

**The Minister of Education (Dr. K. L. Shrimali):** (a) In the schools, where uniforms have been prescribed, the students are required to come in such uniforms.

(b) No, Sir.

(c) Does not arise.

#### Scholarships to Technical Students

423. { Shri Buta Singh:  
Shri Gulshan:

Will the Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that most of the scholars in receipt of Merit and Merit-cum-means scholarship awards have to spend more than Rs. 75 per month towards their hostel dues in the engineering colleges throughout India;

(b) whether Government are considering any proposal to increase the scholarship amount to facilitate the scholars to meet their expenses on purchasing books and stationery; and

(c) if so, what are the decisions of the Government?

**The Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs (Shri Humayun Kabir):** (a) The value of Merit-cum-Means scholarships awarded in the engineering colleges has been fixed at Rs. 75 after taking into consideration on an all-India basis various factors such as Hostel fees etc. Besides the scholarshipholders enjoy exemption from the payment of tuition fees. The amount is therefore considered to be adequate.

(b) and (c). At present there is no proposal to enhance the value of such scholarships.

#### Scholarships to Technical Students

424. { Shri Buta Singh:  
Shri Gulshan:

Will the Minister of Scientific Re-

search and Cultural Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that most of the engineering colleges in India do not decide the grant of scholarships (both Merit and Merit-cum-means) to the Technical Students till the end of the academic year;

(b) whether it is also a fact that considerable difficulty is being experienced by financially poor students to pilot their studies by paying the fees etc. in advance; and

(c) if so, what steps Government have taken or propose to take to ensure payment of scholarship awards before the end of the first term?

**The Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs (Shri Humayun Kabir):** (a) to (c). Some complaints were received last year and steps were taken to ensure that most of the scholars are paid their scholarships before the end of the academic year. No complaint has been received in the current session.

12 hrs.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (GENERAL), 1962-63

**The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai):** Sir, I beg to present a statement showing Supplementary Demands for Grants in respect of the Budget (General) for 1962-63.

12.01 hrs.

#### RESOLUTIONS RE: PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY AND AGGRESSION BY CHINA—Contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now take up further discussion on the resolutions moved by the hon. Prime Minister on the 8th November, 1962, along with the amendments that had been moved. Shri Oza.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** Sir, may we have an idea as to when the hon. Prime Minister will give a reply?

**Mr. Speaker:** At 4 o'clock the hon. Prime Minister will be replying to the debate.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath** (Hoshangabad): Would it not be possible, if the hon. Prime Minister agrees, that he replies when he is fresh tomorrow morning after the Question Hour, so that the debate may continue till the end of the day today?

**Mr. Speaker:** No, that is not possible. I have considered that.

**Shri Oza** (Surendranagar): **Mr. Speaker,** Sir, I whole-heartedly support the two Resolutions moved by the hon. Prime Minister. The whole nation has been shocked and grieved by the ruthless and unscrupulous attack made by China. We feel more deeply hurt because a treacherous deal has been meted out to us by a nation whom we thought to be a friend. It was with this nation that we sat some years back at Bandung along with other Afro-Asian nations and dreamt of forging solidarity between the Asian and African countries and of extending mutual aid for development. It was this nation whose cause we espoused in international forums even at the cost of misunderstanding among other friendly nations.

It is rightly said that the wounds of ingratitude and betrayal are more painful. But does this mean that we are sorry for what we did in the past? Definitely not. Our foreign policy was not adumbrated only from narrow considerations but for larger ends of world peace. It is not such that it cannot bear the impact and test of a situation the like of which we are facing today. I have no doubt in my mind that a policy which is good for peace is also good in such exigencies. If we change it at present, we would be open to criticism by other countries and it will appear that we are not practising what we used to preach. Has the nation also not endorsed it times without number, on so many occasions? Would it be fair to our leadership to turn round at this stage and to say that what is done is not proper?

There is also some talk about the real intentions of the aggressor and about our unpreparedness. When a trespasser enters our premises, should the family sit down and start discussions about his intentions or start finding fault with the members of the family for some alleged negligence? All efforts should be directed towards removing the trespasser. It is with a similar mood that we should divert all our energies. In the hour of trial only weak people start apportioning blame. We should behave like mature people and meet the situation with calm, cool, calculated and determined will.

Our jawans are valiantly fighting on the border. We will not grudge them whatever they need. We will procure it here or abroad and will strain every nerve to support them in every imaginable way possible. The leader has given us the clarion call. Let us stick to our position, high or humble and perform whatever functions are assigned to us.

There is great upsurge of enthusiasm. It is highly necessary that this should be channelised. People have contributed liberally and will continue. But, there is a limit for an average citizen to do so. I think that we should give the people some concrete programmes. Otherwise, I am afraid there will be frustration and dissipation which state of affairs also is very dangerous. Every Ministry should devise what it expects the citizens to do while following his normal and natural avocations.

Consumption pattern about tea, sugar, cloth, oil, etc., should be laid down, if necessary. People should be asked to take pledges about doing something or abstaining from doing something. I feel that hoarding will not take place at the sellers point. I am sure neither the Government nor the people will tolerate it. But, I am afraid at the consumers level perhaps it may take place. Therefore, it is necessary that the Government should give proper guidance to the citizens.

[Shri Oza.]

The struggle is likely to be a long one as is indicated by our leader. Speaking at a public meeting, he even suggested conscription though at a future date. In that case, we should start giving preliminary training to our youngsters so that they can be immediately commissioned to action if need be. Austerity should be the climate of the day. All ostentatious expenditure should be eschewed at all levels, whether Government, social or individual.

Again, I take this opportunity to pay my homage to the jawans who have laid down their lives and assure them on behalf of this House and the area from which I am coming that we will not stint from our duty and we will do whatever is necessary to support them when they are fighting on the frontier and shedding their blood for the protection of the motherland.

**Shri Ravindra Varma (Thiruvella):**  
Mr. Speaker, I rise to join the hon. Members from all sections of the House who have paid their humble tribute to our heroic armed forces who are engaged in a life and death struggle to safeguard the sovereignty and sanctity of our motherland. The epic that they are inscribing with their undaunted courage and determination will be etched in the memory of every generation of our countrymen. The callous and cynical manner in which China has betrayed the trust and friendship of our people will go down as the darkest, most deceitful and vile piece of treachery that has tarred the history of humanity. To deal effectively with a wily and unscrupulous enemy of this kind, it is necessary that we have a clear assessment of the objectives and strategy of our adversary.

The colossal failure of China's leap forward and the fissures that came to light in her leadership compelled China to look for something to distract and confuse her people and to bolster the unity of her leadership. China could not brook the existence

of a successful rival in Asia, an example of democratic socialism in a country that dared to differ and managed to prosper. It wants to discredit India and discourage others from following our example. It wants to put India's economic progress in jeopardy by confronting us with an economic dilemma, compelling us to choose between spending on defence and spending on development. China wants to confront us with a political dilemma by bringing pressure on us to give up non-alignment and seek the security of a military alliance. China wants to stake her claim for the leadership of world communism.

It has been said that the treacherous invasion that China has launched is reminiscent of the Imperialist expansionism of the 18th century. This is no doubt true, Sir. But, Sir, it is equally true that China is a Communist country. The pontiffs of Communism have often told us that a Communist country—by the very absolutism that it receives from the ideology it professes—can never be an aggressor; that all progressive people know that what looks like aggression to the bourgeois eye is in fact only liberation. China believes in this process of liberation. China has always believed that war is inevitable for Communism, that peace is only a preparation for war. This war, therefore, is a war that China is waging for the expansion of the frontiers of Communism. It is evangelic expansionism; if it is Imperialism, it is Messianic Imperialism.

Sir, it is true that we have not launched a crusade to rid the world of Communism. But it is equally true that this is a defensive war that we are waging in defence of our territory and our ideology of democratic socialism and peaceful co-existence.

12.10 hrs.

Sir, some hon. Members, particularly of the Swatantra Group, have taken panic and asked us to discard non-alignment in penitence and contrition. I venture to suggest that this is a

dangerous and wholly unwarranted counsel. I wholeheartedly support the policy of non-alignment, because non-alignment is the surest guarantee of a sovereign nation's right to independence of judgment. It cannot be given up without diluting or surrendering our sovereignty at the counter at the back-door. Sir, the counsel is unwarranted because when the testing time came, we found that our non-alignment did not prevent us from taking military assistance. It did not prevent others from giving military assistance. Why then should non-alignment be given up?

Sir, this does not mean that this hour of crisis should not be one of deep self-introspection. It is today incumbent on us to examine how far we have had regrettable lapses, how far we have let bad advocacy affect our good cause, how far, for fear of taking the lead, we have stood in stately, and sometimes sullen, isolation, and in the last minute, allowed ourselves to be stampeded by a bumptious section of the non-aligned.

Sir, the role of the Communist Party has been referred to by many hon. Members. The spokesman of the Communist group said: 'History will give you the answer'. Sir, I wish he had not invoked history. The history of the Communist Party in India is not too flattering, and has given little proof of patriotism. Lenin has referred to the desire to defend a bourgeois State as 'defencism' and said that this defencism is "treason to socialism, and a complete renunciation of internationalism, no matter by what fine phrases and practical considerations it may be justified". That, Sir, is what the *Pravda* and *Izvestia* recently reiterated when they warned against the chauvinistic character of nationalism and exhorted the Party to take an internationalist view. All this shows that history gives us the right, nay, casts on us the duty to be sceptical. An hon. Member from the Communist Benches told us yesterday that the proof of the pudding is in the

eating. In all humility, Sir, I would say that when what is to be proved is whether there is a trace of poison in the pudding, no wise man will test it on his tongue. He would far rather send it to the laboratory. The Government will, therefore, be perfectly justified if they refuse to take risks with the security of a State at war.

I feel that the House and the country must be fully aware of the tactics and strategy of warfare that China has developed in the last thirty years. China has a mighty military machine tuned to a revolutionary method of warfare. She has evolved a highly effective and battle-tested combination of traditional warfare and guerilla warfare, of long fluid fronts and positional warfare, of concentration of massive forces to annihilate a segment of the rival army, especially where the lines of communication are tenuous, of quick campaigns and a protracted war. Such an enemy has to be fought on the military, economic, ideological, psychological and diplomatic fronts. On the military front, we must match their strategy, tactics and force of arms. We must train the people of our border areas in guerilla warfare, and the entire country in civil defence. On the economic front, we must maximise production, ensure supplies and organise an effective distribution system that leaves no loopholes for traitors and profiteers.

Sir, our cause is just. Our determination is firm. Our dedication is complete. Victory will certainly be ours.

**Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri** (Berhampur): During the last few weeks, we have witnessed a national upsurge the like of which has never been known even in the glorious history of our country so far. Even foreign observers like Mr. Stephen Hugh Jones of the *Manchester Guardian* have been impelled to compare

[Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri]

this national upsurge to the awakening of a giant. But, at the same time, the time has come when a few weeks have elapsed since the attack began, we must pause a little and take stock of the hard realities of the situation. I am a little dismayed to find that even persons who have been in responsible positions have got into the habit of using emotive words and to shut their eyes to the stark and hard realities of the very precarious military and strategic situation in which we find ourselves as a result of our past mistakes and lack of preparations. Very eminent persons, persons who have held very responsible positions and even the highest positions in the State have been putting strategic objectives before our defence planners which bear no relation either to the realities of the situation or to our nation's defence capabilities. It has been seriously suggested that we should not merely stop at dislodging and driving out the Chinese from our territories but we should plan for going over to the offensive and liberate Tibet.

We have to bear in mind that, whoever has been responsible for it, in the north-east we have allowed the Chinese to occupy strategic mountain passes with long and careful preparations made over months and years. The terrain there and perhaps the onset of winter will increase difficulties for them in spite of the logistic advantages which they enjoy. But except for this, after the snows melt the enemy will be in a position to deploy his troops wherever he chooses, and he can spread over the plains of India. We should not forget that hard reality.

In Ladakh, all our advance posts have been dislodged or wiped out. In the front also, the initiative and logistic superiority is still with the enemy. For the present, there is a bull and perhaps large-scale operations will not be possible during the

winter. But for us the choice in Spring will be either to leave the Chinese position at the head of these passes alone or to make a desperate attempt to dislodge them. Assuming for a moment that the Chinese will limit their operations to conventional weapons, we have to bear in mind the military implications of the whole situation. I would refer the House, the defence planners and the Prime Minister to the letter that Field Marshal Auchinleck has written to the *London Times* which was published here on the 8th November. He has said:

"India, because of Kashmir, has the north-western frontier problem in Ladakh. In Ladakh, the western frontier with Pakistan is some thousand miles long. Should she be faced in addition with a permanent threat by the Chinese in the north-eastern approach, which is a reality now, her military burdens might well be insupportable".

He concluded by saying:

"Even the British with all their resources and complete control of a unified India had never to contemplate such responsibilities".

We have to bear in mind that our front on the north-eastern frontier, about 500 miles long, is one of the most difficult terrains of the world, and in the north-west in an equally difficult terrain, we have a front about 400 miles long. To ask us to undertake the military burden of liberating Tibet and to put that as a serious military objective is something which passes my comprehension.

Coming to the diplomatic situation as it is today, we are all very grateful to friendly nations for the help they are giving. At the same time, we must bear in mind that wars these

days are not won simply by military operations. There is such a thing as diplomatic offensive—diplomatic warfare. For the present, taking advantage of the lull in fighting, the Chinese have opened a peace offensive. We have to scan the trends of public opinion in foreign countries. Even in one country which has stood by us in this hour of danger very gallantly and very nobly, I mean U.K., a representative cross-section of public opinion has been agitating for a negotiated peace even on Chinese terms. How is it that our diplomatic mission in U.K. has not put our case squarely before the British public? How is it that even representative papers like the *London Times* or the *Manchester Guardian* or the left-wing journal *New Statesman and Nation*, which are not communist journals, nor are known to be friends of communists, have been advocating that we should seriously consider the Chinese proposals?

Why is it that our case, our terms, the justice of the counter-terms that we have put forward, are not put before the British public opinion very ably and with sound advocacy? I might even refer to the news that has just been put out by *Reuters* this morning that this peace offensive of the Chinese through the British press has assumed a proportion which has impelled even the British Prime Minister, Mr. Mac Millan, to make a statement that he is willing to advise India to have a negotiated peace, but that it must be peace with honour. We must take serious measures through our radio broadcasts and also through our diplomatic missions to counter this kind of propoganda.

In conclusion, I must also say a few words about the home front, and must remind this House that the challenge of this Chinese aggression is not merely a military one. It is also a challenge of social revolution. The whole country and the people have

painful memories of the war years of 1940-46; they knew one kind of war operations, they knew how the war economy operated in those days under the imperialist rulers—Shri Jai Prakash Narain has reminded us of this in a recent statement, and I quote him:

“The challenge of China is not only a military one. It is also the challenge of social revolution... I am not thinking at the moment of any heroic state action to usher in the revolution. I am thinking of the attitudes of the top layers of our society. The challenge of China cannot be effectively met if those attitudes are not changed....If lack of imagination and initiative, complacency, bureaucratism, pettiness, favouritism, selfishness, profiteering, partisanship and other plagues of our national life are allowed to continue, this upsurge of national enthusiasm might prove to be a mere flash in the pan.”

श्री विश्वनाथ राय (बेबरिया) :  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, चीन ने भारत भू पर आक्रमण किया है, उससे न केवल भारतीय समाज को बर्क सारे संसार को यह शिक्षा मिली है कि किस देश पर शासन करने वाला अधिनायक तंत्र, चाहे वह व्यक्ति का हो और चाहे दल या गुट का, जब शक्तिशाली होता है, तो वह राजनीतिक संतुलन खो देता है और इस प्रकार मानव समाज और अपने पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों के लिये घातक सिद्ध होता है।

जो चीन अभी कुछ दिन पहले तक पंचशील की हामी भरता रहा, जो विश्व-शान्ति की बात करता रहा, जो सह-अस्तित्व का नारा लगाता रहा, आज वह अपने एक पड़ोसी राष्ट्र और उस मित्र राष्ट्र पर आक्रमण कर रहा है और गोले बरसा रहा है, जिसने उस के नये शासन को राजनीतिक गम्भीरता

[श्री विश्व गय राय]

दिलाने में काफी हाथ बंटाय़ा है। यह इस बात का प्रमाण है कि भारत पर जो आक्रमण हुआ है, वह केवल सीमा-विवाद के कारण नहीं है, बल्कि चीन की महत्वाकांक्षा के कारण है, जिस से प्रेरित हो कर वह न केवल इंडोनेशिया और लिगतनाम आदि छोटे मोटे देशों पर अपना आधिपत्य जमाना चाहता है, बल्कि जन-संख्या की दृष्टि से संसार के दूसरे नम्बर के देश पर भी अपना प्रभुत्व स्थापित करना चाहता है। इस तरह से वह सारे एशिया के जन-समूह पर अपना आधिपत्य जमाने के बाद दूसरे राष्ट्रों का शोषण करने के लिये—वह शोषण राजनीतिक हो अथवा आर्थिक—सारे विश्व पर स्वामित्व करने की आकांक्षा रखता है।

हमारे देश के उत्तर में जो संघर्ष हो रहा है, उस को इस समय इस देश में भी और बाहर भी एक सीमा विवाद समझा जाता है, लेकिन सम्भव है कि आगे चल कर यह विवाद विचारों का संघर्ष हो जाये। वह संघर्ष लोक-तांत्रिक सिद्धान्तों को मानने वाली शक्तियों और ऐसे लोगों या ऐसे दलों का संघर्ष होगा, जो एकतन्त्र अधिनायकतन्त्र या फिक्टोरशिप में विश्वास करते हैं। इसलिये, जैसा कि प्रधान मंत्री ने पहले ही कहा है, हमें आज के लिये ही नहीं, बल्कि बहुत दिनों के लिये पूरी तरह से तैयार होना है, क्योंकि यह युद्ध, यह संघर्ष, थोड़े दिनों का नहीं, अपितु बहुत दिनों तक चलने वाला है।

यह अच्छा हुआ कि भारत के स्वतन्त्रता-संग्राम के जिस सेनानी, वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री के नेतृत्व में भारत न एक हो कर साम्राज्यवाद का अन्त किया, उसी के जीवन काल में—यद्यपि उन के वृद्ध होने पर—वह समय आ गया है कि अपनी स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा की जाय। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि जिस तरह से राष्ट्र ने पराधीनता से

मुक्ति पाने के लिये एक झंडे के नीचे एकत्र हो कर संसार के सब से शक्तिशाली साम्राज्यवाद का नाश किया था, उसी तरह से वह प्रधान मंत्री के नेतृत्व में, इउ युग में जो बहुत बड़ा संकट हमारे देश पर आया है, उस का मुकाबला करेगा और उस को दूर करने में ही नहीं, बल्कि चीन की महत्वाकांक्षा का विध्वंस करने में भी सफल होगा। अज हम देखते हैं कि चाहे खेत हो, चाहे फैक्टरी हो और चाहे दिल्ली जैसे बड़े बड़े शहर, हर स्थान के लोगों की एक ही आवाज है और वह यह कि “नेहरूजी आगे बढ़ें, हम उन के साथ हैं, हम उन के झंडे के नीचे हैं।”

मैं देश के उस हिस्से से आता हूँ, जो उत्तरी सीमा के पास है। वहाँ पर शिक्षा आदि की कमी है और बाढ़ आदि आकस्मिक विपत्तियों से लोग पीड़ित हैं, लेकिन फिर भी वहाँ पर उत्साह इतना है—मैं ने देखा—कि एक साठ सत्तर बरस का बूढ़ा, जो खेत में काम कर रहा था, कह रहा था कि यदि चीन देश पर आता है, तो यदि कुछ नहीं रहेगा, तो फावड़े से ही उस का सिर काटेंगे। यही नहीं, पांच छः वर्ष के छोटे छोटे बच्चे भी, जो कि पढ़ लिख भी नहीं सकते हैं, कहते हैं कि हमें क्या करना है। कई बच्चे तो यह कहते हैं कि हम लड़ाई पर कब जायेंगे। हम ने उन को कहा कि नेहरू जी से पूछना, वही बतायेंगे।

यह ठीक है कि जो राष्ट्रीय संकट कभी कभी हम पर आते हैं, उनके कारण आर्थिक दृष्टि से जनता को कष्ट होता है और उस को और भी कई प्रकार की कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ता है, लेकिन ऐसे संकट राष्ट्र की एकता को बढ़ने, पनपन और सुदृढ़ होने का अवसर प्रदान करते हैं। हमारे देश में पिछले समय में राष्ट्रीयता की कमी हो गई थी और चारों ओर भाषावाद, साम्प्रदायिकता, फूट और

क्षेत्रीयता का बोलबाला था। उन सब बातों को भूल कर आज सब लोग एक हो रहे हैं। और भारतीय राष्ट्रीयता को बलवान बना रहे हैं। लेकिन हमारी राष्ट्रीयता को सुदृढ़ और बलवान करने का अर्थ यह नहीं है कि कि हम दूसरे राष्ट्रों का शोषण करेंगे, जैसा कि चाटना करना चाहता है, बल्कि हम तो दूसरे राष्ट्रों के आन्तरिक मामलों में हस्तक्षेप न करते हुए उनकी स्वतन्त्रता को बनाये रखने या प्राप्त करने और उन के विकास और प्रगति में अपना योग देना चाहते हैं। हमारी इसी नीति के कारण विश्व के अधिकतर देश इस समय हमारे साथ हैं और हम को सहायता दे रहे हैं। भले ही कुछ कम्युनिस्ट देश हमारे साथ खुल कर न हों, लेकिन उनके मन हमारे साथ है। मुझे आशा है कि संसार के सब राष्ट्र चाहे वे किसी भी गुट में हों, हम को सहायता और प्रोत्साहन देते रहेंगे।

लेकिन हमको इस बारे में सचेत रहना चाहिये कि यह संघर्ष केवल दस बीस बरस चलने वाला नहीं है। आज चीन जैसा बलवान और बहुत बड़ी जनसंख्या वाला राष्ट्र हमारा विरोधी बन रहा है। इस लिये हम को शताब्दियों तक उस के आक्रमण का मुकाबला करने और संघर्ष करने के लिये तैयार रहना चाहिये। हमारे राष्ट्र में दर्शन का सदा से प्रभाव रहा है और हम लोग सैद्धान्तिक बातों में दिलचस्पी लेते आये हैं। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम में मासल स्पिरिट बढ़े। आज हम को देश में यह भावना पैदा करनी चाहिये कि यदि कोई दुश्मन देश पर आक्रमण करता है, तो हम डट कर उस का मुकाबला करेंगे।

अन्त में मैं यह सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि उत्तरी सीमा से लगे हुए क्षेत्रों, नागालैंड, बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश, पंजाब और जम्मू काश्मीर आदि में सैनिक शिक्षा की जल्दी से जल्दी व्यवस्था की जाये। मुझे खुशी है कि सरकार स्कूल-कालेजों में इसका आयोजन करने जा

रही है। लेकिन सब से पहले उत्तरी सीमा पर इस का काम शुरू किया जाना चाहिये।

श्री मा० ला० दर्मा (चित्तौड़गढ़) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपना सुझाव ही आप के सामने रखने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। पांच दिन से यहाँ पर इस विषय पर बहस चल रही है और इस में सभी दलों के माननीय सदस्यों ने एक मत से हमारी जो नीति है, नान-एलाइनमेंट की, उस में तथा हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी में विश्वास प्रकट किया है। हालांकि मैं जानता हूँ कि कुछ लोगों ने अपनी पार्टी की दृष्टि से भी कुछ बात कही है। हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाईयों ने देश के पक्ष में प्रस्ताव पास किया है। लेकिन इस के बावजूद भी उनको कोसने का यह समय नहीं था, ऐसा मैं समझता हूँ। उन्होंने देश का साथ देने का वचन दिया है। और ऐसी हालत में हमें कोई अपशब्द उन के बारे में नहीं कहने चाहिये थे। मैं ने पेकिंग रेडियो को सुना है। उसने कम्युनिस्ट कंट्रीज के टोटो साहब को गद्दार बताया है। इस के साथ ही साथ उसने हमारे डांगे जी को भी गद्दार बताया है। यह मैं ने खुद सुना है। चाहे किसी भी कारण से हो, मगर जो आज हमारे साथ है, जाहिरा तौर पर साथ है, उस को ड्रामा ख्वाह हम धक्का दें, यह सही चीज नहीं है। जब उन्होंने ने एक राय से प्रस्ताव पास किया है, तो हमारा यह फर्ज हो जाता है कि हम उन को भी अपने साथ ले कर चलें।

आज जो एम० पीज० हैं वे भी देश सेवा करने के लिये उत्सुक हैं काम करने का उन को तजुर्बा है। इन में से कई हमारे देश की आजादी के लिये लड़े हैं। उन्होंने ने देश का आजाद कराने की जो जद्दोजहद हुई थी, उस में अपनी जिन्दगियां गाली हैं, उनसे काम लिया जाये। बड़ी भारी ताकत है उन में। व चाहते हैं कि हाउस जल्दी से जल्दी बन्द किया जाये और हमको काम सौंपा जाये। हमें २१ रुपये की भूख नहीं है। आज लोग इस



[श्रः मा० ल० वर्मा]

बीज नो नहीं चाहते हैं, वे हर कुर्बानी करने को धातुर हैं ।

यह चमन यों ही रहेगा और सैकड़ों बुलबुलें अपनी बोली बोल कर खाली यूँ ही उड़ जायेंगी ।

मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब को बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने देश-द्रोही कम्युनिस्टों को गिरफ्तार किया है । मगर याद रखिये हमारे में से भी कुछ सफेदपोश ऐसे हैं जो हमारे प्रधान मंत्री के बारे में कहते हैं कि शान्ति के मौके पर हमें एक प्रधान मंत्री की जरूरत है और युद्ध के मौके पर दूसरे ही प्रधान मंत्री की जरूरत है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो इस तरह की देश-द्रोह की बातें करते हैं, उन को भी गिरफ्तार किया जाये । यही न समझ लिया जाये कि घर के बाहर ही सांप है, घर में भी सांप घुसे हुए हैं ।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : कम्युनिस्ट भी हैं, इन को भी याद रख लीजिये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : स्वामी जी, आराम से बैठना चाहिये, आप तो बोल चुके हैं ।

श्री मा० ला० वर्मा : मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ :

सबसे रफ़ीके सफर में लुटेरे  
खुदा के लिये इन से बच कर निकलना  
बे भ्रह्मे सियासत न तेरे न मेरे ।

मैं पत्रकारों को भी बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने बड़े संयम से काम लिया है । हमारे यहां कई ऐसे मौके आये, कई भाषण हुए लेकिन पत्रकारों ने एक लाइन भी नहीं लिखी । जिन पत्रों ने इनको भेजा हुआ है, इन संवाददाताओं को भेजा हुआ है, उन्होंने भी देश भक्ति का सबूत दिया है और देश में सुरक्षा का वातावरण बनाये रखने में

सहयोग प्रदान किया है । इसके लिये उनको भी धन्यवाद दिया जाना चाहिये ।

हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी रात दिन काम कर रहे हैं और उन को कभी भी फुर्सत नहीं मिलती है । उन्होंने जिन्दगी भर काम किया है । लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि आज उन का हौसला और भी बढ़ गया है । कांग्रेस में भी अगर कोई ऐसे लोग हैं जो उन के खिलाफ हैं, उन को भी हम समझ लेंगे, उन से भी हम निपट लेंगे ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य को मैं इसी वक्त नहीं निपटने दूंगा ।

श्री मा० ला० वर्मा : अब मैं जो कुछ मुझे सुझाव देन हूँ, उन को आप के सामने रखता हूँ ।

मेरा पहला सुझाव यह है कि विकासखंड बिल्कुल बन्द कर दिये जायें और विकास अधिकारी, ग्राम सेवक, ग्राम सेविकाओं का उपयोग युद्ध जनित कार्यों में किया जाये ।

इसी प्रकार विकास तथा अन्य अनावश्यक कार्यों में लगी हुई जीपों का उपयोग सुरक्षा कार्यों में हो ।

कृषि, सिंचाई, यातायात, उद्योग, शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, ऋण, तकावी, इत्यादि काम पुराने सरकारी विभागों के हाथों से हो और सत्ता विकेन्द्रीकरण की संस्थाओं द्वारा यह सब सेवायें चालू रहें ।

फिल्मों, रेडियो इत्यादि पर प्रेम तथा विलासितापूर्ण प्रदर्शन, संगीत आदि बिल्कुल बन्द कर दिये जायें और वीर रस पैदा करने वाले कार्यक्रम चालू हों ।

युद्ध मोर्चे की तैयारी के लिये यनिर्वसिटी, कालेजों इत्यादि के छात्रों को ट्रेनिंग दी जाने की घोषणा हो चुकी है। मगर राइफल का ईतिजाम नहीं है। महाराजा कर्णोसिंह जी ने घोषणा की है कि १८०० राइफलें वह देने को तैयार हैं। दूसरे राजा महाराजाओं को भी ऐसा ही करना चाहिये और इन सब राइफल का उपयोग किया जाना चाहिये। ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को इसकी ट्रेनिंग दी जानी चाहिये।

भारत साधू समाज ने अपील की है और कहा है कि हम साधू शामिल होने के लिये तैयार हैं। यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस मौके पर नौजवान साधुओं को इस काम में लगाया जाए और उनको मोर्चे पर भेजा जाए।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** स्वामी जी बैठे रहें। उन्होंने साधुओं का नाम लिया है स्वामियों का नहीं लिया है।

**श्री मा० ला० बर्मा :** विलासिता की सामग्री का आयात और प्रयोग बन्द कर दिया जाए। हमारे कमल नयन बजाज जी ने अरीज की है कि ऐसी सामग्री का आयात बन्द कर दिया जाए। मैं यह भी उन बहनों से अपील करूँगा कि जो इस सदन की सदस्यार्ये हैं कि वे लिपिस्टिक जो लगा कर आती है, वह भी लगानी बन्द कर दें।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** ऐसी बात और ऐसा मुझाव नहीं देना चाहिये।

**श्री मा० ला० बर्मा :** विदेशों में पीस फ्लाउण्डेशन के नाम पर कुछ लोग चले जाते हैं, उनको बिल्कुल भी विदेशी मुद्रा न दी जाए और इसकी हर सम्भव तरीके से बचत

की जाए। इससे पीस होने वाला नहीं है। आज यह फिजूल का खर्चा है।

विदेशी बैंकों में भारतीयों की भ्रमानत, मुद्रा, सोना इत्यादि जो जमा है, उसको तुरन्त भारत में मंगाया जाए और उसका उपयोग देश रक्षा के काम में किया जाए।

विदेशों में ट्रेनिंग प्राप्त इंजीनियर्स को, चाहे वे बाहर सर्विस में लग गये हों, वापिस बुलाया जाए और उनकी सेवाओं से लाभ उठाया जाए।

सांस्कृतिक प्रोग्राम बिल्कुल बन्द कर दिये जायें। इस वक्त बच्चों को नचाने की जरूरत नहीं, उनके हाथ में तलवार पकड़ाने की जरूरत है।

केन्द्र और राज्यों में जो कर्मचारी बड़ी संख्या में हैं, उनकी तादाद कम की जाए। इसी प्रकार अण्डर सेक्रेटरी, असिस्टेंट सेक्रेटरी, ज्वायन्ट सेक्रेटरी भारी तादाद में हैं, इनकी तादाद को भी कम किया जाए।

इस संकट के समय में किसी भी पदाधिकारी को एक हजार से अधिक वेतन नहीं लेना चाहिये।

**Shrimati Lakshnikanthamma (Khammam):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, may God bless our Prime Minister with health and long life on his 73rd birthday today. It is said in Vedanta that a person likes his wife not because of the wife but because she is his wife, that is, his self is there. So also he likes his son not because of the son but his self is there. Similarly, the people of India love the Prime Minister because he is their Prime Minister.

