो रूरल डेवलपमेंट डिपार्टमेंट और दूसरा कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट डिपार्टमेंट, उन में ६,००० जीपें हैं। यह उनके लिये जरूरी न हों ऐसी बात नहीं है, लेकिन उन जीपों को आज हम उसमें से निकाल कर युद्ध के काम में लग सकते हैं। वैसे ही मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि आज हम शासन की ओर से सांस्कृतिक कार्यों आदि में करोड़ों रुपये खर्च कर रहे हैं। मैं नहीं कहता कि वह व्यर्थ है, लेकिन आज के जमाने में यह सब ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है जैसे उस की आवश्यकता न हो। हर जगह के नाच तमाशे और खेल आदि जो सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम हैं, जिनमें करोड़ों रुपये खर्च होते हैं, उनको भी हमें बन्द करके पैसा बचाना चाहिये।

अन्त में मैं यह अपील करूंगा कि इस समय जो भी शक्ति हमारे पास मौजूद है

उन सारी शक्तियों का हम को ठीक उपयोग करना है, और मुझे आशा है कि हमारा शासन ऐसा करेगा। हमारे नेता पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के नेतृत्व में इस मुल्क के बच्चे बच्चे को जो अटूट विश्वास है उसको हम काम में लायेंगे। हमें विश्वास है कि हमारा मार्ग सत्य और न्याय का है और अन्त में भारत की विजय होगी, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक व्यक्तिगत मफाई देना चाहता हूं। मेरी अनुपस्थिति में कांग्रेस की एक जिम्मेदार मेम्बर श्रीमती मुभद्रा जोशी ने मेरे ऊपर एक आरोप लगाया था, मैं चाहता हूं आप उसको सुनें। वह आरोप यह था कि मैंने अपने भाषण में परसों यह कहा था कि ६ करोड़ भारतीय मुसलमान कराची का रेडियो सुन कर अपना मस्तिष्क बनाते हैं। मेरे पास जो पार्लियामेंट का अधिष्ठान भाषण साइक्लोस्टाइल होकर आया है, वह मेरे हाथ में है, उसमें ६ करोड़ का शब्द ही नहीं मुसलमान का शब्द भी नहीं है, बल्कि यह शब्द हैं कि बहुत से आदमी ऐसे हैं जो पाकिस्तान का रेडियो सुन कर अपना मस्तिष्क बनाते हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि जो शब्द माननीय सदस्य ने कहे हैं उनको निकाल दिया जाए।

Mr. Deputy Speaker: You may bring it to my notice later.

श्री लाखन दास (शा. जहांपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पहले तो मैं प्रधान मन्त्री के उस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं जो कि हाउस में चल रहा है। मैं उसका हृदय से समर्थन कर रहा हूं। दूसरे जो हमारे दुश्मन चीन ने हमारी उत्तरी सीमा पर अनधिकृत अधिकार कर लिया है, उसकी मैं निन्दा करता हूं।

इसके साथ मुझे कुछ सुझाव भी देने हैं मैं सदन का ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लूंगा।

जनना तो दे ही रही है, अमीर जो घिस घिस कर चन्दा दे रहे हैं उनसे मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जिस वक्त मेरे जिले शाहजहांपुर में पहली मीटिंग हुई थी, उस वक्त मैं अपनी पास बुक ले गया था, बगैर किसी के कहे हुए, अखबारों में यह देख कर कि हमारे देश पर आपत्ति आई है। मैं एक गरीब आदमी हूँ जो कि लोक सभा में आया हूँ। आप ने सुना होगा कि एक भोपूवाला, जिसने एक पैसा भी खर्च नहीं किया, वह इस सदन में गरीबी की वजह से चुन कर आया, जिस गरीब ने १६०० पैसे भी नहीं देखे हैं। भगवान् की कृपा से मेरे पास १६५० रु० पास बुक में बचा था, उस पास बुक को मैंने जिलाधीश के सामने भेज दिया। रुपया निकालने में कुछ कानूनी अड़चन थी, एक समय में पूरे का पूरा रुपया नहीं निकल सकता था। मैंने उसी वक्त पास बुक में अपने हिसाब को खत्म कर दिया। उसके बाद मेरे पास कुछ नहीं था। कांग्रेस के आंदोलनों में मैं ३०० बीघा जमीन और अपनी नौकरी पहले खो चुका था। गुटबन्दी के कारण इच्छा न होते हुए भी, मैं कांग्रेस में अलाहिदा हुआ या अलाहिदा कर दिया गया। इसका मुझे कोई दुःख नहीं है।

अब मैं दूसरी प्रतिज्ञा लेता हूँ कि मैं अपना सारा का सारा समय बजाए नुक्ताचीनी करने के, अपने क्षेत्र में बिनाऊंगा। मैं अपने घर का कोई काम काज नहीं करता हूँ। मैं यह भी बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि जिस समय भी मेरे शरीर की आवश्यकता होगी मैं देने के लिये तैयार हूँ।

जानी गुरुमुख सिंह जी ने अपने भाषण में कृच्छ्र जातियों की ओर संकेत किया था और कहा था कि उनकी लड़ने का अधिकार है। वही बहादुर हो सकते हैं। एक देशी जी ने भी यही फरमाया था। ऐसा कहना हम गरीब अछूतों पर अन्याय है। मुझे मौका तो दीजिए। यद्यपि मैं एक अछूत हूँ पर मैं किसी से कम रहने वाला नहीं हूँ। ऐसी बातें कहना शोभा नहीं देता। जिनको

गांधी जी न बरसों उपदेश दिया उनको ऐसी बातें नहीं करनी चाहिये।

ज्यादा अमीर आदमी लड़ाई नहीं लड़ सकते। बड़े से बड़े चुनाव लड़े गए हैं तो गरीबों की दम से लड़े गए हैं। अगर इस बात की कोई पाबन्दी भी है कि जाट और सिखों आदि को लिया जाए तो मैं कहूंगा कि उस पाबन्दी को हटा कर हरिजनों को भी फौज में भरती किया जाए और उनके अपने अफसर मुकर्रर किए जाएँ और उन्हें शिक्षा दी जाए। मेरा तो विश्वास है कि ये भंगी और चमार कहलाने वाले दुखी हरिजन उनसे आगे होंगे। उनमें आराम तलबी हो सकती है, गरीबों में नहीं। गरीब अपना खन देकर भी राष्ट्र की रक्षा कर सकते हैं।

मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता और न किसी पर आक्षेप या किमी की टीका टिप्पणी करना चाहता हूँ। मेरा शरीर भी अगर देश के काम आएगा तो मैं हंसते हंसते दे दूंगा और तो मेरे पास कुछ नहीं है। जय हिन्द।

Shrimati Akkamma Devi (Nilgiris):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to give my wholehearted support to the resolutions moved by our Prime Minister. At this hour of crisis, it is the duty of every one to render his wholehearted support, unstinted co-operation and assistance to the last ounce of one's strength to the national leader. Our Prime Minister is the only person who has won the confidence of all irrespective of caste, creed and nationality. His leadership is unique in our history. This is not the time for criticism. This is not the time to find fault with our foreign policy. This is not the time to say "we should have done that", "we were unprepared" and so on. This is the time for every one of us to rise up to the occasion and contribute our mite not merely by words but by deeds in the field, factory and battle field and drive out the unscrupulous, ungrateful and treacherous Chinese out of our soil. Not an inch of our soil will be China's.

[Shrimati Akkamma Devi]

Justice will be rewarded despite our initial losses and untold difficulties and, therefore, our victory is undoubtedly certain. The spirit of unity is imbibed in us from times immemorial. As our Prime Minister has said in his speech, the dark clouds on our border will disappear and sunshine will appear. We have seen the unity of our people now, young and old, men and women and children even few years old, rich and poor and the physically handicapped irrespective of caste, creed and party. India has risen and will rise to real summit of courage and nobility in this hour of trial and pave the way for speedy victory for us and every inch of our soil coveted by the Chinese will come back to us.

"Military might is right" is China's policy, and this is clearly seen from China's expansionist mentality on other's territory by the use of military weapons. At the point of the sword, China wants to expand her territory. Loss of human lives, bloodshed and inhuman atrocities do not touch the Chinese. For the past five years, China like a venomous snake lying below well protected by green leaves have engaged herself in underground preparations, equipped herself with all the deadly weapons of war, multiplied her forces and has now suddenly made this massive attack on us. It is a deadly shock to the whole world. China will be punished because this venomous snake has given us the poison and this poison has to be rooted out at any cost and at any duration. Our policy is one of peace and non-alignment, and our integrity will carry us forward, however thorny the path is, to victory.

Along with my friends, Sir, I am grateful to the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Canada for the generous help of weapons at this critical juncture. I request the Government to accept all possible aids from other friendly countries who come forward to help

us. Let us accept help, let us strengthen our defence and push the aggressor out of our soil.

My first suggestion is that extravagant expenditure should be stopped and expenditure should be incurred only on necessities. The strictest economy should be practised right from the Centre to every household, and let us save for the adequate supply of woollen clothes, nutritious food and weapons for self-protection of our jawans who are fighting on the mountainous and snowy areas. Let us save for the families of our jawans who have laid down their lives in the battle field for the honour of our mother land. Here I pay my homage to them.

My next suggestion is that recruitment should not merely be made from cities and towns but it should be made right from the villages throughout the length and breadth of our country. The recruited people should be given adequate training not only in military defence but also in civil defence. Last minute training work should never be attempted because that creates confusion and confusion leads to disaster. Again, lessons on order, punctuality and discipline should be imparted to the recruited young brave men to put up a strong fight internally against corruption, profiteering, hoarding and rumours which create panic. The people recruited should put up a strong fight and drive out the Chinese.

My next suggestion is that agricultural production should be stepped up by a hundred fold, and let us keep the price line.

And then, my last suggestion is that in the ordnance factories, where they are working day in and day out to put in the maximum production, Government should see that the workers in these factories do not create any unpleasantness and waste the valuable time of the heads of the factories.

There are other suggestions which have already been placed before the

House by other Members. I shall conclude by saying this. Not only do we stand so united; we shall toil to the last ounce of our strength and shall preserve our freedom and preserve our sacred soil. As our Prime Minister has said, ultimately the victory will be ours.

Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh (Parbhani): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, as this Third Session of the Lok Sabha commenced on the 8th November, at the historic moment when the nation was charged with the emergency, and when the highest battle of the world was being fought in the Himalayas, I have no doubt that 2,500 souls of our brave jawans who died with their boots on in an unparalleled saga of bravery would be hovering over the dome of this Parliament, with the hope and assurance from the nation that the nation would not forget them and an assurance, further, that the nation realises that they did not die in vain. Therefore, it was to the satisfaction of those souls, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, that when this House rose and stood in silence for two minutes in homage to them, it was not enough and, therefore, the Prime Minister of the land moved a resolution to the effect that they did not die in vain and the struggle for which they have sacrificed their lives will not be over, whatever be the time or whatever be the sacrifice required of this nation. I have no doubt that every word of the resolution which the Prime Minister has moved bears the stamp of approval of every patriotic Indian living. And I am sure it will not be a mis-statement if I say that there is much more unity in the nation as a whole than there is unity in this House.

There has been a sort of mud-slinging from section to section. There have been criticisms which are unwarranted in times of emergency like this. There have been occasions in this House, especially during this debate, when the debates have shown that this is not certainly the deliberation of a Parliament whose nation is at war and whose nation demands the greatest

sacrifice from every citizen. History demands, and we have to show by our actions whether it was just by an accident that the nation achieved its freedom, whether the supreme sacrifice of the Father of the Nation which has kindled the flame of freedom can be silenced by the breeze of aggression, be it by the most powerful communist nation. I am sure that the land of the Buddha, Asoka and Gandhi, the sacred soil of India, whatever might be the reasons for the aggression, whatever might be the strength of the aggressor, will be protected, and that its freedom will be protected whatever be the cost. Therefore I join in supporting both the resolutions which have been moved by the Prime Minister.

This nation is now definitely prepared for any amount of sacrifices. Leader or no leader, leadership or no leadership, this nation is bound to succeed in the war of freedom. I say this that this war of freedom which we are fighting is not merely a war involving two nations, it is not merely a war involving two ideologies, but ultimately it is the battle of the world that we are fighting. And I am sure that the world is definitely with us and that its moral and material support is going to help us to ultimately achieve the victory.

Much has been said about the Communists' attitude to this emergency. Grave doubts have been expressed as to the *bona fides* of the Communist Party of India. Our Prime Minister has definitely taken a correct step in not banning the Communist Party of India; because no party in times of such emergency can owe allegiance to any foreign party, and least so to an aggressor. But certain doubts which have been expressed on the floor of the House about the word and value of the Communist resolutions arise from this fact that only forty-seven out of a hundred members of the Central Executive of the Communist Party could support this resolution which they have moved and accepted. Taking into consideration this small number, so many people doubt the Com-

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munists' *bona fides*. The Communists rarely do what they say. Their morality has no dimensions of time. They can keep their word in accordance with the morality of today and can break their word with equal justification tomorrow; because, to them tomorrow's morality is always different. They never begin with goodwill and end in gratitude. That has been the history of the Communists and the Communist Party of India. But I am prepared to concede this: What rare occasion can there be than the emergency that we are faced with? Therefore, on this rare occasion the Communist Party will definitely stand behind the Government not merely by words but by acts; and I am sure that the nation will appreciate their nationalistic attitude, if they happen to choose this course. Therefore, I do not wish to cast any aspersions on the party as such. But certain workers of the Communist Party of India, their spokesmen, while pleading the cause of certain communists who have been arrested by the State of Maharashtra, have said that this is not conducive to national integration and to the national emergency that we are faced with. I say this that they are in the best position to know as to who are the traitors among their own party. They are in the best position to name the workers of the so-called China Lobby in their party. And if they stand and justify, for whatever reasons, the arrests of their colleagues they should congratulate the Government that those elements from their party which definitely owe their allegiance to a foreign party, and on occasions to an aggressor, have been put behind the bars and the national cause is not allowed to suffer at the hands of the government of the day. Therefore I think that the Maharashtra and the Punjab Governments have definitely taken a lead in the matter of arresting those unwanting persons from the Communist Party—I do not say the Communist Party as such—but certain individuals from the Communist ranks who owe their allegiance to the China Lobby.

It was a rare occasion in the history of Bombay City that certain leaflets that were found to be distributed in the Fort area were inviting—not condemning the Chinese—but inviting them as liberators. Obviously these leaflets did not drop from the sky. I have no doubt that they have not been dropped by the Chinese. They certainly must have been distributed by the fellow workers. And if these things are allowed to happen in Bombay, the Maharashtra Government has every justification to put behind bars the Communists whose sympathies and allegiance they doubt very much.

With this I wish to submit that even while discussing this emergent situation we have to bear in mind the history of the communist parties in the world. It is definitely a world strategy. According to the world strategy of the Communists, India must turn communist; because, according to them India, lying in the belly of China and Russia, cannot afford to be a free democracy. And therefore by hook or crook they are bent upon turning India communist, and this aggression is only one of the levers by which the communist international moves them.

Leaving aside the communist strategy the world over, I wish to lay stress on this point also that among the Communists also there is another strategy. China wants the leadership of the communist world.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): The hon. Member said that certain leaflets were distributed in Bombay. Will he place one of them on the Table of the House?

Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh: You please request the Maharashtra Government.

Dr. Gaitonde (Nominated—Goa, Daman and Diu): I have got it and I can place it when I am allowed to speak.

Shri Morarka: For what purpose? It should not be laid, because it will get unnecessary publicity.

Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:
 Among the communists themselves China wants leadership of the world. Therefore, China feels that unless India is humiliated in the eyes of the world, unless Indian democracy is shown to be a failure in the eyes of the free nations of Asia, China cannot hope to get any leadership even in the communist world. It is in the Communist Chinese strategy also that the seeds of this aggression have been sown, because China sees that if India turns communist, India and China as the most powerful communist countries will be in a position to dominate, and China will be having a lead and will succeed definitely in grabbing the leadership in the communist world.

Coming to Asian leadership, it is strange as to why we should require Mr. Tengku Abdul Rahman to state that China wants to dishonour India or defame India and that by committing aggression on us and by forcing military defeat on the Indian nation China wants to grab the leadership of Asia.

Considering all this strategy, we could not have been taken by surprise had the magnitude of aggression been a little less. Therefore the magnitude of the Chinese aggression and the human-sea tactics which they have employed are part and parcel of the world, Asian and the Chinese strategy in world affairs.

The second thing I wish to draw your attention to is regarding our neutral policy. Much has been said about our policy of non-alignment. The policy of non-alignment is definitely the best policy and no one expects us to leave that policy. When that policy had a definite bias against the Western democracies it was because we thought that they were the agents of imperialism. Now it has to be re-orientated in the light of the Western democracies' help in material kind which we have received at such an emergent hour. Therefore there should be a strategic or rather a na-

tional re-orientation of our policy of non-alignment. We should remove our bias against the Western democracies as agents of imperialism. We should weigh their every action and should support them in their hour of need.

This help definitely is not reciprocal. They do not expect anything in return, but even then it is for us to say that we have re-orientated our policy of non-alignment to the effect that we will not condemn any action of the Western democracies purely because that action arises out of nations which are so-called agents of Western imperialism. Keeping in view this facet of our policy of non-alignment I feel that we will definitely succeed in leading the nation to victory.

Much has been said about our leadership. Professor Ranga was kind enough to say that the leadership which we have today is peacetime leadership and is not conducive to war efforts. As has been stated by a Communist friend, I say that India is fortunate enough today in having the leadership and an individual who has got the unanimous support of the nation. If the problems of national mobilisation which are so essential for the emergency are to be solved, they can be solved by the present leadership alone. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is not only the harbinger of peace and a messenger of peace but has been the most beloved leader of the land. He is the greatest Indian living today and the nation definitely expects something from him. The nation expects that he will deliver the goods and will be strong enough to deliver the most stringent defeat to the Chinese aggressors. I wish it may be the will of Providence that this man of peace and this mild democrat will have the strength of steel and will ultimately succeed with the full co-operation of a willing nation which is prepared to go to any length in terms of sacrifice. There is absolutely nothing to doubt our present leadership and I feel that we will definitely win.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: His time is up.

Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh: Just a couple of minutes more, Sir.

Now I come to my suggestions. In times of national emergency, as has been rightly pointed out by Shri Tyagi, our Government should shed all unnecessary expenses. There should be formation of war cabinets in the Capital and in the various States. These cabinets should definitely be minimum in strength because less ministered is better administered. We believe that our Prime Minister would give a lead.

I wish to tell the House that the sons of Sahyadri will definitely go to the help of their brothers in the Himalayas to fight the highest battle in the world and that they will not budge an inch in giving sacrifices, whichever it may be, according to the expectations of the nation. I hope our Chief Minister would soon be by the side of our Prime Minister and would handle the Defence Portfolio which the nation definitely expects him to handle because we believe that there is nothing more strategic and more essential for Maharashtra than sacrificing our beloved Chief Minister as Chief Minister and place him at the disposal of the hon. Prime Minister and the nation. This nation has been stirred from its depths and this reminds me of certain story which I learnt during my school-days, that is, the story of a bull in a chinashop. No amount of Chinese ware by their sheer number, weight or mass can hope to withstand the fury of an infuriated bull. Therefore I believe that the human-sea tactics which the Chinese are said to have adopted would definitely lead to China's defeat and India's victory.

Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibsagar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my constituency is contiguous to the NEFA, area and on the fourth day of this debate I

think I should confine my remarks only to the NEFA border and speak a little bit about the mind of the people of Assam and the problems that they are facing.

The fall of Tibet in 1959 brought the Chinese to the very door of Assam and also drove the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees to the soil of Assam. People began to feel insecure. Coming into contact with the Tibetan refugees they hearing about the atrocities inflicted by the Chinese on the Tibetans began to feel that India had a moral duty to the people of Tibet to help them in maintaining their independence. That India did not move in this regard had an adverse effect on the people also of three other States, viz., Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. This was the first lapse on the part of our defence policy.

It was not only a moral lapse but also a military lapse because the preservation of the buffer States of Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim was militarily necessary for the security of our own country. Had that been done at that time, the battle ground would not have been at NEFA or on Indian soil but would have been somewhere far distant from the Indian border. Although preparations were undertaken on the NEFA border for securing that area, they were not done with the speed that the circumstances demanded. That was mainly on account of the fact that we relied too much on the Peking leaders accepting the principles of Panchsheel. Our too much reliance on the utterances of the Chinese was the second lapse on the part of our defence policy.

It has to be admitted that we failed to take proper steps in proper time and we failed to take note of the massive preparations which the Chinese were making on the other side of the Tibetan plateau. It is indeed surprising that only on the sixth day of the massive offensive of 20th October we had to go begging to the whole world even for small arms.

This proves that we were not actually prepared at that time. All these are very regrettable indeed.

But deliberating on our past lapses and indulging in finding faults with each other will lead us nowhere. It is not this or that man's fault. We are collectively responsible for all these lapses. That should be the attitude of ours who are wedded to democracy. Mr. Churchill said that democracy may lose battles but wins the war. That we will win the war is evident from the upsurge of the people which is so great, so determined and so spontaneous.

That our non-alignment policy has been successful is also evidenced from the fact that friendly countries are rushing to help us in the form of supply of arms. Had the non-alignment policy not been so, I think, this help could have come with strings or in a different manner. We should not hesitate to take arms free from other countries who want to offer them to us. We are now told MIGs are soon coming from the USSR. If USSR can give us the same sort of help as the UK and USA have done, the hostilities with China, I am sure, will come to an end very early because China would not be able to fight single-handed. Today the Russia's leadership is actually in the ordeal.

Today mass mind is more advanced than ever in the past. Everywhere the non-official defence organisations are springing up spontaneously. They know that it is not the fighters at the front alone who can bring victory however heavily they may be armed. Unless the fighters in the fields, in the factories and at the homefront do their part, victory is remote. If we fail to channelise this enthusiasm and fail to give a correct lead and a definite programme, there might occur a setback of the worst type. The innumerable non-official committees need to be regulated. The Parliament is sitting now; it is momentous in the truest sense of the term. The

Aggression by China

whole country is watching its proceedings and waiting a clear programme from this august body.

Day before yesterday, the Minister for Planning made a statement on the measures to curb the price rise of essential commodities and foodstuffs and also to augment the production of foodgrains, fruits, vegetables, meats and eggs etc. I congratulate him for it and wish that he maintains the speed, at which the mass mind is moving in implementing the measures.

Having said so, I want to mention a few points for attention of the Government. Firstly, Assam is bounded on all sides by foreign countries except for a narrow strip of land about 40 miles in width. This is the place where the boundaries of Bhutan, Sikkim and Pakistan meet. If this corridor is cut off, then, the entire State of Assam, with Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura will be lost and the people there will have the same fate as the Tibetans under the Chinese. It is reported that there is heavy concentration of Chinese troops on the the Bhutan boundary.

Secondly, the road built by the Americans during the Second World War; known as the Stilwell Road, connects Assam with China through North Burma. This road, though not in use now, offers a good possibility for the Chinese to infiltrate into India or to open another front with the help of the people of North Burma who have communist leanings. Thirdly, if the Chinese attack Tirap, the fifth division of NEFA and find way into Tuensang, they will meet the hostile Nagas and coming further south, they will be able to establish contact with Pakistan with whom we are unfortunately not in very good terms.

Fourthly, there are a number of airfields and airstrips in Assam. During the Second World War, all important air fields were protected with long range anti-aircraft guns. But, today, there are no anti-aircraft guns

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seen and air fields lie vulnerable to air raids. Fifthly, the two Memoranda submitted jointly by the Assam M.P.s, one to the Railway and the other to the Transport Ministers should be considered and the suggestions made therein should be given effect to immediately.

Last but not the least the Intelligence Branch and the Publicity Branch of the Government, both at the Centre and the States should be overhauled and enlarged. Fifth columnist activities are already taking place in Assam. There were two attempts of derailment of trains carrying troops and military goods. Two Chinese have been arrested near the Bhutan and Assam border for suspicious movements. One Lhasa man, carrying powerful cameras, was arrested at Gauhati while taking photographs of the Brahmaputra bridge from different angles. With him were found several other photographs of the Gauhati Refinery. To our utter surprise this suspect has managed to escape from police custody. Rumour has been spreading out that Assam will soon be cut off from the rest of India and it will be divided into two parts, north part up to the Brahmaputra river will go to the Chinese and the southern part will be taken over by Pakistan.

I draw the attention of the Government to these significant points. Offering my deepest homage to the departed Jawans and wishing early recovery of those who are wounded. I end my speech and support these Resolutions. I thank you very much.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapuzha): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Free India is only 15 years old. In that sense, we are a very young nation. This young nation of ours is faced with a most serious challenge after our Independence. But, our people have accepted this challenge and they are meeting it with courage and determination.

The Prime Minister has stated that we are deeply shocked by the Chinese invasion and aggression. I would like to state that there is none more shocked than we the Communists in this country. Peking has chosen to call us self-styled Marxists and Leninists. We are not surprised at that. We are fully convinced that the supposedly profound formulations propounded by the editorial writers in Peking run quite contrary to facts and reality. How are we to meet this challenge?

The view of our Party was clearly and categorically stated in our National Council Resolutions. Allow me to read the relevant passage from that Resolution. We have stated:

"The people and armed forces of India are capable enough to defend their country once they organise and move in their millions as a solid united force. Supreme efforts both by the Government and the people will have to be made in this direction."

The supreme need of the hour is that we should move as a solid, united force. Real national unity is the need of the hour.

But, national unity should have a firm basis. The long established policies of our country provide the firmest basis for this unity. It is here that we see that there are discordant voices. Certain elements, unfortunately are interested, it seems, to turn the clock of history. People are going on talking about the rejection of non-alignment. People are going on talking about the scuttling of the Plan. Certain people are speaking about total war between communism and democracy to be settled on the soil of this country. There are many voices which we hear saying, no negotiations, no negotiations. That is a chorus for some people. In all these respects, we believe that policies adopted by the Government are correct. Some friend was asking us

■ In the morning why you always speak about the Prime Minister. I do not know why he is so much surprised. I think, we in this House, for the last 10 years—all these years—were speaking about the policies of the Prime Minister and we were supporting his policies as far as external policies are concerned. There is nothing new in it. There is nothing surprising in it. We support him not because of the particular person as Shrimati Renu Chakravartty pointed out yesterday. We support him for his policies which we cherish. It is something to be cherished at any cost. That is the view of our Party. The other policies which are being propagated in this country making use of this crisis run quite contrary to the well established policies of the Government of India, led by the Prime Minister. We should be very careful at this moment that we should not reject those policies which we have nourished all these years. I can quote passage after passage, speech after speech, resolution after resolution adopted by various parties in this country, by the Swatantra party, by the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. All these parties—I do not want to waste my time by quoting the Resolutions—are very clear about this. They have not only demanded a change in these policies, but they have also demanded a change in the leadership. Let not my friends on the other side take it in a light way....

Shri Bade (Khargona): The Jan Sangh has never demanded a change in the leadership.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Because I did not want to waste my time, I did not quote. I have here a paper called *Organiser*. (Interruption by Shri Bade).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order, Mr. Bade.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I am told that this paper represents the views of the Jan Sangh. They have written

in their editorial of November 5th—I quote a sentence . . .

“We want a leader other than Nehru”.

I do not know what it means.

Shri Bade: That is not the Resolution of the Working Committee.

15 hrs.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: About policies we are speaking. We have got the Defence of India Rules. Can a paper in this country go on saying that the call of the Finance Minister to get gold is detrimental to the interests of the country? Here is another editorial written by the very same paper with the caption, “Hands off peoples gold.” These go on in the name of patriotism today. The label of patriotism should not be allowed to be a garb for all kinds of reactionary and retrograde ideologies and movements in this country. We should warn ourselves against these interests, and I am very glad that the latest pronouncement by the Prime Minister is very reassuring. I would like to read out what he has stated, because that is the latest statement of the Prime Minister. Yesterday, while addressing a mass rally at the Ram-lila Grounds, this is what he said. And *The Times of India* has written that:

“The Prime Minister on Sunday stoutly defended the policy of non-alignment. He said India would not give it up out of fear or to oblige vested interests who were trying to exploit the climate of enthusiasm for their own ends . . . Mr. Nehru said a few interested groups could not be allowed to force the country to give up a policy ‘which is basically correct’.

Mr. Nehru said even the USA, Britain and other countries which had responded so quickly to India's request for arms, had not, ‘unlike some of their supporters

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here' insisted that the policy of non-alignment should be discarded."

So, this is really a problem of two different approaches and two different basic policies. Some of our friends say that we are not supporting Government, and they accuse us of double-talk. I ask you to ponder over this question as to who is engaged in double-talk. If the Swatantra Party or some other party has the courage, then let those people come out and say that 'We have basic differences with the policy'. Of course, I am very glad to say that there is at least one person who has got that courage. The General Secretary of the Swatantra Party has sent out a circular to his units that the Swatantra Party should not give unconditional support to Government. We are all behind the nation in a national emergency, and we are all rallying round the Prime Minister. And yet, what is going on in this country? I do not want to spend my time on this particular aspect of the problem any more.

Shri Ranga (Chittor): Since my hon. friend has made a particular reference to our party, may I explain the position?

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I am referring to the circular.

Shri Ranga: About the circular also, I may say that this circular was issued long before our party had met in its parliamentary board. We made it clear there that the parliamentary board was going to meet, and, we then said: 'Please do not commit yourselves.' The parliamentary board has already offered its wholehearted co-operation to our national leadership in regard to this national resistance against the Chinese aggression.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I hope, Sir, that you will not take away these few minutes from the time allotted to me.

I have a reply to what my hon. friend has stated now also. Even after that, in Delhi, the general secretary of the party addressed pressmen and said that 'These are our conditions; unless Government accepts these conditions, we shall not give our unstinted support to Government'.

Shri Ranga: No, no.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I can produce paper cuttings, and they have not been contradicted by the party leaders.

Shri Ranga: I am saying it here as the president of the party as well as the leader of the party here in this House. Therefore, it is no good my hon. friend trying to go on casting aspersions here. I am making the statement here on behalf of my party.

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapalli): If the position has changed, we are happy over it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should now try to conclude.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Please give me two or three minutes more. You may deduct that time from the time allotted to the other spokesmen from our party.

An Hon. Member: Let my hon. friend speak about his own party. Let him not speak about others.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: My hon. friend from the PSP is always very impatient; it may be that he is so because he is in the PSP! I do not quite know.

Now, I want to refer to some of the allegations made on the floor of this House by my hon. friend Shri Hem Barua the other day. He is a very energetic Member, no doubt, and he is a very vigilant Member too, but he is blind. It may be very difficult for you to believe that he is blind.

Shri Nambiar: Politically.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: But I say that he is blind with anti-communism.

Shri Mohan Swarup (Pilibhit): My hon. friend says so because he does not support his policies?

Shri Vasudevan Nair: My hon. friend was reading from some newspaper report the other day to prove that the effigy-burning in Howrah was an act of the Communist Party. He was at least hinting at that, and he was reading a particular press report.

The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* which is also run by the same concern which manages the *Hindustan Standard* has also given a report about this, where it has said:

"The burning of effigy at Bagnan Thana on last Saturday was a pre-planned conspiracy. It seems the State Government has come to this conclusion after making a preliminary investigation. It is also understood that the State is conducting a detailed investigation regarding the incident. Afterwards, necessary steps would be taken. The spokesman of the Howrah District Congress Committee says 'the real culprits' have gone underground. Public opinion against this incident should be vocal."

This is another important paper which has given this report, where there is absolutely no hint of what Shri Hem Barua has said in this House.

Just after this incident, the secretary of the local committee of the Communist Party of India issued a statement wherein he said:

"I wish to state that the Communist Party is not connected in any way whatsoever with the reported incident. The Communist Party does not believe in such activities and condemns them categorically, whoever the person or persons responsible for them may be. Taking advantage of a village dispute concerning the local water

tax, certain interested persons have resorted to such heinous acts in order to gain their own ends and to slander the Communist Party. At this critical hour, when united efforts are needed for the task of national defence, we are surprised to find certain local Congressmen joining in the slander campaign.....

In the grave situation arising in India as a result of Chinese aggression, I appeal to all people of Bagnan, irrespective of parties and opinions, to respond to the appeal of the Government of India and to work unitedly."

I have no complaint about my hon. friend, Shri Hem Barua producing a paper cutting and hinting at the supposed complicity of the Communists in this particular incident. I am sorry that he has forgotten to see the contradiction which was issued on the 6th of this month, and he has tried to completely hide all these things and just present a case as if it was done by the Communists. This is not anything new to the communist movement.

Then, my hon. friend was saying something about the collections in the border districts. I am sorry that my hon. friend Shri Tyagi also hinted at that. I do not say that he definitely said anything about it.

Shri Tyagi: I did not hint at the Communist Party. I know the decision of the Communist Party. My hint was only at individuals.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: The point is that in this country we do not collect money only from the people of Assam or Bengal but throughout the country. As a matter of fact, before coming to attend the current session of Parliament, in my State, I myself had been going round and collecting money and giving receipts to the people for what I got from the people. So, if people go on saying that receipts are issued telling the people to show the receipts

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to the Chinese when they come and so on, I do not quite know how childish those allegations are. If there is any such serious allegation, and if there is any such doubt, let the authorities enquire into it, and if there is anyone engaging in it, be he a communist or anyone else, let Government take the severest action against him. We accept the challenge. There is absolutely no meaning in bandying about such allegations against a responsible party which has taken a decision.

My hon. friend on the other side was asking me a little while ago whether we could point out the people in the 'China Lobby'. As far as our party is concerned, when we have adopted this resolution, there is absolutely no question of any lobby in the country. I would ask my hon. friend whether he can show me the persons in the 'Anti-Nehru Lobby'. There is, therefore, absolutely no meaning in asking a question and then throwing a counter-question.

