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Monday, November 12, 1962
Kartika 21, 1884 (Saka)

LOK SABHA DEBATES

**Third Session
(Third Lok Sabha)**



**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
New Delhi**

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LOK SABHA

Monday, November 12, 1962 / Kartika
21, 1884 (Saka).

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the
Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Rise in Prices

+
Shri P. C. Borooh:
Shri Mohan Swarup:
Shri D. C. Sharma:
Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:
Shri Jagdev Singh
Siddhanti:
Shri Ram Ratan Gupta:
Shri Rameshwar Tantia:
Dr. L. M. Singhvi:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri Bibhuti Mishra:
Shri B. K. Das:
Shri S. C. Samanta:
Shri Subodh Hansda:
Dr. P. Mandal:
Shri S. M. Banerjee:
Shri N. R. Laskar:
Shri M. L. Dwivedi:
Shrimati Savitri Nigam:
Shrimati Renuka Ray:
Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:
Shri Vasudevan Nair:
*129. Shri Kolla Venkalah:
Shri R. G. Dubey:
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:
Shri Daji:
Shrimati Maimoona Sultan:
Shri Mohsin:
Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:
Shri Bhakt Darshan:
Shri S. B. Patil:
Shri M. K. Kumaran:
Shri Kajrolkar:

2033 (Ai) LS—1.

Shri Tridib Kumar
Chaudhuri:
Shri Hem Raj:
Shri Yallamanda Reddy:
Shri Bishan Chander Seth:
Shri A. N. Vidyalankar:
Shri Tan Singh:
Shri Warior:
Shri P. K. Deo:
Maharajkumar Vijaya
Ananda:
Shri Maheswar Naik:

Will the Minister of Planning be
pleased to state:

(a) whether the Planning Commis-
sion has decided to return to the
scheme of licensing wholesale dealers
in essential commodities as a step to
check rise in prices;

(b) if so, what steps have been
taken in pursuance of this decision;
and

(c) what other measures have been
evolved by the Commission to arrest
the rise in prices of essential com-
modities?

The Deputy Minister in the Minis-
try of Labour and Employment and
for Planning (Shri C. R. Pattabhi
Raman): (a) to (c). Attention is
invited to the Statement placed on
the Table of the Lok Sabha on
November 10, 1962.

Shri P. C. Borooh: May I know
whether any specific measures have
been taken by the Government to
check the rise in prices in border
States and to regulate and maintain
the supply to the border States?

Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman: All
these are measures which are being
examined and steps are taken as and
when they become necessary.

Shri Rameshwar Tantia: The Minister of Planning, Labour and Employment declared in the House on the 10th November, 1962 that a high level committee would be appointed to hold the price-line. May I know what will be the composition of the Committee and whether it will include any non-official members?

Mr. Speaker: Why should he anticipate it? Government will do all that in time.

श्री विभूति निष्ठा: क्या सरकार ने खास कर इस इमरजेंसी में मिट्टी के तेल के दाम न बढ़ने देने के लिये कोई कदम उठाए हैं?

अध्यक्ष महोदय: जो मेजर सरकार ने लिए हैं वे तो सुना दिए गए हैं।

The Minister of Planning and Labour and Employment (Shri Nanda): I have also indicated that further consideration is being given to other articles which are not included in that statement.

श्री म. स. द्विवेदी: मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि मन्त्री महोदय ने जो प्राइस कप्ट्रोल के सम्बन्ध में घोषणा की थी उसके परिपालन के लिये क्या व्यवस्था बनायी गयी है, और वह कब तक अमल में आ जाएगी?

श्री नन्दा: अमल में लाने के लिये आगे ही कदम उठाया जा चुका है।

Shri D. C. Sharma: May I know what steps will the Government take to control the retail prices of consumer goods?

Shri Nanda: In that statement, I set out certain proposals for the establishment of central stores and primary consumers' stores. That is one of the measures. It was also indicated that the retail dealers will be asked to display the prices of the commodities which are sold in the shops. There are other measures also.

श्री भृत दश्मनः: माननीय मन्त्री जी ने परसों विवरण सभा पटल पर रखा था;

उसमें बताया गया था कि एक कमेटी नियुक्त की जा रही है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह कमेटी केवल सिफारिश करेगी या इसे कोई निर्णय लेने का अधिकार भी दिया जाएगा?

श्री नन्दा: निर्णय तो कैबीनेट ही कर सकती है, उसकी तो सिफारिशें ही होंगी।

Shri S. C. Samanta: From the statement, I find that the stores will be opened mostly in towns. May I know what arrangements have been made for the rural areas?

Shri Nanda: In the rural areas, the problem is not of the same kind. These shops will not necessarily be in very big cities or very large towns. They can also be in smaller towns.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: From the statement it appears that the Minister is very optimistic about the response from trade and industry regarding prices. In view of the past experience in other countries....

Mr. Speaker: Is she going to give a pessimistic point about it?

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I mean the forward areas, particularly in border areas like Assam and West Bengal. Would it not be necessary to take effective measures immediately to prevent the sort of things that might take place?

Mr. Speaker: That is a suggestion for action.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I want to know if any steps are being taken.

Mr. Speaker: The first question that was put is a suggestion. Now, the question whether any steps are being taken may be answered.

Shri Nanda: The steps to be taken will be necessarily in proportion to the need. Since the need is greater there, certainly more intensive steps will be taken.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: What steps have been taken to keep sufficient stocks in the frontier areas to keep the prices down?

Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman: Sufficient stocks are being kept in places where there are godowns. In regard to the wholesale shops, wholesale and central stores will cover every town with a population of one lakh or more.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : क्या मैं यह जान सकता हूँ कि क्या यह सरकार की जानकारी में है कि मोटर पार्ट्स विशेषकर जीप्स और ट्रक्स के पार्ट्स.....

अध्यक्ष महोदय : तफसील में जाने की जरूरत नहीं है। आप प्राइस कंप्लोल के बारे में जनरली सवाल कर सकते हैं। अगर एक-एक चीज के बारे में सवाल करेंगे तो बहुः लम्बा हो जाएगा।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : इस संकट काल में इन चीजों के भाव १०० गुने और १५० गुने बढ़ गए हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : ऐसी कोई चीजें हो सकती हैं।

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: The hon. Minister is reported to have stated that the Bharat Sevak Samaj will be used to smash profiteering. May I know what the Bharat Sevak Samaj has done in this matter and how it is geared up for this purpose?

Shri Nanda: I welcome this opportunity to clear some things which are not true at all. Any reports might appear in the papers. Reverting to the earlier question, about the pessimistic view of what is going to happen, I had said that action should be taken against the profiteers and blackmarketeers. That was misinterpreted in certain quarters. There is no question of either pessimism or optimism. We must take action suited to the conditions.

Shri Warior: May I know whether, apart from the Central Government's action, the State Governments have taken any action and reported it to the Centre, namely, about the rise in prices and measures to check it?

Shri Nanda: The State Governments necessarily have to put the policies into operation in their own areas.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: One of the causes that lead to a rise in price is the speculation in foodgrains. May I know whether the Government is going to stop speculation in foodgrains?

Shri Nanda: These are other aspects of price policy which are certainly going to be carried out.

श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धांती : क्या सरकार को इस तंत्रा का बोध है, नाम चाहे न बताएं, कि किस पदार्थ की कीमत बढ़ी है और उसको रोकने का क्या उपाय जारी है?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जो उपाय किए गए हैं वे बताएं गए।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स के मात्रातः कितने मुनाफाखोरों को पकड़ा गया?

(कोई उत्तर नहीं दिया गया)

M.Ps' Delegation to Ladakh

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Shri Ram Ratan Gupta:
Shri Rameshwar Tantia:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri P. K. Deo:
Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:
Shri Jagdev Singh
Siddhanti:
Shri D. C. Sharma:
Shri Hem Barua:
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:
Shri Kajroli:
Shri Y. D. Singh:
Shri P. Venkatasubbalah
Shri Lakhmu Bhawani:

*130. Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether any Parliamentary

Delegation visited Ladakh in the second week of September, 1962; and

(b) if so, whether they have submitted any report to Government?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) No, Sir.

Shri Ram Ratan Gupta: I do not understand how this answer—"Yes, Sir" and "No, Sir" will serve the purpose.

Mr. Speaker: That is entering into argument. The answer has been given: "(a) Yes, Sir". "(b) No, Sir".

Shri Ram Ratan Gupta: But I do not think there is any significance—there is not much significance—in such an answer to this question in view of the recent developments there.

Mr. Speaker: Has he any supplementary to be put now?—Obviously not. **Shri D. N. Tiwary.**

Shri D. N. Tiwary: May I know whether it is a fact that the parliamentary delegation was not allowed to visit certain places there and, if so, why?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: They wanted to visit some forward posts in that area and that was not physically possible, because the nearest post is several days' march from Leh.

Shri Rameshwar Tantia: May I know whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the fact that some of the members of the delegation made statements that they were not allowed the facilities and, if so, whether it is necessary or proper at this time of emergency, to send a delegation and get such statements?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: The Government have seen some statements issued by the members of the delegation, but they have not sent any report or made any complaints whatever to the Government.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: May I know whether before the delegation started, any programme had been drawn up regarding the places they were to see and, if so, whether there has been any variance in regard to the actual spots visited?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: The object of the tour was to indicate to the delegation the nature of terrain, the logistic problems that the Indian army was facing as well as to show the development work in the field of agriculture, afforestation, education, health and industry in that area.

Shrimati Savitri Nigam: May I know whether the leader of the delegation has made certain recommendations in a letter which he has submitted to the External Affairs Ministry?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I have already stated that no report has been submitted.

श्री यशपाल सिंह : संसदीय मण्डल को पूरी जगह देखने नहीं दी गयी। और प.ले हैं यह बता दिया जाता तो देश का हजारों रुपया खंच होने से बच जाता।

प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य, प्रतिरक्षा तथा अनुशक्ति मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नहरू) : मैंने तो साफ साफ कह दिया था कि अच्छा है, आप लोग जाएं, लेकिन लेह तक तो जा सकेंगे, उससे आगे जाना दुश्वार होगा।

Shri Hem Barua: May I know if it is a fact that the Defence Ministry was particularly careful about hiding facts about our poor defence preparations in Ladakh from the M.P.s. delegation and, if so, why was the delegation arranged at all?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): The Defence Ministry was particularly careful about hiding—I do not understand.

Mr. Speaker: About the unpreparedness.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member's question presumes many things which are not correct. They were not unprepared in Ladakh. They were as prepared as could be in the circumstances. But it is obvious that the military takes exception to people going about in their actual forward positions, apart from the difficulties of reaching there. This is what my colleague said. It is 5 or 6 days' march there, and difficult march. We do not take anybody by air except the very essential few military people and supplies. Nobody else is taken there in the forward posts. There is some danger too from enemy firing and otherwise too. They do not land there, only air-dropping takes place there.

श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती : क्या इस संसदीय प्रतिनिधि मण्डल में कोई संसद् सदस्य ऐसे भी थे जो कि मिलेटरी के अन्दर पहले सेवा कर चुके हों ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : संसद् सदस्य इसमें देखे गये थे ।

Shri Narendrasingh Mahida: May I know whether a small delegation of Members of Parliament will be allowed to visit Ladakh or NEFA?

Mr. Speaker: That is a suggestion.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : यह जो संसदीय प्रतिनिधि मण्डल लद्दाख के उस क्षेत्र को देखने गया था उसके लिये क्या संसद् के सदस्यों ने सरकार से अनुरोध किया था, यदि किया था तो क्या उन्होंने स्थान विशेष देखने या कुछ जानकारी लेने का अनुरोध किया था अथवा सरकार ने उनको अपनी ओर से भेजा था ?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : यह मुझे याद नहीं कि किस ने अनुरोध किया था और किस ने नहीं लेकिन इतना जरूर है कि मेरे पास दो, चार संसद् सदस्यों के खत आय थे कि वह लद्दाख में या फण्ट पर जाना चाहते हैं ठीक ठीक मुझे याद नहीं कि क्या उनके शब्द ।

उसका इन्तजाम किया गया । उनसे कह दिया गया कि वहां ले जायेंगे लेकिन बिलकुल फण्ट पर वहां ले जाना दुम्वार होगा अलवत्ता जो हमारे वहां पर मिलेटरी बेस और कैम्प हैं उनको वे देख लें ।

Alloy and Special Steel Plant

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*131. { **Shri Yashpal Singh:**
Shri Rameshwar Tantia:
Shri Ram Ratan Gupta:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) the progress made so far for the establishment of an Alloy and Special Steel Plant in the Defence Sector; and

(b) the estimated expenditure to be incurred on this project?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah): (a) Government have sanctioned the establishment of an Alloy and Special Steel Plant in the Defence sector. The tenders for plant and machinery will be issued shortly.

(b) The expenditure on the project has been estimated at about 21 crores.

श्री यशपाल सिंह : क्या काम को एक्स-पैडाइट करने के लिये वहां बार लेवल पर वर्क शुरू कर दिया गया है ?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah): We are doing everything possible to expedite the implementation of the project.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: In reply to a previous question the hon. Minister stated that this proposed factory of alloy and special steel was to be established in Kanpur. May I know whether that decision remains unchanged or the place will be changed?

Shri Raghuramaiah: The exact place or location of the factory has not yet been decided. That is one of the things which we are now very urgently considering.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Is it proposed to commission the existing units in this country to produce alloy and special steel for our defence needs in any large measure?

Shri RaghuRamaiah: Our existing metal and steel factory, Ishapore, is itself being expanded. There is a scheme to expand that so that part of the necessary capacity can be arranged there also.

Shri Rameshwar Tantia: May I know whether at the present time it is necessary to establish such alloy and special steel plant instead of raising more armaments for our defence?

Shri RaghuRamaiah: All the steel will be required for our own defence purposes. It is true that the Planning Commission, when they allotted this extra 50,000 tons to this, have also taken the civil requirements into account. But now, Sir, I presume that the Planning Commission and the Defence Ministry will have to sit together and decide what other additional capacity, if any, has to be provided. But I can assure you that all that we are now putting into this is for defence.

Shri Shivananjappa: There was a proposal to manufacture special steel and alloy at the Mysore Iron and Steel Works, Bhadravati. I want to know the progress made in that direction?

Mr. Speaker: That is a different thing altogether.

Shri Ram Ratan Gupta: In view of the urgency of the situation, will the hon. Minister be pleased to inform the House how long he expects it will take to finalise the scheme and put the plant into actual working?

Shri RaghuRamaiah: I have already stated that we are calling for tenders very soon. The previous assumption was that it would take three to four years for the plant to go into production. We shall do everything to expedite it as quickly as possible in view of the emergency.

प.किस्त.फ़िर्यों द्वारा वायुसीमा का उलंघन

*१३२. श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : क्या प्रधान मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि भारतीय वायु सीमा का पिछले तीन मास में कितनी बार पाकिस्तानी विमानों द्वारा अतिक्रमण किया गया ?

प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य-मंत्री (श्री रघुरामेया) : एक विवरण सभा पटल पर रख दिया गया है। [देखिये परिशिष्ट १, अनुबन्ध संख्या २७]

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब इतना समय बीत जाने पर माननीय सदस्यों से इतनी तो आशा की जा सकती है कि हर कोई एक विवरण सभा पटल पर रख दिया गया है इतनी हिन्दी समझ ले।

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि संसद् के पिछले अधिवेशन में जैसा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह घोषणा की थी कि पाकिस्तान का कोई भी विमान अगर हमारे क्षेत्र में आयगा तो हम उसको मार कर गिराने की नीत नहीं रखते, तो क्या संकट काल की स्थिति में सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से कुछ विशेष व्यवस्थाएं की गई हैं अथवा पहले की ही नीति पर भारत सरकार दृढ़ है ?