Today, we cannot divide India and the Prime Minister. India is our Prime Minister and the Prime Minister is our India. I heard the Prime

[Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma]

Minister speaking at a meeting. He said he has been thinking about Bharat, and that he felt that it is the teeming millions of this country that are going about who represent Bharat; that that is Bharat. He placed his love and faith and confidence in them and the people in return love him. He voices the aspirations and the ambitions of the people of this country, and that is how and why he is loved.

The personality of our Prime Minister does not consist in the fact that he is five feet six inches or so. It is not that which has attracted him to the people. But it is Shri Jawaharlal Nehru who has loved the people and the people have loved him. The personality of the Prime Minister is as vast as India itself.

There are of course the fault-finders. Fault-finders will soon be left with faults and all friends will leave them. If our hon. friend Shri Ranga does not understand the greatness of our Prime Minister, at least let him learn it from his American friends. They know our Prime Minister better; the people in foreign countries know our Prime Minister and his greatness much better than some of the people here. Yesterday, I was very glad that the Maharaja with the saffron turban said that he will give his unstinted support to the Prime Minister at this juncture.

**Mr. Speaker:** He resents this title of Maharaja. He says he is not a Maharaja.

**Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma:** I am afraid I do not have much time left. Let me thank Lord Venkateshwara of Tirupathi. As a member of the board of trustees, as soon as I appealed to the board, they immediately agreed to invest 10,000 tolas of gold in gold bonds and Rs. 10 lakhs in

defence bonds. This is in fact God's own war against Godless fanaticism.

I have a suggestion regarding the facilities that we have to provide to our soldiers who are fighting in the field. It is said that the soldier lives in his stomach. That does not mean that the soldier lives for his stomach only; he lives for his country first and for himself next. But he likes to go about with a full stomach to fight well for the country. Now we have to drop food for him. I suggest that we must get better tinned food wherever that is available and see that it is given to our jawans.

Another suggestion I wish to make is that we should never reveal our secrets, what is going on there, what ammunition we have, what are our weaknesses and strength, etc. As far back as in *Mahabharata*, *Raja niti tantra* was explained to Yudishtra that "the enemy should not know our position, our strength and our weaknesses". As our Prime Minister has often times warned us, we should never demoralise our services. I also agree with some Members that the services of ex-army people should be taken. Hereafter we should be alert. We should imagine the dangers in future and be prepared for them.

The women of this country have never lagged behind the men. They are equally courageous, if not more. History has proved it. History has sufficient proof that there are no technical objections for women to go and fight in the battlefield. She can hold a rifle; she can serve as a nurse; she can go about from house to house and collect medicines, blankets, etc. for our services. A clear programme should be chalked out to make the best use of our women.

I was proud when the Prime Minister announced that we are not going to surrender to the enemy; we will

vindicate our honour and drive away the enemy from the sacred land of ours.

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

**Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma:** It is said in *Bhagvad Gita* that for a man of honour, dishonour is worse than death. What he has decided upon, the country applauds.

In the newspapers, they write about donations and gifts. It is the cost of freedom that we are paying. Why should we call it a gift or donation? This word 'donation' should be removed hereafter.

Our Prime Minister has given a call that we should make a supreme effort. Somebody should explain in intelligible terms what supreme effort is. A reasonable formula has to be placed before the country. I would like to spell supreme effort like this: One-sixth of your income towards investment in National Defence Fund and two-thirds of your savings towards defence bonds or gold bonds as the case may be.

Today China has launched a war. China expected that we will be divided as soon as this war is declared on the country, but we stood as one man.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member should resume her seat now. Shri Jashvant Mehta.

**Shri Jashvant Mehta (Bhavnagar):** Sir, I rise to support the resolution moved by the Prime Minister. Lots of suggestions have been made in the last five days by different Members. The situation is very serious. As our Home Minister stated in the Rajya Sabha yesterday, the enemy is organising all his efforts on the borders of the Himalayas. We have to fight against this mighty enemy and throw him out of our frontier. The Prime Minister has explained the aggressive

character of China all through the history. China has betrayed our trust. There can be no compromise with them till we clear them out of our frontiers. Mr. Tyagi has rightly warned the Government and I support the stand taken by him. It is the right reflection of the people's mind in this country that there should not be any compromise unless the aggressors have been thrown out from our motherland.

There is tremendous support from the people. It is a massive uprising, a spontaneous one. It is a supreme trial and test for our national leadership whether it will be able to harness the tremendous energy generated by the shocks of Chinese aggression. People want a positive programme. Government should mobilise all the energy generated for making all-out efforts. It is unique in history that 430 million people are ready to do whatever is possible to help the Government in defeating the enemy. All the political parties have supported the Government fully. It is for the leadership to lead the nation.

I would like to suggest that in extraordinary circumstances, extraordinary decisions should be taken. This is the right opportunity to build our country and make it stronger. The Prime Minister has taken a right step in the right direction by inviting the Chief Minister of Maharashtra to join the Cabinet. It has been well appreciated throughout the country. The centre has been strong, but still I would request the Prime Minister to make the centre stronger by taking the best talents of the country in the Cabinet. The time has come to strengthen the Central Government.

I would also support the suggestions made by some Members that compulsory military training should be given to all young and able-bodied persons in the country. Total mobilisation should be made and a pro-

[Shri Jashvant Mehta]

gramme should be chalked out to harness all our resources.

I would like to say a word about the CPI. As stated by our Home Minister yesterday, he has put certain conditions for testing the sincerity of the communist party of the country. Our Home Minister stated that they should leave their extra-territorial loyalty. As a further test of the communist party in this country, I would suggest that either they should sever their relations with international communist movement or they should go out with a delegation to the communist countries and expose the Chinese aggression.

Sir, I support the non-alignment policy. I also believe that there should not be any objection in taking arms for defence from whatever quarter they may come.

Lastly, I want to make one important suggestion to all the political parties in the country. The nation is at stake, our motherland is in danger and at this critical juncture I would say that the time has come when the leadership of all the political parties, when they have supported the cause and they have all agreed that we should throw out the aggressors should fold their flags. That does not mean the winding up of the political parties. But a national leadership should be created. All our petty differences should be forgotten for the time being. The Prime Minister also should come out of that narrow circle and come out with a national programme to lead the nation. He should invite all the political parties to mobilise all the resources for support to fight the Chinese aggression.

Shri J. R. Mehta (Pali): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad to have this opportunity to add my little voice in support of the resolutions moved by

the hon. Prime Minister, which reflect the grim determination of not only this august House, but of the entire nation not to rest content until we have driven out these mad and perfidious adventurists of China from the sacred soil of our motherland.

While it is true that in a way we have been caught napping and unprepared, as is always the case when one is the victim of treachery, nothing can be more heartening than the way in which every son of the soil irrespective of party, caste, sex or age has rallied to the country's cause fully prepared to sacrifice every thing that he holds dear to save the integrity and honour of the motherland.

The treacherous Chinese people perhaps counted without their host when they suddenly mounted this attack on us. They had thought that India, with its diverse castes, creeds and languages and regional rivalries, will be easily cowed down; and they had also perhaps counted on the support, overt and covert, of the Communist Party of India. But they must have been seriously disillusioned by now. As the Home Minister aptly observed the other day, one good effect of the Chinese treachery has been that States in India have disappeared as it were. I go further and say that even castes and parties have disappeared. So far as castes are concerned, there is now only one caste in India. Every citizen in this land is at present a kshatriya. I ask China to take note of this. And, every citizen of India is also a nationalist, whatever party he belongs to; and this applies even to the Communist Party in India. Sir, whatever our past experience of them, let us welcome their latest attitude of unequivocal support in this hour of crisis. After all, let us appreciate that it could not have been easy

for them to shake off their inhibitions and extra-territorial loyalties for which they have been notorious. I venture to say that this change in the attitude of our Communist friends is a development of great significance in the history of what is known as international communism. At any rate, it means a great slap in the face of China. So, let us not grudge the devil its due.

Sir, I should also like to say a word to those who say, in season and out of season, that our non-alignment policy has failed and that we should drop it. I would ask those friends, in all humility, to take note of the fact that more than 40 nations have already condemned the Chinese aggression and pledged their moral support to the Indian cause. Many of them are prepared to give arms, and give them without strings or pre-conditions. Is this a failure of non-alignment? Even Russia, as the Prime Minister expects, is not going to back out of its promise to supply us M. I. G.'s. and in spite of a temporary aberration under the stress of the Cuban crisis Russia is trying to revert to its neutralist attitude. Do we want to edge Russia on to go all out in support of China by dropping our non-alignment policy? This applies more or less to Ghana, who initially gave evidence of a pro-Chinese bias, but is now having second thoughts about its attitude. Again consider the attitude of President Tunku Abdul Rehman of Malaya, who though a Muslim, has gone to the length of opening an India-aid Club in his own country. Lastly, the latest attitude of Marshal Tito is also significant in this connection. Let us see all these facts in their proper perspective and not sacrifice statesmanship at the altar of sheer bravado.

Even a person of the meanest intelligence must appreciate that this struggle, which has been forced on us, is likely to be long and bitter. We are told that the Chinese have 50 to 60

lakhs of people in their regular armed forces, and a number twice or thrice or four times is available in reserve. While we are ourselves a big country, the Chinese have definitely the advantage of numbers. But let us not unduly exaggerate the importance of numbers. There is always a difference between a holy and an unholy war, and as some English poet had said: "my strength is the strength of ten because my heart is pure". In this context, I am reminded of my early days when I heard that Maharaja Pratap Singh of Jodhpur and Maharaja Ganga Singhji of Bikaner had gone to China with the British Expeditionary Force. I am sorry, Sir, that China should have forgotten the taste which we gave them at that time of the stuff we are made of. I assure them that history is going to repeat itself again.

But while we need not give undue importance to mere numbers, we must not be complacent either. We must raise an army of comparable proportions as also an air force no less formidable. Let us get all the latest weapons of defence as well as offence as early as possible to secure parity if not superiority over our vily opponents. From this point of view, one is rather surprised at the news given out by an American spokesman two or three days back that the airlift of arms required by India has ended. He added that America can continue the air-lift if required by India. I should have thought that we have to be more enthusiastic than they can be in meeting our arms requirements. I hope it will not be a case of, मुद्दई सुस्त वाह

चुस्त ।

I should also like to extend this observation to another sphere. There is an unprecedented enthusiasm among the people to enrol themselves in the armed forces or to receive military training. It is up to the Government to see that not one of these able-bodied persons goes disappointed. I hope Government will not lag behind

[Shri J. R. Mehta]

the enthusiasm of the people. At the moment the enthusiasm of the people seems to be ahead of that of the Government. So I hope Government will buck up and think seriously about it.

I am no strategist, but in waging a war with a country like China with its vast numbers and its total disregard of all civilised canons of warfare, we must think of diversionary tactics. It will not be appropriate for me to go into the details of this question here, nor am I qualified to do so. But this aspect will need the urgent and careful attention of those who direct and formulate the strategy of war.

Now, one word, with apologies, about the border of Rajasthan. I think no attention is being given to that long border. While I hope that our neighbour on the other side will behave, our experience shows that we should be cautious and we should guard it before anything happens.

In conclusion, I would say that I have firm faith in the destiny of India, and I hope and pray that God will give us the strength, the vision, the fortitude and the spirit of sacrifice that may be needed to vindicate the cause which we have at heart, and that neither the people nor the Government will be found wanting.

13 hrs.

श्री न० प्र० यादव (सीतामढ़ी) :  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने मुझे जो बोलने का अवसर दिया है, उसके लिये धन्यवाद।

चीनी आक्रमण के कारण आज हमारा देश एक माहान् संकट की स्थिति में से गुजर रहा है। पंचशील के सह-अस्तित्व के सिद्धान्त का गला घोट कर चीन ने हमारे साथ जिस विश्वासघात का परिचय दिया है, वह इतिहास के काले पन्नों में कोसने वाली काली कहानी भर बन कर रह जायगी। युद्ध को

घृणा की वस्तु समझने वाली और "जियो एवं जीने दो" के नारे में विश्वास करने वाली मानवता की पीढ़ी किन शब्दों में चीन को धिक्कारेगी, इसका निर्णय बस केवल समय करेगा।

अपनी आक्रामक और विस्तारवादी नीति के कारण साम्यवादी चीन ने साम्यवाद के उसूलों का भी कत्ल कर दिया है। भारत के लोग एक ओर जहाँ मानव के दिल में मानव के लिए प्यार, सहयोग और भ्रमन-चैन के भ्राष्टर पर कल्याणकारी राज्य की स्थापना में व्यस्त हैं, वहाँ दूसरी ओर साम्यवादी चीन अपनी विस्तारवादी और साम्राज्यवादी नीति के कारण भारत के साथ साथ सम्पूर्ण विश्व को तीसरे विश्व युद्ध की धधकती ज्वाला में जबरन डकेल कर भस्म कर देना चाहता है।

चीन के द्वारा पैदा की गई यह लड़ाई हम पर थोपी गई है और इस युद्ध का परिणाम चाहे जो कुछ भी हो, पर हमें चीन द्वारा दी गई इस चुनौती को स्वीकार करना है। भारत की सम्पूर्ण जनता का स्वाभिमान आज जाग उठा है। हमने बड़े गर्व के साथ चीन की चुनौती को स्वीकार किया है और इसके लिये हम सब कुछ न्योछावर कर देंगे। जब तक भारत के एक एक बच्चे में भी खून की अन्तिम बूंद तक शेष रहेगी, तब तक हम भारत की एक इंच भूमि भी चीन के अधिकार में नहीं छोड़ेंगे।

चीन ने भारत की उस सीमा को ललकारा है, जो सदियों से हमारा सन्तरी रहा है। आज चीन की दृष्टि हमारे पवित्र हिमालय की ओर है, जो हिमालय हमारी प्राचीन सभ्यता और संस्कृति की जननी है। हिमालय हमारी मां है, जहाँ से हमारी सभ्यता और संस्कृति गंगा, जमुना और ब्रह्मपुत्र आदि

नदियों के रूप में निकलती हैं। हमारी सांस रहते कोई भी हमारी मातृभूमि का बाल बांका नहीं कर सकता।

भारत की बढ़ती हुई प्रबल शायद चीन को अच्छी नहीं लगी। स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त के बाद एक ओर तो हम पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के माध्यम से देश को सब तरफ से खुशहाल बनाने की कोशिश करते रहे और दूसरी ओर चीन अपने यहां के लोगों को भूखा रख कर युद्ध की तैयारी करता रहा है। अब लगता है कि आज से कुछ वर्षों पहले का "हिन्दी चीनी भाई भाई" वाला नारा चीन के लिये एक होंग और मजाक था और हम अनजाने अपने बहुत बड़े दुश्मन को भाई समझते रहे।

भारत में एक के एक बाद एक सफल होती हुई योजनायें और तीव्र गति से हो रहा भारत का विकास शायद चीन की नज़रों में खटकने लगा है और चीन ने आक्रमण कर के हमारी प्रगति की राह में एक रोड़ा अटकाना चाहा है। शान्तिप्रिय होने के कारण एशिया के साथ सम्पूर्ण विश्व में भारत का प्रभाव बढ़ता गया है। परन्तु चीन को यह बात शायद अच्छी नहीं लगती कि भारत विश्व का एक अगुआ राष्ट्र बन जाए। चीनी आक्रमण ने भारत के समक्ष एक प्रश्न-चिह्न खड़ा कर दिया है कि हम इस परिस्थिति में क्या करें, कहाँ जाएं।

आज हमें अपनी सुरक्षा के लिये अच्छी तरह तैयारी कर लेनी है। इस परिस्थिति में हमें सभी प्रकार की आलोचनाओं को छोड़ कर प्रधान मन्त्री, पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के नेतृत्व में एक होकर चीनी आक्रमण का मुंहतोड़ जवाब देना है, जिससे फिर कभी चीन भारत की ओर नज़र उठाने की कोशिश न करे। कालेजों में सैनिक शिक्षा को अनिवार्य करके प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को तैयार करना है। आज देश के नौजवानों को अपनी जिम्मेदारी

अच्छी तरह समझनी है। भारत के एक एक व्यक्ति को आज देश की रक्षा के लिये शक्तिशाली सिपाही बन जाना है। सरकार द्वारा सीमा पर पढ़ने वाले राज्यों में सैनिक शिक्षा को अनिवार्य कर देने के निर्णय का मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। परन्तु यह काम शीघ्रता से और सभी राज्यों में होना चाहिये। आज हमें प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को जगाना है और अपना सब काम बड़ी लगन से करना है, क्योंकि व्यक्ति की चेतना ही स्वतन्त्रता की कुंजी होती है।

आज की इस परिस्थिति में तो सब बड़े बड़ा खतरा हमारी तटस्थतापूर्ण नीति पर आ पड़ा है। हमारे कुछ अजीब दोस्त यह तर्क पेश करते हैं कि भारत को अपनी रक्षा के लिये किसी फ़ौजी गुट में शामिल हो जाना चाहिये। परन्तु मैं खुले शब्दों में कहूँ कि ऐसे लोग एक ओर से भारत को बचा कर दूसरी ओर इसकी विजय को किसी गुट के हाथों सौंप देना चाहते हैं। यह विपत्तिकाल तो हमारे साहस और धैर्य की अग्नि-परीक्षा का काल है। तटस्थता की नीति के कारण ही संसार के दोनों ही गुट भारत को श्रद्धा और आदर को दृष्टि से देखते हैं।

हमारी सम्पूर्ण प्रगति की तह में हमारी तटस्थ नीति ही है। अतः हमारे लिये यह लाजिम नहीं कि हम किसी गुट में शामिल हों। हमने मित्रता के आघार पर सारे मित्र देशों से सहायता मांगी है और हमें मिली भी है। आज का वर्तमान संकट केवल भारत का नहीं, बल्कि शान्ति और चैन से जीने वाले एशियाई और अफ्रीकी देशों के लिये भी है। आज हमारा सिर स्वभावतः ही उन मित्र देशों के प्रति आदर से झुक जाता है, जो किसी न किसी रूप में भारत की सहायता कर रहे हैं। तटस्थता हमारे समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना का आघार है और इस प्रकार की समाज-स्थापना हमारा लक्ष्य है।



[श्री न० प्र० यादव]

चीनी आक्रमण के कारण हमारे देश के अन्दर भी कई प्रकार के संकट उत्पन्न हो जाने की आशंका है, जिसके लिये सरकार को सजग रहना चाहिये। इस अवसर का लाभ उठा कर मुनाफ़ाखोरी और मूल्यों में अधिक चढ़ाव हो सकता है। हर्ष की बात है कि आवश्यक वस्तुओं के मूल्यों की बढ़ती को रोकने के लिये सरकार ने कदम उठाना प्रारम्भ कर दिया है और मुझे विश्वास है कि जनता का सहयोग पाकर राष्ट्र विरोधी तत्व सिर नहीं उठा सकेंगे।

इस परिस्थिति में हमें अपने अन्य पड़ोसी देशों के साथ भी मैत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्धों को मजबूत करना है। पड़ोसी और मित्र-राष्ट्र नेपाल के साथ मैत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्धों को हमें और भी दृढ़ करना होगा। पाकिस्तान के कुछ पत्रों ने भी भारत-विरोधी कदम उठाया है और ये सारे कृच्छक चीनी खुफियों के हैं। चीन के कुछ समर्थक अपने देश में भी प्रश्रय पा रहे हैं, जिन पर कड़ी निगरानी रखी जानी चाहिये। इस समय समाचार पत्रों की जिम्मेदारी बहुत अधिक बढ़ जाती है कि वे किसी प्रकार के ऐसे समाचारों को स्थान न दें, जिससे जनता में गलतफ़हमी पैदा हो।

देश की सुरक्षा की तैयारी जोरों से होनी चाहिये, क्योंकि अगर संकट कुछ समय के लिए टल गया, तो इस की आशंका बनी रहेगी। देश के कुछ औद्योगिक यूनिटों को अस्त्रशस्त्र बनाने के काम में भी ले लेना अधिक उचित होगा। फिर भी तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना की सफलता के प्रति भी हमें सावधान रहना है। हमें विश्वास है कि तीसरी योजना भी सफल होगी और विजय भी हमारी ही।

आज देश की जनता जिस शूरता और वीरता का परिचय एक होकर दिखा रही है, वह इस बात का संकेत है कि हमारा प्रजातन्त्र

टूटेगा नहीं और स्वतन्त्रता कायम रहेगी चीन ने हमारी जिस भूमि पर अधिकार कर लिया है, उसको ले लेने का हम को बत लेना है।

आज हमारा मस्तक उन जवानों के प्रति झुके बिना नहीं रहता, जो अपनी जान की बाज़ी लगा कर सदियों में देश-रक्षा के महान् काम में व्यस्त हैं। वे हमारी स्वतन्त्रता के प्रहरी हैं।

एक बार हम फिर उन जवानों के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करते हैं, जो देश की रक्षा करते हुए वीर गति को प्राप्त हुए हैं। भगवान् उन की दिवंगत आत्मा को शान्ति दे। ये शहीद भारत के भावी अध्याय की मूल्यवान् कड़ी हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं प्रधान मंत्री द्वारा रखे गये दोनों प्रस्तावों का समर्थन करता हूँ।

**Shri Muthiah (Tirunelveli):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I whole-heartedly support the two Resolutions, moved by our beloved Prime Minister. I offer my homage on this occasion to those valiant martyrs who sacrificed their lives on the snowy Himalayan heights for the freedom of our country and pay my tribute to the brave soldiers who are now fighting heroically on our borders against heavy odds. I pay my respects to the leaders of all the political parties who have pledged full support to our Prime Minister and our Government. The whole-hearted and spontaneous support of all the political parties and all the people of India to the defence of our country at this hour of trial, rising above all differences of caste and creed, language and province, is a unique event in our history. The cruel aggression of China on our sacred soil has shocked the heart of every Indian. The Chinese aggression is the most perf-

dious aggression in modern history. It is absolutely unprovoked and is pre-planned. It is nothing less than hitting a loyal and trusting friend in the back.

The motives of China in invading India are more than one. The foremost motive is her expansionist and imperialist aim. China was always expansionist, whenever she had a strong central Government and whenever her neighbours were weak. This trait of expansionism has become most pronounced in Communist China. The 1956 and 1960 maps of Communist China confirm this. Recently, in the last week of June 1962, I happened to see the Chinese map of 1960, and I was shocked to find in it large areas of India, west and south of the Himalayan ranges, included in the Chinese territory.

The second motive must be China's will to impose totalitarian communism on democratic India, in conformity with the policy of international communism. The third motive, as I understand, is China's jealousy of India's rapid economic development in a totally democratic manner, India's building up of a socialistic society in a non-violent way and India's standing forth as the bastion of democracy in the whole of Asia.

Whatever be the motives of her aggression, Communist China stands condemned as a naked aggressor on the Indian soil by all the civilized countries of the world. She has flung to the winds all canons of civilized international behaviour and has adopted as her creed war and violence, deceit and dissimulation, treachery and double dealing.

Our Prime Minister has, for the past five years, tried all possible methods of negotiation for a peaceful settlement of the border trouble, but has tragically failed. All peace talks and negotiations have almost lost their meaning, when Communist China has proved herself absolutely unreliable.

If at any future time, on account of international intervention—the intervention of the neutral countries of Asia and Africa and Europe, or the intervention of Russia which cannot be completely ruled out—China agrees to cease fire and peace talks, India, then in her own honour, has to insist on China withdrawing her forces, to their position before 8th September 1962, that is, north of the McMahon line as suggested by our Prime Minister. We need not completely close our doors against all offers of peace and negotiation, if they are consistent with India's honour and dignity and territorial integrity. Modern war is total war and we can easily imagine its infinite capacity for terrible and total destruction. While our ultimate aim should be peace, we should not at this grim hour slacken in the least our war effort. The entire governmental machinery and the entire life of the nation should be placed on a war footing. Agricultural and industrial production ought to be maximised, and the supply of essential consumer goods like food and clothing ought to be ensured at reasonable prices to all the people of the country by special governmental measures. There should be an un-interrupted flow of food and clothing, arms and ammunition to our soldiers at the fighting front. We should solicit and accept the maximum military aid from all friendly countries on lend-lease basis. We should get from them the most modern weapons, both light and heavy, including automatic weapons, tanks, jet fighters and anti-aircraft guns. We should show our deep gratitude at this juncture to the western democratic countries like the U.S.A., Canada, Britain, and France which have most magnanimously come to our help at this hour of need.

While accepting foreign military aid, let us lose no time in taking steps to manufacture all possible modern weapons of war in our own country. It is heartening news to hear that our

[Shri Muthiah]

armament factories are working day and night for maximum output.

While accepting military aid from friendly countries at this time, we need not surrender our basic policy of non-alignment which is in accord with our highest culture and tradition, our national genius and temperament and above all, our role as the greatest peace force in the world. We should, however, draw closer in friendship to all the democratic countries of the West and the East.

An important factor conducive to victory is national diplomacy. It is as important as military aid. Let us not at this hour of national crisis say or do anything to embitter our relations with Pakistan and drive it into the enemy's camp. Let us do our utmost to befriend it now by all possible and honourable means, diplomatic and otherwise. Let us at the same time protect our borders with Pakistan with vigilance and strength. Let us improve our relationship with Nepal. Let us refrain from saying or doing anything which may positively antagonise Russia and which may make it our enemy and the open supporter of China.

It is the duty of our Government to keep up the present morale of our soldiers and our people and increase it by efficient and effective propaganda through the All India Radio and through the press. It should create in our soldiers a sense of security and for this, it should give prompt monetary help to the orphaned and distressed families of the fallen and crippled soldiers.

This is a time when the entire resources in manpower and materials have to be mobilised. People should be persuaded to contribute most liberally men and money and material goods. Military training should be imparted to millions of able-bodied men who should be recruited without

delay. The civil defence should be well organised, and for this, the N.C.C. and the Home Guards should be fully utilised. All precautions against possible air-raids ought to be taken at all important and vital places.

Let us, at this hour, take a solemn pledge to offer our blood and sweat, our toil and resources to our country and with faith in God and in our ultimate success, let us march as one man to absolute victory over the Chinese. Our leader calls us, and let us awake, arise and stop not till the goal is reached. Jai Hind.