Certain incidents have taken place in this country, very disturbing incidents; our office was attacked, and books were burnt. Burning is nothing new in the history of the world. It happened in Germany too. But burning of books which have not been condemned by any of the leaders of the responsible parties who organised it does not do any good to our country.

An Hon. Member: What about Telengana?

Shri Vasudevan Nair: In this time of national emergency, we would appeal to all the parties, and all the sections in this country and to all responsible leaders, to avoid such campaigns; let us try to pull together in the interests of our country at this time of national emergency.

Sir, the sincerity of a party or a section of people will be proved not by their words, but by their deeds. We assure you, Sir, that in our country, at a time of peril like this, no Com-

munist will lag behind any other person in this country in meeting this challenge and I am sure we will succeed in meeting the great challenge that we are facing today.

Shri K. C. Pant (Naini Tal): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the very fact that so many hon. Members have already participated in this debate and still many more are waiting to participate is a measure of the gravity of the situation and the intensity of public feelings which it has aroused throughout the country. We are meeting here today, in the shadow of a grim and deadly struggle raging over our northern frontier. Sir, this is not a struggle of our choosing; nor is it one in which we have any choice. What is involved is no longer just a tract of land, a mere question of territory, but the sacred honour of our motherland, the freedom and integrity of this great country, the values, the ideals and the way of life which we all cherish, which go to make India what it is.

Sir, as the Prime Minister has said, this struggle will have far-reaching consequences not only for India and China, but for Asia and, perhaps, for the whole world. This struggle in a sense affects all nations and all people, for, in the ultimate analysis, it is a struggle between those who believe in and accept peaceful co-existence as the basis for human society and those who would subordinate human survival to the triumph of their particular creed. And, let us make no mistake about it. China would have no qualms in waging a full-scale war, however bloody, however destructive, however ghastly it might be, if by doing so, it hoped to gain something tangible.

Sir, in this context, I would like to draw a distinction between the positions of China and Russia. While we should not forget, and we can do so only at our peril, that China and Russia are tied together by close bonds, it is, I think, proper for us to recognise

that Russia today has a definite stake in peace and much to lose in a global war. The Chinese, on the other hand, have no such stake in peace. And, Communism or no communism, the day will come when Russia too will have to reckon with the ruthless Octopus that China is fast becoming, and I think, the Russians know this.

Sir, I think, the House may be interested in getting an inkling of the dangerous territorial ambitions of China. I have here with me a copy of the Magazine 'Link' of the 11th November. In it appears a map taken out of a history book meant for college students in China. This not only shows Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Burma and the whole land mass of South-East Asia as "Chinese Territories taken by Imperialists", but it also covers the Pamirs which are said to have been "secretly divided between Britain and Russia in 1896" as also huge segments of the present-day Soviet Republics of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Tajikistan. According to the Chinese text in the map, these areas were "seized by Imperialist Russia under the Treaty of Chuguchak in 1864". I think there is some food for thought in this for all concerned, particularly for Nepal.

As regards Nepal, Sir, there has been a wave of anxiety in this country for its security, not only because of geo-political considerations though these are important, but because of the warm and brotherly ties which, despite recent misunderstandings—which one hopes will now finally disappear—have bound our two countries since times immemorial.

I am sure, Sir, that Nepal and even Russia must have taken note of the unprincipled manner in which China returned India's trust with treachery, sincerity with deceit and friendship with cynicism. There is a fundamental difference between the approach of the two countries to world problems. While China believes that there can be no lasting peace in the world unless all countries can be made to adopt her own exclusive way of life—with, I suppose, whatever help it can

get from like-minded 'of the people liberators' in these countries—, India believes that every country should have the freedom and the right to choose her own way of life without interference from others. This belief has inspired India's foreign policy ever since independence. It is a belief founded on a certain measure of trust. Perhaps that trust should have been tempered with greater caution. That may be so. Still, this does not affect the fundamental correctness of the domestic and foreign policies that the Government of India has been following all these years with the overwhelming support of the Indian people. These policies, namely, peace, non-alignment, and friendship abroad and planning, socialism and democracy at home, have been founded on a deep-rooted confidence in the inherent strength of the Indian nation. It would be nothing short of undignified panic, unbecoming in a great country, if, after all these years, we were suddenly to discard these basic policies on grounds of expediency. Let us rather, in this hour of crisis, reaffirm our faith in these fundamentals and not allow anything to cloud our clear-sighted vision of the India of tomorrow.

Sir, considering the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged, it is but natural for us to look to all the countries of the world for assistance. We are deeply grateful to countries like the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and France and a host of other countries like Malaya who have given us moral and material assistance in this moment of reckoning. To a nation fighting for existence, there is only one test of friendship,—the response it gets in its hour of need.

Sir, this is going to be a long struggle, how long one does not know. But, it will certainly be long enough to test the grit and dedication of our people and their determination. I speak as one belonging not only to a border area, but to a generation which will long remain the plaything of the forces that are being set in motion.

[Shri K. C. Pant]

today. It is quite possible that the best years of our lives will be blighted by a continuing bloody conflict between the two giants of Asia, India and China. And yet, I am sure that I speak for my generation when I say that we are prepared for this conflict and we are prepared for all the sacrifice and hardships which it will entail, the broken limbs, the shattered homes, the fatherless children and all the other horrors of the debris that war leaves behind it. I have seen something of what the last war did to Germany with my own eyes, and I say this not in a mood of effervescent enthusiasm, but with a grim realisation of all that a long-drawn conflict with China could mean. I am clear in my mind that we have no choice but to prepare fully for such a conflict, because this is the price we have to pay for freedom. Sir, in saying this, of course, I am vastly encouraged by the grand response of the people to the challenge confronting the country. It is the response of a brave and united people, and I think we should be proud of it. It is now for the leadership to canalise this released energy into constructive channels.

The first thing for this is to gear up the administrative machinery not only at the Centre but in the States to a war footing. There must be more movement and quicker decisions. The man in the street cannot be convinced that there is an emergency unless we quicken up things. Both the Government and the community must serve notice on anti-social elements that their activities will be dealt with ruthlessly. Exemplary punishment must be given to those who would profit at the cost of the nation's peril. Let us use this opportunity to create a sense of driving urgency throughout the country. Production will have to be stepped up even beyond the ambitious targets set by the Third Plan and for this all resources will have to be mobilised. This is the time to enforce standards for quality and price in the market. Let the Government reject anything even slightly below

quality. Let the prices of all commodities be openly displayed in the market. Let us try to instil a sense of discipline in the minds of our people. If we do not utilise the next few months to do this, it may be too late.

There is only one thing that matters today and that is to throw out every single Chinese soldier from Indian territory. All else is secondary. I take this opportunity to pay my humble tribute to the rare courage with which our jawans have fought against heavy odds on the front, and my homage to those who have laid down their lives for the country. Our Indian Army is one of the finest in the world. Given adequate equipment and arms and the understanding confidence of the people, I have no doubt that it will bring us glory and victory, however long and hard the struggle may be. The time for talk is over. Let us get on with the job without fuss and without delay. Let us on this occasion pledge anew our wholehearted loyalty and support to the greatest living Indian, the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, than whom there could be no finer symbol of the undying determination of the Indian people to remain free and undefeated.

Shri J. B. S. Bist (Almora): At this solemn hour, the time is not for talking but for doing things. I would not have intervened in this debate but for the fact that the region from which I come may be the centre of military operations. Even otherwise, the people from the area from where I come, are in the army in a substantial number and have already been in the thick of the fighting in the NEFA and Ladakh areas. Most of them prefer to die rather than surrender. According to reports, the Kumaonese and the Dogras fought with their knives when bullets were spent. Through this House, I wish to pay my tribute to our gallant soldiers and officers.

I hope I will be excused if I try to do a bit of plain-speaking. Coming

from a military area, I have some idea of the great task that faces us. In 1958 or 1959, I had in a speech in this House described the activities of the Chinese across our front, and I had said that Government should not be complacent. This is no time to lick our sores but to march ahead. Frankly speaking, I find the atmosphere of mobilisation for the immense task ahead lacking. There is enthusiasm amongst the people but not enough opportunity for it, being diverted into fruitful channels. We are recruiting men, but we need more officers to train them. Why should we not recall ex-servicemen who are fit, particularly the officers, and entrust them with the task of training the units which may be raised? We want to double the intake of the N.C.C. I have been informed that when some of our educational institutions wanted to double the strength of the N.C.C., the State Governments said that they had no additional funds. I need not elaborate on this point because there are so many other hon. Members who want to speak.

We want to give rifle training to our citizens but we must have the rifles and ammunitions for them. What I mean to say is that so much of energy is being spent in the demonstrative aspect of our resistance that the things we would need to offer real resistance seem to receive less attention.

I thank all the countries which have expressed sympathy with us and offered their help. I am thankful to the United Kingdom and the United States for the prompt action they have taken, for in present circumstances that help means a great deal to us.

I am no military expert and I cannot claim to speak about military or army strategy. But one thing I would certainly like to say is this, that the proper place where the Chinese must be made to meet their Waterloo are the areas where the operations are going on now. To think of striking after the enemy reaches the foothills is suicidal and fatal.

I welcome the Government's decision to associate our retired Generals

with the defence effort. The National Defence Council, with which they are associated, is too large a body. I would venture to suggest that a smaller permanent body with some of our retired Generals, Chiefs of Staff and some members of the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet might be constituted under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister to deal with general operational policy.

In this grim hour, there is one thing which we should remember and take hope and comfort. Our soldiers are the best fighting material in the world. I am not exaggerating, nor am I praising our soldiers unnecessarily. This has been proved beyond doubt in previous wars and today the army of free India, I am sure, will act in such a way, and is acting in such a way, that it will surpass its previous good records and lead us on to victory. If we can give them the tools which we have to, I am confident they will do the job. Our people have the will to be free, and as long as that will is there, no nation, however mighty and powerful, can enslave us. We have not sought war. It has been thrust upon us. We are prepared to meet the challenge, and we will meet it. In spite of the nearness of the border, the hill people are determined to fight back this aggression. They would rather prefer annihilation than submit to defeat and slavery.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): I rise to support the two resolutions moved by the Prime Minister on the 8th. The first resolution deals with the emergency ordinance that has been promulgated and seeks the approval of the House. The Second deals with the situation created by the unprovoked invasion of India by the Chinese forces.

The two resolutions are interlinked. The emergency ordinance had to be promulgated because a situation has been created by the unprovoked invasion by the Chinese.

The Prime Minister has characterised this invasion as a betrayal on the part of China of our friendship and the principles on which both India

[Dr. M. S. Aney]

and China were agreed. Who does not know what India has done to preserve friendship with China? There was no stouter champion of the interests of China in the United Nations Organisation when the question of China being made a member of that body was discussed. India, as a matter of fact, had to do that in opposition to States like America and others. They had, therefore, their own grouse against us. One of their reasons opposing China's admission to the world body was that she was lacking in regard and respect for the principles for which the United Nations stands, and one of these principles is respect for co-existence of nations, toleration of nations holding different ideologies. In spite of that, we supported China on those occasions, but what do we find today? We find that the grounds on which America and other nations opposed admission of China to the U.N. are real and true. But we are learning that today at bitter cost. So, that clearly indicates how we have been betrayed by China. We put faith in her and did everything for her, in spite of the opposition of others, ignored all China's weaknesses and shortcomings, but in spite of that, China has gone its own way to achieve its ambition, which it had concealed from us for a long time.

Let me give another example to show how we have been betrayed by China and how she has scant or little respect for the principle of co-existence. I do not want to criticise the Prime Minister or anybody here, but the rape of Tibet by China was a matter which we allowed to go unprotested. I do not say we could have stopped that, but if we had protested that China was not justified in occupying Tibet ruthlessly, in the way she did, perhaps our heart would have been pure and our hands unsoiled. Somehow or other, Tibet did not have the support which she expected from us as a neighbour. In this matter, there is one more point which I want to bring to the notice of the House. We are proclaiming that our line of border

is what we call the MacMahon Line. What was this MacMahon Line? It was a border settled between Tibet and the British Government. By calling it a proper line, we acknowledge as a matter of fact that Tibet had the right to enter into an agreement with Great Britain as a sovereign State. But when Tibet was overrun by China, we ignored this fact and kept silent. We committed a kind of sin, and today we have to go through a blood bath as an atonement for the sins of omission which we committed then. That is how I feel.

This is no time for us to enter into those nice questions of international principles, because we are in the midst of a war. In this war we find that China has invaded India at a time when we were probably least expecting it. We admit that. Our duty now is to see that we prepare ourselves to counteract the effects of the invasion. We have to give a good account of ourselves. We have got a good and brave army, an army with a great record of heroism. We must equip that army properly. For that we must get assistance from every nation possible. Here we should not allow considerations of alignment and non-alignment to be very meticulously considered so as to make us feel shy of getting help from any country. Fortunately for us, the cause of China is unrighteous. In fact, one of the reasons why she is not a member of the United Nations Organisation is this. After all, the United Nations Organisation was intended to create a force of righteousness and association of nations which want to live in peace, stable peace, and make peaceful progress of the world possible. Now, China is a country which has no respect for peace. She does not desire peace. If the United Nations is an organisation of righteous nations China can only be described as a rascal wanting to join the club of righteous nations. It is a matter of great satisfaction that most of the nations have realised that there is need for prompt help to India. There are some nations which may not come to our aid, though our rela-

tions with them have been friendly up to this time. Whether they will stand by us in this hour of crisis or not is a matter of doubt. In Sanskrit, there is a phrase:

राजद्वारे स्मशाने च यस्तिष्ठति वान्कचः

Only he who stands by you, both in prosperity and adversity, is your real friend.

It is a matter of satisfaction that some nations, big nations, have come to our help and are helping us, but we have to prepare our own nation at the same time. We shall be getting help from them, but it has to be used by our own people. Our people must be properly disciplined.

It is also a matter of great satisfaction that the appeal made by the Prime Minister to the people has received a generous response, a wonderful, miraculous response. That is a matter of great hope for us. But when we are asking the people to make donations liberally, the Government as a whole should see that unnecessary expenditure is also curtailed. We have got large ministries at the Centre and in the different States. If the old ministry had ten ministers, the new one has 15 ministers. The general election has resulted in the addition of ministers everywhere. In my opinion, the present number of ministers in the Central Government as well as in the different States can be safely cut down by one-fourth, and the remaining ministers can be asked to work with a reduction of 25 per cent of their salaries. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that several Members of this House and the other House have voluntarily made donations, thus setting a good example.

Another suggestion I wish to make is this. During the last ten years or so, the bodies which used to be run by public spirited workers have become bodies with salaries attached to them. That has created a sordid spirit about the membership of the local

bodies. All those local and other bodies should follow the example set by the Members of this House. I hope that if we start making great sacrifices ourselves, we will be in a position to appeal to the people to make all kinds of sacrifices.

The third thing is that we have to carry public opinion with us. It is a matter of great satisfaction that all parties in the country, including the Communist Party judging by their latest resolution, have declared their resolve to stand by this Government and follow its Leader in their fight against the Chinese. After all these parties have to carry the people with them. If there are certain bodies or persons who on account of their propaganda for certain causes have been imprisoned, it is time Government thought over the matter and declared a general amnesty for political prisoners. The Nag Vidarbha Andolan Samiti has been carrying on propaganda. Now, it has suspended its agitation: it has declared so. There are some 12 persons in jail and about 12 other cases are pending. I am sure, our distinguished friend, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra who out of an admirable sense of alertness while sending behind the bars some of those communists whom he suspected to be dangerous at this juncture, will have the magnanimity and chivalry to release the other prisoners whose loyalty and devotion to the country is beyond question. Any gesture of this kind made by him will enable the country not only to fight the war of the Himalayas with the aid of Sahyadri but also with the aid of Satpura, Vindhya and Mahendraparva and all other mountains, which are all said to be the brothers and sisters of Himalayas. The whole India will go with him. I hope such a generous gesture will be shown by him and we will have a united India which will enable us to make preparations and to throw back these invaders overboard beyond the Himalayas. I do not know, but God willing, even Tibet may

[Dr. M. S. Aney]

get a new life in this struggle, if we win. With these words, I thank you for the time given to me. I wish to add one verse from the Rig Veda:

अस्माकम वीरा उत्तरे भवन् ।
त्वस्मान उदेवाः अत्रताह्वेषु ॥

It is a prayer to Gods: let our warriors be victorious and let them protect our men who are working in the battle field.

Maharajkumar Vijaya Ananda (Vissakhapatnam): Sir, I rise to support the Prime Minister's resolutions and before I say a few words I salute our gallant jawans. The present situation brings to my mind what Sir Winston Churchill said when the Second World War commenced. He said: we will fight them on land; we will fight them in the air; we will fight them on the seas, these gutter snipe. He made the womenfolk of England stand on the shores with .12 bore guns and they did that for a long time before they received further aid from America. May I pay a tribute to our women who have already made many sacrifices. They have given away most of their gold; they have started knitting woollen jackets and other things for our jawans. I would like very much to see that our womenfolk also get used to the rifles and take over the places of men in offices as they had done in England. During the Second World War, men vacated their offices and women took over. Similarly, when it becomes necessary for us, every Indian, every man born on this soil will go to the front and fight the menacing Chinese. There may be mistakes or faults. Many might say: we shall want so and so to be changed. I am reminded of a saying in English, "swapping horses in mid-stream". That would be very very detrimental to our interests. Much has been said about the Communist Party. No ordinance or no ban is necessary. The Communists should first think of their being Indians, first and last. Merely passing a resolution and saying that we are with you gets

us no where. I suggest that every communist in this country must forget the word communist and say to himself: I shall give up communism for all times to come . . .

Shri Tyagi: I think it is a good suggestion.

Shri Raghunath Singh: They will accept it.

Maharajkumar Vijaya Ananda: That is how I feel when my country is invaded. I forget any party business. I am an Indian first, and an Indian last. I do not believe in these resolutions. I want a spirit of heart searching and heart to heart talk, that is to say: we are with you and we have nothing to do with communists.

One great thing that has emerged out of this aggression is that we have forgotten this casteism. It is indeed a blessing. In the past we used to hear much about casteism and provincialism and this ism or that ism. India has now rallied round as one man behind the Prime Minister. That is a very happy thing indeed. In these fourteen years, instead of consolidating our freedom, we began to drift into different directions and castes and things like that, which were almost forgotten in the British days, began to disintegrate us. As I said this invasion is indeed a blessing in disguise. Pakistan's propaganda has risen to dizzy heights. I cannot understand their logic or commonsense. They say that they are not with India; they want to sit on the fence. If India were to be over-run by the Chinese, God forbid, how long would Pakistan last? I cannot understand that. Their leaders do not even take into account what is obvious, what is crystal clear. That shows Pakistan's narrow outlook.

15.50 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Instead of saying that we would be with you, as in undivided India, in

spite of the fact that we had partition, instead of saying that we are with you in this naked aggression, instead of that, they are building up a propaganda of hatred for India. We have been following the path of Dharma all along, all these 14-15 years, and I am sure Dharma will eventually bring us victory and a grand victory at that.

Much has been said about non-alignment. I would like to put it in my own way. It is the civilised world that is with us. It is only the barbarians who are not with us. So, non-alignment has brought the civilised world to us or with us and they are going to give us all the support and we are grateful to those nations who have agreed voluntarily to come to our aid.

That brings to my mind the recent visit of Tunku to our country. Asian countries were wavering until he came out wholeheartedly by saying that India's cause must be backed. Today we find that he is even raising a fund for India in his country. Tunku's effort in India's cause is a very good one.

I would like to read out to you a small statement given by Emperor Haile Selassie which is a very admirable one. Speaking on the Sino-Indian border dispute, the emperor said:

"Yet another threat to world tranquillity has burst into flame. We repeat what we have said on countless past occasions that aggression never has been, is not now and never will be the answer to disputes between nations. We extend our sympathy and that of our Government and people to the Indian nation which is today under armed attack."

That comes from a great man who was the victim of aggression. He went into exile and remained so for several years. But the people called him back. Those words from him have a great meaning.

As an old cricketer I believe in attack, and I never like the bowler to call the tune. And so, an attack is the best form of defence. I would like to hear in future that we are attacking the Chinese instead of saying that we are defending our country.

This brings to my mind something relating to cricket. There was a bowler called Ashung. An Englishman was batting in West Indies. The bowler bowled a ball and the Englishman shouted out, "Oh my word; that is a Chinaman." That is to say, it turned the opposite way—stabbing the man in the back. When one stabs the man in the back, you call him a Chinaman! If you look to Wisden, you find the word Chinaman, Ashung was the man who bowled that ball. In the game of cricket also the Chinaman is known to bowl the wrong ball—stab the man in the back.

I would like to give a time-limit and tell the Chinese that if this is going to continue, we shall deport every Chinese from this country, be he the cook, be it a man who makes shoes, because I think these Chinamen in India are spies who must be conveying every news to their country in whatever form they do it and in whatever manner they do it. So, I think if this war goes on and they keep on coming down like steam-rollers—though we have not to fear of steam-rollers and Dharma is on our side—even so, I feel that we should give them a warning and tell them to clear out from this country.

I have a few suggestions for whatever they may be worth. Wavell canteens worked all over the country during the second world war. I think we could have those canteens in every nook and corner of this country and call them Nehru canteens. I would like to say that the medical students of our country may be attached to military hospitals. They will be helpful to doctors and be getting to know surgery and many other things that take them long to learn in college.

[Maharajkumar Vijaya Ananda]

They would gain practical knowledge by being attached to military hospitals.

You will be pleased to know that the Prime Minister has graciously agreed to allow his name to be associated with a cricket match which I am going to organise in aid of the Jawans; the match will be called the Prime Minister's Eleven versus the President's Eleven. We hope that Members of Parliament, my colleagues here, will all come. I am going to buy a ticket and I am sure my colleagues will also buy tickets on that occasion. There will be no complimentaries as we have in test matches.

Mr. Speaker: Parliament should not be the canvassing field!

Maharajkumar Vijaya Ananda: I have had occasions to see that the film industry could do a lot of good and be a lot of help to our country by depicting the jawans as heroes in the pictures that they are making. To save power, why not cut down the cinemas which we have here four times a day? Make them two, because power is a great thing that is required for the war effort. There can be patriotic songs by our film stars, and you know how crazy our Indians are when film stars sing. That is one of the things which the general public like very much. If you can get the film stars to sing some patriotic songs, record them and have them sent to the front, it will be wonderful.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member mentioned cricket matches and now comes to film songs!

Maharajkumar Vijaya Ananda: There are various views in the House. This is my own humble view, for whatever it is worth. Sir Henry Loder, during the first world war went to the front. He used to sing to the forces there and cheer them up. So did the great Ranji of revered memory. He was idolised, as you know, in England as a great cricketer. He

went to the front just to cheer the armed forces and they also cheered him and liked him very much. There, they had a cricket match in world war I. Actually they had no stumps. They broke up some wood and put three stumps and got Ranji just to show the armed forces what a great batsman he was. You may lose a battle or two, maybe three or four, but we will not lose the war. This is how I feel.

I understand that when our gallant jawans die in the battle-field, the widows get only Rs. 20 each a month. I think that in view of the fact that when a jawan lays down his life in the cause of this country, a sum of Rs. 20 as the widow's allowance is not at all sufficient. I have also come to understand that the children of the dead jawan would get only Rs. 3. That is hardly enough to keep body and soul together. There should be better emoluments for the dependants of those who die in the battle-field so that they would not have to go round with the hat. This is the appeal which I would like to make to the Prime Minister. If this alone is the allowance and other emoluments that the widows will get after the jawans lay down their lives in battle, I think it is high time that we raise the allowance to Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 a month.

I thank you for having given me the opportunity to speak on this occasion. I have now spoken after missing two sessions not of my own will but by an accident, owing to which I could not come here. I once again wish to salute the jawans from the bottom of my heart.

Shri P. R. Ramakrishnan (Coimbatore): I thank you for the opportunity to speak on this occasion. Out of the speeches made on the floor of this House on this debate, to me, the most significant ones were those made by members of the communist party. I say it is significant because it is the first time in the history of the communist party that the communist

party has come forward to say that a communist country has committed aggression on a non-communist country. More than that, they are willing to support the resolution that embodiments getting armaments from other friendly countries outside the communist region.

14 hrs.

Sir, many people had referred to the non-alignment policy of the Prime Minister. I do not like to go into the merits and demerits of the policy. I would only like to say this. Never before I felt so convinced about the soundness of this policy as I am today because if we had been aligned or even now if we show the slightest inclination of alignment, the whole conflict would have been turned into a war of ideologies. We know what it would mean to our country in this grave hour.

The Prime Minister during the course of debate in this House mentioned that the people who talk of unpreparedness did not understand the implications of unpreparedness. There was a stir on the Opposition Benches. There were also some angry protest. He had to clarify what he meant to say. Are we prepared today to defend ourselves? Could we ever have prepared ourselves in the last five years thinking that there will be an invasion on our country? I would only say categorically, 'No'. I have been in the United States in 1939 and I have seen the angry protests made by the Americans when President Roosevelt declared that the fate of the American people lay on the shores of the Rhines. The isolationist sentiment was roused and people were very indignant and finally he was made to withdraw his statement. No democratic country would ever anticipate any invasion and prepare itself for it. I have seen the United States preparing for war from an unpreparedness. I have not been an idle spectator. I have been an active participant. I was then an engineer in the General Electric Co. at Schneck-

tady. Therefore, I could see at close quarters what it meant to be to convert a laboratory for war effort. Many cells were created in Government. Many men had been called, college students, professors, presidents of corporations. They were all called to Washington. They were men of very high calibre and integrity. They were interested in the great task of converting peace economy into a war economy. It was more than a year before they could accomplish this task. So, when people talk of unpreparedness in this country, I am sure the Prime Minister was correct when he said that they did not understand the facts.

During the course of the speech the Prime Minister referred that today we have more than 2,000 scientists in the defence science establishments. He also mentioned some names—the efforts of Dr. Kothari and Dr. Bhagwantham. They are very fine scientists I only say that we need more Kotharis and Bhagwanthams today if we have to fulfil the obligations to our country to throw out the aggressors out of the country. We need many more scientists than what we have today. Just in one laboratory which was set up at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, called the Radiation Laboratory during the war, in one year they had recruited more than 6,000 engineers and scientists to carry on defence work in the United States.

Today, Sir, we are very fortunate in this country. I say we are very fortunate because we have a substantial industrial potential built up during the last 15 years. Many skills have been developed in this country which were not in existence during the Second World War. There are many research facilities today in our country. In the context of the present emergency, it is necessary to mobilise and channelise these talents. Now, everyone is asking, how can we help in this war effort? I am sorry to say that nobody seems to know it. Everybody is talking in vague terms. During war, many things have to be set-aside.

*Emergency and
Aggression by China*

[Shri P. R. Ramakrishnan]

Many considerations which are paramount during peace time have to be set apart. Quick decisions have to be taken. For instance, no cost consideration can ever come into effect in the development of war equipment. Researches that are being carried out in one establishment necessarily have to be duplicated in other establishments to achieve quick results. The time has come when we have to take stock of men, materials, skills and facilities that exist throughout our country and harness them for the war effort.

Sir, help is being received from friendly countries. We are grateful for all the help that is being received. We need much more help than what we are getting today. The weapons of war that are being received from different countries widely differ in size, in their mechanism, in their range and in their operation. We must take proper care to see that we establish repair shops, train our men in the use of these arms. Coordination today is the prime need. Coordination, direction and keeping the lines of communications at various levels of production and supply would be the most urgent need. So, the job of coordination becomes very important during war time. Now, Sir, we have to look for men who have vision and we must consult them and recruit them, if necessary. There is a wave of enthusiasm and determination in the country. Let us not allow it to dissipate by our inaction and delay.

Thank you, Sir.

Shri Basappa (Tiptur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the nations feelings are roused in anger and indignation, whether it is from the south or north, whether it is from the east or west. We are fortunate in this whole crisis that the whole stream-line which we see, which is bright, is the unity of this country and this is symbolised in our great leader and the Prime Minister: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is not

time that we have to fight on smaller issues. We are fighting a very big cause. In this cause of India, the whole world is supporting us except a few countries and it is but natural that everyone of us must subordinate his own party interest in this matter. When I see all this, sometimes a few individuals, not a large majority of people, are supporting this cause, it looks to me as though these few individuals are supporting some interest either this way or that way. It is not the interest of one individual or another that is important. It is not the interest of one party or another party that is important. But it is the cause of this country that is important.

Therefore, if you look at this whole problem in that light you will see that we are faced with a challenge, the challenge of aggression by China. Sir, after all, we are taking up this challenge in a spirit of calmness, in a spirit of dedication compared to the graveness of the challenge, and the parties involved in this challenge. If we examine closely we see on the one side the emotional Chinese people who have acted in a very rash way. I want to compare them with our soldiers. Though they may have some initial successes, ultimately, the strength of India, the strength of the freedom loving people of India is something bigger than the cowardice with which the Chinese have attacked us in a treacherous way.

Now, the strength of our righteous cause has brought us many friends. I liked Shri Tyagi's speech so far as he was saying that the wasteful expenditure that is going on must be put an end to and that we must subordinate our party considerations to the cause of the nation. But when he, in a way, says that we have to give up certain fundamental policies which we have pursued, I feel like disagreeing with him. He was quoting from some book and he was bringing in the name of the father of the nation. It was not necessary.

This policy of non-alignment is a fundamental policy and today it has brought us many friends. When those very persons who are giving us help are appreciating this policy, it is no use raising controversies on this issue. This policy of non-alignment has won us many friends. Today, people all over the world are looking as to whether the Indians are going to change this policy because of some fear or just to oblige certain vested interests. I think the Prime Minister is right in saying that neither fear nor obligation to vested interests would make him change that policy. It does not mean that there is no determination. He has the necessary determination to fight the Chinese. He has his own methods. We must have full faith in him. We can succeed only by having that faith at this critical juncture especially when he symbolises the whole nation. I do not think he will give up that stand. He will rise from his peace policy to a war policy. That has to be adopted, and I have no doubt that he will rise to the occasion in fulfilling this task. It is no use questioning his *bona fides* or even indirectly in a subtle way saying that his policies have not brought us any good. It should be our duty at this juncture not to embarrass him by saying that he should reshuffle things in this way or that way, he should do this thing or that thing. He is quite conscious of everything, he will do the right thing and we must allow him to do that.

Sir, the significance of this invasion by the Chinese has to be understood in the correct perspective. Whether it is going to be a long-drawn affair or whether there will be a re-thinking on their part it is left to them, but we must be prepared for war. That I do admit.

So far as Russia is concerned, they should have gone a longer way in supporting the right cause. We do not know what is impelling them not to do it. A little more time may be given to them to see which way they

act. If they act in a different way, if they act properly, then there is some meaning in the so-called international communism; otherwise the whole concept of international communism will be put to rest and people will have no faith in it. Today, the Chinese have already understood this. Only our determination and firmness will make them realise their mistake and not merely our peace talks. Our Communist friends, if they are sincere in what they say, must make this quite clear to them. If they make it further clear to them and if they stand and act in a way which will bring a name to this country, then the Chinese will have no foothold here. Then I think they will reverse their policy and will get back to their proper places.

Sir, in this hour of crisis I would also like to join my friends in paying a homage to all our jawans and in expressing our indebtedness for the generosity with which the various countries have helped us. I would also like to express my appreciation for the stead-fastness with which our people are moving. It is now up to us, the Prime Minister and the Government of this country to canalise. We see donations coming in and so many other things are happening. But more than that, the emergent situation must be made to be felt by the people in a larger degree.

About the question of peace talks. I do not want to say more. They will listen only to firmness. If only we have a firm attitude and we are prepared in every way, these talks have some meaning. The Chinese methods are entirely different. Let us not criticise our attitude towards the various parties here or to Russia or to Pakistan. We hope they will realise very soon like UAR or Ghana. I hope Ghana will also realise her mistakes in the past and will fall in line with her neighbouring countries like UAR and do something to see that justice is done.

The Prime Minister has very well said that this is in a way a blessing

[Shri Basappa]

in disguise and an opportunity for growth. In this process of growth India is passing through several stages. I take it only as a second stage when efficiency and unity must be brought up in this country to fight any aggression from any quarter.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we meet here under the grim shadow of an aggressive invasion from the Chinese, a cunning and a cruel enemy. We meet here when the nation is engaged in repelling a grievous wrong which we neither sought nor merited. We meet here to reaffirm our resolve to defend our territorial frontiers which have been transgressed by the Chinese without an excuse, and to defend our national honour which has been violated without cause by the Chinese aggressors. I would like to submit, Sir, that we meet here in a spirit of the deepest dedication to the supreme national purpose, and in doing this we concentrate all our efforts to this purpose and this purpose alone.

In this context, Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my sense of discomfiture, deprecation and disapprobation of some of the controversial remarks which have been made by certain hon. Members of different parties in this House. This is not the time for mud-slinging. This is certainly not the time for expressing our want of confidence or for questioning the bona fides of our brethren who are constrained to offer criticism out of patriotic feelings.

The hon. Prime Minister's Resolution is a stirring, a moving and an evocative expression of the nation's resolve. The hon. Prime Minister Resolution, as far as it goes, is enthusiastically endorsed by all sections of this House and by all the people of India. In acclaiming this Resolution we pledge to the hon. Prime Minister, through you, Sir, our blood, sweat and toil, our unsparing effort and our unflinching devotion.

I have ventured to move a Substitute Motion although I agree with the Resolution of the hon. Prime Minister. I have adopted the five paragraphs of the hon. Prime Minister's Resolution in toto with minor verbal variations. I would however, like to draw the attention of the august House to the five additional paragraph which I have proposed and would like the Government to bestow its earnest considerations on these matters. These additions which I have proposed are:—

“This House, therefore, calls upon the Government of India immediately to sever India's diplomatic relations with the People's Government of China, branded as an aggressor by the United Nations and to invoke the aid of the United Nations to defend India's territorial integrity and to halt and repulse the Chinese aggression on our northern frontiers.

