

dismisses an appeal there is nothing before that High Court. That is why a High Court ordinarily does not pass any stay order. Therefore, I agree with what has been stated by my learned friend that High Court becomes *functus officio* the moment an election appeal is dismissed. Even then, on the basis of various rulings, the Supreme Court has also accepted this position that a High Court even while sitting over an appeal or while dismissing an appeal can pass stay orders on the terms that they consider fit. Therefore, this order of the High Court which they have passed after dismissal of the appeal is an independent order. It is neither a revival of the original order nor a continuation of orders of stay earlier granted. Therefore, this independent order will have to be interpreted in the words and spirit in which it has been meant. What has been granted is only the right to sit in committees and the House. Any other privilege like travelling in first-class and the privilege of salaries and allowances have not been specifically included in this order.

**Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar):** Sir, I rise to a point of order.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty (Barackpore):** May I submit that the hon. Law Minister may withdraw this and not put us in the predicament of coming to a decision on this issue?

**Mr. Speaker:** I think the House is not prepared to take that responsibility. I would advise Shri Basu to go to the High Court and get a clear order from there.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** Sir, my point of order is that the constitution-making body is this House.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is finished. Let us go to the next item of business.

12.53 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY AND AGGRESSION BY CHINA—  
*Contd.*

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now take up further consideration of the following Resolution moved by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the 8th November, 1962, namely:—

“This House approves the Proclamation of Emergency issued by the President on the 26th of October, 1962, under clause (1) of article 352 of the Constitution.”

The House will also discuss the other Resolution moved by him. We will now proceed with that.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad):** Mr. Speaker, yesterday, Sir, as I listened closely and carefully to the Prime Minister on this solemn occasion and watched the play of passing moods on his very expressive countenance, an uncomfortable thought was borne down upon me that here is a great man who at this period of his glorious life is a trifle tired, a little weary, who sees all around him the laborious effort of years crashing. At this time, Sir, when the ridges and hill-tops of Ladakh and NEFA are being stained crimson with the blood of the men and officers of our armed forces, when that resounding slogan “Hindi Chini bhai bhai” is now becoming a prelude to butchery by the perfidious Chinese, at a time when the blood of our martyrs, of our martyred jawans is becoming the seed of a new virile nation that is being born in our country, our Prime Minister is faced with a very difficult question, fundamentally a question of agonising re-appraisal, may be not of his entire foreign policy, not the entire defence policy, but a re-appraisal of his attitude to China, to Russia, to some non-aligned friendly countries like Indonesia and Ghana and also to the western countries. At this time, it

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

is supremely necessary that the burden on his shoulders should be lightened. At this age many other great leaders might have broken down, but God has blessed him with a stamina and energy which is not given to many other men, and I pray to God to give him health and strength in the coming months and years. I, therefore, Sir, would plead with him to appoint at the earliest opportunity a Defence Minister of his own choice, after his own heart's desire, a Defence Minister, might be younger in years but, with a purposeful dynamism and a man whose outlook, whose attitude is oriented with the policy which he has now set forth, which the nation has adopted as its own in this crisis. Such a Defence Minister we want today, and I hope very soon he will appoint a Defence Minister so that the burden on his shoulders will be lightened. If such a person is not available in the ranks of his own party, he should not be inhibited by such considerations and he should have the right to go outside his own party to find one who has such a suitability in this crisis.

Mr. Speaker, we are, Sir, working in an emergency. This emergency session of Parliament, may I plead with you in all humility and with all earnestness, will not bear the stamp of an emergency that we are faced with unless and until it is decided by the Leader of the House and you, Sir, in consultation, that this particular session shall be a brief session. This one session should be a brief session, may be for five days or a week but not more than a week. Then let us have an interval. If there is other business with the Government let us have an interval of two or three weeks, whatever it may be, and we may at the end of the month or early December meet again and transact that business. That will put a seal of emergency on this brief session and will convey to the people of India and the world outside that we are really feeling and we are acting

the spirit of emergency that is facing us. I hope this suggestion will be accepted.

This morning's papers brought to us a statement, the view of our distinguished and revered President, the President of India. When I read that, the papers, I felt sad that even the President has come to this view after going to the front.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya** (Bangalore City): Sir, I rise to a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Unless I know what he is going to say....

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I am not impugning on the conduct of the President.

**Mr. Speaker:** His name might not be brought in. It should be avoided as far as possible.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I have only said that the President has said this, that the mistakes committed in the past were due to credulity and negligence. The amendment, Sir....

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Sir, I rise to a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us hear him.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I hope, Sir, that this time would not be debited against me.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Sir, it is well known constitutional convention that the President should not be brought into discussion on the floor of this House. Some words have been quoted by my hon. friend. He did it with all good intentions, I concede. But if some other hon. Member begins to criticise the stand taken by the President it will exactly go against the convention which this House has all along protected. Therefore whatever might have been said outside this House by the President in his speeches should not form a

matter either for quotation or for rebuttal specially when it is controversial.

13 hrs.

**Mr. Speaker:** As far as that proposition is concerned, I entirely agree with him and I told him just at that moment that unless he says something I cannot decide. I agree that the President's name should not be brought in. But so far as whatever he has said just now is concerned, probably he is only going to develop his argument and there is nothing that he is going to say about the President.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Thank you, Sir. The amendment which I, on behalf of my Party, have tabled before the House is in line or in conformity with the observation that had been made by the President today. I leave it at that.

The hon. Prime Minister readily confessed a few days ago that we, in this country, have been living out of touch with reality for many years. It was good to hear that observation from the hon. Prime Minister. We are not anxious to have a *post mortem*. That is not our view; that is not our aim here. We do not want a *post mortem*; we do not want to harp on past mistakes. But we want and we again reiterate that we demand that the mistakes and blunders that have been committed in the past shall not be repeated and that the consequences of those mistakes shall be rectified in good time before the whole nation, the entire administration, the Government and this Parliament is geared to the war effort. On that condition that the Government remains firm, that the Government sees through this conspiracy of international Communism, that the Government is firm on this that no talks will be held with the perfidious Chinese Government unless and until aggression is vacated both in Ladakh and in NEFA, only on this one honourable condition for a self-

respecting nation, I can assure the hon. Prime Minister and the House that the hon. Prime Minister will have the warm sympathy and the whole-hearted support of my Party and of all the Opposition parties here—I do not speak for the Communist Party. But that condition must be fulfilled.

On that may I submit that I was rather surprised yesterday to find that even so perspicuous a politician as our Prime Minister observed that China's present action does not stem or flow from Communism, that it is not because she is a Communist country but because she is just militarist and expansionist. I do not know on what truth or facts and realities of the situation he based such an observation. The entire history of international Communism testifies to this one fact of history that world Communism has consistently throughout its life-time during these 50 years or more has aimed at world dominion by force of arms; not by peace but by force of arms. It is the fashion of the day to say that Russia is contented. Contented after what? It is contented after gobbling up half of Europe. The further onrush of the tide has been stemmed because there are statesmen in Germany and France who are determined to stem the tide of Communism in Europe, otherwise by now the whole of Europe would have been engulfed by Communism.

May I tell the House that today China is a partner, a strong partner, of this world Communist conspiracy in history? That is why in spite of the trust that the hon. Prime Minister and his Government reposed in Russia in the first place because they were not perspicuous enough to see through this world Communist conspiracy today we have been disillusioned. Today Soviet Russia calls India a friend and China a brother. It says 'fraternal China' and 'friendly India'. That distinction has been made by Soviet Russia.

The hon. Prime Minister will not have forgotten, I am sure, that when

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

he demurred slightly and made a very mild objection, not a very vigorous objection, to the invasion of Tibet in 1950 by the Chinese Communist forces what was the epithet used by the Chinese Government and press against the hon. Prime Minister. I am sorry to say—it breaks my heart to say this—the Chinese Government and the press dubbed him as “the running dog of British Imperialism”. In between, because of Panchsheel and because we fell in line with them and the slogan “Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai” resounded from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari and from Kutch to Kohima they also relented, not out of their respect for India but because it served their purpose. But all the time they were conspiring to commit aggression and to commit inroads into our territory. The Party to which I have the honour to belong has been warning the Government for the last three years or more and my hon. friends to my extreme right used the word ‘hullabaloo’ once when we put questions here. Now that hullabaloo has become a real hot shooting war and I am sorry for the plight in which my hon. friends to my extreme right here have been placed.

The Chinese Communist leaders have made it plain that one of the basic tenets of their doctrine is—call it expansionist or militarist if the hon. Prime Minister likes to, but I would call it the world Communist conspiracy by force of arms—to attain world power by any means—by hook or by crook, by arms, by conspiracy, by fraud, by subterfuge, by subversion, infiltration and everything that is not honest or honourable. The Chinese Communists’ thesis is, “We do not care; we are not afraid of an atomic war”. That is what one of the Chinese leaders said two years ago. They say, “We are not afraid of an atomic war; even if an atomic war comes to China, we are in it. Well, we may lose 300 million people, still”—look at the cynicism which is neither socialism nor Communism nor

humanism but which is cruel cynicism for which there is no parallel in history—“still we will be left with 400 million, the biggest nation on the earth”. That is what they are concerned with, namely, numbers. Let people die like flies or worse, they do not care. That is their socialism and that is what we are up against.

Mao Tse-tung, their leader and their former President, said not so long ago that political power comes out of the barrel of a gun. Those guns are there on the ridges and hilltops of Ladakh and NEFA. Those guns are pointed at us, at the former Indian *bhai* by the Chinese *bhai*.

Today we have got the news that Czech arms from Czechoslovakia are being shipped in abundance to the Chinese. After this, in the face of this Communist conspiracy, can the hon. Prime Minister still say or assert or assure that there is no Communist alliance and that it is not due to Communism? I say once again that it is the inherent drive of world Communism for world power that is driving China towards Asia. Just as Russia wants to bring Europe under her influence, China’s objective is to bring the whole of South and South East Asia under Chinese hegemony or leadership.

The friends on my extreme right yesterday protested and I was reminded of an old saying, namely, *Milady protesteth too much*. They have promised so many things in their resolution. But we watch for the performance. May I ask my hon. friends on the extreme right whether they are prepared to do one or two things that I suggest to prove their *bona fides*? One is whether they are prepared to have a complete break with international Communism and change their flag also, if necessary, because it is the international flag that they have adopted. Give it some Indian colour or complexion; make it a Bharatiya flag. See, if they can do

it. Let them do it and not have an international communist flag. Secondly, can they expel the pro-Chinese dissidents from their ranks? They have not done so yet. It is said that one faction is pro-Chinese, another pro-Russian. What a pitiful handful is pro-Indian? How big is the handful pro-Indian? Let them answer the question. They say pro-Khrushchev, pro-Mao. How big is this pro-Indian faction? Let them today issue a statement condemning or censuring the Soviet attitude to India in the Sino-Indian crisis. Will they do it? Lastly, because they have taught us the technique of demonstrations, sometimes violent, sometimes non-violent, demonstrations, processions,—they have been the leaders, they know the ins and outs, the know-how, they have shown us this technique—may I ask them whether they are prepared this evening or tomorrow evening to stage a demonstration before the Chinese Embassy here in Delhi? Not that I attach importance to it, but it will be a test of their *bona fides*. Let them demonstrate before the Chinese Embassy. If they can do all this, the House may feel sure to a certain extent. We will still watch their deeds, because their past is very dark. A very dark past they have got. We have not forgotten. Youngsters may not know, but we do and have not forgotten. It is this party—I do not say these members—this party to which they belong today, which called Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose enemies, traitors, quislings and what not in our country, while they were good patriots. I have still got with me a cutting, a cartoon where Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and Mahatma Gandhi were depicted as dogs standing at the feet of Hitler and Mussolini. That was their past towards the final phase of the freedom struggle when the Quit India movement of Mahatma Gandhi and the Delhi Chalo movement of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose blended in unison to bring about the Independence of India. How can

one trust a party which has got that dark and murky past? How can we do it? It is impossible unless they show by long *prayaschitta*, by their deeds in the future that they have really reformed. Let them do it. I have suggested one or two things.

As I said earlier, my party does not want to enter into a *post mortem*. We want that the Government of which the Prime Minister is the head, is rightly the head, is fortunately the head, address themselves to the mighty task of the prosecution of the war against China until the last Chinese soldier leaves our soil. Not merely in NEFA and Ladakh, not merely the September 8th line or the June line—I forget, the line has been changing....

**Shri U. M. Trivedi** (Mandsaur): Why not the 1956 line?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The June formula was different—we withdraw and they withdraw—they have changed so many times. I make it very simple that they leave every inch of our territory in Ladakh, in NEFA, in the U.P. border, in the Bihar border, in the Himalayan border—I do not know, we do not know yet, perhaps we are in the dark still. We want every inch of our territory should be cleared of the last Chinese soldier. They must address themselves to this mighty task for which many things have got to be done, for which we offer our fullest co-operation.

Yesterday, the Prime Minister emphasised,—rightly emphasised—the importance of agriculture and industry. May I also add that, in this connection, we must pay some attention to the Information and Broadcasting apparatus of the Government? In agriculture, perhaps, it is a bit too late just now. It could have been done earlier. That is, the system in Israel could have been adopted. It is a small country. On the borders, they have got Kibbutzim and Moshavim, collective farms and co-operative farming where the *kisans* do

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

both the duties, cultivation plus defence. Every kisan in the border is armed. We may perhaps adopt it. Perhaps, in the emergency we may adopt it in those areas that are still un-occupied by the Chinese. They might examine this. Hardy kisans could be settled in the border and they could be given guns. They could also do the farming.

About Information and Broadcast- ing, I am sorry to say that the Minis- try has not yet woken up to the emergency. I do not want to say more. I say this much with confi- dence, with responsibility that the Information and Broadcasting appa- ratus is not still functioning in a spirit of emergency. What is the difficulty? I will give one or two instances. What is the difficulty in broadcasting, instead of light film songs and other songs, marching songs, patriotic songs which were in use in Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's I.N.A., songs like 'kadam kadam badhaya ja' and others? The Deputy Minister of Railways Shri Shah Nawaz Khan knows very well. The Government must infuse a spirit. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose called that spiritual training, not in the *adhyatmic* sense, but putting spirit into men and officers. They can be usefully adopt- ed in this crisis—every day one song or the other, so that the whole nation will spiritually march in this war effort. May I suggest in all humility that stamps in commemoration of the services of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, the great war time leader, should be issued now? His portrait along with Mahatma Gandhi's and along with the Prime Minister's—they were the big three of the National movement—should be exhibited almost in every place, everywhere in the country. All these three leaders' portraits should be exhibited in order to enthuse and inspire the people.

May I also suggest that civil defence programme is very important? I am told that civil defence has been taken up in Assam. But, in Delhi,

wherever I go, I do not see the at- mosphere of war emergency, except that the people give money and bangles and golden jewellery. I do not know why. People go about their task as if nothing is happening in the front far off, though it is a modern war and though the front line is far off, it may also affect us. Therefore, I would suggest that three things should be adopted almost at once, in different degrees. That is very neces- sary. In every mohalla, in every town, in every city, it is very neces- sary to start training first-aid volun- teers. First aid is one thing. Second- ly, we must have fire fighting pro- grammes. Fire-fighting appliances should be taught to all the people. We must have vigilance squads in every town, in every village, in every big bazaar to see that hoarders and profiteers do not take undue advant- age of this terrible calamity of the nation.

One or two things I have suggested. I come to the revenue raising part of the programme. The Government wants money, wants financial resour- ces. We are faced with the total mobilisation of the national resources, material, physical, psychological, emotional. Financially, is it not pos- sible, is it not desirable, is it not necessary that at this time of emer- gency, the Government seriously con- sider whether prohibition should con- tinue in force? If prohibition is lifted,—I make it clear for the dura- tion of the emergency, not for ever—for the duration of the emergency, immediately, Rs. 200 or 300 crores every year will be available to the Government. May I also suggest this? In the last few weeks, we have seen what spontaneous outflow of good- will and affection there has been for the Prime Minister and his Govern- ment. Can you not capitalise on that? And is it not possible to im- pose a very very negligible duty. . . . (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. By his suggestion to lift prohibition, people have become impatient. . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** They are happy; they seem to be happy.

**Mr. Speaker:** But prohibition is still there, and, therefore, surely, hon. Members ought to remain silent.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** They feel happy.

Does the House apprehend that if the Government imposes a very slight and trifling duty on—I say it with great trepidation—salt, for the duration of the emergency only, the people would oppose it? The people will welcome it. The people would understand it and appreciate it. Perhaps, then they may not like to go to either the State Bank or any other bank. They will give them enough revenue in this way.

In the end, I would refer to our relations with China. The Prime Minister has always held, had held, when I saw him on the 20th October, soon after these reverses and when I put this question to him, he said that the time had not come for severance of diplomatic relations with China. I join issue with him on this point. I feel now that there is no useful purpose which can be served by continuing our relations or diplomatic ties with China. But if we cannot do that, I insist, and the whole House will insist that severe curbs and restrictions must be imposed on Chinese diplomatic personnel in Delhi, in Calcutta, in Kalimpong and wherever else they may be in India, and no time should be lost in imposing those curbs.

I find from the papers that the Bank of China has been closed, and rightly it has been closed. It was high time that it was closed. But I find from the papers that the movements of only Chinese citizens have been restricted. I do not know whether the movements of Chinese diplomatic personnel have been restricted; if they have not been restricted, then they should be restricted very soon. Along with that, the publications that are being brought

out by the Chinese Embassy, such as *China Today* and one other thing should be banned; it is not that every copy should be examined and banned, but the publication of any pamphlet by the Chinese Embassy should be banned.

There is just one more point, and I have done. Our relations with our South-East Asian neighbours have not been as strong as they should be; they may have been happy but not as strong as we would have liked them to be; because of our past weak-kneed policy towards China, they have lost confidence in us that India can come to their succour in any difficulty. Now, it is high time to again approach them, and if I may use that hackneyed word, woo our South-East Asian neighbours, so that we can again build a mighty front against this rushing tide of communism.

The Himalayas are not today a physical barrier; they are not a physical mountain. They are an ideological frontier between democracy and communism. The eternal snow-capped sentinel of our sages, of our *munis*, of our *rishis*, or in the language of our poet Rabindranath Tagore, “अम्वर कुंबित भाल हिमाल” that Himalaya is now the dividing line between democracy and communism. And this communist conspiracy, the international communist conspiracy must be scotched on the heights, not at the foot-hills of the Himalayas.

The heart of the nation is sound. The heart of the Indian nation and the Indian people is sound. They are only asking for a strong, determined, courageous and dedicated leadership. When Gandhiji was with us, when Netaji was with us, and when Nehruji was marching shoulder to shoulder with those two great leaders, did not the nation respond? What was the secret of that? It was leadership, and again, leadership. And if that leadership is forthcoming in abundant measure, I have no doubt in my mind that the people will respond and give all that they have, even their lives. Leadership must rise to the occasion, and give that kind of leadership to

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

this country. I hope that the Prime Minister who has done so much in the past for the country, worked and fought for the country in the company of Mahatmaji and Netaji, now after having streamlined his Cabinet, after having reshuffled his Cabinet to some extent—he may do a little more—should rise to the occasion and give such leadership to the Indian people, the men and women and children of this country, of this vast land. If that is done, then, as was said by one of the Sikh gurus in a different context, “सवा लाख से एक लड़ाऊँ” our forty crores of Indians will be more than a match for the seventy crores of Chinese in their country, and we will drive them back. There is no doubt about that. I am sure about that. If that is forthcoming, under God with hope and faith, the nation will march undaunted, and avenge our reverses, avenge those defeats of the past, the shame and humiliation of the past few weeks, and will go on marching not merely to victory in war, but to a victorious peace, and that I am sure will come within the life-time of this very Parliament. I am sure of that, and we shall all acclaim the victorious peace. Jai Hind!

**Shri Mahtab (Angul):** I have listened to the speeches of the spokesmen of all the Opposition Groups since yesterday, and I have thought within myself which points they were making out either for carrying out a policy or as the criticism. I am dividing all those speeches into two parts, first, their criticisms, and then their suggestions.

So far as the criticisms are concerned, man of them have criticised the Government on two points, firstly, unpreparedness, and secondly trusting China. So far as unpreparedness goes, I think that the very fact that there is a basic difference between the character of India and that of China has been ignored. The basic difference is that while China happens to be a totalitarian country, India happens to be a democratic country. No democratic country in

the past has ever remained prepared for war in all circumstances. On the contrary, it is the way of the totalitarian countries to be prepared for war and to invade the democratic countries who wake up later on after the invasion. The experience of the last war has shown that it was the Fascist countries that took the lead and had initial victories and the democratic countries later on woke up and defeated the Fascist countries. Here too, a similar situation has arisen.

India and China came to their own almost at the same time. When India became free, almost at the same time, China got the so-called people's rule. China began to build herself as a Power-State; she tried to build up her military power. Here, in India, we declared ourselves as a socialist and welfare State. I think there was no opposition from any quarter to India's efforts to build herself up as a welfare State. On the contrary, this decision of India was hailed in all quarters. The criticism was made then, and it has been made for so long that India is not made sufficiently a welfare State as the leaders and Government profess. If you study the election manifestoes of the different political parties during the last general elections, you will find that criticism of the Government has been on the score that Government are not doing welfare work as much as they profess. That is the criticism which has been made. No criticism has ever been made that India was not building up her military strength. But, all the while, China was building up her military strength. So, that is the initial difference. So, to criticise now and say that India did not prepare herself for war, I think, is not justified. It is not possible for any democratic country to prepare for war and to remain prepared for war always. Had this suggestion been made by anybody or had Government attempted to build India as a military State, I think, that would have been rejected by the people outright. Therefore, the criticism on the ground that India was not



prepared for war is not justified. It is true that India was not prepared for war and I feel it was proper that she was not prepared for war; in fact, no country should be prepared for war, if it believes in democracy. Otherwise, there will be no democracy.

Coming to the second point about China, I agree that the mistake that was committed was this, that Chinese communism was taken very seriously. If one studies the history of China, one can easily see that China has always been expansionist. It has never been contented within its own boundaries. Historically, it is not correct to say that China has crossed the Himalayas and invaded India for the first time. On the contrary, in the past, there have been many invasions. Parts of Burma, parts of North India came under China. Tibet marched into China, and China has invaded Tibet many a time before. That is the character of China, and that has been the trait of Chinese character from the beginning of history. In spite of the exchange of saints between India and China, China has always been an invading country. There is no doubt about it. That is the character of China. If we study the history of the conduct of the Chinese communists in the Cominform, we will find that they have behaved in a particular way all along. They have used communism for their own purposes. Therefore, we cannot blame communism as a whole for the present situation. Of course, one can use any ideology for one's own purpose. But if we dispassionately study the situation, we find that the Chinese have used communism for their own aggressive purposes, as they always have done. This is not the first time that Tibet has been overrun by China. Many times in the past Tibet had been overrun by China. Sometimes Tibet also had overrun China. This happened in the past, and it is happening now.

Reference has been made to the recent invasion of Tibet by China

and India's attitude then. Here I must refer to the history as it is, so that there may be no confusion about it. What did the British do? They kept Tibet under their control; and they controlled China through Tibet. That was their policy. After the Chinese war in the middle of the 19th century, it was the British who brought China under control. They controlled China through Tibet. If India had attempted that, she would have had to keep Tibet as a weak country. If Tibet is powerful, then also the northern border is in danger. Therefore, there is no point in criticising the attitude of India at the particular time. To expect that the Machiavellian or Chanakya theory of keeping neighbours always weak would be adopted is a different matter altogether. But democratically speaking, we have to be prepared for all kinds of contingencies. This contingency has arisen. Unexpectedly, practically a war is being waged against us. Therefore, we should prepare ourselves now. There is no good making much of reverses which are inevitable in the initial stages for a democratic country. This happened in the last war. This has always happened so far as democratic countries go. To make much of reverses at this juncture only a few days after the invasion will not be helpful in any way in the furtherance of the war efforts.