प्रधान मंत्री तथा विदेशीक कार्य, प्रतिरक्षा तथा अनुशङ्खित मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : आम तौर से जो लड़ाई के हवाई जहाज होते हैं उनको तो गिराने का हक है लेकिन जो लड़ाई के न हों उनमें जरा ज़िक्क क होती है। यह सही है कि पाकिस्तान में एक या दो वर्ष हुए एक हमारे हवाई जहाज को गिरा दिया था और आप को याद होगा कि हमने यह आर्डर इश्यु किया हुआ है कि कोई अगर लड़ाई का हवाई जहाज मालूम हो तो उसका पौछा किया जाय और उसको गिरा दिया जाय। लेकिन आम तौर से जो हवाई जहाज आते हैं वह मुश्किल से दो, चार मिनट

रहते हैं क्योंकि वह ४००-५०० मील की रफ्तार से चलते हैं और उनको पकड़ना आसान नहीं होता है या तो अब सैकड़ों हमारे हवाई जहाज हवा में उनका पीछा करने के लिये हों। ऐसे उनका पकड़ना आसान नहीं है, दो, चार बिनट रह कर निकल जाते हैं।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री: क्या पाकिस्तान के जो विमान इस बीच में हमारे क्षेत्र में उड़े हैं वे विशेष कर क्या उन क्षेत्रों में उड़े हैं जहां हमारे सैनिक अड्डे ये और उनकी जानकारी लेने के लिये और उनको तस्वीरें आदि लेने के लिए आये थे?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वह ज्यादातर कश्मीर की सीज़ फायर लाइनके इवर उड़े हैं और जाहिर है कि वे कुछ न कुछ देखने के लिये उड़े होंगे।

Shri D. C. Sharma: From the statement I find that these air violations have occurred in places which are very near our border—Tithwal, Amritsar, Atari etc. May I know if any steps have been taken to see to it that they do not come so near as Amritsar, Atari and Tithwal?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what steps can be taken except to be ready for them and try to shoot them down.

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी: बयान से मालूम पड़ता है कि लड़ाई बन्दी रेखा के इस तरफ भी पाकिस्तानी हवाई जहाज आये और दूसरी जगह भी ६ उन्होंने हमले किये, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस सम्बन्ध में जो दो घटनाएं हुई हैं उनमें हम ने प्रोटैस्ट भी पेश नहीं किया है, सितम्बर से अब तक नहीं किया है, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस विलम्ब का क्या कारण है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैं इस के बारे में बगैर दरराख़त किये जवाब नहीं दे सकता।

Indian Settlers in Ceylon

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| Shri Bibhuti Mishra: |
| Shri P. K. Deo: |
| Shri Prakash Vir Shastri: |
| Shri Jagdev Singh Siddhanti: |
| Shri D. N. Tiwary: |
| Shri Bishanchander Seth: |
| Shri Yashpal Singh: |
| Shri K. N. Tiwary: |
| Shri P. C. Borooah: |
| Shri Maheswar Naik: |
| Dr. L. M. Singhvi: |
| Shri Yallamanda Reddy: |
| Shrimati Savitri Nigam: |

*133.

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that during his visit to Ceylon he had talks with the Prime Minister of Ceylon on problem of Indian settlers rendered Stateless by Ceylonese citizenship laws; and

(b) if so, the result of the talk?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The talk was brief and of a general nature. Further discussions at official level are envisaged.

श्री विभूति मिश्र : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारे भारतीय सीलोन में बसे हुए हैं और स्टेटलैस सिटीजन की हालत में हैं उन्हें स्टेट का सिटीजन बनाने के बारे में जो बातचीत हुई है उसमें कितनी प्रगति हुई है?

श्री दिनेश सिंह : उन्हीं के बारे में बातचीत हुई है और जैसा मैंने अभी अर्ज किया कि इस सिलसिले में जो हमारे अफसर हैं वे और बातें अभी कर रहे हैं।

श्री विभूति मिश्र : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो बातचीत की उससे कहां तक यह मालूम पड़ता है कि यह जो हिन्दुस्तान के बाशिन्दे वहां पर हैं उन्हें स्टेट सिटीजन बनाया जायगा और अन्य सम्बन्धित अधिकार मिलेंगे?

श्री दिनेश सिंह : बातें अभी चल ही रही हैं अभी वे खत्म नहीं हुई हैं।

श्री विभूति मिश्र : प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो बातचीत की उस बातचीत से हमें क्या आभास मिलता है और आशा होती है?

प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य, प्रतिरक्षा, तथा अणुशक्ति मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : माननीय सदस्य यह याद रखें कि यह जो लोग हैं वहां हमारी राय में सीलोन के नागरिक हैं वह हमारे नहीं हैं। वह वहीं पैदा हुए उनके बाप दादे सिर्फ यहां पैदा हुए थे इसलिये यह सीलोन गवर्नरेंट का काम है कि उनकी रक्षा करे और उनके जो नागरिकों के अधिकार होते हैं वह उन को दे। अब वह चाहते हैं उनको यहां भेज देना सबों को या बहुतों को, इस पर हमने कहा है कि जो लोग बगैर किसी दबाव के खुशी से आना चाहते हैं और हमारे विवान को पूरा करते हैं वे आ सकते हैं लेकिन हमें यह स्वीकार नहीं है कि वह यहां जबरदस्ती और बगैर उनकी मर्जी के भेजे जायें इस पर बहस होती है कि क्या ढंग निकाला जाये, क्या नहीं। हमें यह मंजूर है कि किसी किस्म की कोई जबरदस्ती न हो। जो वहां से आना चाहें, वे आ जायें, हम उन को लेंगे और जो वहां रहना चाहें, वे वहां रहें। लेकिन वे हमारे नागरिक नहीं हैं। उनके बाप-दादे भारत से निकले थे, वह और बात है।

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: May I know whether the hon. Prime Minister realised that by a legislative fiat these Ceylonese of Indian origin have been rendered Stateless and whether it has been proposed to set up any specific machinery for conciliation between these two States on this question on any agreed terms of reference?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: These questions cannot be dealt with by any official machinery by itself unless first the principles are settled by the

two Governments. The machinery is there; there are our High Commission, our agents and others who discuss with those people.

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री जी जब लंका गए थे, तो लंका के प्रमुख अधिकारियों से बातचीत करने के अतिरिक्त, जिन भारतीय नागरिकों की यह समस्या है, उनमें से भी कुछ प्रधान मंत्री जी से मिले थे और क्या उन्होंने अपनी कुछ कठिनाइयों का विवरण उन को दिया था?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मैं फिर अर्ज करूँगा कि भारतीय नागरिकों का सवाल नहीं है। थोड़ा सा है इधर उधर। वह तो दूसरा सवाल है। यह तो उन लोगों का सवाल है, जिनके बाप-दादा वहां पर गए थे। और जो कानून के मुताबिक हमारे नागरिक नहीं रहे। वे सीलोन के नागरिक होने चाहिये। लेकिन सीलोन वालों ने कुछ थोड़े से लोगों को, शायद तीस चालीस हजार को, नागरिक बनाया है। लेकिन सात लाख के करीब अभी बाकी हैं। और कुछ हमने बनाए, जो स्टेटलेस लोग कहलाते हैं, जो कहीं के नागरिक नहीं हैं। हमारा कहना या—मैं फिर दोहराता हूँ—कि उनमें से जो लोग खुशी से और बगैर दबाव के यहां आना चाहें, उनको हम ले लेंगे, अगर वे हमारे कांस्टीट्युशन के हिसाब से हमारे नागरिक हो सकते हैं। हम कहते हैं कि बाकियों का वे प्रबन्ध करें।

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा प्रश्न यह था कि जो राज्य-विहीन लोग वहां पर हैं, क्या उनके प्रतिनिधि भी प्रधान मंत्री जी से मिले थे।

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जो हमारे नागरिक हैं?

Mr. Speaker: Did any of the Stateless persons interview the hon. Prime Minister when he was there?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : वह तो मुझे याद नहीं है। लेकिन ज्यादातर ये लोग वहां

एस्टेट लेबर हैं और उनकी ट्रेड यूनियन्ज हैं। उन ट्रेड यूनियन्ज के अधिकारी मिले थे।

Shri Hem Barua: In view of Ceylon's decision to reserve jobs for the Ceylonese, may I know whether the problem of security of employment for the so-called Stateless persons of Indian origin in Ceylon was specifically discussed between the two Prime Ministers and, if so, with what effect?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: A great majority of the Stateless persons are at present employed in the estates. The question was not discussed but it was casually referred to that if any of them is removed from their employment some other employment should be given to them.

Shri Warior: May I know whether the Ceylon Government is agreeable to retain these Stateless persons until a final agreement with the Government of India is arrived at? Instead of repatriating them to India will they be allowed to remain there until a final settlement with the Government of India is arrived at?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: They are there now and they cannot easily send them to India till we allow them to come back. Our position is that we will take back any person who fulfils the qualifications and chooses to come here without compulsion.

Shrimati Savitri Nigam: The hon. Prime Minister has just now stated that those people who are ready to come willingly could come here. I would like to know whether the Ceylonese Government is going to allow them to bring their assets and in what other way the Ceylonese Government is going to help them if they are willing to come.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what inducements the Ceylon Government may give them or in what other way they can help them. That is for the Ceylon Government to decide. As for us, we have stated that we will accept any person who

fulfils our Constitutional requirements and decides without pressure to come here. That is the position. I suppose, the Ceylon Government would give them facilities for that purpose where it arises.

Shrimati Savitri Nigam: I want to know whether the Ceylon Government would allow them to bring back their assets along with them or not.

Mr. Speaker: That has been answered. Next question.

Escape of Naga Leaders to London

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| Shri Surendra Pal Singh: | Shri S. M. Banerjee: |
| Shri Daji: | Shri P. C. Borooah: |
| Shri Yashpal Singh: | Shrimati Savitri Nigam: |
| Shri Vasudevan Nair: | Shri Mohsin: |
| *134. Shri S. B. Patil: | Shri Kapur Singh: |
| Shri Kajrolkar: | Shri P. K. Ghosh: |
| Shri Indrajit Gupta: | Shri Renu |
| Shri P. K. Deo: | Chakravarty: |
| Shrimati Renu | Shri Sarjoo Pandey: |
| Sonavane: | |

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether in September 1962, the Government of U.K. permitted the four Naga campaigners for "Independence" to enter Britain; and

(b) if so, what are the reactions of the Government of India thereto?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes.

(b) Before the four Indian Nagas were allowed to enter the U.K., our High Commission in London informed the U.K. authorities that if the U.K. authorities decided to permit these Nagas to enter the U.K., on the basis of identification papers issued to them by any other country, in full knowledge of the fact that they were Indian

citizens, we would regard it as an unfriendly act on the part of the British Government.

The U.K. authorities informed our High Commission that they accepted our High Commission's statement as to the place of birth of these persons and this statement established that under British laws, they were Commonwealth citizens. As such, they had a right to enter the U.K. under the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962, since they had sufficient funds to support themselves as visitors in the U.K.

It was clarified in a press statement issued by our High Commission that the only Commonwealth country of which these Nagas could be citizens was India and that they had been allowed entry into U.K. as Commonwealth citizens on the basis of their Indian citizenship.

Shri Surendra Pal Singh: Did these rebel Naga leaders seek an interview with our Prime Minister when he was in London in September last?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): No, Sir; there was no such proposal.

Shri Surendra Pal Singh: May I know the significance of this term 'Commonwealth citizenship'? When they were not recognised as Indian citizens, how is it that they were admitted into the United Kingdom as Commonwealth citizens? May we have a clarification about that?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The U.K. Government did recognise them as Indian citizens.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I want to know whether it is a fact that these four Naga leaders went to meet Mr. Phizo to enable him to raise the issue of Nagaland in the United Nations with the help of certain countries and, if so, whether these people have come back. Do you know anything about their activities?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: They are

still in London. They have not gone to the United Nations.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Sir, it came out in the newspapers that these four Naga leaders went to London to meet Mr. Phizo and to enable him to raise this question of Nagaland, that is, his conception of Nagaland, in the United Nations with the help of certain countries. I want to know whether they are still there or whether they have come back. What is our source of information?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: All the four are in London. They did not go to the United States.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Mr. Phizo was also in London at that time.

Mr. Speaker: If these four and Mr. Phizo are there they might be meeting there. How can we know about that?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I never mentioned United Nations at all.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I want to know whether it is a fact, as has been reported in the press, that after they had been allowed to enter Britain these Nagas issued a statement saying that they were not Indian citizens. In that case what is the position that the British Government took up? Although they may be Commonwealth citizens, want to know whether they can enter Britain without any kind of a passport and then make a declaration denying that they are Indian citizens.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a question which can only be considered by the U.K. Government. The UK Government stated that they can only allow them to enter in their capacity as Commonwealth citizens which they derive from being citizens of India. They said that. It may be as the hon. Member says, that these people denied that. We pointed out even after that that they can only be considered as Indian citizens.

श्री बेरबा : क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि कि चीनी हमले के सम्बन्ध में इन नागा नेताओं की क्या प्रतिक्रिया देखी गई है ?

प्रध्यक्ष महोदय : जो चार बहाँ हैं, उन की, या सब नागरिकों की, जो यहाँ पर हैं?

श्री बेरवा : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो नाग नेता यहाँ पर हैं, चीनी हमले के सम्बन्ध में उनकी क्या प्रतिक्रिया देखी गई है। वे भारत के साथ हैं या विरुद्ध?

Mr. Speaker: That is a different question.

श्री कद्यवाय : श्रीमन्, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस समय कितने नाग विद्रोही इंग्लैण्ड में हैं।

Shri Hem Barua: May I know if the Government is aware of the fact that these Naga leaders in London are taking up their anti-Indian campaign anew and that the Daily Express is helping them by publishing their charges against India? If so, may I know whether the Government has brought this to the notice of the U.K. Government?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no particular knowledge of their propaganda activities there through the Daily Express. It is quite likely they are doing it. They have nothing else to do except to try to do propaganda as their course. But, I do not know whether the particular attention of the U.K. Government has been drawn to this or not.

Shri Sonavane: In view of these hostile Nagas working in Britain, has our High Commissioner been instructed to keep a watch on their activities so that we may be kept informed?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is the business of the High Commissioner to find out and report to us what these people are doing.

Shri Hem Barua: Has he?

Shri Basumatari: May I know what steps the Government will take against these Naga hostiles when they want to return?

Mr. Speaker: That would be hypothetical.

Shrimati Savitri Nigam: It was widely publicised that these Naga hostiles have refused to say that they are Indian citizens and they did not have any travel papers or any passport. May I know whether the Indian Government has ever enquired from the U.K. Government on what basis they were recognised as Indian citizens?

Mr. Speaker: That has already been answered: Next question.

Film Based on "Nine Hours to Rama"

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*135. { **Shri D. C. Sharma:**
Shri Warior:
Shri P. K. Deo:

Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is proposed to ban the film based on the book "Nine Hours to Rama"; and

(b) if so, the details thereof?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. B. Gopala Reddi):

(a) The Board of Film Censors has not so far received any application for sanctioning the film for public exhibition in India.

(b) Does not arise.

Shri D. C. Sharma: May I know if any facilities were provided to the producers of this film in India and if so what kind of facilities were provided?

Dr. B. Gopala Reddi: This question was answered several times. Various departments were asked.

Shri D. C. Sharma: There is no harm in answering once again.

Mr. Speaker: There is some harm. If it has been answered so many times here, then they need not be repeated.

Shri D. C. Sharma: What I mean to say is, whether the hon. Minister.....

Mr. Speaker: It would have saved us some time if the answer had been given.

Dr. B. Gopala Reddi: The Union Public Service Commission were asked to give their premises for putting their film. The Minister of Finance was asked to give some facilities. The President's Secretariat, the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry of Defence, the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports, all these departments were asked to give some facilities; the Government of Maharashtra also.