This House further calls upon the Government of India to desist from supporting or endorsing any move for the admission of the People's Government of China to the United Nations and any other international organisation.

This House welcomes the assumption of the defence portfolio by the Prime Minister at this critical juncture of our national history and pledges its full and unfailing support to him in the hour of this national emergency for the defence and safety of our country, at the same time calling upon him and the Government of India that the entire defence responsibility including that of defence production should be taken over by the Prime Minister himself.

“This House expresses regret over the Government of India's indiscriminate and excessive reliance on the professions of peace

by the People's Government of China during the last decade and deplores the utter inadequacy of our arrangements and preparations for the defence and safety of our northern frontiers against enemy whose calculated cruelty and running is unsurprised in the history of international relations."

The last proposed addition is:—

"This House is of the definite view that compulsory military training should be imparted to all able-bodied male citizens of India to achieve national preparedness to meet any foreign aggression from any quarter."

Regarding the paragraph on the assumption of the defence portfolio by the hon. Prime Minister, I do not have much to say. One of the underlying purposes of this suggestion has already been actualised. I would, however, like to say and put it on record that the resignation of our former Defence Minister should be construed only on the grounds of his being unacceptable to certain people in the country. It is in deference to that wish that he had resigned. As a matter of fact, when the appropriate time comes, it would be for the Government as a whole to own up the Constitutional responsibility which is collectively that of the entire Cabinet.

I have advocated the severance of diplomatic relations with the People's Government of China because that is a recognised and a known mode of international behaviour when one's country is invaded. To maintain diplomatic relations with the perfidious Chinese and to give them diplomatic quarter in spite of the wanton aggression which they have perpetrated on our frontiers is neither justifiable by international law nor is borne out by any considerations of diplomacy today.

The Chinese Missions in our country are engaged in extensive espionage

and to allow them to operate freely and what is more, under cover of privilege is imprudent to say the least. In this hour of emergency I would like to request the Government in all earnestness to consider the severance of diplomatic relations or at least recalling of our diplomatic personnel from Chinese territories.

In this respect I need hardly draw the attention of the Government to the temper of the House which was expressed only this morning during the Question Hour when we learnt of the mis-treatment meted out to our diplomatic personnel in Lhasa.

I would like also to discuss before this House the state of belligerency in which we are and what it warrants. I would submit that this is actually an undeclared state of war even within the four corners of international law. I would quote from Lauterpacht's edition of "*Oppenheim's International Law*", Seventh Edition, page 298, wherein it is said:—

"There is no doubt that in consequence of Convention III, recourse to hostilities without a previous declaration of war, or a qualified ultimatum, is forbidden. But a war can nevertheless break out without these preliminaries. A State might deliberately order hostilities to be commenced without a previous declaration of war, or a qualified ultimatum. Thus it was held in the United States in a series of cases that the war between the United States of America and Japan began not on December 8, 1941, when Congress declared war, but on December 7 with the attack on Pearl Harbour."

The learned author goes on to say:—

"It is certain that States which deliberately order the commencement of hostilities without a previous declaration of war, or a qualified ultimatum, commit an international delinquency; just they are nevertheless engaged in

[Shri L. M. Singhvi]

war. Again, war is actually in existence if the other party forcibly resists acts of force undertaken by a State by way of reprisals, or during a pacific blockade, or an intervention. Now, in all these and similar cases, all the laws of warfare must find application, for a war is still war in the eyes of International Law, even though it has been illegally commenced, or has automatically arisen from acts of force which were not intended to be acts of war."

Oppenheim goes on to say:—

"The outbreak of war at once causes the rupture of diplomatic intercourse between the belligerents, if this has not already taken place. The respective diplomatic envoys are recalled and ask for their passports, or receive them without any previous request; but they enjoy their privileges of inviolability and extritoriality for the period of time requisite for leaving the country."

My purpose in citing this passage from a well-known work on international law is to impress upon the Government and this House the advisability, the desirability and the expediency of severing diplomatic relations with the People's Government of China or, at least, of recalling our diplomatic personnel and in ceasing and severing our diplomatic contact with that Government.

I now advert to another aspect of my resolution.

The United Nations Organisation came out into existence to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The Charter of the United Nations was enacted to outlaw war and to unite the collective might of the international community for the purposes of securing international peace and enforcing international

security. As a votary of peace India has all along extended its fullest support to the various undertakings of the United Nations. We have always been a steadfast adherent of the United Nations as an instrument of international peace and international security. We have in the past sent our diplomats and our brave soldiers to distant lands in the cause of peace under the banner of the United Nations. It is only proper, therefore, for us to invoke the aid and protection of the United Nations at this present juncture. I feel that international opinion is outraged against the aggression of the Chinese upon Indian territory. Therefore we must mobilise world opinion against the Chinese aggressors. We must have them branded as an aggressor as they were branded when they intervened in Korea without any warrant in law. We must organise and obtain massive military support in terms of equipment and fighting personnel from the United Nations, particularly from the friendly countries who belong to the United Nations and could without embarrassment or strimp give aid through the United Nations.

I feel that, instead of talking of a long and protected war which many of our leaders have done of late, we must try to launch a massive and a decisive attack on the Chinese, if we want to take a lesson from history. From the strategic point of view, and from the point of view of our national economy and its future, it is necessary for us to shorten the course of the war and not to allow it to be protected. I would submit that we should not allow the initiative in these matters to rest in the hands of the aggressors. We cannot afford a hand to mouth defence effort. We must not talk of a long and protected struggle because that would enable the Chinese to gain time and consolidate what they have already usurped. Therefore, Sir, we must wage a decisive battle to recover our territories.

I would like to make a strong plea to the Government to revise its policy on the question of Chinese admission to the United Nations. Our advocacy of their cause, in my humble opinion, is nothing but *hara kiri*. It is not realised perhaps that once the Peoples Government of China is allowed to enter the United Nations, they would become a permanent power and they would perhaps have the veto, and Armed with all the international recognition, we would be very unevenly matched against this double-dealing enemy. I would like to submit in this respect that our advocacy of Chinese admission to the United Nations is contrary even to the United Nations Charter which is its article 4

says:

“Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and in the judgment of the Organisation, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.”

Can we, in truth and fairness, say that China as it is governed today is a peace-loving nation? Can we rightly say that they are actually prepared to undertake the obligations under the Charter? Can we in truth and fairness say that in the judgment of the Organisation, or in our own judgment, they are able and willing to carry out the obligations enjoined on the Members of the United Nations? In this perspective of things, I would strongly advocate that we should desist from endorsing the Chinese claims to admission to the United Nations. In this respect, I would like very briefly to refer to the fact that the United Nations has actually called upon its Member nations to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa for its violation of human rights. Indeed, we are a party to the proposal even to expel the South African Republic from the United Nations because of its continued non-compliance with the provisions of the Charter.

How can, then, we any longer justifiably support the Chinese admission to the United Nations?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: One minute. Sir, As has been submitted by many others, a Himalayan blunder was committed on the Himalayan front when we allowed the usurption of Tibet territories by the Chinese, when we allowed the usurption to be legitimised. I understand that the Treaty of 1954 has not been renewed. It ought not to be renewed under the present conditions. We must recognise Tibet as an international entity and we must support the Tibetan patriots to salvage their country from the shackles of Chinese bondage.

I would like, in the end, to submit that the enthusiasm of the people, the upsurge among the vast masses of Indians has far out-paced the efforts at the governmental level. It is now the turn of the Government to respond to this clarion call given by the people and to harness the vast human resources which have been awakened in the country. We must be able to tell our constituency people when we return to them after this session in what tangible, specified, concrete manner each one of them can contribute to the national war effort. To this end, I invite the leadership to show us the path and to formulate a comprehensive national plan.

Mr. Speaker: One minute has gone twice or thrice.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I will crave your indulgence for another minute.

Mr. Speaker: This should not be as long as the previous one.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: The curtailment has come only today.

Mr. Speaker: He might have it.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Coming as I do from a border State just as Mr. Speaker you yourself do, I would like to say that we must pay particular attention to the organisation of civil defence in these border areas. The Chinese invasion has taught us for good and we must always remember it, that the price of liberty is supreme vigilance. I would request that there should be planned effort for the organisation of civil defence, for digging trenches, for constructing air raid shelters and for training personnel in every village in the country. Gram Senas and Nagar senas must be organised forthwith. In this connection, I would very much advocate the use of retired Army personnel for training people to bear arms in this country.

Mr. Speaker: That should be enough

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I am finishing. I would plead that the various units of civil production.....

Mr. Speaker: He himself wanted a minute. That is over. He should abide by....

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Curtailment has come only today, Sir. I have moved a substitute Motion. I would crave your indulgence in view of the fact that I have moved a substitute motion.....

Mr. Speaker: He must make up his mind: one minute, two minutes, five minutes.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I will crave your indulgence for concluding in three minutes. I would rather not take time in instalments.

Mr. Speaker: Now he should conclude.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I would submit respectfully that Panch Sheel still represents the norms of international behaviour. But these norms are norms of mutuality and not of unilater-

al implementation. We must remember and recognise that the old world of power politics is not yet dead. The new international order in which the Prime Minister places so much reliance is yet struggling to be born. I have every hope that the reverses which have been inflicted upon us by the Chinese invasion will sober us towards realities, would enable us to take proper stock of the situation and would spur us as a nation to take decisive steps towards victory, towards consolidation of our economic gains and towards an ever watchful preparedness in defence as well as in diplomacy.

श्रीमती विजय राजे सिधिया (ग्वालियर)

अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश की सीमा पर चीनी आक्रमण के कारण जो परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हुई है और उससे सम्बन्धित जो दो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने प्रधान मंत्री जी ने रखे हैं, उन पर विचार प्रकट करने के लिए और उनका समर्थन करने के लिए आपने जो मुझे अवसर दिया है, उसके लिये मैं आपकी आभारी हूँ।

भारत सदा शान्ति-प्रिय देश रहा है और इतिहास का पन्ना उलटने पर हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश ने कभी किसी अन्य देश की भूमि हथियाने के अभिप्राय से आक्रमण नहीं किया है हालांकि हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण बराबर होते आए हैं। इसी परम्परा के अनुरूप ही हमारे नेता और प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने भी विश्व शान्ति की नीति को बनाये रखा और इसी सिद्धान्त के फलस्वरूप हमने तटस्थता की नीति को अपनाया और इसका सदा पालन करने का प्रयास किया है हम अपने पड़ोसी देशों तथा राष्ट्रों के साथ हमेशा मंत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्ध बनाये रखेंगे। अगर इस मंत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्ध की इच्छा होते हुए भी किसी पड़ोसी देश ने हमारे साथ विश्वासघात किया है तो इसका अर्थ यह नहीं होता है कि हमारे इस सिद्धान्त में कोई कमी है।

हमने जिस समय स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त की उस वक्त देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था बहुत अस्त-व्यस्त थी। अतएव यह स्वाभाविक ही था कि पहले हम अपने घर को सुधारते और निर्माण की ओर कदम बढ़ाते। हमारी इस आर्थिक प्रगति में बाधा डालने के लिये तथा एशिया के एक सबसे बड़े प्रजातंत्रिय राष्ट्र को नीचा दिखाने के प्रयोजन से ही आज चीन हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण करने को उतर आया है। यह लड़ाई चीन और भारत के बीच ही नहीं है, वरन् एक विस्तारवादी और मेंबर देश तथा विश्व की समस्त जो शान्ति-प्रिय और आजादी-प्रिय जनता है, जो शान्तिप्रिय और आजादी प्रिय राष्ट्र हैं, उनके बीच में है। हम उन प्रगतिशील तथा उदार मित्र राष्ट्रों के प्रति अत्यन्त आभारी हैं जिन्होंने हमारी इस संकट के वक्त मदद की है और जो मुक्त हस्त और बिना शर्त के हमारी मदद के लिये आगे आ खड़े हुए हैं। इस अनुष्ठान में हमें अपने इन मित्र राष्ट्रों से जितनी भी सहायता जिस किसी भी रूप में वह मिलती हो, सहर्ष ग्रहण करने में कोई संकोच नहीं करना चाहिये।

इसके साथ ही साथ पाकिस्तान, नेपाल आदि पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों के साथ हमारी मैत्री सम्बन्ध और भी दृढ़ हों, इस बात की हमें सतत प्रयत्न करते रहना चाहिये।

“धीरज धर्म मित्र अरु नारी,
आपत काल परखिये चारी।”

तुलसीदास जी की इन पंक्तियों के अनुसार हम ने भी आज देख लिया है कि हमारा अमली मित्र कौन है।

इस दृष्टि से देखा जाय तो यह अभिशाप भी हमारे लिये एक वरदान प्रतीत हो रहा है। क्योंकि इस कसौटी पर ही आज हमारी देशभक्ति परखी जा रही है। देश के अन्दर राष्ट्रीय एकता और भावात्मक एकता का जो एक बड़ा भारी प्रश्न हमारे सम्मुख खड़ा था, आज मालूम होता है कि वह अपने आप ही

झल हो खला है। आज हम एक सूत्र में बंध से गये हैं और अपने जनप्रिय नेता श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू के नेतृत्व में अपने देश के ऊपर आई हुई आपत्ति का सामना करने के लिये जुट कर आये बढ़ रहे हैं।

यह लड़ाई केवल हमारे बाहरी शत्रु से ही लड़ कर खत्म नहीं होती, हमें तीन मोर्चा पर लड़ाई लड़ने की तैयारी करनी है। पहले तो हम अपने आत्म निरोधण के द्वारा, आत्म बल को बढ़ाते हुए, अपने अन्दर नैतिक शक्ति को जगाते हुए अपने शत्रु का मुकाबला करने के लिये खड़े हो जायें। दूसरा मोर्चा यह है कि हमारे बीच में जो देगदोही तत्व गुप्त रूप से विद्यमान हैं, जो कि दुश्मनों के भेदी के रूप में काम कर रहा है, उसके कुचक्रों पर सख्त नियन्त्रण रखने की हमारे लिये अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है। कहावत प्रसिद्ध है :

“घर का भेदी लंका डाये।”

इसलिये हमें सतर्क रहना है कि वह हमारे यहां की किसी किस्म की सूचना बाहर न भेजे और हमारे देश के ऊपर आई हुई आपत्ति का सामना करने में हमारे सामने बाधा न खड़ी करें। तीसरे जो हमारे बाह्य शत्रु हैं वे तो हैं ही। उनके साथ लड़ कर हमें विजय प्राप्त करनी है। मेरे विचार से हमारी सबसे पहली आवश्यकता नैतिक शक्ति को बढ़ाने की है, जिसके बिना किसी भी क्षेत्र में सफलता प्राप्त होना असम्भव है। इसका प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण पूज्य महात्मा गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में सत्य और अहिंसा के बल पर लड़ी गई सफल लड़ाई हमारे सामने है। आज हमें न केवल अपनी इस बहुमूल्य स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा करनी है वरन् जनतन्त्रवाद को भी एशिया में कायम रखना है, जिसमें कि हम सबका कल्याण निहित है। भारत एक स्वाभिमानी राष्ट्र है, वह स्वप्न में भी ऐसी टोटेलिटैरियन शासन प्रणाली वरदाशन नहीं कर सकता जिसमें कि व्यक्ति का कोई स्वत्व नहीं रहता है और जनता की आवाज में कोई ताकत नहीं रहती है।

[श्रामती विजय राजे सिन्धिया]

कई कारणों वश हम मानते हैं कि इस कठिन परिस्थिति का सामना करने के लिये शायद हमारी जितनी तैयारी होनी चाहिये थी, उतनी नहीं है, पर वक्त का तकाजा यह है कि हम इन आलोचनात्मक प्रवृत्तियों को अलग रख कर अपने नेता श्री नेहरू के नेतृत्व में रचनात्मक ढंग से इस मुसीबत का सामना करने के लिये तत्पर हो जायें। देशभक्ति की यह बिनगारी हम देखते हैं कि सम्पूर्ण देश में दावानल की तरह फैल चुकी है, और जिस देश जोश के साथ देश के कोने कोने से हमें सहयोग मिल रहा है उससे हम शत्रु पर अखिलम्ब विजय प्राप्त करेंगे, इसमें जरा भी शक नहीं, बल्कि पूर्ण विश्वास है। सत्य की सदा विजय हुई है और होगी, इसमें शंका मात्र भी शंका हमें नहीं है। अतएव हमें अपने दुश्मनों की कोरी धमकियों से कतई डरना नहीं चाहिये, चाहे उनका सैन्य बल हमसे कितना ही अधिक क्यों न हो। हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि जहां व अपने देश से हजारों मील दूर लड़ रहे हैं, वहां लड़ाई आज हमारे अपने देश की सीमा पर हो रही है। जिसके फलस्वरूप हमें एक सहाय्यत यह है कि समय पर हमारी सेना की आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति की जा सकती है। शूरता और वीरता में भारतीय सेना की परम्परा विश्व की सेनाओं में सर्वोपरि मानी जाती है। अपने माहस और आत्म बल के अमोघ अस्त्र से सुसज्जित होकर एक भारतीय सैनिक चीन के १०० सैनिकों का मुकाबला करने की ताकत रखता है और चीन को भारत से लोहा लेने का मजा चख कर ही रहना पड़ेगा।

आज तक जो हमारी सैनिक व्यवस्था थी वह शान्तिकाल के अनुरूप थी, युद्ध की परिस्थिति के लिये वह पर्याप्त नहीं थी। उसके अन्दर नये ढंग से परिवर्तन लाते हुए, रिऑरिएन्टेशन करते हुए उसे एक संगठित और विस्तृत रूप देना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। हम अपने सेवा-निवृत्त अनुभवी जनरलों और

अन्य मिलिटरी आफिसर्स को सेवाओं का भी इसमें लाभ उठावें, जिन को दूसरे महायुद्ध का बड़ा अनुभव है। और हमें यह जानकर खुशी हुई कि ऐसे कई आफिसर्स ने सहर्ष अपनी सेवायें अर्पित भी की हैं। यहां पर यह मुझाव रखना भी मैं अप्रासंगिक नहीं समझती कि हमारे देश के राज्यों महाराज्यों, उद्योग-पतियों तथा सिविल आफिसर्स की सेवायें भी उनके अपने अपने क्षेत्र में ली जायें क्योंकि उनमें से बहुत से ऐसे हैं जिन्हें पिछले महायुद्ध का अच्छा अनुभव है।

युद्ध की सफलता केवल सैन्य बल पर ही निर्भर नहीं है वरन् देश के हमारे किसान व मजदूर भाइयों का, जो कि हमारे देश के आर्थिक स्ट्रक्चर के दो सुदृढ़ स्तम्भ हैं, योगदान भी उतना ही महत्व रखता है। लड़ाई लड़ने के लिये खाद्य तथा अन्य आवश्यक वस्तुओं का उत्पादन और संग्रह पर्याप्त रूप में होना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। हमें अपनी जरूरत की सब चीजें स्वयं प्रचुर मात्रा में पैदा करनी हैं ताकि लड़ाई के जमाने में हमें दूसरे देशों पर अधिक निर्भर न रहना पड़े।

पिछले महायुद्ध और इस युद्ध में एक बहुत बड़ा अन्तर यह है कि पिछली लड़ाई हम दूसरे देशों में लड़ते रहे हैं, जबकि आज हमारा देश ही एक युद्धस्थल बन गया है। इसलिये सीमाओं पर लड़ने के अतिरिक्त हमें अपने देश की आन्तरिक सुरक्षा, सिविल डिफेन्स की भी पूरी तैयारी करनी पड़ेगी ताकि हर व्यक्ति आवश्यकता पड़ने पर देश की रक्षा के साथ ही साथ अपनी और अपने परिवार की रक्षा भी कर सके।

मैं यह भी अनुभव करती हूँ कि अभी हमारा प्रचार तथा प्रोपेगण्डा की मशीनरी जो है उसमें लड़ाई के जमाने में जिस प्रकार की गतिविधि आनी चाहिये वैसी नहीं पाई जाती। यह कहने से मेरा कदापि यह अभिप्राय नहीं है कि हम चीन के अनर्गल प्रचार की तकल करें।

आवश्यकता तो इस बात की है कि प्रचार इस ढंग से हो जिसमें कि जनता में जोश और उत्साह पैदा हो और हम पूर्णतः सुसंगठित हो सकें। इसके अतिरिक्त मोर्चे पर अपनी जान की बाजी लगा कर लड़ने वाले अपने बहादुर सिपाहियों तक हम यह बात पहुंचा सकें कि उनके हाथों को मजबूत करने के लिये हम क्या क्या कर रहे हैं जिससे कि उनका उत्साहवर्धन होता रहे और उनका आत्म-विश्वास और दृढ़ हो सके।

पिछले युद्ध का यह अनुभव है कि ऐसे संकटकाल में अनेक समाजद्रोही तत्व सर उठाने लगते हैं, जो परिस्थिति का फायदा उठा कर मुनाफाखोरी, चोरबाजारी और होर्डिंग अर्थात् अवैध संग्रह करने का प्रयास करते हैं। शासन तो इस दिशा में प्रयत्न करेगा ही, परन्तु साथ ही साथ मैं सोचती हूँ कि हमारा भी फर्ज हो जाता है कि हम शासन के साथ हाथ बटायें इस कार्य में, और जनता में एक जागृति पैदा कर दें तथा उसमें उत्तरदायित्व की भावना बढ़ाने में सहायक हों। इसलिये मेरे विचार से प्रशासकीय ढंग पर विभिन्न राष्ट्रीय समितियां केन्द्रीय स्तर पर और प्रांतीय स्तर पर कायम होने की जरूरत है।

महिलाओं में कुछ ऐसे नैसर्गिक गुण हैं कि जिनका उपयोग, मेरे विचार से, इस आपत्ति काल में बड़ी अच्छी तरह किया जा सकता है। मुझे विश्वास है कि हमारी बहनें इस अवसर पर बिना किसी संकोच और बिना किसी रिजर्वेशन के आगे आयेंगी और अपनी सेवायें अधिक से अधिक मात्रा में नर्सिंग, फर्स्ट एड आदि कार्यों में सहर्ष अर्पण करेंगी। यह इसलिये भी आवश्यक हो जाता है कि कदाचित् यह लड़ाई बहुत दिनों तक चलेगी। मुझे आशा है कि हमारा स्वास्थ्य विभाग इस ओर अवश्य ध्यान देगा।

मैं यह अपना पुनीत कर्तव्य समझती हूँ कि मैं उन भाइयों के लिये भी दो शब्द कहूँ

जो अपनी जान की बाजी लगा कर देश की रक्षा के लिये लड़ रहे हैं। भारत का इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है कि भारतीय सैनिक कभी मोर्चे से विमुख नहीं हुआ और आज भी वह विषम परिस्थितियों के बावजूद धोखेबाज पड़ोसी का सामना डट कर रहा है। हमें उन पर बड़ा गर्व है। पिछले दो महायुद्धों में हमने जो लड़ाइयां लड़ीं वे तो अपनी लड़ाइयां नहीं थीं। हम दूसरे के लिये लड़ रहे थे। आज हम यह लड़ाई मातृभूमि की सुरक्षा तथा जनतन्त्र को कायम रखने के लिये लड़ रहे हैं। इसलिये इसका महत्व सौगुना अधिक हो जाता है, और यही कारण है कि आज हमारे योद्धा भी पूरे उत्साह से लड़ रहे हैं और देश के अन्दर भी देशभक्ति की लहर चारों ओर फैलती नजर आ रही है। ऐसे समय में हमारा यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि हम अपने उन बहादुर वीरों को यह आश्वासन दें कि उनके लड़ाई में बलिदान हो जाने अथवा अपंग होने की स्थिति में उनके परिवार की देख रेख करना हम लोगों की जिम्मेदारी होगी ताकि वे निश्चिन्त होकर अपने कर्तव्य के पालन में जुट सकें।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक सुझाव यह है कि देश का प्रत्येक समृद्ध परिवार लिखित रूप में यह वचन दे कि ऐसी वीरगति प्राप्त वीरों के कम से कम एक परिवार का वह भार उठायेगा।

अपने वीर सैनिकों के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धा के प्रतीक स्वरूप मैं एक छोटा सा यह भी सुझाव देना चाहती हूँ कि मोर्चे से लौटे हुए सैनिकों को सोने से तोल कर वह सोना राष्ट्रीय रक्षा कोष में दान किया जाए। इस प्रकार के सुझाव मैंने अपने मुख्य मंत्रों को भी भेजे हैं। मैं सोचती हूँ कि इससे उनको पता चलेगा कि हमारे हृदय में उनके लिये क्या भावना है, और उनके मोराल को पुष्ट करने में और उनका उत्साह वर्धन करने में इससे बहुत सहायता मिलेगी।

[श्रीमती विजयाराजे सिंधिया]

अन्त में हमारे वे जवान जो मातृ-भूमि की बलिबेदी पर बलिदान हुए हैं, उनकी और नतमस्तक होकर अपनी श्रद्धाजलि भेंट करती हूँ और जो भाई बहादुरी के साथ घोर पर डट कर लड़ रहे हैं उनके प्रति अपनी समस्त शुभकामनायें भेजती हूँ ।

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by the Leader of the House on the Chinese aggression, subject to the amendment moved by Professor Ranga with others.

Sir, I am persuaded that a proper discussion on the subject cannot be had unless there is made a particular mention of the Sikh people in relation to the present crisis. In doing so, therefore, I am convinced that thereby the interests of the nation are served in so far as it may result in clarification of issues, requisite reassurances and a new understanding, without which new critical situations, such as the present one, can never be adequately faced.

Sir, the Sikhs as a people have special reasons to be shocked and angered at the wanton aggression against our Himalayan frontiers by the People's Government of China. Although Ladakh was a part of the great Mughal Empire of India in the Seventeenth century, it was the Sikhs who finally and firmly made it an integral part of the then Punjab Kingdom during the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1834, during the life time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself, Ladakh was taken by the Sikh troops under the command of Col. Zorawar Singh. In April, 1841, two years after the death of Ranjit Singh, Prince Nau Nihal Singh, the Vice-Regent of the Sikh Government ordered Zorawar Singh who was made a General by then to demand Garo's adhesion to the Punjab on the ground that it was a dependency of Iskardu and Iskardu was then a province of the Punjab. It was Prince Nau Nihal Singh who

then formally demanded that in view of the changed circumstances Lhasa should pay tribute to Lahore and not to Peking and that Tibet should seek advice from the Punjab Government which was, at that time, the only part of India enjoying sovereign political powers. Thus, in substance, the demand of the Sikh was for establishing intimate relations of India with Tibet. To achieve these aims it was that in June, 1841, the Punjabis captured the town of Garo; and on the 29th August, 1842, the flag of the Sikh Durbar was hoisted at Tuklakot. In this manner, the Punjabis like the Indus itself, pierced the heart of Tibet to its very core. Then followed certain reverses occasioned more by the non-aligned cold weather than the human adversaries in the battlefields. In the spring of 1842, Gulab Singh who was no more than a Sikh feudatory chief at that time and who had yet to render special services to the British to become a Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, after destruction of the independence of the Punjab, was commanded to rush reinforcements to Leh, where they encircled the Chinese force, flooded the enemy out of their entrenchments and decimated them after taking the Chinese General as a prisoner. On the 17th October, 1842, envoys of the Sikh Durbar including the personal representative of Gulab Singh, signed a Treaty with the representatives of the Chinese Emperor and the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. The parties to this treaty are the "Khalsajio", that is, the Sikh people and the Chinese Emperor and the Buddhist pontiff of Tibet. Gulab Singh does not come in these, except through a later interpolation. It was agreed by this Treaty that the boundaries of Ladakh and Lhasa would remain as traditionally recognised and considered inviolable by either party and that the trade, particularly of tea and Pashmina wool would, as in the past, pass through Ladakh.

Sir, I have digressed into these historical details for two reasons. First-

ly, during recent years it has become customary to present this chapter of Indian history in a slightly different manner so as to create and sustain the legend that the Ladakh region of India is a gift from Dogra ruler, Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir. On page 52 of the Government of India Report of the Officials on the Boundary Question, published by the Ministry of External Affairs in 1961, as well as on page 4 of the Booklet "Menace to India's Freedom", published by the Publications Division of the Government, in November, 1962 this legend is supported and a sensitive section of the Sikh people perceive in it a link in some plan to demonetise the Sikhs as the builders of Indian history with the ultimate object of pushing them out of the main stream of History as a people. Secondly, it explains why the present aggression of the Chinese into these areas has touched the Sikhs more intimately and has aroused their anger specially, on the ground that the Chinese People's Government now aim at destroying the work which the Sikhs had accomplished for the consolidation of the natural and true frontiers of India.

The Sikhs therefore justly feel that it is their special responsibility to defend the country and to make all possible sacrifices during the crisis which has been forced upon the nation by our unscrupulous neighbour. Sir, the Sikh people react to historical developments somewhat differently from their neighbours for the reason that the peculiar view of Reality that they hold accords a substantial status to spatio-temporal events and for the reason that their peculiar ethos demands a sensitive awareness of the historical process. The present occasion reminds the Sikhs of an identical occasion that arose almost a century ago, when the British East India Company's forces unscrupulously and cruelly aggressed into the frontiers of the Sikh Empire of Punjab in the winter of the year 1845. This East India Company Bahadur was, at that time, bound by Panchashile treaty relations with the Sikhs. A Muslim poet, Shah

Mohammad has immortalised in poignant verse the substance of the Sikh Army Headquarters' Mobilisation Orders which were then issued. That says:

होया कूच दा हुकम सब रजमणानू,
घोड़े चढ़े भी न पिछे रखणे जी,
मुसलमानियां पलटणा रहिन एये,
बूँद शहर दे होण ना सखणे जी,
गोरखालिए डोगरे जाण पच्छिम,
आते देश हे रेहिन मुखणे जी,
कलगीवाड़े दे खालसे होण मुहरे,
अगरे होर गरीब ना धकणे जी ।

These orders proceeded to declare 'a total mobilisation of the standing forces of the Army, including the cavalry' and they directed that 'the good and faithful Muslim regiments of the Khalsa Army were to assume the delicate task of protecting the heart of the Empire, the Capital, while the Hindu regiments consisting of Dogras and Gurkhas must be deployed on the North-Western Frontiers'. The Order specifically directed that 'so far as the active battlefield on the Sutlej banks was concerned, the enemy fire must be faced primarily by the Khalsa of Guru Govind Singh whose privilege and duty it was to die for protecting the honour and integrity of the country'.

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

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

[Shri Kapur Singh.]

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

17 hrs.

With these words, I support the amendment moved by Shri Ranga to the effect that the Resolution moved by the Leader of the House would remain unrealistic and somewhat incomplete unless this House also resolves its awareness of, and its sense of regret, at the state of unpreparedness in which we are shown to have been found by the Chinese invasion on the frontiers. This Resolution will further remain incomplete unless we specifically record our unreserved acknowledgment of the graceful and true friendliness with which the Governments of the great peoples of the USA, the United Kingdom and Canada in particular have offered to extend help to us. Likewise, we must be grateful to the other forty or more countries of the world who have sympathised with us.

With these words, I conclude my support of the amendment moved by Shri Ranga.

Shri Ram Ratan Gupta (Gonda): The debate since the last four days gives me an impression that we are still not very clear about the magnitude of the problem and the far-reaching complications with which we are confronted today. I do not know how talking about past mistakes even to the extent of condemning our future is going to help, especially when all what was necessary has been done by responsible quarters. The future is before us and what we decide today or do today is what is

going to decide our future. Therefore, we have to concentrate on the present, forgetting the past, so that we may be able to highlight and pinpoint the basic issues with a view to clear our mistakes and decide the question in true perspective.

Unfortunately for us, we are not in a position now to decide our strategy, principles and policies on the basis of our own ideals, emotions and our past approaches to the various problems. We have to plan them now taking into account the strategies, policies, aims and tactics of our enemy. I feel that India today is facing almost the same situation which the free world, especially England, had faced during the last war when Hitler invaded Europe. What happened at that time, history is repeating itself in India now. England had to decide whether to fight to the bitter and to save humanity from the bondage. Now it is fallen in our lot to decide and declare that we are fighting an enemy who is unscrupulous, whose ambitions have no limitations unless he dominates the entire world. I feel that India has been chosen by the destiny to face the same situation, who has conditioned an entire nation into a fighting machinery. From whatever I have been able to understand on the basis of the various developments, techniques and practices that have been adopted by China, I feel that she aims to dominate the world. It is almost a repetition of history which is taking place, and destiny seems to have chosen India this time to play the part which England and her allies were called upon to play at the time of invasion by Germany.

I would request the House to realise and address itself to a few pertinent questions to prove my contention. Has China invaded India to actually annex a few thousand square miles of rock territory, of mountainous ranges? Or has it attacked us to humiliate us only? Has it attacked us to impress us with China's military might? To get replies to these questions, we have to

study Chinese tactics from the time China became independent, starting from the time we shifted our support to Mao Tsetung by sending one medical unit. Since then, China started its political adventure by exploiting our friendship, our credit in the international world, our credit with the people of the world—by befriending us. As a matter of fact, they utilised our friendship for strengthening themselves within their own country and then spreading out of China, giving an impression to the other countries about their friendly intentions. They also secured our support in the United Nations. We have been pleading their cause consistently in that forum. We have been lured by their tactics even to the extent of making us admit Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, because we felt that we were not going to be deceived by China, nor could we ever imagine what were the real intentions of the leadership of that country.

I visited China in 1955 and by analysing whatever tactics they have adopted I could come to the conclusion that China has deeper motives in invading our country. To consider that the Chinese leader, Mao Tsetung, is an ordinary person moved by emotions or flimsy ideas without having a long picture before him, will be to make a mistake. If we start treating this Chinese invasion or this episode in that spirit, it will be a mistake. To understand the real motive of China, we have to take into account all that has gone on so far, including the history of communism, Marx's theories, Lenin's dictums and Mao Tse Tung's writings, utterances and actions. While Marx laid down new doctrines, Lenin suggested approaches for making world domination possible, on the basis that India, China and Russia must come under communist domination. So far as the so-called differences between China and Russia are concerned, they are not on the fundamentals of the policies propounded by Marx or Lenin, but they are differences in practices during the transitory period. Any communist,

whether Indian or foreign, cannot remain a communist unless he believes in these two essential approaches of communist theory. Therefore, to find out the real motives of China, we have to take into account these important factors also.