Another point made was about trusting China. Nobody trusts anybody in the world permanently. In spite of all watchfulness, in spite of guards all round and the police, burglaries, thefts and dacoities take place. You just cannot eliminate these things. You cannot keep awake the whole night and see that no thief enters your house, because you are not trusting anybody. Similarly, this was normal political trust which India reposed in China; it was not that kind of trust, from the spiritual or moral point of view. To go about saying that we do not trust anybody is not

[Shri Mahtab]

always practical politics. So far as India's policy is concerned, I think it has worked very satisfactorily so far. Whenever any occasion arises, as the present one has arisen, we have to meet that situation. I agree that Chinese communism should not have been taken so seriously. We thought that China had become really communist. But it has not. The old China continues. I want to make that distinction.

We are talking of international communism. We have seen that communism takes the shape of the nationality where it is contained. This has happened everywhere. Therefore, communist countries go their own way according to their own national interests as the democratic countries go. We should not club all Communist countries together.

But the point is that all of us are agreed—this has been expressed by everybody—that efforts must be made for a total war against China. There is no doubt that that China is a permanent danger. It was made clear time and again by the Prime Minister that the Chinese trouble is a perpetual trouble, which is not going to be solved in a year or two or a few years. Then what has to be done? That is the question.

Therefore, it is a question of defence. I must refer to this question because in the past we did not pay sufficient attention to defence, not the Government only but the public also. We thought that the problem did not exist. During the British period, they had what is known as the defence periphery. They located the defence of India on the one side in Suez and on the other at Singapore. So far as the north was concerned, they located it in Tibet. They did so because it was an imperialist country. A democratic country cannot think in terms of that kind of defence periphery. So the mind has to be applied to some other kind of defences.

This is a long-range programme to build up India's defence. If we consider the defence arrangements of the USSR or USA, we see that they have located their defence peripheries at a long distance from their countries. Whether that is feasible for us and whether for that purpose agreement should be arrived at with other countries is a separate question altogether quite unconnected with the present situation. So far as the present situation goes, efforts should be made for an all-out war against China. There should be no double-thinking—this expression has been used and I am repeating it—on that score.

Yesterday, my esteemed friend, Shri Frank Anthony, suggested some measures. But I do not think they will help us to win the war. If at all we desire to win the war within the shortest possible time, some other efforts should be made. The basis of that effort will be the building up of the morale of the people. We know what happened during the last world war. India was very much in the midst of that war. We can easily compare the national discipline of other democratic countries and that of our country. We know our strength and our weaknesses. Here we must try to correct those weaknesses. War conditions bring forth the baser instincts of human beings. Profiteering, blackmarketing—these occur during the war and during scarcity. Let us imagine ourselves as engaged in a total war for years. Popular enthusiasm which has displayed itself now must be sustained. The administration should be put on a war gear so that there will be no peacetime bottlenecks in the execution of policies. Then again, there will be scarcity of consumer goods. There will be controls. Then profiteering and blackmarketing will start. These things happened during the last war in India.

So let us all try to develop national discipline. Otherwise, it may so

happen that the inequality which has developed now will be much more as war goes on and on. That is inevitable against such a situation. From expenditure by Government the upper sections try to take advantage of the situation and the people lower down suffer. Therefore, let us guard ourselves against such a situation. From now on, it should be clearly stated and publicised that people should be prepared for all inconveniences. It is easy for people who can afford to subscribe to the Defence Fund, to pay in cash or gold. But to suffer from inconveniences will be much harder. It is not so easy to put up with inconveniences. Therefore, strict national discipline has to be organised and inculcated from now on. Otherwise, we might find ourselves in great difficulties. Even after the war is over, we will find ourselves in many economic complications. This has happened in other countries; it may happen here also.

Another thing is that the administration should be put on a war gear. Let me cite an example—it is happening. Appeals have been made to the youths to enrol themselves in N.C.C. As soon as that is done, money should be provided for the colleges to take in these cadets in the N.C.C. Arrangements should be made for training them. If this does not take place, naturally there will be queues for registration but no register will be maintained and people will go away disappointed. That situation might arise.

Everything should be put on tiptoe condition, in such a way that there should be no difficulty at any stage.

I know difficulties have arisen with regard to the deposit of gold and payment of money to the Defence Fund. For that simpler methods have to be devised. I am sure all these things will be done in course of time. It is very heartening indeed to see that all of us feel that such a situation has arisen and that we are going to meet it.

I may be excused for mentioning one unfortunate thing. This situation is being made use of for settling old inter-party feuds, and giving expression to inter-party differences. That should not happen now. All of us are agreed that a situation has arisen, and here is a Government, there is no question or doubt, which alone can lead us to success. That being so, whatever criticism is made is just as a sort of complaint, as far as I understand. So, we should not make use of this for our party activities till the emergency is over. The concern of all political parties should be the furtherance of the war, and the implications of that war effort should be clearly and precisely stated so that each party, each individual, knows what it or he should do to further the war effort. The Prime Minister has said that the farmer contributes to the war effort by cultivating well. Similarly, instead of merely saying in a general way, it should be clearly defined for all. Particularly in an undeveloped and poor country like India, total war can be fought only with that kind of organisation. Success depends upon human energy, brain and money. So the human energy has to be organised. We say that China has a greater population than India. I do not think the population works so much in this. It is really the organisation which works. China was a big country even long ago but it was not organised and so it was weak. Now it is organised, and so it is strong. They have made use of the communist machinery for organisation. Therefore we should be organised in such a manner that the mere strength of the population will not matter much. China has invaded India many a time before and has failed. This time also she will fail, there is no doubt about it.

It has been repeatedly said that we must drive out the last of the Chinese invaders from our territory. But perhaps that will not be enough. We should take steps to see that this does not recur in future. We should have recourse to some international under-

[Shri Mahtab]

standing to see that China is contained within its own limits; that the expansionist tendency of China is checked by some international control. Otherwise, China is likely to do the same thing again. We cannot always have a strong military defence, a million strong, on the northern border to guard against China. There should be some international check against this kind of unprovoked and massive attack. However, that is for the future. But today all our efforts should be directed against one thing, the winning of the war at any cost.

**Shri A. P. Jain** (Tumkur): All through history, and may I say up till recently, the defence policy of India has been governed by the fundamental principle that the Himalayas are guarding our northern frontiers. If we look at the history before the British, Alexander crossed the northern border and then the battle for the defence of India was fought in the plains of the Indus. There have been three battles fought on the plains of Panipat. It was only the British who adopted a somewhat new strategy, namely of building their checkposts, their defence posts, in the Himalayas.

We have been following the same policy, and particularly in the eastern border we never felt that China was going to attack India on a mass scale. Today a situation has arisen when we must change our strategy. The mass attack by the Chinese on the eastern frontier has made it clear that India stands in need of a revision of the old policy. We must now prepare ourselves to fight in the high altitudes of the Himalayas, and for that purpose I suggest that a committee of some of the leading Generals, both in service and retired, should be set up to find out new plans for a fight in the high altitudes of the Himalayas.

In order to understand the real situation and prepare ourselves for the future war, we have first to understand what really are the objectives behind the attack of China. Is it be-

cause we have done something against China which has angered China and infuriated that country against us? I submit that all through our attitude towards China has been very friendly. India had entered into a pact with China recognizing the principles of the territorial integrity and of co-existence as far back as 1954. We have always supported the cause of China in the United Nations, that Communist China should be represented in the UNO. We have also settled the question of Tibet according to Chinese satisfaction. It therefore does not stand to reason that what China is doing today is due to anything that we have done in the past.

Then the question is one of territorial expansion. China had prepared maps in which it claimed about 50,000 square miles of Indian territory. Is China now fighting the battle in order to take 50,000 or a little more of our territory? I submit that can not be the reason. Of course, the Ladakh area has a certain strategic value for China, but so far as the other areas are concerned, they are mostly uninhabited, and even where they are inhabited, there is not much population. They are not of much value to China. We have, therefore, to go deeper to find the reasons why China has been behaving in this manner.

China has a faith in the inevitability of the third world war. China does not believe in the principle of co-existence. China has been always an expansionist country. China has been jealous of the growing importance of India. China has been jealous of the economic development of India, and it has therefore started upon this attack to humble India.

If proof of this were needed, there is ample evidence available. On the 27th October, the organ of the Communist Party named *Jenmin Jih Pao*, published a statement, which was translated by another Communist

Chinese agency, Hsinhua and also broadcast. That article makes a severe attack upon Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. They know what Jawaharlal Nehru means to India. They know what Jawaharlal Nehru means to the free world. They know what Jawaharlal Nehru means to democracy, and therefore they want to demolish Jawaharlal Nehru, and in that article, which explains the Chinese thinking of today, they have made a very severe attack upon Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Again, they have also made mention of the importance which India is gaining among the neighbouring countries, the influence which India is gaining among the neighbouring countries. The statement accuses Nehru of an attempt to establish an Indian sphere of influence in Asia that "would far surpass that of the colonialist system formerly set up in Asia by the British Empire". Indian ruling circles headed by Mr. Nehru, it says, have sought to control the economy and trade of countries around India and have demanded 'absolute obedience'. The article charges India of still being subject to imperialism. It says that imperialism still retains its economic strength in India and foreign capital is still in control of many plans of the economy. It accuses India of exploitation of the masses and says that the large-scale struggles waged by Indian workers and peasants in recent years illustrated the incessant sharpening of social contradictions within India and that in conflicts between the masses and the authorities, 3784 persons have been killed, 10,000 wounded and 50,000 jailed. Some leaders of the Communist Party who shared the Indian national point of view have been called quislings. Shri Dange is one of them.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** They announced it.

**Shri A. P. Jain:** Yes. These charges which come from one of the important organs of China make it clear that this war is not merely a military action but

it has social and political content behind it. Shri Kamath said this war was due to the communist conspiracy. The Chinese variety of communism is not the same as the Russian; China does not agree with Russia on the policy of co-existence. In fact when Russia withdrew its missiles from Cuba, China was critical of Russia; it wants a third world war. That is the approach of China. When Khrushchev avoided it, China was critical of him. I am not prepared to accept that this is as a result of any conspiracy between the communist countries. But China has been following the path of communism and wants by force to spread its variety of communism in the rest of Asia. Because India is one of the countries which has been withstanding it by adopting democratic means, China has started this attack on India.

We know that we are facing an unscrupulous enemy and that we must be prepared for a prolonged war in a territory for which we had not been prepared for the British strategy of war was never based on mountain warfare in the high altitudes and we were not prepared for it. We had put up some of the defence posts but we were not prepared for a big and full-scale war in those regions. During the course of his speech, my hon. friend Shri Dhebar gave some of the justifications as to why we suffered some reverses in our fight in the eastern sector. There is a defence line of about 1500 miles and the Chinese who are attacking that line have an advantage of choosing the weak points and making their onslaught. But this is nothing new. In all the wars the attacking country has an advantage against the attacked. For instance in the Second World War the Russians were called upon to defend a much longer defence line extending from Leningrad to Stalingrad; yet they did it. Even today when the nuclear weapons have taken the place of the old conventional weapons, when missiles can reach their targets within less than a minute, defences have been put up by coun-

[Shri A. P. Jain]

tries radars and signals have been established so as to meet the missiles and attack them, in less than a minute. Therefore, we can and we should prepare for the defence and we must be prepared for a prolonged war against an unpredictable enemy extending over a long line of defence. Maybe, in certain cases, at certain points we may meet with reverses but all over the line we must be able to meet the Chinese effectively and strongly.

Shri Ranga had attacked the policy of neutrality. He said Panchsheel had gone in the air. I was sorry to hear the strong attack which he made against our policy of neutrality, against panchsheel. What is the alternative? Should we say that co-existence should not be accepted as a principle in international affairs or that territorial integrity of the nation should not be observed? The principles underlined in panchsheel are permanent principles; we believe in them. There is a tragic similarity between the outlook of China which had flouted panchsheel after accepting it, and Shri Ranga who opposes those principles. These principles are good not only for India but for the rest of the world and I think it will be something tragic and sad if India had at any time to give them up. Fortunately, we are not going to do it.

He also said that he could not understand non-alignment. It is a term which has been very well understood. We are neither on the side of one bloc nor of the other bloc but we take the situations on the basis of certain principles of morality and well understood nationalism when the occasion arises. There is a much better understanding of our stand of neutrality all over the world and even countries like the United States and Great Britain which were at one time critical of our policy of neutrality realise today its efficacy much more. I happened to be in the United States only a few days ago and in the State Department, among the elites and also

the common people there is an appreciation of India's policy of non-alignment. Of course there are persons who would like India to join the western bloc with all its implications. As a neutral country India has been successful in bringing about compromises and settlements on many an occasion between different countries. India has yet to play an important role by remaining non-aligned. Sensible people, who understand international politics, feel that India has yet an important role to play by retaining its policy of non-alignment. In Great Britain the whole of the Labour Party supports India's policy of non-alignment and the majority of the Conservative Party also supports India's policy of non-alignment. It is clear from the fact that these countries have offered arms and other help they have imposed no other conditions. May I refer to a report in the Hansard in which Prime Minister Macmillan is reported to have said about India: "What they ask us to do to help them, we will do."

14 hrs.

Now, it is a noble gesture on his part. Englishmen have realised the realities and they do not want to impose any condition. The same is the attitude of both the State Department and the majority of the people in the United States. They know the righteousness of the Indian cause. They want to help India. They feel that India's case is not only that of India but of all the democracies. Therefore, it is for the democracies to give India all the help and in such a manner that India wants. They do not want to impose anything. They do not want to lay down any condition. But they want to give this unconditional help in the manner that India wants to. They have great respect for the attitude which India has taken in rejecting the Chinese offer of peace settlement. They feel that India was quite justified in rejecting the Chinese offer which was not based on the correct principle, for, the

Chinese offer was something like this: what is mine is mine; what is thine is subject to negotiation. Now, that is no offer. There was much greater appreciation and there was great appreciation of the alternative offer which Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made. That is, the parties should revert to the position as it existed prior to 8th September.

In fact, this was an offer which by itself is proof of India's peaceful approach and desire not to go to war, but to settle the things peacefully. No condition was imposed. In fact, we would have been fully justified in asking for some better guarantee in addition to reverting to the position which we occupied on the 8th September.

There is also a great appreciation for India's decision to buy the arms that we need on a commercial basis. There is no doubt that we are not prepared with arms. Modern battles are not fought with .303 guns. Those obsolete weapons were good enough for the 1914 war, but even in the latter part of the 1914 war, fast firing weapons came into vogue. The second world war was fought with tanks, with aeroplanes and with fast firing weapons such as bren guns, sten guns and machine guns. The future wars in the western world will not be fought even by the fast firing weapons. They will be nuclear warheads and rockets. So far as we are concerned, we want only fast firing arms. In the western world they are now obsolete weapons. There is any amount of them lying in store both in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America.

In our preparations we shall need many things. For instance, we shall need material for transport. It is a hilly country, and we will need saddles. There are large numbers of saddles available. We shall need Bailey bridges and also motor vehicles, trucks, etc., besides aeroplanes. All these things can be made available in any quantity from the western world and elsewhere. For com-

munications, we shall need walkie-talkies, loud-haulers and other instruments of electronic communication. We shall also need large supplies of tent hospitals and medicines, etc. For the hilly warfare, we shall need tanks and clothing, etc.

As regards weapons, it is quite clear that we require the fast firing weapons and sten guns, bren guns, machine guns, mortars and anti-aircraft guns. These things can be arranged for. The Indian soldier has been a brave soldier. He has fought in terrains where the soldiers of other countries in the world which enjoy more reputation could not fight successfully. The Indian soldiers, provided with proper type of arms, will be able not only to halt the Chinese but to drive them back.

There is also the question of the attitude that is adopted by some other countries. Many hard things have been said about Russia which, I think, are rather unfortunate. It is true that Russia has supported the Chinese peace offer of each party receding 20 kilometres from its present position. We do not like it. But then we should not forget that Russia was in a particular situation at that time. There was the Cuban crisis and Russia had to give consideration to Chinese sentiments and it did not want to quarrel too much with the Chinese at that time. Besides that, in spite of what has happened, Russia has not said anything condemning India or supporting the Chinese stand *vis-a-vis* India, namely, with regard to the attack. Therefore, the proper policy for us is not to make more enemies. We should not adopt a policy of only blacks and whites. There are also browns in the world. There are people who may be giving us active aid; there are people who could be neutralists, and there are people who will be opposed to us. We should not say things and adopt a policy and do anything which may provoke people who can remain brown and not become red. So far as Russia is concerned, at present, I do not see anything hostile in the attitude of Russia.

[Shri A. P. Jain]

There was a little hissing when Shri Jawaharlal Nehru referred to Russia as a friendly country.

**An. Hon. Member:** Are we getting weapons from Russia?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** Weapons have no ideology. If Russia gives us weapons, we should take them. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Weapons should not be taken up inside!

**Shri A. P. Jain:** Whether we depend upon Russia or not, we should not say things which may irritate Russia and which may throw Russia on the side of the Chinese. That is all I am saying. I do not say anything else. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us not say anything but only hear the hon. Member speaking.

**Shri A. P. Jain:** There is then the question of our attitude towards Pakistan. In Pakistan many things have been said which are regrettable. I saw in today's newspapers that **Gen. Ayub** has sent some communication to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in which he has expressed some friendly feelings. I do not know exactly the contents of that communication. We must be clear in our minds that towards Pakistan we should not take up an attitude which may be an irritating attitude.

As regards Pakistan, a great responsibility lies upon the United States of America. It was the United States of America which gave them jet planes; and atomic warheads, and when we objected to it, we were given an assurance that these weapons had been given not to be used against India but in order to combat the Soviet menace from the north. It is up to the United States of America to see that that understanding which they gave us is fulfilled and that Pakistan does not take any advantage of our involvement.

Sir, I am quite confident that the Indian soldier, properly equipped with modern arms, would be able to protect the frontiers of India. There has been a tremendous response from the public. There is no difference in this country. We all stand united; we all stand as one, consolidated and integrated as never before, and that is a great sign and an encouraging thing. There is hardly any difference of opinion. We are sure that with public support, with public enthusiasm and with the brave soldiery, we shall be able to combat this great threat on our eastern frontier.

Some amendments have been given by some hon. Members which generally place some limitations on the power of Government. Wars are not fought like that. During a war, you have to place complete trust in the men who are in charge of the affairs. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has taken the war preparations and the fighting in his hands. Every Indian has confidence in him. He has taken India ahead from stage to stage. He is the accredited leader. He enjoys the full faith of the country. So, I would request hon. Members who have given notice of amendments to withdraw them, because the war can be fought only by placing full trust in the leadership and by giving it full powers.

There is one part of the amendment of Dr. Singhvi where he has said:

"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 unflinching support to him in the hour of this national emergency for the defence and safety of our country."

I would suggest that this may be accepted by the Government and incorporated as a part of the main resolution, which will be formal expression of our faith and trust in the leadership.



**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members should realise that only leaders were entitled to 30 minutes. Other Members will have to take only 15 minutes, particularly the Congress Members, so that a larger number can be accommodated.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla** (Mahasamund): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the atmosphere in our country today is electrified. We are an awakened nation and whatever weaknesses we might have had in our national consciousness are fast disappearing.

14.13 hrs.

(MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*).

The inherent strength and unity of India is more in evidence today than at any other time since independence. The calibre of our people and of our soldiers has been proved to the hilt. Those people who were doubting the strength and character of our people today are full of praises for these qualities of our people. The Prime Minister has given such a tremendously inspiring lead to the country and to the people that we are reminded of those glorious days of Quit India movement of 1942.

Unfortunately, during this time of national emergency, some of the reactionary parties of our country, if I may say so, are trying to utilise this opportunity to question the very basis of our strength and progress. The Swatantra Party spokesman yesterday criticised planning. They call the Planning Commission a useless body. They even question the non-alignment policy of the Government, which is the greatest source of strength today in the world as far as we are concerned. The moral and physical support we are getting from all over the world is mainly because we have been able to follow our non-alignment policy in a proper and justified manner. These reactionary circles are also trying to get into our civil defence attempts and not with very good intentions. Their intention is mainly to decry the basic policies that our

Government and our nation have been following. I would request the House and the Government to be very careful about this matter.

About the communists, lots of things have been said. They have passed a very good resolution and their leader here made a very good speech. But the fact remains that it is a half-way house. There is no question of half-way house as far as this emergency in the country is concerned. Either they are fully with the Government in the war effort or they are not in it. A party which is divided within itself—some factions of the party supporting the Government and the other factions opposing it—cannot be trusted for any purpose in this country. They have to be taken on the same footing as the Chinese.

It is absolutely understandable when people begin to rave about past mistakes. Is this the time when we should criticise in this House what was done and what was not done in the past few years? The country today expects us to give a constructive lead and tell them what should be done and how we have to organise ourselves. This is the time for us to give a constructive and powerful lead and not engage ourselves in *post mortem*. That may be useful and a time will come for that; this is not the time when those things have to be done.

The PSP spokesmen have always adopted the attitude of "I told you so", "we have been warning about it" and so on. As a matter of fact, these things have been very well-known—what Mr. Kamath said. The Prime Minister himself has very clearly explained in his speech yesterday that we were prepared for all eventualities of a border clash, but a full-scale war was not even imagined by the PSP leadership or by anybody in this country. I have been carefully following the speeches and I do not remember anybody having said that they expected full-scale war to be launched by China on our country.

I would request the Government to be prepared for all eventualities, parti-

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

cularly for full-scale war. A full-scale war cannot be fought without a proper and strong air force. Air force is our utmost necessity. Apart from what we are doing to meet the present emergency short-term requirements of our army in regard to light weapons and infantry weapons, we should build up our air force. We cannot build up our air force in a few weeks or months. Unless we take proper steps to build up our air force, we will be again caught napping. If China, which is supposed to have one of the largest and strongest air forces in the world, launches a full-scale attack or when we launch our offensive, if they strike back with all their might and if we are again caught napping in this vital sector of air force, that will be disastrous. Therefore, I would request the Government to pay heed to this and build up our air force, which is extremely vital for our defence.

I would submit that nothing should come in the way of our securing the necessary war material. No ideology should be allowed to come in. We must go all out to secure the weapons of war from whatever sources and on whatever terms we can get them. It is not a question of any ideology or even money. The question is to provide our fighting forces with adequate weapons. It is a matter of the country's independence. It is not a question of giving up our principle. I do not want our country's honour, prestige or principle to be bartered away. But the weapons of war are available. We have just to ask for them. Apart from the short-term requirements of our armed forces, I have not yet seen any evidence of our having asked for anything else. We have to ask for tanks, fighter planes, interceptors, bombers, etc. We have to get them and train our people to operate them. We have to put their efficiency on a war footing. This must be done as soon as possible, because this contingency can arise at any time and our armed forces must have the necessary sense of security to fight

with a full heart.

The question of organising civil defence in our country is extremely important. Mr. Kamath touched upon it briefly. I must submit that to impart the necessary sense of urgency in our people, to give our peoples' efforts a sense of direction, this organisation of civil defence is extremely important. Apart from giving outlet to the people's energy and enthusiasm, it will provide a second line of defence. When the active people, the fire brigade and other such services are obliged to go over to the front, there must be another line ready to take their places. There must not be any confusion in case of any grave emergency or an all-out war breaking out. What we want is that there must be a plan ready for the essential services like sanitation, communication, water supply, electricity, fire brigade and all these things to be replaced by civilians at a moment's notice. It is not wise to wait for an all-out war to break out and then begin to prepare a plan for it. We must plan now and everybody must be told what they are expected to do in a particular contingency. Unless this is done, I am afraid there would be lot of confusion if an all-out war is broken loose on our country. We hear a lot of talk about all-out war and driving them up to Tibet etc. But those people who have talked about all-out war have not a single thing in their own area to organise civil defence. It is up to the Government and to our Prime Minister to give a lead to the nation on this as quickly as possible.