Shri D. C. Sharma: This book has been banned. The film was produced in India. I think our country, perhaps the Information Department also helped them. May I know whether the Information and Broadcasting Ministry on its own is going to ban the exhibition of the film or not?

Dr. B. Gopala Reddi: We are awaiting their application for censorship. When we get it, we shall see what will have to be done. Why should we anticipate what is going to be done?

Shri Warior: May I know whether the Government did scrutinise the script before it was allowed to be filmed in India and if so who scrutinised it?

Dr. B. Gopala Reddi: This was cursorily scrutinised some time ago. It is not the script that matters. There are many things that matter in censoring a film.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Is the Government aware that after the book has been banned, it is still being sold in various Railway book stalls?

Mr. Speaker: We are talking about the film.

Dr. B. Gopala Reddi: I have no information. It is for the Home Ministry.

Shri Hem Barua: In view of the fact that this book particularly which has been banned, which I had the privilege to read, contains certain passages that go against India and all that, how far it is true to say as some people have said that this film is a departure from the book and may I know whether the Government is sure about it?

Dr. B. Gopala Reddi: As I have said, we have to see the picture before we can declare whether it is objectionable or not. It has not been shown to us so far. It has been shown to the High Commission in London.

डॉ गोविन्द वास : जहां तक इस पुस्तक और इस फ़िल्म का सम्बन्ध है, भारतीय जनता की जो भावनाएँ हैं, व क्या सरकार को मालूम हैं और अगर मालूम हैं तो इस सम्बन्ध में अभी तक कोई दरखावात न आने पर भी, सरकार इस फ़िल्म के बारे में गम्भीरता से विचार कर रही है और कोई निर्णय लेने जा रही है?

Dr. B. Gopala Reddi: We are asking the producers to show it to us when we can pass judgment about the film. They have not yet shown it to us. They have not made application to us so far.

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : भारत सरकार को इस बात का पता है कि यह फ़िल्म "नाइन आवर्ज टू रामा" पुस्तक के आधार पर बनाई गई है और यह पुस्तक निश्चित रूप से भारतीय जनता की भावनाओं को आधार पहुंचाती है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या फ़िल्म निर्माताओं के देश के राज्य से सरकार ने यह प्रायंना की कि वह फ़िल्म भारत सरकार को दिखाय ताकि सरकार उस पर आपत्ति कर सके और फ़िल्म का दिखाया जाना संसार भर में बन्द किया जा सके?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : बार बार उन्होंने कहा है कि सरकार देख रही है.....

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : मैंने दूसरा सवाल किया है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि वहां की

सरकार को हमारी सरकार ने क्या कुछ लिखा है कि वह फिल्म दिखाई जाए हमारी सरकार को ? वह तो कह रहे हैं कि जब सेंसर बोर्ड के पास आएगी तब इसकी जांच होगी । लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि सरकार ने क्या कोई प्रारंभना उनसे की है ?

Dr. B. Gopala Reddi: We have definitely asked the producers to show it to us before they release it to the world: not only to India, but to outside countries also.

Shri Fatehsinhrao Gaekwad: May I know the grounds on which a film can be banned after the script has been approved by the Government?

Mr. Speaker: That must be contained in some literature available to the Members.

Dr. B. Gopala Reddi: The script might be approved. It does not mean that it has passed through the censors. There are so many things which have to be approved by the censors.

Mr. Speaker: He wants to know the grounds on which the film can be banned.

Dr. B. Gopala Reddi: It is not factual. It is outside the realm of facts. It might be some glorification of Godse perhaps. All these things have to be scrutinised.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

प्रणृशक्ति केन्द्र

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श्री भक्त दशन :

श्री भगवत ज्ञा आजाद :

श्री हरिश्चन्द्र मायुर :

डा० लक्ष्मी मल्ल तिथ्याई :

श्री मोहसिन :

१३६. श्री सं० ब० पाटिल :

श्री यशपाल सिंह :

महाराजकुमार विजय प्रानन्द :

श्री वारियर :

श्री विश्वन चंद्र सेठ :

श्री प्र० क० डेव :

क्या प्रधान मंत्री ६ अगस्त, १९६२ के अतारांकित प्रश्न संख्या ३६२ के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि ह्यात कमेटी ने दिल्ली-पंजाब राजस्थान उत्तर प्रदेश के क्षेत्र में अणु शक्ति उत्पादन केन्द्रों के लिये जिन दो स्थानों की सिफारिश की थी, उनके बारे में क्या निश्चय किया गया है ?

बंदेशिक कार्य मंत्रालय मेर राज्य मंत्री (श्रीमती लक्ष्मी मैनन) : सरकार ने राजस्थान में कोटा के समीप राणा प्रताप सागर क्षेत्र में एक अणु शक्ति उत्पादन केन्द्र स्थापित करने का निर्णय किया है ।

श्री भक्त दशन : दो स्थानों में से जो एक स्थान अन्तिम रूप से छांटा गया है इस का कारण क्या है, कौन सी विशेषताएँ वहीं उस स्थान में जिन के आधार पर उस को छांटा गया है ?

प्रधान मंत्री तथा बंदेशिक-कार्य, प्रति-रक्षा तथा अणु शक्ति मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : जो हमारी एक्सपर्ट कमेटी थी उस ने इस पर विचार किया और सब जगहें देख कर इस कक्ष फैसला किया । अब मैं कैसे बता सकता हूँ कि क्या विशेषताएँ थीं ?

श्री भक्त दशन : ह्यात कमेटी ने जहां तक मुझे जात है दो स्थानों की सिफारिश की थी और उन में से एक को सरकार ने अन्तिम रूप से छांटा है । मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो दूसरा स्थान है, क्या कभी उस पर भी चाहे चौथी योजना में या पांचवीं योजना में, कभी विचार किया जा सकता ?

प्रध्यक्ष महोदय : पांचवीं योजना के बारे में इस बक्तु कुछ कह दें, यह कैसे हो सकता है ।

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: To what particular use and by when this station is likely to go into commission, could we have any idea?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a civil station for production of power.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: I want to know by what time it will be commissioned?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This will take four to five years.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: What will be the total installed capacity of this station and may I know whether any foreign assistance would be taken for putting this into commission?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I can't precisely answer that question. It may be that we shall take foreign assistance. I am told that 200 megawatts would be the capacity.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I understand that preliminary surveys have already been undertaken. May I know whether there is any phased programme for construction, what is that phased programme and how it has been formulated?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Construction of this or other stations?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: For this power plant in Rajasthan. Preliminary survey has already been undertaken. I understand Rs. 3½ lakhs have been sanctioned in this year's budget. That is being spent. I want to know if a phased programme has been drawn up for the setting up of this power plant and what is the phased programme.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose some phased programme must be there, but now, the next step is in regard to foreign assistance in erecting this station, technical as well as financial. Once that is settled, then, we can go ahead with it.

Shri Narendra Singh Mahida: May I know whether the nuclear power station is cheaper than a thermal power station?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It depends; in some places, it is cheaper; chiefly, in Rajasthan, it is likely to be economical and cheaper, because it is far from a coal bearing area, and coal transport costs a lot.

Shri Warior: May I know whether it is the intention of Government to establish this power station along with the other power station in Gujarat or near Gujarat, that is to say, simultaneously with the other power station?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The first station that we are putting up is at Tarapore in Maharashtra near the Gujarat area. This one is the second station. The third station is envisaged in the south somewhere.

श्री यशपाल सिंह : इस केन्द्र पर सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट को कितना खर्च करना पड़ेगा ?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Rs. 32 crores.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: In the course of the last session, the Prime Minister stated, and rightly so, that India would use atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. Now that India is unfortunately at war with a country, which, according to press reports, is fast emerging as a nuclear Power, is there any programme or proposal before Government to divert atomic energy now or in the near future for the manufacture of nuclear weapons?

Mr. Speaker: From this power station?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Yes...

Mr. Speaker: That is a general or broad matter of policy. That cannot be discussed now.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Is it, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: This particular question relates to the power station that would be ready after four or five years.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: My question is intimately linked up with that.

Mr. Speaker: The whole policy cannot be enunciated now.

Shri Radhelal Vyas: May I know whether besides Rajasthan, U.P. and Delhi, Madhya Pradesh will also be benefited by the power generated in this station?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We produce electric power, and that can be taken anywhere.

राज्य योजना बोर्ड

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*१३७ श्री श्रीनारायण दास :
श्री अ० क० गोपालन :
श्री वासुदेवन नायर :
श्री हेम राज :

क्या योजना भंश्री ६ अगस्त, १९६२ के तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या १७ के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे :

(क) क्या उड़ीसा को छोड़ कर अन्य सब राज्यों ने राज्य योजना बोर्ड स्थापित कर दिये हैं; और

(ख) यदि हाँ, तो किन-किन राज्यों ने ऐसे बोर्डों की स्थापना कर दी है और उन के काम क्या हैं ? .

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Labour and Employment and for Planning (Shri C. R. Pattabhi Ramam): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

श्री श्रीनारायण दास : क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि विभिन्न राज्य सरकारों ने योजना आयोग के द्वारा जारी किये गये आदेश का पालन क्यों नहीं किया है ? क्या उन्होंने इस सम्बन्ध में कोई कारण बतलाये हैं ?

योजना तथा अम श्री रोजगार भंश्री (श्री नन्दा) : पालन करने में कुछ समय लगता है, और वे अपने ढंग से इस तरफ बढ़ने की कोशिश कर रही हैं ?

श्री श्रीनारायण दास : क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि योजना आयोग ने विभिन्न राज्य सरकारों

को प्लैनिंग बोर्ड बनाने के सम्बन्ध में और संगठन के सम्बन्ध में कुछ सलाह दी है और यदि दी है तो वह क्या है ?

श्री नन्दा : कुछ तो यह प्लैनिंग कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में दिया है और कुछ अभी जिस वक्त वह इकट्ठे हुए थे, नेशनल डेवेलपमेंट कॉसिल में, उस समय उन्हें बतलाया गया था ।

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: May I know whether contrary to the desire of the Planning Commission that these State Planning Boards should meet more frequently and decide the planning issues, they meet very rarely, possibly once or twice in a year only?

Shri Nanda: I do not agree that there are only rare issues coming up before the State bodies. The States also have to deal with the question of their resources, their future programmes of development, long-term plans, and the reorientation which is now coming up. I think that the existence of some machinery of this type is going to be very useful to the States.

Shri Venkatasubbaiah: May I know whether some of the State Governments have expressed their reluctance to form these State Planning Boards, and if so, whether the reactions of the States have been communicated to the Central Government?

Shri Nanda: We are in touch with the State Governments. There is no rigidity about it. There is a purpose in view, and how they carry it out depends upon them. They can change the set-up in the manner that they desire. Only the object is to be carried out.

Extension of Indian Laws to Former Portuguese Colonies

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| *१३८. | Shri P. Kunhan: |
| | Shri A. K. Gopalan: |
| | Shri Umanath: |

Shri S. M. Banerjee:
 Shri M. L. Dwivedi:
 Shri S. C. Samanta:
 Shri Subodh Hansda:
 Shri D. C. Sharma:
 Shri Yashpal Singh:
 Shri Y. D. Singh:
 Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 147 on the 9th August, 1962 and state:

(a) the action that has been taken to repeal Portuguese laws in Goa, Daman and Diu and extend Indian laws to these territories; and

(b) if no action has been taken so far, the reason for the delay?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh): (a) and (b). The Government have finalized a draft Regulation which will be promulgated about the middle of this month. The Regulation provides for the extension of about 105 Central and State enactments to the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu and repeal of corresponding Portuguese laws, rules, regulations, orders etc.

Shri P. Kunhan: May I know whether Government are going to extend particularly the labour laws also to these territories?

Shri Dinesh Singh: I suppose that these 105 will include labour laws.

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि गोआ में किसी पुराने देशभक्त ने इसलिये आमरण अनशन किया था कि जल्दी से जल्दी भारतीय संविधान की सब धारायें गोआ में भी लागू हो जायें, और उस समय उस का अनशन इसलिये स्थापित कराया गया था कि दिसम्बर तक भारतीय संविधान वहां लागू हो जायेगा ? मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस को व्यावहारिक रूप देने की दिशा में क्या कार्य किया जायेगा ?

श्री दिनेश सिंह : मैं ने अभी आप के सामने यह रखा कि लगभग १०५ एनेक्टमेंट्स ऐसे हैं जिन को गोआ में लागू कर देने के बाद गोआ का संविधान हमारे संविधान के साथ आ जायेगा, और वह इसी महीने के अन्त में हो जायेगा, दिसम्बर में तो अभी एक महीना है।

Indian Diplomatic Personnel in China and Tibet

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:
 Shri Gulshan:
 Shri Kapur Singh:
 *139. Shri Buta Singh:
 Shri P. C. Borooh:
 Shri Bade:
 Shri Kachhavaiya:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government of China have imposed further restrictions on the movements and activities of Indian diplomatic personnel in China and Tibet;

(b) if so, the nature of such restrictions; and

(c) the reasons therefor?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) From early October, 1962 the Indian Consulate General at Lhasa has been subjected to further restrictions by the Chinese authorities. Telegraph contact with Lhasa was cut from October 9 to 25th, essential supplies were not obtainable and outsiders were forbidden to enter the Consulate General premises. The telephone of the Consul General was also cut off and severe restrictions on the movement of the Consulate General staff were imposed.

Our Embassy at Peking has also been subjected to fresh restrictions. Policemen have been posted in front of the Embassy and the movements

of our officers and staff have been curtailed.

(c) the reasons for this appears to be to obstruct further the functioning of our Missions in China.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Now that we are unfortunately in the midst of a war, undeclared though it be, do Government propose to impose rigorous restrictions and curbs on at least a reciprocal basis, on Chinese diplomatic personnel in India, in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere, and also ban the propaganda pamphlets and other publications periodically issued by the Chinese Embassy in India?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): So far as banning of the publications is concerned, many of those have been banned. We cannot issue a blanket order banning future publications; we may see them and ban them. A close watch is kept on Missions. I cannot say now when and to what extent Government will take action against them. That is a matter to be considered by us.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: My question was about imposing rigorous curbs and restrictions on Chinese diplomatic personnel in India.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member will notice that in Peking, the restrictions that apply are to the Mission itself, not to the individuals; that is, they have put some guards or policemen at our Embassy gate to see who goes in and who comes out, and that kind of thing. There are some other restrictions which apply to all the foreign Missions there.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Has the Prime Minister's attention been drawn to press reports to the effect that the Government of China are about to break diplomatic ties with India, and if so, do Government propose to take the initiative in this matter by breaking diplomatic ties with China?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just said that I have not seen those particular press reports to which the hon. Member refers, but this question is always under our consideration. When we come to a conclusion, we shall give effect to it.

Shri Hem Barua: In view of the fact that the New China News Agency is coming up with a new idea that it is military action which alone can meet the Indian threat against China, and, therefore, a very prolonged and long-drawn-out war is going to be declared, is it not in the mind of Government to sever diplomatic relations immediately?

Mr. Speaker: The answer has been given already to this question.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The Prime Minister has said that it is under consideration.

श्री बड़े : क्या प्रधान मंत्री जी को यह बात मानूम है कि बम्बई और कलकत्ता की कम्युलेट्स ने महत्वपूर्ण चीनी कागज जला दिये हैं, और पंचमांगी लोग उन से और बाहर के लोगों से मिलते हैं? मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जिस प्रकार से लासा में बंदोबस्त किया गया है उसी प्रकार से यहां बंदोबस्त कियों नहीं किया जाना ?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मैंने अर्ज किया कि इन बातों पर हम गौर कर रहे हैं कंम्युलेट्स और एम्बेसीज में जरा फर्क है। हम दोनों पर अलग-अलग विचार कर रहे हैं और जो मुनासिब कार्यवाही हामारी राय में होगी करेंगे और उस की सूचना आप को देंगे।

Shri D. C. Sharma: Have the Government any idea of the network of intelligence that China has in this country, because a Minister of State in Chandigarh made a speech which was not reported in the Press but the same speech was broadcast from Peking Radio the same evening?