**श्रीमती सावित्री निगम (बांदा) :**

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रधान मन्त्री जी के प्रस्ताव का हार्दिक समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ी हुई हूँ। शान्ति के समय में उन्हें बहुमत प्राप्त था, आज जब भारत पर संकट आया है तो उन्हें देश का पूर्ण समर्थन प्राप्त है। वे आज शान्ति के अग्रदूत के रूप में और भारत की महान् आत्मा के रूप में हमारे सामने उपस्थित हैं। रामलीला मैदान में उन्होंने कहा कि हम चीनी हमलावरों को पूरी ताकत से हरायेंगे, उनसे लड़ेंगे और बाहर खदेड़ेंगे। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि मैं राष्ट्र को बहादुर बनाना चाहता हूँ, उसे बहादुर बना हुआ देखना चाहता हूँ पर मैं राष्ट्र को झुटेलाइज नहीं करना चाहता। नान-एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी का मैं अब भी समर्थन करता हूँ और किसी कीमत पर भी उसे छोड़ने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ। इससे हम लोगों को ऐसा लगा मानो सरदार पटेल की दृढ़ता और साहस, महात्मा गांधी की सत्य और अहिंसा में निष्ठा और शान्ति के अग्रदूत नेहरू की क्रियात्मक शान्ति, साकार हो कर प्रधान मन्त्री के रूप में बोल रही हो। हम जाग उठे हैं। ४४ करोड़ नर-नारी आज तन कर खड़े हैं और तब तक दम न लेंगे जब तक चीनी हमलावरों को भारत की भूमि से बाहर न खदेड़ देंगे। इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि विजय हमारी होगी।

इसमें भी कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि सारी दुनिया के शान्तिप्रिय लोग हमारा साथ देंगे। पर जिस कपट, छल तथा बर्बरता से चीनयों ने हम शान्तिप्रिय लोगों पर हमला किया है उसने हमें मजबूर कर दिया है कि हम आत्म रक्षा के लिये शस्त्र उठायें और लड़ें। जिस मनोवृत्ति का परिचय चीन ने दिया है, उसका मुझे क्या सभी को क्षोभ है। पर सबसे बड़ा क्षोभ और दुःख इस बात का है कि न्यूकलीयर वार के खतरे से भयभीत संसार और मानवता के सारे शान्ति प्रयासों को, आषी शताब्दी की करोड़ों आदमियों की दुनिया में शान्ति लाने की कोशिशों को, चीनियों ने इस हमले के द्वारा नेस्तनाबूद और बर्बाद कर दिया है। शान्ति की इन कोशिशों को उसने दो सौ साल पीछे धकेल दिया है।

इसने जो धक्का भारत को पहुंचाया है वह तो पहुंचाया ही है पर कम्युनिज्म और उसके तमाम तथाकथित सिद्धान्तों को उसने बिल्कुल ढहा कर चकनाचूर कर दिया है और बिल्कुल मिट्टी में मिला दिया है। यहां तक कि कम्युनिस्ट बेचारों को तो इस चीनी हमल ने कहीं मुंह दिखाने लायक नहीं रखा है। इसीलिये सच्चे सिद्धान्तों के रक्षक कम्युनिस्ट, श्रीमन्, हमारा साथ दे रहे हैं और हमारे साथ हो गए हैं।

इस सदन के द्वारा मैं मिस्टर झुइचेव से पूछना चाहती हूं कि क्या कम्युनिज्म और उसके द्वारा स्पोर्टिड पीस के यही अर्थ हैं कि घोषा देकर किसी शान्ति प्रिय राष्ट्र पर क्रूर तथा बर्बर हमला कर दो। आज वे या अन्य कम्युनिस्ट देशों के नेता इसे कैसे बर्दाश्त कर रहे हैं। आज चंगेजखां की क्रूरता, नादिर शाह की बर्बरता और नेपोलियन बोनापार्ट विश्व विजय की घृणित आकांक्षा और हिटलर की खून की प्यास लेकर चाउ एन लाई ने लाखों लाचार तिब्बतियों के खून से अपने हाथ रंग कर शान्तिप्रिय भारत

पर हमला किया है और आगे बढ़ रहा है। मैं पूछना चाहती हूं आज कि उन्होंने क्यों मौन साध रखा है? क्या यह छिपा है कि बेचारे असहाय तिब्बती बन्दूक और तलवार की नोक पर बिना राशन पानी के बर्फीले पहाड़ों में कुत्ते बिल्लियों की तरह मारे जा रहे हैं? मुझे तरस आता है उस निरीह भूखी तथा भोली भाली विवश चीनी जनता पर जिसे युद्ध में पागल हुए चाऊ एन लाई गोली या तलवार की नोक पर जबर्दस्ती मरने को भेज रहे हैं। यह कौन सा कम्युनिज्म का सिद्धान्त है, कहां की शान्तिप्रियता है। भूख ने चीन में हाहाकार मचा रखा है। मैं श्री झुइचेव से अपील करती हूं कि मावता की रक्षा के लिए, उस शान्ति की रक्षा के लिये जिसके वे समर्थक थे और हमेशा से समर्थन करते रहे हैं, तुरन्त चीनी बर्बरता और बोनापार्टिज्म को रोकें और कम्युनिज्म के नाम पर जो बड़ा कलंक लगने वाला है, उससे उसे बचा लें वना उनकी शान्ति मरघट की शान्ति बन जाएगी, कब्बिस्तान की शान्ति बन जाएगी। मैं चाहती हूं कि वे अपने परम मित्र भारत का खुल कर साथ दें। मैं संसार के तमाम डिमाक्रैटिक देशों से यह अपील करती हूं कि वे इस हमले को केवल भारत पर किया हुआ हमला न समझें, बल्कि यह हमला पूरी मानवता पर है, पूरी शान्तिप्रिय और डिमाक्रैटिक नेशन्स पर है। जो खतरा द्वितीय महायुद्ध के समय हिटलर से विश्व को हुआ था, वही खतरा आज एशिया नहीं वरन् पूरे संसार को चाऊ एन लाई के बोनापार्टिज्म से हो रहा है। सेक्रेट वार में जो देर की गई, जो भूल की गई, मेरा अनुरोध है कि संसार के डिमाक्रैटिक देश फिर वही भूल न करें। जब हिटलर ने आघे संसार को बरबाद कर दिया तब वे संगठित हुए। यह बहुत अच्छा समय है, अब और बरबादी बढ़ने से पहल हम संगठित होकर और पूरी ताकत से चीनियों का मुकाबला करें। क्योंकि यह हमला मानवता पर

## [श्र.मतां सावित्री निगम]

है इस लिये हम लोग बिना किसी रोक टोक के, बिना किसी बन्धन के, बिना किसी हिचक के जो हेल्प जिस देश से मिलती हो, उसे खुशी से हासिल करें। हम लोग भारत को बचाने के लिये ही नहीं, बल्कि शान्ति और मानवता को बचाने के लिये यह मदद ले रहे हैं। यह मदद हमें नहीं मिल रही है बल्कि हम उनकी मदद कर रहे हैं।

इसी तरह से मैं देशवासियों से भी एक अपील करना चाहती हूँ और अपने देश की सरकार से अपील करना चाहती हूँ, कि हमें जितने भी बचत के तरीके हो सकते हैं उनको अपनाना है, नानएसॅशल कॉन्स्ट्रक्शन से हम को बचना है। हमारे देश के बड़े बड़े पूंजी-पतियों और व्यवसायियों ने बड़ी बड़ी रकमें दी हैं, लेकिन मैं अदब से कहना चाहती हूँ कि उनकी वे रकम ग्राम तीर से शेअरहोल्डर्स के रूपों में से दी गई है। मैं उनसे अनुरोध करूँगी कि वे और बड़ी बड़ी रकमें दें अपने मुनाफों अथवा अपने कमीशन में से।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि इस देश के बहुत से बच्चे भारत माता के सपूत बड़े बड़े राजे महाराजे, दोनों हाथों से खुल कर मदद कर रहे हैं, लेकिन मैं उनसे कहूँगी कि यह समय है, यह देश की मांग और पुकार है, कि वे अपने आप अपनी प्रीवी पर्सॅज में कट करायें। मैं देश के तमाम मन्दिरों के पुजारियों और उन घर्मवीर लोगों से प्रार्थना करना चाहती हूँ कि उनके मन्दिरों में आज २५ लाख तोले सोना जो रक्खा हुआ है तथा रजवाड़ों में जो लाखों तोले सोना पड़ा हुआ है उसे वे तुरन्त देश की रक्षा के लिये दें। यदि आज दस लाख तोले सोना भी हम को मन्दिरों और रजवाड़ों से मिल

सकेगा तो मुझे विश्वास है कि हमारे यहां का आर्थिक स्तर बहुत ऊंचा हो जायेगा। साथ ही जो सोने की कमी आज हमारे यहां दिखाई देती है उसको हम बहुत हद तक पूरा कर सकेंगे। उनसे मेरा अनुरोध है कि ऐसे परीक्षा के अवसर इतिहास में सदियों में एक आध बार ही आते हैं। क्यों न आज वे लोग भी अपने रुपयों में से, अपनी प्रीवी पर्सॅज में से कुछ दें, क्यों न देश के पुजारी और घर्मवीर लोग अपने सोने में से देश के लिये कुछ दें? आज भी देश में सच्चे देशभक्तों की कमी नहीं है। मुझे विश्वास है कि यदि सारे देश के लोग इस तरह से एकत्रित होकर इस मुकाबले पर डट जायें तो शीघ्र ही विजय हमारी होगी। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है।

**श्री रणजय सिंह** (मुसाफिरखाना) :  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सबसे पहले आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे समय दिया।

मैं तो आज से नहीं, बहुत समय पहले से इस बात का मानने वाला हूँ कि "वीरभोग्या बमुन्धरा"। संसार में वीरों का ही आदर होता है। "द्वोपि दुर्बल घातकः" इस प्रकार हमारे देश में भी हमारे उठने की आवश्यकता थी, जगने की आवश्यकता थी। १५ फरवरी, १९२९ और ३० मई, १९६२ के अपने भाषणों में मैंने इस बात की प्रार्थना की थी कि हमारे देश में ऐसा प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये जिसमें कि हमारी शक्ति बढ़े और हमारे देश में आधुनिक शस्त्रास्त्रों से सुसज्जित सेना होनी चाहिये। वह जो सेना होगी वह अहिंसा को मानने वाली होगी और संसार से हिंसा को दूर करेगी और अहिंसा स्थापना करेगी, अशान्ति को दूर करके शान्ति की स्थापना करेगी। इस प्रकार से मैंने पहले भी निवेदन किया था और आज मुझे यह सुन

कर सन्तोष हो रहा है कि सभी धोर से यह मांग की जा रही है। पहले कभी भी हमारे ऊपर ऐसा दायित्व नहीं आया था इसलिये हम अपनी सैनिक आवश्यकताओं को अनुभव नहीं कर रहे थे, लेकिन मने आज यहां देखा कि पहले जो बातें होती थीं उनमें बड़ा परिवर्तन हो गया है, और मुझे इस बात का हर्ष है कि हमारा वीर भारत फिर से जाग उठा है और आज स्थान स्थान पर वीर भारत के बच्चे तैयार हो रहे हैं इस बात के लिये कि वे अपने देश की रक्षा करेंगे, भारत माता के मुकुट हिमालय की रक्षा करेंगे और जो भी आवश्यकता होगी उसमें अपना सर्वस्व अर्पण करेंगे। जैसा यहां पर एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि हिस्ट्री रिपीट्स इटसेल्फ, उसी प्रकार से हम देखते हैं कि महाभारत के समय भी यही हुआ था कि अर्जुन ने हथियार रख दिये थे। वह उस समय ममता और मोह में पड़ गया था क्योंकि हमारे देश की नीति "बमुधेव कुटुम्बकम्" की थी। सब अपने हैं, सब को मिल जुल कर चलना है। मेल होने की नीति बड़ी अच्छी है किन्तु किन्हीं दुर्दान्त लोगों से, जो कि अपने सिद्धान्त के विरुद्ध हों, बिल्कुल विपरीत हों, और जिन से ऐसी आशा न हो कि वे शान्ति की रक्षा करने के लिये तत्पर होंगे, पाला पड़े तब इस नीति से कैसे काम चलेगा? इस सम्बन्ध में भारत में यह बात आई और उसी अर्जुन ने, जिसने हथियार रख दिये थे, जो लड़ने में संकोच करता था, यह प्रतिज्ञा की :

"अर्जुनस्य प्रतिज्ञे द्रुवे, न दैन्यं न पलायनम्"

इसी प्रकार से हम भी तैयार हुए। मैं देखता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जिस वीर रस का संचार किया जा रहा है अगर वह उत्तरोत्तर बढ़ता रहा, सदैव और स्थायी रूप से हमारे देश में वीरता का संचार होता रहा और संगठन रहा तो हम अधिक से अधिक शान्ति की

स्थापना कर सकेंगे। चीन बहुत बड़ा देश है अगर उस हाथी ने भारत पर आक्रमण किया है तो भारत भी शेर है और उस हाथी को पछाड़ने के लिये वह बहुत शक्तिशाली है और वह दब नहीं सकता है। इसलिये हाथी और शेर की इस लड़ाई में जो कि चल रही है दुर्दान्त चीन को पता चल जायेगा कि उसने किस को छेड़ा है।

जैसा यहां कई मननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है यह मानी हुई बात है, और मैं भी इस बात को मानता हूँ कि चीन वाले हमसे ईर्ष्या द्वेष रखते हैं। उन लोगों ने भारत को दबा लेना चाहा। उन्होंने समझा कि भारत की जो नीति है उससे अनुचित लाभ उठा कर भारत को घे दबा लेंगे और पहले एशिया में और फिर संसार में अपना प्रभुत्व बढ़ा लेंगे। लेकिन अब उन्होंने समझ लिया है कि भारत दबने वाला नहीं है। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें बराबर तैयार रहना है। मुझे भी यदि गोली चलाने का अवसर मिले तो यह मेरे लिये परम सौभाग्य होगा। मैं जानता हूँ कि इन चीनियों को निकाले बिना न तो संसार में शान्ति स्थापित होगी और न भारत में शान्ति होगी। मान लीजिये कि हमारे मार्ग में कठिनाइयाँ हैं तो हम उन कठिनाइयों को दूर करेंगे मैं जानता हूँ :

"Let the road be rough and dreary, And its end far out of sight, Foot it bravely, strong or weary, Trust in God and do the right."

इस प्रकार से हमें करना है। हमारी भारत माता जो है उसकी सेवा के लिये हम सब तत्पर हैं। यहां सब ओर से कहा गया कि हमारे यहां वीरता का संचार हो। रेडियो के कार्यक्रमों में भी वीरता का भाव हो। राष्ट्रीय

## [श्री रणजय सिंह]

गान हों इसी प्रकार से उन पर जो बैड बाजे बजें वे लड़ाई के बजें। आज देश में सैनिक शिक्षा का प्रचार किया जाये। आज मैं यह नहीं कह सकता कि मैं कोई बहुत काम कर सकता हूँ, लेकिन जैसा बीकानेर के महाराजा ने कहा, मैं उसका पूरा समर्थन करता हूँ और उसी के अनुसार हमें तैयार होना चाहिये और देश को तैयार रहना चाहिये। जिससे जो कुछ हो सके उसमें उसको संकोच नहीं करना चाहिये। जो कुछ मैं कर सकता हूँ उसके लिये मैं तन, मन और धन से तैयार हूँ। आप मुझ से हर एक सेवा ले सकते हैं। अगर आपको राक्षसों की आवश्यकता हो, तो मेरे पास भी कुछ है मैं आप को उन्हें अर्पित कर सकता हूँ। देश की रक्षा के लिये, जैसा माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा अगर सैनिक शिक्षा की आवश्यकता है तो मुझे जो भी कार्य सौंपा जायेगा उसको करने के लिये मैं सहर्ष अवैतनिक रूप से तैयार हूँ।

इसके बाद मैं अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता। केवल अपने स्वर्गीय भाई श्री रणवीर सिंह को इन पंक्तियों में प्रार्थना करूँगा कि :

“हिमकुधर किरोटे जाहदवी हार शुभ्रे,  
परिकर मुचिविन्ध्यात्रकृते रत्नगर्भे ।  
गलिलनिधि सुसेव्ये धीतपादाब्जदिव्ये,  
बनुमति सुररंजने मातृमूने नमस्ते ॥”

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, Shri H. C. Soy.

**Shri R. P. Singh (Chapra):** Is it possible for me to get time to speak?

**Mr. Speaker:** When the hon. Member was called, he was absent.

**Shri R. P. Singh:** That is true, Sir. I have been waiting here for five days, and just for two minutes I had gone out, and during that time probably I was called.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member cannot choose his own time. When I give time, he is absent. Now, I shall consider his case after others have been exhausted.

**श्री ह० च० सोय (सिंहभूम) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे जो दो मिनट का समय दिया गया है उसका हिसाब रखा जाये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, जब हमारे बहादुर जवान चीनी हमलावरों का मुकाबला नेफा और लदाख क्षेत्र में कर रहे हैं और जब हम सारे देश में तन, मन, धन से टोटल मोबिलाइजेशन की तैयारी कर रहे हैं, उस वक्त भी हम यह मान रहे हैं कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति और पंचशील की नीति दुस्त है। मगर यह भी बिल्कुल सही है कि वैदेशिक नीति की उपयोगिता को हमने बहुत ज्यादा खींचा है उसको ज्यादा से ज्यादा सींचने के कारण ही हम यह महसूस नहीं कर सके कि तिब्बत पर जो हमला हो रहा था उससे हमको क्या खतरा था। अकसाई चिन क्षेत्र में जो सड़क बन रही थी उस वक्त भी हमने खतरा महसूस नहीं किया। पांच बरस गुजर गये हमने इस बीच में खतरे की गहराई को महसूस नहीं किया। चीनी हमलावरों ने हमें काफी समय दिया। तो मैं अब यह सवाल उठाना चाहता हूँ कि ये जो महंगी भूलें हम से हो गयी हैं, इनसे हम कौनसा सबक सीखें।

जहां हम चीनी हमलावरों को निकाल बाहर करने में लगे हुए हैं वहां हमको अपनी उस सीमा पर जो पाकिस्तान के साथ लगी हुई है नजर रखनी चाहिए, यह न हो कि हम उसको बिल्कुल भूल जाएं। इस सारी तैयारी के साथ में उसका भी हिसाब रखा जाना चाहिए और हम उस और भी काम करें।

यह अच्छी बात है कि पाकिस्तान के प्रेजीडेंट अयूब साहब ने कल एक ऐसा

वक्तव्य दिया जिससे लगता है कि वह हमारा साथ देंगे। लेकिन हम याद रखें कि पिछले १५ सालों में उन्होंने जो भी हमारे साथ किया है वह दोस्ती का बरताव नहीं है हालांकि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों ने हमेशा उन की ओर दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ाया। इसलिये अगर उन्होंने दो शब्द कह दिये तो हम को उससे खुश नहीं हो जाना चाहिये। उस सिवाने की भी हम को पूरी तैयारी करनी चाहिए।

मैं इस सुझाव का स्वागत करता हूँ कि हम को अपने उत्तरी इलाके में लड़ने के लिये खास तौर की फौजें तैयार करनी चाहियें। हमको एक हिमालयन आर्मी और हिमालयन फोर्स तैयार करनी चाहिए। मैं आपके जरिये से सदन को बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में ऐसे लोगों की कमी नहीं है जो कि हिमालय क्षेत्र में काम कर सकते हैं। कल एक माननीय सदस्य ने बतलाया कि सारे उत्तरी प्रदेश में ऐसे लोग काफी हैं। हमारे छोटा नागपुर के इलाके में इस प्रकार के आदिवासी और अन्य पहाड़ी लोग काफी हैं जो पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में बहादुरी से लड़ सकते हैं बशर्ते कि उनको फौजी ट्रेनिंग दी जाए। उनमें से अभी भी बिहार रेजीमेंट में हैं। इस रेजीमेंट में यह निहायत जरूरी है उनके अपने ही अफसर हों।

एक और चीज मैं आपके जरिये सदन को बतला देना चाहता हूँ। यह अच्छी बात है कि हम लोगों ने कांगो में अपनी फौजें भेजी हैं और गाजा में भी अपनी कुछ फौजें भेज रखी हैं। इस प्रकार जो हमने संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के काम में भाग लिया यह एक अच्छी बात है, लेकिन क्या हमारा अपना इतना जबरदस्त युद्ध चल रहा है तो ऐसे समय में हमको उन फौजों को अवि-लम्ब बुला लेना चाहिये और अपने युद्ध के क्षेत्र में उनको लगा देना चाहिये।

एक और चीज। जहां हम इतनी सारी तैयारी कर रहे हैं, हम को इस बात का भी ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि चीजों के मूल्य न बढ़ने पावें। कल एक माननीय सदस्य ने छत्तीसगढ़ की बात कही। मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि विहार और उड़ीसा के जिन क्षेत्रों में हमारे कारखानों में आवश्यक सामान बन रहा है वहां अन्न के दाम बेतरह बढ़ गए हैं। इस पर हमें रोक लगानी चाहिये। उस इलाके में हमारे जो कारखाने हैं उनमें हम फौजी सामान बनाना चाहते हैं। इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि जो लोग वहां काम करें उन पर बेहद महंगाई का असर न पड़े ऐसा प्रयास हमको अविलम्ब करना चाहिये।

एक और चीज है। उस का मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। कल हमारे गृह मंत्री जी ने राज्य सभा में कहा था कि हमारा जो इनफारमेशन और ब्राडकास्टिंग विभाग है उस का इस लड़ाई के जमाने में एक खास रिप्रिजेंटेशन किया जा रहा है। यह बड़ी अच्छी बात है। जैसाकि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा, और जैसा कि हम जानते हैं, यह युद्ध एक दो बरस चलने वाला नहीं है, हो सकता है कि यह कई बरसों तक चले। इसलिये इस लम्बे अरसे के लिये हमारी युद्ध की जो तैयारी हो वह तेजी से चलनी चाहिये और जनता में जो जोश और उत्साह है चीनो हमलावरों को निकाल बाहर करने का वह कायम रहे इस बात पर भी हमें विशेष ध्यान रखना होगा। इसलिये जो हमारी इनफारमेशन और ब्राडकास्टिंग की मैशिनरी है उसको नये सांचे में ढाला जाना चाहिये।

इस के अलावा हमारे केन्द्र में और राज्यों के प्रशासनों में जो भी पब्लिक रिलेशन्स के विभाग हैं उन को भी नये सांचे में ढाला जाये।



[श्री ह० च० सोय]

मैं एक और चीज का समर्थन करता हूँ जोकि यहां कही गई है। इस इमरजेंसी के समय में वे विभाग जो अनावश्यक समझे जा सकते हैं, जैसे सांस्कृतिक विभाग है, और इस तरह के जो और विभाग हैं उन को समाप्त कर देना चाहिये। कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट विभाग से भी हम को जितना लाभ होना चाहिये था नहीं हो सका है। इसलिये यह बिल्कुल सही होगा अगर कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट विभाग की जो जीपें हैं उन को फौजी काम में लगा दिया जाये और इस विभाग में जो सोशल आरगेनाइजर आदि लोग बेकार पड़े हैं और कोई विशेष काम नहीं कर रहे हैं उन को हम युद्ध के काम में इस्तेमाल करें।

एक और चीज है, वह यह कि मिलिटरी प्रिपरेशन के लिये हमारे जितने भी कारखाने हैं जिन में इजिनियरिंग का सामान बनता है उन को हम फौज के काम में लगा दें। यह बहुत जरूरी है।

**Shri A. N. Vidyalankar** (Hoshiarpur): I have much to say, but in the short time available, it will not be possible for me to say everything I want to.

First of all, I express my full satisfaction that in this debate almost all Members have lent their full support to Government. While I am glad on this account, I regret that some of the speeches made in the House, mostly from Opposition Benches, have not impressed me favourably. For one thing, they lack the quality of self-restraint which is very essential at this moment. In many of the speeches, snubs and sneers were hurled at the Treasury Benches. Things were depicted as if the leaders of the present Government who are bearing the burden are good for nothing fellows, they are very weak and will not be capable of lead-

ing the country to victory. I feel at the present moment such speeches are not useful for building up morale in this country which is very essential in fighting this war.

In Delhi we have so many persons coming from abroad. Also there are various political lobbies. Through these lobbies various rumours are spread and various ideas are being given.

13.38 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Some of these people try to exercise their pulls in order to influence our policies. We have got to be very cautious at this moment. I would say at present nothing should be said to confuse people's minds. In Gita it is said:

न बुद्धि भेदम् जनयेत् अज्ञानाम् कर्म संगिनाम् ।

At present we want to spur people to action. If at this moment confusion is caused and policies and actions are criticised in a way as to create doubt and suspicion, it would be very wrong. Therefore, I feel that the tone and temper of our speeches must be changed here as well as in public. I have heard some speeches in public made by members of certain parties—I will not name them—that followed the same line. In those speeches an impression has been created that this Government has not done its duty, and that since they talk more of peace than of war, they will not be able to bear the burden. I think this attitude is wrong.

Secondly, we have been very much ridiculed because of our talking of peace and non-alignment. Personally, I feel this is not a sign of weakness. During our independence struggle, Gandhiji always cherished the friendship of the British people. He always talked of peace, of friendship with

the British, but his talk was not out of weakness, but strength. Everybody felt then, we talked so because of the inherent strength that we possessed. I think that this matter of peace and non-alignment has been very much misinterpreted and mis-represented, and the idea has not been fully appreciated.

I am reminded that in the days of Maha Bharata, Guru Dronacharya was also confronted with a similar situation. He was a great scholar as well as a warrior. So, confronted with a similar situation, he told his opponents:

पुरतश्चतुरो वेदाः पृच्छतः सशरं धनुः  
इदं द्रोगस्य सामर्थ्यं शास्त्रादपि शरादपि ।

Almost similar words have been said by Pandit Nehru to the Chinese now. Dronacharya said: I know the Vedas and the shastras. I am prepared to talk, to talk reason, I am prepared to argue with you. This is the first thing I want to do. But if you are not prepared to talk reasonably, if you want to use violence, then I have got my bow and arrow, I have got the power to fight against you. Dronacharya is capable of both things, and he is prepared either to talk with *shastra* or to fight with *sastra*.

That is our position. That is why we talk about peace. That is why Gandhiji said to the British people that we wanted their friendship, but friendship with honour. We wanted them to leave our country because it is unjust to rule over another country. Therefore, Gandhiji talked, and he talked from a position of strength. So also, Pandit Nehru says we are prepared for talks. He also speaks from a position of strength. Therefore, whenever such a situation arises, we always talk in the same way. This is our tradition. We want peace, but if the other side is not prepared to listen to reason, we are prepared for war also.

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In our country, the Vedas say:

यत्र ब्रह्म च क्षत्रं च सम्यंचौ चरतः सह

*Brahma* and *kshttra* both go together. We should not misunderstand or misrepresent our peace talk. In fact, all wars are waged for the sake of peace. If the other party is not prepared to listen to reason, then we are prepared for the other thing also. And how do we fight?

कृतं मे दक्षिणे हस्ते  
जयो मे सव्यं आहितः

"I fight with the right hand, and with the left hand I receive the garlands of victory. That is our ideal, and with this balance of mind we should proceed.

Perhaps nobody has reminded the House so far that the hilly areas where we are fighting have received little attention by way of development so far. They continue in the same condition. We should pay attention to develop them, to properly populate them; we should open industries, develop agriculture, and do whatever we can, because the development of the areas is very necessary. Otherwise, the Chinese will exploit their poverty and weakness. Therefore, I want that we should pay special attention to the hilly areas and develop them.

Secondly, we should exercise self-restraint in speech, action and every mode of life. We should not believe in rumours.

Thirdly, just as we regard and respect our soldiers who are fighting on the front, similarly we should regard and respect those soldiers who are fighting on the home front. There are the factory workers and peasants, and we should take full care of them.

My hon. friend mentioned about the pensioners and others. I might

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[Shri A. N. Vidyalankar.]

say that in the Punjab, our Chief Minister has ordered all the Deputy Commissioners to prepare lists of all the residents of the districts who are going to the front for fighting, that these should keep in touch with the families of those soldiers, so that if they felt any difficulties, they should help them. I think this should be followed in other States also.