The question of air-raid precautions is also extremely relevant here. Literature must be prepared to tell the people how to save themselves in case of air-raids not only in the border areas where fighting is going on but even in the northern Indian regions near about. Literature must be prepared so that everybody knows about it. It will not create any panic in the country. These are necessary precautions that must be taken. All these

contingencies must be anticipated and we must be ready for all these things.

The brave talk of Jan Sangh Members and the Members belonging to the Swatantra Party reminds me of their role in 1942. At least some people of Madhya Pradesh whom I know were, during the 1942 movement, licking the boots of the British when our country was fighting the British imperialism and domination. These are the people who now come up and say that we must do this and do that.

**Shri Bade (Kharagone):** In 1942 there was no Jan Sangh at all.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** But the members belonging to Jan Sangh today were alive at that time. I am not talking of Jan Sangh or the Swatantra group today. They were all alive in 1942 and I remember the role that they played. I am sure this was the pattern all over the country. We cannot take them too seriously when they talk about a big war against China and show their patriotism here.

**Shri Maurya (Aligarh):** Such people are greater in number in your Congress.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** They have infiltrated into Congress from your ranks (*Interruption*).

Sir, I would like to appeal to the Government to conclude this session as early as possible. We want to go back to our constituency and work for the betterment of the nation and to organise civil defence. We must disperse from here as soon as possible, and I agree with what Shri Kamath has said that this session should be as short as possible, preferably only for a week.

**Shri Manoharan (Madras South):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on behalf of my party-D. M. K., to say some few words on Chinese aggression and our attitude towards it.

Very emphatically, categorically and spontaneously enough, the revered

leader of my party, Shri C. N. Annadurai, immediately after his release from the jail, through a statement has said that D.M.K. will strengthen the hands of the Prime Minister of India to drive out the Chinese forces from this soil. My leader has announced that D. M. K. is prepared to shed and donate blood, fund, sweat, tears and toil. On the top of it, he has assured the Government that D. M. K. will subordinate its interests to this noble cause and suspend our ideological agitation till the naked Chinese imperialism vacates from Indian territory.

I, with pleasure, would like to emphasise my leader's statement and assure to the House that we are ready to give our unqualified, unconditional support to the Government of India in this great purpose. Whatever might we have, that will be at the disposal of the Government of India.

Everyone knows, that India is on the brink of war and we are facing a sort of crisis which is unknown hitherto to this country. After independence, this is the first time in a sort of crisis which is unknown the history of India that the liberty of this country is at stage, and there is the President's Proclamation of Emergency and the Defence of India Ordinance. The danger is at sight, we are on the precipice of disaster; clouds of war are gathering round and the sword of Damocles may fall at any time.

Our complacency has received a rude shock; our deep slumber has been given a terrible kick. Now the country wakes up, wakes up eternally, and hereafter it will have no sleep, no rest, till the wicked, dirty, Chinese imperialism is ousted from India. Differences, sharp or petty, are thrown to the background in between parties as well as Government. The entire country is prepared itself to meet the onslaught of Chinese aggression.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, aggression in any form we condemn, because it is

[Shri Manoharan]

based on perverted mind it is usually associated with fear and inferiority complex. Aggression defies morality and denounces human values. The life-blood of aggression is expansionism. The lullaby of imperialism is aggression. It is a state of weak mind. Therefore, Sir, the present Chinese aggression is nothing but a reflection of the inherent weakness of the thinking calibre of the Peking Government.

Sir, it is well known, yesterday the Prime Minister also told this House, that India has been genuinely all along pleading and fighting for the cause of the People's Republic of China to be included in the world body—the United Nations Organisation. The reason stated by our Prime Minister was convincing. He said that our principle is that a country like China which is big in size and bulk in population should be included in the U.N.O. and then only the question of disarmament can be a reality. Further, the world body like the U.N.O. should have a representative colouring reflecting the shades of opinion all over the world, however bitter they might be.

India, all along, therefore, stands by its noble principles and conviction. Every year, unmindful of the results achieved, India has fought for China even at the risk of losing its friendship in western countries.

If my memory is correct, in 1956 Chou-En-lai, the Prime Minister of China paid a visit to India. A warm reception was given to him by India. "Hindi-Chini bhai bhai" had its origin from that time onwards. The friendly and intellectual fusion of these two countries of Asia delivered a notable, historic and beautiful child. The name of the child is *Panchsheel*. Events, unfortunately, took a different turn. Now the child is disowned by the Prime Minister of China. Putting it in another way, the two heroes of *Panchsheel* are our Prime Minister

and the Prime Minister of China. Naturally, our Prime Minister still remains a hero. Mr. Chou En-lai has turned himself a villain. Always the fate of a villain is obvious!

I only pity Mr. Chou En-lai. I should say this for, after having known the sincerity of India towards China, having understood the friendly attitude of India, having felt deeply the intimacy and democratic way of life of this country, the imperialistic design of China to invade India is the unkindest cut of all. With your permission, Sir, I accuse China unscrupulous, ungrateful, untrustworthy and, what more, uncivilised!

I am proud of thinking that in Asia, India is the only biggest democracy surviving. While our neighbours, big and small, have switched over to some other forms of government, India solidly remains democratic—thanks to the temperament of the people and the profound conviction of our Prime Minister.

Let us not fail to face facts. Now our democracy is in danger. Danger comes from China, which has been friendly some years back. We are of the opinion that the war is on ideological ground,—a war between democracy and imperialism. Imperialism is quite alien to our nature. It is quite despicable a dogma to be chewed and digested. It is a philosophy to be eschewed in toto. It is as outmoded a dogma as it is unnatural. Therefore, it cannot have roots anywhere in the world today. Unfortunately the decaying spirit of imperialism is raising its ugly head in China. We are certain, the last nail to the coffin of imperialism is going to be struck by us. I am only glad that China offers a good opportunity to this effect.

Day in and day out, propaganda carried on by China is heaping up. Much about valour, bravery, strength and immolation is repeatedly stressed by the People's Republic of China. But

such empty talks from Peking produce only laughter in me when I remember that their so-called might, bravery and military strength did not have any effect on Chiang kai-shek of Formosa. Fellows who do not have the guts to touch Formosa, a tiny island, are talking so much about strength. China could not touch Formosa because the American Seventh Fleet is there. The only language that the Government of China knows of, I think, is the booming of guns. They try to take advantage of peaceful countries like India.

As our Prime Minister rightly said, we accept the challenge and we have decided to catch the imperialist bull by the horns. No other way is left excepting to meet the situation. No country can be peaceful at the cost of its honour, as no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity and no man can be grateful at the cost of his self-respect. The self-respect of India is in danger. The chastity of India is placed under jeopardy. The honour of this land of democracy is in peril.

China, through its invasion of India which has pinned its faith to non-violence, peace, mutual understanding and spirit of toleration, has created irritation and the people of the world are led to believe that Marxism-Leninism is associated with the policy of expansionism and therefore it is incompatible with decency, dignity and all human values of mankind. Red China has now become a potential danger to the very ideology of communism itself.

Sir, the co-operation of D.M.K. is spontaneous. The moment my party leader exhorted our people to donate funds it was, and is, forthcoming. For donating blood thousands of young and energetic people are rushing. Our cine star M. G. Ramachandran, Member of the Legislative Council, Madras and also a member of my party's General Council, has donated Rs. 50,000 to the National Defence

Fund, and another Rs. 25,000 will be forthcoming very soon. Another cine star Mr. S. S. Rajendran, Member of the Legislative Assembly, Madras has donated Rs. 10,000 and his actress-wife has given Rs. 10,000 more for this fund. Our D.M.K. Members in the Assembly of Madras have announced their decision to donate a month's salary to the National Defence Fund.

With pleasure, let me announce on my party's behalf that we, the D.M.K. Members of Parliament, have decided to give a month's salary to this noble cause, however humble the amount might be.

Sir, let us channelise the present upsurge of our people in the right direction and conserve our energy for the fullest utilisation of the cause of peace, democracy and the victory of our country.

श्री मुञ्जफर हुसैन (मुरादाबाद) :  
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस ऐवान में, जब से हिन्दुस्तान की इस सरजमीन पर हिन्द और चीन का मसला छिड़ा हुआ है, मैं यह देख रहा हूँ कि मेरे तमाम अहबावे बतन अपनी तकरीरों में भी और अखबारात के जरिये से भी अपने अपने खयालात का इजहार कर रहे हैं। जहां तक उन के खयालात के इजहार का ताल्लुक है, स्वाह वह अखबारात के जरिये से हो या तकरीरों के जरिये से वह काबिले सताइश हैं और बेहतर हैं। लेकिन सोचना यह है कि इस नाजुक मौके पर, जबकि हमारे मुल्क के सामने इतना बड़ा खतरनाक मौका आ चुका है, क्या हमारी इन तकरीरों से, क्या सिर्फ अखबारी बयानात से फायदा हो सकता है, या हमें इस बुनियाद पर गौर करना है कि वह कौन से तरीकेकार अख्यार किये जायें जिनसे कि उन दूसरे दुश्मन मुमालिक का, जिन्होंने हमारी तरफ निगाहें उठाई हैं, हम मुकाबला कर सकें। जब हम इस मसले पर गौर करते हैं तो हमें यह सोचना पड़ेगा और यह कहना पड़ेगा

[मुजफ्फ : हुसैन]

कि इस मौके पर कुछ हमारी खामियाँ हैं, कुछ हमारे बाहिमी एख्तलाफात हैं, कुछ हमारे वह हंगामे हैं, जो हमने खुद अपने हाथों से अपने मुल्क के खिलाफ कर रखे हैं, जिन्होंने दूसरों को यह मौका दिया कि वह हमारे खिलाफ सोच सकें और कदम उठा सकें। अगर आज हमारे मुल्क में आपस में इत्हाद होता, इत्तफाक होता, बाहिमी एख्तलाफात न होते, हम खुद अपने हाथों से अपनी बुनियादों को खोखला न करते, तो दूसरों को यह मौका हासिल न होता।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आज तो इत्हाद है ?

दूसरे माननीय सदस्य : जिहाद है, इत्हाद कहाँ ?

श्री मुजफ्फर हुसैन : जब हमारे मुल्क के वकार का सवाल पैदा हो चुका है तब इस सिलसिले में हमें सोचना है, समझना है, आपस में सर जोड़ कर कि उन तमाम एख्तलाफात को, चाहे वह हमारे एक्त्सादी मामलात से ताल्लुक रखते हों चाहे वह हमारे मजहब और मिल्लत से ताल्लुक रखते हों, हमें नजरअन्दाज कर के सर जोड़ कर बैठना है और सोचना या समझना है कि हम दूसरे मुमालिक का मुकाबला कैसे कर सकते हैं।

इस सिलसिले में जहाँ तक मैंने जायजा लिया है, मेरा यह ख्याल है, यह भी हो सकता है कि वह गलत हो, लेकिन मैं इस सिलसिले में अपनी राय का इजहार जरूर कहूँगा कि हमारे मुल्क में आये दिन जो हंगामे होते रहते हैं या जो हमारे आपस के एख्तलाफात रूनुमा होते हैं उन्होंने दूसरे मुमालिक को इस बात पर उकसा दिया कि जिस कौम के अन्दर, जिस मुल्क के अन्दर मुख्तलिफ किस्म के एख्तलाफ हो सकते हैं, जबकि एक दूसरे के जहन और एक दूसरे के दिल नहीं मिल सकते हैं, और नहीं मिले हुए हैं, उस मौके पर उन

को कामयाबी मिल सकती है। हालांकि यह उनका खाम खयाल है, यह उनकी समझ का फेर है, और वह अपनी इस समझ में यकीनन नाकाम होकर रहेंगे और नाकामयाब हैं, वह इससे फायदा नहीं उठा सकते। हम एक जगह रहते हैं, हम में आपस में एख्तलाफात भी होंगे, इत्तफाक भी होगा, लेकिन कभी भी इससे दूसरे मुमालिक नाजायज फायदा नहीं उठाने पायेंगे और न वह उठा सकते हैं।

हम को भी यह सोचना है कि यहां पर यह जमहूरी हुकूमत है, इस में हिन्दू हों, सिख हों, मुसलमान हों, ईसाई हों, थोड़ा हिस्सा हो या ज्यादा हिस्सा हो, बहरहाल हर शख्स को यहां इत्मीनान और मुकून की जिन्दगी बसर करने का हक है और वह रह सकता है। जहाँ तक हमारे मुल्क के वकार का और उस के तहफुज का सवाल है, मैं हिन्दुस्तान के सारे मुसलमानों की तरफ से, हुकूमत और ऐवान को जिम्मेदाराना हैसियत से यकीन दिला चुका हूँ।

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav: Are you a representative of Muslims alone?

श्री मुजफ्फर हुसैन : मैं अपने मुल्क के वकार के लिये बड़ी से बड़ी कुर्बानी देने के लिये तैयार हूँ। आप का हम पर ऐतमाद हो या न हो, वह आप जाने और आप का काम जाने, लेकिन जहाँ तक हमारे मुल्क के वकार का सवाल है, इस सिलसिले में हम कभी यह नहीं देखेंगे कि कौन आ रहा है, अपना है या बंगाना चूँकि हमारे मुल्क का तहफुज हमारे लिये जरूर है, इसलिए हम इस सिलसिले में बड़ी से बड़ी कुर्बानी देने के लिये तैयार हैं।

हां, इस सिलसिले में मैं एक बात जरूर कहूँगा, और जिस को बहुत अफसोस से कहूँगा। वह यह कि आज आये दिन शहरों और देहातों में जो चन्दे की स्कीमें जारी की गई हैं, कि तुम इतने कम्मल दो, तुम फटे मोजे दो, तुम फटे स्वैटर दो, इस किस्म की जो

बीजों की जा रही हैं यह किसी हृद तक हमारे मुल्क के वकार के लिये काबिले अफसोस है क्योंकि इस का ऐलान प्राये दिन रेडियो पर होता रहता है और इस की इत्तिलायें गैर मुल्कों में जरूर पहुंचती होंगी। वह क्या समझते होंगे कि जब कि एक मुल्क की सरहद पर झड़प भी सीधी शुरू नहीं हुई, जो कि बड़ा मुल्क कहलाता है, उस को दूसरों के दरवाजों को देखना पड़ गया। फटे कम्बलों के लिये, तो जब बकायदा जंग छिड़ गई तब क्या होगा। इस मौके पर बजाय इस के कि हम इस किस्म की अपीलें करें, हमें चाहिये कि जो बिड़ला, जो टाटा, जो फैक्ट्रियां और कम्पनियां हुकूमत की नवाजिश से करोड़ों रुपया अपनी तिजोरियों में भर चुके हैं, उन्हें तलब किया जाय, उन को हुकम दिया जाय कि वह सारा सामान तैयार करें और हमारे बहादुर सिपाहियों को भेजें ताकि वे सरहदों पर बकायदा तीर पर चीनियों का मुकाबला कर सकें। और हमारी हुकूमत का वकार भी अपनी जगह पर कायम रह सके।

इस सिलसिले में मैं यह भी कहूंगा कि जहां तक अरवाम का तल्लुक है उन पर सेल्स टैक्स और तरह तरह के दूसरे टैक्स लगे हुए हैं और इस से उन के ऊपर बहुत बड़ा भार है। लेकिन इन तमाम जेरबारियों के वावजूद जब भी मुल्क के लिये कुरबानी देने का मौका आता है इन्होंने कुर्बानी दी है और दे रहे हैं।

एक बात, मैं अपनी फौज के मुतालिक भी कहना चाहता हूं। पहले जो हुकूमतें रहीं, चाहे वह अंग्रेजी हुकूमत हो, या हिन्दू हुकूमत हो या मुस्लिम हुकूमत हो, वे फौजें रखती थीं और रियासतों में भी अपनी अपनी फौजें होती थीं। उन फौजों में उन कौमों के नौजवान भरती किये जाते थे जिन के नस्ली इम्तियाजात् मालूम थे, जिन के बारे में मालूम था कि वे बहादुर कौम हैं जैसे राजपूत, ठाकुर,

या जाट, या मुसलमान, या सिख। इस किस्म के नौगों में से सिपाही भरती किये जाते थे जिन में हिम्मत और जांबाजी होती थी। उन के बारे में कहा जा सकता था कि वे जान ले सकते हैं और जान दे सकते हैं। इन बातों की काफी तफतीश करने के बाद उन को भरती किया जाता था और उस के बाद वह महाज पर जा कर बहादुरी दिखाते थे और कामयाबी हासिल करते थे। लेकिन आप मुझे माफ फरमायेंगे यह कहने के लिये कि आज जो लोग फौज में नौकर हैं उन में से बहुतों को ठीक से चलने का सलीका नहीं मालूम, बन्दूक उठाने का तरीका नहीं मालूम। मैं इस खुशफहमी में नहीं पड़ना चाहता कि कि हमारे पास चालीस लाख या चाली करोड़ फौज है, लेकिन देखना यह है कि उनमें कितनी हिम्मत है . . . .

**एन माननीय सदस्य :** जरूर है।

**श्री मुजफ्फर हुसैन :** आप सही कहते हैं। आप ऐसा कह सकते हैं। आप को यह कहने का हक हासिल है। मैं भी यह कहता हूं लेकिन जिन लोगों को आप ने रखा है उन में ऐसे बराये नाम हैं। अक्सरियत ऐसे लोगों की है जो सही मानों में नहीं लड़ सकते। लिहाजा ऐसे मौके पर ऐसे लोगों की भरती की जाये जैसे राजपूत हैं, जाट हैं, सिख हैं, मुस्लिम हैं, जो ऐसे नाजुक मौके पर बड़ी से बड़ी कुर्बानी दे सकते हैं और मुल्क को दूसरे के हमले से बचा सकते हैं . . . . .

**श्री बड़े :** जो हमारी मिलिटरी लड़ रही है उस के बारे में ऐसा बोलना ठीक नहीं है कि उस में ऐसे लोग हैं जो कायर हैं या जो लड़ नहीं सकते। यह कहना ठीक नहीं है। उन्होंने ने अभी हिन्दी में यही कहा कि फौज में जो लोग हैं उन में ऐसे लोग हैं जो बराबर लड़ नहीं सकते, बन्दूक नहीं उठा सकते। ऐसी बातें उन्होंने ने कहीं। इस को रिकार्ड से एक्सपंज कर देना चाहिये।

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** This shall be expunged.

**श्री मुजफ्फर हुसैन :** मेरे कहने का मतलब यह नहीं था। मेरा मतलब तो यह था कि इस वक़्त जितनी भरती की जाये वह उन कौमों में से की जाये जिनमें हिम्मत हो और कुर्बानी देने का जज़्बा हो चाहे वह राजपूत हों, जाट हों, सिख हों या मुस्लिम हों।

**श्री शिव नारायण :** (बांसी) : पाइंट आफ़ आर्डर (*interruptions*)

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** आर्डर आर्डर।  
Let us hear the point of order.

**श्री शिव नारायण :** मेरे मित्र कहते हैं कि राजपूत, ठाकुर, सिख, जाट और पठान ही अच्छे सिपाही हो सकते हैं। मैं इस बात को चैलेंज करता हूँ। उन्होंने ने इनमें हरिजनों का नाम नहीं लिया। मैं ने फाइनैन्स बिल पर बोलते हुए कहा था कि आवश्यकता पड़ने पर मैं एक करोड़ हरिजनों को शोकवा सकता हूँ। हमारे भाई ने कहा कि हमारे सिपाही बन्दूक नहीं चला सकते, उन को ऐसा नहीं कहना चाहिये।

**श्री मुजफ्फर हुसैन :** मैं हुकूमत को घोखे में नहीं रखना चाहता। कहने को आप चाहे कुछ भी कह सकते हैं लेकिन मुल्ला की अंजान में और जाहिद की अंजान में फर्क होता है। आप इन लोगों को मैदान में जाने दें तो आप को मालूम होगा कि कौन ज्यादा कुर्बानी दे सकता है। (*interruptions*) पहली हुकूमतें कोई बेवकूफ नहीं थीं जो खास कौमों को फौज में भरती करती थीं। ये लोग बड़ी से बड़ी कुर्बानी दे सकते थे और देने के लिये तैयार रहते थे अपने मुल्क की हिफाजत के लिये।

**श्री बाल्मीकी (खुर्जा) :** आप के जो ब्यालात हैं व कौमी मुहब्बत पर मबनी नहीं हैं। इन से कौम के इतिहाद को घक्का पहुँच सकता है। हर कौम बहादुर हो सकती है और मुल्क के लिये कुर्बानी दे सकती है।

**श्री राम सेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) :** इन्हीं कौमों ने तो पिछले डेढ़ हजार साल तक कौम की और मुल्क की हिफाजत की थी। कैसा हिफाजत की थी, बार २ गुलाम बनना पड़ा।

**श्री रामेश्वर नन्द :** (करनाल) : एक आदमी जो हल चलाता है उस को अगर आप दुकानदारी का काम सौंप देंगे तो वह दिवाला निकाल देगा। जो लड़ने का काम करते रहे हैं उन को ही फौज में लेना चाहिये।

**श्री मुजफ्फर हुसैन :** इस सिलसिले में मैं यह अजें कर दूँ कि जहाँ तक हमारे मुल्क के तहफुज का सवाल है हमें बजाय अवाम से चन्दा मांगने के और मोजे और सुटर मांगने के बड़ी फैक्टरियों को कहना चाहिये कि वे तमाम चीजें तैयार करें जो हम जवानों के लिये भेज सकें और जिन से वे सरदी से बच सकें। हम को चन्दा जमा करने के बजाय बड़े बड़े लोगों, जैसे डालमिया, बिड़ला वगैरह की तिजोरियों पर कब्जा करना चाहिये और उन से कहना चाहिये कि तुम दो। आज इस बात का रेडियो से एलान किया जाता है कि एक बूट पालिश वाले ने दो रुपये दे दिये या इतनी रकम दे दी। मैं नहीं कहता कि बूट पालिश करने वाला न दे, लेकिन इसका एलान करने से मुल्क के वकार में फर्क आता है। मैं कहता हूँ कि न सिर्फ बूट पालिश करने वाला बल्कि हर शख्स दे, लेकिन इस का एलान करना ठीक नहीं है। इस से मुल्क का वकार कम होता है।

**श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) :** इस से वकार बढ़ता है।

**श्री मुजफ्फर हुसैन :** वकार गिरता है। आप को गलतफहमी है। ऐसा करने से दूसरे मुल्क समझते हैं कि हमारा मुल्क भूखा नंगा है, वह अपने सिपाहियों को कपड़े भी नहीं दे सकता। अगर देना ही है तो सारे मेम्बर अपनी तनख्वाहें दे दें।



श्री बागड़ी : सिर्फ तनख्वाह ही नहीं और भी सब कुछ देगे ।

श्री मुजफ्फर हुसैन : हर शख्स को अपने ख्यालात का इजहार करने का हक है । आप इस खुराफहमी में रहना चाहते हैं तो रहें । इस सिलसिले में आप और भी एलान करें तो मुझे कतई एतराज नहीं, लेकिन जहां तक मेरी राय का ताल्लुक है मैं कहूंगा कि इस से मुल्क के बकार में फर्क आता है और इस से दूसरे मुल्क हमारा मजाक उड़ायेंगे कि यह मुल्क नंगा और भूखा है, इस के पास अपने सिपाहियों को सामान देने के लिये पैसा नहीं है । मैं कहता हूं कि जो बड़े पूंजीपति हैं उन से आप लीजिये और इस काम में लगाइये ।

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the hon. Prime Minister in his speech made a masterly analysis of the present situation. His analysis could not be improved upon. He said that we are at the turning point of human history. It is not only the question of Indian history but the questions of Asian and World history that are involved. The enemy is of massive strength and of cruel and crude behaviour according to the hon. Prime Minister. All the parties in this House have unanimously supported the leadership of the hon. Prime Minister. It is hardly necessary for me to say that this is an occasion when we have to see that our patriotic fervour does not wound the feelings of any party or any individual, but inspires every party and every individual to greater and greater action. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has made a call to the country and has given a nine point programme. The last item in the programme is that no party should take advantage of the situation for party purposes. I say in all humility that it applies mostly to Congressmen. Though we are in Government, though we run the Government in all the States, we should not presume as though patriotism is our monopoly

and responsibility is our monopoly. Here is an occasion for every one of us to see that every individual acts in tune and to the occasion.