Mr. Speaker: That has no relevance.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Under the circumstances indicated by the Prime Minister specifically in respect of our Consulate in Lhasa, is it proposed to recall our diplomatic personnel stationed in Lhasa?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I just answered it.

Mr. Speaker: The same question is being put in one form or other.

Shri Hem Barua: May I seek a clarification? You just now said that the question asked by Shri D. C. Sharma is not relevant. But our own experience is that these diplomatic enclaves here of China have become veritable nests for espionage and they broadcast news about our country before we know anything about them. Instances can be multiplied like anything. That is why we are concerned that there must be some sort of restriction put on this Embassy and the movement of their personnel.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Activities.

Shri Hem Barua: Yes, on the activities of the Embassy, and even putting some curbs. . . .

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I cannot allow a speech now.

Shri Hem Barua: Our Embassy personnel there have been converted into virtual prisoners. That was why when you said that it is not relevant, I wanted a clarification.

Mr. Speaker: Yes, that was not relevant.

Shri Hem Barua: I was talking about the propaganda being carried on. . . .

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member is making a speech which is quite irrelevant to the question or the supplementary.

Shri D. C. Sharma: I asked about the intelligence service of China here.

Mr. Speaker: Yes, the hon. Member asked that and I said that that was not relevant to this question. Whether the Government have any information as to what extent their intelligence services are working here and how, is not relevant to this. It may be remotely connected.

Shri D. C. Sharma: After all, they have got intelligence services here.

Mr. Speaker: In that way, everything can be connected.

श्री कल्याण : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या भारत सरकार चीनी दूतावास के कर्मचारियों पर कोई प्रतिबन्ध लगाना चाहती है?

प्रध्यक्ष महोदय : यह सवाल बार बार पूछा जा चुका है।

State Development Plans

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*140. { **Shri D. N. Tiwary:**
 { **Shri M. K. Kumaran:**
 { **Shri S. N. Chaturvedi:**

Will the Minister of Planning be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that some States are finding it difficult to implement important schemes under the State development plans due to their inability to raise local resources;

(b) whether such States have requested the Centre for special financial assistance; and

(c) if so, what action has been taken in this regard?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Labour and Employment and for Planning (Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman): (a) to (c). The plans of States provide for projects and programmes to be implemented under the Third Plan as well as for the resources required. These include resources to be raised by the States themselves and assistance from the Centre. In the Annual Plan of each State all these aspects are worked out in detail. If the resources to be found

by a State fall short of the provision in the Annual Plan, adjustments in the programmes to be carried out may become necessary. Every effort is made to see that important programmes do not suffer.

Shri D. N. Tiwary: The question was whether any State Governments had requested the Government of India for advance of money for their essential projects as they are not able to raise the resources for the same in their States.

The Minister of Planning and Labour and Employment (Shri Nanda): Yes, a few States have addressed the Planning Commission on that subject and we have given suitable replies.

Shri D. N. Tiwary: Which are the States that have made such a request and what was the reply given?

Shri Nanda: I do not have the names with me now. The point is that there are State plans and if in the course of a year they want anything more, it is sometimes possible to give them advance assistance which has to be paid back in later years. This has been done in the case of a few States and it may have to be done again also.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: In view of the fact that the Finance Commission has reduced the annual grant to the Jammu and Kashmir Government, have they indicated to the Planning Commission that they will not be able to raise their part of the funds in order to go ahead with their plans? If so, what action has the Planning Commission taken on that?

Shri Nanda: We are aware of it. But we do not interfere with what the Finance Commission has done.

श्री भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमान्, क्या जिन गाज्यों की सीमा पर नया खतरा पैदा हुआ है, उस स्थिति को देखते हुए वहां की सरकार ने कोई विशेष प्रार्थना की है और क्या प्लानिंग कमिशन इस पर सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करेगा ?

श्री नन्दा : वह चीज ध्यान में है और जो भी वाजिब है किया जायेगा ।

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय : उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार विचार कर रही है कि उस के पास इन्हे रिसोर्सेज नहीं हैं कि वह तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना को पूरा कर सके । क्या उस ने इस मम्बन्ध में केन्द्रीय सरकार को कोई लिखा पढ़ी की है ?

श्री नन्दा : इस में दो पहलू थे । एक तो यह कि अगर वह जो चाहते थे इकट्ठा करना रिसोर्सेज, अगर वह नहीं कर सकेंगे तो सेन्ट्रल प्रिसेंटेस कम कर दी जायेगी । उस के बारे में जवाब दे दिया गया है कि जो हमें देना है उस में हम कभी नहीं करेंगे । मगर जो उन्हें इकट्ठा करना था, अगर वह उसे नहीं कर सके तो उन को अपने प्लान में कुछ गड़बदल करना पड़ेगा ।

Shri Indrajit Gupta: May I know whether any specific directives have been given to State Governments to reorientate their State plans in the light of the present emergency? If so, what is the nature of those directives?

Shri Nanda: Yes. That has been done. That was the main subject before the National Development Council and a communique has also been issued on that subject.

Joint Surveys of West Bengal—East Pakistan Border

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141. *Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri:*
Shri Indrajit Gupta:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that a decision was taken at the 71st Joint Conference of the Directors of Land Records and Survey of West Bengal and East Pakistan in Calcutta on the 26th, 27th and 28th September, 1962 that Joint Surveys on the West Bengal—

East Pakistan border which were suspended on the 4th June, 1961 would be resumed again on the 1st of November this year;

(b) whether the aforesaid Joint Surveys have been actually resumed; and

(c) what is the present position with regard to Joint Surveys and demarcation of the Tripura—East Pakistan border and the Assam—East Pakistan border?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh): (a) and (b). Yes, Sir.

(c) The present position with regard to the joint survey and demarcation of the Tripura—East Pakistan border and Assam—East Pakistan border, is given in a statement which is placed on the Table of the Lok Sabha. The statement does not cover the current field season; work done during the current field season can only be tabulated after the season ends in spring next year.

STATEMENT

| S. No. | Name of Sector | Total length of Sector | Demarcation completed upto end of last field season by placement of pillars. |
|--------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| I. | West Bengal-East Pakistan | 1349 miles approximately | 1064 miles approximately |
| II. | Assam-East Pakistan | 620 miles approximately | 411½ miles approximately |
| III. | Tripura-East Pakistan | 550 miles approximately | 184 miles approximately |

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: May I know whether complete ground rules about protection to be given to survey personnel of both countries have been arrived at so as to remove all causes of friction and tension?

Shri Dinesh Singh: Yes, Sir.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: May I know if the reported withdrawal of Pakistan troops recently from Daikhata in the district of Jalpaiguri in North Bengal has been in pursuance of this decision, and whether joint surveys have been started there also?

Shri Dinesh Singh: Joint surveys are going on in different pockets in these areas. I do not know whether it is going on at this particular spot at this moment. Protection that has to be given to the survey parties has been decided in the meetings of the Deputy Commissioners, and later of Chief Secretaries, that were held.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: May I know whether in the last series of meetings held in Calcutta, the Director of Land Records and Surveys of West Bengal said that he was not authorised by the Central Government to discuss the question of the Tripura—

East Pakistan border? If it is a fact, what are the reasons for the same?

Shri Dinesh Singh: For Tripura, we felt that it would be better if we appointed a separate officer to deal with that.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Is it a fact that survey work at Berubari has been suspended? If so, what are the reasons therefor, and whether it is going to be started soon?

Shri Dinesh Singh: It has been suspended?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: It was reported in the newspapers that the survey work at Berubari had been suspended because of the wrong attitude of the other people. I want to know whether it is likely to be started, and if so, when.

Shri Dinesh Singh: I cannot say offhand whether at a particular place it has been suspended.

AVRO-748

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Shri Indrajit Gupta:
Shri Daji:
Shri S. C. Samanta:

*142.

Shri Subodh Hansda:
 Shri N. R. Laskar:
 Shri B. K. Das:
 Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:
 Shri Yallamanda Reddy:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is a proposal to set up a new public sector concern called National Aircraft Limited for the manufacture of the AVRO-748 aircraft; and

(b) if so, the reasons and details thereof?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Defence (Shri D. R. Chavan): (a) and (b). The most appropriate form of organisation for the management of this project is under consideration.

The manufacture of Avro-748 was initially undertaken in the existing Air Force establishment at Kanpur as the quickest and the most convenient way of utilising existing resources and technical manpower. One aircraft has been produced and production in series of this aircraft is under way.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: The answer was not clear, but I would like to know whether it is envisaged that this plant will now be separated from the Indian Air Force Maintenance Command under which it has been all this time?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah): As already stated, this is one of the proposals under consideration, and there may be other points too to be considered.

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : इस बात में क्या सच्चाई है कि ऐसो ७४६ जितना कामयाब होना चाहिये या उतना कामयाब साबित नहीं हुआ है जैसी कि आशा थी और उस को सुधारने के सम्बन्ध में जो भारत सरकार की योजनायें थीं उस सम्बन्ध में क्या विचार किया जा रहा है और वे कब तक कार्यान्वयित होंगी?

Shri Raghuramaiah: The Avro-748 produced, and which had been to South-East Asia, has been a very great success. In fact, I may add, that the English manufacturers have paid compliments to our production.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Has it become possible now to start manufacture of the Avro engines also, or have these still to be imported from outside?

Shri Raghuramaiah: Yes, Sir. We have at Bangalore undertaken the manufacture of Dart-7 engines.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Bifurcation of Defence Ministry

***143. Shri Narendra Singh Mahida:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Defence Ministry is being bifurcated into two Departments;

(b) if so, the reasons for this move; and

(c) what will be the functions of the two Departments?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah):

(a) A new Department called Department of Defence Production has been created within the Ministry of Defence.

(b) Because there is enormous increase in work on account of the present emergency on the side of the three Services and there is great need to step up and diversify production in Defence establishments.

(c) The functions of the two Departments are as shown in the Statement placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 28].

Purchase of Vampires from Indonesia

*144. { Shri Gulshan:
 Shri Kapur Singh:
 Shri Yashpal Singh:
 Shri P. C. Borooh:
 Shri A. K. Gopalan:
 Shri Eswara Reddy:
 Shri Surendra Pal Singh:
 Shri Maheswar Naik:
 Dr. L. M. Singhvi:
 Shrimati Savitri Nigam:
 Shri Indrajit Gupta:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have recently purchased jet aircraft of the Vampire type from Indonesia,

(b) if so, how many and on what terms; and

(c) the reasons for their purchase?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah):

(a) A contract has recently been concluded with the Government of Indonesia for the purchase of some second-hand Vampire Trainer aircraft and some spares.

(b) 8 aircraft are covered under this deal. The terms are advantageous to us. The price of the aircraft is not to be actually paid to the Indonesian Government but is to be adjusted against the training of Indonesian Air Force personnel in India.

(c) The purchase has been made to meet part of the deficiency in the Air Force for jet trainer aircraft.

Production in Ordnance Factories

*145. { Shri P. K. Deo:
 Shri P. C. Borooh:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Defence Ministry has issued instructions to ordnance factories to maximise production even if it meant having three shifts and putting the installation on round-the-clock work;

(b) whether the installations are also being expanded to take up the new lines of production;

(c) if so, whether the ordnance factories have stopped the production of consumer goods, which they started some time back to keep themselves occupied; and

(d) if not, the reasons therefor?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah):

(a) Yes Sir. Instructions have been issued authorising multiple shifts and working on holidays.

(b) The installed capacity is being utilised to the maximum extent. Projects for expanding capacity and for setting up new lines of production are being expedited.

(c) and (d). Yes Sir. Instructions have been issued for stopping production of all stores of civilian consumption and giving the highest priority for the requirements of the Services.

Military Training

*146. { Shri Hem Raj:
 Shrimati Savitri Nigam:
 Shri P. L. Barupal:
 Shri P. C. Borooh:
 Shri Birendra Bahadur
 Singh:
 Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government propose to impart military training to students and citizens for the defence of the country in view of the Chinese aggression; and

(b) if so, what will be the nature of the scheme?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah):

(a) and (b). Government have been imparting military training to students under the scheme of National Cadet Corps and to others under the schemes of Lok Sahayak Sena and Civilian Rifle Training.

Government propose to step up the National Cadet Corps Rifle Training Scheme so as to cover the entire eligible population of students in Colleges and Universities.

As for the citizens, ways and means of intensifying and expanding the civilian Rifle Training Scheme are being considered.

आकाशवाणी से प्रचार

*१४७. { श्री वेरवा कोटा :

श्री मधूसूदन राव :

क्या सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या भारतीय भूभाग पर चीन द्वारा किये गये आक्रमण के बारे में आकाशवाणी से प्रचार का कोई नया कायक्रम बनाया गया है;

(ख) यदि हां तो उस का व्यौरा क्या है; और

(ग) यदि नहीं, तो भविष्य के लिए बनाये गये कार्यक्रम की क्या उपरेक्षा बनाई गई है?

सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री (डा० वे० गोपाल रेही) : (क) जी, हां।

(ख) एक विवरण जिस में अपेक्षित जानकारी दी हुई है, मध्य पट्टन पर रखा जाता है [देखिने परिशिष्ट १, अनुबन्ध संख्या २६]

(ग) मवाल नहीं उठना।

तिब्बती शरणार्थी

*१४८. { श्री भक्त दर्शन :

श्री भगवत ज्ञा आजाद :

श्री दी० चं० शर्मा :

क्या प्रधान मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) अब तक कितने तिब्बती शरणार्थियों ने भारत में शरण ली है, और उन पर कितना बन व्यव हुआ है;

(ख) अब तक राज्यवार कितने ऐसे शरणार्थियों को पुनर्वासित किया गया है;

(ग) इस समय भी कितने कितने तिब्बती शरणार्थी ऐसे हैं जिन को बमाया जाना है; और

(घ) इन शरणार्थियों को अन्यत्र स्थापित करने में बमाये जाने की कब तक आशा का जाती है?

वैदेशिक कार्य, मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री दिनेश सिंह) : (क) लगभग ३६०००। अब तक जो खर्च आया है, उम के आंकड़े इकट्ठे किये जा रहे हैं और वाद में बना दिये जायेंगे।

(ख) १०,००० शरणार्थी अद्वैत्याधीरुप में या तो बमा दिये गये हैं या बमाये जा रहे हैं। ३,००० शरणार्थियों को मैसूर में किसानों के रुप में बमाया जा रहा है और २००० को लामाओं के रुप में बमा दुआर और डलहीजी में बमा दिया गया है।

(ग) लगभग २४००।

(घ) कोई पक्की तारीख नहीं दी जा सकती। उपयुक्त जमीन लेने की कोशिशें बराबर की जा रही हैं ताकि उन्हें वहां पर किसानों के रुप में बमाया जा सके।

Monopolistic Tendencies in Newspaper Industry

*१४९. { Shri Shree Narayan Das:
Shri Bhakt Darshan:
Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:

Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 305 on the 14th August, 1962 and state:

(a) whether the study of trends towards centralisation of ownership and monopolistic tendencies in newspaper industry has been concluded; and

(b) if so, the results of the study?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. B. Gopala Reddi):

(a) and (b). Government feel that concentration of ownership and monopolistic tendencies in the newspaper industry do not exist to such an extent as to call for any immediate action. The position is being constantly watched and, as recommended by the Press Commission, the matter would, at the appropriate time, be brought to the notice of the Press Council which is proposed to be set up soon.