**श्री गहमरी (गाजीपुर) :** डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, सर्वप्रथम मैं भारतीय सेना के उन जवानों के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ, जो कि शत्रु का मुकाबला करते हुए वीर गति को प्राप्त हुए हैं। इस के बाद मैं माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी के प्रस्तावों का हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ।

मेरे क्षेत्र में चीनी हमले के बाद जो प्रतिक्रिया हुई है, मैं उस को इस सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मैं गहमर गांव का रहने वाला हूँ, जो देश का सब से बड़ा गांव है। उस की बीस हजार की आबादी है और हमारे लगभग दो हजार जवान फंट पर हैं। मेरा लड़का, मेरा भाई, मेरा चचेरा भाई और भतीजा भी फंट पर हैं। गांव में कोई ऐसा परिवार नहीं है, जिस के दो तीन लड़के फंट पर नहीं हैं। हिन्दुस्तान में कोई गांव ऐसा नहीं है—पंजाब को ले कर मैं कहता हूँ—जिस में इतने सैनिक हों। जो जवान छूट्टी पर गहमर आये हुए थे, तार आने पर वे सैकड़ों की तादाद में खुशी खुशी फंट पर चले गये। मिलिटरी गाड़ियां गहमर स्टेशन से रोज पास करती थीं और कोई गाड़ी ऐसी नहीं जाती थी, जिस में दो चार जवान गहमर के शरीक न हों। वे लोग जयजयकार करते हुए और हंसते हुए नीका की तरफ जा रहे हैं।

एक जवान की हाल ही में शादी हुई है और डा० रामसुभग सिंह के गांव की

तरफ की वह लड़की है। वह गाँने में आई हुई थी। बक्सर स्टेशन पर उस की अपने शीहर से मुलाकात हो गई। पल्टनवालों को सिविलियन लोगों से बात करने की इजाजत नहीं होती है। लेकिन मलाकात होने पर उस बड़की ने अपने पुरुष को टीका लगाया और कहा कि दुश्मन को पीट न दिखाता।

हमारे गांव में एक मीटिंग हुई और हजारों की तादाद में मर्द-औरत जमा हुए। सब लोगों ने यह संकल्प किया, यह प्रस्ताव पास किया, कि अगर किसी का बेटा मरे, किसी औरत का पुरुष मरे, तो गांव के लोगों और घर वालों को आंसू नहीं बहाने हैं, क्योंकि इस से दुश्मन को बल मिलेगा। यह दढ़ निश्चय यह वहाँ पर किया गया।

इस सदन के कम्यूनिस्ट सदस्य, श्री सरजू पाण्डेय, जानते हैं कि हमारे अगल-बगल में राजपूत पठानों के गांव हैं। हर गांव से सौ, दो सौ पठान रोज भरती होने आते हैं और कहते हैं कि बिना तनखाह के हम देश के लिये लड़ेंगे।

हमारे दोस्तों ने फौजियों की तनखाह बढ़ाने का सुझाव दिया है, पेंशन बढ़ाने का सुझाव दिया है। मैं फौजी गांव का रहने वाला हूँ। मैं सदन को विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां के सिपाही पेंशन बढ़ाने के आज हक में नहीं हैं, वे नहीं चाहते हैं कि इस को बढ़ाया जाये। आज हम को तनखाह न दी जाये, तब भी हम लड़ने को तैयार हैं। हमारे बड़े, हमारे बजुर्ग जो १९१४ और १९४० में रिटायर हुए हैं, जो फौज में जा चुके हैं, वे कहते हैं कि गहमरी, क्या बात करते हो, दुनिया में कोई सिपाही नहीं है जो हिन्दुस्तानी सिपाहियों का मुकाबला कर सके, उनके मुकाबले में खड़ा हो सके। अगर कोई

खड़ा हो सकता है तो जापानी और जर्मन सिपाही ही खड़ा हो सकता है। सब देशों के सिपाहियों का मुकाबला हमारे इलाके के सिपाही कर चुके हैं। फ्रांस में सैकड़ों आदमियों की कब्र बन चुकी है, हमारे गांव के लोगों की कब्र मैसोपोटामिया में बन चुकी है। हमारा गांव बहादुर आज का नहीं, अंग्रेजी राज का बहादुर चला आता है। जब १८५७ में बगावत हुई थी, उस वक्त जितने सूबदार थे, वे सब बागी हो गए थे। वहां पर जितने पलटनी आदमी थे, वे १९४२ में जो आन्दोलन छिड़ा था, उसमें शरीक हुए थे। वे भी गुलामी करते थे लेकिन देश के प्रति जो उनकी भावना थी, वह मैं आपको बताता हूं, उसका एक नमूना बताता हूं। बर्मा बटालियन फोर्स के नायक कमांडेंट श्री नारायण सिंह थे। उनके मकान को डिनामाइट से १९४२ में उड़ाया गया। सन् १८५७ में गांव तोपों से बराबाद कर दिया गया। यह उस गांव की हिस्ट्री है।

जो उत्साह और जो उमंग मैंने अपने हल्के इलाक में देखी, उसको देख कर चकित रह गया। सन् १९२० से मैं कांग्रेस में हूँ। मैंने देश में इतनी एकता कभी नहीं देखी है। हिन्दू, मुसलमान, हरिजन और यहां तक कि चमार सभी हमारे खिले में आज एक हैं। मैं आपको यह भी बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि बक्सर में चौसा में जो १८५७ की लड़ाई हुई थी, उसमें एक चमार ने सैकड़ों अंग्रेजों को मौत के घाट उतारा था। हमारे फौजियों का आज मोरेल बहुत ऊंचा है और इतना ऊंचा है कि कोई हिसाब ही नहीं है। मैं जब यहां आया तो यहां का नजारा देख कर मुझे कुछ तकलीफ हुई। बाहर के नजारे में और यहां के नजारे में मुझे फर्क मालूम पड़ा। यहां के बहस मुबाहिसे को सुन कर मुझ कण्ठ पहुंचा। विरोधी पार्टियों के कुछ लोगों ने ऐसा व्यवहार किया जैसे उनका फर्स्ट टारजेट माथ्रो त्से तुंग नहीं, चाऊ एन लाई नहीं बल्कि उनका फर्स्ट टारजेट नेहरू है। मैं उन पार्टियों का नाम लेना नहीं चाहता। मैं तो यह समझ कर आया

था कि आज देश के लोग यह सोचेंगे कि देश हर पार्टी से ऊंचा है, कोई पार्टी की बात आज नहीं करेगा, पार्टी की बात करना गुनाह समझा जाएगा, पार्टी देश से नीचे समझी जाएगी। इस प्रस्ताव का यहां पर समर्थन तो किया गया है लेकिन कुछ लोगों ने रिजर्वेशन के साथ किया है। मैं मुस्लिम लोग का आभारी हूँ उसके लिए जो रुख उसने अपनाया है। इसमाईल साहब ने बहुत ही सोबर स्पीच की है मैं उनका कायल हो गया हूँ। स्वतंत्र पार्टी के कुछ लोगों ने काफी कुछ कहा है। कुछ ने नेहरू की लीडरशिप के बारे में कहा है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे पास कोई आल्टरनेटिव भी तो नहीं है। किसे लीडर बनायें? क्या लोहिया साहब को बना कर काम चला सकता है आज हमारे सामने कोई आल्टरनेटिव नहीं है। ऐसी अवस्था में तथा ऐसे वक्त में हम को सर्वसम्मति से इस संकट की घड़ी में उनको नेता मान कर उनके पीछे चलना है। आज दुनिया में उनसे अच्छा कोई दूसरा प्रीमियर नहीं है। मैं कहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान नहीं बल्कि दुनिया में सब से अच्छे प्रीमियर वही हैं। उनके पीछे हम चलें, यही मेरा सुझाव है।

**Shri Ram Chandra Malik (Jajpur):**  
**Mr. Deputy-Speaker Sir,** I am thankful to you for having given me an opportunity to say some points in the House. I add my support also to the two resolutions moved by the hon. Prime Minister. When India is engaged in her planned development schemes under the right leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, when her people are living peacefully and when they are trying to establish friendship with the other nations, just at the moment she has treacherously been attacked by the barbarous China, a mighty aggressor in the present world. This aggression of China on us is completely unlawful. From the Puranas we are aware of the event that the "king Kamsa" was killed in the long run due to his barbarous, treacherous and mischievous deeds

[Shri Ram Chandra Majhi]

with which he gave enormous troubles to "Devaki" and her husband "Vasudeva" putting them under his personal custody. Epic Ramayana gives still finer examples in this context. We worship Sita as the Mother Goddess. We also worship India as our mother:

"जननी जन्म भूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी"

In the fighting that took place between "Rama and Ravana" on account of Sita's kidnapping by the latter, the demon king "Ravana" was killed at the end; so also the barbarous, treacherous, ungrateful aggressor, unscrupulous China will no doubt be defeated ultimately and we will surely recover our lost territory:

यदा यदाहि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत :  
 अभ्यात्यानधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहं  
 परित्राणाय साधुना विनाशाय च दुष्कृतां  
 धर्म संस्थानपार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ।'

We believe that when the country is in a dangerous position, when the people are oppressed or depressed by the "Saitans," God incarnates himself in man, when the weight of sin was unbehavable in earth. Though Gandhiji has gone for ever from this mortal world, the world will not forget his advice and message. We should forget the past and prepare for the future for the defence of our motherland. The whole country is ready itself to meet the challenge and will not rest till the Chinese imperialism is out sided from India. We have to work hard and do our duty: "Do your duty that is the best; leave unto thy Lord the rest." We must also take steps to train our Forces in the use of all modern arms that we got from other countries.

14 hrs.

Now, I want to say a few words about my State of Orissa. The Orissa Government have already given Rs. 1 crore to the National Defence Fund. The Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister have promised to collect more than 10,000 tolas of gold

throughout the State. Already more than Rs. 4 lakhs have been collected from the Orissa State, and they are going to collect more funds.

We are getting all kinds of support throughout the country. Even the blind and the poorest men of the country are contributing their best to the National Defence Fund. At the present hour of emergency it is the duty of all of us to forget our small and petty domestic quarrels and stand united as one team to drive out the Chinese from our motherland.

We will never forget, and are grateful to all those countries who have offered their help and sympathy to India without any hesitation.

"उच्चवे व्यसेने चैव धमिकय राष्ट्रविप्लवे ।  
 राजद्वारे स्मशानेश्चय यो तिष्ठति सः वन्दवः"

"A friend in need is a friend indeed." Doctors, engineers, technicians and other persons who are serving in foreign countries may please be requested to come to India in this hour of crisis and serve here. Pressmen and representatives of newspapers, writers and poets, may be requested to move their pen in such a manner as to encourage the youth and the whole masses of the country. During this time, we have to work hard. We should not lose heart.

"Standing at the foot, boys  
 Gazing in the sky  
 How can you get up boy  
 If you never try?  
 Tho' you stumble oft boys,  
 Never be downcast;  
 Try and try again, boys;  
 You'll succeed at last."

हमें न टोके हमें न रोके कमी न रुकने वाले हैं  
 उचित कर्म के न्याय धर्म के पथ पर चलने हैं

Sir, while coming from Orissa to attend this session here, I have seen

two doctors. Both of them, husband and wife, are serving in the army. The doctor's name is Capt. P. K. Jena. The lady doctor was also with him. Though she was pregnant, still, she was going to attend to work in the Kashmir area to serve the country. So, when all the people are going to serve the country, and when all of us are trying to drive out the Chinese from our country, I definitely know that the Chinese will go out from our noble country.

**श्री योगेन्द्र झा (मधुवनी) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, देश की अखंडता तथा स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा में शहीद हुए सैनिकों को मैं श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ ।

जराष्ट्र पिता गांधी के नेतृत्व में भारत ने विश्व साम्राज्यवाद की जड़ को हिला दिया तो पंडित नेहरू के नेतृत्व में भारत विश्व साम्यवाद की साम्राज्यवादी लिप्सा को भी मिटा देगा । हम साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ हैं, चाहे वह पूंजीवादी हो अथवा साम्यवादी, पश्चिमी हो या पूर्वी ।

इस बहस के दौरान किसी सैनिक गुट में शरीक न होने की हमारी विदेश नीति की चर्चा की गई है । स्वतन्त्र पार्टी तथा जनसंघ ने इस नीति का विरोध किया है । समझ में नहीं आता कि भारत किसी सैनिक गुट में क्यों शरीक हो ? अपनी आजादी की रक्षा के लिये दूसरों से अस्त्र शस्त्र लेकर लड़ना और सैनिक गुट में शरीक हो कर संसार में संहार की ब्युह रचना करना दोनों दो बातें हैं । जहाँ हम अपनी आजादी की रक्षा करना चाहते हैं वही संसार में शान्ति भी चाहते हैं । सैनिक गुटबन्दी का आधार ही गलत है । सैनिक गुटबन्दी विश्व युद्ध यानी संसार के सर्वनाश की व्यापक तैयारी है । निस्सन्देह गांधी का भारत इस नीति के खिलाफ है । किन्तु क्या साम्यवादी को नानअलाइनमेंट में आस्था है ? नानअलाइनमेंट किस से ? रूस तथा अमेरिका की सैनिक गुटबन्दी से । क्या साम्यवादी दल में यह नैतिक हिम्मत है कि वह रूसी सैनिक गुटबन्दी का निन्दा करें? पूर्वी

योरप के देशों में रूसी फौज की उपस्थिति का विरोध करे ? हंगरी की क्रांति के क्रूर दमन का विरोध करे ? तिब्बत पर चीनी हमल के विरोध की बात तो दूर रही दलाई लामा को भारत में शरण देने का विरोध किया इन साम्यवादियों ने । बहुत दिनों तक साम्यवादियों ने इस बात का प्रचार किया कि चीन ने हमला नहीं किया होता अगर हम ने दलाई लामा को शरण न दी होती । क्या यह साम्यवादी दल की नान-अलाइनमेंट की नीति है? सी० पी० आई० ने आज तक कभी विश्व साम्यवादी सम्मेलन के सामने यह सृष्टाव रचना है कि रूस अपनी सैनिक गुटबन्दी को तोड़ दे ? विदेशों से सैनिक अड्डे हटा ले ? नानअलाइनमेंट का तकाजा है कि हम अमेरिका के सैनिक अड्डे के खिलाफ ह और रूसी अड्डों के खिलाफ भी, चाहे वह अड्डा पाकिस्तान में हो टर्की में हो अथवा क्यूबा में । साम्यवादी दल ने आज तक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं पर जितने प्रस्ताव पास किये सभी रूसी नीति के आधार पर । यह बात अलग है कि कम्यूनिस्ट रूस को भी नानअलाइन्ड ही समझ बैठे हों । कम्यूनिस्टों को मेरी एक ही सलाह है— "परोपदेशे पाण्डित्यं" क्यों ? एक हिंसक के मुंह से अहिंसा का 'उपदेश' शोभा नहीं देता ।

कम्यूनिस्टों की नजर में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री बराबर बदलते रहे हैं । यह तो प्रधान मंत्री ही कहेंगे कि साम्यवादियों की धारणा किस हद तक सच्ची है । रजनी पाम दत्त, भारतीय साम्यवादियों के गुरु, की एक किताब है "ब्रिटिस क्राइसिस आफ एम्पायर" । प्रथम तो उस ने भारत को स्वतन्त्र माना ही नहीं तथा प्रधान मंत्री को निम्नो इम्पीरियलिस्ट, जूनियर पार्टनर आफ एंग्लो अमेरिकन इम्पीरियलिज्म, डार्लिंग आफ इम्पीरियलिज्म आदि धिनीने शब्दों से विभूषित किया ।

भारतीय साम्यवादियों का इतिहास देशद्रोह तथा अहिंसकता का उदाहरण है । साम्यवादी

[श्री योगेन्द्र झा]

की अन्तिम लड़ाई में इस पार्टी के लोगों ने खुफियागिरी की, देशभक्तों के घर जलवाये तथा राष्ट्रीय नेताओं को अपमानित किया।

आजादी के तुरन्त बाद पी० सी० जोशी के नेतृत्व में "आल सपोर्ट टु नेहरू गवर्नमेंट" कहा। फिर १९४८ में वी० टी० रणदिवे के नेतृत्व में यह कहा कि भारत आजाद नहीं है। मुक्ति संग्राम छेड़ दिया। कल्ले ग्राम किया। जब यह मुक्ति संग्राम विफल हुआ तो पुनः राजेश्वर राव के नेतृत्व में नारा दिया कि भारत में चीन की तरह की क्रान्ति होगी। आज उस की नीति सरकार का समर्थन करने की है। पता नहीं कल क्या नीति होगी। नीति बदलने में इन लोगों को ज्यादा समय नहीं लगता। एक नेता को डिनाउंस कर देंगे, नीति बदल लेंगे। कोई शर्म इस में उन को नहीं होगी। इतिहास से सबक ले कर अगर इस दल ने आज भी सही कदम उठाया, अपने कलंकित इतिहास को बदला, देशभक्ति का परिचय दिया, तो फिर देखा जायेगा। हम उन के ऊपर विश्वास कर लेंगे। अभी तो देखना है।

चीन ने हमारे ऊपर हमला क्यों किया? साम्यवादी दल के मुख्य पत्र 'न्यू एज' में श्री डांगे के वक्तव्य के आधार पर एक विश्लेषण छपा है। उस में कहा गया है कि चीन हमारी जमीन नहीं चाहता क्योंकि उसका अपना देश बहुत बड़ा है। धन नहीं चाहता। अगर धन चाहता तो हांगकांग नजदीक है, जहां अधिक धन है। साम्राज्य नहीं चाहता। अगर साम्राज्य चाहता तो और भी छोटे देश हैं। उस ने लिखा है कि चीन को हमारी नीति समझने में धोखा हो गया है, गलतफहमी हो गई है। क्या यह विश्लेषण साम्यवादी दल की देशभक्ति की निशानी है? देश भर में यह मांग हो रही है कि साम्यवादी दल चीन समर्थक अपने सदस्यों को पार्टी से निकाल दे। किन्तु

साम्यवादी दल ने इन भारतीय चीनियों की गिरफ्तारी का विरोध किया है। गुस्सा जाहिर किया है। उन को क्यों इतना मोह रणदिवे से है? रणदिवे लाइन के अनुसार भारत को आजाद होना अभी बाकी है। रणदिवे ने जिस मुक्ति संग्राम की शुरुआत की थी उस की पूर्णाहुति करने चीनी फौज आ रही है। चीन हमारी जमीन चाहता है, धन चाहता है। पूर्वी योरप के रूसी साम्राज्य की तरह वह चीनी साम्राज्य चाहता है ताकि एशिया में जनतन्त्र का नाश हो जाये।

पाकिस्तान चीन तथा रूस से दोस्ती चाहता है। चीन की परवाह नहीं, किन्तु हमें सतर्क रहना है कि रूस पाकिस्तान का साथ नहीं दे। अगर रूस-चीन-पाकिस्तान का एक गुट हो तो हमारे लिये यह मौत का रास्ता है। हर कोशिश होनी चाहिये कि पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारा बैर खत्म हो। पाकिस्तान भी सोचे कि चीन ने मैकमोहन रेखा को यह कह कर अस्वीकार किया है कि मैकमोहन रेखा तो ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य की सृष्टि है। और पाकिस्तान किस की सृष्टि है? इस का उत्तर देने की जरूरत नहीं है।

अन्त में दो शब्द नेतृत्व के प्रसंग में। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के नेता ने प्रधान मंत्री को युद्धकालीन नेतृत्व के लिये अयोग्य बतलाया है। यह गैरजिम्मेदारी की बात है। जिस तरह स्वातन्त्र्य संग्राम में गांधी जी का विल्कप नहीं था, उसी तरह आज स्वातन्त्र्य रक्षा संग्राम में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री का विल्कप नहीं है। राष्ट्र पिता के नेतृत्व में हम ने आजादी प्राप्त की। नेहरू जी के नेतृत्व में हम उस की रक्षा का व्रत लें। आज उन का जन्म दिवस है। मैं ईश्वर से प्रार्थना करता हूं कि वह उन को दीर्घ जीवन और सुन्दर स्वास्थ्य दे।

Shri Brij Raj Singh—Kotah (Jhalawar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir,

much has been said on this topic in this House; and there is a grave peril that our country faces today. So, I feel that this is no time to go into the post-mortem of our various policies. It is a very serious situation that we are faced with and this is a time for work and for less talk.

I feel that whatever is said in this House must be very carefully weighed, for all words uttered here go outside, which may be detrimental to our security.

It is a very good thing to hear the Prime Minister's statement that there will be an enquiry held into the defence department. This is not the time to hold it, but whenever it is held, the jawans and the defence personnel who are directly concerned should also be consulted.

Regarding arms preparation, I will say that it is time for us to get all aid from whatever quarter we can. We are thankful to those countries, especially the USA, U.K., Canada and France who have rushed to our aid in this hour of peril. But it is time the USSR also brought to life in a more practical way the various gestures and overtures that they have been extending to us over the past decade. I am reminded of a saying that goes—"the hands that help are holier than the lips that pray".

Regarding increasing our armed forces, I would submit that it is time that we increased our army and built up air force capable enough not only of protecting our borders and our nation, but if need be, bringing terror into the enemy's heart. We need missiles and all other such weapons system. Sophisticated weapons cost a lot of money, but we should have them if we are to fight the enemy, who is ruthless and barbaric. Special equipment is needed for our forces, to fight in regions where the altitude is very high. The normal trucks, tanks and all the rest of equipment are normally meant for fighting in plains. We need to make a special effort to see that whatever equipment we have to

bring in has to be suited for that particular altitude.

I would also refer to our second line of defence. It is necessary that we must have a single organised unit under a central command. In this emergency, instead of proliferation of control, there should be a tendency to have all the strings in one hand, since we are facing an enemy who is highly centralised and who believes in centralisation in its extreme and we have been preaching decentralisation for the last so many years. I am referring to the various organs like NCC, ACC, Territorial Army and the National Volunteer Rifles, which has been recently formed.

Regarding the formation of our National Defence Council, I feel it is a very good move. But from the composition of this big body, it seems that it is meant only to give directives and make the people understand the emergency. I hope that this newly constituted body will not only prepare the nation for the emergency, but will give effective and firm contribution to our defence policy.

I would now refer to the strategic importance of our lines of communication and roads in our border areas. I will specially mention that these roads should be in a good position and built to take heavy traffic of military vehicles. They should not crumble to dust with the passage of just one single convoy. I am particularly referring to the Hindustan-Tibet road.

Keeping roads free of civilian traffic in times of war is a very important measure that our Government needs to go into. I will remind the House that France in 1940 was choked of all operations, because there was operations because there was so much influx of civilians on those roads that essential military operations were not possible.

I would also recommend that our telecommunications and all means of communication from our commands must be always working. The security of our defence installations must be guarded. Bridges, dams, factories and



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all industrial complexes need to be put under air raid protection.

Regarding this talk about limited warfare, I have heard it with regret and remorse. We have started talking of a limited war even before we waged it. We have been driven to war, not by our choice, for everybody in this world including India desires that bloodshed should be obliterated. India had been so much enthused by its dedication to the dove of peace that it has made us unfamiliar with the outside world and with the horror and realities of war. It is only now that we are realising this error after Messrs Mao, Chau and Teh have roasted that dove in cold blood. I do not want to sound an alarmist, for our alarm bells never rang when the yellow thug entered our backyard. Nor do I share the opinion of those sabre-rattlers that we have no sabres.

I will touch on another very important point. That is regarding the military intelligences. When we are fighting the enemy, it is imperative to know what we are fighting and where. An army that fights a war without an intelligence system is like somebody groping under the dark. We must know from where the enemy is going to strike, with what force and when he is going to strike. Unless we improve our military intelligence and be in a position to monitor all the radio broadcasts—the various army broadcasts of the Chinese communists—our army will not be in a position to fight where it is needed with sufficient force.

Finally, I have to say that we must be very careful about our installations and guard them from sabotage. We must look at the war in its real sense and not take things as they are normally done. We are in a state of emergency and things should show that we are really at war and not like what we were all these days.

There was much talk about non-alignment. After much thinking I have come to the conclusion that whatever impediment you may put on it, India, when faced with fighting the forces of evil, will always align herself with forces of good. For, no price is too high to pay for defending freedom.

**Shri Subbaraman (Madurai):** Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to me. I join with the previous speakers and pay my humble homage to all the jawans who have laid down their lives in defence of the country. While supporting the motions moved by the Prime Minister, I would like to say a few words. The reaction of the Chinese aggression on our soil is the same throughout the country. There is spontaneous indignation and awakening in the innermost villages as in the farthest parts of the country. The response to the appeal and call of the Prime Minister to repel the aggressor from all the State and districts is heartening.

The whole country has realised that it is a great danger to our country, to democracy and freedom. So, all dissensions which were weakening the very foundation of the country since some years have disappeared and a new and proper attitude has risen among all the people irrespective of caste, creed, language, region, etc. The change has come to us as if in a magic. So, in a way good has resulted out of this evil. We find enthusiasm everywhere. Men and women, young and old, children, students, workers, learned professions, Government servants, etc. are all prepared to do their utmost for repelling the enemy from our country. This eagerness should be properly utilised to the best advantage of the country. The enthusiasm among the people is the most essential thing for success in our efforts.

But that alone would not take us far and long, as the war that is thrust

on us would be a long drawn one. It should be sustained. Therefore, all steps should be taken up so that our enthusiasm and determination to fight the aggressor do not slacken even a little.

All our attention should be concentrated in our efforts to drive out the aggressor at the earliest. Other things should wait till then. Development of our country should, of course, be continued and carried on. But whichever is not urgent and essential in the perspective of our efforts to throw out the aggressor should be postponed.

The strictest economy should be adopted in all departments of the Government. Austerity measures in our conduct and life as in the Government should inspire the general public to follow.

It is very difficult to imagine how the war will turn itself. We should, therefore, be prepared to face worse situations and far greater sacrifices. We must steel our heart for any suffering. All our villages should be self-sufficient. We have been propagating this idea since years. But this has become our utmost necessity now. More encouragement should be given to the villagers to grow more food, raw materials and other necessities of life. We must keep aside all other things and enable our leaders and officers to concentrate on our defence efforts.

Law and order should be maintained by us and the police should be relieved of their normal functions. They should be spared and relieved for purposes like second line of defence.

Sir, a righteous man suffers for the cause of his ideal and principles. So also has our country to undergo sufferings now. We preach peace. We went to distant parts of the world to bring out settlement and peace whenever and wherever there was

clash. We have not joined any power bloc. Besides, we were very friendly with China and took up her cause in the United Nations. Such a country as ours has been betrayed by our neighbours, the Chinese, and aggression made on our country by them. It is, therefore, argued that our country has to give up the policy of non-alignment. But this non-alignment has brought us support and appreciation all these years. The military and moral aid that we are getting now is only due to that. Moreover, we are not expected by those countries giving aid to us to change our policy. While that is so, there is no necessity to revise it now.

Another thing that is said is, we are poor and therefore we should get arms free as we cannot afford to pay for them. That is not a right attitude, I would like to submit. Though poor, we must first exhaust all our resources to throw out the enemy. Only with the utmost sacrifice on our part we will deserve the freedom we enjoy. It is for the rest of the countries then to offer their maximum help to us. The fight is not only for our country but it is for others also and for peaceful co-existence.

One has to admit that it is only with arms that we would be able to resist the aggression in the situation in which we are placed now. It may be frightening to imagine the cost that we have to bear to effectively arm ourselves and push out the powerful enemy. But whatever it may be, we must be prepared for it. Resist we must, in whatever way it is possible for us. Inner strength and self-reliance are the first requisites for any resistance. They should be developed. Besides, all the training we had under Mahatma Gandhiji's leadership and guidance should be fully utilised.

The present situation requires every one of us to do our duty with patriotic spirit behind it. In whatever

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position we are, whether we are peasants, workers, landlords, industrialists, merchants, doctors, engineers, lawyers, teachers or government servants, all of us should work hard and produce more and more. We should waste less and work efficiently so that defence efforts do not suffer the least. By this we give strength and courage for our army and jawans to fight successfully. We would be failing them and, consequently, our country, if we do not carry on our duty with a patriotic attitude. When our jawans are giving their lives, we must at least do our duty most efficiently. This is also the only thing every one of us can do to throw out the aggressor.

**Shri Daffe** (Miraj): Sir I thank you for giving me an opportunity to say a few words on this grave occasion. While, Sir, I stand to support the resolutions moved by the Prime Minister, my first words must be for our jawans who have laid down their lives in honour of our motherland. To them, Sir, I pay my homage with the deepest respect and gratitude.

Sir, the Prime Minister has rightly told us that this is a grave occasion in the history of our nation. The invasion by China is a very very serious matter which will have a tremendous effect upon our national life and existence. In this nuclear age, Comrade Mao has developed his own theories about war and conquest of territories. It must be remembered, Sir, that he and some others, who have used these theories, have been found to be dangerously near success. In all that we do, therefore, Sir, it would be incorrect to under-estimate the magnitude and gravity of the impact of the invasion upon us. We had other people's examples before us, and in that we were forewarned. But, it is never too late to mend, Sir, because in our beloved Prime Minister we have a dynamic personality who could rise to the occasion and who has the solid will of the people behind

him, and there is no doubt that he will lead our nation to a triumphant success.

It is of supreme necessity, therefore, Sir, that the people of our country are made to understand our enemy first and his intentions. Indeed it is one of the first and most important principles of war to make people fully realise and understand the aggressor. Both the battle and the home fronts could not be effectively built up without this. Given the tools, weapons, helicopters and planes and the right leadership, our armed forces are quite capable of driving the invader away from our soil on the battle-front. But, I submit, they equally need a powerful and well-organised home-front that will sustain their moral, courage and bravery. Being an ex-serviceman myself, Sir, I know from personal experience what a home-front means to a fighting soldier, especially in a long-drawn war. It is imperative, therefore, that we quickly build up a powerful and surcharged home-front with expert advice. This is all the more necessary because we have to protect and preserve at all costs our own democratic system of life against this invasion.

Civil defences, propaganda, economic measures and controls, food supply and marshalling of the industries for defence purposes constitute the bulk of the home-front. Various measures with regard to these have already been suggested by my hon. friends here. I shall, therefore, not repeat them.

As regards propaganda—this is very important—I submit that we have yet to do quite a lot. The propaganda machinery should be carefully geared so as to be more effective both for internal as well as external service.

On the diplomatic front the nation trusts the Prime Minister to do the needful. Our non-alignment policy is sure to prove successful. We read

in the papers about the approaches and moves made by different Heads of States. We are most grateful to the U.S.A., U.K. and Canada for the timely assistance which these countries have rendered us in our hour of need with the full appreciation of our non-alignment policy. I hope that they continue to do so according to our needs. And may I submit, Sir, that we should not hesitate to accept it whenever we need it so long as the national emergency exists.

With regard to our two most important strategic neighbours, Pakistan and Nepal, an understanding appears essential in the present context of things. Both these countries face the common danger along with us. With all cordiality, therefore, they should be made to see through it for our mutual benefit.

Our friends here from Assam and NEFA yesterday have given us an account of their respective areas and the wonderful morale of our brothers and sisters there. Nothing is more heartening than this news, Sir, as it comes almost from the battle areas. I marvel their courage and express my gratitude to these people. It may perhaps be fitting, Sir, to put an Army man as Governor there at this juncture. Such an appointment will boost the morale of the people as well as assist the Army Commander there.

About our Indian communist friends I wish to say one or two words. In Maharashtra we had enough experience of these friends. I am glad they have now fallen in with the national line. Whether this resolve of theirs is due to the force of circumstances or is genuine is yet to be seen. They are a shrewd lot, Sir, and therefore require to be watched carefully.

One last word about the sittings of Parliament I would like to suggest during this emergency. Except for the Budget Session, I think it will be advisable for the Parliament to meet

at least for about a week or for ten days every month, so that the Members may be put to know what is happening and might suggest certain things from time to time and keep in touch with the capital. But I leave that matter to you, Sir, for your discretion.