So far as the Communist party is concerned, I pay my humble compliment to the brave band of people, who might have been in a minority, who had the courage to differ from the tenets of international communism because of the occasion that has arisen. Instead of giving them a helping hand, if you go on suspecting their motives, that is neither the Congress way, nor the Gandhian way. The communists, party apart, are first Indians. They were not born communists. They were born Indians. It may be that they have taken a particular view of political matters and political strategy. It is for us as Congressmen, who have faith in the Gandhian way, to persuade them to see the facts and see what lies before us. I am glad to say that the band of them, may be a minority, has taken as courageous a step as any could take on the floor of this House.

The Prime Minister's analysis, as I said has been magnificent. But, I must own that when he came to the steps that have to be taken, he was merely repeating the oft-repeated platitudes that are being repeated for the past five years. I must say patriotism and protection of our frontiers are much more important than the protection of any personality whoever he may be. We lost the great battle of Vijayanagar because there was one emperor Rama Raya and as soon as he was beheaded, the army ran helter skelter and the most glorious empire was destroyed in a matter of a day, and its standing monument is now the ruins of Hampi or Vijayanagar. In order to see that we win ultimately and play our role in the comity of nations, I do not want any personality cult. I do not want a feeling to be generated in this country that but for an individual, the nation would go to dogs. This land of ours, Mother India, has produced heroes, prophets, Mahatmas in any number. It is not

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

barren of Prime Ministers. It is not barren of leaders. If one leader goes, however eminent he may be, hundreds of them will come on the stage. For anybody to encourage the personality cult would be to instil a defeatist mentality in our body politic. With all sincerity, I accept the leadership of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. He is the man of the hour. He is the leader. But, as Shri U. N. Dhebar made it out, he is not the pivot. The patriotism of the people is the pivot. If any individual is highlighted to the extent of being the sole arbitrator of the destinies of a nation or of an age, people will say that that person neither did good to the individual who was the subject of the praise nor to his own soul. Praise must contain itself. We have read the famous drama King Lear. Better on this historic occasion we speak like Cordelia rather than the two sisters who went on praising and subsequently led King Lear to ruin.

Apart from this, I have specific suggestions to make which I respectfully submit to this House. According to the Prime Minister, according to the Resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress, according to the opinion of every party in this House and in this country, the enemy is unscrupulous. The enemy is a mighty one. Are we equal to the task of facing such an enemy? I am not discussing alignment or non-alignment. I will have another occasion to discuss this problem. I am the last man to worry about slogans and ideologies. Facts stare us in the face. Behind China, there is a whole bloc. I had occasion to play host to Mr. Khrushchev for two days. I felt like embracing him. He is such a good and friendly man. I wish he had intervened to stop these Chinese within limits. He has not been able to do it. As we know, international communism's ideology is divided. The Chinese by their aggression have forced even Russia to follow the lead that has been given by the Chinese. The Chinese are wedded to the establishment

of international communism. All the communistic States whether they differ on minor matters or major matters, are forced ideologically and by their spirit of comradeship to stand behind China. Therefore, it is against a whole bloc that India is asked to stand. Is it possible to stand alone? That is the big question which the Government of the day has to answer. That question, they have not answered. Whatever may be India's attitude towards peace, whatever may be its past history, it is impossible for India to maintain peace in the world by itself. Peace is indivisible, they say. If it is so, it is too presumptuous on our part, on the part of India to say that we alone will be responsible to maintain world peace. Therefore, world peace, if it is indivisible, must be the responsibility of all the countries or nations of the world. Therefore, I look to the United Nations.

The other day, my well-meaning friends were putting the question that our troops from the Congo and Africa should be withdrawn. I intervened and said, let those troops be there, they are the token of our good will and participation in international peace efforts. If an opportunity arises as it should arise, all the nations of the world must be able to come to our rescue and for the establishment of peace. We must find a brigade from every democratic country on the frontiers of the Himalayas. It is only through this method that we will be able to establish what is called world peace. India by itself, China by itself, no country by itself, it is impossible to establish world peace which is our accepted goal and policy. Let us not exaggerate our importance. Let us not exaggerate our ideological fervour into what is called a miasma before our eyes. World peace has to be established by all the nations of the world. Therefore, I want the Government of India to go before the United Nations and say, here is a case where you have to come into the picture in order to guarantee world peace.

I read from the Charter of the United Nations. Much is made of the fact that China is not a member of the United Nations. It is therefore said that we cannot take her to task and she is un-accountable to world opinion. That is the argument that has all along been put forward by the Government and by some leaders.

**An Hon. Member:** No, no.

15 hrs.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** However eminent they may be, I cannot accept that view. I may tell my hon. friends in the Opposition, do not go repeating as you did before and during the time of the elections that the Congress Party is a door-mat. It has come of age, and the present atmosphere is giving everyone of the Congress Members as much patriotism as the occasion needs. They will think independently and decide independently. This is no longer a question of tamely submitting to any opinion or any proposition that has been made by anybody.

I do not want to read the whole charter, but I shall read only the relevant section. Article 6 of the United Nations Charter says:

"The organisation shall ensure that States which are not members of the United Nations act in accordance with the principles, so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security."

There is another article, and that is the first article, where it is said that the object of the United Nations is:

"to maintain international peace and security and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention—and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace, etc."

Then, in the Preamble, the United Nations has undertaken

"to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security and to ensure by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods that armed force shall not be used save in the common interest."

Therefore, merely because China is not a member of the United Nations, it has not got a charter of freedom to do whatever it likes in the world. Let us now make up our mind to take this issue before the United Nations, and the United Nations will be able to preserve and protect the peace of the world. Taking this issue before the United Nations will not come in the way of our non-alignment, because Russia is there, and America is also there. For what I know, Russia, and particularly, the Prime Minister of Russia, Mr. Khrushchev, may be feeling in his heart of hearts that China has not done well not only by communism but by itself.

Therefore, it is time that the Congress Party as well as all the parties in India go to the proper forum which has been charged with the responsibility to maintain world peace.

I do not want to go into all that has happened in the past. Some say that it is a very bad behaviour to say 'I told you so'. This 'I-told-you-so' psychology is not a cultured way of approaching the solution to the problem. We have to think afresh. Mahatma Gandhi adumbrated the policy of non-co-operation and non-violence. They were good in a context. But against whom are we to practise non-co-operation today? Are we to practise non-co-operation today against our courts, against our schools and colleges, merely because Mahatma Gandhi had said so? After Independence, the context has changed, and non-co-operation is no longer to be in operation or in force. Likewise is the case of non-violence. As soon as we sent our army to Kashmir, when the pro-

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

Pakistan forces as well as the Pakistan army personnel invaded the Kashmir territory, when we sent our armed forces there when Mahatma Gandhi was alive, and, with his permission, we accepted in fact that non-violence could not be applied to inter-State politics. And here is non-alignment now.

Non-alignment is not a dogma, is not a theory, is not a Veda, or the Quran or the Bible. It is a means for the preservation of world peace. So far as India is concerned, the non-alignment policy has so far worked well, and it has been to our interest. And since we did not join any military bloc, it has certainly not aggravated world tension which would otherwise have been the case. Therefore, non-alignment has been good, and I am perfectly convinced about it. But whether non-alignment applies to the facts of the day is the question. I want to ask the Prime Minister whether he is in time or out of time when he repeats all the time the formula of non-alignment. It may be that every human being becomes out of date; and it is the context that changes. Therefore, I would beg of the Prime Minister and his colleagues to revise their policy of non-alignment. I do not want the Government to go and join any military bloc. I am far from advocating such an extreme policy. But here is a case for our going before the United Nations and seeking the goodwill and co-operation of every power for maintaining and preserving world peace. By no stretch of imagination can we imagine that we ourselves will be able to stem the tide of this massive aggression.

**Shrimati Renuka Ray (Malda):** Why not?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** My hon. friend says 'Why not?'. I wish her to go to the front and argue with the Chinese.

**Shrimati Renuka Ray:** We can mobilise ourselves against the Chinese also.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** This prefix 'non' has become part and parcel of our mental equipment. We hear of non-co-operation, non-violence and non-alignment. The only word to which the prefix 'non' has not yet been attached or may not be attached is 'sense'.

Great Generals who led their respective countries to success in the World War say that those Powers such as the UK and the USA have not been able to conquer China. But the mind and the purity of heart of India, in co-operation with the latest scientific weapons and technique of the United Nations will be able to put an end to the ambition of China in fact and in deed. I hope that whatever I have said I have said in a spirit of non-partisan approach.

Everyone in this country has risen to the occasion, and if I say something critical of Government, I am not their enemy; I am not their critic even. I am their follower. My vote is guaranteed to them for life. But the only section of our country which has not arisen equal to the occasion is the Ministry that sits there.

**Shri M. Ismail (Manjeri):** I associate myself unreservedly and unconditionally with the challenge that has been thrown by the hon. Prime Minister of India to the Chinese.

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : उद् मैं बोलिये ।

**Shri M. Ismail:** My hon. friend, the Swamiji, thinks that everyone who speaks in English can also speak in Urdu or Hindi. I may tell him plainly that I am as much foreign to Hindi or even Urdu as many others are in this House. Therefore, I can make myself understood only in my mother tongue, Tamil, or in English (*An Hon. Member:* Speak in Tamil). Therefore, I am under this handicap of not being able to speak in a language which my hon. friend wants me to speak in.

As I was saying, I identify myself unreservedly and unconditionally with the challenge that has been thrown by the Prime Minister of India to the Chinese. I was one of those who said that this challenge might have been thrown to the Chinese even long ago. Whatever might have been our ability at that time, we could have under the circumstances prevailing then, done it with better success. That was what I and my friends have been urging all along. However, we know the emergency now and we know the danger with which the country has been faced. We know what sort of adversary we have to meet. Their morals and our morals are thoroughly different. That has been proved at least now beyond any doubt. It was said at the time when the Chinese communists were hobnobbing with us and were calling us 'bhais' and other names that we must be careful. Neighbours they may be. Even now among individuals, there are neighbours, but because of the friendship that exists between one neighbour and another, we do not demolish our compound walls or any fence that might be put up for the time being. We have to put up a fence between one neighbour and another and at the same time be friendly with the neighbour. That is a principle that is understood all over the world; that is the principle which has been taught to us by ages in the past. That is what ought to have been, but now we shall not speak of the past. One wonderful thing that has been in evidence is that all the people of the country of every denomination, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and everybody, have now risen as one man in defence of the country. This is a fact which was understood all along by people who know the real situation.

Now this emergency has got some good aspects about it. It is a blessing in disguise. It has brought out the fact that the people here in an emergency will not allow anyone to do the least harm to their country, be they

of any denomination. Not only the elders, but everyone in the country, irrespective of the religion or caste to which he belongs, has risen as one man. He has been stirred up to that. Old men, young men and children, Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs—everybody as I told you already—have now come up and say that we are all for defending the country. This spirit has caught even small children. In every house without exception. I have seen children only four or five years old taking up an *hundi* in their hand, going round and collecting money and asking their teachers or parents to send that money to the great Prime Minister of India for the defence of India. This is not a story I am telling you; I am speaking from personal experience. If you ask them, they say that this money is intended for the defence of the country, for repelling and driving away the vile aggressor from the sacred soil of our motherland. It is a *desia* fund, it is a national defence fund that we are contributing—this is what they say.

Therefore, this spirit has now been well established in the country. Nobody in the world can have any doubt about it. Though in the initial stages we are in a difficult situation in that we have met with reverses, our people do not lose heart. That is the great thing about it. That is a wonderful spirit that has come upon the people of our country. Every other nation which was put under such difficulties in the past even in this country met with reverses in the beginning. Take the first and second world wars. The people who were rewarded with glorious victory at the end had met with reverses in the beginning. But the end was different, because justice was on their side. Now also justice is on our side. We have all along been lovers of peace, working always for peace. Even our non-alignment and neutrality were intended for buttressing peace in the world. We did not want to be dragged into any war because of any bloc. We did not want to contri-

[Shri M. Ismail]

bute to war mentality in the world. Our country has always been harping upon peace. So we said that we shall not align ourselves with those blocks which may pounce upon each other at any time and thereby involve us in a war. We have always been working for peace. We wanted to have friendship with every nation in the world, be it of the free bloc or of the communist bloc. Our country wanted that sincerely and wholeheartedly. But now we see that the other side was not having the same passionate love, as we have for peace. While we in this country were talking about peace and about good neighbourliness, they were planning this aggression upon our country. That is a fact that has come to the surface now. Nobody can doubt it. It is now about these people that we have always to be careful.

Justice is on our side. I have no doubt whatsoever about the ultimate result. We are going to succeed. There is no doubt about it. But before that, we have to go through a lot of travail and hardship. Under such circumstances, it is only reasonable that we should take aid and assistance from all the friendly nations of the world.

I spoke of non-alignment. Non-alignment was good so far as it went. We wanted that to avoid war. But now we ourselves are in a war. I do not think it is reasonable, fair or sensible for us to speak of neutrality and non-alignment at such a juncture as this. As reasonable people, we must see that every other nation comes to our aid, that every other nation gives up its neutrality and comes to our aid, because we are in a war. I do not see any reason at all in speaking of non-alignment and neutrality while we are engaged in a war. We did not want war. We did not want to be disturbed while we were trying to build up the prosperity of our country through our Plans. But now that war has come, we have to finish it as soon

as possible and as effectively as possible and as gloriously as possible for the sake of our country and prosperity. Therefore, we must get all possible aid from foreign countries which are prepared to give us help.

Some people fear that because of this help, later on when peace comes, our freedom may be affected, but the maintenance of our freedom and honour does not depend so much upon any assistance we derive from foreign nations; it always depends upon the character of the people, and the character of the leadership which the people have got. Simply because we get assistance from a nation, we are not going to lose our honour and our freedom. Already we have lost time. Already we have not befriended those nations, and not equipped ourselves with modern weapons. Now at least we must hurry up and do everything to get those arms and make use of them against these unscrupulous and unprincipled aggressors. In the end I am sure we can and we are going to succeed. I want that we should succeed as quickly as possible, so that we may continue our disturbed economic development in future for the good and for the prosperity of the country. Everything that we can do must be canalised towards the war effort. For the time being we must forget some of the normal things.

For example, there are by-elections pending. I am one of those many people who are of the view that no such things must take place during this emergency. A by-election means controversy amongst people. There will be more than one party candidate. Then necessarily every party candidate would want to win, then criticism about the other party, counter-criticism, propaganda and counter-propaganda. It will distract and divert the attention of the people from the supreme emergency. Therefore, it is only reasonable that all these by-elections, and elections for municipalities or panchayats, should

not be conducted now. They must be conducted now. They must be suspended for the duration of the war.

Then again, about the collection of funds, I have a suggestion which I hope will receive the attention of the authorities. People are anxious to contribute their mite. Even small children have taken up the matter. But then something might happen and there might be a scandal. Money may go astray. Therefore I suggest that these collections must be done through the district authorities,—the Collector and then the divisional officer and then the tehsildar. The various political parties may help the authorities, they may help them in bringing money to the authorities, but the machinery to handle the money must be the authorities. Some such arrangement must be made to avoid a scandal, and to bring in every pie to the proper place for the purpose for which the money is being contributed.

Let us put a stop to the spirit which we witnessed when my friend and neighbour spoke. People have proved that the motherland is the property not only of one section or community. The motherland is the motherland of every one. There is no difference whatever when the question of the honour of the motherland, when the defence of the motherland, is concerned. It will be sinful, criminal, on such an occasion as this to doubt any people or their assertions. There have been wars, internecine wars and wars with other countries, in the history of India. During all those times it was proved again and again that the people of this country acted one and all as Indians, as people of that State to which they belonged. They stood up for the defence of their country irrespective of the religion they belonged to, irrespective of the caste they belonged to. If you see the written history from a thousand years ago, you will see such incidents scattered throughout the country, from Cape Comorin to

the Himalayas. Therefore, that is a fact. Every one has risen now as was expected by all sensible people. It is criminal on the part of anybody to doubt that and try to create trouble. Therefore, if any assurance were needed, I say I know the people, not only Mussalmans, I know my other brethren. These quarrels and these disturbances are where only the politicians are concerned. It is not so in the villages and in the countryside. There is no village in the country where there are not different denominations living. They are living as brothers, they are not pouncing upon each other's throats every day. It is only where these party politicians, and that too of a particular type, come in that there is trouble. Therefore, now in these villages every one feels this great ignominy that has been placed upon the motherland. The reverses have very much distressed them, and on account of that, they have become united. They are all now bound together as one man, and they only want to be led by the proper people to victory, and I am sure that the great Prime Minister of India and his lieutenants will lead the people to success, to the glory of our country and its posterity. Much more than the present, we are concerned with our posterity. We do not want to leave any heritage within 15 years of attaining freedom of which they need be ashamed. No, we shall never do so. Therefore, I want our leaders to be sure about the position, about the unity of our people, and go forward to success, and as we are on the side of justice, success is surely ours.

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): Since independence India has not faced such a danger as she is facing now. We have always been friendly and helpful to China, but in reply to our good and friendly gestures, we have got this unprovoked attack from China. This has come as a rude shock. I think the President of India, on his return from NEFA, has summarised the position quite well—"Our credulity and negligence have caused us some initial reverses." We never

[Shri A. C. Guha]

expected that China would attack our territory. The Prime Minister has said we might have been apprehending some border clashes, but not a massive invasion on Indian territory by China. It is no use abusing China or referring to the past history of China, but the fact is that communist China has attacked India. It is not really the traditional China, but we should remember it is communist China that has engaged herself in this invasion of Indian territory.

We have all these years cultivated a sort of foreign policy. Many of our fond hopes and expectations have been demolished, and the friendships which we tried to build up in the Afro-Asian comity has failed us in this crisis. None of the friendly countries with whom we tried to cultivate intimate relations all these years have come to our help or even supported our stand or justified it. I do not like to mention names. Still, we should try to understand why the UAR, Yugoslavia and Indonesia and the African nations have practically left us in the lurch. This fight is not a fight on any issue concerning India alone; it is a fight for democracy, for human rights. That is why only the democratic world has come forward to render us help and with their help we have been able to resist the Chinese aggression after some initial failures and reverses. In the international world, there will not be anything like gratefulness or gratitude. Otherwise, we would have expected some help from some Afro-Asian countries. But still we should not forget the quarters from which we are now receiving help in this grave situation.

We should also recollect that India is following the policy of democratic Government and development. All the countries of Asia and Africa except Ceylon have denounced that path; they have taken to a totalitarian system of Government. Any success of Indian democracy either in administration or in economic deve-

lopment would be a sort of a condemnation of their system of Government. So, it is quite natural that totalitarian countries and their leaders cannot be sympathetic to Indian aspirations or even show sympathy for the stand India has taken in this conflict with China. It is after all not a battle but a war for our principle; it may extend to be a war for our existence.

The country has responded splendidly. All these years we have not tried to build up national integrity. Rather, everybody took India and its independence for granted and we indulged in all sorts of things helping only disintegration and jeopardising the very independence of India. In this hour of crisis the whole nation has responded splendidly and this popular response is an indication of the soundness of our people's mind. It only shows that leadership failed during all these fourteen years to give the correct lead to the nation. In this crisis the leadership has been taken up by the people and the leaders at the top are now to follow and prove their worthiness by giving support and administrative efficiency to the popular enthusiasm. People have been donating money, big and rich people and also poor people, by curtailing even their barest necessities. This puts the Government under an obligation to spend the money in the most economical manner I should like to remind this House that the Administration is unable to give this guarantee to the people that the money will be spent in the most economical manner. There has been wastage and lack of seriousness and sometimes a sort of a levity in the Administration.

Yesterday, the Prime Minister said something about the public gossips, especially some gossips about General Kaul. How do they spread? Mostly from the Delhi clubs which are haunted by big officials. The Central Government's intelligence service has to look into the light and frivolous mostly anti-Government—talks indulged in by these officials in these clubs. They will find many gossips and wild ru-



mours damaging to our reputation are indulged in in one of the Delhi clubs. Government should take serious notice of these things and warn the administration to rise upto the occasion and see that popular enthusiasm is not misplaced or frittered away simply because of administrative lapses. Every Party has come forward to help the Government; even the Communist Party has passed a resolution which is fairly all right but still I should have expected a forthright condemnation of China as an aggressor.

**Shri H. P. Chatterjee** (Nabadwip): You have not read that.

**Shri A. C. Guha**: I have read it; I have got a copy of it with me; I got it from somebody of your Party.

**Shri H. P. Chatterjee**: I am an independent: I being to no Party.

**Shri A. C. Guha**: Shri Chatterjee is a new convert and so perhaps he will have more enthusiasm than many others.... (Interruptions.)

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker**: Order, order. He may speak to the Chair.

**Shri A. C. Guha**: I am speaking to the Chair but I am interrupted.

This Resolution could have been passed without the internal controversy within the party. Then, I think it would have been more decent for the Communist Party. Those controversies have become public issues and have created confusion among the rank and file of the party. Even now there is a cell within the Communist Party which does not subscribe to the Resolution passed. In North Bengal particularly, some communists are actively propagating in favour of China. Some of them might have taken their cue from what Lenin taught them in 1912. In the Basle manifesto all the socialists of Europe in 1912 gave a pledge that they would not join in any patriotic war. But that manifesto was repudiated in 1914 immediately after the outbreak of the First World War, in the Zimmerworld conference by al-

most all the members except Lenin and a few others. So, there is hardly any the oretical basis for that stand. Even Lenin later on propagated the theory of revolutionary defencism. If a revolutionary country which is building up revolution in its open way is attacked by another country, whatever that country is, it is the duty and the obligation, even under the teachings of Lenin, of every man and woman to defend that country. I think from the point of view of revolutionary defencism, the Communists should have come forward without any hesitation in defence of the nation's integrity and liberty.

It has been stated repeatedly that a socialist country cannot attack another socialist country. I do not know what is the origin of this theory—perhaps not in Marx or Lenin. There might have been some substance in this theory when they placed their faith in one communist or socialist government all over the world. But since they accepted the theory of building up socialism in one particular country, there cannot be any theoretical basis for the faith that a socialist country cannot invade another country.

Some hon. Members have already referred to the poor publicity and propaganda of our Government, both external and internal. I think the All India Radio requires a complete reshuffling. Its whole technique and ideas require to be changed. For all these years, the All India Radio was more concerned about publicity of particular Ministers rather than about the publicity of the Government and to create public opinion in favour of the Plan and the schemes of the Plan. It has been our regretful experience that in spite of these 12 years of planned economy, there has not been a plan Consciousness in the masses, and the responsibility for this great failure must rest with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, particularly with the All India Radio.

[Shri A. C. Guha]

Even now, the All India Radio is engaged mostly in light items, lacking in the realisation of the seriousness of the situation. I think the external publicity also requires to be completely reoriented. We do not know why All India Radio has not been able to give correct information about the position of our army, the information which was available to the public from the London, Australia or other radios. The All India Radio should give the latest and the correct information to the public rather than that the public should get this information from some foreign radios. It is a matter of shame for the All India Radio.