The position seems to me very clear. It has become necessary for China to avoid the division of leadership between the mainland and Formosa. To wipe out Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, China has to take into account the presence and the might of America. Therefore, if China is to consolidate its leadership in Asia, to carry out its ambition of world domination by exploiting the resources of South-East Asia, as Europe did in the past, it must wipe out the divided leadership of the Chinese people, so as to command the undisputed leadership of the Chinese living abroad. To fight with America, it is necessary that China must acquire that power over the entire South-East Asia. That is not possible so long as India lives because India, a democratic country, naturally inspires the other democracies of South-East Asia. So, we have to take into account this basic factor, and if we do so, we come to only one conclusion that China's aim will not be achieved unless India is completely annihilated. It is with that objective, that diplomatic pressure has been exerted on our neighbours, to create a sort of friction between them and India.

Today China may be prepared to negotiate, but it is not because China has realised that it is not profitable to continue conflict with India, but because they realise that some of their calculations have gone astray. The rise of the Indian people as one man, the weakness of their fifth column in India, world support to India etc., were not in their calculations. So, as has been the policy of diplomacy in the past, they may be prepared to negotiate with us for the time being, but I do not think there can ever be final negotiation with them, so long

[Shri Ram Ratan Gupta.]

as India continues to stand as a mighty, proud and united nation.

Under the circumstances, what are we to do? Our Prime Minister has pointed out that the aggressor has the advantage when he attacks. That is true, but we must take a lesson from the Second World War. When Britain suffered reverse at Dunkirk, when France was defeated, Hitler made approaches of negotiation, even by dropping one of his deputies in England, but Churchill made it clear that he would not negotiate with a country whose intentions were clear to him. So, I suggest, we should not lay stress on negotiations now; we should not give too much publicity to our desire to negotiate, but rather trust to quiet diplomacy in dealing with the situation, because we do not know how the situation may develop and when.

I have some suggestions which I shall send the members of the war cabinet, but I would like to mention one or two here. It is very necessary that we discipline ourselves, clearly see what we should say and what we should not say. We should not do anything which will divide our national front. Secondly, we must be prepared for a long-drawn war and total mobilisation of the country to meet this challenge.

Mr. Speaker: Also, we should not exceed the time-limit appointed by the Speaker.

Shri Ram Ratan Gupta: Everybody is taking advantage of your kindness!

Mr. Speaker: Now I would like to know the sense of the House. Day before yesterday I had promised a chance to so many Members, but as I extend the time, the list also grows. At least 20 fresh names I have received today, and the list can never be exhausted if we continue like this. It is for the hon. Members now. If they want to sit late, I am prepared. How long do we want to sit?

Shri Thirumala Rao (Kakinada): Only those expecting to be called sit here till 7.30. That was the experience of day before yesterday. Others do not remain even to encourage the speakers. Since it is being extended tomorrow, and you have also imposed a time-limit of ten minutes, I think you can accommodate a number of persons if that is strictly adhered to.

We may close at 6 O' Clock. Many of us do not know when we would be called, whether we would be called at all. If we have an idea, it would be better. But we are in your hands.

Mr. Speaker: That is the only thing that I do not myself know, when I can call any particular hon. Member. I am getting chits saying, "When will I be called? I have been waiting for four days." Of course, all the Members who have not been called have been waiting for four days. I appreciate their anxiety to speak, but they should appreciate my difficulty. It should be mutual. If the hon. Members are prepared to sit, I agree to sit as long as there are Members to speak.

श्री ज० ब० सिंह (घोसी) : अब तो इसके लिए टाइम एक्सटेंड कर दिया गया है। काफी मेम्बर साहिबान बोल चुके हैं। कल दिन में बैठ कर अगर बाकी मेम्बर साहिबान को एकमोडेट किया जा सके तब तो हाउस को एडजर्न कर दीजिये, वरना टाइम एक्सटेंड कर दीजिये।

प्रप्यक्ष महोदय : मेरा खयाल है कि आज हम सात बजे तक बैठ जायें और कल के लिये यह रखें कि जब तक सब बोलन लें, तब तक बैठे रहें। कल आखिरी दिन है।

Shri R. S. Pandey (Guna): Yesterday, you promised that you are going....

Mr. Speaker: I hold that promise still; I stick to that.

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : आज भी आठ बजे तक बैठें ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अच्छी बात है, आठ बजे तक बैठेंगे ।

श्री शिव नारायण (बांसी) : कल हम लोग साढ़े सात बजे तक बैठे थे । उन ३४ मैनबरो में से एक नहीं बुलाया गया है सारे दिन के अन्दर ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह बात गलत है । किसी साहब को शक है तो मेरे पास आ जायें और मैं उनको बतला दूंगा कि उनमें से बहुत से बुलाये जा चुके हैं ।

श्री राबेलाल व्यास (उज्जैन) : पार्टी व्हिप ने एक लिस्ट दी थी, उसका क्या हुआ है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब हम आगे चलें ।

श्री गहमरी (गाजीपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय यह बता दीजिये, किन किन लोगों को आठ बजे तक बोलने का मौका मिला ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि जितने यहां बैठे हैं, सब आठ बजे तक बैठे रहेंगे ।

Shri Koya (Kozhikode): Sir, our country is... (Interruptions.)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. We sit till 8 O'clock and then we decide whether we should continue or not.

Shri Koya: Sir, I was saying that our country is facing today a most deceitful, cunning and vile aggression from a neighbour whom we have been doing everything to befriend.

17.22 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

we have shown in so many ways that we wanted to be a good neighbour to the communist Chinese. We took up their cause to the United Nations

and insisted time and again that China should be a member of the world organisation. We insisted as nobody else insisted, perhaps with the exception of the Soviet Union, because we wanted peace in the world and we wanted to be friends with our neighbours as well as with the rest of the world.

Sir, when we were engaged in the noble pursuit of peace in the world, our neighbour, the Chinese have been unscrupulously and without principles preparing behind our back to make an assault upon us who had the least suspicion of their duplicity. Even when we came to know that they had stealthily walked into our territory, we only talked peace to them and requested them to leave us alone. If they had any dispute over any territory in our possession then the usual and honest procedure was that they should put the question first to us in a peaceful manner and ask us to rectify it. They did nothing of the sort when we and all our people were calling them brothers; they only pretended to respond to our neighbourliness. But all the while they have been preparing for a vile assault upon us and a naked aggression upon our territory. Until the day in the last week of October 1962 when they unloosened their unashamed aggression upon us our Government was thinking of a peaceful means of settling the question though the question created and raised by them was wantonly and without any foundation. The communist Chinese have no respect for such treatment. They do not understand our principles and the principles of the right thinking nations of the world. Their principle and philosophy is 'might is right'. This obnoxious principle has proved wrong again and again in world history and it cannot succeed ultimately and yet people like the Communist Chinese would deliberately stick on to that vile principle.

Our cause is just and righteous and we are going to succeed in spite of the reverses or the discomfitures which we

[Shri Koya.]

may meet at the beginning when we were taken unawares. What the result is going to be has been indicated in no uncertain terms by the great emotional upheaval in our country, and by the oneness of feeling the people all over the country have demonstrated in the face of this unrighteous and unmerited aggression upon us.

Now, Sir, the people are entirely behind the Government. They want the Government to do everything that is necessary for success and they have assured unmistakably their support to the Government in whatever they do for driving away the perfidious Chinese from the sacred soil of our motherland. In their support to the Government all sections and communities are unshakably united. We want to impress upon the Government that not one inch of our sacred land should be kept in the hands of the Chinese. In this connection, I want to make it clear that if we leave any small portion of our territory south of the Himalayas in possession of the Chinese or anybody else our traditional defences in the North will be grievously affected. Himalayas have been our bulwark so far and we cannot replace it to any artificial barrier in the shape of armies and armaments. If such a contingency arises our national economy itself will collapse. It is, therefore, that we insist that at any cost the Chinese must be driven away north of the Himalaya mountains. Since it is the Chinese who began the unscrupulous aggression upon us and have unleashed the cruel war upon us, we will not be doing anything wrong to drive them away north of the Macmahon line and out of Ladakh and occupy some territory beyond these lines so as to guard us effectively in the future against such an unscrupulous enemy and invader.

In this holy attempt of ours all the people and the resources of the coun-

try are with the Government. But now as we are it will not be divulging any secret if one says that all these resources of ours may not be sufficient to liquidate the massive aggression of the enemy. Sir, we need not still be doubting whether Russia will ultimately and surely join its comrade China. When that happens we should not lay ourselves open to another shock. We should be prepared for that eventuality also. What I want to say is that we must take all aid in whatever form it comes from friendly nations. When the war is over, we can still pursue our policy of non-alignment. When we are in the midst of a war, has non alignment or neutrality any meaning. There is nothing wrong on unrighteous in taking the assistance of friends who offer much help with all friendliness. Therefore, let us get such assistance from friendly foreign nations and supplement our resources and clear our soil of the ugly aggression of the communist Chinese. In this holy effort of the Government, I want to say once again that all people, whether Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs or Parsis, everybody is solidly behind the Government.

श्री यमना साद भंडल (जयनगर) :
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हमारे शान्ति प्रिय देश पर जो यह अभूतपूर्व आघात हुआ है उसकी ओर सारे संसार के ४० देश नजर लगाए देख रहे हैं। आज एक ऐसा देश जो खूंखार कहा जा सकता है, जिसके लिए कठोर से कठोर शब्द भी व्यवहार किये जायें तो कम ही होंगे, हमारे शान्ति प्रिय देश पर आघात कर रहा है।

आज जब हमारे देश के सब से बड़े नेता पंडित नेहरू अणु युद्ध के किनारे पर आये हुए विश्व को शान्ति की ओर ले जाना चाहते थे, उस समय कम्युनिस्ट चीन ने कुछ और ही सोचा और अपने स्वप्न को पूरा करने की फिफ़ की। बड़े बड़े कूटनीतिज्ञों का विचार है और उन्होंने देखा है कि चीन बड़े बड़े

सपने देखता है और उसके बड़े बड़े मन्मूवे हैं। यह एक हिमालयन स्टेट कायम करने का सपना देखता है, जो सपना सदा सपना ही रहेगा।

इतना ही नहीं, कूटनीतिज्ञों का तो यह भी कहना है कि उसका इरादा कुछ सीमा प्रदेश लेने का नहीं है वह तो गंगा के किनारे आने तक की इच्छा रखता है। इसलिए आज सारे संसार की दृष्टि हमारी ओर लगी हुई है कि किस प्रकार एक शान्ति प्रिय देश पर, एक तटस्थतावादी देश पर, जो कि शान्ति में विश्वास रखता है और जिसने महात्मा गांधी के नेतृत्व में शान्तिपूर्ण तरीकों से अपनी स्वतन्त्रता हासिल की उस पर एक ऐसे मित्र ने जिस पर उस देश ने भरोसा किया था पीछे से एक टूचरस विश्वासघात हमला किया है।

कम्युनिस्ट चीन के प्रधान मंत्री चाऊ-एन-लाई साहब यहाँ आए और हमने दोस्ती का हाथ आगे बढ़ाया लेकिन उन्होंने आखिर में हमको झकझोर दिया और गत २० अक्टूबर से चल रहा यह दुःखद घटना सारी दुनिया के सामने है। इस विषय परिस्थिति में जिस प्रकार हमारे वीरों ने देश की स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा के लिए अपने प्राणों की आहुति दी है इसका इतिहास में कहीं मुकाबला नहीं मिलेगा।

There is no parallel in the world's history to which our heroes have acted most heroically.

पहले विश्व युद्ध में और दूसरे विश्व युद्ध में हमारे जवानों ने दूसरे के अधीन रहते हुए भी जो वीरता दिखाई उसको आज भी लोग मानते हैं और विश्व को विश्वास है कि हिन्दुस्तान के सिपाही कितने बहादुराना तरीके से लड़ते हैं। ऐसे बहादुर देश पर यकायक जो छाप मारा गया, उससे देश की रक्षा करने में जो वीर वीरगति को प्राप्त हुए हैं उनके प्रति हमारा सिर बरबश झुक जाता है। इन वीरों के वीरगति प्राप्त करने से देश में

एक बड़ा उफान सा आ गया है और सारे देश में एक स्पार्टेनियस रिबोल्यूशन रोष जोश आया है। आज मुद्गर गाँवों में यह स्थिति है कि जहाँ से रेडियो दो दो और तीन तीन मील दूर पर हैं वहाँ भी लोग जाकर अपने वीरों का समाचार जाकर जानने को उत्सुक रहते हैं। आज यह स्थिति है कि अगर कोई समाज विरोधी कार्य करता है तो लोग जमा हो जाते हैं और कहते हैं कि आज वह जमाना नहीं है कि मुनाफाबोरो को जाए।

आज देश में अपनी स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा करने के लिये जो अभूतपूर्व जागृति हुई है वह सन् १९४२ की क्रांति में भी देखने को नहीं मिली थी। सन् १९४२ के स्वातन्त्र्य संग्राम में तो हमने देखा था कि बहुत से लोग विदेशी शासक के डर से चुप थे, लेकिन आज ऐसा नहीं है। आज तो यह हाल है कि चार चार साल के बच्चे आते हैं और कहते हैं कि हमको भी लड़ाई के मोर्चे पर भेजो।

आज देश की ४४ करोड़ जनता शान्ति दूत पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के पीछे है। और हमारे वीर सिपाही मोर्चे पर वीरता का जो परिचय दे रहे हैं उसका उदाहरण नहीं मिल सकता। एक एक हिन्दुस्तानी सिपाही ने मरते मरते सात सात चीनियों को घायल किया है और फिर बेनायट से मारा गया। इससे पता चलता है कि The spirit of this great nations cannot be cowed down by bayonets and bullets. वह हमारा टूचरस एनीमी (विश्वासघाती चीन) मुन ले और संसार के लोग मुन लें अगर चीन यह सोचता है कि बेयानेट्स और ब्लेट्स से हमारी स्वतन्त्रता को हड़प लेगा तो यह उसकी भूल है। हमारे इस पवित्र देश ने एक अभूतपूर्व ढंग से अपनी स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त की है। आज चीन मुन ले कि संसार के चालीस बपालीस देश और और देश हमारे प्रति अपनी सहानुभूति प्रदर्शित कर रहे हैं, और जो देश कि डिमाक्रेसी के सिटाडिल हैं, जैसे कि यू०के०, यू०एस० ए० और कनाडा वे आज इस ढंग से हमारी सहायता

[श्री यमनां प्रसाद मंडल]

कर रहे हैं कि हमारी स्वतंत्रता मजबूत हो और उसको अक्षुण्ण रखा जाए। सचमुच इन राष्ट्रों के प्रति श्री हमारा सिर आभार से झुक जाता है। उन्होंने हमको इस महान संकट की घड़ी में सहायता देकर अपनी मित्रता का परिचय दिया है जैसा हमारे मित्र ने कहा था।

धीरज, धर्म, मित्र आदि की संकट काल में परीक्षा होती है। विपत्ति के समय में शत्रु और मित्र का पता चलता है। ऐसे समय में जो इन ४० राष्ट्रों ने हमारे प्रति अपनी सहानुभूति दिखाई है यह सचमुच हमारे देश के लिये बहुत बड़ी सम्पत्ति है, इसको एक बहुत बड़ी धायी समझा जा सकता है।

आज हमको अपनी स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा के लिये क्या करना है। हम को इस बारे में इंग्लैंड से कुछ सीखना चाहिए। इंग्लैंड के उस महारथी चर्चिल ने लड़ाई के दिनों में सब लोगों का काम बांट दिया था, पचास से साठ ... (Interruptions). हम लोग पहली लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं और हमें पूरा अनुभव नहीं है इसलिए किसी से सीखने में हर्ज नहीं है। चर्चिल ने लड़ाई के समय में बच्चों के लिए, बूढ़ों के लिए, नवयुवकों के लिए, नारियों के लिये काम निश्चित कर दिया था और सारा देश एक डिस्प्लिंड हो कर लड़ता था। उसी तरह आज हमको लड़ना है और अपने कर्तव्य को समझना है और अपने कर्तव्यों को पूरा करना है। आज अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करने के लिए देश का बच्चा बच्चा तैयार है। हमारी महिला सदस्याओं ने भी अपनी तैयारी प्रकट की है और कहा है कि महारानी लक्ष्मी बाई की तरह हम भी लड़ेंगे। यह बहुत अच्छा है कि इस समय २२ करोड़ महिलाओं का हमको सहयोग प्राप्त हो रहा है। हमको उनकी शक्ति से भी काम लेना चाहिए।

आज चीन शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से नहीं सोचता। वह सोचता है कि जिस तरह उसने कोरिया में ७० हजार चीनियों को बेयानट्स और बुलेट्स के सामने रख कर कामयाबी प्राप्त की उसी तरह यहां भी करेगा। चीन में लोगों के जीवन का मूल्य चींटियों के समान है। इस बार भी वह चाहता है कि बड़ी संख्या में अपने लोगों को इस दावानल में खत्म कर दे। वहां मानवता के लिये कोई स्थान नहीं है। आप चीन के इरादों का इसी से अन्दाजा ला सकते हैं कि उसने तिब्बत में बीस डिवीजन फौज रख छोड़ी है और हमारी उन सीमाओं को जो इंटरनेशनल बाउंडरीज कहलाती हैं और वाटरशेड के लिहाज से भी जो प्राकृतिक सीमा है उसका विरोध करना चाहता है। चीन का बराबर यह कहना और दावा करना कि ३८००० वर्ग मील वह नेफा में चाहता है और १२००० वर्ग मील भूमि उधर लड़ाख में भी चाहता है उससे साफ पता चलता है कि उसकी विस्तारवादी नीति कितनी बड़ी-चढ़ी है और इस तरह से बजा दवा और अतिक्रमण करके वह भारत का कितना बड़ा इलाका अपना बतला कर हड़ने की कोशिश कर रहा है। जैसा कि अन्य माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा भी है और मैं भी उनके साथ हूँ कि हमें दृढ़ता और संगठित हो कर इस चीनी बबरता का मुकाबला करना पड़ेगा और उन्हें अपनी पवित्र भूमि से खदेड़ने के लिए बहुत देर तक लड़ना पड़ेगा और उसके लिए बड़ी तैयारी हमें करनी पड़ेगी। मेरे अन्य मित्रों ने कहा भी है

This is not a service of battles, but a war and we have to with it. चर्चिल सत्य और न्याय हम लोगों के पक्ष में है इसलिये यह निश्चित है कि अन्त में विजय सत्य की ही होगी।

यहां पर पड़ोसी देशों का भी वर्तमान संकट को लेकर जिक्र किया गया। सीलोन और बर्मा की यहां पर चर्चा हुई और वह ठीक ही हुई। मैं जिस दरभंगा जिले से धावा

हूँ वह नेपाल की सरहद को छूता है और मैं अपने क्षेत्र में गया तो लोगों ने कहा कि वहाँ के अर्थात् नेपाल के राजा महेन्द्र बड़े दूरदर्शी हैं। आज ही राजा महेन्द्र का मैंने एक वक्तव्य वर्तमान भारत-चीनी संघर्ष के सम्बन्ध में पढ़ा है जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि उनका देश सिनो-इंडियन बार्डर डिस्प्यूट में बिल्कुल न्युट्रल है लेकिन आगे चल कर जो उन्होंने कहा है When two bulls are fighting I cannot remain as a calf अब यह कहां तक तटस्थतावादी नीति से मेल खाता है यह कहना मुश्किल है। जैसा कि माननीय सदस्य श्री के० सी० पन्त ने सुझाव दिया है मैं भी चाहता हूँ कि भारत अपने पड़ोसी देश नेपाल के साथ अपने सम्बन्ध अधिक सुदृढ़ और मंत्रीपूर्ण बनाने के लिए एक गुडविल मिशन नेपाल भज और इस सद्भावना मिशन का नेतृत्व करने के लिए हमारे संसद्-कार्य मंत्री श्री सत्य नारायण सिंह बहुत उपयुक्त हैं। इसी तरह पाकिस्तान से भी जो कि हमारा पड़ोसी मुल्क है अपने सम्बन्ध सुधारने की ओर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए।

चूँकि मेरा समय समाप्त हो गया है इसलिए और अधिक न कहते हुए अपना स्थान ग्रहण करता हूँ।

Shri Malaichami (Periyakulam):
 Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the resolutions moved by the hon. Prime Minister and request the House that the resolutions may be approved unanimously.

Sir, a grave situation has arisen in the country by the invasion of the Chinese on our northern borders and the entire nation is rallying round our Prime Minister to meet the aggression. At this critical juncture, criticisms are being levelled against our policy of non-alignment and unpreparedness for war. In this nuclear age, no power on earth can risk a war when it meant world destruction.

After the Second World War, the United Nations came into exist-

ence to provide an opportunity for the nations to discuss issues and arrive at some honourable settlement among the varying nations. It is the same spirit of negotiation and conciliation that pervades our policy of non-alignment without allowing nations to resort to armed conflict.

Even while continuing to be a member of the commonwealth, we supported the UAR against Britain and France on the Suez Canal issue. We stood against the division of Congo at the time of her emergence as an independent country though some of the powerful countries in the world never relished our stand. The Suez is restored to the UAR and the United Nations Organisation is now grappling with the problem of a united Congo. We have taken up the cause of the Red China in the UNO even at this hour of betrayal by the Chinese.

Sir, for a socialistic country like ours with our energies diverted for the creation of a welfare State after the recent quitting of the British, to prepare ourselves for an offensive war would involve thousands of crores of rupees and the abandonment of so many development schemes. Since our cause is just and we always stood for friendly relations with other countries, we are able to get not only the sympathy and moral support of other countries but also military aid from countries, like United States of America and Britain without in any way affecting our policy of non-alignment. The leading countries of the world, like the United States, Britain, France, Canada and the United Arab Republic have come to our help. Russia is also expected to fulfil its commitment of M. I. G. deal and we are sure of our final victory.

Along with our foreign policy of non-alignment we have to follow also a just internal policy to keep up the morale of the people and lead the country to victory. To enable the country to fight the aggressor, agricultural and industrial production

[Shri Malaichami.]

must be maximised. Only by properly feeding, clothing and equipping the army, we could drive out the Chinese. While enforcing strict economy in carrying out the administration, schemes which will yield immediate results, must be taken on hand and implemented. There must be a sustained effort to drive out the enemy and keep up the war tempo in the country.

The price level must be stabilised without putting civil consumption under undue strain. The workers in the field and factory must be encouraged to put forth their best for increased production. Sufficient incentives must be given for increasing production both on the agricultural and industrial sectors. An atmosphere in the country must be created which will impress on the nation, the urgency of increasing production. Anti-social practices, like hoarding, black-marketing and profiteering must be put under effective check. The formation of vigilance committees should be encouraged. The home guards must be organised immediately in all the towns and military training given to college students to facilitate in the case of emergency, the formation of a rear force to the army. The propaganda machinery must also be geared up to the fullest in the country and abroad giving a true and correct picture of the situation so that the country could always be on the alert to meet any emergency.

Sir, with the tested strength of our army, the determination of the nation to rout the enemies and the justification of our cause to maintain the sovereignty and integrity of the country, there can be no doubt of our ultimate victory under the dynamic leadership of our Prime Minister. Jal Hind.

With these words I conclude.

श्री रावेलाल व्यास: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, चीन ने हमारे शान्तिप्रिय देश पर जो बर्बर हमला किया है, उसको सिवाय एक राक्षसी हमले के कोई दूसरी संज्ञा नहीं दी जा सकती है। यह हमला केवल भारत के विरुद्ध नहीं है, बल्कि विश्व-शान्ति, जनतंत्र और पंचशील के विरुद्ध एक हमला है। चाइना ने पंचशील के जिन अच्छे सिद्धान्तों को माना था, यह राक्षसी हमला करके उस ने उन सब की हत्या कर दी है।

युद्ध के जो पुराने तरीके थे, वे अब बदल गए हैं और हमें यह भी नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि यह लड़ाई दुनिया के सब से ऊंचे पहाड़ पर और हजारों फीट ऊंची चोटियों पर हो रही है। शायद दुनिया के इतिहास में ऐसे दुर्गम स्थान पर लड़ाई कभी नहीं लड़ी गई है। इसके अलावा हमें एक ऐसे दुश्मन का मुकाबला करना पड़ रहा है, जिसके हाथ अपने भाइयों के खून से रंगे हुए हैं। चाइना में जो सिविल वार हुई थी, उस में भाई ने भाई का खून किया था। वैसे बर्बर लोगों का यह आक्रमण है। सब से ऊंचे पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में जहां आवागमन के साधन नहीं हैं, अपनी मातृ भूमि की रक्षा के लिए एक जबर्दस्त तैयारी करनी है। जब तक सारा देश एक होकर, एक दिल से और साहस पूर्वक इस हमले का मुकाबला नहीं करेगा, तब तक इस युद्ध को जीतना ज़रा कठिन होगा।

यह हमारे देश का सौभाग्य है और यह एक बड़ा शुभ चिह्न है कि देश के हर एक वर्ग के लोग, छोटे, बड़े, वृद्ध, नौजवान और स्त्री तथा पुरुष इस समय देश की स्वतन्त्रता के लिए हर प्रकार का त्याग करने के लिए तत्पर हैं। यहां भी मैंने देखा कि गभी पार्टीज़ पूरी एकता के साथ हमारे नेता

के पीछे देश की रक्षा के लिए दृढ़-निश्चय हैं। लेकिन मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यहां पर चाहे समर्थन और सहयोग प्रकट करने के आशय से भाषण हों, लेकिन बाहर जब हम देखते हैं कि कुछ और ही तरह की विचारधारा का प्रचार होता है और शासन को कमजोर बनाने का प्रयत्न किया जाता है, तो ऐसा लगता है कि यह एकता अधिक दिनों तक कायम नहीं रह सकती, ठोस नहीं रह सकती। इस संकट-काल में यदि एकता में खामी रही, तो हम दुश्मन का मुकाबला पूरी ताकत के साथ करने में असमर्थ रहेंगे।

इस लिए मेरा मुझाव है कि क्या इस इमर्जेंसी में यह आवश्यक नहीं है—और भिन्न-भिन्न पार्टियों के नेताओं से मेरी अपील है—कि इस वक्त सब राजनीतिक पार्टियों को समाप्त कर दिया जाना चाहिए। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस समय कांग्रेस, हिन्दू महासभा, जनसंघ और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी आदि पार्टियों को डिज़ाल्व कर दिया जाये और सब झंडों को खत्म कर के सब लोग राष्ट्र-ध्वज की छत्र-छाया में कदम से कदम मिला कर आगे बढ़ें और देश की आजादी की रक्षा के लिए सब तरह के त्याग और बलिदान करने के लिए तैयार रहें। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर सब पार्टियां ऐसा करने के लिए रजामन्द न हों, तो वह समय आ सकता है कि इमर्जेंसी में बाध्य हो कर शासन को यह कदम उठाना पड़े। पाकिस्तान में प्रेज़िडेंट अयूब खान ने भी सब राजनीतिक पार्टियों को समाप्त किया था। उसके पीछे यह उद्देश्य था कि यदि शासन यह समझे कि देश की एकता को कायम रखना है और राजनीतिक दलों को अपनी अलग-अलग विचारधारा का प्रचार करने का मौका नहीं देना है, तो वह निश्चय कर सकता है कि सब पार्टियों और झंडों को खत्म करके देश की सारी जनता एक जगह इकट्ठी हो

उस स्थिति में प्रान्त नंत्री के लिए अपने मंत्रि-डल में हेर फेर करना बहुत जरूरी

होगा। देश के बड़े अच्छे नेताओं और मंज-मंजाए तथा अनुभवशाल योग्य व्यक्तियों को उसमें लेना चाहिए, ऐसा मेरा मुझाव है। यह प्रसन्नता की बात है कि टिफेन्स पोर्टफोलियो, रक्षा विभाग, का चार्ज हमारे देश के एक नौजवान, उत्साही, अनुभवी और हिम्मत वाले सज्जन को दिया जा रहा है और हम उस दिन की प्रतीक्षा में हैं

श्री काशीराम गुप्ता (अलवर) : यह तो अखबार की खबर है।

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : मैंने भी तो यही कहा है कि उनको यह चार्ज दिया जा रहा है।

हमारे देश के जितने साधन हैं, उन सब को माबिलाइज़ करने की जरूरत है। आज जैसी संकट-कालीन स्थिति में जैसा वातावरण बनना चाहिए, इतने दिनों के बाद भी वह वातावरण नहीं बनने तपाया है।

यद्यपि देश के सब लोगों में त्याग और उत्साह की भावना है और वे त्याग कर रहे हैं, लेकिन तैयारी बहुत जोरों से होनी चाहिए। हमारा हर एक आदमी, छोटा बड़ा, नौजवान, वृद्ध, स्त्री-पुरुष, यह अनुभव करे कि हमारे जवान पहाड़ी प्रदेश में जिस भूसीबत और कष्ट को सहन कर रहे हैं और जिस विकट परिस्थिति में लड़ रहे हैं, हम भी उससे दूर नहीं हैं। हर एक आदमी को उस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिए काम करने और मेहनत करने की जरूरत है।

इस सम्बन्ध में शिक्षा विभाग को कुछ सोचने की जरूरत है। स्कूलों के छोटे बड़े बच्चों, लड़के लड़कियों, के लिए जल्दी से जल्दी एक ऐसा कोर्स बनाना चाहिए और उनको ऐसी किताबें देनी चाहिए कि उनमें उत्साह और साहस बढ़े, उनमें देश भक्ति तथा मानुषभूमि के प्रति प्रेम की भावना जागृत हो। स्कूलों में डिल कम्पलसरी होनी चाहिए। खेल-कूद के मैदान तो नहीं हैं, लेकिन डिल

[श्री रात्रेलाल व्यास]

हर जगह कम्लसरी हो । स्कूलों में जान वाले छोटे बड़े सब बच्चों के लिए घंटे, आघ घंटे के लिए ड्रिल की व्यवस्था की जाये । इससे उनकी हिम्मत बढ़ेगी, उनमें जोश आयेगा, उनका चरित्र बनेगा और उनमें डिसिप्लिन कायम होगा ।

जहां तक नौजवानों का सम्बन्ध है, उनको होम गार्ड्स के लिए तैयार करना चाहिए । हमको अपने देश में जल्दी से जल्दी— दो चार महीनों में— पचास लाख के करीब ऐसे नौजवानों को तैयार कर लेना चाहिए, जो हथियार चलाना सीखें और उसमें दक्ष हो जायें । यह एक बहुत बज़रूरी काम है । इसी तरह हमारी माताओं और बहनों को भी आवश्यक ट्रेनिंग देने की ज़रूरत है ।

जहां तक हमारे साधनों का सम्बन्ध है, हमें अपने देश में अधिक हथियार तैयार करने में तेज़ी लाना चाहिए । यह प्रसन्नता की बात है कि हमारे यहां आटोमैटिक वैपन्ज़ बनने शुरू हो गये हैं और हमारी आर्डिनेंस फैक्ट्रीज़ में हथियारों की तैयारी में दुगुनी तिगुनी वृद्धि हो गई है । लेकिन यह काफी नहीं है । हमें अपने देश में आर्मामेंट्स इंडस्ट्रीज़ बढ़ाने की ज़रूरत है । दुनिया में जो हमारे मित्र राष्ट्र हैं, जैसे जापान, यू० के०, यू० एस० ए०, थैस्ट जर्मनी और इटली आदि, उनको एपरोच करके इस बात की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए कि वे हमारे यहां आर्मामेंट्स या गोलाबारूद तैयार करने की इंडस्ट्रीज़ और कैमिकल्ज़ इंडस्ट्रीज़ को स्थापित करने के लिए हमको साधन और सहयोग दें । अगर केन्द्रीय शासन उसके लिए पैसा खर्च करने की स्थिति में न हो, तो वह हर राज्य में एक एक इंडस्ट्री लगाने की व्यवस्था करे । मैं समझता हूँ कि सब राज्यों की प्रजा सहर्ष सारी पूंजी जुटाने के लिए तैयार होगी ।

इस संकट-काल में देश में आस्टेरिटी को लागू करने और अपना खर्च कम करने

की ज़रूरत है । शासन को भी मजबूत करने की ज़रूरत है । प्रति वर्ष हम देखते हैं कि इस सदन में बजट पर वाद-विवाद के अवसर पर भ्रष्टाचार आदि की बातें कही जाती हैं । उसको समाप्त किया जाना चाहिए । इस आशय का एक सर्कुलर निकालना चाहिए कि अगर इस समय कोई भी आदमी इस तरह का काम करता हुआ पाया जायेगा, तो उसको देश-द्विह समझा जायेगा और उसको बड़ी से बड़ी सजा दी जायेगी ।

छुट्टियां समाप्त की जानी चाहिए । अदालतों और हाई कोर्ट्स में दो दो, तीन तीन महीने की जो लम्बी छुट्टियां होती हैं, उनको समाप्त कर देना चाहिए । कारखानों के काम के घंटे आठ से बढ़ा कर दस कर देने चाहिए । आफ्रिसिज़ में भी एक दो घंटे बढ़ा देने चाहिए । लोगों को मेहनत करनी चाहिए ।

श्री स० भो० बनर्जी : डिफेंस के कारखानों में बारह घंटे काम होना शुरू हो गया है ।

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : सिविल आफ्रिसिज़ में भी शुरू होना चाहिए । अगर हमारे जवान दिन रात काम करते हैं, तो हमको भी बताना चाहिए कि आज हम भी दिन-रात मेहनत करेंगे । किसान, मजदूर, व्यापारी, सरकारी कर्मचारी, इन सब को मेहनत करनी है और जवानों को यह अनुभव कराना है कि हिन्दुस्तान के सब लोग उनकी कठिनाइयों से परिचित हैं और उनकी तरह त्याग करने के लिए तैयार हैं ।

आज जगह जगह से ऐसी खबरें आ रही हैं कि फलां चपरासी ने यह दिया, उस ने वह दिया । लेकिन जहां तक हमारे प्रशासन के सब से बड़े आफ्रिसिज़, आई० ए० एस० और आई० सी० एस० के सदस्यों का सम्बन्ध है, उन्होंने सिर्फ एक दिन की तनख्वाह

राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा कोष में दी है और वे अपने वेतन का पांच प्रतिशत डिफेंस बांड्स वगैरह में इनवेस्ट करेंगे। यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है। वे भी दिल बड़ा करे और ज्यादा त्याग करे। वे साल में एक महीने की तनख्वाह राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा कोष में दें और दस प्रतिशत डिफेंस बांड्स वगैरह में इनवेस्ट करें। अगर उन्होंने ऐसा किया, तो यह बहुत प्रशंसनीय कार्य होगा।

श्री लहरी सिंह : डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, आज सारा देश चीन के हमले का मुकाबला करने की तैयारी कर रहा है। मेरा ताल्लुक ज्यादातर पंजाब से है। जब से प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने अपील की है, पंजाब में हर एक गांव में छोट से छोटा जमींदार और किसान बड़ी तादाद में रकम दे रहा है। जहां जहां भरती होती है, जहां जहां रेकूटिंग आफिसिज है, वहां लोग हजारों की तादाद में आ रहे हैं, हालांकि उनमें से काफी मायूस होकर वापस जा रहे हैं, क्योंकि सब को नहीं लिया जाता है, जिसके पीछे शायद कोई पालिसी होगी। पंजाब से जवान और आफिसिज बहुत बड़ी तादाद में फ्रंट पर गए हैं। यह कोई नई बात नहीं है। पुराने जमाने से पंजाब में ज्यादा से ज्यादा तादाद में लोग रेकूट होते रहे हैं।

गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी की वजह से हमारी चौदह हजार मील जमीन का नक्शा बदल गया, लेकिन फिर भी कहा जाता है कि क्रिटिसाइज नहीं करना चाहिए। मैं किसी की नुक्ता-चीनी नहीं कर रहा हूँ, बल्कि मैं प्रधान मंत्री को पूरी तरह सपोर्ट करता हूँ, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि फौज एक दिन में तैयार नहीं होती है। अब जाड़ा है, इसलिये अभी लड़ाई तेज नहीं होगी। इन तीन महीनों में देश भर के सब एबल-बाडिड पर्सन्स को माइन् वैपन्स की ट्रेनिंग दे कर तैयार कर दिया जाये। आपको मानना चाहिये कि चीन कोई एसा मुल्क नहीं है कि जिसके साथ मामूली लड़ाई कर के हमें अपनी

हिफाजत कर लेंगे और अपना इलाका वापस ले लेंगे।

हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर और डिफेंस मिनिस्टर ने पहले यह कहा था कि नीफ्रा में कोई गड़बड़ नहीं है। सितम्बर में सेशन में जिम्मेदारी के साथ यह कहा गया था कि नीफ्रा में कोई खतरा या गड़बड़ नहीं है। जब प्रधान मंत्री लंका को जाने लगे, तो उन्होंने कहा कि चीनी फौजों को अपने इलाके से निकाल दिया जायगा। इससे हमको तसल्ली हो गई थी। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि स्वर्गीय सरदार पटेल जो कहते थे, वह पूरा हो जाता था। मैं फिर अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह कोई नुक्ता-चीनी नहीं है। गवर्नमेंट को हमारी पूरी सपोर्ट है। हमको पता है कि कितने नौजवान मारे गये हैं। हमारे घरों में तार आ रहे हैं। वे कहते हैं कि पंचशील ने हमको मार दिया। बेचारे आखिरी वक्त तक बन्दूक चलाते रहे। उनका राशन खत्म हो गया, सब कुछ खत्म हो गया, उनका इक्विप-मेंट खत्म हो गया, उनके पास कारतूस नहीं रहे, और उनको आपने पीछे से मदद न भेज कर मरवा दिया। लोग कहते हैं कि इस गवर्नमेंट ने उनको मरवा दिया है, बन्दूकों के साथ गोलियां न दे कर और पीछे से मदद न भेज कर।

18 hrs.