Once again I support the resolutions that have been moved and I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

**श्री ऊटीया (शहडोल):** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय भारतीय भूमि पर चीनी आक्रमण के सम्बन्ध में हम जब भी विचार करते हैं तो हमारे सामने मूलभूत प्रश्न उठता है कि यह संघर्ष किस भू-भाग पर हो रहा है। हमें इतनी बड़ी असफलता क्यों देखनी पड़ती है, और भविष्य में हम क्या करें ताकि हमारे लोगबाग की तथा मुल्क की सुरक्षा कायम हो सके। यह अधोषित युद्ध उस भूभाग पर हो रहा है जो जंगली और बर्फीला प्रदेश है और प्रधान मंत्री के शब्दों में जहाँ घास पात भी नहीं उगती और जहाँ इन्सान का रहना दूभर है। साथ ही यह वह भूमि है जिसे चीनियों ने अन्न, तेल, मछलियों और जंगली जड़ी बूटियों की खान बतलाया है। हम समझें या न समझें, हमारा देश आज भी सोने की चिड़िया है जिसका शिकार तुर्क, मंगोल, हूण आदि जातियों ने बार बार करने की कोशिश की। हम पर आक्रमण किये, मगर हम ने अपना बचाव भरसक किया। आज परिस्थितियां कुछ बदली हुई हैं।

आज चीन का इरादा क्या है? यह बात एक दम स्पष्ट है। वह एशिया में भारत को सर्वोत्कृष्ट राष्ट्र देखना नहीं पसन्द करता। किन्तु भारत सर्वोत्कृष्ट एशिया में ही नहीं विश्व में रहेगा। जब सिथियन और अन्य लोगों के आतंक से आर्य जाति तंग आ गई तो उनकी बेद्वि को ठीक करने के लिये बौद्ध धर्म के

## [श्री ऊटीया]

अनुयायः वहां गये, और अपने अपूर्व नेतृत्व से उन का उद्धार किया। किन्तु आज फिर के मस्तिष्क में चीटे चूहे खाने से रोग लग गया है, और वे हमारी जड़ी बूटियों का अपहरण करने पर तुल गये हैं। स्पष्ट है कि चीनी हमला चीनियों के लिये भले ही नई बात हो लेकिन भारत के लिये नहीं, चाहे भारत सरकार अब भी हजारों साल पुरानी मैत्री का हवाब क्यों न देखती हो।

हाल में प्रधानमंत्री महोदय ने दिल्ली की दो लाख जनता की भीड़ में भाषण करते हुए कहा कि लड़ाई में हमें चीनियों से एक सबक मिलता है, हम भी उनकी नकल करेंगे, अपना रवैया बदल कर अपने को मजबूत करेंगे। मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि उन्होंने लंका यात्रा से पूर्व पालम पर अपनी शक्ति आजमाये बिना क्यों शत्रु को खदेड़ देने का डिंडोरा पीट दिया? और जब वे उलटे हमें खदेड़ने लगे तो ८ सितम्बर सिर पर सवार हो गया। अगर ८ सितम्बर की स्थिति मंजर थी तो यह बला क्यों मोल ली? हम तो चाहते हैं कि ८ सितम्बर नहीं बल्कि आठ शताब्दी ई० पू० तक चल जायें, लेकिन वे जाना नहीं चाहते। यह सही है कि उन्होंने चीन की दीवार बना कर अपनी सीमा की रक्षा की और हम विरोध पत्रों का दूसरा हिमालय खड़ा करने में लगे रहे। उन्होंने हमारी भूमि में अक्षय चीन सड़क का निर्माण किया है, कैंटोनमेंट और चौकियां कायम की हैं और हमें पता तक न चला। ये स्वयम् तो सोते रहे और देश से कहते रहे: जागो, जागो। देश जम गया पर सरकार नहीं आखिर हमें यह मात खानी पड़ रही है। हमने कई गलतियां कीं। भारत सरकार की प्रचार व प्रसार शक्ति का पूरा उपयोग न करके, केवल यही स्वीकार किया गया कि

पाकिस्तानियों ने वहां घुस बठ की, और एक-एक विरोध पत्र भेज दिया। अगर पाकिस्तानी हमारी सीमा से कर्नल भट्टाचार्य को खींच कर जबर्दस्ती गिर-पतार कर सकते हैं और चीनी हमारी चौकी के निहत्थे जवानों को कैद करके यह साबित कर सकते हैं कि वे उन की भूमि में गदत करते हुए पकड़े गये तो क्या यह भारत की अकर्मण्यता नहीं? जब वे हमारे जवानों को घसीटे ले जा रहे थे तो भारत सरकार यहां कुछ विरोधी सदस्यों को घसीट रही थी, और उसी घसीट में दुर्भाग्य से सुरक्षा मंत्री जी भी आ गये। फर्क इतना ही रहा कि वे जेल नहीं गये। हमारे मित्र जेल भी हो आये। हालांकि हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री देश की दी हुई २० करोड़ रुपये की रकम सन् १९६०-६१ सैन्य शक्ति मजबूत करने में खर्च नहीं कर सके और निहत्थे जवानों को गलत कमांड में सीमा पर भेज कर सफाया करा दिया। खैर भारत माता के करोड़ों पुत्र और मिल जायेंगे। अब तो रिजर्व सैनिकों को बुलाया गया है। हमने अपना पक्ष सम्भालने के ब्याल से सीमा संघर्ष के विषय में संसार के सभी राष्ट्रों से संपर्क स्थापित कर के परामर्श किया। दक्षिणी अफ्रीका और पुर्तगाल से इसलिये पत्र व्यवहार नहीं हुआ कि हमारे दौत्य सम्बन्ध उनसे नहीं हैं। जब गोआ जैसी छोटी पुलिस कार्रवाई में हमारे सम्बन्ध टूट गये, चाहे वह कार्रवाई वोटों पर असर डालने के ध्येय से ही क्यों न हुई हो, तो हमारी समझ में नहीं आता कि चीन से अब तक यह सम्बन्ध क्यों कायम हैं। पंडित नेहरू आज उस देश के उत्कृष्ट पद पर हैं जिसके नरेश चक्रवर्ती भरत और प्रधानमंत्री चाणक्य रह चुके हैं। पुस्तकालय में चाणक्य का अर्थशास्त्र ग्रन्थ और पंडित नेहरू की डिस्कवरी आफ इंडिया एक ही

में दोनों गन्य रखे हैं। फर्क भाषा

का है। हमारे वर्तमान हिन्दुस्तानी प्रधान मंत्री का भाषा अंग्रेजी है। अर्थशास्त्र भारतीय पढ़ते हैं। डिसकवरी आफ इंडिया अंग्रेज पढ़ते हैं। इन्हीं पंडित नेहरू की वजह से काश्मीर का मामला टेढ़ी खीर बन कर रह गया है और जब तक पाक हिन्दुस्तान रहेंगे यह समस्या बनी रहेगी काश्मीर चा जिस के हाथ में हो। यह तो सरदार पटेल जैसे राजनीतिज्ञ की करामात थी कि ६०० रियासतों को एक करके जनतंत्र का विगुल फूँका था।

अगर हमने लंका के राजा के शत्रुभाई विभीषण का राजतिलक अपना भूमि में कर दिया था तो क्या धर्मनिष्ठ दलाई लामा को विभीषण नहीं बनाया जा सकता। क्या अंग्रेजी का ज्ञान प्राप्त करके प्रधान मंत्री मानसरोवर और कैलाश का महत्व भूल गये।

सोने का स्मर्गलिंग करना मामूली अपराध था। आज संकट काल में उसे कानूनी रूप में वैध मान कर सुरक्षा कोष में लिया जा रहा है। हम तो कहेंगे कि एक तिथि नियत करके सारा सोना जब्त कर लिया जाये और उस तिथि के बाद सोना रखना अवैध करार दिया जाये। ठीक है, देश का सहयोग तब, मन और धन से ही मिलना चाहिए।

लेकिन फिर योजनाओं में कटौती करें और वह भी पैसा सुरक्षा कोष में भर कर इस्तेमाल करें यह कहां तक उचित है। सरकार को साधनों की कमी कमी नहीं रही। सरकार ने उसका उचित उपयोग नहीं किया। सुरक्षा मंत्री का इस्तीफा इसका सबूत है।

अब क्या हम यह भरोसा करें कि पार्टी का भेदभाव छोड़ कर उन व्यक्तियों के सुझावों पर सरकार अमल करेगी जो राष्ट्र को दसियों साल से उचित राय देते आ रहे हैं। चाहे वे किसी पार्टी के हों उन की राय से ही नए रक्षा मंत्री का चुनाव करना ज्यादा हितकर होगा।

**श्री कामले (लाटूर) :** माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सदन में जो प्रस्ताव माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी की ओर से रखा गया है उस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए मैं अपने विचारों को रखने का प्रयत्न करता हूँ।

भारत की इस समय की परिस्थिति संकटावस्था होते हुए भी चैतन्यपूर्ण है। यह देश अपने विकास के हेतु कार्यरत है। आजादी के बाद लोकतंत्र प्रणाली के अनुसार जनता ने अपने प्रतिनिधियों द्वारा न केवल पार्लियामेंट या विधान सभाओं का शासन संभाला बल्कि जिला बोर्ड, तालुका, पंचायत और ग्राम पंचायतों को भी अपने हाथों में लेकर काम करना आरम्भ किया। प्रजातंत्र की जड़ें देश भर में फैल गयीं और देश अपने विकास में मग्न हो गया।

ऐसे समय इस लोकतंत्रीय भारत पर चीन व सीमा विवाद उपस्थित कर योजनाबद्ध सशस्त्र हमला किया। देश चौकन्ना हो गया। सारी जनता क्रोधित हो उठी। एक ज्वाला सी फैल गयी। सीमा पर हमला किया, यह तो हमारी आजादी पर आघात है, ऐसे शब्द जब भारत के लोकप्रिय नेता पं० जवाहरलाल जी ने कहे, तब क्या पक्ष, क्या धर्म, और पंथ, क्या बूढ़े, जवान और बालक, क्या गरीब और क्या धनी, सब ने अपने मतभेदों को भुला कर एक आवाज से कहा कि जब आजादी की खतरा है, तब हम अपना बलिदान दे कर भी इस खतरे को मिटावेंगे। यह देश की आज की अवस्था है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने इस समय भारत की तटस्थ नीति की चर्चा करते हुए आलोचना की और नीति परिवर्तन की मांग की है। लेकिन उन्होंने कोई नया उपाय नहीं बताया। हमारी तटस्थ नीति अब तक कामयाब रही है, अब भी कामयाब

[श्री कानले]

है और भविष्य में भी कामयाग रहेगी। इससे हटने का कोई प्रश्न इस समय नहीं है न होने की जरूरत है।

कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने चीनी आक्रमण की निन्दा करते हुए शासन के दोषों को बतलाने की चेष्टा की है। मैं उनसे विनम्रता से कहूंगा कि दोष निकालने का यह समय नहीं है, अब पैर में कांटा चुभता है तो उसको तुरन्त निकाल फेंका जाता है। इस पर चर्चा नहीं होती कि कांटा किस झाड़ का है, कहाँ पड़ा था, कैसे चुभा? कांटा निकालने के बाद जरूरत हो तो सोचा जाता है। हमारे सिर पर संकट है। हम पहले संकट को दूर करे और बाद में जब फुर्सत हो चर्चा करेंगे, दोष भी निकालेंगे। माननीय सदस्य को कहीं किसी बात का खतरा महसूस हो तो वे सीधे प्रधान मंत्री के पास अपनी बात कह सकते हैं। यहां सदन में रक्षा विभाग के सम्बन्ध में रहस्य की जानकारी प्राप्त करने का प्रयत्न न करें। अगर लोकतंत्र के नाम पर हम अपने भेदों को प्रकट करगे तो शत्रु पक्ष उसका लाभ उठायेगा। शत्रु पक्ष की बहुत सी बातों का और हलचल का हमें आसानी से पता नहीं चलता। दोषों की चर्चा करके आपसी मतभेद को न आने दें। युद्ध के समय दो बातों का परहेज नितान्त आवश्यक होता है। एक है आपसी मतभेद और दूसरा अपने रहस्य का स्फोट। हमें जरूर लोकतंत्र प्रणाली के अनुसार चलना है किन्तु समय पर मथायोग्य अपने कदम को रख कर चलें।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, लोकतंत्रीय, तटस्थ नीति के शान्तिप्रिय भारत पर आक्रमण की खबर सुनते ही दुनिया के बहुसंख्यक देशों ने भारत के प्रति सहानुभूति प्रकट की। अमरीका और ब्रिटेन ने तो ऐसे संकट के समय में सक्रिय साथ दिया। निन्दा किसी शर्त के अपने हथियार भारत को खाना कर दिए। इन देशों के प्रति भारत सदा कृतज्ञ रहेगा। अन्य देशों ने भी भारत के लिये धन और

शस्त्र देने की घोषणा की है। उनके प्रेम को भी भारत नहीं भूल सकता।

अब भारत एक नये मोड़ पर खड़ा है। अब हमें सजग हो कर संकट का सामना करना है। लड़ाई सीमा पर ही सीमित है, ऐसा हम न समझें। सीमा पर लड़ने वाले सैनिक तो लड़ेंगे ही। वे केवल सैनिक ही नहीं हैं, वे तो मातृभूमि के रक्षक हैं और उसी भावना से संकट का मुकाबला कर रहे हैं। जिन्होंने इस संकट में अपनी प्राणाहुति दी, उनके प्रति मैं श्रद्धांजलि अर्पण करता हूँ। सारा देश श्रद्धांजलि अर्पण करता है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक तरफ तो सशस्त्र सेना की तैयारी करनी है, दूसरी तरफ देश में जीवनोपयोगी वस्तुओं का उत्पादन बढ़ाना है ताकि हमें अन्य देशों के सामने इस के लिये हाथ न फैलाना पड़े। हमारी योजनाओं को हमें सफल बनाना होगा। खेती का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये पर्याप्त मात्रा में खाद तथा भ्रौजार की सप्लाई करना पड़ेगा और किसान की अवस्था को ध्यान में रख कर आवश्यक सहायता देने का प्रबन्ध शीघ्र गति से ही ताकि आने वाले नये वर्ष में अन्न धान्य की वृद्धि सहज गति से हम कर सकें। इस समय शस्त्र के अतिरिक्त अन्य कोई भी वस्तु बाहर से मंगवाने की जरूरत न पड़े ऐसा यत्न होना चाहिये। शस्त्र भी अपने ही देश में बनाने लें तो ज्यादा अच्छा है चाहे इस काम में थोड़ा समय लगे।

ऐसे समय में हमारी आर्थिक अवस्था सुदृढ़ करने की नितान्त आवश्यकता है। इस समय ऐसे खर्च जो न करने पर ही हमारा कोई खास नुकसान नहीं होता, बन्द कर देने चाहिये, जैसे कल्याण विभाग और सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम आदि बन्द कर देना चाहिये। इन के बारे में फुरसत के

समय सोचा जाएगा। इन कार्यक्रमों को रोकने से लाखों रुपयों की बचत हो सकती है। माननीय सदस्य श्री डेबर भाई के उस सुझाव का मैं अनुमोदन करता हूँ जो उन्होंने डेवेलपमेंट ब्लाक्स की चीजों के सम्बन्ध में दिया था। उनको सरकार अपने उपयोग में लें ताकि काम करने में सुविधा हो सके।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हो सके तो ऐसे संकट के काल में केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल तथा प्रांतीय मंत्रिमंडलों में सदस्यों की संख्या कम कर दी जाए। ऐसा करने से भी खर्च में बचत हो सकती है।

सिनेमा, सिगरेट, चाय आदि चैन की वस्तुओं पर टैक्स बढ़ा कर आमदनी में वृद्धि की जा सकती है। चाय के उत्पादन को बढ़ा कर देश की खपत को कम करके उसका बाहर निर्यात करें तो बहुत सी आमदनी बढ़ सकती है। जहाँ चालीस साल पहले खेती का टैक्स निर्धारित किया गया है उसको बढ़ाया जा सकता है और अन्य साधन भी घन संग्रह के सोचे जा सकते हैं।

अब मैं प्रचार तंत्र के विरुद्ध में कहूंगा। प्रति दिन रेडियो और अखबार से समाचार का प्रसारण होता है। लड़ाई की खबरें जब रेडियो पर आती हैं तब बाजारों में लोगों की भीड़ लगी रहती है। पाकिस्तान रेडियो और पीकिंग रेडियो भारत के विरुद्ध प्रचार इस तरह से करते हैं कि लोगों में घबराहट पैदा हो जाये। ऐसे प्रचार पर देश में पाबन्दी लगायी जाए। सरकार और नेता ऐसे प्रचार तंत्र का निर्माण करें कि जिससे जनता में बैचेनी पैदा न हो। प्रमुख व्यक्तियों द्वारा रेडियो पर भाषण करायें। गलत अफवाहों को फैला कर समाज में जातीयता और पार्टी के नाम पर कहीं अशान्ति फैलाने का प्रयत्न हो तो उसको शीघ्र गति से रोकने का प्रबन्ध

करना चाहिये। आन्तरिक शान्त वातावरण का बनाये रखना नितान्त आवश्यक है।

वस्तुओं के मूल्य में अकारण वृद्धि करने का प्रयास किसी ने कहीं भी किया हो तो उसका शीघ्र प्रबन्ध करें और यथायोग्य दंड दें ताकि कोई ऐसा साहस फिर से न करे।

श्री विश्वनाथ पण्डेय (सलेमपुर) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज का दिन बहुत ही पवित्र है क्योंकि आज हमारे प्रधानमंत्री महोदय की वर्षगांठ है। आज सारा राष्ट्र उनका अभिवादन करता है और उनके प्रति श्रद्धा प्रकट कर रहा है, और आशा करता है कि वह दीर्घायु हों। उसी के साथ देश यह प्रार्थना करता है कि उनके नेतृत्व में हम विजय हों और चीनियों को नेफा तथा लद्दाख से खदेड़ दें।

इस के पहले कि मैं कुछ कहूँ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधानमंत्री महोदय ने जिस प्रस्ताव को सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत किया है वह राष्ट्र की वाणी है। राष्ट्र इस सदन में और इस सदन के बाहर एक स्वर से उस प्रस्ताव का हार्दिक समर्थन करता है और मैं भी उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

मैं अपने जन सैनिकों के प्रति श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ जिन्होंने पुण्य भूमि मातृभूमि की रक्षा के लिये अपना जीवन प्रदान किया और उन सिपाहियों के प्रति मैं श्रद्धा प्रकट कर रहा कि जो नेफा और लद्दाख में मोर्चों पर लड़ रहे हैं।

आज विश्वासघाती चीन ने भारत पर हमला किया है, उस भारत पर हमल किया है जिसमें उसे मैत्री का विश्वास दिलाया था जिस भारत देश ने उसे पंच शं.ल का पाठ पढ़ाया था, जिस भारत देश ने हजारों वर्ष से उन्हें सभ्यता और संस्कृति का पाठ पढ़ाया था जिस भारत देश के



## [श्री विश्वनाथ पाण्डेय]

वह शिष्य रहें। जिस भारत देश के महात्मा बुद्ध ने उन्हें अहिंसा और मानवता का पाठ पढ़ाया, उस भारत पर उन्होंने हमला किया और ऐसा करके उन्होंने एक अनैतिक कार्य किया है। लेकिन हमको इस के से घबराना नहीं चाहिये। हिमालय जो भारत का प्रहरी रहा है उसका उन्होंने भेदन किया है। लेकिन वे भूल गये कि उस हिमालय के बाद एक दूसरी पंक्ति है इस देश की ४४ करोड़ जनता की। उस जनता का मनोबल, त्याग और तपस्या ऐसी है, उन को पीछे धकेल देगी और उन को नेफा और लहाख से पीछे हटाना पड़ेगा। उन को झुकना पड़ेगा और उन का मुंह काला हो जायगा। उनको विश्वास हो जायेगा कि उन्होंने भारतवासियों के साथ जो अन्याय किया है, वह शलत है और उस को सहन नहीं किया जायगा।

हमारे देश के बहादुर जवान संसार के जिस किसी युद्ध-क्षेत्र में भी लड़े हैं वहां उन्होंने बहादुरी का खिताब हासिल किया है और उन्होंने साबित कर दिया है कि अगर संसार में कोई नव से बलिष्ठ और बहादुर कोम है, तो वे भारतवासी हैं, इस में शक नहीं है।

चाइना ने एक विस्तारवादी नीति का अनुसरण किया है, इस में कोई शक नहीं है, लेकिन उस की यह नीति हिन्दुस्तान पर नहीं चल सकती है, जब कि हिन्दुस्तान में जन-जागरण हो चुका है और उस में चेतना आ गई है। चीनियों ने एक झटका दिया और हिन्दुस्तानी जाग उठे। उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान पर एक ईंट फेंकी और हिन्दुस्तान जाग उठा। आज हिन्दुस्तान के नर-नारी बाल-बूढ़ और नौजवान सब जागरूक हैं और इस लिये चीन कभी भी हिन्दुस्तान को अपने कब्जे में नहीं ले सकता है। वह समय शीघ्र आयगा, जब कि प्रधान मंत्री जी के नेतृत्व में हम उन को अपने देश की सीमा से निकाल कर बाहर करेंगे।

आप भूलें नहीं कि आज युद्ध के दो भारी अपराधी हैं चू-एन-लाई और माओ-त्सेतुंग। वे एक साम्यवादी देश के रहने वाले हैं, समाजवाद के प्रचारक हैं और फिर भी उन्होंने एक समाजवादी विचार धारा को मानने वाले देश पर हमला किया है। उन की वही गति होगी, जो कि नात्सीवाद और फ़ाशिस्टवाद की हुई थी। उनका हिटलर और मसोलोनी जैसा अन्त होगा। मुझे विश्वास है कि अपनी भूल को स्वीकार करेंगे। इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी रहेगा।

कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों के प्रति बहुत कुछ कहा गया है। यह पहली मर्तबा है, जब कि कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों ने राष्ट्रीय चेतना के समय में सर्व-सम्मति से . . . .

**कुछ माननीय सदस्य :** सर्व-सम्मति से नहीं, बहुमत से।

**श्री विश्वनाथ पाण्डेय :** . . . बहुमत से इस आशय का प्रस्ताव पास किया है कि वे भारतवर्ष के राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में हिस्सा लेंगे। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन के इस प्रस्ताव का हम सब को आदर करना चाहिये, लेकिन मैं अपने कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों से यह प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि अपने प्रस्ताव में उन्होंने जो भावनायें प्रकृत की हैं, उनको वे कार्यान्वित करें। अगर वे ऐसा करेंगे तो उन की वफ़ादारी साबित हो जायगी, इस में कोई शक नहीं है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे भी आदमी, जो भी पार्टी—वे बाहर के हों या भीतर के—हम को समर्थन देती है, उसको कुबूल करना चाहिये।

लेकिन इस के साथ ही हमें यह नहीं भूल जाना चाहिये कि अपने देश में जहां कहीं भी लड़ाई हुई, पंचमांगि में ने उस हमको घोषा दिया और उनके कारण हम

को हानि उठानी पड़ी। उस तरफ हम सब का ध्यान जाना चाहिये। लेकिन पंचमांगियों से भी बढ़ कर वे लोग हैं, जो कि मुनाफ़ाखोरी, रिश्वतखोरी और काला बाज़ार करते हैं। उन की तरफ भी हम सब को और सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये।

हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने पंचशील के सिद्धान्तों पर आधारित जो वैदेशिक नीति बनाई है, राष्ट्र ने उस को स्वीकार किया है और उस का पालन किया जा रहा है। इस आपत्ति-काल में हमको पंचशील के तत्वों को नहीं छोड़ना है और उन पर दृढ़ रहना है। इस विचार-धारा पर दृढ़ रहने के कारण ही आज पश्चिमी राष्ट्र हमारी मदद कर रहे हैं। इस बात से हमें नहीं घबराना चाहिये कि रूस हमारी सहायता करता है या नहीं। हमें इस बात पर विश्वास होना चाहिये कि हमारे देश के रहने वाले हमारे नौजवान, बूढ़े और बच्चे और हमारे कारख़ानों और खेतों में काम करने वाले लोग सजग और तैयार हैं, चाहे रशा हमारी मदद करे या न करे।

इस के साथ ही मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि दक्षिणी कोरिया से हमारे सम्बन्ध अच्छे हैं। वहाँ के लोग चाइना से लड़ चुके हैं। हम को उन का सहयोग प्राप्त करना चाहिये। इसके अलावा पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों, नेपाल और पाकिस्तान आदि, से हमारे सम्बन्ध उत्तम रहने चाहिये। हमें उन को बताना चाहिये कि जिस तरह से आज हमारे देश पर खतरा है, कल उन पर भी हो सकता है और इस लिये उन को भी हमारा साथ देना चाहिये।

अब मैं एक दो सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** माननीय सदस्य अब ख़त्म करें।

**श्री विश्वनाथ पाण्डेय :** मैं भी ख़त्म करता हूँ। अभी मेरा टाइम है।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** नहीं, श्री तुलसीदास जाधव।

**श्री तुलशीदास जाधव (नांदेड़) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आप ने मुझे आज बोलने का अवसर दिया है।

इस प्रस्ताव के चार पांच भाग हैं। हमारी सेना के जो नौजवान शत्रु का मुकाबला करते हुये काम आये, मैं उन का अभिवादन करता हूँ और उन को अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ। हमारे जो जवान आज वहाँ पर लड़ रहे हैं, वे हमारी प्रशंसा के पात्र हैं। प्रधान मंत्री के एलान के बाद इस देश के सब लोगों ने चीन के आक्रमण का मुकाबला करने के लिए जो दृढ़ निश्चय किया है और इस के लिये वे जो सहायता और सहयोग दे रहे हैं, उसके लिये मैं उन को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। जिन देशों ने इस संकट-काल में हमारी मदद की है और हम को हथियार वगैरह भेजे हैं, उन को भी मैं धन्यवाद देता हूँ। जो मित्र विपत्ति के समय सहायता करता है, उस को ज्यादा धन्यवाद देना चाहिये। एक कहावत है:—

“He gives twice who gives quickly, but he gives many times more than twice who gives warmly, affectionately, with deep feeling, straight from the heart.”

इस लिये जिन देशों ने हमारी मदद की है, उन को मैं हार्दिक धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

जिन १११ देशों को हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने सहायता और सहानुभूति प्राप्त करने के लिये ख़त लिखे, उन में से ४० देशों ने उस ख़त का उत्तर दिया। उन को मैं धन्यवाद देता हूँ। जिन देशों ने हमारे ख़त का उत्तर नहीं दिया है, वहाँ पर स्थित हमारे एम्बेसेडर्ज का यह काम है कि वे

[श्री तुलशीदास जाधव]

उन देशों के अधिकारियों के पास जायें और उन को इस बारे में इतिला दें और हमारे खत का उत्तर देने की सलाह दें।

चीन के हमले के बारे में मेरी तो यह राय है कि यह चीन की बड़ी भारी भूल है। मुझ से पहले बोलने वाले माननीय सदस्य ने अभी बताया है कि अगर कोई देश दूसरे देश पर हमला करता है, तो उस का नतीजा क्या होता है। उस का नतीजा वही होता है, जो कि नैपोलियन का और अभी अभी १९४५ में हिटलर का हुआ। आज चीन-लेनिन, मार्क्स और एंजल्ज के तत्व-ज्ञान पर चलना चाहता है नैपोलियन ने जब दूसरे पर आक्रमण किया तो उस के बारे में एंजल्ज की क्या राय थी, वह मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

"Engels, co-worker with marx, observed:

"The general war against Napoleon was the return blow of the national sentiment of all the nations which Napoleon had trampled under foot."

जब कोई दूसरे देशों पर हमला करता है, तो उन देशों में इस प्रकार का रिएक्शन पैदा होता है, जो कि हमला करने वाले को खत्म कर देता है।

ट्राट्स्की ने जब "विक्टोरियस मार्च" और परमानेंट रेवोल्यूशन का नारा लगाया, तो लेनिन ने उस का विरोध किया।

"Trotsky raised the slogan for a 'victorious march' of the Red Army through Europe and developed the theory of 'Permanent Revolution'. This was opposed by Lenin who was the first to enunciate the theory of peaceful co-existence between States with different social systems. It was clear to him that any attempt to impose revolution on another country would indeed provoke the resistance of the people, apart

from the physical difficulty involved in such a foolhardy venture."

इतना ही नहीं, और भी बहुत सी बातें हैं, जिन में मैं जाना नहीं चाहता हूँ। आखिर में लेनिन ने कहा है :—

"It shows the farsightedness of Lenin that he did warn against the danger that under the excuse of spreading socialism there might come up on the part of the imposing State what he termed self-fish interests and attempts to ride on somebody else's shoulders."

जबरी करने वाले स्टेट में स्वार्थी भाव आता है।

जब आप अपना उद्देश्य दूसरे देशों पर जबरदस्ती लादना चाहते हैं या लादने का प्रयत्न करते हैं तो उसका रिएक्शन यहां तक होता है कि करने वाले को खत्म होना पड़ता है, यह लेनिन ने, मार्क्स ने और एंजल्ज ने बताया है।

15 hrs.

इतना होते हुए भी आज चीन ने हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण किया है। उसने ऐसा क्यों किया है, इसको आप देखें। आप देखें कि हमारा शुत्रु से ही क्या रुख रहा है और हम क्या कहते रहे हैं और क्या करते रहे हैं। आप उस पत्र व्यवहार को देखें जो भारत और चीन के बीच हुआ है। उसको पढ़ने से मालूम होता है कि हमने सदा ही बड़ी मीठी भाषा का प्रयोग किया है, हमने सदा ही बातचीत से इस समस्या को हल करने की कोशिश की है लेकिन चीनी पत्रों को पढ़ने से जाहिर होता है कि एक्चुअल कंट्रोल का जो उसने जिक्र किया है, उसका साफ मतलब है कि चीन ने हल्ला किया है, उसने जबरदस्ती हमारी भूमि पर कब्जा किया है और उसके मित्र को पोंछे से जम्बिया से मारने की कोशिश की है।

हिन्दुस्तान ने चीन के लिए क्या कुछ नहीं किया। उसने यू० एन० ओ० में उसको सीट दिलाने का पूरा प्रयत्न किया है। उसको गुरु में ही मान्यता प्रदान की है। तिब्बत को मान्यता प्रदान की है। १९५४ में चाऊ एन लार्ड और माओ-से-तुन्या यहां आए थे और उनसे हमारी बातचीत हुई थी और तब उन्होंने कभी नहीं कहा कि हमारे जो मैप्स हैं, वे मैप्स उनको स्वीकार नहीं हैं और न ही पत्र-व्यवहार जो हुआ है, उसमें उसने ऐसा कहा है। उसने मौका पा कर हम पर हमला किया है। जिस तत्व ज्ञान पर वह चलना चाहता है, उस तत्व ज्ञान को भी इससे खतरा है, यह चीन को पता नहीं है, वह इसको नहीं समझता है। जिस नाटविक ज्ञान पर वह चलना चाहता है वह फलीभूत नहीं हो सकता है। उसको सैटबैक मिलेगा, यह उसे याद रखना चाहिये।

इटली के टोगलियेटी जोकि पहले नम्बर के कम्युनिस्ट है और जो कम्युनिज्म के पुजारी हैं, उन्होंने कहा है कि दोनों को मिल कर काम करना चाहिये, युद्ध करना ठीक नहीं है। इसका मतलब यह है कि वह हमारी बात को ठीक समझते हैं, नव चीन की बात को ठीक नहीं समझते हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि चीन गलती पर है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि इस बोर्डर के झगड़े को मिल बैठ कर, बातचीत से हल करना चाहिये, झगड़ा करना ठीक नहीं है।

अन्त में मैं कुछ सर्जेशन दे कर समाप्त करता हूं। पहला मेरा सर्जेशन यह है कि जो बांडर पर रहने वाले लोग हैं, जो ऐसे इलाके में रहने वाले लोग हैं जो खतरे वाला इलाका है, उनको हथियार दिये जाने चाहियें।

दूसरी बात यह है कि सोने के बारे में श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने जो वक्तव्य निकाला है, उसका मैं अभिनन्दन करता हूं। फार्वर्ड

मार्किट को जो बन्द किया है वह सही किया है।

तीसरी बात यह है कि पंजाब में मिनिस्ट्री को जो रिड्यूस किया गया है, वह सही दिशा में कदम उठाया गया है.....