The Government have formed a National Defence Council, a council consisting of 30 or 32 members. It has been stated that it will be a purely advisory council.

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

**Shri A. C. Guha:** I shall require a few more minutes, Sir. I do not know what advice this Council will give. Some of the members are military men; some of them are laymen and civilians. If the Government were really serious about an advisory council, it should have been a compact body of military men who could advise the Government on military matters. A flabby council like this, I think, would create difficulties for the army fighting there rather than help it.

I am glad that the Finance Minister is now here. I have something to say particularly to him. I have something to say about the financial position. He must have noticed that the stock exchange has closed. So also the bullion market. About the bullion market, much concern may not be felt, but the closing of the stock exchange is a serious shock to the economy of the country. I do not know if the Finance Minister or the Finance Ministry is convinced that

behind the closing of the stock exchange, there is no manoeuvring of the investors and speculators.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I don't think so.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** It is for him to consider; I have only to place before the House what the public feels. If there is any manoeuvring of the investors and speculators in closing the stock exchange, then I think Government should consider the matter seriously and take necessary drastic action to revive the stock exchange. It will not be good for the economy of the country to allow the stock exchange to be closed for a long time or to allow the prices of shares to go down drastically. If there is no speculative manoeuvring behind this as asserted by the Finance Minister now, I feel there has been no reason for the drastic reduction in the prices of some reputable shares. It requires serious probing.

So far as financing the war is concerned, the people's contribution is a token of the people's sense of nationalism. But I do not think it would be of any significant help to the financing of the war. For that, I would suggest that even now the Finance Minister must consider the question of reimposing excess profit tax. Before going in for deficit financing and foreign loans, which I am sure they will have to do, I think they should tap the internal sources as far as possible. More energy should be put in small savings collection and they should also consider the question of reimposing the excess profit tax.

Price control is the most vital point for the people. If we have to keep up popular enthusiasm, we should see that the price is controlled at a particular level. From the Government's report, we find that selective control and general credit control were being gradually relaxed and modified. I think they will have to reconsider that policy of relaxing selective control.

rol and general credit control. Now easy money conditions have been operating even before the war and with the war expenditure, easy money conditions would be more conspicuous. So, certain precautions would have to be taken before things go out of our control.

I would also suggest reimposition of salt duty and scrapping of prohibition. For the financing of war, such ideological niceties should be abandoned, so that the nation's cause may be protected.

The people have risen to the occasion; let not the administration betray them. The administration also should be trimmed to suit the occasion, so that the people's enthusiasm may be utilised for the defence of the country and vindication of the honour of the Indian nation.

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सर्वप्रथम तो मैं उन अमर शहीदों के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ, जिन्होंने मातृभूमि की रक्षा के लिए चीनियों से लड़ाई लड़ कर अपनी जान गंवाई। उस के बाद आज भी हमारे जो सिपाही बड़ी बहादुरी से, बगैर हथियारों के, बगैर कपड़ों के लड़ रहे हैं और बहादुरी से दुश्मन का मुकाबला कर रहे हैं, मैं उन के प्रति भी अपनी और से और देश की ओर से आभार प्रकट करता हूँ।

**कुछ माननीय सदस्य :** यह गलत है।

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** मुझे विश्वास है और मुझे गर्व भी है कि हमारे सिपाही, लड़ने वाले हमारे बहादुर सिपाही, दुनियां के किसी भी देश के सैनिकों के मुकाबले में किसी प्रकार से कम बहादुर नहीं हैं, ज्यादा ही हैं।

**श्री यशपाल सिंह :** यह सही बात है।

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** बातें तो हमारी सही हैं। माननीय सदस्य जरा दिल थाम कर सुनें।

मैं उन बहादुर सिपाहियों के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ। इस के बाद मैं उन उभी देशों को भी धन्यवाद देता हूँ, जिन्होंने इस गाढ़े मौक़े पर हिन्दुस्तान को मदद देने का वादा किया है, जो मदद दे रहे हैं और जो मदद देंगे।

इस सिलसिले में विशेषतया हम जैसे समाजवादियों के मुख से वह बात नहीं निकलनी चाहिये, लेकिन हमारे साम्यवादी पड़ोसी और मित्र, रूस, ने मजबूर कर दिया है कि हम वे शब्द भी कहें। इस वक़्त हमारे दिल अमरीका और इंग्लैंड के प्रति कृतज्ञता से भरे हुए हैं कि उन्होंने इस गाढ़े समय में हमारी मदद की। प्रगतिशीलता क्या है? क्या प्रगतिशीलता यह है कि अन्यायी देश को अन्यायी न कहें? प्रगतिशीलता का अर्थ यह है कि अन्यायी को अन्यायी कहा जाय, चाहे वह अपना भाई भी हो। लेकिन इस प्रगतिशीलता का परिचय हमारे साम्यवादी पड़ोसी देश रूस ने नहीं दिया, इस का मुझे दुःख है।

इस समय एकता की बात बेबमतलब है। इस संकट की घड़ी में हम को एक होने के लिए विवश होना पड़ेगा, हमें अश्व मार कर एक होना पड़ेगा। आज हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी पर संकट आया है। आज मातृभूमि की रक्षा का प्रश्न है। और जब ऐसा प्रश्न सामने होगा, तो मैं समझता हूँ, इस देश में कोई कपूत ही होगा, जो उस के विरुद्ध जायगा और अपना सहयोग नहीं देगा। उस समय सभी एक होंगे। इस लिए आज की परिस्थिति एकता का प्रश्न नहीं है। इस देश में मातृभूमि की रक्षा के लिए सभी एक हैं, चाहे वे सरकारी पक्ष के हों और चाहे विरोधी पक्ष के हों।

इस सम्बन्ध में हम अपने साम्यवादी मित्रों की उस घोषणा का स्वागत करते हैं,

[श्री राम सेवक यादव]

जिस में उन्होंने देश की रक्षा करने और देश की भूमि को बचाने का वचन दिया है। लेकिन साथ ही मैं बड़े अदब से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि यह बात उतने ही मजबूत तौर पर सही है, जितने मजबूत साम्यवादी दल के लोगों और बोस्तों के इरादे हैं, जो यह कहते हैं कि हम देश की रक्षा करेंगे और चीनी दुश्मनों को मार भगायेंगे। लेकिन इस बात का दुःख है कि आज साम्यवादी दल में ऐसे भी दोस्त हैं, जो आज भी चीन को आक्रमणकारी नहीं मानते हैं, जो कहते हैं कि कोई समाजवादी बेश कभी किसी दूसरे देश पर हमला नहीं कर सकता। वह कभी गलती ही नहीं करेगा, वे लोग इस हद तक जाते हैं। आज व चीन के साथ हैं, क्योंकि वह एक समाजवादी देश है, चाहे वह हमलाग्रावर क्यों न हो, और इसलिए वह गलत नहीं हो सकता।

मैं उन दोनों स्थितियों में समन्वय करने में असमर्थ हूँ। मैं नहीं जानता कि उन में कैसे समन्वय करूँ। इस समस्या के बारे में हमारे साम्यवादी साथियों ने कुछ ऐसा रख अपनाया है कि जिस से लोगों के दिलों में शुबहा पैदा होता है। और वह शुबहा बढ़ता है, जब हम देखते हैं कि राष्ट्रीय संकट के समय मातृभूमि की रक्षा के बारे में दल में दो विचार-धाराएँ हों और दो तरह के लोग हों और यह भी निश्चय हो कि वे दोनों दल में ही रहेंगे। इस प्रकार दल में को-एग्जिस्टेंस और सह-अस्तित्व के सिद्धांत का बरता जाना सब से ज्यादा शुबह की बात है। हम को अपने उन मित्रों पर शुबहा नहीं करना चाहिये और हमारे मित्र मुझे माफ़ करेंगे, लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि अगर मातृभूमि की रक्षा के प्रश्न पर वास्तव में उन के दिलों में ईमानदारी है, तो उन के दल में फूट हो जानी चाहिए और उन लोगों को दल से बाहर निकाल देना चाहिये, जिन्होंने ऐसी बातें कहीं हैं, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया गया है। ऐसा लगता है कि उन मित्रों ने बड़ी चतुराई के साथ प्रधान

मंत्री की प्रशंसा कर के और उन की विदेश नीति की तारीफ़ कर अपने देशद्रोह को छिपाते हुए आज भी अपनी पुरानी नीति अपनाई हुई है। आज स्थिति यह है कि उन में से एक दल चीनियों का समर्थन करता है और दूसरा हिन्दुस्तान का। अगर हिन्दुस्तान की विजय हुई, तो वे कहेंगे कि हम तो हमेशा तुम्हारे साथ थे और अगर चीन की विजय हो, तो उस को कहेंगे कि हम तुम्हारे साथ थे। यह नीति नहीं चलेगी।

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : माननीय सदस्य चीन की विजय का खिन्न न करें। चीन की विजय की बात उनके मुँह से अच्छी नहीं लगती है।

श्री रामसेवक यादव : मैं तो उन की बात कर रहा हूँ। चीन की विजय कैसे हो सकती है? वह तो तब हो सकती है, जब हमारे शरीर ही न रहें।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह दोनों बातों साथ नहीं चल सकती। अगर कम्युनिस्ट साथी सचमुच हमारे प्रयासों में सहयोग करते हैं, तो हम उस का स्वागत करते हैं, लेकिन इस दोतरफ़ा नीति का अन्त होना चाहिये, जो कि उन्होंने इस वक्त अपनाई हुई है।

अभी तक तो मनानीय सदस्यों ने मेरी बातों को भली-भाँति सुना है। लेकिन अब शायद कुछ लोगों को मेरी बातें कड़वी लगें। उस के लिए मैं क्षमा-याचना करता हूँ, लेकिन मैं स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं वे बातें देश-प्रेम के कारण ही कह रहा हूँ।

आज यह कहा जा रहा है कि सरकार की हिमायत करनी चाहिये, देश की हिमायत करनी चाहिए। ज़रूर। मातृभूमि की रक्षा में देश और सरकार का साथ देना या न देने का क्या प्रश्न है? अगर सरकार ग़लत

रास्ते पर चल कर भी देश की रक्षा करेगी, तो भी हम उस का साथ देने के लिए मजबूर होंगे, क्योंकि उस समय हम जायेंगे कहां ? हम लोग देश की रक्षा में पूरा हाथ बंटायेंगे, लेकिन देश के लोगों को, सदन में उधर और इधर बैठने वाले लोगों को यह याद रखना चाहिए कि मौजूदा संकट में जोश और रोष यह सब कुछ होना चाहिए, लेकिन उस के साथ ही होश भी होना चाहिए। हम लोग होश के साथ काम करें और मदद करें।

जब हम यह कहते हैं, तो अब हमें मौजूदा संकट के कारणों पर भी जाना चाहिए। प्रश्न यह है कि क्योंकि यह संकट हमारे सामने आये और यह संकट कब आया और देश ने एकजहुती और एकता का जो परिचय दिया है तथा चीनी भेड़िये को खदेड़ कर उस की मांद में घुसेड़ देने का देश में जो भारी उफान आया है, क्या हम उसका सही उपयोग करने के लिए तैयार हैं और क्या हम ने उस के लिये सही रास्ते पर चलने का फैसला किया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मौजूदा संकट भारत की सरकार की विदेश-नीति का परिणाम है, जो कि अवसरवादी, व्यक्तिवादी, सिद्धान्त विहीन और निष्क्रिय तटस्थता की रही है। प्रधान मंत्री ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि पांच साल पहले यह संकट आया था। पांच साल ही मान लीजिए, हालांकि यह संकट तो सन् १९४९ और १९५० में ही आ गया था, जब कि इस विस्तारवादी चीन की कम्युनिस्ट सरकार ने तिब्बत पर हमला किया और उस पर भी कब्जा कर लिया और हिमालय हमारी उत्तरी सीमा का रक्षक न रहा। उस संकट को देखने के लिए सरकार की आंखें होनी चाहिए थीं। हमें सरकार की गलतियों को माफ़ करने में जरा भी हिचक नहीं है, लेकिन गलतियां बताने के बाद भी, चेतावनी देने के बाद भी अगर गलती हो, तो दुख होता है और यह भावना पैदा होती है कि कैसे उस गलती को माफ़ किया जाये।

१९५० में तिब्बत पर चीनियों का आक्रमण हुआ। एक तरफ़ तो तिब्बत का डेलीगेशन मुलाह समझौते के लिये चीन जा रहा था और दूसरी तरफ़ चीन की पलटने तिब्बत में घुस रहीं थीं, जिन्होंने तिब्बत को पदाक्रान्त किया और उस पर कब्जा किया। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि देश में ऐसे लोगों की कमी थी, जिन्होंने इस बारे में चेतावनी दी थी। डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया और सोशलिस्ट पार्टी ने कहा था कि तिब्बत पर चीन का आक्रमण ऐसा ही है, जैसे कोई राक्षस किसी बालक का गला घोट रहा है। लेकिन दुख है कि प्रधान मंत्री जी चीन के प्रेम में, चून-एन-लाई की दोस्ती में—और सच्ची दोस्ती में—बहु साधारण चतुराई को बरतना भी भूल गए, जो कि देश की सीमा-रक्षा के लिए बरतनी चाहिए थी। यह सब से बड़ी गलती है।

कहा जाता है कि तिब्बत चीन का अंग है। कौन देश किस का पड़ोसी है, किस के नजदीक है, इस के कुछ टैस्ट होते हैं, उस की कुछ कसौटी होती है, अर्थात् यह कि उस की भाषा क्या है, उस को लिपि क्या है, उसके सांस्कृतिक और धार्मिक सम्बन्ध क्या हैं, तिजारती सम्बन्ध क्या हैं और खास तौर से पानी का ढलाव क्या है। और उस के साथ ही जनता की शिक्षा दीक्षा क्या है। ये मोटी मोटी कसौटियां हैं, जिन से हम देख सकते हैं कि कौन देश किस देश का पड़ोसी है। अगर हम इन कसौटियों पर कसें, तो तिब्बत हिन्दु-स्तानियों के अधिक नजदीक है, चीनियों के नजदीक नहीं है। लेकिन हम ने अपनी गलती, भूल, शांतिप्रियता और कमजोर अहिंसा की नीति के कारण अपने पड़ोसी भाई तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता को चीनी राक्षस के हाथ कल्ले-आम होते देखा, उस को बर्दाश्त किया और उस के परिणामस्वरूप आज हम को अपनी सारी सीमा पर खतरों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। तिब्बत नियमानुकूल, नियमानुसार कभी भी चीन का अंग नहीं रहा है। एक ऐसा समय भी आया जब तिब्बत ने चीन को हराया। तिब्ब का हमारे साथ कितना गहरा सम्बन्ध रहा है

[श्री राम सेवक यादव]

यह मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ। अब भी मंसर गांव जो कि मैकमोहन रेखा से मानसरोवर के पास साठ सत्तर मील दूरी पर है, उसकी जनगणना भारत के साथ होती थी और वहां से मालगुजारी हम वसूल करते थे। कभी हमारे देश के किसी राजा ने लामाओं को तिब्बत का हिस्सा छोटे भाई समझ कर दे दिया तो इसका यह मतलब नहीं है कि हमारा उसके साथ सम्बन्ध टूट गया। मिसाल के तौर पर ही मैं आपको बतला रहा हूँ कि मंसरगांव को हम ने अपने साथ रखा। लेकिन आज हम क्या देखते हैं? वही कैलाश, वही मानसरोवर जिन के साथ हमारे संस्कृतिक और धार्मिक संबंध जुड़े हुए हैं, आज हमारे नहीं रहे, भोलाशंकर आज चीन की कंध में हैं। इस तरह की हमारी नीति रही है और उसी का यह परिणाम है।

16 hrs.

चीन जानता था कि अगर वह फार्मूसा की तरफ जाता है तो अमरीकी हवाई बेड़ा वहां मौजूद है, समुद्री बेड़ा मौजूद है और अगर मकाओ की तरफ जाता है तो वहां भी उसको मुंहतोड़ जवाब मिलेगा, इस वास्ते उसने देखा कि जो सब से ज्यादा कमजोर हिस्सा है, उस तरफ मुंह करो और उस ने तिब्बत की तरफ मुंह किया। यह १९५० की बात है कि उसने तिब्बत को पदाक्रान्त किया। १९५४ में जब हमारी चीनी कम्युनिस्टों के साथ संधि हुई तब उसी समय वहां की कम्युनिस्ट सरकार ने बड़ाहोती के ऊपर अपना अधिकार जता दिया। उसी समय हमें आगाह हो जाना चाहिये था। अगर १९५० में नहीं तो १९५४ में तो हमें चेत जाना चाहिये था जब उसने बड़ाहोती की बात की। लेकिन हम नहीं चेतते। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह प्रसंगवश बात होगी अगर मैं २ मई १९५४ के पायोनीर अखबार में जो एक सम्पादकीय नोट छपा था और जिस में प्रसंग आया था उनका जो तिब्बत के बारे में एक्सपर्ट माने जाते हैं, चार्ल्स बैल, और जो कुछ उन्होंने

कहां था उसको आपके सामने पढ़ दूँ। उन्होंने यह बात १९१४ में यानी जब यह टिप्पणी अखबार में छपी थी, उस से तीस साल पहले कही थी। इसको मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ :—

"Delhi would have been well advised to insist on a clear unequivocal undertaking from Peking that the old claims would not be revived and that an agreed map of China should be officially prepared showing the non-inclusion of the strategic territories on the Indian soil. India's borders which are allegedly in the present official map, thirty years ago, Sir Charles Bell one of the greatest experts on Tibet had pointed out that if the Chinese should disturb the balance of power as laid down in the Simla Convention, both Nepal and India would be threatened. He foresaw that the transfer of power from British to an Independent India, the Simla policy would automatically break down. Since he thought independent India whether through lack of interest or firmness would not support Tibet against Chinese imperialism, yellow or red. In such circumstances Tibet would have to break away from Indian environment and Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim find difficult to continue in friendly partnership with India, for when the inhabitants of these countries saw that India had abandoned her efforts to maintain a balance of power in Tibet and had assumed a passive attitude, there they would be tempted to turn to China of their own accord."

यह बात १९१४ में कही गई थी। आज हमारा पड़ोसी नेपाल इसी का शिकार हो रहा है। भूटान भी हमारी इसी कमजोर नीति का शिकार हो रहा है जो कि १९१४ में बात

कही गई थी । उस के बारे में भी वह नतीजा नहीं निकाल रहा है जो निकलना चाहिए । जो बात तब कही गई थी वह आज सत्य सिद्ध हो रही है । लेकिन हमारे देश की सरकार ने, हमारे देश के विदेश मंत्री ने, हमारे देश के रक्षा मंत्री ने इन चीजों की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया और इसका परिणाम हमारे सामने है । यही वजह है कि मौजूदा संकट हमारे सामने आ खड़ा हुआ है ।

यह कहा जाता है कि हमारी विदेश नीति तटस्थता की है । इसका क्या मतलब है ? मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी विदेश नीति तटस्थता की नहीं रही है । हमारी विदेश नीति यह रही है कि हाँ और ना में बंटते रहो । कोई प्रश्न उठे दुनिया का तो देखो रूसी गुट क्या रुख अख्तियार करता है, अमरीकी गुट क्या अख्तियार करता है और फिर कभी रूस की हाँ और कभी अमरीका की हाँ में हाँ मिला दो । मिसाल के तौर पर मैं अर्ज करता हूँ कि जब पूर्वी बर्लिन का प्रश्न उठा और अमरीका पश्चिमी जर्मनी के पक्ष में था तो हमने उसके साथ हाँ कही । जब चीन का मवाल उठा और अमरीका चीन के विरुद्ध था और रूस चीन का समर्थक और रूस ने कह दिया कि चीन को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में लिया जाना चाहिये तो उसके साथ हाँ में हाँ हमने मिला दी । हमारी नीति एक सिद्धान्त पर नहीं चली । एक और मिसाल मैं आपको देता हूँ । इजराइल ने इजिप्ट पर हमला किया तो हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार ने सही कदम उठाया और उसकी हम प्रशंसा करते हैं । वह बड़ी अच्छी बात थी क्योंकि इजराइल हमलावर था, आक्रमणकारी था, उसकी निन्दा होनी चाहिये थी, उसको संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में न लिया जाना ही उचित था और उसको मान्यता न देकर हमने ठीक ही किया । लेकिन अगर हम उसी नीति को अपनी बुनियादी नीति रखते तो फिर आज जब चीन आक्रमणकारी है तो हम किस मुंह से कह सकते हैं और किस मुंह से हमारे प्रति-रक्षा मन्त्री उस आक्रमण के होते हुए संयुक्त

राष्ट्र संघ में उसकी वकालत कर सकते हैं और उसके संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में प्रवेश की हिमायत कर सकते हैं । कैसे हम कह सकते हैं कि हाँ, तुमने हमको मारा है, तुमने हमारा बहुत नुकसान किया है, तुम्हारी लाठी बहुत मजदूत है, इस वास्ते मारे डर के हम कह रहे हैं कि इसको भी शामिल कर लो । जब इस तरह की बात की जाती है तो मारे शर्म के, निर्लज्जता के हमारा सिर झुक जाता है । अगर हम नहीं कह सकते थे कि कम्युनिस्ट चीन को इसमें शामिल न किया जाए तो कम-अज्ञ-कम खामोश तो हमको हो जाना चाहिये था, भलमन्साहत और आत्म-सम्मान का यही तकाजा था कि हम चुप रहते । लेकिन इस हद तक हम बढ़ गए कि हमने कहा कि इसको प्रवेश मिलना चाहिये ।

आज भी हम क्या कर रहे हैं ? सारा आक्रमण हो चुका है, सारी बातें हो चुकी हैं, हमारे निहत्ये लोगों पर गोलियां चल रही हैं, उन पर आक्रमण हो रहे हैं, लेकिन सरकार कूटनीतिक सम्बन्धों को उसी तरह से कायम रखे हुए है, उन्हें तोड़ नहीं रही है । क्यों ऐसा है ? इससे अब क्या कुछ लाभ होने वाला है ? इससे ज्यादा खतरा किसी देश को क्या हो सकता है ? जो हमारी कमजोरी थी उसने हमारे लिए इस हद तक खतरा पैदा कर दिया कि उसने अपने देश के अन्दर ही अपनी सरकार में दो दल पैदा कर दिए, दो आदमी पैदा कर दिए, एक रूस की वकालत करे, एक अमरीका की जुदा वकालत करे और उस दल में ही लड़ाई चल रही है, उस दल में ही कलह चल रही है । एक गुट है जिसका अपना अखबार चलता है, अपनी विचाराधारा चलती है । अगर यह दलबन्दी, यह गुटबन्दी दिमागों में होती तो ज्यादा अच्छा होता और हम सही फैसला कर पाते । लेकिन वह दलबन्दी अलग अलग आदमियों में थी । यह हमारी विदेश नीति रही है । मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक हम सृजनात्मक

## [श्री रामसेवक यादव]

तटस्थता और सिद्धान्त वाली विदेश नीति नहीं अपनाते तब तक हम सही रास्ते पर नहीं चल सकते। जो विदेश नीति हमारी रही है, उससे हम को सबक लेना चाहिये और सबक लेकर हमको अपनी रक्षा और विदेश नीति में परिवर्तन करना चाहिये। उस विदेश नीति में परिवर्तन अनिवार्य हो गया है। वैसे हम लड़ेंगे, देश लड़ेगा लेकिन डर है कि जो चीज अभीष्ट है, जिसकी हम कल्पना करते हैं, वह बिना इस परिवर्तन को लाये हमें न मिले गोकि वैया नहीं होना चाहिये और मेरा यह दृढ़ विश्वास है, दृढ़ निश्चय है, कि हम जीतेंगे, हम चीनियों को अपनी घरती से खदेड़ने में सफल होंगे, लेकिन फिर भी उसमें परिवर्तन अवश्य होना चाहिये।