यह कहा जाता है कि चीन के पास साठ लाख फौज है, चालीस हजार वहां पर है तो आप किस तरह से उनका मुकाबला कर सकते हैं? क्या आपकी नेचर मदद के लिए आपणा? कौन आपकी मदद करेगा। इस तरह से काम नहीं चल सकता है। प्रधान मंत्री जी को सोचना चाहिए कि हमारा मुकाबला मामूली दुश्मन से नहीं है। हमारा मुकाबला उसके साथ है जिसके पास कितने ही लाख फौज है, कितने ही हवाई जहाज हैं और दूसरी भी तरह से जो लड़ाई के लिए बहुत पहले से तैयारी करता रहा है। आपका जो मिग विमान खरीदने का सोदा था वह भी

[श्री लहरी सिंह]

नहीं पटा है। कब उनको यहां पर मैनुफैक्चर किया जाएगा और कब दूसरी बातें होंगी, इसका कुछ पता ही नहीं है। इस वास्ते जरूरत इस बात की है कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा एबल-बाडिड पर्सन्स को आप ट्रेन कर उनको मिलिट्री में लें, उनको तैयार करें। महाराष्ट्र में कितने ही लड़के हैं, राजपूताना भरा पड़ा है, हमारे डोगरे, राजपूत, सिख, जाट कितनी ही तादाद में आप को मिल सकते हैं। खुशी से वे इस के लिये तैयार हैं, उन को जो तीन महीने की ट्रेनिंग दी जानी है, उस दीरान में वे अपनी तनह्वाह भी फारगो करने के लिये तैयार हैं। इस तीन महीने के बाद उन को एक ट्रेंड सेना आप की डिसपोजल पर हो सकती है पंजाब के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने कुछ काम किया है और उन्होंने ने कहा है कि स्टुडेंट्स को ट्रेनिंग दो। मैं समझता हूँ कि आप को ज्यादा से ज्यादा तादाद में लोगों को ट्रेन करना चाहिये। यह डंडे की ट्रेनिंग नहीं है जो उन को दी जानी है, घी नाट घी की नहीं है जो दी जानी है, माडर्न वैपञ्ज आफ वार चलाने की उन को आप ट्रेनिंग दें। पाकिशन के बाद से तो लोग काफी पढ़ लिख गये हैं और हनारी आवादी भी काफी है। पहले लोग पढ़े लिखे नहीं हुआ करते थे, आज ग्रेजुएट भी आप को मिल सकते हैं, दसवीं पास भी मिल सकते हैं, आठवीं पास भी मिल सकते हैं और इतनी तादाद में मिल सकते हैं कि अगर आप चाहो तो अपनी सेना को भी पचास साठ लाख तक ले जाओ। यह सेना आप देश में तीन महीने में तैयार कर सकते हैं।

जब आप कहते हैं कि ८ सितम्बर वाली जगहों पर पीछे हट जाओ, तो इस का क्या मतलब है। आप के मुंह से इस तरह की बात को सुन कर हमें शर्म आती है। यह आठ सितम्बर वाली बात का क्या मतलब है। अगर चीन की आवादी काफी बढ़ी हुई है तो हमारी भी कम नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तानी

फौजें हमेशा लड़ती रही हैं, हमेशा उन्होंने ने बहादुरी दिखाई है, हमेशा उन्होंने ने दुरमन को पछाड़ा है। पाकिशन के बाद हिन्दुस्तान बहुत बड़ा मुल्क बन गया है और इतना बड़ा वह कभी भी नहीं हुआ था। न इस में राजा हैं, न महाराजा हैं और न ही नवाब हैं। सारे हिन्दुस्तान में एक गवर्नमेंट है और वह है सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट। अशोक के समय में ऐसा नहीं हुआ और न ही पहले हुआ। आप के पास सभी रिजर्विसेस हैं, सारा कंट्री आप के साथ है और फौज भी हमारी मामूली फौज नहीं है। यह वह फौज है, जिस को अपने जौहर दिखाने का मौका १९१४ में और फिर १९३७ में जबकि लास्ट वर्ल्ड वार हुई थी, बर्मा फ्रंट पर जापानी फौज से लड़ कर दिखाने का मिला था। हमारी फौज को मामूली ट्रेनिंग नहीं मिली हुई है, यह वैल ट्रेन्ड है। किसी भी तरह की कोई कमी नहीं रही है। कमी इस बात की रही है कि पिछले चौदह पंद्रह साल से हम पंचशील का प्रचार करते आ रहे हैं। १९४७ में जब हम स्वाधीन हुए, हम को तैयारी करनी चाहिये थी। जिस तरह का हमारा पड़ोसी ताकतवर है, उस तरह का हमें भी बनना चाहिये था। वह हम ने नहीं किया। पंचशील का ही नारा हम लगाते रहे। यह क्यों करते रहे, यह समझ में नहीं आता है।

तिब्बत बड़ा तकड़ा मुल्क था। उस को चीन खाना चाहता था। उस को वह खा जाये, इस में हमारा भी हिस्सा रहा है। हम ने भी कहा है कि इस को मार दो, इस को खत्म कर दो, इस की आजादी को खत्म कर दो। दस्तखत होने के बाद हम ने कोई स्पॉट भी चूहीं दी बल्कि यहां दिल्ली में बैठ कर पंचशील के नाब होते गये। चाऊ-एन-लाई आये और उन के साथ मिल कर पंचशील का गुणगान किया गया, पंचशील का नाच किया गया। क्या लूट पड़ी थी कि तिब्बत की आजादी को इस तरह से खत्म करने

दिया जाता ? लेकिन ऐसा हुआ और आज हम देखते हैं कि चीन हमारा चौदह हजार वर्ग मील का इलाका हड़पे बैठा है । यह कोई मामूली बात नहीं है । जब हम एक नेशन हैं, और हमारी बहुत बड़ी नेशन है, हमारे यहाँ एक गवर्नमेंट है, डेमाक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट है, कोई राजा महाराजा नहीं है, तमाम ताकत आप के हाथ में है, एक डिस्प्लिन्ड आर्मी आप के डिस्पोजल पर है जिस को अंग्रेज छोड़ गये हैं और यह सब कुछ होते हुए भी और चौदह हजार वर्ग मील को चीन दबा जाये, तो ताज्जुब और अफसोस हुए बिना नहीं रहता है ।

हमारे भाई कहते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट की मुक्ताचीनी मत करो । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम पंडित जी को पूरी स्पॉट देंगे और तब तक देते रहेंगे जब तक इस इलाके को वापिस नहीं ले लिया जाता है । वह इशारा करें कि किस प्रकार की मदद हम से वह चाहते हैं और हम देने के लिये तैयार हैं । लेकिन उन को भी कुछ सोचना चाहिये । उन को यह नहीं कहना चाहिये था कि लद्दाख में तो घास तक नहीं उगती है । देहातों में घ्राप जायें, आप लोगों को यह कहते हुए सुनंगे कि किस तरह की स्पीचिज हो रही हैं जिन में कहा जा रहा है कि घास तक नहीं होती है । आप को चाहिये था कि आप बोर्डर को मजबूत करते । आप देखें कि औरंगजेब के समय यह बोर्डर मजबूत था । महाराजा रंजीत सिंह के समय में मजबूत था । अकबर ने बोर्डर को मजबूत किया । अंग्रेजों के समय में इस को मजबूत रखा गया । आप तिब्बत की हिस्ट्री को पढ़िये । कर्जन की हिस्ट्री को पढ़िये । उन्होंने तिब्बत के लिये सब कुछ किया । लेकिन हम ने क्या किया । हम पंचशील का नाच कर रहे हैं और पंचशील की दुहाई दे रहे हैं । तिब्बत खत्म किया जा रहा है और हम चुप हैं ।

आप कहते हैं कि हम नान-एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी पर चलते रहेंगे । इस का क्या

मतलब है ? दुनिया में क्या कोई आप की गातों में, आप का खयाल है, आ जायगा ? उन के भी स्पाइज कम नहीं हैं । मवाब यह है कि हम को एक ताकतवर एनीमा का मुकाबला कैसे करना है और ऐसा ताकतवर एनीमा जोकि फुन्नी इन्विण्ड है । चाऊ-एन-लाई ने कह दिया है कि कोई ताकत नहीं है जोकि जो इलाका उन के कब्जे में है, उस को वापिस ले सके । वह तो यह एलान करते हैं और हम आठ सितम्बर का गाना गते जा रहे हैं । हम ने क्या तैयारी की है, इस इलाके को वापिस लेने का ? हमारे पास हवाई जहाज कितने हैं, अगर उन की कल को जरूरत पड़ जाय ? आप को चाहिये कि आप एलाइज तलाश करें । इतना रुस्या आप के पास नहीं आया है बावजूद अभीलें करने के । जो कारखाने हैं वे मिनटों में तैयार नहीं हो सकते हैं । किस तरह से आप दुश्मन का मुकाबला करेगे । जब लड़ाई चलेगी तो यह मामूली आटोमेटिक वैपंज के साथ नहीं लड़ी जायगी, माटर की नहीं रहेगी, यह हवाई हमलों तक पहुंचेगी । आप चीन पर यकीन नहीं कर सकते हैं । मुम्किन है कल वह हवाई जहाजों से अटैक करे । आप के पास न पुर्जे हैं और न कुछ और । इतना होने पर भी आप कहते हैं कि हम नान-एलाइंड रहेंगे । एलाइंड होने का मेरा मतलब यह नहीं है कि आप किसी मिलिट्री पैकट में शामिल हो जायें । मेरा मतलब यह है कि अगर मलाया पर हमला हो, हम पर हमला हो, बर्मा पर हमला हो, या जितनी भी डेनोकेटिक कंट्रीज हैं, उन में से किसी पर हमला हो, तो उन को यकीन दिलाओ कि हम सब इकट्ठा मरेगे । बर्मा, मलाया, थाईलैंड किसी पर भी हमला हो, हम को एक दूसरे की मदद करनी चाहिये । इस नान-एलाइंड शब्द का मतलब क्या है । क्या आप को रूस ने कोई हथियार दे दिये हैं ? मिग भी अभी तक नहीं दिये हैं और जब देगा तो उसी तरह के टूटे फूटे दे देगा जिस तरह से टूटी फूटी गाड़ियां रंग कर के, इन्कसन के दिनों में दे दी जाती हैं जो दो कदम चलने पर खड़ी हो जाती हैं ।

[श्री लाहरी सिंह]

रामलीला ग्राऊंड में तथा दूसरी जगहों पर नान-एलाइन होने की दुहाई दी जाती है। इस तरह से काम नहीं चल सकता है। नई नई किस्म के हथियार तैयार हो चुके हैं। अब पुराने हथियारों से काम नहीं चल सकता है। इस चीज को रियलाइज कर के आप को चाहिये कि आप रीयलिस्टिक हों। मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब के सामने सच्ची बात रख रहा हूँ और आप को भी चाहिये कि आप सच्ची बात रखें। हम एलायंस नहीं चाहते। लेकिन आप सोचें कि किस दुश्मन से वास्ता पड़ा है। हवाई जहाज, बीस बीस लाख का आता है, कोई आप को वैसे ही दे देगा। मिलिट्री पैकट न हो, लेकिन अगर किसी डैमोक्रेटिक कंट्री पर अटैक होता है तो हम सब एक साथ मरें। १९१४ की लड़ाई अंग्रेज ने एलायंस कर के जीती। लास्ट वार में उस ने एक तरफ रूस को काबू किया और दूसरी तरफ अमरीका को किया। कोई उस का नुकसान हो गया? इन लड़ाइयों में वह विजयी रहा है। हमारे पास है तो कुछ नहीं लेकिन हम करे जाते हैं कि हम एलायंस नहीं करेंगे। नहीं करेंगे तो मरेंगे ही। इतनी दुहवाई नान-एलाइनमेंट की आप न दो। एलायंस के माने समझा दो। उस की डेफीनिशन में थोड़ा फर्क कर दो। बिना एलायंस के हम मर जायेंगे। अंग्रेज को यह करना पड़ा था। आज जो खतरा है वह मामूली नहीं है और इस का हमें पूरी ताकत के साथ और जिस तरह भी हो सके मुकाबला करना है।

Shri Sonavane (Pandharpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Proclamation of Emergency issued by our President as also the Resolution moved by our beloved Prime Minister. In this hour of crisis we have to rise as one man against the Chinese aggression to repel the Chinese forces from our sacred soil.

The whole of Maharashtra must have been electrified by the proposed placing over the Defence portfolio in

the hands of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, the descendant of Shivaji the Great.

Our Prime Minister has offered to the Chinese that talk or negotiations would be opened if they withdraw to the position held by them before the 8th September. If this offer is accepted by them and they accordingly withdraw, a cease fire may be ordered. Once a cease fire is ordered, as our experience is, the cease fire line stays. Then, if the Chinese leaders refuse to go back beyond the McMahon line, the what happens? What action can we take at that stage to recover whatever land that would be in the illegal occupation of the Chinese forces? Then also there will be another headache for us. Therefore, I feel a doubt as to the proposal whether the 8th September position should be agreed upon for starting talks or that cease fire line should be agreed upon. Later on, complications if they arise, as in the case of Pakistan, our position will be rather serious. Therefore, I want this clarification from our Prime Minister that only for talks, for easing of tension, this offer should be acted upon and no cease fire should be ordered till all the Chinese forces are withdrawn beyond the McMahon line, in the Ladakh area and also in the N.E.F.A. area.

The Communist Chinese, timid and treacherous as they are, they were very anxious....

Some Hon. Members: Timid?

Shri Sonavane: I say timid because they have betrayed a friend and stabbed a friend in the back. They wanted to regain their land, Taiwan or Formosa. Instead of regaining and getting back that land—they did not do that, because they feared that mighty feet would kick them out of Formosa—what did they do? They committed rape on Tibet and marched

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Aggression by China**

their armies. Tibet, a buffer State, having gone, they came to India, invaded and committed aggression on our sacred soil. Therefore, I feel it is for Formosa Nationalist Chinese to liberate their mainland as they have often said. It is the time for them to take this opportunity to recover their mainland and to liberate the enslaved Chinese people who are starving and hungry. I think if they take this opportunity, it would be a golden opportunity for the Nationalist Chinese leaders.

The Communist Chinese Leaders are, no doubt, expansionist, cruel, treacherous and deceitful. When Communist China is enlarging the possibility of world war by its aggression on India and democracy, I do not understand why the leaders of the U.S.S.R. are keeping mum. These are the two pictures here. One picture is that Soviet Russia has withdrawn or has dismantled whatever bases it had and is carrying back the ballistic missiles to Russia. But, other China, a Communist ally with Soviet Russia, is carrying on war and increasing the possibilities of this nuclear war in this world. This is a menace to peace. Therefore, I request the Leaders of U.S.S.R., Mr. Khrushchev, that he should prevail upon the Communist Chinese leaders to withdraw from the Indian soil and have a peaceful atmosphere and see that world peace is not endangered.

We are very much thankful and grateful to the friendly western nations such as the U.S.A., the U.K., Canada, France and other countries for their swift help in supplying arms to us in this hour of our peril. To our brave jawans we give our wholehearted support and pay our tribute to such of our jawans who have laid down their lives to protect their motherland. Every Indian is up to help, contribute his mite, donate blood, gold, and sacrifice everything to save the honour of our land. But, our Indian Communists should not have raised their voice in protest for such of the Indian Com-

munist individuals who have been detained, who did not support the C.P.I. resolution, but went against that. Therefore, in the interests of the C.P.I., I feel that they should not try to protect such of those people who are detained or who are anti-nationalist, to say, in outlook. If they do so, if they raise their voice again—they have done it in Bombay—I feel, the people at large in the country will doubt their *bona fides*. I feel that this step taken by the State Government in the interests of the motherland, should be taken in that spirit.

The fight has to be carried on and the supply line has to be maintained. Therefore, every peasant, worker in the factories, coal fields, Railways, have got to work with re-doubled zeal. Time is running short. I will place my suggestions in two minutes. We have got to conserve our foreign exchange. Therefore, my suggestion is that our gold business should not be left in private hands and steps should be taken to nationalise that. Our defence and air force should be strengthened. Air raid shelters should be increased in the border States and other areas. We have got to minimise expenditure in the State and Central Government. Particularly the size of the Cabinets should be reduced and non-essential expenditure should also be stopped. People in the villages, particularly in the rural areas, who cannot read and write, know very little of the fight going on in the border areas. Therefore, in order to educate them, I say that folk-song parties should be organised who can by folk songs, enthuse and communicate to them and explain to them what is going on and what kind of help and support is needed for the country. Then, hospital buildings should be built for this purpose, and a greater number of nursing training centres should be opened, so that in case of an emergency, those nurses will be useful for nursing our wounded soldiers.

Then, I have to say a word about the National Defence Council. I would like to point out to our Prime Min-

[Shri Sonavane.]

ister that some notable omissions are there in the Defence Council, and I would suggest that Shri Jagjivan Ram and Gen. Cariappa should also be included.

Then, food production is most important, and the agriculturists in the villages should be given all the help that they require.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up. He should conclude now.

Shri Surendra Pal Singh (Bulandshahr): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wholeheartedly support the two resolutions moved by the hon. Prime Minister.

India is faced with her darkest hour since she attained Independence fifteen years ago. We are a victim of an unprovoked, naked and wanton aggression at the hands of the Chinese. We made every effort possible in the past to live at peace with that country, so much so that we even put up with their early minor incursions on our border with patience and fortitude, and with this hope in our hearts that, maybe one day better sense would prevail and all the wrongs done to us in the past will be put right by mutual and friendly discussions between the two countries. But all our sincere and well-meant efforts in that direction came to a naught, and all our hopes were completely shattered, because the Chinese for reasons best known to themselves took to the law of the jungle, betrayed our friendship, trampled on our offers of peace and decided to invade our country on a massive scale.

Sir, there is no doubt that this big attack came as a great surprise to us, and in the earlier stages we suffered great losses in men and material. But it would not be correct to say that we were not prepared altogether as the allegations have come from all sides of the House. We were prepared, but we are prepared only for the kind of fighting that had been going

on on our borders for the past number of years. We were certainly not prepared, for this massive attack that came on us like a bolt from the blue. We did not expect that the Chinese would attack us on such a massive and large scale, because to our minds, and to the mind of the Indian nation, it is unthinkable that any civilised and responsible country can afford to undertake a full-scale military adventure of the type that China has undertaken against us in times like these when the whole world is sitting on the brink of a disastrous nuclear war. But I suppose the warlords in Peking have no scruples about such things; they are power-drunk, and in their heart of hearts, they probably feel that they have everything to gain from a world war and nothing to lose from it.

From the very nature and the size of this attack that came on us a few weeks ago and from its intensity, it appears that this attack was a pre-meditated and a well-planned act of aggression against us. Circumstanced as we were, and for that matter, still are, and with our very limited and meagre resources, it was not possible for us to bring our defence preparations to the same level, or, anywhere near the same level as that of the Chinese. So all these charges of neglect of our defence preparations and of our being in a state of unpreparedness, which have been leveled against our Government inside the House and outside it are not wholly justified.

Sir, we must see things in their proper perspective. History is replete with examples to prove that the democracies are always slow to rise, but when once they are fully roused, they are capable of withstanding any type of aggression from any quarter and crushing it. We have the example of England before us in the last war. That country had two years of warning of an oncoming war in Europe. Everybody knew that the war was coming. Yet, England, being a democratic country, and being a peace-

loving country, not wanting a war at all, kept on avoiding making preparations for a war, and when the calamity came on her head, she was completely unprepared. But we all know the result of that war. Ultimately, England and her Allies succeeded, and the forces of evil were destroyed. So, we should not really feel disheartened at what has happened to us here. There have been a few reverses. So what of it! We must keep our hopes in our democratic institutions, and there is no reason to lose heart, and what happened to the Allies in the last world war will also happen to us here.

I do not blame the Government for all that has come to pass. But I do appreciate the way our Prime Minister, in a very honest and forthright manner, has come forward and taken the entire blame on his own shoulders for the sake of the country's unity and solidarity. That, I think, is a sign of great strength of character, and this gesture of his has drawn us even more close to him today than ever before. We all feel, one and all, that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is the man of the hour, and he is the only person who can lead us to victory. So, it becomes our bounden duty that, in this hour of our national crisis, we must rally round our Prime Minister and strengthen his hands with our fullest support and co-operation at this perilous juncture.

This country has reacted most magnificently to the Prime Minister's call, and it is very heartening and encouraging to see people from all walks of life, rich and poor, coming forward with offers of help in our hour of need. With this spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to the country's cause within us, we have nothing much to fear. There are bound to be a few military reverses in the beginning because of the present imbalance in armaments. But I am absolutely certain that the ultimate victory will be ours.

Sir, I would like to say a word about the help that has come to us from outside. We all are and should

be extremely grateful for this very timely help that has come to us from all friendly countries of the West. This very magnanimous gesture on the part of those countries with whom we did not always see eye on certain international issues is something which we very much appreciate, and which we will cherish for all times to come. Without this timely help, I do not know how things would have gone! It has been of great help indeed.

But I would say this that this outside help alone will not be of very great help to us unless we are also able to stand on our own feet, and for this, it is necessary that our defence production is stepped up to such a pitch that we become self-sufficient in regard to all our requirements of basic weapons for our troops at the earliest.

Efforts must also be made to maintain the present tempo of economic development of the country, because, as the Prime Minister has very rightly pointed out, all-round economic growth of the country is absolutely essential for the successful prosecution of the war effort. Of course, it may become necessary, in the interest of the country's defence to curtail some developmental activity here or there, and all those plans and all those schemes, which do not directly contribute to the war effort, may have to be scrapped or given up or modified. But, on the whole, the all-round economic activity must go on, and we must also go on with our present five year Plan for as long as possible.

Sir, I want to say a few words about the problem of logistics. Personally I feel that this is a war of logistics. Our soldiers are capable of holding their own against any enemy in the world, but it is our responsibility to feed them to cloth them and to equip them with latest weapons to the best of our ability before they can give off their best. The places where they are fighting are in mountainous regions where there are no roads worth the name and supplies have to be air dropped.

[Shri Surendra Pal Singh]

In this connection, I would like to say a word about our Air Force. In this crisis, they have done and are doing a wonderful job in spite of various handicaps. Our Air power is very inadequate in view of our big commitments. I would request the Government that they should do everything possible to procure more transport planes, from whichever quarter they might be available, and also more fighter planes. We must also concentrate on the work of road building in the border areas. This work has been going on rather slow in the past and it should be expedited in this emergency.

Sir, I wish to say a word about our Territorial Army. Every effort should be made to encourage more and more people to join the Territorial Army. Persons in the Territorial Army personnel should be properly trained and equipped to form our second line of defence. Students in colleges and schools must also be encouraged to join the N.C.C. and A.C.C. organisations.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude now. Shri Rajaram.

Shri Surendra Pal Singh: Sir, I would like to have one or two minutes more to conclude my speech.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have already called Shri Rajaram.

Shri Rajaram (Krishnagiri): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for the opportunity to speak on this occasion. The entire country is drawn and concentrated towards the Chinese aggression, which, according to me is neither sudden nor unexpected, but it is pre-meditated and pre-planned. My party leader, Shri C. N. Annadurai has given his unqualified support to the Government of India against the Chinese aggression. Mr. Krishna Manoharan, leader of our Group in this august House revealed our party's opinion here yesterday. I came to know through

papers that China had already issued some maps in which they have included even Uttar Pradesh as their territory. Through this kind of attitude we expected that the Chinese may come into our country with force. Even one year back we have condemned the attitude of the Chinese. We passed so many Resolution in our Conferences. China has gradually developed its imperialistic tendencies and it has gradually played its role of aggression in Tibet. Tibet has gone now. But the Government of India saved Dalai Lama of Tibet. After that incident onwards, we never have a friendly word either from Chou En-lai or from his Government. Even after this unfriendly attitude, Indian representatives supported China's entry into the United Nations. But now the Chinese are stabbing us from behind. Suddenly China has started a war against us, but the country is ready to face the aggression. As far as our party is concerned, we are ready to shed our sweat, blood and tears for this noble purpose.

Sir, the assurances given by the Prime Minister in the Rajya Sabha yesterday that an enquiry would be conducted into the problem of the unpreparedness is enough and no more controversy need there be about the problems connected with the Defence department. We are up against a treacherous enemy. The enemy's undeclared war may make any turn. This is the testing time for the country. We have been too trusting, too apt to believe in the goodness of human nature. Naivete in international politics is never a sound policy.

Our Government has got an excellent army. In the time of the Second World War, our people served for Rs. 16 as fighting force in the army. The well-known British Generals and other army personnel were highly appreciative of our fighting forces' bravery in the various fronts. Even today there are lot of ex-servicemen

who are volunteering themselves to serve in the army. Most of them got experience in mountain warfare. We must utilise them because they can be trained within a shorter period than the new soldiers.

Sir, in the Prime Minister's statement we were told that he is expecting a prolonged war in the frontier. According to him it may even take ten, twenty or forty years. I think he is telling this because of his vast experience, but, by strengthening the hands of the Prime Minister quickly we must try to solve this problem soon.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am very glad to note from the Prime Minister's speech that the question of scrapping the plan did not arise. Full fledged production in all fields require top priority. The suggestion that has been made that the plan should be relegated to the background till the present emergency is over, is neither tasty nor feasible. Therefore, Sir, the tempo of development should be accelerated to the highest extent possible so as to meet our requirements as far as possible. In this context, I want to suggest particularly to the Government that the price-level should not be allowed to rise up. We should not allow anybody to take advantage of the situation to spiral up the price-level. If anybody does it, that should be considered as a crime unpardonable and he should be punished very severely. I am happy to see that our hon. Prime Minister and the Minister for Planning have taken a pledge to look after this matter.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, you might be aware that our party has decided to give full support to the Government of India in driving out our common enemy. The Members of our Legislature in Madras have given their one month's salary to the Defence Fund. Top ranking actors and actresses of our party as well as our State have given lakhs and lakhs of rupees to the Defence Fund. Nearly three thousand sturdy, young and energetic and finest flowers of our party

turned up at the General Hospital of Madras to donate their blood. Our Prime Minister's call to the country for prompt and profuse contributions from the public resources for defence has evoked a re-assuring response. Leaving aside the National Fund, there are two other distinct types of borrowing announced as part of this plan. A new issue of National Defence Bonds is to be put in the country and the Small-savings Certificates are to be issued under the nomenclature of Defence Deposit Certificates and National Defence Certificates.

Sir, especially in this context I wish to emphasise the supreme importance and necessity of stepping up of agricultural production. My humble suggestion to this effect is that leaders of all shades of political opinion should rush to the peasants and agriculturists with redoubled vigour and all-out efforts should be made to explain the role which ought to be played by those people particularly in this time of emergency.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I think that understanding ought to be reached within the parties. Co-operation unstinted to the Government of India from all over the country is full to the very brim. Immolation is our motto now. The present generation is ready to sacrifice itself for the sake of the morrow. Hereafter, Sir, we are not going to tolerate any kind of imperialism on our soil and it is our determined zeal to safeguard our sacred freedom which is more than our lives. I do not know how such a lunacy seized the Peking Government. We are in the era of democracy where battle axes have no place, but, on the contrary, ballot boxes find their place.

Sir, all our issues ought to be settled not by cutting heads, but by counting heads. Provisions for Round Table Conferences, scope for negotiations and chances for mutual understanding are all in plenty. Unfortunately it seems that the Peking Government is throwing out all sorts of

[Shri Rajaram]

democratic means. Therefore, Sir, the torch of liberty is burning aglow. That can never be extinguished by any amount of force. Let us wish, therefore, that every morning brings forth a noble chance and every chance brings forth a noble man to meet out the open or veiled enemy of our country. Thank you.

श्री क० न० तिवारी (बगहा) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप ने जो बड़ी कृपा करके यह अवसर मुझे बोलने का दिया है, इस के लिये मैं आप का आभारी हूँ ।

सब से पहले मैं उन जवानों के प्रति जो खेत आये हैं सरहद के ऊपर, अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ । यहां से गत बैठक के बाद मैं अपनी कांस्टीट्यूएँसी का जब दौरा करने गया और लोगों से मिला तो उन्होंने दो सन्देश मेरे द्वारा प्राइम मिनिस्टर को भेजे हैं । पहला सन्देश यह था कि आज एक एक बच्चा, एक एक बूढ़ा, एक एक नौजवान भारत के प्रधान मंत्री के पीछे है । दूसरा सन्देश यह है कि उन की समझ में यह बात नहीं आती, वह इस को प्रधान मंत्री से जानना चाहते हैं, कि यह ८ सितम्बर कौन सी बला है । हम ८ सितम्बर का बार बार जिक्र करते हैं और कहते हैं कि अगर चीन उस स्थान तक हट जाय जिस पर कि वह ८ सितम्बर को था तो उस के साथ बातचीत की जा सकती है । वे लोग प्रधान मंत्री से जानना चाहते हैं कि वह ८ सितम्बर वाला स्थान मेकमहोन रेखा के अन्दर पड़ता है या नहीं । अगर वह स्थान मेकमहोन रेखा के अन्दर पड़ता है, तो उन लोगों ने निवेदन किया है कि उस पर कोई वार्ता नहीं होनी चाहिये, और खास कर उस हालत में जबकि चायना ने किसी भी बात को नहीं माना है और वह आगे बढ़ता गया है । उस से बातचीत उसी वक्त हानी चाहिये जब वह मेकमहोन रेखा से अलग हट जाय और यह ८ सितम्बर की बात नहीं रहनी चाहिये ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब तक यह देखा जाता रहा है कि ऐसे मौकों पर आने सरकार

रहा करती थी, उस के पीछे उस का आर-गेनाइजेशन और तब जनता । इस बार यह बात देखने में आई है कि जनता सब से आगे है, उस के बाद आरगेनाइजेशन है और अन्त में सरकार है । आज जनता का जो रख है, आज जनता में जो भावना और उत्साह है वह इसीलिये है कि वह समझती है कि दुश्मन आगे बढ़ता चला आ रहा है और हमारा यह धर्म है, एक एक बच्चे का यह धर्म है, कि हम उस को अपनी मातृभूमि से खदेड़ दें ।

18.43 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

अध्यक्ष महोदय, बहुत से लोगों का यह खयाल है कि यह चन्द हजार वर्ग मील सीमा की भूमि का झगड़ा है, लेकिन विनोबा जी ने कहा है कि यह सरहद की चन्द हजार मील भूमि का झगड़ा नहीं है, यह सैदान्तिक लड़ाई का मामला है, यह दो विचारधाराओं का, दो पद्धतियों का मामला है । हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा है :

Events on the northern frontier could no longer be regarded as a border conflict. China has launched an all-out invasion of India.