**कुछ माननीय सदस्य :** कहां रिड्यूम किया है ?

**श्री तुलसीदास जाधव :** इस दिशा में जो वह सोच रहे हैं, इसको मैं सही मानता हूं। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि सैटर में भी वह चीज हो जाए।

मेरा यह भी सर्जेशन है कि पब्लिसिटी ज्यादा होनी चाहिये।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि देहातों में जो लोग हैं, जो जवान लोग हैं, उनको भी ए० सी० सी०, एन० सी० सी० जैसी संस्थाओं में लिया जाना चाहिये और उनको मिलिट्री ट्रेनिंग दी जानी चाहिये।

महाराष्ट्र के लिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हिमालय को सैयदरी की सपोर्ट है। देश की रक्षा में महाराष्ट्रीयन कभी पीछे नहीं रहेंगे। वे हमेशा इसके लिए तैयार हैं और देश-रक्षा के काम में किसी से पीछे नहीं हैं।

**Shri Balgovind Verma (Kheri):** Before I proceed further, I would like to pay my homage to those valiant martyrs of ours, who have laid down their lives for the sake of our Motherland, and I would also like to pay may tribute to those who are standing face to face with the enemy in order to get him out. Through this House, I also want to tell those jawans on our frontiers that they should not think that they are only mercenaries fighting for the sake of a few chips, but they are our flesh and blood, and they are the noblest part of our lives,

[Shri Balgovind Verma]

and that we solidly stand behind them. It is our sacred duty to see that the families of these jawans are well looked after, and that they should not be allowed to think that after these jawans there will be nobody to look after them.

The fact that China has invaded our territory has shocked the conscience of the peace-loving people of the world. To some extent I think that this invasion is of our own making. Had we not recognised the suzerainty of China over Tibet, China would not have dared to look at us. Moreover, when China occupied a portion of our Ladakh, we kept silent, and then we tried to solve this matter by peaceful negotiations. This was taken by the Chinese as a sort of weakness in us, and that is why they have dared to cross our frontiers.

Now that this crisis has come, we should be prepared to face it and face it with firm determination. We should see that these invaders are thrown out, and thrown out in time. I think that this crisis has come to us as a blessing in disguise. Now, the whole nation is standing as one behind our beloved leader Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and this is a unique opportunity that we could never think of. We hope that this upsurge which is found in the people in abundance will be kept alive for all times to come.

The enemy that we are faced with is a treacherous one. He can use all those methods and devices which we may not even think of. Therefore, it has become our imperative duty to see that all the wings of our Armed Forces are strong. We should see that our aerial power is really of such a type that it may strike the enemy in his entirety. We should see that our aerial power is superior to that of the Chinese, because the Chinese may attack us at any time, and we cannot believe them. They are very treacherous, and, therefore, we have to be on our guard.

I would like to say one thing more, namely that if we want that this menace of the Chinese should be minimised, if not today, at least tomorrow, we shall have to destroy their bases in Tibet, and that is of paramount importance.

The time has also come when we should try to befriend the Kuomintang Government, that is, the Government of Chiang Kai-shek. This Government is in close terms with the USA, and, therefore, we should rather request the USA Government that they should ask the Kuomintang Government to invade the mainland.

श्री काशीराम गुप्त (अलवर) : वह सरकार भी मैकमोहन लाइन को नहीं मानती है, आप उन से कह कर क्या करेंगे ?

**Shri Balgovind Verma:**... They may accept it or not, but the time is such that they can take advantage of the present position, and if they invade the mainland, they are sure to come out victorious, because another front will be opened there and the Chinese will be diverted towards that, and that will be to our advantage as well. Therefore, I say that we should ask the Kuomintang Government that they should see that they take advantage of this most opportune moment.

Many of our friendly countries of the West are giving help to us at this time of crisis, and we are very grateful to them, and we hope that they will be coming forward to help us in a greater measure because this war is not between China and India but it is between communism and democratic people. Therefore, the greater they help us, the better it will be, and it will also be in their interests to do so.

I would suggest that our Prime Minister should appoint roving Ambassadors and also send personal emissaries abroad who may visit the Heads of our friendly countries

abroad, and post them with the latest developments that are taking place in our country, because that is most urgent. If we do everything through our ambassadors, sometimes it is late. It is time that we keep our friends informed of everything that is taking place here every now and then.

I may frankly tell you—whether we may accept it or not—that if we have to deal with the Chinese properly, we have to do certain things. I think the time has come when the Dalai Lama should be recognised as the head of the Government of Tibet. We should not be content with throwing the invaders out of our soil, but we should also keep the invaders from Tibet in order to make it a buffer State so that this menace may not recur.

I am coming from a district which is on the border, the district of Kheri which has a border with Nepal. Conditions in Nepal are not very good. We should not be complacent about that side. We have come to know that thousands of Chinese are there on the soil of Nepal. The Nepal Government is removing the posts which were there from time immemorial. We do not know what their intentions are. Some trenches are also being dug. Therefore, I call upon my Government to be very careful on that side.

One thing more.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member should resume his seat.

**Shri Balgovind Verma:** You have got sufficient time. The Prime Minister is replying only at 4 p.m.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There are other Members also wishing to speak. Shrimati Kamala Chaudhuri.

**श्रीमती कमला चौधरी (हापुड़) :**  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री ने इस सदन में जो महत्वपूर्ण प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया है,

में उस का हार्दिक स्वागत करती हूँ और नम्रयन करती हूँ ।

वास्तव में इस आपात्कालीन अधिवेशन में सब से महत्वपूर्ण प्रकरण यह प्रस्ताव है जिस का सारे देश की जनता ने हार्दिक स्वागत किया है। वास्तव में यह हमारे लिये सम्मानपूर्ण भी है, और भारतीय भावना को अनकूल है, क्योंकि चीनियों ने पंचशील के आदर्श को ठुकरा कर, उन सिद्धांतों को भुला कर, हमारे ऊपर धोखे से आक्रमण किया और जो हमारे वीर मातृ भूमि की रक्षा के लिये वहां बैठे थे उनका निर्दयता से रक्त बहाया। सचमुच जिस देश का इतिहास, जिस का साहित्य गौरवपूर्ण गाथाओं से भरा हुआ है वह इस आघात को बर्दास्त नहीं कर सकता। चीन का यह आघात केवल हमारी सीमाओं पर ही आघात नहीं है, बल्कि भारत के जन जन के हृदय पर चीनियों ने यह आघात किया है और प्राण रहते हमारा देश उस का मुकाबला करेगा। और हमारे देश की जनता ने इस का परिचय भी दिया है।

प्रधान मंत्री के संकेत मात्र पर हमारे देश ने अपने धन, अपने स्वर्ण के खजाने खोल दिये हैं, हमारी बहनों ने अपने सोहाग चिन्ह मंगल मूत्र तक रक्षा कोष के लिये अर्पित किये हैं। यह एक वह चिन्ह है जिस को हम अपनी विजय का चिन्ह कह सकते हैं। मुझे पूर्ण आशा है जैसा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी कहा, अन्त में एक न एक दिन विजय हमारी होगी। और सचमुच हम विजय प्राप्त कर के रहेंगे।

आज दुनिया के सामने यह तथ्य स्पष्ट हो गया, चीन तथ्य पर धोखे का पर्दा नहीं डाल सकता, सब को मालूम हो गया कि उस का यह दावा कि उस के द्वारा हस्तगत सीमायें हमारी न हो कर चीन की हैं, यह बिल्कुल असत्य है, यह झूठ है। हमारा साहित्य इस का सबल प्रमाण है कि जिस हिमालय की हम पूजा करते रहे हैं, जिस पर वह अधिकार जमाय

[श्रीमती कमला चौधरी]

बैठा है, वह बहुत काल से हमारी सीमायें रही हैं। हिमालय की गौरव गरिमा का गान हम ने गाया है "वह सन्तरी हमारा, वह पासवां हमारा", उस को हम भूल नहीं सकते। चीन उस को ले ले यह असम्भव है।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कुछ शब्दों में कि जैसा हम ने यहां पांच दिन तक देखा, जो वातावरण हमारे माननीय सदस्यों न उपस्थित किया, जब हम जनता के बीच में जाते हैं तो इसके विपरीत अधिक उन का प्राणदायक व उत्तम सहयोग पूर्ण बड़ा सबल वातावरण प्रतीत होता है। आज जब कि हमारी मातृ भूमि के ऊपर संकट है, जब कि आज हमारी उस आजादी पर, जिस को हम ने बड़ा त्याग और बलिदान कर के पन्द्रह वर्षों पूर्व हासिल किया उस पर चीन द्वारा आक्रमण हुआ है, इस संकट के समय अगर हम यहां बैठ कर आपस में नुक्ता चीनी करें, सरकार की गलतियाँ और भूलें दूढ़ते रहे, हम नेहरू जी की गलतियों को देखते रहें, तो यह हमारे लिये शोभनीय नहीं है। मैं बहुत अदब से कहना चाहती हूँ कि यह वह समय है जब कि हमारी जनता ने साहस दिखलाया है तो हम भी सारी छोटी छोटी बातों को भूल कर, राजनीतिक मतभेदों के ऊपर उठ कर, जनता को यह नारा दें कि हम सब को एक हो कर चीनियों का मुकाबला करना चाहिये और देश के संकट में अपनी आहुतियाँ डालनी चाहियें। मुझे खुशी है कि जिन पार्टियों से हमारा मतभेद है, व चाहे जहां भी रहें लेकिन इस यज्ञ में, इस स्वातन्त्र्य युद्ध में, हमारे साथ रहेंगे। मैं इस का स्वागत करती हूँ, लेकिन साथ ही निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि इतिहास बहुत अच्छी तरह, बहुत बारीकी से, देखेगा कि इस युद्ध में, इस स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में, किस की आहुतियाँ सब से अधिक पड़ती हैं।

मैं सदन का बहुत अधिक समय नहीं लूंगी, केवल दो चार बातें आप के सामने रखना

चाहती हूँ। हमारी सरकार को इस का ध्यान रखना है कि वर्तमान वातावरण से लाभ उठाने के लिये कुछ ऐसे क्रांतिकारी कदम उठाने की हमें जरूरत है जिस से देश में कुछ गम्भीरता उत्पन्न हो। कहीं ऐसा न हो कि आज देश ने जो उत्साह दिखाया है, वह केवल एक उफान बन कर रह जाये। इसलिये हमें अपने प्रचार साधनों की ओर ध्यान देना होगा। सरकार के पास पब्लिसिटी का सब से बड़ा जरिया रेडियो है। उस को थोड़ा बदलना चाहिये। मैं चाहती हूँ कि अब हमें वहां से सिनेमा के गाने न सुनाई दें। रेडियो के द्वारा हमें वीर गाथायें सुनने को मिलें और हमारे देश के बच्चों के कानों में मारु बाजों का संगीत सुनाई दे। राष्ट्रीय गीत सुनाई दें जिस से हमारे ऊपर जो बड़ी भारी आपत्ति यह आई है उस में हमारा देश तन, मन और धन सब कुछ दे कर बड़ी से बड़ी कुर्बानी के लिये तैयार रहे।

अन्त में मैं शहीदों के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करती हूँ।

श्री विश्राम प्रसाद (लालगंज) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बड़ी सावधानी से आज छः दिनों से यहां पर भाषण सुन रहा था। यहां पर बहुत अच्छे अच्छे मुसाब दिये गये। देश की जनता को धोखा दिया गया, देश कैसे अन्धकार में था, देश में तैयारी नहीं थी, यह समय अब इस आलोचना का नहीं है; इस समय अब इस की बहस नहीं है। अब यह देखना है कि हमें करना क्या है। एक मसला है :

"बीता ताहि विसार दे,  
आगे का सुधि लेय "

हमें देश की आजादी को कायम रखने के लिये लड़ने की तैयारी करनी है। इस के लिये थोड़ा समय में मैं यह कहूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर तैयारी हो, युद्ध के ह तरह के आधुनिक औजार बनाए

जाये । बाहर से मदद ली जाये और जितनी भी मिल सके, जिस कीमत पर मिल सके, उसे हम को लेना है । सिविल डिफेंस के लिये हमें यह देखना है कि हिन्दुस्तान में शान्ति रहे, अराजकता न फैले । प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाया जाये । प्राइस लाइन, जो . . . बहुत जरूरी है, उस को कंट्रोल में रखना है । ब्लैक मार्केटिंग से देश को बचाना है और देश के अन्दर डिस्प्लिन कायम रखनी है । यह जो सिचुएशन हमारे सामने आ गई है उस में जरूरी है कि हमारे अन्दर दोस्त और दुश्मन की पहचान हो । असली दोस्त वही है जो मुसीबत में हमारे काम आये । उसको अंग्रेजी में इस तरह कहते हैं :

A friend in need is a friend indeed.

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि नादान दोस्त से दाना दुश्मन अच्छा होता है । नादान दोस्तों से मेरा मतलब पाकिस्तान, इंडोनेशिया, रूस आदि से है जिनसे सतर्क रहने की जरूरत है ।

तीसरी चीज जिसकी ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं, वह है :

“घर का भेदी लंका ढावे ”

इस प्रकार के घर के भेदियों से सावधान रहना चाहिये चाहे वे किसी पार्टी के हों ।

तटस्थता के बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि हमको तटस्थता की नीति पर कायम रहते हुए भी बाहर से जितनी भी मदद मातृ-भूमि की रक्षा के लिये मिल सकती है अवश्य लेनी चाहिये ।

साथ ही मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से यह साफ साफ बताने के लिये प्रार्थना करूंगा कि यह ८ सितम्बर की लाइन का क्या महत्व है । जब हमने यह संकल्प लिया है कि हम चीनियों से अपनी एक एक इंच भूमि लेकर चैन लेंगे और उनको अपनी धरती से खदेड़ देंगे, तो यह ८ सितम्बर के क्या मानी है ।

कैबिनेट के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा कि कैबिनेट में और मंत्रालयों में जितनी कमेटियां आदि बनायी जाएं उनके अन्दर फेवरिटीज्म न बरता जाए । यह संकट का समय है । सारी दोस्ती, दुश्मनी और डिफरेंसेज को भुला कर उनमें ऐसे आदमी रखे जायें जिनकी सेवायें नेशन के हित में हों । चापलूसों, हामी भरने वालों, गलत रास्ता बताने वालों और धोखा देने वालों को उनमें न रखा जाये । यह इम्तहान का समय है । अभी तक जो गलती हुई उसको तो नेशन ने भुला दिया लेकिन आगे भी अगर इस तरह की गलती हुई तो शायद देश खतरे में पड़ जाएगा ।

लीडरशिप के बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि आज देश जन, मन और धन से सेक्री-फाइस के लिये तैयार है, उसको ऐसी लीडरशिप मिले जिससे कि देश के अन्दर जो यह भावना है वह मिट न जाए और देश को नुकसान न हो जाय ।

इनफारमेशन और ब्राडकास्टिंग के बारे में मेरा मुझाब यह है कि रेडियो से बहादुरी के गीत सुनाए जाएं, सिनेमा के गीत न सुनाय जाएं । त्याग, बलिदान, भारत माता की बलिवेदी पर प्राणों की आहुति देने के लिये देश तैयार हो जाये ऐसे गाने सुनाये जाएं ।

अखबारों के सम्पादकों से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि वे इस तरह की भावना न फैलायें कि जिससे जनता के ऊपर बुरा असर पड़े । मुझे पता चला है कि नौ जवानों में कुछ इस तरह के अखबार जाते हैं जिन से उन पर बुरा असर पड़ता है । ऐसे अखबार उनके पास न जाने दिये जाय ।

यह पी सुनने में आयात कि उन जवानों के ऊपर, जो कि लड़ाई के मोर्चे पर लड़ रहे हैं उनकी जमीन आदि के बारे में समन सर्व किए जाते हैं । मेरी प्रार्थना है कि इस



[श्री विश्राम प्रसाद]

प्रकार के मुकदमों वाले समन वहां पर न भेजे जाएं। जवानों की जान माल और उनके बच्चों की रक्षा का पूरा ध्यान रखा जाय।

खर्च की कमी के बारे में मेरा यह कहना है कि जो भी मेम्बर अपनी सरविस आफर कर सके करे और मेरी प्रार्थना है कि इस सदन का हर एक मेम्बर अपनी एक एक महीने की तनखाह डिफेंस फंड में दे और जितने मिनिस्टर हैं वे एक हजार से जितना ज्यादा पाते हैं वह डिफेंस फंड में दें। और हर चीज में इकानमी होनी चाहिये, यह मेरी प्रार्थना है।

जब दूसरा महायुद्ध हुआ था तो यहां तरह तरह की प्रेक्टिसेज होती थीं, लाइट बन्द रखी जाती थी और खाइयां आदि खोदी जाती थीं। हमको भी इन तरह की चीजें करनी चाहियें क्योंकि पता नहीं कि लड़ाई कब तक चलेगी और कहां तक फैलेगी।

मैं एक दिन अखबार पढ़ रहा था तो मैंने दक्षिण भारत के एक ज्योतिषी की भविष्यवाणी पढ़ी थी, उसमें उसने कहा है कि यह लड़ाई चार साल तक चल सकती है और यह हिन्दुस्तान तक ही सीमित न रह कर सारी दुनिया में फैल सकती है।

सेल्फसफीशेसी के बारे में मेरा यह कहना है कि हम हर मानी में अपने देश को सैल्फ-सफीशेंट बनायें, खास कर फुड प्रोडक्शन के बारे में हमें सेल्फसफीशेंट होना बहुत आवश्यक है। हमारे फुड मिनिस्टर कहते हैं कि हर महीने ५० हजार मन गेहूं बाहर से मंगावेंगे। मेरा सुझाव है कि इसको कम करके हमको देश को सेल्फसफीशेंट बनाना चाहिये।

आखिर में मुझ यह कहना है कि रिटायर्ड मिलिटरी और रिट्रेंच्ड आफिसर्स को लड़ाई के कामों में लगाया जाये और यह जो प्रपोजल

है कि रिटायरमेंट की उम्र ५५ से बढ़ा कर ५८ की जाय, इस को फिलहाल स्थगित रखा जाय जब तक कि लड़ाई चल रही है।

आखिर में मैं उन जवानों को अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ जिन्होंने लड़ते लड़ते भारत माता की बलिबेदी पर अपने प्राणों की आहुति दे दी है। सारा देश आज अपने आपसी भेद भाव भुलाकर एक स्वर से इनको अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित कर रहा है। आज हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी का जन्म दिन है। उसके लिये उनको बधाई देते हुए मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वे चिरजीवी हो कर हमारा नेतृत्व करते रहें। हम प्रतिज्ञा करते हैं कि जब तक चीनी राक्षसों को भारत भूमि से नहीं निकाल देंगे तब तक चैन से नहीं बैठेंगे।

**श्री कु० कृ० वर्मा (मुल्तानपुर) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हमारे देश पर जो संकट आया है वह इतना गंभीर है कि हमें बड़ी सतर्कता के साथ में कार्य करना है।

हमें इस बात का अफसोस है कि चीन जिससे हमारी सदियों की मित्रता थी उसने हमारे साथ विस्वासघात किया है। लेकिन हमको इस बात की खुशी भी है कि सन् १९४२ में जिस हमारे नेता ने यह ललकार दी थी कि "अंग्रेजो भारत छोड़ो" वह नेता आज हमारे बीच में मौजूद है और आज भी उसने ललकारा है कि चीनियों को हम अपने देश से खदेड़ कर ही दम लेंगे। उसने भी चीनियों को चुनौती दी है।

मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस वक्त यह नारा लगाया गया था कि "अंग्रेजो भारत छोड़ो" उस समय, हम सभी लोग जानते हैं कि अंग्रेजों का राज्य इतना जबरदस्त था, इतना फैला हुआ था कि उस पर सूरज अस्त नहीं होता था। मैं नहीं समझता कि चीन उन से कहीं बढ़ करके है और हमने उस वक्त त्रें कामयाबी

हासिल की थी तो कोई वजह नहीं है कि इस वक्त हमें कामयाबी क्यों न हासिल हो।

इस वक्त जो भाषण इस सदन में हुए उनको मैंने गौर से सुना और फिर आज भी कुछ टीका टिप्पणी हमारे नेता की नीति पर की गयी है। एक मसला बार बार उठाया जाता है कि तिब्बत का जो समझौता हुआ वह गलत हुआ, वह नहीं होना चाहिये था। यह बड़ी भारी भूल हुई। मैं समझता हूँ कि किसी वक्त में भी विदेश में, विश्व में, क्या स्थिति है, अपने देश में क्या स्थिति है, उसको जब तक हम ध्यान में न रखें तब तक हम सही नतीजे पर नहीं आ सकते हैं। यह सभी लोगों को मालूम है कि सन् १९४७ में हमें स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त हुई और जिस वक्त में कि हम स्वतंत्र हुए उस समय से ही कुछ न कुछ अगड़े और वखड़े चलने रहे। पाकिस्तान की तरफ से पश्चिमी सरहद पर जो कांड हुए उन से सभी लोग वाकिफ हैं। उन से हमें कितनी परेशानी हुई। हम पर कितना बोझ आया। रिफ्यूजीज का पुनर्वास हमको करना पड़ा। इसके अतिरिक्त जो हमारा देशी रियासतें थीं उनका भी बिलीनांकण हो रहा था और वह एक बड़ी समस्या थी जिसमें कि हम लगे हुए थे। हम यह भी जानते हैं कि उसी बीच पाकिस्तान ने काश्मीर पर हमला किया और हमें काश्मीर में अपनी बहुत सी फौजें भेजनी पड़ीं और उनसे लड़ना पड़ा। जब वहाँ किसी तरह से युद्ध समाप्त भी हुआ तब भी हम को बहुत सी फौजें वहाँ पर रखनी पड़ीं और काश्मीर के बारे में जो हमारा सिरदर्द था वह वहीं पर नहीं मिटा बल्कि उसमें और भी गुत्थियां चलती रहीं, यहाँ तक कि सन् १९५३ में जब शेख अब्दुल्ला गिरफ्तार किए गए और उनको नजरबन्द किया गया तब जा कर हमको वहाँ का संगठन और उसे मजबूत करने का मौका मिला।

इसके अलावा हम यह भी जानते हैं कि सन् १९४९ में चीन में पीपिल्स रिपब्लिक

आफ चाइना स्थापित हुई। उस समय चीन और भारत दोनों ही स्वतंत्रता, एकता और शांति का मार्ग अपनाना चाहते थे और दोनों भारत और चीन अपनी पुरानी मित्रता को धनिष्ट करने के मार्ग पर चले। ऐसी दशा में जब कि नेहरू जी ने नवम्बर सन् १९५० में ऐलान किया कि मैकमोहन लाइन हमारी उत्तरी सरहद है तो चीन की तरफ से कोई ऐतराज नहीं हुआ। जब हम ने यह देखा कि उन के नक्शों में भारत की कुछ भूमि दिखलाई गई है और हम लोगों ने इस पर एतराज किया, तो उस तरफ से यह जवाब मिला कि मौका पड़ने पर हम उन नक्शों को सुधार लेंगे, वे पुराने नक्शों के आधार पर बनाए गए हैं। उन्होंने हमारे नक्शों पर कभी ऐतराज नहीं किया।

जब तिब्बत से हमारा व्यापार और आवागमन का समझौता हो रहा था, उस समय भी उन्होंने सीमा का कोई प्रश्न नहीं उठाया। इसी प्रकार जब १९५३ में हमारा तिब्बत से यह समझौता फाइनल सा हुआ, तो उस समय २९ अप्रैल, १९५४ को उस समझौते में जो प्रस्तावना रखी गई थी, उस में पंचशील को स्वीकार किया गया था। मैं नहीं समझता कि उस समय कैसे इस बात पर शुबहा किया जा सकता था कि चीन की नीयत खराब है, वह हम से मैत्री नहीं रखना चाहता है और वह हम से धोखा करेगा।

हमारे देश की स्थिति ऐसी थी कि हम उस समय कोई झगड़ा मोल नहीं ले सकते थे, अपने पड़ोसी देशों के हृदय में कोई शको-शुबा नहीं पैदा करना चाहते थे। अगर हम ने उस समय कोई समझौता किया और इस प्रकार हम को इस बात का मौका मिल गया कि हम अपने देश की परिस्थिति को सम्भालें, तो कोई भूल नहीं की गई।

आज नान-एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी पर बहुत एतराज किया जा रहा है। जो पार्टी यह बात कहती है कि हम को पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों

[श्री कृ० कृ० वर्मा]

के गुट में जाना चाहिए, मैं नहीं समझता कि वह किस तरह से ऐसी बात कहती है, क्योंकि पश्चिमी राष्ट्र हम को सहायता दे रहे हैं और वे नहीं चाहते हैं कि हम उस गुट में शामिल हों। वे नान-एलाइनमेंट पालिसी की प्रशंसा करते हैं और उस से सहानुभूति रखते हैं। इस स्थिति में क्या यह कहना ठीक नहीं होगा कि मुदई मुस्त और गवाह चुस्त। मैं नहीं समझता कि नान-एलाइनमेंट पालिसी पर क्यों आक्षेप किया जा रहा है।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** माननीय सदस्य अब खत्म करें। श्री टी० राम।

**श्री तु० राम (सोनबरसा) :** आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एस संकट-कालीन अधिवेशन में बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने अपने विचार रखे हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान को इस परिस्थिति में क्या करना चाहिए, हमारी नीति क्या होनी चाहिए, आदि। स्वाराज्य के पहले और स्वाराज्य के बाद भी हम हिन्दुस्तान की सरजमीन पर सुनते थे, "हिन्दु, मुस्लिम, सिख, इसाई आपसमें हैं ये भाई भाई।" लेकिन छोटे छोटे सवाल पर जब हम लड़ते झगड़ते थे, आपस में उलझ जाते थे, तो मेरे जैसे कमजोर दिल वाले यह शंका करने लगते थे कि क्या ये शब्द कभी साकार होंगे, क्या ये लपड़ कभी कारगर हो सकेंगे, क्या वह भावना, वह संगठन, कभी देखने को मिलेगा? लेकिन आज चीन के नापाक हमले ने उस नारे का आकार कर दिया है और आज हिन्दुस्तान में एकता और भाई-चारे की जो लहर आई है, उस को देख कर आश्चर्य और प्रसन्नता होती है। आज इस बात की जरूरत है कि देश में जो भावना पैदा हो गई है, उस को आगे भी कायम रखा जाये।

हिन्दुस्तान ने चीन के साथ क्या सलूक किया, क्या व्यवहार किया, यह दुनियां जानती

है और हिन्दुस्तान के लोग जानते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान ने उस की गवर्नमेंट को रेकगनाइज किया, उस के साथ दोस्ताना सलूक किया और राष्ट्र संघ में उस की वकालत की—हर तरह से उस की मदद की। इस सलूक का चीन ने क्या बदला दिया, यह देख कर यह विचार आता है कि क्या उन लोगों में इन्सानियत है या नहीं। आज वे मोर्चे पर "हिन्दी चीनी भाई भाई" का नारा लगा कर हमारे जवानों पर गोली चलाते हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि उन में इन्सानियत नाम की कोई चीज नहीं है।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो देश सत्य और अहिंसा की बुनियाद पर एक साम्राज्यवादी हुकूमत से लोहा ले सकता है, क्या वह आज़ाद होने पर अपनी गर्दन पर डाले गए चीन के गन्दे, नापाक और फौलादी पंजे को नहीं हटा सकता है? इस देश के लोग चीन के हमले का ऐसा मुंह-तोड़ जवाब देंगे कि उस को सदा के लिए सबक मिल जायेगा कि दोस्त के साथ धोखेबाजी करने का क्या नतीजा होता है?

जब चीन ने तिब्बत को अपने कब्जे में कर लिया, तो मुझे उसी वक्त यह शक था, यह खौफ था कि अपनी विस्तारवादी नीति के कारण वह कहीं सिक्किम, भूटान और नेपाल पर अपना दावा न करे। इस बारे में मुझे एक कहानी याद आती है। एक जईफ़ आदमी कहीं जा रहा था, तो रास्ते में एक गुंडे ने उस को चपत मारी। वह जईफ़ आदमी उस गुंडे का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकता था। उस ने पांच रुपए का एक नोट उस गुंडे के हाथ में दे दिया। वह गुंडा यह समझा कि चपत मारने से पांच रुपए मिलते हैं। इस के बाद उस ने एक पंजाबी नौजवान को एक चपत लगाई और उस को चपत लगाने का मज़ा मिल गया। उस को एक नहीं, हजारों चपतें मिल गईं

और उस का दिवाला बोल गया। मैं समझता हूँ कि सिक्किम, भूटान और नेपाल के भविष्य के लिए यह अच्छा है कि हिन्दुस्तान जैसे सद्भावना वाले और शान्तिप्रिय देश पर हमला कर के चीनियों को जूझना पड़ रहा है। इस प्रकार उन देशों की सिक्योरिटी हिन्दुस्तान के द्वारा सुरक्षित कर दी जायगी।

मैं देश के नेताओं और खामकर प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान की जनता जात-पात और धर्म के भेद-भाव को भुला कर एक सूत्र में बंध गई है। नापाक चीनियों को इस देश से जाना पड़ेगा, क्योंकि इस देश के पास एक रुहानी ताकत है, एक आत्मिक बल है। हम किसी का कुछ छीनना नहीं चाहते और न ही हम किसी को दवाना ही चाहते हैं, लेकिन हम किसी से दबेंगे भी नहीं। मैं एलानियाँ तौर पर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो गरीबी, भुखमरी और नावरावरी है, इसको इसी दौरान में हम मिटा देंगे और हिन्दुस्तान को ऐसे सांचे में ढाल देंगे कि भविष्य में हिन्दुस्तान पर कभी कोई नापाक हमला न कर सकें।

हमारे जो देशभक्त जवान लड़ाख या नीफ्रा में, हमारी सीमा पर, शहीद हुए हैं, मैं आप के द्वारा उन के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ। जो बाहादुर सिपाही देश की रक्षा के लिए लड़ रहे हैं—और प्रधान मंत्री के शब्दों में सिपाही हर एक क्षेत्र में हैं, वे कारखानों, खेतों और खलिहानों में काम कर रहे हैं—मैं उन को मुबारकवाद देता हूँ और कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम जोश में होश के साथ काम करें और दुश्मनों के पंजे में हमारी जो ज़मीन चली गई है, उस को शीघ्र से शीघ्र वापस लें।

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Warrangal):** Md. Deputy-Speaker, we are at the grim period of our history.