लड़ाई इस हद तक बढ़ चुकी है कि देश उठ खड़ा हुआ है हर आदमी अपना सर्वस्व देश को बचाने के लिये कुर्बान करना चाहता है और उसके लिये तैयार है। लेकिन आज भी हमारा निश्चित उद्देश्य क्या है, इसकी घोषणा नहीं हुई है, क्या हम करना चाहते हैं, क्या हमारा इरादा है, उसकी झलक इस प्रस्ताव में नहीं मिलती है। इसमें गोल मटोल बात है। यह कहा गया है कि जब तक एक एक इंच भूमि से हम चीनियों को खदेड़ नहीं देते तब तक हम शान्ति से नहीं बैठेंगे। चीन का जो तरीका रहा है, उसे हमें नजर अन्दाज नहीं करना चाहिये। उसका तरीका यह रहा है कि कुछ हिस्से पर कब्जा करो, फिर रुक जाओ, अपने कब्जे को मजबूत करो और मजबूत करने के बाद फिर मोका पाकर आगे बढ़ो। अब जैसे ठंडक है और वह कह देता है कि ठीक है, हम आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे, तब हम क्या करेंगे? क्या हम अपनी चौकियां बन्द कर देंगे? या फिर भी आगे बढ़ कर उनको अपनी घरती से खदेड़ देंगे? आज एक ८ सितम्बर का प्रस्ताव आता है। इस ८ सितम्बर के प्रस्ताव का मतलब क्या है? क्या इसका यह मतलब है कि ८ सितम्बर को

जिस भूमि पर चीन का कब्जा था उस जमीन के बारे में हम फिलहाल वार्ता करने की बात को मानने के लिये तैयार हैं? ८ सितम्बर को कौन कहा था, इसका कौन निर्णय करेगा? यह ८ सितम्बर वाली बात अगर मान ली जाती है तो यह कमजोर नीति है। इससे देश की रक्षा नहीं हो सकती। सन् १९६० की बात, १९५६ की बात इत्यादि बातें जब की जाती हैं तो ये एक डिलमिल नीति की परिचायक हैं। सीधी बात होनी चाहिये। जब तक हम अपने देश की मातृभूमि की एक एक इंच भूमि को आजाद नहीं कर लेते हैं, चीनी दरिन्दों को जब तक हम खदेड़ नहीं देते हैं, हम अपने हथियार नहीं रखेंगे। जो सीमा रेखा की बात होती है, उसके सम्बन्ध में भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, मैं चाउ एन लाई को बतलाना चाहता हूँ, इस सदन के जरिये से, कि जो यह मैकमोहन रेखा है, यह ठीक है कि वह इम्पीरियलिस्ट रेखा है, वह साम्राज्यवादियों की बनाई रेखा है, उस रेखा को हम नहीं मानते। वह रेखा तिब्बत और हिन्दुस्तान के बीच थी, चीन और हिन्दुस्तान के बीच नहीं। चीन और हिन्दुस्तान के बीच की रेखा होगी पूर्व प्रवाहिनी ब्रह्मपुत्र, यह सीमा रेखा कैलाश मानसरोवर बनेंगे, मैकमोहन रेखा नहीं बनेगी। यदि तिब्बत आजाद न रहा होता, वहां चीनियों का अधिकार रहा होता, तो बात दूसरी थी। इस देश की सरकार को और हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री को यह निश्चय घोषित कर देना चाहिये।

अक्सर लोग हिन्दी चीनी भाई भाई की बात कहते हैं। आज खुल गया नक्शा न भाई और पड़ोसी में कितना भेद है? हमारे रूसी मित्र कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान तो दोस्त है और चीन भाई है। भाई भाई का खून एक होता है तो पड़ोसी के लिये क्या मुहब्बत होगी?

एक अनानीय सबस्य : हम भी भाई भाई थे।



**श्री राब्लेवक याबव :** हां वह भाई भाई थे, लेकिन वह राक्षस वाली नीति थी, धृतराष्ट्र वाली नीति थी कि उन को गले से लगा कर समाप्त कर दें। वह डबल भाई थे।

हमारे कुछ साथियों ने कहा कि हम को हथियार मुफ्त नहीं लेने चाहियें, खरीद कर लेने चाहियें। मैं सरकार और सदन से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह से भी हो, जहां से भी हो, पैसे देकर या उधार या मुफ्त हमें हथियार लेने चाहियें। हां एक शर्त होनी चाहिये कि हम अपनी स्वतन्त्रता को नहीं गंवायेंगे, बस। और जिस तरह से भी हथियार मिलें, उनको लेकर हम अपनी मातृभूमि की रक्षा करें। साथ ही जो यह हाथ खींच कर लड़ने की नीति है उसका अन्त होना चाहिये। आज हम हाथ खींच कर लड़ रहे हैं। हाथ खींच कर लड़ने के माने यह है कि हम बैठे हैं अपनी चौकी में, आय चीनी, आय दुश्मन, कहां चीनी है, आओ हम तुम्हें मारें। जिस तरह से चीनियों ने टोह लगाई कि कहां से हिन्दुस्तान कमजोर है, कौनसी जगह पैर रखने की है, जहां से हमला किया जा सकता है, उसी तरह से हम को करना चाहिये। हमारा यह उद्देश्य होना चाहिये कि जब तक हम तिब्बत को आजाद न करा लें तब तक चुप न बैठें। जब तक हम तिब्बत के पठारों पर जाकर चीन का मुकाबला करने का निश्चय नहीं करते, तब तक यह मामला शायद हमारे लिये आसान नहीं होगा। आज यह बात कही जा रही है कि जाड़े का सवाल है। तिब्बत का पठार ऐसा है, मौसम के लिहाज से, कि एक घंटे में ऐसी सर्द और एक घंटे में ऐसी गर्मी शुरू हो जाती है कि हम उसको बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक हम तिब्बत में कुमक पहुंचा कर तिब्बत में ठहरी हुई चीनी फौजों का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते तब तक आनियों का निकाल पाना

आसान नहीं होगा। आज हम हाथ खींच कर चीन से लड़ रहे हैं। मैं सोचता हूँ कि कहीं इस तरह से हमारे ऊपर कोई कलंक न लग जाय क्योंकि कल यह भी तो हो सकता है कि हम अपनी स्वतन्त्रता खो दें इस तरह की बातों से। कहीं यह कलंक न लग जाय कि हिन्दुस्तान कमजोर था, उसकी हवाई सेना कमजोर थी और चीन की हवाई सेना मजबूत थी, इसलिये हिन्दुस्तान की हवाई सेना का उपयोग नहीं हो सका? यह चीज नहीं होनी चाहिये और हम को जहां से भी हथियार मिलें लेना चाहिये। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि हम हथियार उधार न लें। पैसा हमारे पास है नहीं, ऐसी हालत में अगर हम बिना पैसा दिये हुए हथियार न लें, तो इसका मतलब क्या है? यही न कि हम चुपचाप बैठें? इस नीति का तो सीधा मतलब यही है। इस लिये मैं समझता हूँ कि उधार भी हथियार लेना चाहिये। चीन कौन अपनी ताकत से लड़ रहा है? चीन के पीछे भी उधार की ताकत है न? यह जो बीस पच्चीस हजार या तीस हजार की चीनी पलटन की बात होती है, वह आदिम युग की बात है। यह पच्चीस और तीस हजार पलटन गाजर मूली की तरह से होगी। मैं यहां कहना चाहता हूँ कि चीन भी उधार की ताकत से लड़ रहा है, और वह उधार की ताकत रूस की है। हम को भी अपनी आजादी को कायम रखने के लिये अमरीक और दूसरे देशों से ताकत उधार लेकर लड़ने में कोई शर्म नहीं होनी चाहिये।

शुरू में जो हमारी हालत हुई है, उससे हमें कोई घबराहट नहीं होनी चाहिये। हम भले ही ९९ लड़ाइयां हार जायें, लेकिन जो अन्तिम लड़ाई है उसमें जो जीतना है वही वही जीता हुआ कहलाता है। इसलिये हमें परेशान होने की जरूरत नहीं है। हां, परेशानी हमें इस बात से जरूर है कि सरकार ने हर चीज को अनिश्चित रूप से छोड़ रखा है। कौन जानता है कि चीनी कहां रुकेंगे? पता नहीं हम उनको कहां तक रोकेंगे, सन्

[श्री राम सबक यादव]

१९६० तक या सितम्बर सन् १९६२ तक । मान लीजिये कि बातचीत में वह कहते हैं कि लड़ाख हमें दे दो हम नेफा छोड़ देंगे, तो क्या इसको माना जा सकता है ? यह सारी चीजें दुविधा में पड़ी हुई हैं और देश को उनके बारे में कुछ पता नहीं है । इस दुविधा का अन्त होना चाहिये । अगर यह दुविधा खत्म हो जाय तो सही मानों में इस देश के लोग अपना सब कुछ निछावर करेंगे और कर रहे हैं । लेकिन आखिर उसका उपयोग क्या है ? उद्देश्य विहीन रहते हुए कुछ नहीं हो सकता ।

मैं बड़े विनम्र शब्दों में यह कहना चाहूंगा कि श्री कृष्ण मेनन के इस्तीफे से साफ जाहिर हो गया कि सरकार की रक्षा नीति असफल रही । उसको मनवा कर मैं कांग्रेस के मित्रों को या दूसरे लोगों को बधाई दूंगा जिन्होंने इतना साहसिक कदम उठाया । लेकिन यह कदम जरा थोड़े साहस का था । कमजोर कृष्ण मेनन को आपने दबोच लिया । लेकिन रक्षा नीति और विदेश नीति का साथ वैसे ही होता है जिस को चोली और दामन का साथ कहा जाता है । हमारी विदेश नीति जो असफल रही, अगर हम उस पर कुछ न बोलें और उसको न बदलें, तो इससे ज्यादा हाना की कमजोरी का और क्या सबूत होगा । मैं नहीं कहता कि सरकार बदले । ऐसे मौके आये हैं हैं जबकि शान्ति के वातावरण का मन्त्री युद्ध के वातावरण के लायक न रहने पर बदल दिया गया है । इंग्लैंड में चैम्बरलेन को बदल कर चर्चिल को लाया गया था ।

श्री अन्सार हरबानी (विसोली) :  
लोहिया को ले आइये ।

श्री रामसेवक यादव : लोहिया वहीं रह कर जनता की सेवा करेंगे और भारत का आजादी को कायम रखेंगे । आप श्रेष्ठ नहीं खामोश रहें ।

मैं कह रहा था कि नीति को बदलना चाहिये । भले ही हमारे देश की जमीन कांग्रेस

सरकार के समय में बाहर गई हो, लेकिन इस संकट के समय में भी उस को जिस नीति का परिचय देना चाहिये था उस ने नहीं दिया । आज राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा समिति बनी है । उसमें कितने दलों के लोग हैं, वहां पर कौन लोग हैं ? वही भाई भतीजावाद अब भी चल रहा है, कुनबापरवरी चल रही है । आज इस संकट के समय कौन नहीं मिलेगा ? प्रधान मन्त्री के ऐसा कहने के बावजूद कि हम एक नकली दुनिया में रह रहे थे, एक अवास्तविक संसार में रह रहे थे, अब भी आंख नहीं खुली । इस राष्ट्रीय रक्षा समिति में हम जगजीवन राम जी को नहीं देखने ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : [अब भी वैसे ही रह रहे हैं ।

श्री रामसेवक यादव : आज भी उसी तरह के काम चल रहे हैं । साथ ही साथ हमारे खर्चों में भी कमी नहीं हुई है । क्या ठाठ बाट के ऊपर हमारे यहां के खर्च में कोई कमी हुई है ? एश व आराम में कोई कमी हो रही है ? महिला मण्डल योजना है, युवक समाज, भारत सेवक समाज है, साथ समाज है, इन पर होने वाली फिजूलखर्ची क्या बन्द हुई ? अभी भी हम नहीं जगे ।

अब मैं अपने कुछ मुझाव देकर समाप्त करूंगा । मैं सरकार के सामने चीनी हमले से उत्पन्न परिस्थिति का सामना करने के लिये कुछ मुझाव रखना चाहता हूं, और वे यह हैं :

अविलम्ब युद्ध का उद्देश्य घोषित हो कि कि जब तक हम गढ़ार चीनियों को भारत को एक एक इंच भूमि से नहीं हटा देंगे और तिब्बत को आजाद नहीं करा लेंगे तब तक हम हथियार नहीं डालेंगे ।

हम स्वतन्त्र सत्रिय सृजनात्मक तटस्थता की नीति को मजबूती के साथ अपनाकर जहां और जैसे हाथियार मिलेंगे उसे लेंगे

और युद्ध को तीव्र गति से चला कर—उस को ज्यादा नहीं चलायेंगे—तीव्र गति से चला कर शीघ्रातिशीघ्र चीनियों द्वारा हड़पों हुई भूमि को मुक्त करायेंगे ।

उपर्युक्त उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिये तत्काल अपनी फौजों को **राष्ट्रीय** आधार देना होगा, एक निश्चित उम्र जैसे २५, २६ वर्ष के लोगों की आम तर्ती कर राष्ट्रीय सेना का तत्काल निर्माण करने चाहिये ।

गुरिल्ला युद्ध की ट्रेनिंग भी बेनी चाहिये ताकि चीनी फौजों को पीछे से हमला कर परास्त कर सकें और हम को तिब्बत के पठारों पर अपनी फौजों को भेज कर चीनी फौजों को पंशाना चाहिये ।

हमें दलाई लामा तथा अन्य तिब्बती प्रतिनिधियों से बात कर तिब्बत में कान्ति-कारी आर्थिक और सामाजिक व्यवस्था कायम करके तिब्बत को स्वतन्त्र घोषित करना तथा उसकी सुरक्षा को अक्षुण्ण बनाये रखने का बचन देना चाहिये ।

मैं अन्तिम बात कह कर समाप्त कर रहा हूँ कि हिमालय कभी हमारा रक्षक नहीं, लेकिन अब नहीं रहा । क्यों नहीं रहा, वह बात सरकार को जानना चाहिये और जान कर हिमालय हमारी रक्षा करे हम को उसे इस लायक बनाना चाहिये । देवतात्मा वर्तमान राज हिमालय उत्तर दिशा में विद्यमान हैं । यह पूर्व एवं पश्चिम समुद्र का अवगाहन कर के पृथ्वी के मानदंड की भांति स्थित है । मत्स्य पुराण में हिमालय के गुण और स्वभाव वर्णित हैं । मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारा राष्ट्र हिमालय की सेवा के योग्य बने ।

“अहीनशरणं नित्यं अहीनजनसेवितम् ।

अहीनः पश्यति गिर अहीनः रत्नसम्पदा ॥

श्री गु० सि० मुसाफिर (अमृतसर): डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मेरा इरादा सिर्फ यह था

कि लड़ाई के मूलतत्त्वक अपने जजबात का थोड़ा सा इजहार कर दूँ । मैं समझता हूँ कि इस वक्त लम्बी चौड़ी तकरीरें, या बातें या तज्जवीज करना कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है, क्योंकि यह लड़ाई का मौका है । मुझे अपने कुछ दोस्तों की तकरीरें सुन कर ऐसा खयाल हुआ है कि जैसे शायद वह समझते हैं कि उनकी तकरीरें इस पालियामेंट हाउस के अन्दर ही रहनी हैं, इस से बाहर नहीं जानी हैं । मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें ज्यादा बोलने में संकोच करना चाहिये ।

कुछ भाइयों ने हमारी विदेश नीति की मुखालिफत की है लेकिन उन्होंने यह नहीं बतलाया कि अगर हमारी विदेश नीति और हमारी नान एलाइनमेंट की पालीसी गलत है तो फिर हम को किस के साथ होना चाहिये था । आखिर यह बात पहली बात है । अब तो गैर जानिबदारी की बात खत्म हो गयी । अब तो जो हमारी मदद करेगा वह हमारा दोस्त होगा और जो मदद नहीं करेगा वह हमारा दुश्मन होगा । अब तो यह किस्सा खत्म है । तो जिन भाइयों ने हमारी विदेश नीति की मुखालिफत की है उनको यह बताना चाहिये था कि जब हमारी यह नीती चल रही थी उस वक्त हमको किस के साथ होना चाहिए था । हम को अमरीका के साथ होना चाहिये था या रूस के साथ या किस के साथ ।

मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी विदेश नीति इस लिहाज से सफल हुई है कि आज उसका यह नतीजा निकल रहा है कि अमरीका और दूसरे मुल्क हमें कहते हैं कि हम आप की मदद करने के लिए हर लिहाज से तैयार हैं, और रूस जो है वह कुछ शरमिन्दा सा है, उसने कहा है कि एक तरफ मेरा भाई है और एक तरफ मेरा दोस्त है । लेकिन उसको पता होना चाहिए कि जिस भाई को मुल्कगिरी की हविस है उस से उसको ज्यादा खतरा हो सकता है न कि दोस्त से, क्योंकि भाई हिस्सा बंटाता है जब कि दोस्त हिस्सा नहीं बंटाता । और जब भाई उस से हिस्सा मांगेगा तो उसको वह कातिल नजर आएगा, भाई नहीं रहेगा ।

[श्री ग० सिंह मुसाफिर]

ऐसी बातें रोजाना होती है कि भाई भाई में दुश्मनी हो जाती है और वह बहुत तेज होती है। दोस्त हिस्सा नहीं बंटता, उसकी बात में तो प्यार होता है और दूसरी चीजें होती हैं। हम को चीन पर विश्वास करने का तजरबा है, रूस भी तजरबा कर ले। कल क्या होगा मैं नहीं कह सकता क्योंकि मैं ज्योतिषी नहीं हूँ। जो ज्योतिषी है वह कह सकते हैं, लेकिन मेरा कुछ अन्दाजा है।

जब चाऊ एन लाई यहां आए उस वक्त में स्वीडन में एक कानफरेंस में था। वहां पर जो चीनी डेलीगेट थे वे हम से इस तरह से मिलते थे कि जैसे उनको बड़ी खुशी हो कि आज चाऊ एन लाई हिन्दुस्तान में प्राइम मिनिस्टर से एक अच्छे मकसद के लिए मिल रहे हैं। पंच-शील के लिये मिल रहे हैं। उस वक्त कोई क्या अन्दाजा लगा सकता था कि चीनी हमारे ऊपर हमला भी करेंगे। मुझे इस सिलसिले में गुरु गोबिंद सिंह जी का एक बचन याद आता है :

हम मुर्द बायद शवद सुखनवर,  
न शिकमे दिगर दर दहाने दिगर।

यानी सुखनवर वह है कि जो उसकी जवान पर हो वही उसके दिल में हो। इस में अगर हम फेल हुए है तो हमारा इतना ही कुसूर है कि जितना किसी का अपने दोस्त से धोखा खा जाने पर कसूर होता है। और उतना तो हम मानते हैं। लेकिन हमारी सारी नीति गलत थी और जो सब कुछ अब तक हम ने किया वह गलत था, ऐसा कहने में हमें संकोच करना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस वक्त तो एक ही बात हमारे सामने है . . .

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : अच्छाई क्या थी वह कहिए।

श्री ग० सिंह मुसाफिर : अगर हम भी स्वामी जी की नीति पर चलते तो आज शायद

काश्मीर भी हमारे हाथ में न होता क्योंकि वह तो सारा सिलसिला ही ऐसा था।

अब मैं यह अज्र करना चाहता हूँ कि इस वक्त हर एक पार्टी को इस चीज को नेशनल काज समझना चाहिए और उसका इस्तेमाल पार्टी परपज के लिए नहीं करना चाहिए।

लड़ाई में हम को चोश भी होता है और होना भी चाहिए। उसके लिए बहुत तदबीरों भी बतायी जाती ह, लेकिन लड़ाई के लिय सब से जरूरी चीज आपस की एकता है।

अगर किश्ती हो तुफान में तो काम आती हैं तदबीरें,

मगर किश्ती में तफान हो तो मिट जाती है तकदीरें।

अगर हमारे अंदर एकजहती नहीं रहेगी तो हमारी तदबीरें कामयाब नहीं हो सकतीं। तो जैसा मैंने कहा, हमारा जितना कुसूर था, उसको प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने बड़े स्पष्ट लगफाज में माना है। लेकिन अगर हम बार बार उसका जिक्र यहां पार्लियामेंट हाउस में करेंगे तो उसका कोई अच्छा नतीजा होने वाला नहीं है।

एक ही बात पर मैं जोर देना चाहता हूँ। एक तरह से इस वक्त चीन ने हमारे देश के अन्दर एक पथर फेंका है यह देखने के लिये कि क्या मुल्क हमले के मुकाबले में तैयार हो सकता है या नहीं, यानी दूसरे मार्गों में इन के अन्दर अहलियत और गैरत है या वह खतम हो चुकी है।

जिन लोगों ने हमारी अहिंसा की पालिसी की निन्दा की है उन्हें यह पता होना चाहिए कि आजादी के बाद जब हम ने अपने देश की बाग-डोर संभाली तो ये सारी चीजें उसके साथ साथ बदलीं हैं। आज काश्मीर का हमारे हाथ में होना इस बात का सबूत है। उस वक्त राष्ट्रपिता जिन्दा थे। तो हमारे सामने सारी

बातें हैं कि हमारी पालिसी का रुख क्या रहा है। यह सही है कि हमारी उस पालिसी की वजह से हमें शुरू में कुछ सैट बैंक हुए। इसको हमें मामना चाहिए। लेकिन जहां तक कुर्बानी देने की बात है उसका जज्बा हमारे सिपाहियों में और हमारे लोगों में मौजद है। इसका हमारे लोगों ने सबूत दिया है और हमारे जवानों ने अच्छी तरह सबूत दिया है और आगे भी देंगे। जो पत्थर इस वक्त चीन ने हमारे देश के अन्दर फेंका है उसको हमें महसूस करना चाहिए। इस सिलसिले में मुझे मुगल तारीख एक बाकया याद आता है। गुलाम कादिर रहेले ने मुगल बादशाह पर हमला किया, बहुत कुछ बदसलूकी की और आरजी तौर पर तख्त पर कब्जा हो जाने के बाद उस के दिल में खयाल आया कि देखा जाय कि आज तमूरी खानदान में कोई गैरत बाकी है कि नहीं। अगर इन में गैरत है तो ये फिर जिन्दा हो सकते हैं। इस बाकये की अहमियत को डाक्टर इकबाल ने एक नज्म में लिखा है। गुलाम कादिर ने इस के बाद तैमूरी खानदान की औरतों से कहा कि मेरे सामने नाचो। वे बचारी मजबूर हो कर उसके सामने नाचने लगीं। तो उस वक्त गुलाम कादिर ने अपनी तलवार को जो उसके गातरे में थी थोड़ी देर के लिये नीचे रख दिया और लम्बा पड़ गया जिस से ऐसा महसूस हो कि वह अपनी तलवार से बेखबर है और उसको उसका कुछ पता नहीं है। दो चार मिनट के बाद गुलाम कादिर उठा और उसने तैमूरी खानदान की उन औरतों को सम्बोधन किया, उन औरतों को जो परदा नशीन थीं और कोई जिनका मुह नहीं देख सकता था लेकिन जो एक डाकू के सामने नाचने के लिए मजबूर हुई थीं। तो डा० इकबाल ने उस रहेले के मुंह से यह कहलवाया है :