ऐसी हालत में जब कम्प्रोमाइज की बात कही जाती है तो यह बात आम जनता की समझ में नहीं आती और हम लोगों की भी समझ में नहीं आती । कम्प्रोमाइज का मतलब होता है कुछ लेन देन । जब सरकार कम्प्रोमाइज की बात करती है तो आम जनता के दिल में यह बात आती है कि क्या सरकार हमारी सरहद के लेनदेन की कुछ बात करेगी । क्या यहां भी हम उसी प्रकार की स्थिति में पड़े रहेंगे जैसे कि काश्मीर में पड़े हैं ? इसलिये सरकार द्वारा और खास कर प्रधान मंत्री द्वारा इस बात की सफाई हो जानी चाहिये ताकि जनता के दिमाग में किसी तरह की गलतफहमी न रह जाय ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, एक और बात की ओर मैं आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। लोगों को बराबर तैयार रहने के लिये कहा जा रहा है, आम जनता को काम करने के लिये चेतावनी दी जा रही है और इस मौके पर तैयार रहने के लिये कहा जा रहा है। लेकिन जनता को और हम लोगों को एक बात का डर है कि जो लड़ाई के सम्बन्ध में काम होना है उस के सम्बन्ध में कहीं ऐसा न हो कि

from one tray in to another tray out

वाली कहावत चरितार्थ हो जाय।

नेपोलियन ने कहा है :

in military operations the most valuable item is time.

और इस के बारे में हमारे और जनता के दिल में सन्देह बना हुआ है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, टाइम्स आफ लंडन ने २६ अक्टूबर को अपने एक आर्टिकल में लिखा है कि चाइना की मिलिटरी ताकत क्या है। उस में कहा गया है :

It said, China's standing army alone was estimated at 2.5 million organised into 30 to 35 field armies. It was estimated that China could without mobilisation put in the field 120 divisions of 10,000 to 15,000 men six armoured divisions and two airborne divisions. In addition, it had a militia of about 20 million. The article quoted a western observer as saying that four million of them had received intensive weapon training.

The article said the Chinese Air Force consisted of 100,000 officers and men and 3,000 aircraft. It did not say how many MIG-21 fighters China possessed, but noted that these were equipped with air to air missiles.

इस रिपोर्ट को देखने के बाद मैं आप के जरिये निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अपने

देश में भी टोटल मोबिलाइजेशन हो जाना चाहिये। अब समय आ गया है

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब माननीय सदस्य समाप्त करें क्योंकि उन्होंने ने खुद कह दिया कि अब समय आ गया है।

श्री क० ना० तिवारी : मैं अन्य बातों को छोड़ कर एक दो सुझाव दे कर एक मिनट में बैठ जाता हूँ।

मेरा पहला सुझाव पब्लिसिटी के संबंध में है। आकाशवाणी का प्रोग्राम आज की मांग के अनुकूल नहीं है। वह उस के अनुकूल होना चाहिये।

वित्त मंत्री ने गोल्ड बांड्स के सम्बन्ध में लोगों को छूट दी है कि अगर यह गोल्ड बांड खरीदेंगे तो उन से यह नहीं पूछा जायेगा कि वह यह सोना कहाँ से लाये हैं। मेरा दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि इसी प्रकार लोगों के पास बहुत सा रुपया छिपा पड़ा है और वे उस को इस डर से नहीं निकाल रहे हैं कि वह कहाँ से आया है, कैसे आया है इस की सरकार जांच करेगी। बहुत सा रुपया फोरिन बैंक्स में भी पड़ा है और वह उस का इस्तेमाल नहीं कर रहे हैं। इन दोनों प्रकार के रुपयों के बारे में भी यह एलान होना चाहिये कि वह रुपया अगर वार इंडस्ट्री में लगाया जायगा तो उस की छानबीन नहीं की जायेगी, वे अपना इस प्रकार का पूरा धन वार इंडस्ट्री में लगा सकते हैं।

तीसरा सुझाव यह है कि अभी तक जो बड़े बड़े कारखाने वाले लोग रुपये दे रहे हैं वह अपनी इंडस्ट्री की तरफ से दे रहे हैं। लेकिन जो पुराने राजे महाराजे और बड़े बड़े उद्योगपति हैं उन के पास अपना परसनल रुपया काफी है। उस में से वे काफी रुपया सरकार को दे सकते हैं अगर उन को इनकम-टैक्स की छूट दी जाय। इस पर भी विचार होना चाहिये।

चूँकि समय नहीं है, इसलिये आप को फिर धन्यवाद दे कर बैठ जाता हूँ।

श्री पाराशर (शिवपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप का आभारी हूँ जो आप ने मुझे इस अवसर पर विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर दिया है। इस के पहले कि मैं कुछ कहूँ मैं अपनी और अपने क्षेत्र की ओर से उन सैनिकों का जिन्होंने कि अपने देश की रक्षा के लिये अपने प्राणों की आहुति दी है उन के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ।

हमारे देश की नौन एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी के सम्बन्ध में बहुत कुछ कहा गया है और उस की आलोचना करते हुए हम को इस गुट या उस गुट के साथ मिलने के लिये कहा गया है। लेकिन मैं जो यह वकालत करते हैं कि भारत को किसी ब्लाक में शामिल हो जाना चाहिये, उन की बात समझने से कासिर हूँ। आखिर कोई भी देश जब अपनी नीति निश्चित और निर्धारित करता है तो वह अपने प्राचीन संस्कार, जीवन के रहन-सहन के तरीके और अपने सिद्धान्तों के आधार पर करता है। भारतवर्ष यदि आज शताब्दियों से धक्कों को खाते रहने के बाद भी जीवित है तो वह इसीलिये जीवित है कि उस के जीवन के कुछ सिद्धान्त हैं, उसने कुछ सिद्धान्त अपनाये हैं और कठिन से कठिन समय में भी जब भी परीक्षा का कड़ा अवसर आया है, वह अपने कुछ निश्चित सिद्धान्तों पर अटल और दृढ़ रहा है। आजादी की लड़ाई के दौरान में जब हम अंधकार में थे जब हम गुलामी की बेड़ियों में जकड़े हुए थे तब भी हम ने कुछ सिद्धान्तों को पकड़ा और उन को मजबूती से पकड़े रह कर हम ने सब के सामने यह प्रदर्शित कर दिया कि सारा देश मर भले ही सकता है लेकिन वह अपने सिद्धान्तों को नहीं छोड़ सकता है और उन पर कायम रहते हुए हमने आजादी हासिल की और हमारा देश गुलामी के बंधन से आजाद हुआ।

इतिहास की ओर दृष्टि डालने से पता चलेगा कि शताब्दियों पहले हजारों साल पहले से हम भारतवासी संग्रामों में जूझते रहे हैं। इसलिये आज जो संग्राम हमें लड़ना

पड़ रहा है वह कोई हमारे लिये नई चीज नहीं है। देवासुर संग्रामों की कहानियाँ हम अपनी पौराणिक पुस्तकों में पढ़ा और सुना करते हैं। आज का भारत चीन संघर्ष एक प्रकार का देवासुर संग्राम है। मित्र के साथ इस तरह मित्रघात करना, मित्रता का बदला दुश्मनी से देना और इस प्रकार से वचन भंग करना यह राक्षसों का ही काम है। हमने उन चीनियों का जिनका कि आचरण राक्षसों के समान है, अपने पूर्वजों की तरह चैलेंज स्वीकार कर लिया है। हमने और हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने उस चैलेंज को स्वीकार किया है। यदि हम अपने सिद्धान्त को छोड़ते हैं जिन पर सदैव से हम चलते आये हैं तो हम अपने यतों धर्म स्तयततो जाया के सिद्धान्त से हटते हैं जिस पर कि हम सदैव से चलते आये हैं। अगर हम यह कह दें कि हम अमुक गुट में शामिल हैं और फलां गुट में शामिल न रहेंगे तो उस का मतलब यह होगा कि हम अपने सिद्धान्त को छोड़ते हैं। जब हम किसी गुट में शामिल होते हैं तो हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि हमें उन के साथ हर हालत में रहना होगा। अगर वह गलत काम करते हैं तो भी हम उन का समर्थन करें और मही काम करें तो भी उन का समर्थन करें। क्या भारतवर्ष यह काम करने को तैयार है? मेरा यह निश्चित मत है कि भारत का जन मानस कभी इस बात को स्वीकार नहीं करेगा। भारतवर्ष खत्म हो जायेगा, मर जायेगा और संसार के नक्शे से भारतवर्ष उठ जायेगा लेकिन सत्य और न्याय का रास्ता कभी नहीं छोड़ेगा ऐसा मेरा निश्चित विश्वास है। "यतो धर्मस्य ततो जाया", अर्थात् जहाँ सत्य होगा वहीं विजय होगी और वहीं साक्षात् परमेश्वर का वास होगा भारतवर्ष को नौन-एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी को हरगिज नहीं छोड़ना है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप के जरिये श्री चाऊ एन लाई को सन्देश भेजना चाहता हूँ कि भारतवर्ष की जनता का प्रत्येक जीवित मनुष्य चाहे वह बच्चा हो, बूढ़ा हो या जवान,

उस ने इस बात का पक्का फैसला कर लिया है कि वह उसी रास्ते पर अपना अन्तर्दशन करने के बाद अमल करेगा जो उस ने गीता में पढ़ा है ।

“नैनं छिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि नैनं दहति पावकः ।
न चैनं क्लेदयन्त्यापो न शोषयति मारुतः ॥”
अर्थात् इस आत्मा को शस्त्र नहीं काट सकते, इस को आग नहीं जला सकती, इस को जल नहीं गला सकता और वायु नहीं सुखा सकता । हम ने इस बात का फैसला कर लिया है कि हिमालय में तो पांच पांडव गले थे अगर धर्म और सत्य के रास्ते पर चलते हुए हम ४४ करोड़ में से ५ करोड़ इंसान भी हिमालय में आक्रमण का मुकाबला करते हुए गल जायें अर्थात् नष्ट हो जायें तो भी कोई पर्वाह की बात नहीं है लेकिन यह निश्चित बात है कि हम चीन को कभी भारतवर्ष में आने नहीं देंगे । उन को अपनी धरती पर टिकने नहीं देंगे और उन को खेदे कर ही दम लेंगे ।

भारत सरकार ने चीन से कोई भी समझौता वार्ता चलाने के पहले जो यह मांग की है कि चीनी हमलावर ८ सितम्बर से पूर्व के स्थानों पर लौट जायें उस के बारे में हमारे कुछ भाई कहते हैं कि यह ८ सितम्बर है क्या चीज । मैं अपने उन भाइयों को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा यह औफर उस संस्कृति के ही आधार पर है जोकि हम भारतवासियों की नस नस में अंतर्प्रोत है । रामायण में हम पाते हैं कि जब रावण सीता को हर ले गया तो श्री राम मुग्ध को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहते हैं :—

“जग में सखा निशाचर जेते लक्ष्मण ही
हनहिं निमिष महि तेतें ।”

अर्थात् अकेले लक्ष्मण ही समस्त राक्षसों का नाश करने में समर्थ हैं । हालांकि श्री रामचंद्र जानते थे कि हम उसे परास्त कर देंगे तो भी लक्ष्मण जी ने रावण को श्री रामचन्द्र की तरफ से यह कहलवाया था :—

“कहो मुखागर मूढ रुन मम सन्देश उदार,
सीता देहु मिलऊ नत आवा काल तुम्हार॥”

यह शक्ति और क्षमता राम रखते थे तो भी उन्होंने युद्ध छेड़ने से पहले रावण को आखिरी बार संदेशा भिजवाया कि उसे सुबुद्धि आ जाये । इसलिये भारत की ओर से जो यह मांग की गई है कि चीनी हमलावर ८ सितम्बर के पूर्व के स्थानों पर यदि लौट जाने को राजी हों तो समझौता वार्ता की जा सकती है अन्यथा नहीं, यह उसी प्राचीन संस्कृति की प्रतीक है जोकि हम लोगों की नस नस में व्याप्त है । हमारे पूर्वज रामचन्द्र जी ने जिस प्रकार से रावण को एक अन्तिम अवसर दिया था कि अगर वह अपनी खैर चाहता है तो सही रास्ते पर आ जावे उसी भावना के साथ हमने उन को यह ८ सितम्बर की बात कही है दूसरा हमारा कोई अभिप्राय नहीं है । इस में कोई कमजोरी नहीं है और हमें चाहिये कि इस को ले कर जो कुछ लोगों में एक शक सा पैदा हो गया है उस का हम निराकरण करें और उन्हें बतलायें कि यह प्रस्ताव कोई डर या कमजोरी के कारण हम ने नहीं किया है । आठ सितम्बर वही चीज है :—

“सीता देहु मिलऊ नत आवा काल
तुम्हार” ।

भारत की ओर से चीनी दरिदों को यह अन्तिम अवसर दिया जा रहा है ।

आज समय का तकाजा है कि भारत वर्ष की जनता को हम हर तरह से इस आक्रमण का मुकाबला करने और चीनी हमलावरों को भारत भूमि से खेदेने के लिये तैयार करें । हर एक देश के बच्चे को फौजी तालीम दी जाय । जिस तरह से गांधी जी ने भारतवासियों को अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद से लोहा लेने के लिये खादी का मंत्र दिया था उसी तरह हमारे पंडित जी को देशवासियों को खाकी वर्दी धारण करने का मंत्र देना चाहिये । हमारे देश का प्रत्येक बच्चा और बच्ची खाकी वर्दी धारण कर के देश की रक्षा के लिये सीना तान कर खड़ा हो जाय ताकि चीन के चाऊ एन लाई को मालूम हो जाय कि

[श्री पाराशर]

वह अग्रर तानाशाही के आघार पर अपनी फौज इकट्ठा करते हैं तो इस देश का बच्चा बच्चा स्वेच्छा से खाकी वर्दी धारण कर के चीनी आक्रमणकारियों से मोर्चा लेने और मातृभूमि की रक्षा करते हुए अपने प्राणों की बलि देने को कटिबद्ध हो चुका है। जहां तक ८ सितम्बर की बात का सवाल है वह तो आज हम ने प्रस्ताव किया है लेकिन जब हमारे पास फौजी ताकत हो जायेगी, आवश्यक सैन्य सामग्री से हम लैस हो जायेंगे उस दशा में क्या हम से यह उम्मीद की जाती है कि हम ८ सितम्बर की बात करेंगे? उस समय मुमकिन है कि हम न करें। लेकिन आज ८ सितम्बर की बात को छोड़ना निरर्थक और कल-अज्ञ-वक्त होगा। अभी हमें ८ सितम्बर की ही बात करनी चाहिये। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो ८ सितम्बर की बात कही है उसी पर हमें क्रायम रहना चाहिये।

मैंने अखबार में पढ़ा है कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने ऐसा कहा है कि चीनी सन् ५६ में जहां पर थे वहां तक उन्हें वापिस चले जाना चाहिये वरना लड़ाई जारी रहनी चाहिये। अब मैं नहीं जानता कि प्रेस की यह रिपोर्ट जो उन के बारे में छपी है सही है या गलत है लेकिन मेरा अपना मत है कि वर्तमान समय में आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि कैबिनेट की एक आवाज होनी चाहिये और तमाम देश की भी एक आवाज होनी चाहिये। त्यागी जी ने यह बात ठीक ही कही है कि हमारे कैबिनेट की एक आवाज और एक मत होना चाहिये और हमारे देश की तरफ से एक आवाज जानी चाहिये। त्यागी जी ने पेरिकग रेडियो द्वारा प्रसारित खबरों का जिक्र करते हुए कहा कि उन के झूठ के कारण कुछ लोगों के दिमाग में कन्फ्यूजन हो सकता है। उनके द्वारा झूठ प्रचार से हमें धबड़ाना नहीं चाहिये क्योंकि हम सत्य और धर्म के पथ पर चल रहे हैं लेकिन तो भी हमें देखना होगा कि कही

सचमुच उस से हमारे किन्हीं लोगों के दिमाग में कन्फ्यूजन ही न हो जाय।

जहां तक हमारे देश की नौन-एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी का संबंध है मैं पूरी तरह उसका समर्थन करता हूं। अभी चंद दिन की बात है कि लखनऊ में मेयर ने एक मीटिंग बुलाई थी और उस में श्री कृपालानी जिन के लिए वैसे मेरे दिल में बड़ी श्रद्धा है उन्होंने उस में जो विचार प्रकट किये हैं मैं उनसे सहमत नहीं हो सकता। उन्होंने उसमें यह कहा बतलाते हैं कि भारत को चीन के विरुद्ध लड़ने में अपनी सहायता के लिये विदेशी सैनिकों को भी बुलाना पड़ेगा और अकेले हथियार मंगाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। भारत को अपनी सहायता के लिये बाहर से विदेशी फौजें भी बुलानी चाहिये। लेकिन मैं साफ ऐलान कर देना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान में चीन से लड़ने के लिये विदेशी सिपाही हरगिज नहीं आयेंगा। यह लड़ाई हमारा देश अपने देश के सिपाहियों से लड़ेगा और इस देश के सिपाहियों द्वारा ही हम चीनी आक्रमणकारियों को अपनी पवित्र भूमि से खदेड़ कर बाहर करेंगे। याद रखिये जिस दिन विदेशी सैनिक बुलाये जायेंगे उसी दिन हमारी आजादी खत्म हो जायगी और हमें एक या दूसरे गुट में शामिल होना पड़ेगा। कृपालानी जी कहते हैं कि अमरीका के सिपाही इंग्लैंड में लड़ने के लिये गये लेकिन उन्होंने ने इंग्लैंड को गुलाम नहीं बनाया और इसी तरह से वे हमें भी गुलाम नहीं बनायेंगे। मैं उन से कहूंगा कि हम विदेशी सैनिक अपनी धरती पर कदापि बुलाना पसन्द नहीं करेंगे और हम अपनी लड़ाई स्वयं लड़ेंगे। अब रह गया हथियारों का रोना तो यह तो सदा से ही हमारे यहां चलता आया है। हम बाबर के वक्त से देखते हैं कि जब उस का हमला हुआ तो यहां कहा गया कि उस के मुकाबले में हमारे पास मिलिट्री इक्विपमेंट नहीं है और जब अंग्रेजों ने हम पर हमला किया था तब भी यही कहा गया कि उन के मुकाबले में हमारे

पास आवश्यक फौजी साज सामान नहीं है। श्री पाणिकर ने भी इसी चीज को कहा है कि हमारे पास मैन पावर की कमी नहीं है अलबत्ता हथियारों की कमी है। यह हथियारों का रोना हम जब जब भी हम पर विदेशियों का हमला हुआ रोते आये हैं। मुझे खुशी है कि सरकार इस दिशा में काफी सचेत है और बाहर से हथियार मंगाने के अलावा देश में भारी मात्रा में आवश्यक शस्त्रास्त्र तैयार किये जा रहे हैं। मेरा तो पार्लियामेंट के हर एक सदस्य से निवेदन है कि इस संकट काल में वे हर एक जिले में एक फौजी स्कूल खोलें जहाँ कि हमारे बच्चों को फौजी तालीम दे कर तैयार किया जाय। डिफेंस मिनिस्टरी को चाहिये कि इस के लिये वह आवश्यक सुविधा और मदद दे और मैं सरकार को विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हम उनको ट्रेड सिपाही देंगे, नायक देंगे, अमादार देंगे, हवलदार देंगे और लेफिटेन्ट कर्नल देंगे। हम इन फौजी स्कूलों से सरकार को देश की हिफाजत करने के लिये लाखों की संख्या में डीजी तालीम से लस नौजवान देंगे। दुनिया देखेगी कि आज यह जो देवासुर संग्राम चल रहा है उसमें देश का बच्चा बच्चा अपनी प्राणों की आहुति डालेगा लेकिन मातृभूमि को गुलाम नहीं बनने देगा और चीन की तो मजाल ही क्या सारा संसार भी मिल कर हमारी तरफ टेढ़ी आँख से देखने की हिम्मत नहीं कर सकेगा।

चूँकि मेरा समय समाप्त हो गया है इसलिये मैं और अधिक समय न लेते हुए अन्त में सिर्फ एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। मैंने इस प्रस्ताव पर एक संशोधन रखा है जिसमें मैंने चाहा है कि प्रस्ताव के आखिर में यह शब्द जोड़ दिये जायें कि हम इन्मन को निकालेंगे, लड़ाई चा जितनी लम्बा हो, हमलावरों को अपने सैनिकों द्वारा निकालेंगे और इस में हम विदेशी सेनाओं की सहायता नहीं लेंगे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं एक बार फिर अदांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ जिन्होंने कि इस आजादी की लड़ाई में अपना बलिदान दिया

है। हम जो सिपाही मोर्चे पर गये हैं या जा रहे हैं उनके साथ पूरी तरह से हैं और उनके पीछे छुटे हुए परिवारों की देखरेख करने के लिए हम दृढ़प्रतिज्ञ हैं।

19 hrs.

Shri J. P. Jyotishi (Sagar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, true it is that it is perhaps the most critical period in the annals of the history of our young democracy. True it is that the treacherous assault and invasion by our so called communist friend China has been a little too beyond the expectations of our peaceful country. As our beloved Prime Minister said the other day, true it is that we have been living in the world of our own idealism and yet, Sir, it is no less true that we are fully awake to the hard realities of life now.

For years the Chinese dragon had been prawling about and encroaching upon the sacred borders of our mother land. We were trying to dissuade it from the same and yet constituted as we are we did not apprehend that the things would take the turn as they have actually taken today. The Himalayas had been impervious, since times immemorial and hence we could not fully visualise that they could yield a passage to the desperadoes. One may call it a mistake, Sir, and yet we are glad to see that in spite of a little unpreparedness our warriors gave an account of valour and heroism that will occupy a place of Himalayan glory in the history of our nation.

Sir, we are a peaceful nation and after the emancipation of the country it was natural for us to busy ourselves in trying social, economic and industrial reconstruction of our down-trodden masses. Socialism is our goal, Sir, and even at this critical hour it is our firm resolve to build up accordingly. So when New China sprang up from the debris of war, just a little after us, because of our ancient relations, cultural, religious and social, we extended our hand of friendship towards them. Friends today say that we made a mistake. If to love

[Shri J. P. Jyotishi.]

our fellowmen be a mistake, Sir, we have been making such mistakes since ages past and we are prepared to bear the consequences. And yet, Sir, let the Chinese and the whole world know that, as in love, so in war too, this great nation of Rama and Krishna, Sanga and Shivaji, Pratap and Haider, Laxmibai and Chandbibi, Chhatrasal and Guru Govindsingh is second to none. Now that Pralayankar Shankar has been awakened from His deep repose in his own abode China would see the consequences.

It is regrettable indeed that China deceived us. Some of the pro-Chinese Indian communists have said that a communist country is not expansionist. And yet China has expanded itself in Tibet, in Ladakh and thrust its ugly head beyond the McMahon line, our traditional and accepted border. I say the Chinese are expansionists and hence, not communists. I say with all humility that lust of power has made them fascists. They are fascists in the garb of communism employing all Hitlerian tactics to gobble up whatever countries they can. Will the communist world realise this? I am glad, though late, yet a big majority of Indian communists have realised it. Their delayed resolution should be an eye opener to the world communists. I say China has stabbed us in the back. Not only that it has stabbed in the back of communism too. Because of his treacherous attack on peaceful, friendly and progressive India, progressive forces in the world and in the country have begun to feel suspicious about communism itself. It is for the communists world over to remove this suspicion. If they side the wrongdoer, China simply because it pretends to adore the ideology they stand for, and not their peace loving friend India that has always tried to stand for the right I am confident that they cannot attract any faith for themselves.

Our friends the Indian communists that have condemned China for the aggression have asked the world not to turn the Sino Indian strife into a

war between communism and democracy. I say to the communist world, the burden of that too lies on the communist countries. If they side China, the aggressor, the wrong doer, would it not be a further challenge to the democratic countries to come to the rescue of a democracy? The communists in the world have to answer: does communism stand for aggression against a peaceful nation? Does communism stand for usurping the territorial rights of other socialist countries who may not be wedded to the principles of communism and yet are busy in solving their own problems of removing disparities, etc. in their own way? What has Russia to say to it? What have the other communist countries to reply to it? It is on the answer to this question that the shape of the future of the world depends. I am sure if other communists, China apart, fail to give a satisfactory reply to it, the world of poor persons like me would pave the way to bid good-bye to communism for ever.

In spite of the little reverses that we suffered at the initial stage, Sir, it is a joy indeed to see that the whole nation stands behind one man, our revered hero Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to make all sorts of sacrifices to free the motherland from the attack of the treacherous enemy. I confess, Sir, there are a few friends here and outside that talk too much about our unpreparedness. It is a fact, Sir, that we had applied our minds more towards civic necessities and not so much towards the dumping of war materials. And yet, Sir, may I not say that the civic needs are the prerequisites of a nation at war? If we have not dumped our godowns with armaments, we are glad that the nation is brimming with unfathomed spirit of nationalism and an indomitable zeal for sacrifice. Tools are necessary, Sir, and tools the nation must get and yet if we have succeeded in rousing the nation to the need of the hour, there is no reason to grumble much. Tools or no tools, India is going to fight the war with the fascist desperadoes to the last drop of blood in her veins. Where

are the narrow barriers of caste or creed, of language and culture, religion and faith? We are all one with a single aim, a single object to drive away the invader. I know that friendly countries like the United Kingdom and America have come up for help in the form of war materials. Not only the geni of machines that were awaiting for our orders had begun to work with a terrific speed. I am confident that we are not going to have any deficiency in that respect and yet. Sir, I am sorry to see that some of my friends here have begun to express their doubts regarding the validity and usefulness of the policies that we stood by so far. They have begun to speak against the cult of panchsheel and non alignment. Not only that. Some have spoken against the high principle of Ahimsa itself which gave us so much.

Sir, it is no time for a long discourse on these high principles we have stood by so far and yet I may be permitted to say that Ahimsa is not the weapon of the weak. It is the weapon of the strongest amongst the strong. When I say this I do not propose to lead the country to an Ahimsatamak war against China. I mean to say only that it is due to the cult of Ahimsa that U. K. has come up to our help and succour. It is due to the cult of Ahimsa that though we had parted from Britain we had not parted as enemies but friends in the closest ties of love and affection. It is that love and affection that has come for help today.

I have nothing to say against my friend Shri Ranga and others who time and again have been criticising the Government for not stepping out of the Commonwealth. In spite of vast experiences, I am sorry that some of my friends there have very short visions. Should I remind the critics of Government policies that it is because of our Commonwealth relationship that Canada has come forward with her offer for help and U. K. is exerting her influence on other sister members to merge differences and be helpful to us in the hour of supreme need?

It is no time to well much on the correctness and soundness of the policies of the Government and enrage my hon. friends, the shortsighted critics there, yet, with all humility, I must say that we should be very careful in this critical hour, at least while criticising the established policies of the Government. It is wrong to create chaos in the minds of the people by delivering doubtful thoughts and making unfounded, unverified accusations.

I was shocked to hear from critics against the doctrine of Panchsheel. The principle of Panchsheel is the high ideal on which alone can be built the edifice of the peaceful co-existence of the different nations of the world. No doubt China has flouted that high principle, but the principle of truth has not to be condemned and given up simply because an individual has dealt untruthfully. I was very sorry to hear against the policy of nonalignment. No doubt, a critical period has come in the life of our nation. But it is on such occasions that the reality and greatness of persons and nations is tested. Destiny has put us to test, and I am confident that with the hero at the helm of affairs in the country I mean the hon. Prime Minister, we are sure to succeed.

श्री कि० पटनायक (सम्बलपुर) :
 अध्यक्ष महोदय, चीनी हमले के बाद सारे देश में जिस किस्म की जागृति आई, उस प्रकार की जागृति हमने इसके पहले कभी नहीं देखी थी। दिल्ली आने के पहले हमने जिस किस्म का उत्साह और जोश छोटे शहरों और देहातों तक में देखा, वह चीज हमने कुछ हद तक दिल्ली और पार्लिमेंट में खोई। यहां आ कर हमने देखा कि यहां की सरकार या कांग्रेस पार्टी और सरकारी मशीनरी वहां तक नहीं जगी है जहां तक देश की आम जनता जगी है। यहां तो खुद प्रधान मंत्री ही ने अपने पहले दिन के ही भाषण में छिछोरापन शुरू कर दिया

Shri K. N. Tiwary: This is a very unparliamentary language.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैंने ध्यान नहीं दिया और मैं सुन नहीं सका। ऐसी चीज नहीं कहनी चाहिये जिस पर एतराज होता हो।

Shri K. N. Tiwary: He should withdraw that word.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): It is a very bad word.

Mr. Speaker: What is the word that he said?

Shri K. N. Tiwary: Chichorapan. It is unparliamentary language.

An Hon. Member: Childish pranks. (Interruptions).