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference

Shri A. K. Gopalan:
 *150. { Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:
 { Shri Nambiar:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether his attention has been drawn to Premier MacMillan's radio broadcast on the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' talks immediately following the communique issued at the end of the recent Prime Ministers' Conference; and

(b) whether he has noted any divergence between the communique and what Mr. MacMillan said in his radio speech?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes.

(b) The communique represents the agreed views of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. The British Prime Minister's broadcast, however, would represent the views of his Government. Naturally, the two need not be the same.

Indians in South Africa

Shri A. K. Gopalan:
 Shri P. C. Borooh:
 *151. { Shri Kajrolkar:
 { Shri Bishan Chander Seth:
 { Shri Maheswar Naik:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred

Question No. 632 on the 27th August, 1962 and state:

(a) whether any headway has since been made in the direction of negotiations with South Africa on the treatment of people of Indian origin in that country;

(b) whether this matter came up for discussion in the recent U.N. General Assembly meeting; and

(c) if so, what motions if any were sponsored or supported by India in that connection and with what result?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Yes, Sir.

(c) Together with 43 other nations India requested the United Nations for the inclusion of the item on the "Treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa" as part of an item entitled "The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa". This has been done. The United Nations General Assembly has since passed a resolution calling for diplomatic and economic sanctions by countries against South Africa and requesting the Security Council to take appropriate measures including sanctions to secure South Africa's compliance with the past resolution of the General Assembly and the Council and, if necessary, to consider the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations.

Indians in Tanganyika

Shri Surendra Pal Singh:
 *152. { Shri P. K. Ghosh:
 { Shri Kapur Singh:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the President of Asian Civil Servants Association of Tanganyika has requested the Indian Government to

take up the case of the neglected Indian Civil Servants in that country with the British Government in regard to the payment of fair and equitable compensation to them at the time of termination of their service; and

(b) if so, what steps are being taken by Government in the matter?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh): (a) Yes.

(b) The Government of India feels that these officers should be given the same terms as have been given to certain other categories of expatriate officers known as "designated officers". These terms include the grant of compensation for loss of career when their services are no longer required because of "Africanisation". The Government has taken up this question repeatedly with the British Government and Tanganyikan Government.

Equipment Belonging to Indian Survey Officer Returned by Pakistan

{ Shri Yashpal Singh:
*153. { Shri Buta Singh:
 \ Shri Gulshan:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Pakistan Government have returned maps and other documents illegally seized from the Indian Survey Officer on the Berubari border somewhere in July last year;

(b) if so, when; and

(c) whether all the papers are intact or have been tampered with?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh): (a) Yes, Sir. The documents illegally seized in June, 1961 from the Indian Survey Officers on West Dinajpur border, have been returned.

(b) Documents were handed back on 26th September, 1962, at the con-

ference of Directors of Land Records and Surveys of West Bengal and East Pakistan, held at Calcutta.

(c) All the documents were intact.

चीन में भारतीय

267. श्री लक्ष्मु भवानी :

क्या प्रधान मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) इस समय चीन में कुल कितने भारतीय निवास करते हैं;

(ख) इस वर्ष अब तक कुल कितने भारतीयों को चीन से बाहर निकाला गया और

(ग) उन को निकालने के चीनी सरकार ने क्या कारण बताये ?

प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य, प्रतिरक्षा तथा अणु शक्ति मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू): (क) सरकार के पास जो मूलभा मुलभ है, उस के अनुसार चीन में रहने वाले भारतीयों की संख्या १८० है।

(ख) कोई नहीं।

(ग) प्रश्न नहीं उठता।

Indian in China

267. Shri Lakhmu Bhawani: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of Indians living in China at present;

(b) the number of Indians expelled from China during the current year so far; and

(c) the reasons offered by the Chinese Government for expelling them?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) According to information available with the Government the number of Indians living in China is 180.

(b) None.

(c) Does not arise.

Pugwash Conference of Scientists

268. Shri Shee Narayan Das: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government have in any way interested themselves in the activities of scientists who recently met in Pugwash Conference in London and discussed problems of disarmament and world security;

(b) if so, the nature and manner of India's participation so far; and

(c) whether the next Conference will be held in India?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). The International Conferences on Science and World Affairs, known as Pugwash Conferences, are non-official conferences which are attended by eminent scientists of various countries in their personal capacity. They owe their origin to a suggestion made by the Prime Minister in 1954 regarding the setting up of a Committee of Scientists to explain to the world the effect a war would have on humanity. This idea was pursued further by the Atomic Scientists' Association in Great Britain and the Federation of American Scientists in the USA and discussions were held subsequently with other scientists, including Soviet scientists.

The 10th Conference in the series was held in London from the 3rd to the 7th of September 1962 and was attended by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis in his personal capacity. The record of the discussions at the Conference has not yet been published.

Although the Government of India are not directly concerned in these non-official conferences, they support the Pugwash movement and believe that scientists can make significant contribution towards peace and disarmament as well as towards helping developing nations to modernise and

secure the benefits of scientific progress. At the request of the organisers of the 10th Conference, the Prime Minister sent a message wishing success to the Conference.

Besides the 10th Conference, the 3rd Conference held in Austria in September, 1958, was attended by Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Dr. K. S. Krishnan and Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, the 5th Conference held in Pugwash, Canada, in August 1959 by Dr. M. L. Ahuja and the 9th Conference held in Cambridge in August, 1962 by Dr. Vikram Sarabhai.

(c) A suggestion has been made that the next conference be held in India. No final decision has, however, yet been reached.

Atomic Power Station at Tarapore

269. Shri Surendra Pal Singh:
 Shri Eswara Reddy:
 Shri P. C. Borooah:
 Shri Bibhuti Mishra:
 Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:
 Shri Nambiar:
 Dr. L. M. Singhvi:
 Shri K. N. Tiwary:
 Shri Mohsin:
 Shri Yashpal Singh:
 Shri S. B. Patil:
 Shri Kapur Singh:
 Shri P. K. Ghosh:
 Shri Sham Lal Saraf:
 Shri Rameshwar Tantia:
 Shri D. C. Sharma:
 Shri Morarka:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Government are facing certain difficulties in making arrangements for foreign financial and technical collaboration to set up its first Atomic Power station at Tarapore near Bombay; and

(b) if so, what are those difficulties, and what steps are being taken to overcome them?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

लन्दन में गांधी स्मारक

270. श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :
श्री जगदेवसिंह सिंद्धान्ति :
श्री वासुदेवन नायर :

कल प्रधान मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह मच है कि जब वे राष्ट्र मंडलीय प्रशान मंत्रियों के मम्बेता में भाग लेने लन्दन गये थे तो वहां उन्हें गांधी स्मारक के लिये एक भूमि खंड भेट किया गया था;

(ख) इस गांधी स्मारक को बताने की क्या कोई योजना नैयार कर ली गई है;

(ग) यदि हां, तो उस का विवरण क्या है और कब तक उस योजना को कार्यान्वित किया जा सकेगा; और

(घ) इस योजना को कार्यान्वित करने पर कितना धन व्यय होगा?

प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री प्रतिरक्षा तथा आर्थ शक्ति मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) :

(क) और (ख) लंदन में बरो काउन्सिल आफ सेट पैकियाज ने महात्मा गांधी की मूर्ति की स्थापना के लिये जमीन दी है। इस मूर्ति के लिये आर्डर दे दिया गया है और जब वह तैयार हो जायेगी, तब इस जमीन पर स्थापित कर दी जायेगी।

(ग) और (घ) इस पर जो खर्च आयेगा, उस की कोई और व्योरेवार जानकारी हमारे पास नहीं है। लोगों से चन्दा ले कर यह खर्च किया जा रहा है। इस काम के लिये एक समिति बना दी गई है।

Raid by Pakistanis on Jammu and Kashmir Border

271. श्री P. C. Borooh:
श्री भक्त दर्शनः

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Pakistani Force again became active on the Chhamb border near Jammu in the first-second week of September this year;

(b) if so, how many firing and counter-firing incidents were involved in connection with these activities; and

(c) how many persons were killed/injured in these incidents on either side?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) There were three incidents during the first-second week of September, 1962—one on the 6th September and two on the 10th September. Our border police had to return the fire in self-defence in the two incidents on the 10th September, 1962.

(c) One Indian was injured.

Plantation Workers

272. **Shri P. C. Borooh:** Will the Minister of Labour and Employment be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Annual Conference of the Estates Staff Union was held in Coimbatore in the second week of September;

(b) if so, what main demands were voiced at the conference for the betterment of the plantation workers; and

(c) what decisions/actions have been taken by Central Government and the State Governments concerned on these demands?

The Minister of Labour in the Ministry of Labour and Employment (Shri Hathi): (a) Yes; on 9-9-1962.

(b) and (c). The information available is given in the statement laid on the Table of the House.[See Appendix I, annexure No. 30.]

Discussion between Indian Prime Minister and Pakistan President

273. { Shri Shree Narayan Das:
Shri S. M. Banerjee:
Shri Hem Barua:
Shri Bibhuti Mishra:
Shri D. N. Tiwary:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether there was any consultation between him and President Ayub of Pakistan when they met in London recently about matters of mutual interest; and

(b) if so, the nature of subjects discussed?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). There were no consultations between President Ayub Khan and the Prime Minister about Indo-Pakistan issues at the time of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held in London this September. Casually and very briefly, the President referred, however, to the action taken by India in sending back illegal immigrants from Pakistan. Also he made some reference to the desirability of a Ministers' meeting to consider the problems of the use of river waters in East Pakistan and West Bengal. The Prime Minister explained to him very briefly the position in regard to both these matters. The whole conversation on the two occasions did not take more than five minutes.

Kozhikode Radio Station

274. { Shri A. K. Gopalan:
Shri P. Kunhan:

Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is any proposal before Government to turn the Kozhikode Radio Station into a mere Relay Station; and

(b) if so, what decision has been taken on this proposal?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Sham Nath): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

Provident Fund for Air Transport Industry

276. **Shrimati Savitri Nigam:** Will the minister of Labour and Employment be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 33 on the 6th August, 1962 and state:

(a) the reason for not bringing the Air Transport Industry under the Employees Provident Funds Act, 1952; and

(b) whether these people working in Air Transport Industry are getting the benefit of health insurance gratuity or bonus scheme?

The Minister of Labour in the Ministry of Labour and Employment (Shri Hathi): (a) It has been represented that the majority of workers engaged in Air Transport Industry are already getting better retirement benefits than the benefits provided under the Employees' Provident Fund Act, 1952.

(b) The information is being collected.

हिन्दी फिल्मों को प्रमाण-पत्र देना

275. { श्री भक्त दशन :
श्री भगवत ज्ञा आजाद :

क्या सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री ३० अगस्त, १९६२ के अतारांकित प्रश्न संख्या २०३३ के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि हिन्दी फिल्मों को अंग्रेजी के बदले हिन्दी में प्रमाण पत्र देने के जिस सुझाव पर चिवार किया जा रहा था, उस के बारे में क्या निश्चय किया गया है ?

सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय में उप-
मंत्री (श्री शम माथ) : यह विषय
अभी विचाराधीन है।

National Sample Survey

278. { Shri R. S. Pandey:
 { Shri Morarka:

Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) the data collected so far by National Sample Survey for the Planning Commission;

(b) whether there is any agency to check or verify these data; and

(c) what steps have been taken to publish the data in time?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon) (a) No data has been collected by the National Sample Survey specifically for the Planning Commission. The data collected during its normal annual rounds on various socioeconomic, agricultural and industrial topics have been used by the Planning Commission whenever required.

(b) Besides the built-in-system of supervision by the scrutiny and inspection staff of the National Sample Survey Directorate and pre-tabulation scrutiny by the Indian Statistical Institute which handles tabulation and other technical work connected with the surveys, the design of the surveys itself provides for internal checks of consistency based on comparison between the figures of different sub-samples and sub-rounds included in each round. However, there is no agency to check or verify the data once it is published.

(c) Practically all the essential data collected upto and inclusive of the 14th round (1958-59) have already been tabulated and published. The data for the subsequent rounds viz., 15th and 16th are mostly in the process of tabulation. The Indian Statistical Institute is being conti-

nously urged to expedite the tabulation work with a view to make the data available as early as possible.

Public Undertakings

279. { Shri Morarka:
 { Shri Ravindra Varma:

Will the Minister of Planning be pleased to state:

(a) the total amount expected to be obtained from the surpluses of public undertakings during the Third Five Year Plan;

(b) the amount actually realised during the first year of the Third Plan and expected to be realised during the second year;

(c) whether any short-fall is expected in the plan target; and

(d) if so, the efforts made to overcome the same?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Labour and Employment and for Planning (Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman): (a) The surpluses of Public enterprises other than railways were estimated in the Third Plan period at Rs. 450 crores. The details are given below:

| | | (Rs. crores) |
|------|---|--------------|
| I. | Centre. | |
| 1. | Steel Plants | 111 |
| 2. | Fertilizer factories | 33 |
| 3. | Posts & Telegraphs | 28 |
| 4. | Other enterprises | 128 |
| | Total | 300 |
| II. | States | |
| 1. | Electricity Boards | 110 |
| 2. | Road transport undertakings | 20 |
| 3. | Industrial enterprises and other departmental schemes | 20 |
| | Total | 150 |
| III. | Centre and States (I-II) | 450 |

(b) The revised estimate of the surpluses of public enterprises controlled by the States for 1961-62 is Rs. 21.8 crores. The actual contribution of public enterprises controlled by the Centre will be known when the audited financial accounts for the year have been analysed. A study is in hand.

In the estimate of financial resources for the Plan for 1962-63, credit was taken for Rs. 27.8 crores from State enterprises and Rs. 30 crores from Centre's enterprises.

(c) A revised estimate of the likely surpluses of public enterprises over the Third Plan period as a whole would be possible only after the actuals of at least the first two years are available.

(d) Measures for improving the operational results of public enterprises and for realising the expected surpluses from them are the constant concern of the public enterprises and the Administrative Ministries.

Expenditure on Commonwealth P. M.s' Conference

280. Shri G. Mohanty: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether the expenditure relating to Commonwealth Premiers' Conference is borne by the British Government; and

(b) if not, what share of the expenditure is borne by the Government of India?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy: (a) and (b). All expenditure on the Conference as such, including accommodation for the delegates is borne by the U.K. Government. The visiting Prime Ministers and their staff are treated as State Guests. However, the cost of air travel of our delegation from India to London and back and incidental expenses are borne by the Government of India.

Indian Mission Abroad

{ Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:

Shri R. S. Pandey:

281. { Shri Morarka:

Shri Ravindra Varma:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that during the years 1956-59, two locally re-

cruited messengers of an Indian Mission abroad misappropriated a total sum of over Rs. 60,000 out of the advances given to them for purchase of postal stamps;

(b) if so, where this incident took place; and

(c) whether any responsibility has been fixed for slackness in supervision of the work of these messengers?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) to (c). Yes, Sir. The forgery case involving defalcation of over Rs. 60,000.00 by two locally-recruited messengers occurred in Embassy of India, Bonn, over a period of more than three years. It was first detected when the postal stamp expenditure entries were found tampered with. The two messengers involved were dismissed and prosecuted in a local court for criminal offence. A sum of approximately Rs. 1100.00 has so far been realised from the above quoted persons. Further proceedings are under consideration.

Work-stoppages

282. { Shri Warior:

Shri P. C. Borooh:

Will the Minister of Labour and Employment be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 1767 on the 27th August, 1962 and state:

(a) whether the analysis of work-stoppages in the Central sphere during December, 1961 to March 1962 has been completed; and

(b) if so, the result thereof?

The Minister of Labour in the Ministry of Labour and Employment (Shri Hathi): (a) Yes.