फिर उठा और तैमूरी हल्म से यों लगा कहने

शिकायत चाहिए तुमको न कुछ अपने मुकद्दर से ,

मेरा मसनद पे सो जाना बनावट थी तकल्लुफ था

कि गफलत दूर है शाने सफ आराइनेलवकर से।

मेरा मकसद था इस से कि कोई तैमूर की बेटी मुझे गाफिल समझ कर मार डाले मेरे खंजर से मगर यह राज आखिर खुल गया सारे जमाने पे कि गैरत नाम है जिस का गइ तैमूर के घर से गैरतमंदी का इम्तिहान एक डाकू ने लिया। जब वह डाकू उस वक्त के बादशाह को मगलुव कर के उस के तख्त पर काबिल हो गया तो उस के दिल में यह खयाल आया कि मैं देखू कि तैमूरी खानदान में कोई गैरत और हमियत बाकी है या नहीं। मैं तो समझता हूं कि आज और कुछ बात नहीं है खाली हमारी गैरत का इम्तिहान है और हमारी हमियत का इम्तिहान है। इस इम्तिहान में अगर हम फेल होते हैं किसी तरह कमजोर साबित होते हैं तो इस में एक पार्टी या दूसरी पार्टी की बदनामी की बात नहीं है बल्कि हमारे देश का देश बैठ जाता है। इसलिए यह एक ऐसा मसला है जिस में मेरा खयाल है कि हर एक पालियामेंट के मेम्बर को इस तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए और सोचना चाहिए। यह ठीक है कि कई बातों पर एतराज है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह बातें किसी हद तक ठीक भी होंगी,—मगर लोगों के अन्दर एक बड़ा भारी जज्बा है और एक एक बात से उस जज्बे का इजहार होता है।

अभी परसों या चौथ की बात है कि यहां दिल्ली की यंगमैन सिक्ख असोशियेशन के कुछ दोस्त मेरे पास आय और कहने लगे कि हमें मुरू नानक का जन्म दिन मनाना है और उस मौके पर पार्टी करनी है उस में आप हमेशा की तरह शामिल हों और हमारी मदद करें। मैं ने उन से कहा कि क्या यह मुमकिन नहीं हो सकता कि आप पार्टी पर जो कुछ खर्च करने जा रहे हैं वह आप मुल्क के बचाव फंड में दे दें। उन को इस के बारे में फैसला लेते एक मिनट भी नहीं लगा और वह फौरन उसके लिए

[श्री गु० सि० मुसाफिर]

तैयार हो गये। यह जज्बा उन के अन्दर पहले ही मौजूद था और वह उसी वक्त इस के लिये तैयार हो गये। जहां उन्होंने पार्टी पर ६००० रुपया खर्च करना था वहां उन्होंने मुझे शाम को इत्तिला दी कि हम ने ११००० रुपया जमा कर लिया है। हम लोगों को मिठाई वगैरह नहीं खिलायेंगे बल्कि यह तमाम रुपया हम कल राष्ट्रपति जी को भेंट कर देंगे।

इसी तरह एक मिसाल में अपनी कंस्टीटुएँसी की देना चाहता हूँ कि जब से मुल्क क सामने यह संकट आया है, हालांकि हमारा बौंडर का इलाका है तो भी अमृतसर वालों ने कुछ ही दिन की कोशिश में १८ लाख रुपया पब्लिक से जमा कर के चीफ मिनिस्टर के हवाले कर दिया है। उन्होंने यह भी इरादा किया है कि १४ नवम्बर को यहा दिल्ली में पहुंच कर वे अपने महुबूब प्राइम लिनिस्टर के वजन बराबर सोना उनको भेंट करेंगे यानी उनकी सोने से तोलेंगे। हमारे सूबे के चीफ निनिस्टर ने कहा है कि जहां अमृतसर वाले अपनी तरफ से प्रधान मंत्री को तोलेंगे वहां दूसरी दफा पंजाब वाले सारे मिल कर फिर प्रधान मंत्री जी को सोने से तोलेंगे और दूसरी दफा फिर उनके वजन जितना सोना उनको भेंट करेंगे। यह सब बातें मैंने आप को इसलिए बतलाई कि जिससे साफ जाहिर हो जाये कि हमारे देशवासियों के अंदर एक जज्बा मौजूद है। हमारे देश के जवानों के अंदर जज्बा मौजूद है और उसके रहते कोई जवह नहीं है कि इस में हम सफल हों। मगर हम में से जो हमारे समझदार भाई हैं उन को इस चीज को आगॅनाइज कर लेना चाहिये ताकि जनता में जो एक जोश है वह बरकरार रह सके और उसका ठीक ढंग से इस्तेमाल हो सके। हमारे फौजी जवान जो इस वक्त वहां मोर्चे पर लड़ रहे हैं, वह हालांकि बहुत ही युष्किल हालत में लड़ रहे हैं तो उनकी दिलेरी और बहादुरी काबिले तारीफ

है। वह तो सूरमा लोग हैं और हर हालत में लड़ेंगे हथियार से लड़ेंगे और बगैर हथियार भी वह लड़ेंगे। यह बात जरूर है कि अगर उन को सही हथियार जरूरत के मुताबिक मिलेंगे तो वे ज्यादा कामयाबी से लड़ेंगे। अपने फौजी जवानों को मुनासिब और बेहतर किस्म के हथियार मुहैया करने की तजवीजें हो रही हैं और इस तरफ खयाल किया जा रहा है और जरूरी कबदम उठा भी लिए गये हैं। बेहतर हथियारों और दूसरे जरूरी मिलेटरी इक्विपमेंट को जहां से भी हो सके हासिल करने की जरूरत महसूस की गई है और वह आने भी लगे हैं। अब इस चीज के बारे में ताने से कहना मेरे खयाल में ज्यादा मुफ़ीद नहीं होगा।

यह तो मैं ने सिर्फ पंजाब की बात बताई लेकिन मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि इम अहम मौके पर हर एक स्टेट ने रिसर्पोड किया है और साथ ही चीन की इस बेजा और वह-शियाना हरकत पर अपने गुस्से का इजहार किया है। जहां तक बाहरी हमलों का ताल्लुक है बाहरी हमले तो हिन्दुस्तान पर पहले भी होते रहे हैं। यहां हमलावर बाहर से आते रहे हैं। जो कुछ उन से हो सका वह करते रहे हैं। यहां काबिज भी रहे। सब कुछ होता रहा है। मगर यह जो चीन का हमला है यह अपनी किस्म कर पहला हमला है। वह तो एक दुश्मन की शकल में आते थे और एक खूँखार दुश्मन की शकल में जो कोई उनके सामने आता था उस को रौंदते चले जाते थे। मगर चीन ने जो हमारे साथ दुश्मनी की है वह दोस्ती के पर्दे में की है। अब दोस्त से तो इंसान धोखा खा सकता है वैसे यह बात सही है कि धोखा खाना एक बुरी बात है। इस को कई दफे कमजोरी भी कहा जाता है। मगर ऐसा होता है कि दोस्त से आदमी धोखा खा जाता है। वाक्या यह है कि चीन ने दोस्ती के पर्दे में हमारे साथ धोखा किया है। उस के

क्या क्या प्लांस हैं और उम के दिल में क्या करा बातें हैं इन में न पड़ कर और जो पीछे हो गया सो हो गया ऐसा मान कर आगे के लिये हमें पूरी तरह सावधान हो जाना चाहिये । इस नाजुक मौके पर हमें देश को एक कर के चलाना होगा और उस के लिए यह जरूरी है कि हम देश में ऐसी फिजा पैदा करें ताकि लोगों के दिलों में अपने फौजी जवानों के लिए प्यार, और हमदर्दी का जज्बा पैदा हो । ऐसा होने से हमारे लड़ने वाले जवानों के मन में भी तसल्ली होगी कि हम जिनके लिए लड़ रहे हैं जिस देश के लिए हम अपनी जानें दे रहे हैं वह देश हमारे लिए कुछ कर रहा है । हमारा फर्ज हो जाता है कि हम उन जवानों के बच्चों की हिफाजत, उनकी तालीम का इंतजाम और उनकी अगर कुछ जमीनों हैं तो उन जमीनों का इंतजाम करने की तरफ ध्यान दें । हमें यह बात अच्छी तरह समझ लेनी चाहिये :—

“ कौमां मरदियां नई जो मरदियां हन आई मरदियां जो मरनो डरदियां हन”

इसलिए यह यकीनी है कि चूक हम हक पर हैं इसलिए आखिरी फतह हमारी ही होगी । जिस तरह कई मेम्बरान ने अपने जज्बात का इजहार किया है कि हम अपनी एक एक इंच जमीन जिस पर कि चीनी लोगों ने कब्जा कर लिया है उसको उनके पंजों से जरूर आजाद करेंगे । हम अपनी चप्पा, चप्पा जमीन वापिस लेंगे ।

आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम छोटी छोटी बातों को ले कर बेकार में आपस में न उलझें । छोटी छोटी चीजों को लेकर आपस में झगड़ा करने का आज वक्त नहीं है । अभी यहीं हाउस में ही एक चीज को लेकर कहा सुनी हो गई । एक हमारे माननीय सदस्य ने कह दिया कि पहले जमाने में कुछ कौमें थीं जिनको कि फौज के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जाता था । शायद उनके कहने में कुछ फर्क हो मगर यहां जो उस को लेकर एक सीन

नजर आया मैं समझता हूं कि वह मेम्बर्स पार्लियामेंट के शान के शायं नहीं है । साथ ही मैं उन माननीय सदस्य से भी कहना चाहूंगा कि यह ठीक है कि एक वक्त ऐसा था कि जब कुछ खास कौमें ही वारियर्स गिनी जाती थीं और उनको ही फौज में लड़ाई के लिए भर्ती किया जाता था । लेकिन अब तो लड़ाई का ढंग ही बदल गया है और उनके साथ ही उन की वह बात भी चेंज होनी चाहिए । लेकिन उस को भी कायम रक्खा जाय ताकि अगर कभी उस की जरूरत पड़ जाय तो वह भी कामयाबी के साथ की जा सके । अब आज तलवार और तीर कमान की लड़ाई तो रही नहीं है । अब तो लड़ाई का तरीका ही बदल गया है लेकिन अगर वक्त पड़ जाय तो तलवार का जौहर दिखाने वाले भी हमारे बीच में होने चाहियें । गुरु गोविन्द सिंह ने ठीक ही कहा था :—

“चूं कार अब हमहै हीलते दरगुजस्त,  
हलाल अस्त बुरदन व शमशीरदस्त ।”

उन्होंने कहा था कि जब सब रास्ते खत्म हो जायं और कोई भी दूसरा तरीका कामयाब न हो तों फिर तलवार पर हाथ ले जाना जायज है । उस वक्त तलवार ही सब से बड़ा हथियार था । अब तो यह तलवार वगैरह की बातें जरा पीछे पड़ गयी हैं । मगर फिर भी मैं समझता हूं कि दूसरे मेम्बर साहबान को समझना चाहिये कि उन माननीय सदस्य का वह बात कहने का मकसद क्या था । उनका कहना क्या था ? उनका कहना यही था जैसा कि स्वामी जी ने भी कह दिया कि जिसका काम उसी को साजे और करे तो ठीगा बाज । इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि जिसका काम है वह उसे ज्यादा एफैक्टिव तरीके से कर सकता है । हमें इसे मानने से कोई इंकार नहीं होना चाहिये कि जिसका यह काम न हो वह उसे एफैक्टिव तरीके से नहीं कर सकेगा । अब इसमें झगड़े की क्या बात है ? इसमें किसी की कमजोरी की बात नहीं है न ही किसी की कोई

[श्री गु सि० मुसाफिर]

मजबूत करने की बात है। इसलिये मैं इस मौके पर हाउस के माननीय सदस्यों से दर-इवास्त करूंगा कि तजवीजों के बजाय हमारा इरादा जो है उस को हमें मजबूत करना चाहिए।

“इरादों से जो टकराये उसे तूफान कहते हैं  
“तूफानों पर जो छा जाये उसे ईसान  
कहते हैं।”

**Mr. Speaker:** We spent about 40 minutes this morning in miscellaneous discussion. If the House agrees to sit for half an hour more we may continue up to 5.30.

**Several Hon. Members:** We agree.

**Shri Swell** (Assam—Autonomous Districts): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must say that there were stages in the debate when I felt pained at heart. I did not expect that the debate would have taken the turn of inter-party castigation finding faults with this or that party or with this or that individual. This is a grave hour in the history of our nation and in the history of the world and the whole nation expects from us that we should accept the situation with discipline, subdued anger and defiant indignation.

Sir, I happen to come from the Tribal areas of Assam, parts of which, fortunately or unfortunately as the things turn out in the future, are now bearing the first brunt of the Chinese invasion. I come from the State that for all practical purposes constitutes the first line of national defence. It is only two days ago that I have come and I have seen with my own eyes some amount of the war fever. I have seen how jeeps and trucks and the young men driving these vehicles are being dragged from the streets and requisitioned by the Government to carry things to the front. I have heard some stories from those young men who have returned from the

front which will make all of us hang our heads in shame and grief. Therefore I had expected that this House would have carried on this debate and its deliberations just with one purpose. The purpose is how to win this war.

At the outset I must say that I wholly support the two Resolutions which our beloved Prime Minister has moved before the House. I feel thankful to some of my hon. friends who have taken the trouble of moving certain amendments to those Resolutions, but I feel that most of the amendments are in the nature of exposition, of adumbration and of explanation of everything that is implicit in the Resolution. In order to register, as each one of us has said here in so many words, that at this grim hour of our history we are behind our Prime Minister and our Government, I request my hon. friends to withdraw their amendments and see that the House passes the Resolutions moved by the hon. Prime Minister unanimously.

Throughout the history of India,—though I am not a student of history yet I do not think this country has ever faced a situation, has ever been threatened with a catastrophe the like of which we are confronted with today. In olden days, we had to deal with many invaders. The invader came from the north and took hold of a part of our country, but the rest of the country stood by. At the same time, we must say that the country was never so united as it is today. Today, we face the aggressor with one single-minded purpose. From the borders of Burma to the borders of West Pakistan, from Kanyakumari right up to the foot of the Himalayas, we are the nation against the aggressor.

As you, Sir, perhaps know, I am comparatively a new Member to this House. Even so, I feel overweighed with a sense of the historic importance of this occasion. It is in our hands to decide the future of the



country. This is a struggle for our survival. But, more than that, I feel that this is also a struggle between the democratic system to which we are wedded as a nation and the system of party totalitarianism. Our Prime Minister does not quite like to put it in that way. But, there it is where it is. Some of our friends have tried to impute motives, different kinds of motives to Communist China. They are trying to find the logic, the justification that has led the Chinese to commit this aggression against our country. The Prime Minister had said that that was China's expansionist mentality. I agree with that. But, to my mind, I think there is some amount of truth that the Chinese, or for the matter of that, the Communist party might be looking at this as a struggle between two great systems of the world. We have accepted planned democracy. For the last 10 years, we are trying to build up our nation and by all standards, we are doing very well. Perhaps the example of India as a rising democracy, the success of India following a democratic system is something which is intolerable to the communist system and that is why they have chosen this opportunity of hitting at us, of putting a stop to the different plans that we are undertaking. Whatever it is, whatever be the motive, aggression has been committed and it is for us to meet that aggression.

True, today, we feel angered and scandalised at the many mistakes that we have committed. It is clear that our Government has committed certain very serious mistakes which have brought on us these reverses. I think the Prime Minister has our affection. He has our loyalty. One and all, we pledge to work under his leadership. But, I felt yesterday when he was speaking, that it would have been more in keeping with him as the great man that he is, as the Prime Minister, if, instead of trying to explain away our mistakes and the reverses we have suffered, he could have come frankly and said, yes, we

have committed mistakes, we have paid the price for those mistakes, but let us now make up, let us now make good for all that we have lost. I think that he would have won our hearts much better in that way if he had come out in that manner.

I do not think that it would serve any good purpose at this stage if we try to impute motive to this or to that person. It would not serve any good purpose to sit in judgement on anybody. If anybody is to judge us, the future generation will judge us. All of us, each one of us in this nation, particularly, we who have the good fortune of being the Members of this House at this time stand to be judged by history in the future by the part we play at this moment of our history.

I would like to mention a few things for your information and the information of the House. You are aware, Sir, that I represent a section of the tribal people in Assam, who have had many political grievances for the last many years, and because we have not been able to convince our Government and our friends in this House about the need to meet our political demands, only recently, about a month back, we took a resolution to launch a non-violent direct action against the State Government of Assam. But when the Chinese came hurtling down, when we heard our Prime Minister's call to the nation, we lost no time in convening a conference of our organisation and to decide to give up any political agitation at this stage and to come round to rally behind our Government and the Prime Minister. More than that, on the 24th of October, that is, last month, there was a rally in Shillong of about 60,000 people—I do not think that any part of Assam can claim a rally of that number—and there we passed a clear resolution calling on the people in their enthusiasm that we should stand united, we should all stand behind the Government and

[Shri Swell]

give wholehearted support to our troops and to our Government.

I feel personally, as my hon. friend Shri Vidya Charan Shukla has said just now, that there may not be much need for us to sit very long in this session. Perhaps, each one of us would better go to his constituency and to his people and try to work in the field to organise the people, to raise volunteers, to raise funds, and to try to help to check the price-line at this moment. I put this for your consideration if it would be feasible for you to try to conclude the work of this House much before the scheduled date.

I would like now to mention two things for the particular attention of Government. One is that the morale of the people in Assam should be kept at the highest level possible; for the matter of that, the morale of the people of India should be kept at a high level. But I feel that at this moment, the morale of the people of Assam in particular should be kept at the highest level.

There are many things that go to the make-up of the morale of the people, but I think that one of the most important things is the supply of food. You know the position of Assam. The means of communication between Assam and the rest of India has always been bad. The cost of living in Assam is much higher than in any other part of India. And if today the reports are correct that the Chinese are massing the troops and weapons on the borderline of Bhutan, and should they strike at Bhutan and take it away. Assam runs the risk of being cut off from the rest of India altogether. You know the narrow corridor running through North Bengal with Bhutan in the north and East Pakistan on the south. I do not know, but if our friends in Pakistan do not play the part of friends, if they should try to trouble us at this moment, I cannot conceive of the tragedy that will befall the people of Assam. I put it to the Government that it is a real danger facing the nation today,

and before anything happens, I request them that they take special measures to rush foodstuffs to Assam, to build up the food stock there, to keep down the prices, and to meet any kind of emergency that may arise. An army cannot fight on hungry stomachs. The people cannot fight on hungry stomachs. If we can not give them the other amenities, at least we should be able to give them the food which will give them energy to fight.

Another thing to which I would like to draw the attention of Government is our border with Pakistan. I come from an area which is near the Pakistan border. Shillong, the capital of Assam, is only about 50 miles away from the Pakistan border. I do not know, we do not know, nobody can say for certain what our friends in Pakistan will do at this moment. But the reports that we get from the papers, the thought currents that seem to be working in the minds of the Pakistan leaders do not seem to be assuring at all. I would request that while we fight the Chinese, we should keep an eye also on the border with Pakistan. I do not know how strong our defences are in relation to Pakistan. As far as my area is concerned, it appears to me that our defences are not strong at all. Therefore, while there is time, I would put it to Government that they kindly also strengthen our defences in relation to Pakistan.

I do not know what will happen in a few days to come. I believe that we shall win this war. We are a democracy. It has been said that democracy loses battles but wins the war. Let it be so. We have lost certain battles. We have suffered certain reverses. But let it also be proved in relation to India that we can win the war. Let me put it this way, that we must win the war with our own strength. I do not think I can support my hon. friend, Shri Hanumanthaiya, when he says at this stage that we should go to the United Nations and try to beg for help. We have not

even started fighting. Our soldiers have only died they have not been supplied with the weapons with which they can fight. We have not started fighting.

I would agree with my hon. friend, Shri Frank Anthony, when he said yesterday that we are fighting a world war on behalf of democracy. It would be in the interest of all democratic countries to come to our assistance. They have already come to our assistance. They have said that they would do whatever we ask them to do. But then let us at least ask our people to fight this war with their own strength and not run to the United Nations to beg for this help or that help.

I believe that ultimately we shall emerge to victory. We shall emerge to victory because righteousness is on our side. We shall emerge to victory because every man and woman in this country feels today that he or she has a personal stake in this war. They will fight like heroes to defend their hearths and homes, not like automotons in a war machine. When a democracy is roused, it means that every man and woman is roused. It is one thing to put people to fight blindly in a war, but it is another when each man becomes the leader to defend his hearth and home.

17 hrs.

I do not think that the Chinese will win this war. At this grim hour, sometimes my mind goes into the future. I sometimes think of the good things that will come to this country. It is true that we are an ancient country, but we are a new nation. As a nation, we have not yet been knitted together. That is why there is so much talk these days of national integration. We have many angularities of caste, religion, community and region. Some of us have watched this process towards national disintegration with fear and frustration. Perhaps we needed a slap in the face, perhaps,

as the Prime Minister has said, it is a quirk of destiny, we needed a kind of slap in the face, which the Chinese are putting on us today. In fighting this war there cannot be but brotherhood, there cannot be but unselfishness, there cannot be but pure patriotism. I believe when this history will have come and gone, when this war will have been fought and won, a time will come when we shall have shed away our pettiness, we shall have shed away our narrow communalist ideas, we shall have shed away everything that is petty and base and worthless and a new nation will be built on the ashes of this war.

With these few words, I take my leave.

**Dr. B. N. Singh (Hazaribagh):** Parliament is meeting this time in an atmosphere which is surcharged with grim, serious and very critical possibilities on account of the mass scale invasion launched by communist China on our motherland. At this hour of emergency, it is the duty of one and all of us to forget our petty domestic quarrels, sink our differences, and stand united as one man to drive out the Chinese from our mother country. The clarion call given to the nation by our Prime Minister has received a trouncing response. The political parties, during this crisis, have forgotten their differentisms, and have all resolved to give their utmost support to the nation to fight this Chinese menace. Even the Communist Party, after a good deal of controversy and dilly-dallying, at least on paper has supported this stand of the Congress Government.

Our brave jawans have been fighting heroic battles in the frontiers under most trying circumstances, and every Indian today bows his head in reverence to the chivalrous manner in which our frontier forces have been trying to hold back the unleashed Chinese dragon which is trying to spit fire at every step. All this is heartening no doubt and proof indeed that in times of trials and tribulations, the

[Dr. B. N. Singh]

country integrated can rise as one man, an asset of which any country can really be proud.

But, along with this, we cannot forget the dark side of the picture. We cannot forget the disadvantages and the shortcomings with which India is faced today on account of the unrealistic and impracticable policies so long pursued by the Congress Government, which are responsible for the reverses that we are facing today in our frontiers and which may continue for some time more to come till we are fully fortified. The greatest mistake which the Congress Government has committed since we attained independence is that we have not been able to distinguish friends from foes and vice versa. We scoffed at those who extended their hands of friendship and hugged and embraced the countries which tried to lull us to sleep and rob us unawares. We are very grateful at this juncture to all the countries which have come to our aid, and more especially the United Kingdom, U.S.A. and Canada, who have without any hesitation offered all help to India, and which has today helped us to sustain ourselves and stop the first phase in robbery and loot of our territory.

The Prime Minister may offer all his support and lend his magnetic personality to cover the mistakes of Shri Menon, but the historians, when they write the history of the present times, shall not spare Shri Menon for having let down this country so badly, nor will they even spare our Prime Minister or allow him to go unmentioned for the unjustified support given by him. I may recall or perhaps you know that towards the third week of October when the Chinese launched a mass scale attack on our frontiers, our jawans guarding there were simply butchered by the invading forces because our army was not supplied with enough of ammunition and modern weapons. They had to face the Chinese army which was armed to the teeth with modern wea-

pons. Still our brave jawans with merely bayonets and khukries in their hands killed two or three Chinamen each before falling to the ground. The bravery of our Indian soldiers shall remain as living examples of bravery to be emulated by any country. This bravery with which our forces have been fighting is no credit to the Congress Government but proof absolute of the inherent courage and envalry of the Indians with which pages of Indian history are full.