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह शब्द ऐसा नहीं जिस पर कोई एतराज हो सकता हो।

श्री कि० पटनायक : एक तरफ तो सारे देश को एक होने के लिए आह्वान किया जा रहा है, जनता को इकट्ठा होने के लिए आह्वान किया जा रहा है और दूसरी तरफ जबकि सारी विरोधी पार्टियां, यहां तक कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी तक देश रक्षा के काम में सहयोग देने के लिए और त्याग करने के लिए तैयार हैं, तब उस हालत में कांग्रेस पार्टी दलबन्दी और गुटबन्दी में व्यस्त हो, तो यह कहां तक जायज समझा जा सकता है। मैं यह इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने समझ रखा है कि यह मौका आ गया है जब कि वह कमजोर होती चली जा रही है और उसको तकरड़ा बना लिया जा सकता है। प्रधान मंत्री श्री नेहरू अब कुछ अलोकप्रिय हो रहे हैं तो यह अच्छा मौका है कि उनको थोड़ा ज्यादा लोकप्रिय बना लिया जाये और ऐसा करने के लिए यह अच्छा मौका हाथ लगा है और इसका पूरा लाभ उठा लिया जाना चाहिये। इससे तो यह पता चलता है कि यह देश रक्षा का काम नहीं है बल्कि नेहरू रक्षा का काम हो गया है। जहां देखो इस तरह के रेजोल्यूशन आते हैं, बातें होती हैं कि नेहरू के पीछे खड़े हो जाओ और नेहरू ही हमारे नेता हैं, वह ही सब कुछ हैं। यह जो चीज है यह बहुत ही खतरनाक है।

आज जो मसला है वह देश रक्षा का

मसला हमारे सामने है। हम को देखना होगा कि सब लोग जो हैं, सब प्रदेश जो हैं, सब ग्रुप जो हैं, ये देश के पीछे हैं या नहीं हैं। नेहरू जी के पीछे हैं या नहीं यह तो बिल्कुल ही छोटी सी बात है, छोटा सा मसला है। यह कांग्रेस पार्टी की अपनी समस्या हो सकती है, दूसरी पार्टियों की समस्या नहीं हो सकती है। पहली बात तो देश रक्षा की है, देश के पीछे होने की है। दूसरी बात यह है कि जनता जवानों के पीछे है या नहीं है। उसके बाद नेहरू जी के पीछे हो या न हो, इससे कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता है, यह कोई खास बड़ी बात नहीं है।

ऐसा भी देखा जा रहा है कि जो नेहरू जी का शत प्रतिशत समर्थन करने वाली पार्टी है, वह सिर्फ कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी है। लेकिन आपने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के कुछ लोगों को एरेस्ट कर लिया है। यह क्यों हुआ है? अगर नेहरू जी का समर्थन करना ही देश भक्ति हो जाती है तो जिस पार्टी ने अपने रेजोल्यूशन में शत प्रतिशत आपका समर्थन किया है और जो पार्टी नेहरू जी के पीछे है, उस पार्टी के इतने लोगों को क्यों आपने एरेस्ट किया है। इसका मतलब यही होता है कि Total support to Nehru does not mean total support to the country. On the other hand, total support to the country may mean, at times, opposition to Nehru. इसलिए नेहरू जी को ज्यादा आगे बढ़ाना ठीक नहीं है। देश रक्षा के लिए सभी लोगों को, सारी जनता को हमें इकट्ठा करना है।

आज विरोधी दल भी नुकताचीनी करते हैं और उनको करनी चाहिये। हमारे यहां डेमोक्रेसी है यह कांग्रेसी सदस्यों को याद रखना चाहिये। जब तक डेमोक्रेसी हमारे देश में जिन्दा रहेगी तब तक बाहरी शत्रु भी देश पर कब्जा नहीं जमा सकता है। इसलिए जो विरोधी दलों की नुकताचीनी को बन्द करवाना चाहते हैं और जो चाहते हैं कि विरोधी नोग बिल्कुल भी नुकताचीनी न करें वे डेमोक्रेसी पर चोट पहुंचाना चाहते हैं और यह समय नहीं

है जबकि डेमोक्रेसी पर चोट पहुंचाई जाये। इस समय अगर डेमोक्रेसी कमजोर हो गई तो देश-रक्षा भी कमजोर पड़ जायेगी।

अज जबकि हर विरोधी पार्टी कांग्रेस सरकार को देश-रक्षा के काम में सहयोग देना चाहती है, कांग्रेस के सदस्य विरोधी सदस्यों के प्रति पहले जैसा ही मनोभाव रखते हैं। उसमें कोई फर्क नहीं आया है। यह ठीक नहीं है। हम सब लोग आपको सहयोग देने के लिए आये हैं और बिना हिचक के देने आये हैं और न कोई शर्त ही हमने लागू की है। हां नुकताचीनी हम जरूर करते हैं, मुझाव हम जरूर देते हैं, उनको आप मानो या न मानो यह आप पर निर्भर करता है। आप अगर उनको न भी मानेंगे तो भी हम सहयोग करेंगे, देश रक्षा के काम में आपका साथ देंगे। जब हम यहां तक जाने के लिये तैयार हैं तो कांग्रेस के सदस्य जोकि पार्लिमेंट में बड़े भाई के समान हैं, जिन के कंधों पर और जिन की सरकार के कंधों पर इस आक्रमण का प्रतिकार करने का बोझा आ पड़ा है, उनके मनोभाव में बिल्कुल भी किसी प्रकार का परिवर्तन न दृष्टिगोचर होना एक बड़ी ही हमारे लिये खेब की बात है। हम चाहते हैं कि कांग्रेस के माननीय सदस्य आइंदा से कुछ भिन्न प्रकार का बरताव करें। विरोधी जो सदस्य हैं वे तो नुकताचीनी करेंगे ही क्योंकि यहां पर डेमोक्रेसी है और पार्टीज को डिसान्व नहीं किया जाता है। हम सब सहयोग करना चाहते हैं, इसलिए कांग्रेस पार्टी के मनोभाव में भी परिवर्तन होना चाहिये।

मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूं कि अभी तक विरोधी नेताओं से सहयोग लेने के लिये सरकार के पास एक भी प्रोग्राम नहीं है जबकि सारी विरोधी पार्टियां यह तय कर चुकी हैं, बहुत दिनों से तय कर चुकी हैं कि सरकार को सहयोग देने के लिए वे तैयार हैं। इतना होने पर भी सरकार की तरफ से कोई भी प्रोग्राम प्रस्तुत नहीं किया गया है कि कैसे विरोधियों का सहयोग वह ले। न प्रधान मंत्री जी ने किसी विरोधी नेता के पास कोई अपील भेजी है और

न ही कोई चिट्ठी लिखी है कि आपको इस काम में हम लोगों को जरूरत है, आपके सहयोग की जरूरत है या आप लोगों को भी यह काम करना है। इस विषय पर एक भी चिट्ठी या एक भी पत्र नेहरू जी के पास से नहीं आया। यह भी एक खेद की बात है। खास कर ऐसे समय जब कि सारा देश एक है और सारी पार्टियां एक तरफ जा रही हैं कम से कम आल इंडिया रेडियो पर कुछ विरोधी नेताओं को बोलना चाहिये था। उन से कहा जाये कि आप लोग भी देश को कुछ आह्वान दें। हो सकता है कि सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के लोग गैरजिम्मेदार हों मगर श्री रंगा तो हैं, मि० कामत तो हैं, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लीडर तो हैं जो कि कांग्रेस को बिल्कुल सपोर्ट करते हैं। उन लोगों को तो आल इंडिया रेडियो पर बोलना चाहिये था ताकि दूसरे पार्टी के लोगों की तरफ से भी देश को कुछ आह्वान मिलता कि वह जायें। अगर ऐसा किया जाता तो देश की जनता की छाती भी कुछ चौड़ी हो जाती। लेकिन ऐसा प्रोग्राम नहीं बनाया गया। अगर कोई गैर सरकारी व्यक्ति आल इंडिया रेडियो पर बोला है तो प्रधान मंत्री की बेटी बोली हैं, और कोई नहीं।

हम लोगों ने यहां जो नो कांफिडेंस मोशन रखा था उस के बारे में काफी नुकताचीनी हुई है। कुछ लोग बोले कि वैड टेस्ट है, इल टाइम्ड है, वह बहुत खराब चीज है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि डिमाक्रेसी में जब नो कांफिडेंस मोशन आता है तो वह भविष्य के लिये नहीं होता, वह अतीत के लिये होता है। अतीत में जो गलतियां होती हैं, सरकार की अतीत की जो गलतियां होती हैं उन के लिये वह आता है। अगर बुनियाद पर हम नो कांफिडेंस मोशन को लें तो न तो वह डिमाक्रेसी के खिलाफ है और न रीति के खिलाफ है। अतीत में गलतियां हुई थीं और उस को एक रूप देने के लिये हम ने यहां नो कांफिडेंस मोशन रखा था।

आखीर में मैं एक दो चीजें और कहना चाहता हूं। एक तो यह है कि हम लोग जो

[श्री कि० पटनायक]

युद्ध कर रहे हैं वह किस लिये कर रहे हैं, यह चीज साफ हो जानी चाहिये। यह जो ८ सितम्बर का प्रस्ताव किया गया है, वह ८ सितम्बर की चीज तो आउट आफ डेट हो गई है। आखिर ८ सितम्बर है क्या। यह न तो जल है और न स्थल है। यह एक समय है जो कि बीत गया है। हम आखिर किस लिये लड़ रहे हैं, अगर यह चीज सारी जनता के मन में साफ नहीं होगी तो जितना जोश चाहिये, जितना उत्साह चाहिये उस का आना कठिन होगा। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव में यह जोड़ दिया जाय कि जब तक भारत भूमि के हर एक इंच से चीनी सेना नहीं हटती तब तक यह युद्ध जारी रहेगा और हमारी सेना अस्त्र नहीं छोड़ेगी। यह चीज प्रस्ताव में आ जानी चाहिये, जब तक यह चीज नहीं आती है तब तक यह प्रस्ताव कुछ गोल मोल सा लगता है। कहीं भी कुछ हो सकता है और हमारी सारी आशाएँ खत्म हो सकती हैं। इसलिये इस चीज को प्रस्ताव में जरूर जोड़ देना चाहिये।

इस के बाद मैं एक चीज और कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो आप की गलतियाँ हैं उन को भी आप को सावधानी के ढंग से अपने दिमाग में कर लेना चाहिये, खास कर तिब्बत के बारे में जो गलतियाँ हुई हैं उन को मान कर हम लोगों का क्या ऐटिट्यूड होना चाहिये चीन की तरफ या तिब्बत की तरफ, इस को स्पष्ट कर देना चाहिये। इस मामले में मैं इतना कहूँगा कि तिब्बत को आजाद कराना भी युद्ध के प्रयास में एक लक्ष्य होना चाहिये।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय (गुना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप की बड़ी कृपा हुई कि मुझे थोड़ा समय आप ने दिया।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : चार दिन के बाद।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : कल आप ने यह कहा था कि इस बहस में करीब करीब रिपिटिशन ही होता है। मैं एक बात आप से बाअदब कहना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर हमारे

सामने सवाल एक है, और वह एक सवाल यह है कि हमारी धरती पर चीन ने आक्रमण किया है और हम उस को खदेड़ना चाहते हैं। उसको चाहे कितना ही एलेबोरेट करके कोई कहे, चाहे कांस्टिट्यूशनल एस्पेक्ट पेश करे, लेकिन आखिरी मकसद हमारा यही है जिस को आज नहीं, जब तक चीन यहाँ से हटेगा नहीं, हम रिपीट करेंगे। इसलिये आप मुझे माफ करें अगर हमें उसे रिपीट करना पड़े, और हम तब तक चैन नहीं लेंगे जब तक चीन, जिस जमीन को उस ने ले लिया है उसे छोड़ कर भाग नहीं जाता। इस रिपीटीशन के लिये मैं माफी चाहता हूँ।

हमारा और चीन का दो हजार वर्षों का इतिहास एक ऐसा इतिहास है, जिस का साक्षी है हिमालय। सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से देखें, भौगोलिक दृष्टि से देखें या सीमा की दृष्टि से भी देखें, तो दो हजार वर्षों का इतिहास साक्षी है कि हमारे और चीन के बीच कोई द्वन्द्व, कोई युद्ध या कोई वैमनस्य पहले नहीं हुआ। लेकिन यह कितने दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि जैसे ही चीन में कम्यूनिज्म आया, कम्यूनिस्ट रिजिम आया, माओ से तुंग आये, और आया चाऊ एन लाई, तब से चाइना की सारी कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी की यह प्लैनिंग है कि एक दिन उन को हिमालय की पर्वतमालाओं की तरफ बढ़ना है। पिछले दो हजार वर्षों का इतिहास आप के सामने है, अगर आज चीन में कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी का अधिकार नहीं होता, तो मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि आज हम को इस बात को रिपीट करने का अवसर मिलता कि हम चीन को खदेड़ देंगे। कोई ऐसा अवसर पहले नहीं आया, हमारा इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है।

जहाँ तक हमले का सम्बन्ध है, बड़ा कठिन है, इस बात को डिटरमिन करना कि उस का मोटिव क्या है, क्यों चीन चाहता है कि वह हमारी सीमाओं की ओर बढ़े। लेकिन कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी का एक इरादा है, दुनिया का

कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी का एक इरादा है, और वह यह कि उन को दुनिया में सब जगह, चाहे किसी तन्त्र का देश हो, प्रजातंत्र हो या कोई भी तन्त्र हो, सारे संसार में कम्यूनिज्म को फैला देना है। अगर यह उन का उद्देश्य है, तो आज यह चैलेन्ज है तमाम प्रजातंत्रवादी मुल्कों को कि व एक हो जायें। वे यह न समझे कि यह हमारे नेफा में या लद्दाख में ही कम्यूनिस्ट चीन आया है या यह हमारा और चीन का सवाल है। यह सवाल है प्रजातंत्र और कम्यूनिज्म का, और हमें इस बात की खुशी है कि इस का फैसला होगा भारत देश में।

जब हम कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के रेजोल्यूशन की बात कहते हैं तो वे हम को बड़ी सफाई देते हैं। हमारा इरादा उन पर शक करने का नहीं है, लेकिन अगर सब से ज्यादा शक की बात कोई कहता है तो वह कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग कहते हैं, कि उन पर शक किया जाता है। मैं इस सिलसिले में आप का ध्यान केरल के कम्यूनिस्ट लीडर के उस बयान की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ जिस में उस ने कहा था कि अगर उनको लोकल और सेंट्रल डिफेंस कमिटीज में नहीं लिया गया तो कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी डिफेंस प्रोग्राम और डिफेंस प्रोडक्शन को बड़े जोर का धक्का लगायेगी और उस को नहीं चलने देगी।

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapalli): This was subsequently corrected.

Shri R. S. Pandey: Please sit down; do not interrupt.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इस बात को कहने में तो कोई हर्ज नहीं कि जो बयान उस ने दिया था वह बाद में करेक्ट किया गया।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : यह लोग पहले बयान देते हैं बाद में उसे करेक्ट करते हैं, यह आप को मालूम है। एक एक मसले पैदा करते हैं फिर उन का कंट्राडिक्शन करते हैं। लेकिन कंट्राडिक्शन को कौन पढ़ता है? उस का एक असर होता है, देश में एक मोमेन्टम तैयार होता है। इस से कम्यूनिस्टों के दिल में क्या

बात होती है इस का पता चलता है। उन का इरादा ऐसा होते हुए कंट्राडिक्शन को सच नहीं माना जा सकता।

इस हमचे से एक अच्छी बात हुई कि हमारे इस देश का नया जन्म हुआ, और देश के होते हुए भी जब उस का नया जन्म होता है तो वह बड़ी सिग्निफिकेंट बात होती है। पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू हमारे नेता हैं, जिन्होंने अपने राजनीतिक जीवन के पचास वर्ष शान्ति और मानवता के लिये बिताये हैं। आज हमारा देश उन के हाथों में तलवार देना चाहता है और उस ने वह तलवार उन के हाथों में दे दी है। यह है वह वातावरण और यह है नया जन्म। हम ने पचास वर्ष अपने जीवन के बिताये सहग्रस्तित्व में, प्रेम में, स्नेह में और शान्ति की बात करने में, लेकिन हम इतिहास को यह बता देना चाहते हैं कि अगर हमारी धरती का किसी ने अपहरण किया या किसी ने हमारा दामन छुआ तो हम तलवार ले कर, मैं एंड गन लेकर उसका मुकाबला करेंगे।

जहां तक गांधी जी के सिद्धान्त की बात है, जहां तक पंचशील के सिद्धान्त की बात है, हम उसको मानते हैं और मानेंगे। जहां तक नानएलाइनमेंट की बात है हम उसको मानेंगे, लेकिन उसी हद तक मानेंगे जिस हद तक हमारी धरती पर किसी भी प्रकार का कोई आक्रमण न हो और अगर आक्रमण हुआ है तो हम उसे खाली करावेंगे। यह है हमारी प्रतिज्ञा। हम तमाम मानवता से ओतप्रोत सिद्धान्तों को स्वीकार करने में तनिक भी नहीं हिचकेंगे, लेकिन किसी भी प्रकार का समझौता नहीं करेंगे, और आगे चल कर के आवश्यक हुआ तो प्रजातंत्र की रक्षा के लिये, प्रजातंत्र के हित के लिये, प्रजातंत्र के उत्थान के लिए और उन्नति के लिए हम अपने सिद्धान्त को मानेंगे, लेकिन तमाम प्रजातंत्रवादी देश अपने आप बगैर नियंत्रण के हमारी धरती पर हमें सहायता देने आवेंगे। आज हमारे ऊपर संकट आने पर दम दम के हवाई अड्डे

[श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय]

पर अमरीका के शस्त्रों से लदे हवाई जहाज सब से पहले उतरे। इससे इरादे का पता चलता है, सहयोग का पता चलता है, सद्भावना का पता चलता है, प्रजातंत्र को बनाय रखने की एक उदात्त भावना का पता चलता है। इसका उदाहरण आज ब्रिटेन और अमरीका ने दिया है।

बीचमें घाना के प्रेसीडेंट एंकूमा साहब बोले। उन्होंने ब्रिटेन की नीति की आलोचना की जिसमें मैकमिलियन ने स्पॉटेनियस सहायता देने को कहा था। मैकमिलियन ने कहा था कि यह तो भारत देश सोचे कि किस प्रकार की और किस ढंग से हम से सहायता लेना चाहता है लेकिन हम सहायता देने को तैयार हैं। और श्रीमन्, उसी समय इंडिया हाउस में न जाने कितने सोल्जर जो यहां से सन् १९४७ में १५ अगस्त को चले गये थे आये और उन्होंने कहा कि हम भारत की धरती पर जाकर भारत के लिये लड़ेंगे। यह है वह भावना। उसी समय मैकमिलियन ने कहा, भाइयो, तुम को यह बात कहने की क्या जरूरत है। हिन्दुस्तान हमारे कामनवैलथ संगठन का एक बड़ा सदस्य है। हमारा यह कर्तव्य है कि अगर उस पर साम्यवादी देशों की ओर से आक्रमण हो तो उसका मुकाबला करें। यह आक्रमण हुआ है प्रजातंत्र पर, भारत पर नहीं और अगर प्रजातंत्र पर आक्रमण हुआ है तो हम उसका मुकाबला करेंगे। यह श्री मैकमिलियन ने कहा था। तब प्रेसीडेंट एंकूमा खामोश हुए। और तीसरे रोज मालूम हुआ कि उन्होंने भी प्रेसीडेंट नासिर जैसा प्रस्ताव चीन को किया है और चीन से समझौता करने के लिए कहा है और कहा है कि वह ८-सितम्बर वास्तुस्थान पर हट जाय।

श्रीमन्, आज के इस वातावरण में आप देख रहे होंगे कि इन १५-२० दिनों के अन्दर कौसी महान राजनीतिक घटनाएं हुई हैं और उन घटनाओं की सारी जिम्मेदारी कम्युनिस्ट देशों के ऊपर आती है। क्यूबा में, जो अमरीका से ठीक ८० मील नीचे है, किसने

मिसाइल डाले। मैं आपके द्वारा कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि किसने यह काम किया।

Shri Umanath (Pudukkottai): We do not understand Hindi. Otherwise we would have replied.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं इसकी इजाजत नहीं दूंगा। आप अपनी तकरीर करते चलें। मैं आपस में झगड़ा पैदा होने का मौका नहीं दूंगा।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : मैं आपके द्वारा पूछना चाहता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : क्या आप यहीं क्यूबा का मैदान बनायेंगे? आप अपनी तकरीर करते जायें और मेरी तरफ मुखातिब रहें।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : वह वहां से कैसे हटाया गया यह आपको मालूम है। उसी वक्त चाइना आया और नेफा में और लद्दाख में उसने आक्रमण किया। यह साफ जाहिर करता है कि कम्युनिस्ट जगत का इरादा क्या है। हम इसको जानना चाहते हैं।

श्रीमन्, यह तो आप भी जानते हैं कि हमारा इरादा न कभी किसी पर आक्रमण करने का था और न है। हमारे दोस्त पाकिस्तान ने न जाने कितनी बार हमको मुट्टियां दिखलायीं लेकिन हम ने जवाब दिया कि हम दोस्ती के साथ रहेंगे और यह दोस्ती का जब्बा एक दिन आयेगा, लड़ाई नहीं होगी।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज देश तैयार है प्रजातंत्र की रक्षा के लिये। देश के भाई और बहिनें, उनके पास जो भी शक्ति और सामर्थ्य है, उसको लेकर शौर्य के साथ, शक्ति के साथ, श्रद्धा के साथ, नेहरू जी के पीछे हैं, और कहते हैं कि यदि युद्ध होगा तो हम युद्ध करेंगे और किसी भी प्रकार का समझौता नहीं करेंगे।

अभी एक माननीय सदस्य पंजाब का नाम ले रहे थे तो मुझे नर्मदा की संस्कृति की, चम्बल घाटी की संस्कृति की, विदिशा और सांची की संस्कृति का स्मरण आया। उस क्षेत्र के नौजवान आज अंगड़ाई ले रहे हैं और देख रहे हैं कि वह भ्रवसर कब आयेगा जब वे जाकर भारत माता के चरणों में जूझ जायेंगे। यह भावना उनमें है।

आज के इस अवसर पर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी हमको अपना रिजोल्यूशन दिखा रही है। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप पूछिये कि इनकी जो कैमरा मीटिंग हुई थी उसमें क्या डेलीबरेशन्स हुए थे, किसने क्या कहा था। देश को यह जानने का हक है कि उस मीटिंग में किसने क्या कहा था। ये कम्युनिस्ट तीन प्रकार के हैं, एक चीन वादी, एक रूस वादी और तीसरे स्वतंत्र। अगर चीनवादी कम्युनिस्ट जेल में चले गये और अगर कहीं रूस वादी भी उनके पीछे जेल में चले गये तो जो अपने को स्वतंत्र कहते हैं वे तो बाहर रह सकेंगे। तो श्रीमन्, यह इनकी प्लानिंग है। मैं इसकी ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। अगर आपको किसी से सब से बड़ा खतरा है तो इन कम्युनिस्टों से है और रहेगा। न मालूम उनकी क्या जाति है, क्या पाति है, क्या उम्र है, वे कहां रहते हैं। अगर बरसात वहां होती है तो वे छाता यहां लगाते हैं। वहां से आर्डर्स लेते हैं। यहां से कम्युनिकेशन्स भेजते हैं। मालूम नहीं कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी की सहनशीलता इनको कब तक पनपने देगी।

आज कम्युनिस्ट पंडित जी की बड़ी तारीफ करते हैं। चाणक्य ने मुद्राराक्षस में कहा है कि जब प्रधान के आस पास प्रशंसा करने वाले लोग एकत्रित हो जायें तो समझो कि कोई बड़ा खतरा पैदा होगा। यह खतरा चीन से भी बड़ा खतरा है। आज ये लोग हर सांस में कहते हैं पंडित जी, पंडित जी, पंडित जी। मैं पूछता हूँ कि सन् १९४२ में ये लोग कहाँ थे। उस समय इन्होंने पंडित जी को न जाने क्या क्या कहा, इम्पीरियलिस्ट कहा,

और पीकिंग रेडियो तो आज भी पंडित जी को इम्पीरियलिस्ट कहता है। आज इन लोगों को पंडित जी से बड़ी मुहब्बत पैदा हो गयी है। मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर इनको वास्तव में पंडित जी से मुहब्बत पैदा हो गयी है तो इधर आकर बैठें और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को छोड़ दें। हम इनकी शक्ति कर लेंगे और अपने में मिला लेंगे और इनके दिल में देश के प्रेम का जज्बा पैदा कर देंगे। आप यह इन से कह दें।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जब मैं जेल में था तब भी मुझे अच्छी मेहनत का इनाम मिलता था। यहां मैं सब से पहले आता हूँ और सब से बाद में जाता हूँ। तो मेरा अनुरोध है कि मुझे तीन मिनट का एक्स्ट्रा टाइम दिया जाये।

मैं ने आप से और प्रधान मंत्री से यह निवेदन किया था कि बार सिचुएशन पर विचार करने के लिए इस पार्लियामेंट का सीक्रेट सेशन बुलाया जावे। आज इस प्रॉपन सेशन में बोलते हुए बहुत जोर पड़ रहा है, जज्बात अन्दर ही अन्दर खोल रहे हैं। मेरी मजबूरी यह है कि :

दर्द इस्त दर दिल गर वा जवानआराम जवां सोजद,

गर दम दर भी कशम मगजे उस्तखां सोजद।

अगर इन जज्बात को मन में ही रहने देता हूँ तो हड्डियां जली जा रही हैं। कहने की कोशिश करूं तो रसना अंगारों के बीच रखी है।

आज समय आ गया है कि सरकार जनता का साथ दे, जनता ने ही यह जीवन ज्योति जगाई है। आज की प्रेरणा सरकार की नहीं, जनता की दी हुई है। अगर सरकार का बश चलता तो जिस तरह ऊपर के इलाके के भीड़हू हजार मुरब्बे मील चुपचाप दे बैठी थी उसी तरह नेफा में भी खामोश बैठी रहती।

जनता के इस आवाहन पर मेरा सर्व-व अर्पित होगा। भारत के प्रधान मंत्री ने इस भौके पर जनता की आवाज की सही तजुमानी

[श्री रा० सि० पाण्डेय]

की है। मैं अपने प्रधान मंत्री को यह विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि जो सख्त तरीके मोर्चा हो उस पर मुझे भेजे और फिर मेरा जीहर देखें।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आपके जीहर की यहां भी जरूरत है।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके सम्मुख यह प्रतिज्ञा करता हूँ कि इस घमं युद्ध में रूलिग पार्टी के तमाम एम० पी० सी० जयादह खून दूंगा। कम्युनिस्टों के साथ मेरा कम्पटीशन नहीं है। मेरा कम्पटीशन सिर्फ कांग्रेस एम० पी० के साथ है। अगर कोई कांग्रेस एम० पी० एक बोतल खून देगा तो मैं सवा बोतल खून दूंगा। मैं ने अपनी सेना सेवकों के लिए अपने राष्ट्रपति को लिख कर भेज भी दिया है कि देश रक्षा के लिए वे मुझे चाहे जिस तरह इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं।

स्पीकर साहब, मैं भुला नहीं सकता जब मुझे चौदह नवम्बर को तारीख याद आती है। जिन सुनहरी घड़ियों में हम पंडित नेहरू का जन्म दिन मना रहे थे उन्हीं में चाइना ने हमारे जवानों की लाशें हिन्दुस्तान के हवाले की थीं।

मैं कांग्रेस के साथ कम्पटीशन नहीं करना चाहता था। लेकिन नेशनल डिफेंस काउन्सिल की फार्मेशन ने मुझे इस बात के लिए मजबूर कर दिया है कि यह साबित कर दूँ कि स्वतंत्र पार्टी के एम० पी० कांग्रेस एम० पी० के मुकाबिले में ज्यादा कुर्बानी कर सकते हैं।

सबसे महत्तरम, आसमान में अगर सूरज और चांद न रहें तो आसमान बेकार हो जावेगा। इसी तरह डिफेंस काउंसिल में भी यदि जनरल करियापा और जनरल कुलवन्त सिंह न हों तो बड़ा व्यर्थ हो जावेगी। इस काउंसिल का निर्माण पञ्चपत और पार्टी पालिटिक्स की बेसिस के ऊपर किया गया है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत यू० एन० ओ० में जब चाइना को मान्यता प्रदान करने की सिफारिश करता है तो संसार हमारी बुद्धि-हीनता का उपहास किये बगैर नहीं रह सकता। कोई मूर्खता का चक्रवर्ती भी हो तो भी इन नाजुक घड़ियों में ऐसी निरर्थक बातें करना पसन्द न करेगा। अच्छा होता कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री को इंटरनेशनल पालिटिक्स की इतनी डीप नालिज न होती। उस समय वे हमारे नेशनल ऐम्बिजस्टेंस के लिए खुले दिल से सोच सके होते "Where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise."

"मेरी गफलत ही अच्छी मेरी इश्वर शोशियारी से,

बला में फंस गया मैं बे खबर से बाखबर होकर"

क्या यह हमारे लिए गौरव की बात है कि विगत २२ अक्टूबर को बी० बी० सी० ने ब्राडकास्ट किया कि

"Guns used by Indian troops in NEFA are guns left over from the second world war."

क्या यह हमारे लिए लज्जा की बात नहीं है कि जो वैम्पायर जेट्स इंडोनेशिया से हम दूरी रहते हैं वे इंडोनेशिया जैसे छोटे राष्ट्र की उन्नति के लिए भी नाकाफी साबित हो चुके हैं। मैं इस सिलसिले में १६ अक्टूबर के हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स की रिपोर्ट पढ़ता हूँ :—

"Indonesia has sold her jet aircraft of the vampire type to the Indian Government, Major Dady Suwatodjo of the Indonesian Air Force revealed last night according to Antra news agency.

"Major Dady did not mention the number of vampires being sold to India. He said this type

was no longer considered suitable for the development of the Indonesian Air Force."

अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह भारत के प्रधान मंत्री का सौभाग्य है कि इस देश में अब तक कोई चंचल पैदा नहीं हो सका है। अकेला चेंबरलेन ही शासन कर रहा है। समय ही यह साबित करेगा कि पंडित नेहरू कामयाब हुए हैं या नहीं। अब तक की कामयाबी का नक्शा तो सदन के सामने है ही। शायद इसीलिये आठ सितम्बर का जिक्र बार बार किया जाता है कि इस तारीख पर चीनी फौजें जहां थीं वह जगह भारत के लिए सफलता की समझी जाती हो। बातें करने का शौक भी कुछ कम नहीं। जब भगवान कृष्ण बातों से दुर्गंधन को न मना सके थे, महात्मा गांधी बातों से मिस्टर जिन्ना को कम्बिन्स न कर सके थे तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि आठ सितम्बर की रेखा पर पहुंच कर चाइना किस तरह बातों से मान जावेगा? बया लातों के भूत कभी बातों से माने हैं? प्रधान मंत्री की क्रात्रलियत का सब से बड़ा सब्रत तो यही है कि जब चाइना पन्द्रह सौ मील पर आ कर कब्जा कर रहा था तब प्रधान मंत्री अपने देश की सीमा की रक्षा भी न कर सके।

असल में बात करने की कल्पना वे लोग किया करते हैं जिनकी मिलेटरी स्ट्रैन्थ टूट जाती है और जिनका कि बलबोयं खत्म हो जाता है। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि देश में फौजी तालीम लाजमी की जावे। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि देश का प्रत्येक नागरिक हथियार लेकर चले। मैं ने इस सदन में अपनी पहली ही तक्रोर में अर्ज किया था कि हथियारों पर से पाबन्दी हटाई जावे। रिवाल्वर और राइफलों के लाइसेन्स के बदले कांग्रेस के पदाधिकारी पब्लिक से वोट मांगते हैं। इस मनोवृत्ति को खत्म किया जावे।

सब से ज्यादा जरूरी यह है कि पापी गवर्नमेंट के स्थान पर नेशनल गवर्नमेंट स्थापित की जावे। जो गवर्नमेंट पापी और बूढ़ी हो गई है वह अकेली देश की रक्षा नहीं कर सकती है। नेशनल गवर्नमेंट में कांग्रेस का भी रिप्रेजेंटेशन रहे। लेकिन अकेली एक पार्टी के हाथ में देश का शासन रहना हमारी राष्ट्रीय परम्पराओं के विरुद्ध होगा।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, अब समय आ गया है कि जवान की तनख्वाह बढ़ाई जाये। इस के लिए किसी नए बजट को जरूरत नहीं है। जिन की तनख्वाह ४०० रुपए मासिक से ज्यादा हो उन का वेतन कम कर के जवान की तनख्वाह बढ़ाई जावे।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा आग्रह यह है कि भारत की रक्षा के मोर्चे पर वे गुलबदन भाई भतीजे न भेजे जावें जो चीनी राइफल को आवाज को सुन कर ब्रांकाइटिस के मरीज हो जाते हैं। कमजोर और नाजुक बदन लोग देश की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते राज्य सुख का उपभोग वे रणवांकुरे करते हैं जिनकी छाती में ब्रह्मचर्य का लोहा होता है, जिनकी आंखों में देश भक्ति का तेज होता है और जिनके बाहुओं में अकाल पुरुष का बल होता है। आज देश को पंचशील की नहीं पंच कंकारों की जरूरत है। जब पंचशील का लुभावना प्रचार हो रहा था उसी समय मैं ने कहा था कि इस देश में लाजमी फौजी तालीम का कानून बनाया जावे। तब मैं ने चेतावनी दी थी :-

"हंसी तलवार की हम लोग उड़ाएं न कभी इस की अजमत की शहादत गुरु गोविन्द ने दी इस के साए में है जन्नत यह है फमनि रसूल हक्क की नुसरत के लिए तेरा अली की चमकी" उसी समय श्रीमान्, मुझे ख्याल था कि पंचशील और अहिंसा के बयावानों में भटकी हुई और प्यासी क्रोम कहीं दम न तोड़ दे। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि पंचशील की शिला को उठा कर चीन के मस्तक में मारा जावे और उस की पेशानी में से जो खून निकले उस को

[श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय]

पी कर हिन्दुस्तान के नौजवान दुश्मन की छाती को रौंद डालें.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah (Adoni): On a point of order. Can he read out his speech? It is so fast that the Reporters are not recording it.

Shri Yashpal Singh: This is war time. It is allowed.

आज डिफेंसिव से काम नहीं चलेगा आज औफेंसिव लेना पड़ेगा। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप को विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि मेरे लाखों नवयुवक साथी सब बंधनों को तोड़ कर शत्रु की बेस पर हमला बोलना चाहते हैं। लेकिन मैं इस जनतन्त्र के मंदिर में बैठा हुआ हूँ और मैं कोई काम ऐसा नहीं करूँगा जिस से इस पवित्र पार्लियामेंट की मर्यादा पर ह्दफ़ आवे बरना—

“चाहूँ तो अब भी जानिबे मंजिल पल्ट चलूँ गुमराह इसलिए हूँ कि रहबर खफ़ान हो ”

चन्द्रशेखर शर्मा आजाद, सरदार भगत सिंह, सरदार ऊधमसिंह और भाई अशफ़ाक उल्लाह खाँ का खून कोई ठंडा नहीं पड़ गया है। सरहदी गांधी बादशाह खान अब्दुल गफ़्फ़ार खाँ की कुर्बानियाँ कोई बेकार नहीं हो गई हैं। मुझे यह फ़ख़्र हासिल है कि मैं बादशाह खान के सुर्खपोशाक में रहा हूँ। मुझे यह भी गौरव प्राप्त है कि मैं चौदह साल की उम्र में काल कोठरी में बंद रहा हूँ। मुझे इस पर भी गौरव प्राप्त है कि मेरे स्वर्गीय पिता महात्मा काली कमली बाले ने लोकमान्य तिलक के साथ अंग्रेज की कठोर यंत्रणाएँ सही थीं।

भारत की प्रतिरक्षा व्यवस्था इसलिए भजबूत नहीं हो सकी कि इस की जिम्मेदारी उन लोगों को नहीं सौंपी गई जिन्होंने भारत माँ को अपनी कुर्बानी देकर आजाद कराया था। मैं अपनी पार्टी की या किसी अपोजीशन ग्रुप की बात नहीं कहता। मैं कांग्रेस की ही

बात कहता हूँ। जो जनरल शाहनवाज़ खाँ बुरे दिनों में भारत की आजादी के लिए फौजों की कमांड कर सकता था, युगपुरुष नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस का जनरल बनने के लिए जिसमें भरपूर मिलिटरी जीनियस थी वह आज क्यों हिन्दुस्तान की फौजों की बागडोर नहीं सम्हाल सकता? मैं आप की ही बात कहता हूँ। जो ए० स० के० पाटिल भारत की राजनीति का स्तम्भ है जिसने फूड प्रब्लम के सब से ज्यादा उलझे हुए मसले को अपनी पैनी प्रतिभा और बेमिसाल बहादुरी से हल कर के दिखला दिया है वह क्यों हिन्दुस्तान का डिफेंस मिनिस्टर बनने लायक नहीं है?