(b) Out of 41 cases of work-stoppages (all strikes) reported to the Central Implementation and Evaluation Division, in 39 the unions resorted to

strikes without prior notice and without utilising the existing machinery for the settlement of disputes; in the remaining 2 cases where notices were given the unions did not fully utilise the existing machinery before taking direct action. In 7 of the 41 cases the managements were also responsible for precipitating matters. In all these cases breaches of the Code of Discipline were brought home to the concerned parties.

Minimum Wages Act

283. { Shri Y. D. Singh:
 { Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah:

Will the Minister of Labour and Employment be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government propose to amend the Minimum Wages Act for protection of higher wages in scheduled employment in which the minimum rates of wages fixed are lower and for safeguarding against victimisation of employees who seek to enforce their rates under the measure; and

(b) the list of industries to which this amended Act will apply?

The Minister of Labour in the Ministry of Labour and Employment (Shri Hathi): (a) and (b). Proposals are under examination.

Conference of State Ministers

284. { Shri Bishanchander Seth:
 { Shri Yashpal Singh:
 { Maharakumar Vijaya
 { Ananda:
 { Shri Inder J. Malhotra:

Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that a Conference of State Ministers of Information and Broadcasting was held on the 25th October, 1962;

(b) if so, what subjects were discussed in the Conference; and

(c) what decisions the Conference has taken; with details thereof?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Sham Nath): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). The Conference considered publicity problems arising out of the present emergency and measures necessary to ensure close co-ordination between the Centre and State publicity organisations in their publicity efforts in regard to National Integration and the Five Year Plan. No formal decisions were taken.

Documentary Films

285. Shri Bishanchander Seth: Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Government have decided to increase the production of documentary films;

(b) if so, the reasons therefor;

(c) how many films are at present being produced annually; and

(d) how much will be increased?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Sham Nath): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) To meet the increasing publicity needs of the various Ministries etc., and also to provide for the production of a certain number of films on behalf of State Governments, on request.

(c) About 98.

(d) The target for 1962-63 is 120 films.

Lifting of Cattle by Pak. Nationals

286. Shri Swell: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that on the 27th September, 1962 a large number of Pakistani nationals trespassed into Indian territory in the District of Khasi Jaintia Hills and took away 49 cows belonging to Indian nationals; and

(b) if so, what steps Government have taken to restore the cows to the

owners or to compensate them for their losses?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Defence and Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). On September 27, 1962, some Indian nationals of village Pyrdiwha took their cattle for watering to the Pyian river. Some Pakistani nationals armed with daos, lathis and spears trespassed into Indian territory near Suplanghat, District United K & J Hills and forcibly drove away 49 head of cattle.

Protests have been lodged, under the Ground Rules Agreement, with the Pakistan authorities at the Sector Commander's as well as at District Officer's level. The Government of Assam have also lodged a protest with the East Pakistan Government demanding return of the stolen cattle to the owners, through the Commander of the Indian Border Out Post.

Film Institutes

287. Shri Hem Raj: Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) the number of students who have joined the Film Institute of India at Poona in 1962-63; and

(b) the number of staff engaged so far and the annual expenditure incurred on it?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Sham Nath): (a) 38.

(b) 126.

Actual expenditure on staff

| | Rs. |
|------------------------|-------------|
| 1960-61 | 63,000 |
| 1961-62 | .. 2,27,300 |
| 1962-63 (for 6 months) | .. 1,40,200 |
| (1-4-62 to 30-9-62) | |

Recognition of Unions

288. { Shri Buta Singh:
Shri Gulshan:

Will the Minister of Labour and Employment be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that according to the Code of Discipline a union which had been de-recognised for any illegal act could regain its recognition only after its membership has been verified by the Labour Ministry;

(b) if so, whether any such verifications were made of the unions de-recognised in 1960 and re-recognised in September, 1961 in the Posts and Telegraphs, Civil Aviation, Defence, Railways and Central Public Works Department; and

(c) if not, on what basis the unions were re-recognised?

The Minister of Labour in the Ministry of Labour and Employment (Shri Jaisukhlal Hathi): (a) A union de-recognised for breaches of the Code of Discipline can claim re-recognition after a period of one year or, in certain circumstances, two years, provided during this period it has not been found guilty of any fresh violation of the Code and is still in majority. In some cases verification of membership may not be necessary.

(b) The question does not arise, as the Unions referred to were not de-recognised under the Code of Discipline.

(c) In accordance with the Government's decision that "the recognition of the Unions, which was withdrawn for their participation in the Central Government employees strike of July 1960, should be restored on the terms and conditions applicable at the time of withdrawal."

Civilian Psychologists in Defence

289. Shri D. C. Sharma: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Second Pay Commission had recommended

the upgrading of the posts of Civilian Psychologists on the services Selection Boards, run by the Ministry of Defence to Class I; and

(b) if so, the action taken by Government on this recommendation?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah):

(a) No, Sir.

(b) does not arise.

Navy Aerodrome

290. *Shri A. K. Gopalan:*
Shri P. Kunhan:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether any decision has been taken on the site for construction of the Navy Aerodrome; and

(b) if so, details thereof?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah):

(a) Only some interim arrangements have been made for the location of the Fleet Requirement unit of the Navy.

(b) It is not in the public interest to disclose details.

Manufacture of Rifles

291. **Shri Karni Singhji:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Ordnance Factories have a proposal to manufacture .22 Target Rifles and .315 MM Big Bore Target Rifles for Rifle Clubs in the country?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah): The .22" Rifles manufactured in the Ordnance Factories for the Services can also be used as Target Rifles. There is no proposal to manufacture .315 MM Big Bore Target Rifles in the Ordnance Factories.

Manufacture of Cartridges

292. **Shri Karni Singhji:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state

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whether there is a proposal to manufacture 12 gauge Trap and Skeet Cartridges for Civilian Shooting in 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " length 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ Dr.—1 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ oz.—7 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 Dr.—1.1 $\frac{1}{8}$ oz. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 8 respectively?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah): The 12 Gauge Trap & Skeet Cartridges 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " length had been under development but production can now be considered only after the present emergency is over.

Military Training Schools

293. *Shri Sham Lal Saraf:*
Shri Kameshwar Tantia:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) the pattern of training in Rashtriya Military College, K. G., Schools and Sainik Schools;

(b) to what extent the training Courses in these institutions agree; and

(c) whether Government contemplate amalgamating the courses of training in those Schools?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah): (a) A statement giving the required information is laid on the Table of the House. (See Appendix I annexure No. 31].

(b) All these are residential institutions and impart education of a high standard on public school lines. As all these institutions prepare boys for the same terminal examination, namely the Indian School Certificate Examination conducted by the University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate, the academic content of the training is by and large the same. The non-academic content of the training, being related to the objectives of these institutions, varies slightly from one institution to another.

(c) No, Sir.

L.A.F. Canberra Crash

294. Shri Bishanchander Seth: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 267, on the 13th August, 1962 regarding air crash of a Canberra and state:

(a) whether the report of Court of Enquiry ordered by Government has been received;

(b) if so, the details thereof; and

(c) what action Government have taken against those found responsible by the Enquiry Committee?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah):

(a) Yes.

(b) and (c). The accident was caused due to the aircraft striking the ground while travelling over hilly terrain in cloudy weather. The detailed report of the Court of Enquiry is still under consideration of Air Headquarters and Government and suitable remedial action will be taken as may be indicated.

Ex-Servicemen

295. Shrimati Renu Chakravarthy: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether a final decision has been taken regarding the pay of the pensioner and non-pensioner ex-servicemen of 507 Army Base Workshop, Kankinarrah; and

(b) whether this matter is pending since 1959?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah):

(a) The fixation of pay has been finalised in 24 out of the 97 cases concerned. The other cases are being expedited.

(b) No, Sir. The Civilians in Defence Services (Revised Pay) Rules 1960, laying down the revised scales of pay for various posts on the basis of the Second Pay Commission's recommendations were issued in

September 1960 but at that time they were not applicable to re-employed Government servants. Final orders of Government regulating fixation of pay of re-employed pensioners and non-pensioners in the revised scales of pay were issued only in December 1961. The individual cases of pay fixation, referred to in (a) above, could be taken up thereafter.

Indian Navy

296. Shri Yashpal Singh: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) the progress made by the Indian Navy towards self-sufficiency in training during 1960-62; and

(b) the number of Indians sent abroad for training in Navy during this period?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah):

(a) Except for certain specialized courses for which facilities are not available, the centrale training of naval personnel is being done in India. During 1960-62, the following courses have been started:—

(1) Marine Engineering Course.

(2) Electrical Specialisation Course.

(3) Advanced Scientific courses for naval officers.

(4) Aircraft Mechanicians and Artificer Conversion Courses for sailors.

(d) 62.

Quarters for Defence Employees in Agra

297. Shri S. M. Banerjee: Will the Prime Minister be please to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that about 108 quarters were constructed by the Cantonment Board, Agra for the low income group Defence civilian employees in Shaktinagar, Agra Cantt. in 1962;

(b) if so, whether the rent is Rs. 46 p.m. without electricity;

(c) if so, whether the employees are unable to occupy these quarters because of high rent;

(d) if so, the basis on which this rent has been fixed; and

(e) steps taken by Government to fix a reasonable rent?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah):

(a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Yes, Sir. The rent includes Water Supply (un-metered) and conservancy charges @ Rs. 2 and Re. 1 p.m. respectively.

(c) and (d). No, Sir. The construction of these quarters has been completed recently and allotment has been started with effect only from 1st November 1962. The rent is reasonable and has been worked out on a 'no profit no loss' basis.

(e) Does not arise.

Sainik School in Punjab

298. Shri Hem Raj: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 2193 on the 3rd September, 1962 and state:

(a) whether the proposal for opening a third sainik school in Punjab has been accepted;

(b) if so, whether its details have been worked out; and

(c) what will be the site of its location and which one has been recommended by the Punjab Government?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah):

(a) to (c). The proposal is still under consideration with the Punjab Government.

—
12 hrs.

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Cracker Explosion in Delhi

श्री बाणझो : (हिंसार) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, में नियम १६७ के अन्तर्गत गृह-कार्य मंत्री का

ध्यान निम्न अविलम्बनीय लोक महत्व के विषय की ओर आकृष्ट करता हूँ और यह चाहता हूँ कि इस संबंध में वह अपना वक्तव्य दें :—

"८ नवम्बर, सन् १९६२ को दिल्ली के लाजपतराय-मार्केट में हुआ पटाखा विस्फोट जिस के फलस्वरूप कुछ लोगों को चोटें आईं।"

गृह-मंत्रालय में राज्य-मंत्री (श्री दातार) : ८ नवम्बर, १९६२ को करीब २.०५ बजे दोपहर को लाजपतराय मार्केट के सामने सुभाषमार्ग पर एक बम फटा। चार आदमियों को मामूली खरोंचें और चोटें आईं। उन्हें पुलिस डिप्यूंसरी में ले जाकर प्रायमिक चिकित्सा सहायता दी गई। पुलिस बम फटने के तुरंत बाद ही मौके पर पहुँच गयी और उस ने पूछ ताद्र के लिए आठ आदमियों को हिरासत में ले लिया। यह दर्श है कि बम चलती हुई सवारी से फेंका गया था। यह मामूली किस्म का बम था और इस के अवशेष इंस्पैक्टर औफ एक्सप्लोसिब्स को परीक्षण के लिए भेज दिये गये हैं। विस्फोटक पदार्थ अधिनियम की धारा ६ के अधीन मामला दर्ज कर लिया गया है और तहकीकात की जा रही है।

On 8th November, 1962 at about 2.05 p.m. there was a cracker explosion on Subhash Marg, opposite Lajpat Rai Market. Four persons received minor abrasions and simple injuries. They were taken to the police dispensary and given first aid. The police reached the spot immediately after the cracker had burst, and eight persons have been detained for interrogation. It is suspected that the cracker was thrown from a moving vehicle. The cracker was of an ordinary type, and its remnants have been sent to the Inspector of Explosives for examination. A case under section 6 of the Explosives Act has been registered and is being investigated.

श्री बाबाड़ी : क्या गृह-कार्य मंत्री यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि बार बार विस्फोट होते हैं और इनक्वायरी होने के बाद भी कुछ उन का पता नहीं लगता है और यह आम चर्चा जो सारी दिल्ली में हो गयी है कि पुलिस के अन्दर दो पार्टीयां हैं, पुलिस की एक पार्टी का वम विस्फोट करवाने में हाथ है तो क्या गृह मंत्री जी इस की इनक्वायरी की तरफ भी ध्यान दे रहे हैं कि पुलिस का भी इन में हाथ है या नहीं और क्या सरकार के नोटिस में यह भी आया है कि पुलिस की वह पार्टी जिसका कि इन विस्फोटों के पीछे हाथ है उस का नेतृत्व डॉ० आर्ड० जी० दिल्ली करते हैं ?

श्री दातार : इस चौज से मैं इन्कार करता हूं कि पुलिस की दो पार्टीयां हैं और एक पार्टी यह कर रही है। यह आरोप जो हमारे मित्र ने पुलिस पर किये हैं मिथ्या है। यह जो वम विस्फोट हुए हैं उस के लिए सरकार खास तौर से जांच कर रही है।

श्री यशपाल सिंह (करना) : क्या सरकार यह बतला सकेगी कि अब तक जितने वम विस्फोट हुए हैं उन में से क्या वह किसी एक भी वम विस्फोट का पता लगा सकी है। जब इतने विस्फोट अनट्रेसेबल रह चुके हैं तो पुलिस विभाग के जो इनचार्ज अधिकारी हैं उन को आज तक अलग क्यों नहीं किया गया और उन को रिप्लेस क्यों नहीं किया गया ?

Shri Datar: May I point out to the hon. Member that the Government were successful in tracing the culprits in as many as 27 cases, and actual convictions have been secured in 20, and some others are before the court.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): May I seek a clarification?

Mr. Speaker: No, Sir. Shri Yadav.

श्री राम सेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) : यह जो वम विस्फोटों की जांच करने के लिए बाहर से पुलिस बुलाई जाने की बात थी, वह बुलाई

गई है या नहीं, यदि नहीं बुलाई गई है तो क्यों नहीं बुलाई गई और यदि बुलाई गई है तो बतलाया जाय कि जांच का क्या परिणाम हुआ ?

श्री दातार : दिल्ली पुलिस और बाहर की पुलिस सब मिल कर इसकी जांच कर रहे हैं।

Shri Hem Barua: On a point of order. The Minister was pleased to use the word *mithya*. That means a lie I suppose. If so, is it parliamentary?

Mr. Speaker: *Mithya* means it has no truth in it.

Shri Hem Barua: That is a lie, Sir.

श्री मोहन स्वरूप (पंजाबीत) : मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या इस मामले की तहकीकात और ज्यादा की जा रही है और मुलाजिमों को ट्रेस करने की क्या कोई खास कोशिश की जा रही है ?

श्री दातार : हम ने इस के लिये स्पेशल मुपरिनटेंडेंट और पुलिस की नियुक्ति की है और इन के बारे में खास तौर से जांच हो रही है।

Mr. Speaker: Papers to be laid.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): Before the House takes up other business, may I request you earnestly to ensure that every day and as long as the House is in session, the Prime Minister makes a statement immediately after the Question Hour on the war situation, as was done in war time, during the Second World War, by the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons? He may consider this matter and take action.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member has brought it to the notice of the Prime Minister that he might consider this matter. He may allow him time to consider it. Now, what does he want? Papers to be laid.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I will remind him again later on.

12.06 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

OFFICERS OF PARLIAMENT (TRAVELLING & DAILY ALLOWANCES) RULES

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Officers of Parliament (Travelling and Daily Allowances) Amendment Rules, 1962, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1209, dated the 15th September, 1962, under sub-section (2) of section 11 of the Salaries and Allowances of Officers of Parliament Act, 1953. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-509/62.]