15.39 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

We had had some reverses but I do not think there is any reason for disappointment because war is decided not by the first few reverses but by the last battle and for that we have to prepare. While thinking of reverses we should not forget the battles that we have already won. In the domestic front the nation has risen as one man forgetting all isms such as linguism, communalism and stood up as one man before the call was actually made. I think it must be a unique experience even for the Prime Minister to find a response to his call before that call was actually and formally made. Such is the temper of the country. If 440 million people are of one mind and have one purpose, I do not think that there is any weapon of war that has been discovered which can pierce through this solid wall of human beings, 440 million thick. The workers in factories did not wait for the resolution of the INTUC or the AITUC.

**Shri K. N. Pande (Hata):** They have passed a resolution. (Interruption).

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza:** I know before the resolution was passed by the INTUC, the workers in my constituency had already offered a day's wages. They had already decided to work on the Diwali day; that was before the INTUC's resolution. I am not trying to bring about any conflict in respect of the AITUC or the INTUC. My point is there was a feeling in the country, a sense of danger to the whole nation, and the nation has instinctively got together and has risen like one man. That is a very great gain. That is one of the battles on the domestic front, that we have already won.

Then, look at the world opinion. Nearly 40 nations—have supported us. (Interruption).

**An Hon Member:** More than 40.

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza:** Now it is more than 40. It is not mathematics. More than 40 nations on both sides of the curtain have supported us. We have to remember that we are a non-aligned nation. We cannot claim by right the support of any nation. There is no peace treaty or a treaty for defence. Our whole policy was based on the fact that every issue will be decided on its merits, and so many nations have come forward to support us. That is not only an aid to support us but also a free judgment of the world that our cause is right.

This is a very, very great thing. Some people say: "non-alignment has failed." But what would alignment have done? Look at the aligned nations. Take any nation you like. If they were faced with the same situation, will they have the self-confidence that this country today possesses in spite of its being not prepared? There was a lot of talk about our being unprepared. Was France with her Maginot line bristling with cannons, steel and cement-concrete, prepared? Was the United States of America at Pearl Harbour prepared? How can you prepare for war when your whole objective is peace? If you want to prepare in the military sense, you have to have an army on a two-Power basis.

We have also to take into account not only China but also Pakistan. The moment you have done that, suspicion would have been aroused and the policy of peace would have been negated at the very first step. Even today, when we are faced with a war and we are getting ammunition from abroad, there is suspicion in Pakistan that the balance of power may shift. What would have been the case if we had made preparations years ago? So, the very fact that we were not prepared is a reason in support of our policy of peace.

**Battles are not fought just by guns.**

that support any army. Even those Nazis or any other armed forces, if they had no ideal, before them they had created an ideal. Today, we are fighting for the freedom of our land. Let us restrict ourselves to that. Let us not create a war psychosis. Our objective is to clear a foreign nation which has invaded our land and we want to clear our land from the invader. That is our objective. We do not want to create a war. We do not want to create a new front and new wars. That, I think, would be a completely wrong and futile policy. War itself is wrong. The war is forced upon us, just like we have to light a fire sometimes to quench a fire. That is what we have done. Therefore, I would like the House to appreciate that it is all right to fight for your country for its independence, but do not become warmongers, or do not idolise the very thing which we hate, that is, war.

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

**Shri Akbar Ali Mirza:** Two or three minutes more, Sir. There have been talks about non-alignment. Shri Ranga says that "you must align with the western bloc." Shri Hanumanthaiya wanted a reorientation. Shri Tyagi says, "you do not regard this as a sort of religious dogma." Shri Morarka says, "friend in need." Suppose, Pakistan, instead of China, had attacked India. What would have been the pattern of your friendship? Our strength is that which the fight is on this curtain or that, we all stand for righteousness and we get support from both sides of the curtain.

Further, there is the talk about attacking Tibet and attacking some bases and so on. It is the opinion of strategists that whichever power holds Tibet holds the hearts of Asia. Tibet is the biggest natural fortress in the world. It is considered to be the roof of the world. Therefore, operating from there, if you lose a few vil-

there be such a panic? Why should there be comments? Why should the Defence Minister resign? "The policy has to be changed." The leadership is questioned because a few villages are gone, when they have got a strategic advantage. That is a wrong policy. We have to build the morale of the country, and for that, everyone of us has got a responsibility.

One word more and I have done, and that is about the communist world. People talk about Russia. They think you will remain unaligned, but once you are in war with anybody, you want the whole world to line behind in your support! What reason is there? Russia, in spite of her position in the world, has come to our aid.

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

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza:** One minute.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is lengthening the debate.

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza:** International communism is like Pan-Islamism in the 19th century. It has played out. It is not international conspiracy as Shri Kamath thinks. It is cracking. We have to see that we gain friends and do not lose friends. You attack here and you attack there and create enemies; that is a very easy thing to do. But it is more difficult to gain friends.

With these few words, I support the resolutions.

**Shri P. R. Patel (Patna):** Mr Speaker, Sir, In supporting the resolutions, I salute our brave jawans who are fighting the enemies for the honour and integrity of our country. I also respectfully pay homage to our brave jawans who have sacrificed their lives in fighting against the enemy. They shall never be forgotten by us.

China has committed aggression on us. The aggression is not only a danger to our freedom and democracy,

but is a danger to all nations of Asia and Africa. I hope Nepal and Pakistan will realise the grave yellow danger and join with us to safeguard not only our freedom but also their freedom.

Raja Mahendra said recently that Nepal is a calf between two fighting bulls. I wish him to search his heart and he will find that China is a tiger which would devour the calf without mercy. India, though a bull according to him, has blood relations with the calf. China signed the *Panchsheel* agreement on 29th April 1954 and promised us to respect our country's integrity and freedom and not to commit aggression. But before the ink was dry, on 17th July 1954 China ut a claim on our Bara Hoti and then claiming to be our friend swallowed part by part, some 14,000 square miles of our territory in Ladakh from 17th July 1954 to 12th July 1962. We took some eight years to realise the Chinese treachery. It is very painful. *Panch-sheel* was a *Prapanch sheel* to Chinese. They used it as a shield to do meanest treacheries—*Prapanchas*.

The recent aggression by the Chinese on our NEFA border has done in a way a service to us. It has roused the people, one and all. Every Indian is determined to drive the Chinese out of the last inch of our territory. Even children and illiterate farmers are awakened. Everybody is contributing his mite for the defence of our country and freedom. Rivers and rivulets of cash and gold are flowing to Delhi. Our people were never found so united and determined as they are now.

Some hon. Members assailed our non-alignment policy. I fail to understand them. Our non-alignment policy is known to the world. Yet, at our request, we got arms and ammunition from USA, Britain and other countries. Our non-alignment policy has not created any hurdle in getting arms and ammunition from whatever country we choose.

[Shri P. R. Patel]

Before us to day the only question is to drive out the Chinese and for this arms, ammunition and assistance from whatever corner are welcome. My country is grateful to USA, Britain and other countries who have supplied us arms in time quickly without any conditions or strings. I hope they will supply us more and better equipments.

Today is Panditji's birthday. I wish him excellent health and vigour. He is our leader and the whole country is behind him in the task of driving out the Chinese. He, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, led us to independence and after that he has served our country and democracy to the best of his ability. I am sure, in this crisis, he will lead us to complete victory. The people of the whole country, one and all, are out to make any sacrifice for our freedom and democracy under his leadership. I am not for personality cult, but I feel he is the man in this crisis to lead the Government and the country.

The Government have issued white papers on Indo-China borders. The Parliament has discussed this matter very often and we have endorsed the Government's stand on this matter. Every Indian is agreed that our borders on Ladakh and NEFA are well-defined and established since centuries. No Indian can have a different view of his own on this matter.

On 8th September, 1962 the Chinese crossed our NEFA border and committed aggression on our territory. On 20th October, 1962 the Chinese made cruel attacks in Ladakh and NEFA. Our Government took a very serious view and the President declared an emergency on 26th October, 1962. Shri Malaviya, the hon. Minister of Mines and Fuel, saw Premier Khrushchev in Moscow on 27th October 1962 and thereafter when he was questioned by a correspondent on the Soviet statement in support of the Chinese cease-fire proposal, he is re-

ported to have said, "I have my own views on the Chinese aggression." How can a Member of our Government have his own views? I would like to be enlightened on that point and I would like to know his own views and how they differ from the Government's view.

You know, Sir, generally I speak on agriculture and agricultural economy. I take this opportunity to ask the farmers of the country to forget their price question and other questions and put in all their efforts to double our agricultural production, have extra summer and winter crops and put more lands under cultivation.

In the end, I would say that the war with China will last long. It will be a very expensive and painful war. We have hard times to face. Everybody must make economy in his budget, spend less and every month contribute something to our defence fund.

We members of Parliament and State Legislatures, are the leaders of the nation. We have to set an example to the nation. I suggest that our salaries be paid 50 per cent in cash and 50 per cent in defence bonds.

**Shri S. N. Chaturvedi (Firozabad):** Sir, the Chinese aggression on our country is one of the major perfidies of history. No country has so assiduously tried to cultivate the friendship of China and none was so treacherously betrayed as India. The perfidy of the enemy was matched only by our own credulity and gullibility. Five years of misrepresentation, slander and false propaganda and furtive and then open aggression on our territory did not open our eyes to the character of the enemy we had to deal with. It needed the shock of invasion and the sacrifice of hundreds of precious lives to wake us up to this harsh reality. I am afraid that certain illusions still persist in our mind.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I do not know whether the reporters can hear the hon. Member, but I cannot listen to the speech that I want to hear. I am listening to other voices all right. Should we presume that we cannot exercise restraint? Should I stop the proceedings?

**Shri S. N. Chaturvedi:** I am afraid certain illusions still persist. One is that China will see reason and withdraw. Otherwise, there is no point in offers or negotiations at a time when we are in retreat. The time for reasonableness and generosity will be when we have beaten back the invader and the enemy is on the run.

It is also our hope that China's admission to the United Nations will cure her of her distempers. The membership of the United Nations did not cure either Pakistan of her hatred towards this country or Portugal of her colonial oppression or South Africa of her racial hatred. Membership of the League of Nations did not prevent Italy from invading Abyssinia. A country or nation which has no faith in the principles of the UN Charter will either try to exploit it for its own ends or to wreck it. The present Chinese Government intoxicated with power, will understand no other language except of superior force and that alone will deter her from her mad course of expansionism. China dare not invade Formosa or press her claims on Mongolia.

16 hrs.

We must also get rid of the delusion that our effort to limit and localise the conflict will induce China to do the same. Let her suffer her first reverse on the ground and air war will be let loose upon us. Let us, therefore, prepare for the worst and put aside our inhibitions in this respect. Weakness offers as great a temptation to war as overweening power. We must, therefore, gratefully accept all the friendly aid that is coming to us as well as develop

our strength and resources to the utmost. There is a feeling in the countries which are giving us aid that it is not being properly appreciated. I think that impression must be removed. We need fighters, bombers, heavy and light artillery and other armaments. Because today there is a lull on the fighting front we must not be lulled into security and permit any relaxation of our effort.

Sir, it has been said in this House that democracies inevitably lag behind dictatorships in war preparations. This is not borne out by current history. The American example refutes it. It was lack of foresight alone that accounted for it in the past and the democracies had to pay a heavy price for it. Eventually they had to arm and equip themselves on a far greater scale than before, but after their countries had been devastated and thousands of lives had been lost. We are also doing that now which, if done earlier and in time, might have effectively checkmated and repulsed the Chinese invasion, if not averted it. It is not wisdom after the event, for we had ample warning of what was coming, only we did not need it. How else could we have been taken by surprise? Why could we not know what was happening across the Thagala Ridge or of the massive concentration of forces in Tibet? Was it that our military intelligence failed, and was there no proper assessment and appreciation of it or was the advice of the military command not accepted.

Same about production. Why was it that our factories were engaged in the production of other non-essential articles for civilian use when the army so sorely stood in need of automatic weapons and munitions? The exit of the Defence Minister does not dispense with the need for an enquiry, for he has only paid the penalty of his high office in conformity with established democratic conventions. The probe will have to be applied deeper, not for search of scape-goats but to fix responsibility, plug loop-



[Shri S. N. Chaturvedi.]

holes and root out complacency. I welcome the assurance of the Prime Minister that this will be done.

We have to learn lessons from our failures, for history has repeated itself. This is not for the first time that we have suffered reverses not for want of bravery or valour of our soldiers but because of the superior technique and weapons of the enemy.

The hordes of Central Asia are again on the march and we are confronted with the organised might of a dictatorship based on terror and reeking with blood. "Virtuous motives trammelled by inertia and timidity", writes Mr. Churchill, "are no match for armed and resolute wickedness". Eternal vigilance and full preparedness is the price of liberty and vigilance is as much needed on the diplomatic as on the battle front.

Sir, it has been suggested by some hon. Members that we should at this juncture try to conciliate Pakistan. I see no good coming out of it except humiliation or increased tension. Let us not commit the same mistake in regard to Pakistan that we have committed in regard to China.

Others have questioned the wisdom of our policy of non-alignment. I think it has stood the test of time and is now understood and appreciated. By seeking aid and support from all countries with which we had friendly relations we have put their friendship to test, and are getting to know who are with us and who are not.

Non-alignment is not neutrality. Our leader has taught us to align ourselves with justice and right against partisan might and that is today our fountain of strength. To this noble and high-minded policy there has been one exception, and that is Tibet. We not only acquiesced in the rape of Tibet but failed even to raise our voice in the United Nations against the violation of human

rights and cultural genocide perpetrated there by the Chinese Communists. It seems as if our present travail is a retribution for that sin.

Even so, the invasion has done us one great service. It has united the nation as it had never been united before. This is a source of great strength and augurs well for the future. We have only to discipline and properly channelise this emotional upsurge of the people. We have to harness and conserve the energies of the nation for a protracted war and not let them be wasted in angry and loud denunciations and burning of effigies and tall talk. The soldiers have consecrated by blood their loyalty and devotion to their motherland. It is now for us who are in seats of power to give a good account of ourselves and prove worthy of the heroism and sacrifice of our jawans and the abounding and spontaneous support of our people. Let us dedicate ourselves to our tasks in the faith and confidence that our cause is righteous and it shall triumph.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, since I had the honour of moving this resolution we have had a long debate in this House, almost perhaps a record debate in this House and perhaps in other parliaments also. I do not quite know how many Members have spoken.

**Mr. Speaker:** 165.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** 165 Members have spoken. While it may have been said that perhaps a very large number of speeches rather take away from the pointedness of the question before the House and our minds wander into details, yet I am glad that so many Members have spoken because the point that stands out is this, not that they have not made various suggestions, various criticisms, but that fundamentally and basically every person who has spoken in this House

has spoken in the same refrain more or less, and that our Members have reflected the mood of the country.

I have put forward a longish resolution before this House, and it is clear from the speeches made that the resolution as it is welcome to this House and will be accepted as it is. But I have almost felt that it would have been, shall I say, suitable to add a small paragraph to the resolution thanking the Chinese Government for taking some action against us—which of course, we have resented—which has suddenly lifted a veil from the face of India. During the last three weeks or a little more we have had a glimpse of the strength of the serene face of India, strong and yet calm and determined, that face, an ancient face which is ever young and vibrant. We have not had seen her face, but rather this House saw a million faces representing that face of India or Bharat Mata

That has been an experience worth having for all of us and it has been our high privilege to share in that emotion and experience. Whatever the future may bring, I do not think we shall ever forget this powerful emotional upheaval that India has had in which we have all shared—I repeat, all of us whatever party or group we may belong to. Any person who gives thought to these matters will realise and, I hope, other countries also realise—I hope that even the Chinese Government realises that—what this signifies, because it seems to me obvious that no country which evokes that feeling in a moment of crisis can ever be suppressed or defeated. In fact, many countries of the West and, I hope, many countries of the East also realise that today. They are surprised that such an amazing upheaval should have taken place among our feelings that all our petty controversies which seemed so big to us suddenly become of no moment and are swept aside before the one thing before us, that is how to meet this crisis and emergency, how to face this

invasion and to repel it. That is the major issue.

We may—I am going into that a little more later—have failed here and there. We might not have been quite prepared to meet this invasion. Our mentality may be built towards peace. Although we prepared for any such emergency, nevertheless it is true that the mind of the people and of the Government while preparing sought peace all the time. I am not sorry for that. I think, it was a right urge and it is that right urge that has led to this enormous upheaval in the Indian mind

Much has been said about our unpreparedness. In some degrees many hon. Members have referred to it. I shall deal with that matter presently. I do not seek to justify any error that we might have committed, but I do think that many hon. Members have done an injustice, not to any Minister of others, but to our Armed Forces as a whole in making various charges. I hope to disabuse their minds by stating some facts. The one real fact, as I said, is that our whole mentality has been governed by an approach to peace. That does not mean that we did not think of war or of defending our country. That, of course, we had always in mind. But there is such a thing as being conditioned in a certain way and, I am afraid, even now we are conditioned somewhat in that way.

Shri Anthony said—I am not quite sure of his words, but he said something to the effect that now we must . . .

**An Hon. Member:** Brutalise.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I had an idea that he used the word 'blood-thirsty'—I am not sure. Anyway, he said that our nation must be brutalised: that Jawaharlal Nehru must be brutalised. I hope that our nation, much less my humble self, will never be brutalised because that is a strange idea that one can only be strong by being brutal. I reject that idea com-

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pletely. Our strength lies in other factors. Brutality is a thing which we have associated with certain movements which we have objected to or rejected. By becoming brutal and thinking in those brutal ways we lose our souls and that is a tremendous loss. I hope that India which is essentially a gentle and peace-loving country will retain that mind even though it may have to carry on war with all its consequences to the utmost.

There is a definite distinction between being strong and being brutalised. I need not mention an instance which has lent prestige to our history—the instance of the long period when Gandhiji was controlling the destinies of our movement for freedom. No man can say that Gandhiji was brutal. He was the essence of humility and of peace. No man can say that Gandhiji was weak. He was the strongest man that India or any country has produced. It was that peculiar mixture of strength with sacrifice to the uttermost, yet a certain humility in utterance and a certain friendly approach even to our opponents and enemies, that made him what he was. Those of us who were privileged to serve with him and under him do not claim of course, to be much better than we are. We are humble folk who cannot be compared with the truly great, but something of the lesson that he taught came down upon us and we learnt it in a small measure. In the measure we learnt it we also became strong though, I hope, not brutal. So, I would like to stress that I do not want to become bruta'; I do not want that aspect of the cold war and the hot war which leads to hatred and dislike of a whole people and looking upon them is something below normal.

Some of us who are old remember the First World War and the tremendous propaganda in it against the Germans. I do not hold any brief for the Germans—I think, they were wrong in the First World War and,

I think, they were wrong in the Second World War—but the type of propaganda against the Huns and all that, against the whole people, not against an individual, was shocking. I have no doubt that the same type of propaganda was being carried on in Germany against the Western allies.

Wars are terrible and millions of people die; much destruction is caused. Yet, after all, death comes to all of us and if it comes a little earlier than otherwise in the great cause, it is not to be sorrowed for. We have to face it as men. Death in a good cause is not a thing to regret, even though we may regret the parting with of our colleagues and comrades. But brutality is something which degrades a person. Death does not degrade a person. Brutality and hatred and the offspring of these things do degrade a nation and the people. So, I should like to say right at the beginning that, I hope, no such emotion will rise in our country and, if it does rise, it will be discouraged. We have nothing against the Chinese people. We regret many things that their Government has done. We think that their Government has acted infamously towards us. We regret many things that their Government has done in their country. We cannot help them. Anyhow, we must always distinguish between the people of any country—much more so of a great country, great in size, great in history—and its government and not transfer somehow our anger and bitterness at what has been done by the Government, to the people.

Perhaps, if I understand, many Members, sometimes, listen to broadcasts from Peking. I have not done so at any time. They have told me of the constant appeals that Peking broadcast makes to the Indian people. It distinguishes the Indian people from the Indian Government or the Indian Parliament. It carries on propaganda that the present Govern-

ment are just some reactionary people who are sitting and crushing the Indian people and making them do things against their will. I am sorry if they are so utterly mistaken, because even the blind can see that all the Indian people are one today. It does not require much perspicacity. But, I want the House to note the reason for their propaganda, that is trying always to distinguish between the Indian people and the various governmental agencies and parties. There is something in that. We must not lump together the Chinese people and the Chinese Government and everything that is in China together.

I cannot say how the Chinese people feel now, because they have no chance to express their feelings. Even if they had a chance, their minds are so conditioned by constant propaganda, by one-sided news that they are likely to feel one way even though otherwise they might not have done so. We should always distinguish between governmental action and the people as a whole. Therefore, I have not liked some poor Chinese shopkeepers, some restaurant-keepers being attacked in Delhi or elsewhere as if they were the symbols of the attack on us. Perhaps some people thought so. But, it was wrong for them to think so. It brutalises us and gives us a bad name. I should particularly like to lay stress on this aspect because it does not add to our strength in the least; but, it weakens the nervous energy that we possess by using it in wrong directions.

War in these days is something infinitely more than it was in the old days. When I say old days, I am talking about India. I am not talking about the Great wars and other things. War involves not only courage. It tends to become total war in which every human being, man, woman, and perhaps child, somehow helps or hinders, may hinder; and the total energy, nervous and otherwise of the nation, is involved in it, organised and mobilised.

We have seen in these great wars that have happened in the past, in the First World War and the Second, very powerful nations, very brave nations, armed to the teeth with the latest weapons, contending against each other, killing millions on either side, yet carrying on, but ultimately the whole nervous energy of the nation collapsing. Perhaps if the one which collapsed could have carried on a little while longer, the other would have collapsed, as Mr. Winston Churchill said at the end of the First World War. It was the sheerest fluke that we won, the sheerest chance, sheerest fluke. Because both sides were determined to carry on. They were trained people in war and they had strength and determination. Ultimately, it becomes a thing of the whole basic energy of a nation collapsing, however it might be. It so happened that the Germans collapsed a little sooner. This is what Mr. Churchill said. Perhaps, if they could have carried on, the decision might have been otherwise. So also in the Second World War. Throughout the War, it almost appeared, except towards the end, that Germany might win. Yet, ultimately, the other people won. So, we must realise that it is a question not only of a few weapons here and there, but of this entire energy of the nation, the mind of the nation being concentrated to achieve a certain objective and holding to it whatever happens and not wasting our energy or frittering it on any minor things, minor expressions and minor disputes.

I hope, of course, that we will mobilize the nation. We will profit by many of the suggestions made in this House and other suggestions that are continually coming before us. But, even if we make mistakes, as any person is bound to do, the real thing that counts is not an odd mistake leading to an odd reverse, but ultimately keeping up this united front and united nervous energy of the nation to face this crisis.

The fact of the matter is that before these 3½ weeks, before the 20th

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of October, it was not realised by the people at large what dangers possibly might confront us. They thought of frontier incidents. Hon. Members in this House criticised us for not taking steps in Ladakh to drive them out, not realising that it is not such an easy matter. Perhaps they realise it a little more now that these things are not so easy matters, that they require not only the strength of a nation, but properly utilised, properly directed, enormous field of preparation and consideration of military factors. Where these factors are against us, naturally we suffer a reverse, it does not matter what your strength is. Our jawans were very strong.

I might mention just for the information of the House that it was not today, but some years back—by some years, I mean a couple of years back—that is, after the Chinese started nibbling at our territory in Ladakh, that we had before us the question of N.E.F.A. We considered it, what we should do if they attacked. We hoped that they would not attack there. Certainly we hoped, we expected that they would not attack in such large numbers as to bring about a regular invasion with several divisions, which they did. Nevertheless, we had to consider if they did, what should be done. The advice that we received then was that it will be disadvantageous for us to try to hold to the exact frontier line, the McMahon line, but that we should delay them, we should harass them, we should fight them a little but the real defence line should be lower down wherever a strong defence line could be made. Partly because to the last moment we did not expect this invasion in overwhelming numbers, partly from the fact that we disliked it—I frankly tell you that we disliked the idea of our walking back in our own territory, whatever it was—we faced the Chinese there under very disadvantageous circumstances from a military point of view. In addition to that, enormous numbers came over. It is no criticism at all of our officers or

men that they were somewhat overwhelmed by this deluge and they had to retire to more defensive positions.

Shri Frank Anthony, I think, said that we have been enabled to put up some kind of line of defence, because we have received arms from abroad. Now, we are very grateful for the arms and material and equipment that has come from abroad, but that was not correct then; no arms which were brought had reached our troops by then; they are gradually dribbling in and going there, but by that time when we achieved the present position, these arms which were brought had not been given and had not reached them. It was with the existing equipment that they brought the Chinese advance to a standstill.

So, the real reason, the basic reason for our reverses in the early days of this campaign was the very large forces the Chinese threw in; in a restricted sphere or field, they outnumbered our forces, by many many times. Even the question of better arms did not arise. They had slightly better arms, but that question did not arise so much. They had better mortars to hit at some distance. They still have them, but they had stopped. That was the main reason, and there was nothing that we could do about it, because the geography of the place, the military appraisal of the place was against us in that particular area. The only fault we made, it may be, if it is a fault, was even to stick out where the military situation was not very favourable. It was not that we told them to stick out; it is folly for any politician to say so. But our soldiers themselves have a reluctance to go back, and they stuck on at considerable cost to them.

I referred to the great unity in the country, which is a wonderful factor. It is not unity of parties so much as the unity of hearts and minds. We can see that in the thousands of faces. When I talked about the face of India, I really should have talked about the

million faces of India, because they all bear the same impress today, whatever community or party he or she may belong to.

And I should like to say something even about the Communists. Now, the Communist Party's manifesto as a manifesto was, I think, as good as it has been drafted by any non-communist. People may think or say that it does not represent their real views, but because of pressure from outside they did it. Let us suppose that it did not represent some of their views, some, no doubt. Some there are in the Communist Party who even objected to this manifesto, and were overruled. Even so, the fact that conditions in the country were such that they decided to issue that manifesto is a factor of some importance. It shows how these conditions mould people's minds in India, all of us, to whatever party we may belong to, even to a party which for reasons known to Members was inclined in the past to favour somewhat the Chinese, because they are also Communists. Even then, they stood out, and stood up four square against this attack as any hundred per cent nationalist would do. That is a good thing. Why should we not take full advantage of it instead of deriding it and seeking causes why they did it? After all, there are some leaders among the Communists, and they sometimes quarrel amongst each other about ideologies, theses and what not, but the large number of ordinary workers or others who may belong to the Communist Party are simple folk. They are attracted by something in it, and those simple folk are affected just as they are affected by the situation which affects every Indian; they have also been affected by this manifesto of the Communist Party, that is, the ordinary communist members. And that is a great gain. They should be affected in this way. Why should we lessen the effect of that by telling them that it is a wrong manifesto? So, I welcome that manifesto, and we should take full advantage of it in

forging the unity against aggression that we have in fact forged.

Then, I do not wish to go into the hundred and more minor criticisms and suggestions made in this House. All suggestions made by hon. Members will be carefully examined. Some, as I said, were made because of not knowing that the thing had been done; some perhaps we cannot adopt; others we may adopt.

I should like rather to lay stress now on the general question of our preparedness, because hon. Members seem to think, some Members, that we sent our soldiers bare-foot and without proper clothing, to fight in the NEFA mountains. It is really extraordinary to say that they were almost unarmed, and bare-footed.

Some soldiers there were stationed there. Others were sent rather in a hurry in September. Our time for issuing winter clothes is September, about the middle of September. When they were sent, they went there, of course at that time in full uniform, full warm uniform, woollen uniform, and every man had two boots, good boots. As they were going, they were given three blankets apiece. Later on, it was made into four blankets; now, they have been issuing four thick army blankets. But these blankets took up so much room, and as they were going by air, the people decided, that is, the officer in charge, and the men themselves said 'They take so much room, and, therefore, send them later on to us'. It was not so very cold then. So, they took, each one of them, one blanket, and left the others to be sent later on. That was a little unfortunate, because sending them later, as we did, meant air-dropping them. And air-dropping was a hazardous business in those days. Apart from the fact that the Chinese then could fire at them, air-dropping in those very precipitous areas in the mountains could not be accurately carried out. Often, they went into the *khad*, into the deep ravine below, and it was difficult to recover them. So, we lost a good

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deal of our supplies, many of these blankets and other things.

Then, we even went further. We provide for high mountain altitudes snow-boots; they had good boots, they had two boots apiece; they had snow boots; these boots had been provided to these soldiers of ours who were permanently located there. The others that were sent were all in Assam; they were not here; but they were in Gauhati and other places. But, again, the difficulty arose of sending them by air.

Broadly speaking, I would say that all our Army in NEFA was well-clad, and well-booted, but towards the end, that is, towards the end of September, realising that the Chinese forces were increasing very rapidly, we decided to send more troops quickly. These troops were sent in a hurry. And sometimes, it so happened that troops that were being sent somewhere else were diverted to NEFA, and these troops certainly had not the full complement of winter clothing then. Of course, it was decided to send them later. Except for these troops that went later and which did not have the full complement—and subsequently it was supplied to them—all others had the full Army complement, and many of them had snow-boots also. In any event, everyone had good stout Army boots.