I am glad that our Prime Minister has formed the National Defence Council to meet the emergency arising out of the Chinese invasion. With due respect to our Prime Minister who is internationally acclaimed as one of the greatest protagonists of democracy in this world, I would like to submit that the Council as formed by him has become rather conspicuous on account of the absence of some of the greatest Indian nationals. It could be called a Congress Defence Council or at best a Defence Council based on socialist pattern but certainly not a National Defence Council. I fail to understand why elder statesmen like Rajagopalachari, Dr. Rajenura Prasad, Jayaprakash Narain, Kripalanjii and General Cariappa among others should have been left out from this National Defence Council. These gentlemen are second to none in their nationalistic character and they are persons who are today loved and revered by a great majority of Indians. The whole constitution of this Council smacks of partisanship which I am afraid should not be our approach today, when democracy is at war with totalitarianism. We must always bear it in mind that if India falls, democracy falls in Asia, nay, in the entire world.

The next point to which I would like to draw your kind attention is our much trumpeted foreign policy and diplomacy in which too our Shri Menon has had a great part to play; these policies have miserably failed. Alas, in the last fifteen years of Independence we have not yet been able to befriend any of our neighbours in

the truest sense of the word. In a world where great distances have shrunk on account of the super-sonic means of communication, where hemispheres have been sharply divided into diametrically opposed ideologies, it is difficult to toe the line of neutrality and non alignment. I dare say that even in this atomic age it is possible to be neutral and non aligned but certainly by such countries who, according to international standards can be judged as militarily strong and well equipped and not by such countries who can not even supply enough of ammunition to the border forces to repel the enemies. It is a question of self-deception on the part of the Congress Government to have accepted the postulate of non alignment in its present form for India.

The Opposition Parties were wide awake to the grave consequences that would follow from the wrong policies pursued by the Government. And times without number they gave this warning, but still, a successful attempt was made by the Congress Government to lull the people into the belief that we need fear no attack from the communists and that is why today we have been caught napping.

It is an irony that only the other day our Prime Minister in one of his public speeches had to say that this shock was necessary to shake the complacency of the people. I fail to understand how our wise set of ministers, —practically most of them are absent now,—who adorn the Treasury Benches could think even for a moment that there could be anything in common with a nation which is agnostic in its outlook and which has no place for God. Being led away by the belief that the Chinese bear has turned pious, all of a sudden, we neglected our defences. Our ordnance factories stopped producing any armaments. The enrolment to our services became of secondary importance to us. Our Prime Minister's attention was successfully diverted to the five year plans, the nationalisation of private industry and expropriation of private

property. Money in the millions were spent, rather wasted, on the pet scheme of the ministers, instead of being usefully invested for providing proper defence for the country and also providing adequate hitting power to our troops. I fail to comprehend how the pontiffs of nationalism who cannot for a moment brook any criticism from the opposition parties with regard to the hollowness of their defence and foreign policies and who in their irritation do not hesitate to dub the opposition parties, save and except the Communist Party, as reactionaries, outmoded, unrealistic, devoid of common sense, lacking in modernity and belonging to medieval periods, could be so neglectful and callous as to leave the borders undefended and the country so unprepared.

This is no time for levelling criticisms at each other or even picking out holes or apportioning blame. Perhaps we are too close to the scene of action to focus our judgment properly. We leave it to the future historians who will be away from the scene of action to dispassionately judge our deeds and pass their verdicts. For us, during this period of emergency, there are only two alternatives: do or die. If you do not do the right thing, the nation shall die. I am glad that India has taken the right decision in resolving to drive back and push back the Chinese to the country from where they have come. The Chinese marauders should know that four and forty millions of Indians are prepared to shed their last drop of blood before yielding even an inch of their mother country to the Chinese.

Never in the history of India has the country risen as a whole to defend its borders from foreign aggression. In this holy task we do not stand alone and the Chinese should know that their brutal attack shall never materialise and that Indians shall certainly win and be victorious in this war and the dreams of conquering India which China is today enjoying shall be smashed to smithereens.

[Dr. B. N. Singh]

Before I end, I would like to make a few suggestions for the consideration of the House. Although we are fighting an undeclared war with China, yet, we have to prepare ourselves for the worst. The Prime Minister, only the other day, has assured the House that he has written to the Secretary-General of the UNO, asking him to send our troops back. We should not merely sit after just writing to the Secretary-General. We should insist that when our country is running the danger of being swallowed up by the Chinese dragon, all our crack Indian troops today in Gaza, Congo and other places should be immediately called back to the Indian soil and pressed into service in the frontiers to drive away the Chinese.

Secondly, our retired Generals, instead of being put in the Defence Council—they are persons with war experience—should be sent to the theatre of war. So also our Gurkha troops who are second to none in their gallantry should be asked at this time to come and join us to drive away the Chinese from India.

**An Hon. Member:** From where?

**Dr. B. N. Singh:** Gurkhas are offering their service even from Nepal, if you are reading the news correctly. My next suggestion will be, India is very short of doctors and nurses. As the sick and wounded from the battlefields will require immediate and adequate medical attention, all medical practitioners of Indian origin, who are today serving outside India should be called by our Prime Minister to return to India and offer their services. I am sure that the appeal by the Prime Minister will receive a good response. Further, on the cessation of hostilities with China, these doctors may be permitted to return to the country from where they may come. Similarly, we are very short of engineers and technicians. A large number of Indian engineers and technicians are today serving abroad. The appeal of our

Prime Minister should cover this category of men too.

Then, I would like to make a suggestion through you to the Chairman and Members of the Planning Commission. All these days, they have been pursuing a policy of socialism, nationalisation and expropriation. The time has come now—I am not against planning, but the time has come when the accent on planning has to be changed. It must undergo a radical change, because during this time merely the public sector cannot produce all our requirements. At this time we have to forget nationalisation and our private sector should be encouraged to produce more and more, so that we can get our essential commodities to fight the Chinese.

My last suggestion is most important. Hereafter all Members of Parliament, including yourself and the Ministers, should be seen in khakhi. The time has come; there is a wrong belief in the rural masses of India that Members of Parliament sit and work under luxurious conditions. They merely pass laws and sanction expenditure. This erroneous idea has to be removed by us and we have to show to the people that when the integrity of our mother country is being challenged, it is we, the Members of Parliament who offer our services first to defend our mother country. Those who are able-bodied amongst us should offer voluntarily to go to the front ranks. Those who, on account of age and other disqualifications, are not able to go to the front ranks, should take upon themselves to work as recruiting officers, with the rank of Major in the Indian army. For the time being, I will confine myself to these few suggestions, offering more as and when necessity arises.

श्री इ० न० तिवरी (गोपालगंज) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय, इसके पहले कि मैं इस विषय पर चर्चा करूँ, मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर के रेजोल्यूशन के उस भाग को फिर दोहराना

चाहता हूँ कि जिसमें उन्होंने जवानों को श्रद्धा-जलि अर्पित की है, जिन्होंने देश की रक्षा के लिए अपने जीवन दिये। इस के साथ ही मैं हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को भी बधाई देना चाहता हूँ, जिसने इस लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति के लिये अपना सर्वस्व त्याग करने का संकल्प किया है।

आज हम लोग बड़ी गम्भीर परिस्थिति से मिल रहे हैं। इस लिये मैं समझता था कि इस परिस्थिति में गम्भीर बातें होंगी, लेकिन हमारे कुछ तोस्तों ने, खास कर सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के नेता ने—मैं समझता हूँ कि उस पार्टी के शायद एक दो ही सदस्य इस सदन में होंगे—ऐसी बातें कही हैं, जिनसे मालूम होता है कि देश में विभिन्नता है, विभिन्न मत हैं और गवर्नमेंट की एफ्टर्स के साथ सब लोग नहीं हैं। मुझे नहीं मालूम कि वह इस रेजोल्यूशन में क्या चाहते थे। उन्होंने कहा कि इस रेजोल्यूशन में इतनी अरजेंसी नहीं है, कोई साफ बात नहीं है कि मुझे क्या करना है। मुझे नहीं मालूम कि वह इस रेजोल्यूशन को समझते भी हैं या नहीं, इसके अर्थ को भी समझते हैं या नहीं। प्रस्ताव में साफ कहा गया है कि हम लोग तब तक चैन नहीं लेंगे, जब तक कि हिन्दुस्तान की एक एक इंच जमीन चीनियों से खाली नहीं हो जाती है। मैं नहीं जानता कि वह और क्या चाहते हैं।

इसके साथ ही उन्होंने कहा कि कोई वार्ता नहीं होनी चाहिए, जब तक कि हमारी सारी जमीन खाली न हो जाये। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सुलह की एक फिज्जा होती है। सुलह करने के समय कुछ ऐसी बातों का कहना जरूरी होता है, जिन से विपक्षी दल भी उस ओर प्रेरित हो। ८ सितम्बर से पहले जो हमारी स्थिति थी, वहाँ तक यदि हम आ जायें, तो वार्ता करने में कोई हर्ज नहीं होना चाहिए। हाँ, उससे पहले कोई वार्ता नहीं करनी चाहिए। यह बात भी ठीक है कि यदि हम पर्याप्त ताकत और शक्ति रखते हैं, तो जल्द से जल्द हम चीनियों को अपनी भूमि से भगा सकते हैं।

उन्होंने यह भी जिक्र किया कि हम कुछ जगहों पर हारे हैं। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि शुरू शुरू में एग्रेसर को कुछ एडवन्टेंज हासिल होता है। पिछली लड़ाई में जब जापान शामिल हुआ, तो उसने अमरीका और इंग्लैंड की माइट को चैलेंज करके कुछ इनिशाल विक्टरीज हासिल कीं। उस ने बर्मा ले लिया, अण्डमान और निकोबार पर कब्जा कर लिया और पलं हार्बर पर भी अधिकार कर लिया। लेकिन इसका अर्थ यह नहीं हुआ कि वह जीत गया। अन्त में क्या हो गया? जापान को भागते भागते अपने देश में भी गुलामी करनी पड़ी। जो लोग इनिशाल रिवांसिज को बढ़ा चढ़ा कर देखते हैं, शायद वे लड़ाई की बातों को नहीं जानते हैं।

हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी के कुछ मेम्बर भी इतने घबराये हुए हैं कि मालूम नहीं कि वे क्या समझते हैं। हमारे आगे बैठने वाले माननीय सदस्य, श्री हनुमन्तैया ने प्राइम मिनिस्टर को कहा कि नान-एलाइनमेंट को पालिसी को छोड़ देना चाहिये और अमरीका से मदद लेनी चाहिये। मैं नहीं जानता कि उन्होंने नान-एलाइनमेंट का क्या मतलब समझा है। क्या प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने संसार के सारे देशों को यह नहीं लिखा है कि हम आप की मदद और सहानुभूति चाहते हैं? नान-एलाइन्ड रहते हुए भी उन्होंने ने संसार के सब देशों से मदद मांगी है। संसार के जो देश डेमोक्रेसी की रक्षा करना चाहते हैं और हमारे मित्र हैं, उन्होंने हम को मदद देने की प्रतिज्ञा और आश्वासन भी दिया है। इतलिये हम नहीं समझते कि श्री हनुमन्तैया क्या चाहते हैं।

वह चाहते हैं कि इस मामले को यू० एन० ओ० में ले जाया जाये। क्यों? हम पर एग्रेसन हुआ है उस देश की ओर से, जो कि यू० एन० ओ० का मेम्बर नहीं है। तब यू० एन० ओ० उस का क्या करेगा? मैं नहीं समझता कि भाषण देते वक्त या बहस में

[श्रं डा० ना० तिवारी]

लोग ऐसी बातें क्यों कह देते हैं, जिन के कोई मानी या मतलब नहीं होते। हमारे दोस्त इस समय सदन में नहीं हैं, वर्ना मैं उन से पूछता कि उन्होंने नान-एलाइनमेंट का मतलब क्या समझा है।

वह प्राइम मिनिस्टर को सलाह देते हैं कि हम को अमरीका के यहां जाना चाहिये और सहायता मांगनी चाहिये। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने अमरीका और संसार के दूसरे देशों से अपील की है। क्या माननीय सदस्य चाहते हैं कि हम घुटने टेक कर या हाथ जोड़ कर सहायता मांगें या वे किन्हीं स्ट्रिग्ज के साथ मदद लेने के लिये कहते हैं ?

इन बातों को सुन कर यह मालूम होता है कि हमारे कुछ सदस्य घबराये हुए हैं और वे समझते नहीं हैं कि हम में कितनी शक्ति है, हमारी जनता जाग चुकी है दूसरे किसी भी समय आज-कल की फ़िजा नहीं देखी गई थी। इसलिये हम को अपनी अल्टीमेट विकटरी पर विश्वास होना चाहिये।

कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के लीडर ने अपनी स्पीच में पूछा था कि क्यों हमारे साथी पकड़े जाते हैं, क्यों हम पर अविश्वास किया जाता है। इस समय उन के दल के कोई सदस्य यहां पर नहीं हैं। मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के सारे सदस्य एक दिमाग के हैं, क्या उन में विभिन्नता नहीं है, क्या उन में ऐसे लोग नहीं हैं जो इस लड़ाई को अपनी लड़ाई नहीं समझते हैं, क्या उन में ऐसे लोग नहीं हैं जो चीन का साथ देना चाहते हैं। अगर ऐसे लोगों को पकड़ कर जेल में भेज दिया जाये तो क्या हानि है ? मैं समझता हूं कि ऐसा अवश्य करना चाहिये, क्योंकि ऐसा न करने से देश की हानि होगी और लड़ाई की एफ़र्ट्स में गड़बड़ी होगी।

श्री प० ला० बालूपाल (गंगानगर) : चीन से पहले उन से निबट लिया जाये।

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी : उन की इतनी शक्ति नहीं है, इसलिये उन से निबटने का कोई प्रश्न नहीं है। लेकिन यह आवश्यक है कि जो लोग गड़बड़ी करते हैं, उन को जेल में बन्द कर दिया जाये, ताकि वे जनता में बुद्धि-भेद न पैदा कर सकें। मैं मानता हूं कि कुछ कम्यूनिस्ट चाहते हैं कि देश की मदद करें। उन के साथ हमें सहयोग करना है और करना चाहिये, लेकिन जो ज़रा भी गड़बड़ करना चाहते हैं, उन्हें अन्दर ही रखना चाहिये, बाहर नहीं आने देना चाहिये, क्योंकि यह इमर्जेंसी का समय है, देश में इमर्जेंसी प्रार्डिनेन्स जारी किया गया है और हम लड़ाई के ज़माने से गुजर रहे हैं।

प्रजा समाजवादी दल के अपने मित्रों से मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने इस सदन में जो स्टैंड लिया है, बाहर भी, पब्लिक मीटिंग्स में भी, उन को वही स्टैंड लेना चाहिये। मैं ने उन की मीटिंग्स को अटेंड किया है। मैं ने उन की बातें सुनी हैं। मैं ने देखा है कि उन का जैसा भाषण यहां पर हुआ है, वैसा बाहर नहीं होता है। वहां पर सरकार को क्रिटिसाइज कर के और गवर्नमेंट की नीतियों की नुक्ता-चीनी कर के ही वे कोई बात कहते हैं। वे दस लाइन लड़ाई में मदद देने के लिये बोलते हैं, तो बीस लाइन गवर्नमेंट को क्रिटिसाइज करने के लिये बोलते हैं। लोगों में यह बुद्धि-भेद फैलाने की ज़रूरत नहीं है। इस से लड़ाई की एफ़र्ट्स में हानि होती है।

जो कांग्रेस के या दूसरे लोग यह समझते हैं कि मेनन साहब हट गये, और यह कोई बहादुरी का काम है, वे गलती पर हैं। मैं यह नहीं समझता कि यह कोई बहादुरी की बात है। अगर वार एफ़र्ट्स के लिये कोई जवाबदेह है, तो वह गवर्नमेंट और कैबिनेट



है। कैबिनेट की सब-कमेटी पालिसी को ले डाउन करती है और वही उस के लिये जिम्मेदार है। मेनन साहब तो उस को रिप्रेजेंट करते हैं। मैं मेनन साहब को डिफेंड नहीं करना चाहता, लेकिन मैं एक ही आदमी पर सारा दोष लगा देना उचित नहीं समझता।

**श्री बड़े :** तो फिर उन को क्यों निकाला ?

**श्री डा० ना० तिमारी :** अच्छे से अच्छे और काबिल आदमी को भी, अगर वह विवादास्पद हो जाये, लड़ाई के जमाने में हटा देना चाहिए। माननीय सदस्यों को मालूम होना चाहिए कि उन्होंने पहले भी कई बार अपना इस्तीफा भेज दिया था।

एक बात हम लोगों को समझ लेनी चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान कभी भी विदेशी आक्रमण से हारा नहीं है। यदि हम तारीख को देखें, यदि हम इतिहास के पन्ने उलटें, तो मालूम होगा कि हम कभी भी हारे नहीं हैं, लेकिन हम आपस की फूट और पारस्परिक विभेद की वजह से, अपने बीच जयचंद और मीर जाफ़र पैदा हो जाने से हारे हैं और इस लिए हम को इस से सबक लेना चाहिए। मैं माननीय सदस्य, श्री यादव, को कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह इन बातों को छोड़ दें। यदि लड़ाई जीतनी है, तो एकमत हो कर, ईमानदारी से सरकार की मदद करने के लिए सरकार के साथ चलना चाहिए।

**श्री कृष्ण राय (देवास) :** कम्युनिस्ट जयचंद हैं या श्री रामसेवक यादव ?

**श्री डा० ना० तिमारी :** इस लड़ाई को चलाने के लिए हम को अपरिमित धन की जरूरत है। मैं देखता हूँ कि कांट्रीब्यूशन गरीबों के यहाँ से बहुत आता है। गरीब लोग अपनी हैसियत से अधिक दे रहे हैं। यह बात मैं देखना यदि मैं उतनी ही खूबी के साथ धनिक-वर्ग में

तो मुझे खुशी होती। लेकिन वह नहीं हो रहा है। इसलिए मैं सरकार से कहूंगा कि वह कोई ऐसा उपाय करे जिससे जिसकी जितनी हैसियत हो उससे वह कम न दे सके। अगर जरूरत पड़े तो कम्पल-सरी लैवी भी हो और हर आदमी की इनकम का दस परसेंट या इससे अधिक वार फंड में कांट्रीब्यूशन के तौर पर लिया जाये। जिस की ज्यादा इनकम हो उससे ज्यादा परसेंटेज लिया जाये और जिस की कम हो उससे कम लिया जाये। हमें खुशी है कि गरीब आदमियों ने काफी धन दिया है। देहातों में दस बीस मीटिंगों में मैं गया हूँ और वहाँ पर देखा है कि जब अपील की गई तो उसी वक़्त जिन के पास जो होता है, समूचा न्यूट्रावर कर देते हैं। वहाँ पर एक मीटिंग में पांच सौ या हजार लोग ही आते हैं जब कभी हम जैसे लोग मीटिंग करते हैं और पांच सौ या हजार रुपया बसूल हो जाता है। तैयारी से वे नहीं आते हैं लेकिन जिन के पास जितना होता है दे देते हैं। जो धनिक वर्ग है वह भी अगर वैसा ही करता तो फिजा दूसरी होती और उन को देख कर जो दूसरे लोग हैं वे और भी अधिक उत्साह के साथ मदद करते।

देबर साहब ने एक बात कही जिसकी मैं ताईद करता हूँ। हमको वेस्टेज से बचना चाहिये। जितने कम्युनिटी डिवलेपमेंट ब्लाक्स हैं उन में सभी में दो दो या तीन तीन जीपें हैं और वहाँ से कम से कम एक एक जीप तो हटा ही ली जानी चाहिये। इससे हमारे यातायात के साधन बढ़ेंगे और लड़ाई में हमारी मदद होगी। साथ ही साथ वेस्टेज भी कम होगा। तीन हजार के करीब ब्लाक्स हैं और उनमें छः हजार जीपें हैं। इन में से कम से कम तीन हजार तो हमें विदड़ा कर ही लेनी चाहियें।

**कृष्ण राय (देवास) :** सभी ले ली जानी चाहियें।

श्री डा० न० ति गरी : साथ ही वहाँ वेस्टेज बहुत होता है। गवर्नमेंट को देखना चाहिये कि कौन सा एसेंशियल एक्सपेंडिचर है और कौन सा एक्सपेंडिचर ऐसा है जो एसेंशियल नहीं है। आज हमें उन्हीं कामों को हाथ में लेना चाहिये जो एसेंशियल हों, जो देश को मजबूत करने में मदद दे सकते हों, हमारी वार एफर्ट्स में मददगार साबित हो सकते हों और बाकी को हाथ में नहीं लेना चाहिये।

कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने फाइव यीअर प्लान को क्विटासाइज किया है और कहा है कि हम लोग आज तक सोये हुए थे। हम सोये हुए नहीं हैं। आज की लड़ाई वह नहीं है कि केवल सेना से ही जीती जाये। आज की लड़ाई में ज़रूरत इस बात की है कि सब को मजबूत किया जाय, देश की तरक्की की जाय। सब को मजबूत करके ही देश तरक्की कर सकता है। प्रधान मंत्री जो टोका ही कहा है कि देश उन्नतिशील होगा, समृद्धिशील होगा तो लड़ाई लड़ने में सक्षम होंगे। अगर देश गरीब रहेगा तो आक्रमण रक नहीं सकता है। पेट की ज्वाला गरीब आदमी को आत्म-सम्मान खो कर पराजय स्वीकार करने पर मजबूर कर देती है। जब देश समृद्धिशाली होता है, देश का बजट ठीक रहता है तो वह किस भी आपत्ति का सामना कर सकता है।

हमारे यहां जब लड़ाई होती है, या कोई विपत्ति आती है तो एंटी-सोशल एनीमेंट्स सिर उठाते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हर लिहाज से इन एंटी-सोशल एनीमेंट्स को दबाने के लिए सरकार को स्ट्रिजेंट मैशर्ज लेने चाहिये अन्यथा देश में अव्यवस्था फैल जायेगी और

अन्ततोगत्वा हमारी वार-एफर्ट्स में कमी आयगी, लोगों में मतभेद होगा, लोगों में चौखलाहट होगी। उस हालत में गवर्नमेंट बदनाम होगी और लड़ाई का काम ठीक नहीं हो सकेगा, खराबी पैदा होगी।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे चारों ओर के जो पड़ोसी हैं, उन से चाहे हमारे डिफेंसिस हों फिर भी जितने अच्छे सम्बन्ध कायम हो सकें, कायम करने की हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिये। इस मौके पर कुछ नम्र हो कर भी अगर ऐसा हो सकता हो तो हमें करना चाहिये। यह मैं नहीं कहता हूँ कि अपमानजनक शर्तों पर हम उनसे अच्छे सम्बन्ध कायम करें, लेकिन नम्र बन कर अगर हमारा काम चल जाय तो हमें नम्र बन जाना चाहिये। मैं नहीं मानता हूँ कि जो हमारे पड़ोसी हैं उनसे हमारी जन्मजात दुश्मनी है। उनसे हमारी मुलह हो सकती है, वे हमारी मदद कर सकते हैं। हमारे जो पड़ोसी हैं, जैसे नेपाल है, बर्मा है, सीलोन है, पाकिस्तान है, उनके दिल में हम ऐसा विश्वास जमायें कि वे स्वयंमेव हमारी मदद करें।

अन्त में मैं इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ और अपने सभी भाइयों से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो भी हम में मतभेद है, उनको हम भूल जायें और हम सब मिल कर, एक हो कर दुश्मन का सामना करें।

17:36 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till eleven of the Clock on Saturday, November 10, 1962|Kartika 19, 1884 (Saka).