PUBLIC PREMISES (EVICTION OF UNAUTHORISED OCCUPANTS) RULES

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply (Shri P. S. Naskar): On behalf of Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupants) Amendment Rules, 1962, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1453, dated the 3rd November, 1962, under sub-section (3) of section 13 of the Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupants) Act, 1958. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-510/62.]

COFFEE (FIFTH AMENDMENT RULES) ETC.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Defence (Shri D. R. Chavan): On behalf of Shri Manubhai Shah, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers:—

(i) The Coffee (Fifth Amendment) Rules, 1962 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1271, dated the 29th September, 1962 under sub-section (3) of section 48 of the Coffee Act, 1942. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-511/62.]

(ii) Annual Report on the activities of the Coir Board and

the Working of the Coir Industry Act, 1953 for the year 1961-62 under section 19 of the said Act. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-512/62.]

REPORT OF THE COAL MINES LABOUR WELFARE FUND ETC.

The Minister of Labour in the Ministry of Labour and Employment (Shri Hathi): I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers:—

(i) a statement of main conclusions of the fourth session of the Industrial Committee on Cement held at New Delhi on the 15th September, 1962. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-513/62.]

(ii) a statement of main conclusions of the twentieth session of the Standing Labour Committee held at New Delhi on the 17th October, 1962. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-514/62.]

(iii) report on the activities of the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund for the year 1961-62. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-515/62.]

DISPLACED PERSONS (COMPENSATION AND REHABILITATION) AMENDMENT RULES.

Shri P. S. Naskar: I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Sixth Amendment Rules, 1962 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1166, dated the 1st September, 1962 under sub-section (3) of section 40 of the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act, 1954. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-516/62.]

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12.08 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

NINTH REPORT

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

12.09 hrs.

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

THIRD AND FOURTH REPORTS

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

- (i) Third Report on Action Taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Hundred and Fourteenth Report of the Estimates Committee (Second Lok Sabha) on the Ministry of Transport and Communications (Departments of Communications and Civil Aviation)—Overseas Communications Service; and
- (ii) Fourth Report on Action Taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Thirty seventh Report of Estimates Committee (Second Lok Sabha) on the Ministry of Health—Public Health (Part I).

12.10 hrs.

METAL TOKENS (AMENDMENT) BILL*

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

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

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

The motion was adopted.

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

12.11 hrs.

PETROLEUM PIPELINES (ACQUISITION OF RIGHT OF USER IN LAND) BILL*

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Mines and Fuel (Shri Hajarnavis): On behalf of Shri K. D. Malaviya, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the acquisition of right of user in land for laying petroleum pipelines and for matters connected therewith.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

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

The motion was adopted.

Shri Hajarnavis: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

12.12 hrs.

RESOLUTIONS RE: 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 8th November, 1962, along with the amendments that are there. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs has told me that the Government is prepared to allot another day for this discussion. So, we have got tomorrow

*Published in the Gazette of India dated 12-11-1962.

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

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

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

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

will sit late as much as we possibly can.

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

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

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

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

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: That is excellent.

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

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: We accept it today.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedi]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"....and had helped them in many minor ways."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An Hon. Member: That is correct.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13 hrs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

pression of goodwill and we should pursue them.

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

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

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

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

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

An Hon. Member: I wish it were so.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shrimati Vijaya Raje]

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

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

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

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

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

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

'उत्तिष्ठ जाग्रत प्राप्य दूरानि बोधत'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri H. P. Chatterjee]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Dr. Melkote]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker: I cannot allow that.

Dr. Melkote: I have always spoken extempore.

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

Dr. Melkote: I shall end now.

Shri Lahri Singh: Last paragraph, let him read!

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

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

In the end, let me say....

Mr. Speaker: I thought the end had come!

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

An Hon. Member: Very good. Very important.

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

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

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

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

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

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

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

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

श्री प्रिय गुप्त : (कटिहार) : वे कौन लोग हैं? नो एन्टर्कट टार्किंग।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर मैं कोई गलत बात कहूँ, तो आप उस को राइट आफ कर दीजिए। मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि इस किस्म की बातें सुन कर दिल को चोड़ लगती हैं।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

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

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

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

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

14 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[श्री चांडक]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[श्री चांडक]

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

अन्त में मैं यह अपील करूँगा कि इम समय जो भी शक्ति हमारे पास मौजूद है

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

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

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

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

इसके माथ मुझे कुछ मुझाव भी देने हैं में मदन का ज्यादा बक्त नहीं लूँगा।

जनना तो दे ही रही है, अमीर जो घिस घिस बार चन्दा दे रहे हैं उनसे मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जिस बक्त मेरे जिसे शाहजहांपुर में पहली मीटिंग हुई थी, उम बक्त मैं अपनी पास बुक ले गया था, बगैर किसी के कड़े हुए, अखबारों में यह देख कर कि हमारे देश पर आपनि आई है। मैं एक गरीग आदमी हूँ जो कि लोक सभा में आया हूँ। आप ने सुना होगा कि एक भोपूवाला, जिसने एक ऐसा भी खर्च नहीं किया, वह इस मदन में गरीबी की बजह से चुन कर आया, जिस गरीब ने १६०० रुपये भी नहीं देखे हैं। भगवान् जी कृष्ण से मेरे पास १६५० रु पास बुक में बचा था, उस पास बुक को मैंने जिलाधीश के सामने भेज दिया। रुपया निकालने में कुछ कानूनी अड़चन थी, एक समय में पूरे का पूरा रुपया नहीं निकल सकता था। मैंने उसी बक्त पास बुक में अपने हिसाब को खत्म कर दिया। उमके बाद मेरे पास कुछ नहीं था। कांग्रेस के आंदोलनों में मैं ३०० वीचा जमीन और अपनी नौकरी पहले खो चुका था। गुटबन्दी के कारण इच्छा न होते हुए भी, मैं कांग्रेस में अलाहिदा हुआ या अलाहिदा कर दिया गया। इसका मैं कोई दुख नहीं है।

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shrimati Akkamma Devi]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There are other suggestions which have already been placed before the

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Shivaji Rao Deshmukh]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: His time is up.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Aggression by China

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

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

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

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

[Shri P. C. Borooah]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"We want a leader other than Nehru".

I do not know what it means.

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

15 hrs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I am referring to the circular.

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

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

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

Shri Ranga: No, no.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Shri Nambiar: Politically.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An Hon. Member: What bout Telengana?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Dr. M. S. Aney]

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

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

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

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

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

राजद्वारे समशाने व यस्त्रिवृति वान्वन्वः

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Dr. M. S. Aney]

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

प्रस्माकम् वारा उत्तरे भवन् ।
वस्मान् उदेवा: अवताहवेषु ॥

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

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

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

Shri Tyagi: I think it is a good suggestion.

Shri Raghunath Singh: They will accept it.

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

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

15.50 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Maharajkumar Vijaya Ananda]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 hrs.

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri P. R. Ramakrishnan]

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

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

Thank you, Sir.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Basappa]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The last proposed addition is:—

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

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

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

The Chinese Missions in our country are engaged in extensive espionage

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

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

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

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

The learned author goes on to say:—

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

[Shri L. M. Singhvi]

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

Oppenheim goes on to say:—

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

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

I now advert to another aspect of my resolution.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker: He might have it.

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

Mr. Speaker: That should be enough

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker: Now he should conclude.

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

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

श्रीमती विजय राजे सिंहिया (ग्वालियर)
अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश की सीमा पर चीनी आक्रमण के कारण जो परिस्थिति उनपर है और उससे मम्बन्धित जो दो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने रखे हैं, उन पर विचार प्रकट करने के लिए आपने जो मुझे अवसर दिया है, उसके लिये मैं आपकी आभारी हूं।

भारत सदा शान्ति-प्रिय देश रहा है और इतिहास का पश्चात उलटने पर हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश ने कभी किसी अन्य देश की भूमि हथियाने के अभिधाय से आक्रमण नहीं किया है हालांकि हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण बराबर होते आए हैं। इसी परम्परा के अनुरूप ही हमारे नेता और प्रधान मन्त्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने भी विश्व शान्ति की नीति को बनाय रखा और इसी सिद्धान्त के फलस्वरूप हमने नट-स्थाना की नीति को अपनाया और इसका सदा पालन करने का प्रयास किया है हम आपने पड़ोसी देशों न्याय रखने के साथ हमेशा! मंत्री-पूर्ण सम्बन्ध बनाय रखते हैं। अगर इस मैत्रीपूर्ण मम्बन्ध की इच्छा होते हुए भी किसी पड़ोसी देश ने हमारे साथ विवासधात किया है तो इसका अर्थ यह नहीं होता है कि हमारे इस सिद्धान्त में कोई कमी है।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“धर का भेदी लंका ढाये।”

इसलिये हमें सतकं रहना है कि वह हमारे यहां की किसी किस्म की सूचना बाहर न भेजे और हमारे देश के ऊपर आई हुई आपति का सामना करने में हमारे सामने बाधा न खड़ी करें। तीसरे जो हमारे बाहुय शत्रु हैं वे तो ही हैं। उनके साथ लड़ कर हमें विजय प्राप्त करनी है। भेरे विचार से हमारी सबसे पहली आवश्यकता नैतिक शक्ति को बढ़ाने की है, जिसके बिना किसी भी क्षेत्र में सफलता प्राप्त होना असम्भव है। इसका प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण पूज्य महात्मा गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में सत्य और ग्रहिमा के बल पर लड़ी गई मफल लड़ाई हमारे सामने है। आज हमें न केवल अपनी इस वहूमूल्य स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा करनी है बरन् जनतन्त्रवाद को भी एशिया में कायम रखना है, जिसमें कि हम मवका कल्याण निहित है। भारत एक स्वाभिमानी राष्ट्र है, वह स्वन में भी ऐसी टोटेनिटैरियन शामन प्रणाली वरदाश्व नहीं कर सकता जिसमें कि व्यक्ति का कोई स्वत्व नहीं रहता है और जनता की आवाज में कोई नाकत नहीं रहती है।

[श्रोमती विजय राजे तिश्चिया]

कई कारणों वश हम मानते हैं कि इस कठिन परिस्थिति का सामना करने के लिये शायद हमारी जितनी तैयारी होनी चाहिए थी, उतनी नहीं है, पर बक्त का तकाजा यह है कि हम इन आलोचनात्मक प्रवृत्तियों को अलग रख कर अपने नेता श्री नेहरू के नेतृत्व में रचनात्मक ढंग से इस मुशीबत का सामना करने के लिये तप्तर हो जायें। देशभक्ति की मह विनाशी हम देखते हैं कि सम्पूर्ण देश में दावानल की तरह फैल चुकी है, और जिस देश जोश के साथ देश के कोने कोने से हमें सहयोग भिल रहा है उससे हम अब भी पर अविलम्ब विजय प्राप्त करेंगे, इसमें जरा भी शक नहीं, बल्कि पूर्ण विश्वास है। सत्य की सदा विजय हुई है और होनी, इसमें लेखामार भी लंका हमें नहीं है। अतएव हमें अपने दुश्मनों की कोरी अभियों से कठई छड़ना नहीं चाहिये, जाहे उनका संन्य बल हमसे कितना ही अविक क्यों न हो। हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि जहां व अपने देश से हजारों भील दूर लड़ रहे हैं, वहां लड़ाई आज हमारे अपने देश की सीमा पर हो रही है। जिसके फलस्वरूप हमें एक सहूलियत यह है कि समय पर हमारी सेना की आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति की जा सकती है। शूरता और वीरता में भारतीय सेना की परम्परा विश्व की सेनाओं में सर्वोपरि मानी जाती है। अपने माहस और आत्म बल के अमोद अस्त्र से सुसज्जित होकर एक भारतीय सैनिक चीन के १०० सैनिकों का मुकाबला करने की ताकत रखता है और चीन को भारत से लोहा लेने का मजा चख कर कर ही रहना पड़ेगा।

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

अन्य मिलीटरी आफिसर्स को सेवाओं का भी इसमें लाभ उठायें, जिन को दूसरे महायुद्ध का बड़ा अनुभव है। और हमें यह जानकर खुशी हुई कि ऐसे कई आफिसर्स ने सहृदय अपनी सेवाओं अपरिष्ठ भी की हैं। यहां पर यह मुश्वाव रखना भी मैं अप्राप्तिगिक नहीं समझती कि हमारे देश के राजों महाराजों, उद्योगपतियों तथा सिविल आफिसर्स की सेवाओं भी उनके अपने अपने सेवा में ली जायें क्योंकि उनमें से बहुत से ऐसे हैं जिन्हें पिछले महायुद्ध का अच्छा अनुभव है।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

प्रध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक सुझाव यह है कि देश का प्रत्येक समृद्ध परिवार लिखित रूप में यह बचन दे कि ऐसी बीरगति प्राप्त बीरों के कम से कम एक परिवार का वह भार उठायेंगे।

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

[श्रीमती विजयाराजे सिंधिया]

अन्त में हमारे वे जवान जो मातृ-भूमि की बलिवेदी पर बलिदान हुए हैं, उनकी ओर नतमस्तक होकर अपनी श्रद्धाजलि भेट करती हूँ और जो भाई बहादुरी के साथ थोड़े पर छट कर लड़ रहे हैं उनके प्रति अपनी समस्त शुभकामनाये भेजती हूँ ।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ਹੋਧਾ ਕੁਚ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਸਤਰ ਰਜਬਣਾਨੂ,
 ਥੋਡੇ ਚੜ੍ਹੇ ਭੀ ਨ ਪਿਛੇ ਰਖਣੇ ਜੀ,
 ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਿਆਂ ਪਲਟਣਾ ਰਹਿਤ ਏਧੇ,
 ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣ ਦੇ ਹਾਣ ਨਾ ਸਥਣੇ ਜੀ,
 ਗੋਰਖਾਲਿਏ ਢੋਗਰੇ ਜਾਣ ਪਚਿਦਮ,
 ਆਤੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਹੇ ਰੇਹਿਨ ਸੁਰਖਣੇ ਜੀ,
 ਕਲਗੀਵਾਡੇ ਦੇ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਹਾਣ ਸੁਹਰੇ,
 ਅਗੇ ਹੋਰ ਗਰੀਬ ਨਾ ਥਕਣੇ ਜੀ ।

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

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

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

[Shri Kapur Singh.]

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

17 hrs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Ram Ratan Gupta.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

धी ज० ब० सिंह (धोसी) : अब तो इसके लिए टाइम एक्सटेंड कर दिया गया है। काफी मैम्बर साहिवान बोल चुके हैं। कल दिन में बैठ कर अगर बाकी मैम्बर साहिवान को एकमोडेट किया जा सके तब तो हाउस को एडजन कर दीजिये, वर्ना टाइम एक्सटेंड कर दीजिये।

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

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

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

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : आज भी आठ बजे तक बैठें।

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

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

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

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

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब हम आगे चलें।

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

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

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

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

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

17.22 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

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

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

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

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

[Shri Koya.]