Some people have heard stories of frost-bite. All the cases of frost-bite occur naturally due to the cold and due also to the high altitude. I do not quite remember the number, but I have an idea that out of a large number of people,—I do not quite know,—about two or three thousand, the total number of frost-bite cases was only a handful. Even the cases of bronchitis, pneumonia etc., were only about forty, which is a very small percentage considering the conditions there. Of these too, we may say that more than half was due just to the altitude and not to lack of foot-covering. This occurred not to our regular army coming on the front

but most of this occurred to people when on the 20th October when this fierce onslaught of the Chinese came, our forces in that particular place—one or two places there—were dispersed. They could not return to the base of their army. They dispersed and for some days, they wandered about the mountains and ultimately returned. That was also the reason perhaps for people saying that the casualties were very heavy. Of course, large numbers of our forces had not returned in order; they were wandering about the mountains, returning a few days later. I think these persons who returned a few days later were over 1,600. During these few days, these persons, naturally, were not well-protected. When they were wandering, they did not have the facilities of the army. Blankets and other things they would at the base camp. They were not carrying them. They were wandering in high altitudes and they suffered a great deal. That was where the frost-bite cases chiefly occurred, along with lack of other comforts. When they came back, they were put in hospital, and they are doing fairly well.

So I would submit to the House that it is not correct to say that our people were not sufficiently clad or sufficiently booted. It was an unfortunate thing that this was the time for changeover from summer clothing to winter clothing. Suddenly a small number of our army which was in summer clothing at that time was diverted to the east without coming back to their base, and the winter clothes took a little time to reach them. As regards boots, they had very good boots. Even snow boots were supplied. Some people do not have them. We do not supply snow boots to large numbers, to everybody. We do supply them to people in these high altitudes.

Apart from clothes and boots which were I do think excellent, normally

our army is not clad for the winter. They were clad, for instance, in the special clothes, but normally our army is not clad for the severe winter. They have got all kinds of winter things, but not for these very high altitudes and the cold winter there.

It might interest hon. Members to know that in Ladakh, round about the Chushul area, the temperature at present is 30 degrees below zero. Such is the ferocity of that climate. Ordinarily, it does not matter how many clothes you may have in a temperature 30 degrees below zero at an altitude of over 14,000 ft., unless you are used to it. Now, learning from experience, we have provided, in addition to all the other winter materials that our soldiers have, thick cotton padded coats and trousers. They are very warm. They may not look so smart as with the other clothes, but they are there. We started providing them these within a few days of the 20th, as soon as we felt that they ought to have these and it became colder there. We have been sending these cotton padded coats and trousers at the rate first of 500 a day and later at the rate of nearly 1000 a day.

The other charge made is about weapons, that they did not have proper weapons. Now the soldiers, jawans, who went there were supplied with all the normal equipment, that is, .303 rifles and the normal complement of automatic weapons such as light machine guns and medium machine guns. They did not have semi-automatic rifles because our army does not possess them. I might point out that many up-to-date armies in the west do not possess them yet. Even in England, the changeover to semi-automatic rifles has just fully taken place. It has just been completed; it took about four or five years; it has just been completed, this year, a few months ago. It is a lengthy process. And the British Army is relatively smaller than ours.

For about four years now, we have been considering and discussing this

matter. Various difficulties arose. Points of views were different. The easiest way is always to order something—ready-made article. But the easy way is not always a good way. Apart from the continuing difficulty we have to face, that is, lack of foreign exchange etc., it is not the way to build up the strength of a nation. If we get something today, we have to get ammunition for that all the time and we are completely in the hands of some other country. And specially if we have to deal with private suppliers in other countries, the House knows that the arms racket is the worst racket of all; because you need something, they make you pay through the nose.

So we were very much against getting it from private suppliers outside and we thought that we should build up our own arms industry to manufacture semi-automatic rifles. These arguments, specially in peace time, take a long period to determine. Of course, if we had this crisis before this, we would have functioned better. But it took about two to three years to determine what type to have. Ultimately, we started the first processes of manufacture and we have just arrived at a stage when within about three weeks or four weeks—in fact, some prototypes have been prepared—they will begin to come in in larger numbers and will increase in numbers in another month, two months and three months to a substantial quantity.

It is not a question merely of semi-automatic rifles. As I have said, we had automatic machine guns, LMGs and MMGs—light machine guns and medium machine guns. Every regiment had its complement of these. Certainly, they did not have semi-automatic rifles for the reasons I have given, namely, we wanted to manufacture them ourselves and this changeover to automatic rifles has been relatively a modern development. As I said, even in England, it is a recent thing. But this outlook of ours, about manufacturing things ourselves rather than buying them, covered our whole



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approach to this question. We are manufacturing a great many things in arms today which we did not previously. I shall give you some figures. The first pressure upon us is always that of finance, that is, foreign exchange. We could not really afford it. Do not compare that situation two or three years ago with the situation today when we have to meet a crisis. When we meet a crisis like this, it just does not matter what happens. We have to face it. We have to buy it here and there; we have to get it from wherever we can. That is a different matter. But normally, the whole approach was to make them ourselves.

How did we make them? The usual thing was that we bought some with the proviso attached that the persons we bought it from would give us the licence and the blueprints to manufacture it here. So we bought some to begin with, and then started with the blueprints and the licence we had got to manufacture it, and supply it with everything, whether it is tanks or other things.

Also, it is all very well to build a factory here and there, but really you want to have a strong industrial background. You cannot, out of a relatively agricultural background, suddenly put up a highly sophisticated factory. All this time the work we have done, not in the Defence Ministry, but all over the country, in our First Five Year Plan, the Second and the Third, has been meant to strengthen the nation by making it more modernised, more industrialised and build up this base out of which you can produce the things you require. Perhaps some hon. Members will no doubt realise this, some may not. You have to have a strong base, industrial base. You have to have indeed not only a strong base, you have to have a literate people. People may think for the time being that education can be stopped. Education is essential for a real war effort. It is essential because you want every soldier today to be a better mechanic; he has to be educated as

much as possible. So, it all goes together. The whole basis of our Five Year Plan was to better our people, to raise their level and all that, but it was essential to make India stronger to face any trouble that arose, whether it was invasion or anything. And we are in a much better position today to face this trouble than we were ten or twelve years ago, there is no doubt, because of the growth of our industrial base in the public sector and the private sector, both. If we had to face this business ten or twelve years ago, our army was the same as today, a very brave army, but it had no industrial background, and it would have been very difficult for it. We had to develop that industrial background as fast as we could. Now we have at least a base to develop, and I hope, therefore, that no conflict will arise in any person's mind whether we should go ahead with the Third Five Year Plan or devote ourselves to the war effort. That is part of the war effort—I do not say everything in the Third Plan; some things may be avoided, slowed down, even dropped if you like. But take agriculture. It is the base of all industry. It is only on a strong agricultural base you can build up industry. The industrial base is the foundation of any war effort. So, the two are connected, intimately connected.

Education again. We want today, we shall want, not only a widely educated mass of people, but vast numbers of technically trained people. That comes in. Power is essential for industry, and so on. So, really, all the major things that we want were in the Five Year Plans, and are required today.

But the point I wish to lay stress on is this, that all our thinking in the past even from the point of view of the army has been concentrated on industrialisation, on making things ourselves.

Today we are getting large numbers of arms and equipment from other

countries, and we are very grateful to the United States, to the United Kingdom especially, and other countries. But please remember that this kind of thing, and this kind of response, could not have occurred in peace time. Obviously, it is when danger threatens us, just as we feel in a particular way, others feel too, and they think, as they rightly think, that this is not a mere matter of India being invaded by China, but it raises issues of vast importance to the world, to Asia, and realising that they do it, they help us; that is, they feel this involves many issues in which they themselves are intensely interested. This could not have happened in peace time.

Some one asked us: we could have bought some of the things at a very heavy price. Today I hope we get them on very special terms whatever the terms are, they are being worked out, but it is understood special terms, not to put any heavy burden on us today. That kind of thing could not have taken place then. We would have bought these things, or even one-tenth of what we are buying, at a heavy cost, which would have made our Finance Minister shiver. But apart from that, in any long-term view, it was a wrong thing. The thing is to make them ourselves.

What has China done? The main difference—there are many differences between China and India, but one difference is that first of all they started about 20 years before the success of the revolution there, they were fighting all the time. They had a heavily trained army fighting in the mountains. They are especially good at mountain warfare; lightly clad with a bag of rice and a bag of tea in their pockets, they march on, with no questions of supplies or anything for days, with cotton-padded coats and trousers. They were highly trained in that warfare. But what I am saying is this, that they concentrated right from the beginning, apart from other developments in the country, on the development of armaments manufacture. They

got a good deal of help from the Soviet Union; vast numbers, thousands of people set up their armament industries. We, although we did go on with our armament industries, did not concentrate on that, certainly not. We thought: better build up the whole industrial complex of India, and out of that other things would also be built up. Nevertheless, we did build up, I think fairly adequately, our armament industry, not as much as we would have liked. It was being progressed.

I shall just read out to you some figures of our ordnance factories production. In 1956-57, the issues to the army from the ordnance factories amounted to—I cannot tell you the details, it is not right for me to tell you, I am only telling you how much they cost.

**Some Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** We know the results anyhow. We do not want all that, it will only help the enemy.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** It has grown about 500 per cent. I do not mind telling you, I am not going to give you what they are making, but the issues to the army in 1956-57 were Rs. 8:64 crores; civil orders Rs. 3:52 crores; Air Force and Navy Rs. 1:93 crores. In 1957-58, issues to the army Rs. 12:78 crores; civil orders Rs. 3:27 crores; Air Force and Navy Rs. 2 crores. Then the figure for the army goes up to Rs. 12, Rs. 14, Rs. 19, Rs. 24 and in 1961-62 to Rs. 33½ crores, and at the present moment it is estimated at Rs. 60 crores.

Much has been said about civil orders, that we make thermos flasks and the like in ordnance factories. It is very unkind, that kind of criticism, without knowing anything. Most of the civil orders are for railways and the Government. A few things are made, some things like thermos flasks, simply because in the process of manufacturing other things, some things are manufactured which can easily be converted into thermos flasks etc., and

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there was surplus labour about. You will see that civil orders have not progressed much. They have become, from Rs. 3½ to Rs. 6 crores in these eight years, while the issues to the army rose from Rs. 8 to Rs. 60 crores. It has advanced much more, again with the difficulty of trying not to import machinery as much as possible. We did import some. Again, foreign exchange, that awful thing stares us in the face. And the result was that much of the machinery used was re-vamped, reconditioned machinery, which we got from old stocks; and our engineers are good men, they made it suit their purposes. Of courses, it is far better to get new machinery. We are trying to get new machinery. But it is remarkable what they did with the material they had before them and I should like to pay a tribute to the men in charge of our ordnance factories, not only because they are thoroughly competent but, what is more, they are filled with a certain enthusiasm. They are patriotic and they want to show results. They work night and day and at the present moment they are working 24 hours a day in the factories.

17 hrs.

I should like to mention how pressure of circumstances makes one a hard realist. The food we supply to our army, though good, is complicated and not easy to throw about or be supplied from above. In the last two or three weeks both our Armed Forces food department and Defence Science Organisation as also the Food and Agriculture Ministry have been experimenting with foods which could be concentrated foods and which could be carried about easily in your pocket also and which should be enough for several days. Only this morning I was looking at an exhibition, demonstration rather, in the Defence Ministry of these foods, quite a large number, very attractive and very palatable. They looked palatable. I did not eat them. There are all kinds of preparations of gur and nuts. They

are excellent preparations, I may also tell the House that gur is a good thing for high altitudes. We are making very good progress. We have in fact sent these things to the front to find out the reaction of the soldiers to that.

Some hon. Member asked a question about the newspaper item about our soldiers getting notices from courts or some such thing. I do not know that. Anyhow, we have immediately taken action to stop any such thing happening and every such thing will have to be postponed for the duration of this emergency.

Some people criticised our diplomatic missions abroad for not doing as good a job of work as they ought to in putting our case and countering the Chinese propaganda. My information is that our diplomatic missions abroad, by and large, are doing very good work. But another country's outlook is not determined solely by what we tell them. There may be many factors—maybe, sometimes fear, sometimes other things. I think our missions abroad are doing well and, what is more, their work is being rewarded. The first reaction of many countries, many of these Asian and African countries, was regret and surprise at what had happened here and they hoped that it would be quickly ended by some cease-fire and compromise and all that, because they found themselves in a difficult position. Gradually this surprise is giving way; it has given way in the case of the UAR and even Ghana which took up an attitude to our regret originally and later supported the U.A.R. making some suggestions to the Chinese Government. It was very near to the suggestions we made about the cease-fire business. So, I do not think it will be right to criticise our diplomatic missions abroad. You must remember that these countries have their own diplomats too here who report to them, and most of them have got their newspaper correspondents. There are many ways of getting news about what is happening.

This question comes up in various ways—about Pakistan and Nepal. It is difficult for me to say anything definite. But about Nepal I should like to say that latterly the attitude of Nepal has been relatively much more friendly. Naturally, we have always made it clear—it is unfortunate that they thought that we were creating troubles—we have made it clear right from the beginning that we do not want trouble in Nepal. Apart from the Chinese invasion and the trouble there, they are largely internal. Anyhow, now, I think they believe our word and are very friendly and I hope that our relations will continue to be friendly and cordial.

As for Pakistan, there also, I will not quite be definite, but their newspapers have been peculiarly virulent about this matter against us. But I do not think their newspapers reflect very much the opinion of the people of Pakistan or even of those in authority in Pakistan. Gradually they are realising it; at first, apparently they thought this was a small frontier matter and nothing much. Now, they are realising how far-reaching are the consequences of this and they are making a reappraisal.

I should like to say a few words about the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has been, as the House knows, consistently friendly to us all along. It has been put in a very difficult position in this matter, because they have been, and are, allies of China, and hence the embarrassment to them as between a country with which they are friendly and a country which is their ally. We have realised that and we do not expect them to do anything which would definitely mean a breach over there. It is not for us to suggest to any country. But we have had their good-will and good wishes all along, even very recently, and that is a consolation to us and we certainly hope to have that in future.

The Chinese Government has been making a lot of propaganda about our Defence of India Act as if that was specially passed to deal with some Chinese here. It has obviously been passed because of the situation we have to deal with. Everybody who is a mischief-maker, if it be a Chinese who makes a mischief, he comes under its purview; otherwise not. The difficulty with the Chinese is that they have a singularly perverted opinion and perverted view of what happens in the rest of the world. It is an odd characteristic of the Chinese. Being a great nation with a vast territory, it begins to think all outside the limits of its frontiers are subhuman types and not so advanced as they are.

One thing more. There has been some criticism about our offer for a cease-fire. We have said that before we discuss anything, the Chinese forces must go back and restore the position as it existed before the 8th September, that is, a little over two months ago, when they first came over the Thagla pass. They have suggested something different, and something that is apt to delude the people. They say, let us go back to the position of November, 1959. Now, the people who do not know this might well wonder, they are going back three years, not now. But November, 1959 was roughly the date or period when the first claim was made by the Chinese Government, by Mr. Chou En-lai, to these territories according to their maps. Previously, they were included in their maps, but nobody had made any official claim. In fact, officially they have said that their maps are old and not up-to-date, and they will revise them. But in 1959, for the first time, they claimed them, meanwhile, of course, they having gone into a good bit of Ladakh.

In 1959, our counter-measures started taking effect. In 1959-60 and 1961, we went into Ladakh much more and more and established many posts there. Now, we realised, as I think I told this

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House then, that the object of these posts is to prevent their further advance unless they fight it out. It was difficult for us to have a major armed conflict with them there, because they had great advantages. Their roads came right up there. They could bring all kinds of weapons, tanks, etc., there from Tibet which is near, which is relatively a flat country, while for us, although we made some progress and the road is recently made—at that time even that was not made—it is very difficult; it meant months of effort to get there. Nevertheless, we put up those posts to check their advance and they did check their advance. In fact, we pushed them back a little. In the NEFA area, we had previously put up our posts at the border or just under it, because one cannot have a highridge post. Even in Thagla pass, our post was two or three miles on this side, but not on the pass itself.

Now, if we accept their proposals, which seems so innocuous; they would retire, they said, up to the McMahon line, but then they add that their idea of McMahon line was different from ours: and it is on this side of the ridge, and we should have to retire from where we are today—another 20 kilometres, that is, leaving about 40 kilometres of territory which was not occupied either by their armies or ours. That is to say, they would have a fixed base on this side of the Thagla pass, an open territory which they can walk across any moment they like. It was impossible for us to agree to. And in Ladakh, it meant our withdrawing still further from where we are, and their not exactly marching immediately, but our facilitating their advance in the future if they want to come. So, we rejected those proposals.

We said there should be a reversion to the 8th September line both in NEFA and in Ladakh. That meant in NEFA not only their going

back but our going forward to those posts that we held, with no vacant space left, and in Ladakh our going back a good way.

Some people say, "How can you say that? You must not negotiate. You must not have any talk with them till you completely push them out from the Indian territory." That is a very good thing. But one does not talk with anybody whom one has defeated completely and pushed out. The question of talks does not arise. If we have gained our objective without talks, the question of talks does not arise. I would suggest to the House to remember that in these matters, one has to take a strong view, but a realistic view. The suggestion that we have made, they have rejected, because it strengthens us and weakens them. What is more, the suggestion we have made about the 8th September line is one which has been appreciated in a great part of the world—non-aligned countries and others—because merely saying that we shall not talk to you till you have confessed defeat is not the kind of suggestion that any country makes to another. So, I hope that the House will realise that what we have suggested is a right suggestion and will support it fully.

Some Members talked about our stating that we are going to liberate Tibet.

श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) : मनसर गांव  
हिन्दस्ताद में है, वहाँ की आबादी हिन्दुस्तान  
है।

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Some others even mentioned—I think the hon. Member who just intervened said something about Mansarovar.

Shri Baghunath Singh (Varanasi):  
Mansar village. (Interruptions).

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Unfortunately, history is not made by men like the hon. Member opposite. It is

really amazing to see that some other Members and others outside talk that we should lay down that we would liberate Tibet. It is a very happy idea if it is liberated. But our undertaking that job at the present moment or at any moment seems to me extraordinary and fantastic and having no relation to reality.

I have said that in a war between India and China, it is patent that if you think in terms of victory and defeat—there might be battles and we might push them back, as we hope to—but if either country thinks in terms of bringing the other to its knees, it manifestly cannot and will not happen. Let us be realistic. Are we going to march to Peking? (*Interruptions.*)

**Shri Priya Gupta** (Katihar): Are we going to allow them to march to Delhi?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru**: I am sorry I cannot enter into an argument. But I appreciate that a war like this cannot be ended as far as I can foresee by surrender by either party. They are two great countries and neither will surrender. Therefore, some way out has to be found to finish the war in terms honourable to us. We have said that we will finish the war when we liberate our own territory which is in their possession. Our saying that we are going to liberate Tibet is a thing which we cannot do; even if we had the atom bomb, we could not do it. It is manifestly absurd to talk about it, and it justifies everything that China has said about it, in the sense . . . (*Interruptions.*)

They have always been saying that their chief grouse against us is that we have been encouraging a revolt and rebellion in Tibet. That is the thing which ultimately turned them against us. If we say that, it will justify their argument, which had no foundation, and give them in international circles and everywhere considerable strength. It will mean our saying something which we cannot

possibly, feasibly do. It is impossible. We have got a big enough task, a tremendous task, which we should realise, to push them back to their own territory from our own country. We are going to do it. It is going to be mighty difficult; it might take us a long time. So, I hope that while we should be strong and determined, as we must be, we must not just for the sake of appearing braver than others say things which are, I regret to use the word, manifestly nonsense.

Now, the resolution I have placed before the House is a fairly comprehensive one. It is a resolution of resolve, of determination and of dedication. I hope, therefore, that in accepting the resolution, as I hope this House will, the House thinks in terms of dedication, not in bombast, not in tall talk, but realising that we have a very difficult task before us we are determined to fulfil it however long it may take and whatever the consequences might be. And, in doing so, we will be heartened by the biggest thing that a country can do and which India has done thus far, and that is, produce this enormous emotional upheaval that we see all over India among man, among women and, perhaps more than all, among children. So, I put forward this resolution before the House in the hope, faith and with the strong determination that all those who are present here and the country will abide by it and will act up to it.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath**: Mr. Speaker, may I by your leave, ask just one question? The Maharajakumar of Sikkim is reported to have said in Darjeeling two days ago that there has been a tremendous Chinese military build-up on Sikkim's borders during the last few days or weeks. Is the Prime Minister in a position to assure the House and the nation, in view of the agreement which India has with Sikkim for the responsibility of its defence, that our army is better prepared to resist the Chinese aggressor in Sikkim than it was, unfortunately, in NEFA a few weeks ago?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I regret, Sir, that such questions are put to me. I will give no assurance of any kind. How can I give assurances. I can give no assurance except that we are taking all measures that we can if such a thing occurs there. How can I give assurances about the future in matters which are determined not by my assurances but by other factors? But I do not think that the Chinese, if they venture to invade and come from Chumbi Valley, will be allowed to come or will find it an easy job.

One thing I have to mention—it is unconnected with this question. I have received today a letter signed by 35 Members of Parliament offering their services to serve anywhere. I am very grateful to those 35 Members and I welcome their offer. I do not quite know how we can immediately profit by it. But I am sure as our organisation progresses work would be found for more and more people in all grades and departments of life.

**श्री रामसेक यादव (दाराबंकी) :**  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मेरे ख्याल से इस वक्त प्रश्न पूछने की जरूरत नहीं है।

**श्री रामसेक यादव :** मेरा प्रश्न यह है कि और जो देश में जोश है उसको देखते हुए देश और हम सभी जानना चाहते हैं कि इस युद्ध का उद्देश्य क्या है यानी लड़ाई कहाँ रुकेगी और क्या यह आदेश दे दिए गए हैं... ( Interruption. ). जहाँ तक चीन आगे बढ़ आया है अगर वह और आगे हमला न करे तो क्या हमारे सिपाही जहाँ हैं वहाँ रुके रहेंगे या आगे बढ़ कर अपना हिस्सा वापस लगे। मेरा सवाल यह है कि यह युद्ध कहाँ रुकेगा। ( Interruption. )

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** इतनी घबराहट माननीय सदस्य ने दिखाएँ। उनके प्रश्न को सुन

ही लिया जाता। इस प्रश्न का उत्तर तो कोई भी नहीं दे सकता।

I shall put the first Resolution regarding the Proclamation of Emergency to the vote of the House first.

The question is:

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

*The motion was adopted.*

**Mr. Speaker:** The Resolution is unanimously adopted. Now, I shall take up the other Resolution.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur):** Sir, I do not wish to press my substitute motion (No. 1) because I feel that the need to strengthen the hands of the hon. Prime Minister at this juncture is imperative and uppermost. I, therefore, crave the leave of the House to withdraw the substitute motion.

**Mr. Speaker:** Has the hon. Member the leave of the House to withdraw his substitute motion?

*The substitute motion was, by leave, withdrawn.*

**Some Hon. Members:** All amendments are withdrawn.

**Shri Surendramath Dwivedy:** In order to record unanimous resolve of the House with the nation's desire to drive out the aggressor and because the hon. Prime Minister has promised to make an enquiry about the state of affairs about our unpreparedness, I do not propose to press my amendment, No. 2.

**Mr. Speaker:** Has the hon. Member the leave of the House to withdraw his amendment?

*Amendment No. 2 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

**Shri Bibhuti Mishra (Motihari):** I withdraw my amendment (No. 20).

**Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur):** In view of what has happened in the House all these four days and in view of the expressions made by the hon. Prime Minister today, I do not think that it is very essential for me to press the amendments (Nos. 7 and 8) moved by me.

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Koppal):** I withdraw the amendment (No. 18) moved by me.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** I unconditionally withdraw my amendment (No. 4).

**Mr. Speaker:** Have these hon. Members the leave of the House to withdraw their amendments?

*Amendments (Nos. 20, 7, 8, 18 and 4) were by leave, withdrawn.*

**Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:** I press my amendment No. 13.

**Several Hon. Members:** Withdraw it.

**Mr. Speaker:** I shall put it to the vote of the House.

The question is: . . .

**Several Hon. Members:** Withdraw it.

**Mr. Speaker:** Does he want to apply second thought to it or should I put it to the vote of the House? . . . I should put it.

The question is:

That for the last paragraph of the resolution, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House declares with hope, confidence and its resolve that India would adopt an independent, effective, constructive policy of neutrality instead of illusory, unprincipled policy

of appeasement India would secure arms at any terms from any country and would continue this war with China till the last inch of Indian territory is cleared of Chinese invaders.

This House deems it necessary to declare that India is engaged in a holy war to recover its own territory from the Chinese hordes after driving them back.” (13).

*The motion was negatived.*

**Shri Ranga:** I press both my amendments (No. 15 and 16).

**Mr. Speaker:** Shall I put both of them together?

**Shri Ranga:** Yes, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** But I find that they will have to be put separately because if they are put together and rejected, there would be misunderstanding. Therefore I will first put amendment No. 15; but if he wants me to put them together, I will not have any objection to it.

**Shri Ranga:** As you please, Sir.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** It is better to put them separately.

**Mr. Speaker:** I will put amendment No. 15 first to the vote of the House.

The question is:

That at the end of the second paragraph of the resolution, the following, be added, namely:—

“and regrets the unpreparedness of the Government to defend the frontiers of India against aggression and invasion.” (15).

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Speaker:** Then amendment No. 16:

“This House gratefully acknowledges and welcomes the moral and material support received from a large number of friendly



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countries, notably U.S.A., U.K. and Canada in this grim hour of struggle against aggression and massive invasion, and trusts that Government will take steps to secure massive support from all friendly countries." (16).

That is already a part of the main Resolution.

**Some Hon. Members:** Withdraw.

**An Hon. Member:** Is it not redundant?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. That already is part of the Resolution.

**Shri Ranga:** A few words of the Original Resolution have been reproduced here. There are additional words which have also been added, that is, "notably U.S.A., U.K. and Canada" and again, later on, "and trusts that Government will take steps to secure massive support from all friendly countries." I do not wish to say anything now at this hour. I have made my speech.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is only that the names of the countries are put there. Otherwise, the paragraph there. . . .

**Shri Ranga:** And also the last part of it

**Mr. Speaker:** "This House gratefully acknowledges the sympathy and the moral and material support received from a large number of friendly countries. . . ."

**Shri Ranga:** That is in the Original Resolution. The additional words I am putting are, "notably U.S.A., U.K. and Canada" and the other thing is there.

**Mr. Speaker:** I would request particularly why should we put in separately only the names of two or three? Others are coming in. Would it not be better. . . .

**Shri Ranga:** If you are going to argue, I am only sorry. . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** I am only putting it to the hon. Member.

**Shri Ranga:** Then, I will have to say something in defence of what I have said.

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no time to say.

**Shri Ranga:** Therefore, I would request you to put it to vote.

**Mr. Speaker:** My difficulty was that it was almost covered by that para.

**Several Hon. Members:** Withdraw. Redundant.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I am arguing with the Member. I feel it is substantially covered by that para.

**Shri Ranga:** I am very much embarrassed by what you are suggesting. Because, I have considered it and in spite of that, we have put these words there. Is it time now for me to argue with you?

**Mr. Speaker:** No, no. I am not arguing. I do not want to argue. The only question is, he wants to put in the names of the countries.

**Shri Ranga:** And also the last sentence.

**Mr. Speaker:** The whole para I am going to put. I am going to put that this amendment be accepted by the House.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh (Parbhani):** I rise to a point of order, Sir. The point is that the amendments of Shri N. G. Ranga are not only included in the Resolution, besides, they are redundant, and that is not allowable under the Rules of Procedure. Therefore, they are out of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** I cannot declare them redundant. It is for him. I do not say they are redundant. Of course, I had said and I had advised him that that para covers most of the objec-

tives that he has in view. If he insists, I will put it to the House.

The question is:

That for the fourth paragraph of the resolution the following be substituted, namely:—

This House gratefully acknowledges and welcomes the moral and material support received from a large number of friendly countries, notably U.S.A., U.K. and Canada in this grim hour of struggle against aggression and massive invasion, and trusts that Government will take steps to secure massive support from all friendly countries." (16).

*The amendment was negatived.*

**Mr. Speaker:** Then, I put the Original Resolution. I need not read the whole of it. There are some other amendments that had been moved, but the Members are not present or they have remained silent and have not withdrawn. I put these amendments: No. 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17 and 19.

**Shri Thirumala Rao** (Kakinada): I withdrew my amendment. I made a statement from here, and perhaps you did not hear me.

**Mr. Speaker:** Yours is No. 19. Amendment No. 19 is withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 19 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

**Mr. Speaker:** I shall now put the others that remain.

**Shri Ram Ratan Gupta** (Gonda): I have already withdrawn my amendment No. 12. I have said that.

*Amendment No. 12, was, by leave, withdrawn.*

**Mr. Speaker:** I shall now put all the other amendments, viz, 5, 6, 10, 11, 14 and 17.

*The amendments were put and negatived.*

**Mr. Speaker:** Then, the Resolution we have before us now. Further, the hon. Prime Minister has just now mentioned that 35 of the Members of our House have offered their services to the Prime Minister to be used in any manner.

**Several Hon. Members:** All of us.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is what I want to convey to him, that not 35 Members but all the Members here are offering their services.

Therefore, after reading this resolution, I shall request hon. Members to stand up and pass this resolution in a mood of reverence and that faith which is required in this resolution so that we might really show that we are dedicated to carry out all the pledges that have been made in this resolution.

Now, I shall read out the resolution.

The question is:

"This House notes with deep regret that, in spite of the uniform gestures of goodwill and friendship by India, towards the People's Government of China on the basis of recognition of each other's independence, non-aggression and non-interference, and peaceful co-existence, China has betrayed this goodwill and friendship and the principles of Panch-sheel which had been agreed to between the two countries and has committed aggression and initiated a massive invasion of India by her armed forces.

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

This House also records its profound appreciation of the wonder

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

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

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

*The Resolution was adopted unanimously, all Members standing.*

**Mr. Speaker:** The resolution is unanimously adopted, and everybody realises now and is conscious of the responsibilities that he has undertaken, and I hope he would discharge it.

17:39½ hrs.

RE: PAPERS TO BE LAID ON THE TABLE

**Mr. Speaker:** Now there are some papers to be laid on the Table.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath** (Hoshangabad): I think that would be an anti-climax.

**The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai):** But that has to be done today.

**Mr. Speaker:** I also think that after this resolution we should not transact any other business but we should disperse now.

17:40 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, November 15, 1962/Kartika 24, 1884 (Saka).*