श्रीमान्, मैं आज पार्टी पालिटिक्स की भाषा में नहीं सोचता। मैं आज माँ की लाज बचाने की रोशनी में सोचता हूँ। सच्चा नेता वह है जो आज चीन के दानव को पीछे खदेड़ देगा। सच्चा देशभक्त वह है जो अपना बलिदान देकर भारत माता की प्रतिष्ठा को बचा लेगा। अपने प्रधान मंत्री से भी मैं यह निवेदन करता हूँ कि आज हमारा मुल्क और हमारा ईमान खतरे में है। वे अपने दिल के दरवाज़े को खोल दें। पार्टी पालिटिक्स से ऊपर उठ कर ४४ करोड़ की ज़वान में सोचें। इस विशाल देश का एक भी शब्द अगर कहीं अपने को माइनारिटी में समझ कर ग़ैर मुतमइन बैठा है अगर वह खुद को ग़ैर महफूज़ समझता है तो यह हमारी आजादी के ऊपर एक कलंक होगा। प्रधान मंत्री की जिम्मेदारी सारे देश को प्रेम की एक गंगा में स्नान कराने की है। मुहब्बत का दरिया वह जाय जिस में अबगाहन्न कर के भारत माता के ज़वालीस करोड़ अमृत पुत्र सगे भाई और बहन बन कर रहें—

“हम मवाहिद हैं हमारा तर्ज़ है तर्क रसूम, मिललेंतें जब मिट गई अज़्जाएँ ईसाँ हो गई।” जंग के मंडरते हुए इन वादलों के नीचे हम कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की तरफ़ से आँखें बन्द कर नहीं रह सकते।

भारत में आजकी राजनीति का बर्निंग क्वैश्चन यह है कि जिन कम्युनिस्टों ने नेशनल मूवमेंट के दौरान पंडित नेहरू को ट्रेटर और क्विसलिंग कहा था वे ही कम्युनिस्ट आजाद प्रधान मंत्री के प्रेम में क्यों मरे जा रहे हैं? उत्तर स्पष्ट है कि सी० पी० आई को यह दुराशा है कि पंडित नेहरू के साथे में ही कम्युनिज्म का प्रचार हो सकता है। बेशक अगर आज कोई और सरकार कुर्सी पर होती तो कम्युनिस्टों को हरगिज खल खलने का मौक़ा न देती। अगर हमारे देश के कम्युनिस्ट पंडित नेहरू में सच्ची निष्ठा रखते हैं तो उनकी लायल्टी का तकाजा यह है कि वे एक विदेशी पार्टी को छोड़ कर अपने मुल्क की किसी पार्टी में मिल जावें।

चीन के हमल ने भारत में वह एटमौस-फियर पैदा कर दिया है कि आज कम्युनिज्म और पैट्रियज्म अपोजिट टर्मस समझी जाने लगी हैं। मैं इंकार नहीं करता। कम्युनिस्टों में भी देशभक्त होंगे लेकिन आज के माहौल में नीतिकार की यह युक्ति चरितार्थ होती है:—

“पयोऽपि शौडिकी हस्ते बाहलीत्यमिधीयते”

अगर शराब के ठक पर बैठ कर कोई दूध पीवगा तो वह भी शराबी ही समझा जावेगा। स्पीकर साहब, मैं आप के द्वारा अपने कम्युनिस्ट एम० पीज से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि मेरी तरह वे भी भगवान राम के वंशज हैं। अपयश की सम्भावना के कारण पुरुषोत्तम राम ने भगवती सीता का भी परित्याग कर दिया था। अगर अपने घर में कण्ट्रिजियस डिजीज के ज़रासीम पैदा हो जावें तो उस घर को भी साल दो साल के लिए छोड़ देना पड़ता है। भारतीय राजनीति के सम्मिलित मंच पर बैठने के लिए आज की नाजुक घड़ियों में मेरे इस देश भक्त भाइयों को कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी छोड़नी ही पड़गी। जिस असम के ऊपर चाइना की गिद्ध दृष्टि लगी हुई है, जिस असम को ब्रह्मपुत्र अपने पुनीत बारियों से नित्यप्रति

उज्ज्वल बनाता है, जो असम भारत की नाक है, जिस असम की खूबसूरती को हमारे इतिहास ने कामरूप कह के याद किया है, जिस असम ने माननीय हेम बरूआ जैसे इण्टेलैकचुल जाइण्ट्स पैदा किये हैं, जिस असम की ब्रह्मर्षि शंकर देव ने अपने रूहानी नूर से मुनव्वर किया है, जिस असम की घरती पर माघवदेव की आध्यात्मिकता अवतीर्ण हुई है और जिस असम को केशव देव मालवीय ने अपने शुभ प्रयत्नों द्वारा पैट्रोल से परिपूर्ण कर दिया है, उसी असम में कम्युनिस्टों द्वारा हमारे प्रधान मंत्री का पुतला जलाया गया और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के ठेकेदार सिर्फ बढ़ी हुई क्रीमतों की ही चर्चा करत रहे। मैं पूछता हूँ कौन होते हैं आप लोग हमारी बढ़ी हुई क्रीमतों को घटाने वाले? जिन की लायल्टी फादरलैंड के साथ है वे क्यों चिन्ता करते हैं? उनसे मैं गालिब के लफ्जों में कहना चाहता हूँ:—

“यही है आजमाना तो सताना किस को कहते हैं, अद्रू के हो लिए जब तुम तो मेरा इम्तिहां क्यों है”

श्रीमान्, मैं अपने प्रधान मंत्री से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जिन सुनहरी उम्मीदों के साथ उन्होंने रूस से शस्त्रास्त्रों की प्राप्ति का विचार प्रकट किया है वे कब तक पूरी हो जावंगी? हमारे बच्चे आज बड़े भावुक हैं। खुशफहमी के इस आलम में वे इतना जरूर याद कर लें—

“तेरे वायदे पर हम जिये तो यह जान झट जाना खुशी के मारे मर न जाते अगर एतबार होता।”

मैं ने इसी पार्लियामेंट के पिछले इजलास में कहा था कि भारत सरकार इस खयाल को हपेशा के लिए छोड़ दे कि कोई सोशलिस्टिक कन्ट्री हमारी सहायता करेगा। मैं अनुभव और ज्ञान के प्रकाश में अपनी राय को बदल दूंगा। भगवान करे कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री का स्वर्णिम स्वप्न सत्य हो।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझ आज तक तटस्थ शब्द की सार्थकता मालूम नहीं हुई। इस

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

तटस्थता के मातहत तिब्बत को कुर्बानी का बकरा बना कर चीनी भेड़िये के सामने डाला गया। इसी तटस्थता के मातहत हिमालय की दुर्भेद्य—ग्रन्कांकरेविल—चोटियों को दुश्मन के पैरों के नीचे कुचलवाया गया। इसी तटस्थता के मातहत पड़ोसी देश नैपाल को अपने से दूर किया गया। इसी तटस्थता के मातहत हिन्दुस्तानी फौज के चमकते हीरों को अपने गुलाबी खून से कांगां और गाजा के चमन को सरसञ्ज करने के लिए उस वक्त भेजा गया जब कि चीनी दुश्मन हमारे बुलन्दतरीन इलाक़े को चीनी की तरह लञ्जीज समझ कर हड़प करता जा रहा था। स्पीकर साहब, अंग्रजी में एक कहावत चली चती है :—

“It is never too late to mend.”

आज भी समय है कि हम तटस्थता के मोह को सवरण कर के दोस्त और दुश्मन में सच्ची तमीज पैदा कर लें।

तटस्थ शब्द संस्कृत का है। इस का अर्थ होता है दरिया के किनारे पर बैठा हुआ “sitting on the bank of the river” जो किनारे पर बैठा हुआ है उस को कोई भी घबका दे कर दरिया में डाल देगा। यह समय कूल का नहीं, लहरों का है।

ऐ रहरवाने बहरे अमल मौजों से सफ़ीने टकरा दो साहिल पै खड़े हो कर भी कहीं अन्दाज़ए तूफ़ां होता है ॥

नीर-धीर विवेकी राजहंस। जिस के सुख-दुख के हम साथी नहीं, जिसे अपना मित्र कहते हुए हमें संकोच होता है, जिस की दोस्ती पर हमें नाज नहीं, क्या उस से सहायता लेने का हमें मारल राइट हासिल है ?

मैं इस बात को अच्छी तरह समझता हूँ कि अगर चीनी कम्यूनिस्टों के इमकान में हुआ, तो वे सब से पहले मुझे अपनी गोली का शिकार बनायेंगे। लेकिन भारत के प्रधान

मंत्री भी यह नोट कर लें कि यदि किसी चीप पापुलैरिटी के फेर में पड़ कर वह आज कम्यूनिस्टों के लिए अपने दिल में साफ्ट कार्नर रखेंगे, तो जिस आइडियालोजी ने बेरिया को माफ नहीं किया, वह किसी दूसरे को भी स्पेयर नहीं कर सकती।

मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज चाइना से डिप्लोमेटिक रिलेशन्ज न तोड़ने की क्या जस्टिफिकेशन है। आगे चल कर चाइना कुछ मैत्री या समझ से काम लेगा, ऐसा कोई अक्ल का दुश्मन ही सोच सकता है।

श्रीमन्, मैं नतमस्तक हो जाऊंगा अपने प्रधान मंत्री के सामने, अगर वे संसार भर के इतिहास में से एक मिसाल भी ऐसी निकाल कर दिखला दें कि आजादी के लम्बे पंद्रह सालों के बाद किसी मुल्क के वजीरे-आज़म ने अपने देश की रक्षा का प्रस्ताव गैर-मुल्की जुबान में रखा हो। यह सारे संसार में पहली मिसाल है कि अपनी आजादी की रक्षा का प्रस्ताव पांच हज़ार मील पर बनी हुई जुबान में रखा गया है। मुझे कोई एतराज न होता, अगर यह प्रस्ताव कन्नड़, मलयालम, बंगला, गुरुमुखी, उर्दू, गुजराती या भारत की किसी भी भाषा में रखा जाता। लेकिन पांच हज़ार मील पर बनी हुई विदेशी भाषा में रखा हुआ यह प्रस्ताव सारे देश को परेशान कर रहा है।

मुझे आश्चर्य होता है, जब मैं रह देखता हूँ कि जिस देश की छाती पर शत्रु चढ़ा हुआ आ रहा है, उस देश के शराबघर एक दिन के लिए भी बन्द नहीं हुए, उस देश के सिनुमाओं में अब भी तक मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग स्कल नहीं खोले गए।

स्पार्टा को जब रक्षा के लिए तैयार होना था, तो वहाँ पर यह कानून बनाया गया था कि बच्चा पैदा हो, तो तुरन्त छत पर डाल

दिया जाये। अगर वह चौबीस घंटे की सर्दी-गर्मी बर्दाश्त कर ले, तो उस की परवरिश कर ली जाये, लेकिन अगर वह सहन न कर सके, तो उस कमजोर बच्चे की जरूरत स्पार्टा को नहीं है।

आज इसी तरह के रूल्स हमारे देश में बनाए जाने चाहिए। आज सब से बड़ी जरूरत इस बात की है कि यहां का बच्चा बच्चा इस देश को अपना देश समझे। यह देश किसी के नाम गिरवी नहीं रखा गया है। यह किसी पार्टी का, या इंडिविडुअल का, या पर्सन का किसी तरह का कोई ख़ास गहना नहीं है। यह सारे देश की सम्पत्ति है। प्रधान मंत्री बड़े हैं और रक्षा मंत्री भी बड़े हैं, लेकिन मेरा देश प्रधान मंत्री से बड़ा है। अगर प्रधान मंत्री देश की सही सही हिफ़ाज़त नहीं कर सकते हैं, तो वह इस बोझ को अपने कंधे से उतार दें और देश के नीजवानों को बुला कर कहें कि इस देश की रक्षा करो। हमारा देश प्रधान मंत्री से बहुत बड़ा है।

मैं इस सदन का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करता हूँ कि वह पार्टीबाज़ी से ऊपर उठ कर भारत-माता की रक्षा की भाषा में सोचें। तभी इस देश का कल्याण हो सकेगा। अगर हम ने अपने कैरेक्टर को ऊंचा किया, अपने चरित्र और सदाचार को ऊंचा उठाया, तो संसार को कोई ताकत नहीं है, जो हम को गिरा सके। सब से पहले इंडिविडुअल कैरेक्टर की जरूरत है। जिस देश के लोग शराब पीते हैं, अश्लील सिनेमा देखते हैं, कोटोजम और डाल्डा खाते हैं, वह देश कभी रण-प्रांगण में खड़ा नहीं हो सकता है। अगर हर एक शास्त्र अपनी जगह पर सुन्दर हो जाये, तो सारा देश सुन्दर होगा।

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: He has read it at a terrific speed. The stenographers have not been able to record

Mr. Speaker: The stenographers were sure that they would be able to copy it out from his speech.

I allowed these speeches in this particular discussion to be read out as I thought that the speeches must be responsible ones because it is a delicate subject, but sometimes this facility is used to make it appear as if they are speaking on a public platform. That should not be done.

Shri K. L. More.

श्री बाल्मीकी (खुर्जा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हम और कितनी देर बैठेंगे ?

Mr. Speaker: As you wish. It is the pleasure of the House. As the House wishes. I am entirely in the hands of the House.

I am just exhausting the list of names I have got. I have promised to call each one of them, and I must do that. If today the Members want that they should rise at 8 O' Clock, tomorrow they ought to be ready to see that we finish all this.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharya: My submission is that you finish the list that you made yesterday, so that those who give their names tomorrow may get a chance after that.

Mr. Speaker: Because Shri Bhattacharya is not in that list, he is finding out a loophole for himself. I will give him a chance tomorrow. He may rest assured.

श्री बाल्मीकी : क्या मेरा नाम लिस्ट में है ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : है। मैं आप को तसल्ली दिलाता हूँ कि जिन माननीय सदस्यों के नाम मैं ने लिखे थे, उन को जरूर इस डिबेट में वक्त दिया जायगा।

श्री बाल्मीकी : मेरा नाम ऊपर है, नीचे है या बीच में है ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : ऊपर भी है और नीचे भी।

Shri D. D. Puri (Kaithal): On a point of information. How many names of yesterday's list still remain?

Mr. Speaker: About ten more.

Shri D. D. Puri: We should also continue after that.

Mr. Speaker: What is the pleasure of the House? (*Interruptions.*) Today we may rise at 8 O'clock and tomorrow we will exhaust the whole number that is there.

श्री वाल्मीकी : अध्यक्ष महोदय. क्या एक बार फिर नाम देना पड़ेगा ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : परसों भी मैं ने माननीय सदस्यों को नोटिस दिया था कि वे आज तैयार हो कर आयें, ताकि अगर उन को बैठना पड़े, तो वे बैठ सकें ।

चूंकि गोनी साहब बाहर जा रहे हैं, इस लिए इस के बाद मैं उन को टाइम दे दूंगा ।

Shri Deshpande (Nasik): When today's list will be exhausted, does it mean that nobody will be included in the list any more or nobody will get a chance? When today's list is exhausted, tomorrow no fresh name will be included? Is that the position?

Mr. Speaker: I have got a fresh list also—those who have sent in their names today. That list is also there.

Shri K. L. More (Hatakanangle): Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by the hon. Prime Minister wholeheartedly. The whole nation is inflamed with magnificent patriotic fervour to drive out the treacherous Chinese aggressor from the sacred soil of our motherland. The resolution affirming the firm resolve of the country to expel the aggressor is a clear definition of a national objective that will be readily understood and endorsed by every citizen. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's firm leadership and enthusiasm with which the people have magnificently ac-

cepted it during the national crisis is a sure indication of victory to our nation. We had reverses but they are very much like those suffered by England and France during the Second World War in the initial stages. We should not be disheartened by that. The real significance of the proclamation of Emergency by the President is to make the nation alert to meet the danger ahead. It is our sacred duty to respond to it and give our hearty approval to the Proclamation. Now, with regard to the Resolution, it is the duty of every citizen to carve out every word within his own heart. The first aspect of this resolution is the expression of deep regret that China has betrayed the goodwill and friendship shown so far by India and committed aggression and initiated a massive invasion of India by her Armed Forces. We are shocked at the cruel and crude invasion of our motherland. As has been said by our leader, we accept the challenge. The nation accepts the challenge and has shown unity and enthusiasm unparalleled in history. But we must train ourselves to be prepared to face it however long the crisis may be. Let us understand that our war effort essentially apart from actual fighting is an effort to greater production in the field and in the factories.

We must remember that in this kind of struggle, we are all involved and every peasant in the field is a soldier and every worker in the factory is a soldier as is put by our leader. Therefore, our Five Year Plan is the real spring of our strength. One of the main aims of the unabashed Chinese aggression is to uproot the very basis of our Plan. We must take utmost pains to make it a success.

20 hrs.

The policy of non-alignment followed by our nation is the soundest and I am sure it will lead to ultimate success. It would be a mistake to judge it by the reverses and give it up. At the same time, I am of the view that the national leader should

be given free latitude to give it a suitable shape from time to time.

The second aspect of the resolution is to record our high appreciation of the valiant struggle of our men and officers of the armed forces while defending our frontiers and to pay our respectful homage to the martyrs who have laid down their lives.

The third aspect of the resolution is that it records our profound appreciation of the wonderful and spontaneous response of the people. In this connection, I must also bring it to the notice of the House that our ablest Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Shri Y. B. Chavan, has offered his readiness to serve even on the frontier, and at this very critical time, he has sounded the trumpet that when the Himalayas are in peril, Sahyadri would come to the rescue. Such is the heartening message that he has given and therefore we realise its importance.

The fourth aspect of the resolution is to acknowledge with gratitude the sympathy and the moral and material support given by many friendly countries like the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, etc. Nearly 40 countries of the world have supported the just cause of India and condemned China.

In this connection, I may mention that America is like Lord Krishna coming to the rescue of India. In Mahabharata, there was a war between the Kauravas and the Pandavas. Lord Krishna came to the rescue of the Pandavas. (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: These comparisons do not look nice.

Shri K. L. More: The most important aspect of the resolution is the affirmation of 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. To emerge successfully out of this crisis, my suggestions are as follows: we must have an unflinching faith and love in our esteemed leader, Shri

Jawaharlal Nehru. Let us allow him to take his own decisions and act up to them. The nation should try to carry every word of his as gospel to achieve success.

The second suggestion is that the entire nation must through disciplined and hard work, back up the army which is fighting against China on the frontier. The third suggestion is, let us create a climate for fighting the Chinese aggression.

Now, my last suggestion is that many of the MPs and MLAs should be represented on the National Defence Councils, whether it is in the Centre or in the districts. I also support the suggestion of Mr. Sonavane that Mr. Jagjivan Ram should be included in the Council. Then, Sir, the licence for purchasing guns should be given freely to every loyal citizen of the country.

Lastly, Sir, I express my gratitude to you for giving me this opportunity. You have expressed that we will sit longer till everybody is given a chance. This is a very generous gesture and I express my thanks for that.

Mr. Speaker: I had just said that we will adjourn at 8 O'clock. Now, Mr. Goni has to go to Jammu this night. If the House bears with him, he might make his speech today.

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : बाकी माननीय सदस्यों को खड़े होने की जरूरत नहीं है। उनको आज वक्त नहीं मिला है तो कल मिल जाएगा।

श्री जाल्मीकी : कल जरूर मिल जाना चाहिये।

श्री अब्दुल गनी गोनी (जम्मू तथा काश्मीर) : जनाब स्पीकर साहब, मैं आपका बहुत मशकूर हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया है।

[श्री अब्दुल गनी गोनी]

पेशतर इसके कि मैं इस रेजोल्यूशन पर कुछ बोलूँ मैं सब से पहले कुछ अलफाज उन जवानों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ जो वहाँ पर लड़ रहे हैं। मैं उस इलाके का रहने वाला हूँ। उस जिले का रहने वाला हूँ जो लद्दाख के साथ वाला ज़िला है और जिसका नाम डोडा है। मुझे मालूम है कि वहाँ क्या हो रहा है और किस तरह से हमारे जवान लड़ रहे हैं। सब से पहले मैं अपनी तरफ से और कौम की तरफ से उन जवानों को, जिन्होंने कुर्बानियाँ दी हैं, जम्मू काश्मीर मिलिशिया की सूरत में, डोगरा रेजीमेंट की सूरत में या मुल्क के जो दूसरे जवान हैं दूसरी रेजीमेंटों में, उस सूरत में, श्रद्धांजलि और मुबारिकवाद पेश करता हूँ। वे मुल्क और कौम की खातिर ये कुर्बानियाँ दे रहे हैं। नेफा में भी कुमायूँ रेजमेंट जो वहाँ बड़ रही है और उसके जो जवान शहीद हुए हैं, उनको भी मैं अपनी और कौम की तरफ से श्रद्धांजलि पेश करता हूँ। यकीनी तौर पर व शहीद नहीं हुए हैं बल्कि कौम की वे नई जिन्दगी और नई बुनियाद डाल रहे हैं। कहा गया है कि शहीद की जो मीत है, वह कौम की हयात है। हमारे नौजवान अगर मुल्क और कौम के लिए कुर्बानियाँ देते हैं तो व नई कौम की बुनियाद रखते हैं।

जब हम हिन्दुस्तान की पिछली तारीख को देखते हैं, दस बीस साल की नहीं बल्कि १२० या १५० साल पहले की तो हम पाते हैं कि जोरावर सिंह और मेहता मंगल की कमान में हमारे इलाके के लोग और पंजाब के व हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे इलाकों के लोग वहाँ गए और उन्होंने चीन के साथ जंग करके लद्दाख को अपने कब्जे में ले लिया। उन लोगों ने जो कुर्बानियाँ तब दीं, उनकी हड्डियाँ, उनका खून आज भी पुकार पुकार कर कह रहा है कि उठो, क्यों सोये पड़ हो, देश की खातिर अपने प्राप को कुर्बान करन के लिए तैयार हो जाओ। आज उन लोगों की रूह हिन्दुस्तान के और इस एवान के चारों तरफ घूम रही है और हम

से यह उम्मीद रखती है कि कौम के ये नुमाइंदे हमारे लिये क्या कर रहे हैं।

इस करारदाद को देख कर मुझे खुशी होती है। पंडित जी ने बहुत तफसील के साथ इस पर रोशनी डाली है। कई मँम्बरों ने इस पर तकरीरे की हैं। कुछ ने इसको क्रिटिसाइज भी किया है। इस रेजोल्यूशन के पांच छः प्राविजंज हैं। एक में तो एमरजेंसी डिकलेयर की गई है। यह एमरजेंसी इस मुल्क के ४५ करोड़ नौजवानों पर असर अंदाज होती है। लेकिन लास्ट पैरा में हम देखते हैं कि हम एक लम्बा रोप दे देते हैं, एमरजेंसी को जितना लम्बा चाहें रखा जा सकता है, जितनी देर भी चाहें रखा जा सकता है। इतना लम्बा रोप गवर्नमेंट को नहीं देना चाहिये। कई लोगों ने कहा कि साल तक यह रं या दो साल तक रं। अगर यह दस साल लड़ाई चलती है तो क्या यह एमरजेंसी दस साल तक चलती रहेगी? यह बहुत मुनासिब नहीं है। ८ सितम्बर के बाद बीस रोज में जब चीनी ल्हासा से उठ कर या सिक्कांग से उठ कर लद्दाख पहुँचते हैं या ल्हासा से नेफा पहुँचते हैं, तो "हाऊएवर लांग इट में बी" का क्या मतलब हो सकता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कौम की कमजोरी है, गवर्नमेंट की कमजोरी है जो कि सिचुएशन को असेस नहीं कर सकती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस करारदाद में कुछ खामियाँ हैं और हमें करारदाद को रिवास्ट करना पड़ेगा और कौम को लीड देनी पड़ेगी कि हम कब तक दुश्मनों को बाहर निकालेंगे, खाह वह चीनी हों या कोई और दुश्मन हो। हमें देखना है कि यह हमला सिर्फ नेफा के लिये नहीं, सिर्फ लद्दाख के लिये नहीं, बल्कि तमाम साउथ ईस्ट एशिया के लिये है। आप नक्शे को देखिये कि किस तरह से कम्यूनिस्ट ब्लक आज ताशकन्द से ले कर काबुल तक सड़क बना रहा है, ल्हासा से ले कर काठमाडू तक सड़क बना रहा है, नेफा तक सड़क आ रही है, आक्साई चिन और चुशूल को यह सड़क बन कर आ

रही है। इसके पीछे भी उन का एक मकसद है। उनका मकसद यह नहीं है कि उनको सिर्फ लड़ाख तक सड़क लानी है, नेफा तक सड़क लानी है, बल्कि यह आल्टरनेट रोड्स बनाई जा रही हैं। कम्यूनिस्ट ब्लाक यानी चाइना और रशिया मिल कर एक कामन प्रोग्राम की तहत बढ़ते नजर आते हैं। नक्शे से जाहिर होता है कि किस तरह से वह ब्लाक साउथ ईस्ट एशिया पर छा जाना चाहता है। एक तरफ तो वह न्यूक्लियर पावर अपने मुल्क के अन्दर बढ़ा रहे हैं दूसरी तरफ यह सड़कें बना रहे हैं लैंड फोर्सेज को मात करने के लिये ताकि वह ऊपर से हमला करें और नीचे से लैंड फोर्सेज भेज कर कंसोलिडेट करे। यह सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान को ही चैलेन्ज नहीं है बल्कि **राइट फ्राम** अफगानिस्तान, पाकिस्तान, इंडिया, नेपाल, भूटान और इसी तरह से बर्मा और सीलोन के इस तमाम ब्लाक को चैलेन्ज है। आज भले ही हम समझते हैं कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू दुनियां को लीड कर रहे हैं, उसकी रहनुमाई कर रहे हैं और अमन का रास्ता बतला रहे हैं, लेकिन जब कम्यूनिस्ट ब्लाक आगे बढ़ना चाहता है तो हम पर यह फर्ज आयद हो जाता है कि जो नई न्यूली बार्ड नेशन्स नक्शे पर उभर रही हैं उन को लीड करे, चाहे हम ने कितनी ही **नानअलाइनमेंट** पालिसी की जिम्मेदारी ली हो। हम जहां कम्यूनिस्ट ब्लाक के इस ऐग्रेशन को वैंकेट करने के लिये या रिपल्स करने के लिये तलवार उठायेगे वहां **एट दि सैम टाइम** हम एक ब्लाक के अन्दर **राइट फ्राम** अफगानिस्तान से मलाया तक मुल्कों को इकट्ठा कर के रक्खें और हिन्दुस्तान उसका मर्कज बने। हिन्दुस्तान को चाहिये, खुसूसन् पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को चाहिये कि वह नानअलाइन्ड नेशन्स की, जो कि उनको अपना लीडर मानती हैं, एक कांफेंस बुलायें, और उन को सावधान करे कि अगर आज लड़ाख पर हमला होता है, नेफा पर हमला है तो कल दुश्मन और आगे बढ़ेंगे। आज की खबर है कि कराकोरम को पास कर के चाइनीज पाकिस्तान की एरिया में दाखिल

हो गये हैं। इससे उन लोगों को नियत मानून होती है। उनकी कोई रेस्ट्रिक्टेड प्लैन नहीं है बल्कि उन की बेसिक प्लैन है टु एक्सपेंड। **एक्सपेंडान** का नमूना उन्होंने शुरू किया है नेफा से और लड़ाख से। अगर आज कोई मामूली सयासत का पढ़ने वाला भी इसको देखे तो उस के सामने जाहिर हो जाता है कि यह एक बहुत बड़ी प्लैन है, जिस प्लैन पर बढ़ने से अगर उनको आज रोक दिया जाय तो आज नहीं कल, कल नहीं तो पाँचों, दो साल, तीन या पांच साल बाद उनको बढ़ने की कोशिश करनी है। लिहाजा आज हम पर फर्ज आयद होता है, हमारे ऊपर जिम्मेदारी आ जाती है कि हम इन पांच, सात या दस नेशन्स को, जो साउथ ईस्ट एशिया में पढ़ाई हुई हैं, इकट्ठा करें और उनको लीड दें। उन की कांशसनेस को खड़ा कर दिया जाये।

हम देखते हैं कि रूस भी हमारा भाई है, चीन भी हमारा भाई है, अमरीका भी हमारा दोस्त है जिस तरह, उसी तरह रूस भी हमारा दोस्त है, लेकिन कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जिनकी बुनियादी पालिसी है, बुनियादी टागेट है कि हमें आगे बढ़ना है, हमें अपने आप को महदूद नहीं रखना है। उन्हें चेक करने के लिये अगर हम खड़े नहीं होंगे, सावधान नहीं होंगे, तो यकीनी तौर पर हमारा देश जिस नक्शे को दुनियां के अन्दर पेश कर रहा है उसको पेश नहीं कर सकेगा। लिहाजा मैं समझता हूँ कि जहाँ हमारा काम उसको चेक करना है वहीं मैं एक गुजारिश यह भी करूंगा कि आप अपने मुल्क के चारों तरफ देखें। हिन्दुस्तान ने पाकिस्तान का भी कांफिडेंस हासिल नहीं किया है, बर्मा का कांफिडेंस हासिल नहीं किया है, अफगानिस्तान का कांफिडेंस आपनली हमारे साथ नहीं है। नेपाल हमारे साथ नहीं है, सीलोन हमारे साथ नहीं है, **ओपेनली**, **बाई व्हाट आई अंडरस्टैंड**। तो इन चार पांच देशों को, जो कि हिन्दुस्तान के चारों तरफ पड़ रहे हैं हमें अपने कांफिडेंस में लेना है। जब तक हम ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तब तक

[श्री अब्दुल गनो गोर्ना]

कम्प्यूनिस्ट ब्लॉक के एक्सपैन्शन प्रोग्राम को चेक नहीं कर सकेंगे। लिहाजा मेरी गुजारिश है कि जहां हमें इस प्रोग्राम को अमली जामा पहनाना है वहां जैसा यहां पर कहा गया नेफा के बारे में, पाकिस्तान से नेफा तक उन का कारिडोर है, देन दे कंन कम टू दी सी। लेकिन आज काश्मीर की तरफ आप देखिये। बहुत से दोस्तों ने काश्मीर का नक्शा देखा होगा। आज जम्मू और काश्मीर रियासत को एक ही रास्ता सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान से मिलता है। Jammu and Kashmir State is being linked with the rest of the country only by one road. किसी वक्त भी उस के इंटरफिअर होने का खतरा पैदा हो सकता है क्योंकि पाकिस्तान ने एक तरह से ओपेनली हमसे बगावत की है। लिहाजा मेरी गुजारिश है कि जहां एक गिर आइडिया हमारे सामने है, एक बड़े उसूल को हमें अपने सामने रखना है, वहां हम को सावधान भी होना चाहिये और इन छोटे छोटे साथी मुल्कों को अपने साथ रखना चाहिये जो कि हमारी नेबरिंग कंट्रोज हैं। मसलन पाकिस्तान है। आज हिमाचल प्रदेश का जो हमारा इलाका पंजाब में आ रहा है, उसके वाद लद्दाख का एरिया शुरू होता है, सारा किश्तवार का इलाका है, जिसको डोडा डिस्ट्रिक्ट कहते हैं, वहां पर हमको सड़क बनानी चाहियें। जिस तरह की अल्टरनेट रोड पठानकोट और जम्मू के दरम्यान है उसी तरह से एक रोड हिमाचल प्रदेश और डोडा डिस्ट्रिक्ट के बीच में भी होनी चाहिये जो कि सीधे काश्मीर तक जाये ताकि डमर्जन्सी के वक्त जो वहां की अकेली रोड है जाने के लिये अगर वह डिस्टर्ब हो जाय तो हमारे पास एक अल्टरनेट रोड रहे ताकि हम बाडर तक अपनी लैंड फोर्सिंग पहुंचा सकें। हिमाचल प्रदेश जिसको चम्बा कहते हैं, तक गाड़ी जाती है। चम्बा से भरद्वार तक ५० मील की दूरी है। उस की ऊंचाई ज्यादा नहीं है। भरद्वार से सीधी गाड़ी काश्मीर को जाती है। श्रीनगर को जाती है, लद्दाख को जाती है और बाडर

का इलाका है उस को मिलती है। जब तक हम वहां पर ठीक से रोड्स नहीं बिछायेंगे तब तक हम बाडर तक नौजवानों के लिये, जो लड़ रहे हैं, पूरी सप्लाय नहीं भेज सकते। So, I would request the Government to take notice. An alternate defence line must be created in the State to connect it with the rest of India so that in times of emergency when God forbid, the Jammu-Pathankot Road is disturbed at any time we may have an alternate road to go to Kashmir. मैं गुजारिश कर रहा था कि यह जो वाकयात है उन को हमें अपने सामने रखना है।

आखिर में मैं एक चीज और अर्ज करना चाहता हूं। आज हमारे नौजवान लड़ रहे हैं। यकीनी तौर पर तमाम कौम उट खड़ी हुई है और तमाम कौम एक जगह हो कर आगे आ रही है। मुझे इस को देख कर बड़ा दुःख हुआ कि अपोजीशन प्रस आपस में ही लड़ रहे हैं Why do you fight with each other? Come with a certain resolution

आज हम को चाहिये कि हम एक यूनाइटेड प्रंट गवर्नमेंट को दें, हम सब के सब आपस में यूनाइटेड रहें। हम देखते हैं कि कम्प्यूनिस्ट पार्टी नुकताचीनी करती है स्वतन्त्र पार्टी की और स्वतन्त्र पार्टी नुकताचीनी करत है जन संघ को। सब आपस में सर-फुटीवल करते हैं। आज सरे अपोजीशन प्रस को एक जगह बैठ कर कोई सलड तजवीज पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को देनी चाहिये। आज पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की जात पर हमला करने का वक्त नहीं है। आज पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की मिनिस्ट्री या उनकी गवर्नमेंट पर हमको पहरा नहीं देना है। बल्कि आज हमारा पहरा चालीम करोड़ इन्सानों को हिक्काजत करने के लिये है। लिहाजा हमको चाहिये कि हम इकट्ठे हो जायें और इसके लिये लड़ें।

मैं फिर उन नौजवानों और शहीदों को
श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ जो कि मुल्क के लिये
लड़ रहे हैं और अपनी जानें दे रहे हैं ।

20.18 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till
Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday,
November 13, 1962/Kartika 22, 1884
(Saka).