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

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

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

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

श्री यमनी - साद मंडल (जयनगर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हमारे शान्ति प्रिय देश पर जो यह अभतपर्व आधात हआ है उसकी ओर सारे संसार के ४० देश नजर लगाए देख रहे हैं। आज एक ऐसा देश जो ख़वाह कहा जा सकता है, जिसके लिए कठोर से कठोर शब्द भी व्यवहार किये जायें तो कम ही होंगे, हमारे शान्ति प्रिय देश पर आधात कर रहा है।

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

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

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

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

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

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

एक बड़ा उफान सा आ गया है और दूसरे देश में एक स्पार्टेनियस रिवोल्यूशन रोप, जोश आया है। आज मुद्रा गांवों में यह स्थिति है कि जहां से रेडियो दो दो और तीन तीन मील दूर पर हैं वहां भी लोग जाकर अपने बीरों का समाचार जाकर जानने को उत्सुक रहते हैं। आज यह स्थिति है कि अगर कोई समाज विरोधी कार्य करता है तो लोग जमा हो जाते हैं और कहते हैं कि आज वह जमाना नहीं है कि मुनाकाबोरी की जाए।

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

आज देश की ४४ करोड़ जनता शान्ति दूत पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के पीछे है। और हमारे बीर सिपाही मोर्चे पर बोरता का जो परिचय दे रहे हैं उसका उदाहरण नहीं मिल सकता। एक एक हिन्दुस्तानी सिपाही ने मरते मरते सात सात चौनियों को धागल किया है और फिर बेनायट से मारा गया। इससे पता चलता है कि The spirit of this great nations cannot be cowed down by bayonets and bullets. वह हमारा ट्रेचरस एनीमी (विश्वासधाती चीन) सुन ले और संसार के लोग सुन ले अगर चीन यह सोचता है कि बेयानेट्स और बुलेट्स से हमारी स्वतन्त्रता को हड्प लेगा तो यह उसकी भूल है। हमारे इस पवित्र देश ने एक अभूतपूर्व ढंग से अपनी स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त की है। आज चीन सुन ले कि संसार के चालीस बयालीस देश और देश हमारे प्रति अपनी सहानुभूति प्रदर्शित कर रहे हैं, और जो देश कि डिमाकेसी के सिटाडिल हैं, जैसे कि यू०के०, यू० एस० ए० और कनाडा वे आज इस ढंग से हमारी सहायता

[श्रो यमनां प्रसाद मंडल]

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

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

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

आज चीन शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से नहीं सोचता। वह सोचता है कि जिस तरह उसने कोरिया में ७० हजार चीनियों को बेयानटक और इलेक्ट्रो के सामने रख कर कामयाबी प्राप्त को उसी तरह यहां भी करेगा। चीन में लोगों के जीवन का मूल्य चीनियों के समान है। इस बार भी वह चाहता है कि बड़ी संख्या में अपने लोगों को इस दावानल में खत्म कर दे। वहां मानवता के लिये कोई स्थान नहीं है। आप चीन के इरादों का इसी से अन्दराजा ना सकते हैं कि उसने तिब्बत में बीस डिग्री जन फोज रख छोड़ी है और हमारी उन सीमाओं को जो इंटरनेशनल बाउदरीज कहलाती हैं और बाटरशेड के लिहाज से भी जो प्राकृतिक सीमा है उसका विरोध करना चाहता है। चीन का बराबर यह कहना और दावा करना कि ३८००० वर्ग मील वह नेका में चाहता है और १२००० वर्ग मील भूमि उत्तर लद्दाख में भी चाहता है उससे साफ पता चलता है कि उसकी विस्तारवादी नीति कितनी बड़ी-बड़ी है और इस तरह से बजा दावा और अतिक्रमण करके वह भारत का किनना बड़ा इलाका अपना बतला कर हड्डियों की कौशिश कर रहा है। जैसा कि अन्य मानवीय समूहों ने कहा भी है और मैं भी उनके साथ हूँ कि हमें दृढ़ता और संगठित हो कर इस चीजों बर्बंरता का मुकाबला करना पड़ेगा और उन्हें अपनी पवित्र भूमि से खोदेंगे के लिए बहुत देर तक लड़ना पड़ेगा और उसके लिए बड़ी तैयारी हमें करनी पड़ेगी।

मेरे अन्य मित्रों ने कहा भी है This is not a service of battles, but a war and we have to win it. चंकि सत्य और न्याय हम लोगों के पक्ष में हैं इसलिये यह निश्चित है कि अन्त में विजय सत्य की ही होगी।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Malaichami.]

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

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

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

With these words I conclude.

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

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

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

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

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

उस स्थिति में प्रागत नंती के लिए अपने मंत्रि- डल में हेर फेर करना बहुत ज़रूरी

होगा। देश के बड़े अच्छे नेताओं और मंज़े-मंज़ाएं तथा अनुभवशील योग्य व्यक्तियों को उसमें लेना चाहिए, ऐसा मेरा सुझाव है। यह प्रस्त्राता की गात है कि टिफेन्स पोर्टफोलियो, रक्षा विभाग, का चार्ज हमारे देश के एक नीजवान, उत्साही, अनुभवी और हिम्मत वाले सज्जन को दिया जा रहा है और हम उस दिन की प्रतीक्षा में हैं

श्री काशीराम गुप्ता (अलवर) : यह तो अखबार की खबरे हैं।

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

हमारे देश के जितने साधन हैं, उन सब को माविलाइज़ करने की ज़रूरत है। आज जैसी संकट-कालीन स्थिति में जैसा बातावरण बनाना चाहिए, इतने दिनों के बाद भी वह बातावरण नहीं बनने तपाया है।

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

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

[श्री राजेलाल व्यास]

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

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

जहां तक हमारे साधनों का सम्बन्ध है, हमें अपने देश में अधिक हथियार तैयार करने में तेज़ी लानी चाहिए। यह प्रसन्नता की बात है कि हमारे यहां आटोमैटिक वैपन्ज बनने शुरू हो गये हैं और हमारी आर्डिनेंस फैक्ट्रीज में हथियारों की तैयारी में दुनिया तिगुनों वृद्धि हो गई है। लेकिन यह काफी नहीं है। हमें अपने देश में आर्मेंट्स इंडस्ट्रोज बढ़ाने की ज़रूरत है। दुनिया में जो हमारे नियर राष्ट्र हैं, जैसे जापान, य० के०, य० एम० ए०, वेस्ट जर्मनी और इटली आदि, उनको एपरोच करके इस बात की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए कि वे हमारे यहां आर्मेंट्स या गोलाचारू तैयार करने की इंडस्ट्रीज और कैमिकलज इंडरेस्ट्रीज को स्थापित करने के लिए हमको साधन और सहयोग दें। अगर केन्द्रीय शासन उसके लिए पैसा खर्च करने की स्थिति में न हो, तो वह हर राज्य में एक एक इंडस्ट्री लगाने की व्यवस्था करे। मैं समझता हूँ कि सब राज्यों की प्रजा सहर्ष सारी पूँजी जुटाने के लिए तैयार होगी।

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

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

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

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : डिफेंस के कारखानों में बारह घंटे काम होना शुरू हो गया है।

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

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

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

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

गवर्नर्मेंट की पालिसी की बजह से हमारी चौदह हजार भील जमीन का नक्शा बदल गया, लेकिन फिर भी कहा जाता है कि क्रिटिसाइज नहीं करना चाहिए। मैं किसी की नुकता-चीनी नहीं कर रहा हूँ, बल्कि मैं प्रधान मंत्री को पूरी तरह सपोर्ट करता हूँ, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि फौज एक दिन में तैयार नहीं होती है। अब जाड़ा है, इसलिये आभी लड़ाई तेज नहीं होगी। इन तीन महीनों में देश भर के सब एबल-बाइड पसंन्द को माड़न बैपन्ज की ट्रेनिंग दे कर तैयार कर दिया जाये। आपको मानना चाहिये कि चीन कोई ऐसा मुल्क नहीं है कि जिसके साथ मामूली लड़ाई कर के हमें अपनी

हिफाजत कर लेंगे और अपना इलाका वापस ले लेंगे।

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

18 hrs.

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

[श्रोत लहरी सिंह]

नहीं पता है। कब उनको यहां पर मैनक्सिवर किया जाएगा और कब दूसरी बातें होंगी, इसका कुछ पता ही नहीं है। इस बास्ते जल्दी इस बात की है कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा एवल-बाडिड पर्सन्ज को आप ट्रेन के उनको मिलिट्री में लें, उनको तैयार करें। महाराष्ट्र में कितने ही लड़के हैं, राजपूताना भरा पड़ा है, हमारे होगे, राजपूत, सिख, जाट कितनी ही तादाद में आप को मिल सकते हैं। खुशी से वे इस के लिये तैयार हैं, उन को जो तीन महीने की ट्रेनिंग दी जानी है, उस दोरान में वे अपनी तनब्बाह भी फारगो करने के लिये तैयार हैं। इस तीन महीने के बाद उन की एक ट्रेंड सेना आप की डिसपोजल पर हो सकती है पंजाब के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने कुछ काम किया है और उन्होंने कहा है कि स्टूडेंट्स को ट्रेनिंग दो। मैं समझता हूँ कि आप को ज्यादा से ज्यादा तादाद में लोगों को ट्रेन करना चाहिये। यह ढंडे की ट्रेनिंग नहीं है जो उन को दी जानी है, घी नाट घी की नहीं है जो दी जानी है, माडन वैप्ज आफ वार चलाने की उन को आप ट्रेनिंग दें। पार्टिशन के बाद से तो लोग काफी पढ़ लिख गये हैं और हमारी आवादी भी काफी है। पहले लोग पढ़े लिखे नहीं हुआ करते थे, आज प्रेजुएट भी आप को मिल सकते हैं, दसवीं पास भी मिल सकते हैं, आठवीं पास भी मिल सकते हैं और इनी तादाद में मिल सकते हैं कि अगर आप चाहो तो अपनी सेना को भी पचास साठ लाख तक ले जाओ। यह सेना आप देश में तीन महीने में तैयार कर सकते हैं।

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

फौजें हमेशा लड़ती रही हैं, हमेशा उन्होंने बहादुरी दिखाई है, हमेशा उन्होंने दुश्मन को पछाड़ा है। पार्टिशन के बाद हिन्दुस्तान बहुत बड़ा मुक्त बन गया है और इतना बड़ा बह कभी भी नहीं हुआ था। न इस में राजा हैं, न महाराजा हैं और न ही नवाब हैं। मारे हिन्दुस्तान में एक गवर्नरेंट है और वह है सेंट्रल गवर्नरेंट। अशोक के समय में ऐसा नहीं हुआ और न ही पहले हुआ। आप के पास सभी रिसोर्सिस हैं, सारा कट्टी आप के साथ है और फौज भी हमारी मामूली फौज नहीं है। यह वह फौज है, जिस को अपने जौहर दिखाने का मोका १६१४ में और किं १६३७ में जबकि लास्ट बल्ड वार हुई थी, बर्मा फंट पर जापानी फौज से लड़ कर दिखाने का मिला था। हमारी फौज को मामूली ट्रेनिंग नहीं मिली हुई है, यह बैल ट्रेन्ड है। किसी भी तरह की कोई कमी नहीं रही है। कभी इस बात की रही है कि पिछ्ले चौदह पंद्रह साल से हम पंचशील का प्रचार करते आ रहे हैं। १६४७ में जब हम स्वाधीन हुए, हम को तैयारी करनी चाहिये थी। जिस तरह का हमारा पड़ोसी ताकतवर है, उस तरह का हमें भी बनना चाहिये था। वह हम ने नहीं किया। पंचशील का ही नारा हम लगाते रहे। यह क्यों करते रहे, यह समझ में नहीं आता है।

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

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

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

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

मतलब है ? दुनिया में क्या कोई आप की गातों में, आप का ख्याल है, आ जायगा ? उन के भी स्पाइज कम नहीं हैं । मवाल यह है कि हम को एक ताकतवर एनीमी का मुकाबला करें करना है और ऐसा ताकतवर एनीमी जोकि फुली इक्विप्ड है । चाउ-एन-लाई ने कह दिया है कि कोई ताकत नहीं है जोकि जो इलाका उन के कब्जे में है, उस को वापिस ले सके । वह तो यह एलान करते हैं और हम आठ मितम्बर का गाना गते जा रहे हैं । हम ने क्या तैयारी की है, इस इलाके को वापिस लेने के ? हमारे पास हवाई जहाज कितने हैं, अगर उन की कल को जहरत पड़ जाय ? आप को चाहिये कि आप एलाइज तत्त्वाश करें । इनना रुप्या आप के पास नहीं आया है बावजूद अपीलें करने के । जो कारखाने हैं वे मिनटों में तैयार नहीं हो सकते हैं । किस तरह से आप दुश्मन का मुकाबला करेगे । जब लड़ाई चलेगी तो यह मामूली आटोमेटिक वैपंज जैसे साथ नहीं लड़ी जायगी, मार्टर की नहीं रहेगी, यह हवाई हमलों तक पहुँचेगी । आप चीन पर यकोन नहीं कर सकते हैं । मुक्किन है कल वह हवाई जहाजों से अटेक करे । आप के पास न पुर्जे हैं और न कुछ और । इतना होने पर भी आप कहते हैं कि हम नान-एलाइंड रहेंगे । एलाइंड होने का मेरा मतलब यह नहीं है कि आप किसी मिलिट्री पैक्ट में शामिल हो जायें । मेरा मतलब यह है कि अगर मलाया पर हमला हो, हम पर हमला हो, बर्मा पर हमला हो, या जिनी भी डेनोक्रेटिक कंट्रीज़ हैं, उन में से किसी पर हमला हो, तो उन को यकीन दिलाओ तो कि हम सब इकट्ठा मरेंगे । बर्मा, मलाया, थाईलैंड किसी पर भी हमला हो, हम को एक दूसरे की मदद करनी चाहिये । इस नान-एलाइंड शब्द का मतलब क्या है । क्या आप को रूस ने कोई हथियार दे दिये हैं ? मिग भी अभी तक नहीं दिये हैं और जब देगा तो उसी तरह के टूटे फूटे दे देगा जिस तरह से टूटी फूटी गाड़ियां रंग कर के, इनैक्शन के दिनों में दे दी जाती हैं जो दो कदम चलने पर खड़ी हो जाती हैं ।

[श्री लाहरी मिश्र]

रामलीला ग्राउंड में तथा दूसरी जगहों पर नान-एलाइन होने की दुहाई दी जाती है। इस तरह से काम नहीं चल सकता है। नई नई किस्म के हथियार तैयार हो चुके हैं। अब पुराने हथियारों से काम नहीं चल सकता है। इस चीज को रियलाइज कर के आप को चाहिये कि आप रीयलिस्टिक हों। मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब के सामने सच्ची बात रख रहा हूँ और आप को भी चाहिये कि आप सच्ची बात रखें। हम एलाइंस नहीं चाहते। लेकिन आप सोचें कि किस दुश्मन से वास्ता पड़ा है। हवाई जहाज, बीस बीस लाख का आता है, कोई आप को बैसे ही दे देगा। मिलिट्री पैक्ट न हो, लेकिन अगर किसी ईमोक्रेटिक कंट्री पर अटक होता है तो हम सब एक साथ मरें। १९६४ की लड़ाई अंग्रेज ने एलाइंस कर के जीती। लास्ट वार में उस ने एक तरफ रूस को काबू किया और दूसरी तरफ अमेरिका को किया। कोई उस का नुकसान हो गया? इन लड़ाइयों में वह विजयी रहा है। हमारे पास है तो कुछ नहीं लेकिन हम करें जाते हैं कि हम एलाइंस नहीं करेंगे। नहीं करेंगे तो मरेंगे ही। इतनी दुहाई नान-एलाइनमेंट की आप न दो। एलाइंस के माने ममता दो। उस की डेफीनीशन में योड़ा फर्क कर दो। बिना एलाइंस के हम मर जायेंगे। अंग्रेज को यह करना पड़ा था। आज जो खतरा है वह मामूली नहीं है और इस का हमें पूरी ताकत के साथ और जिस तरह भी हो सके मुकाबला करना है।

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

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

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

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

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

Some Hon. Members: Timid?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Sonavane.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Surendra Pal Singh]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Rajaram]

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

श्री क० न० तिवारी (बगहा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप ने जो बड़ी कृपा करके यह अवसर मुझे बोलने का दिया है, इस के लिये मैं आप का आभारी हूँ।

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

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब तक यह देखा जाता रहा है कि ऐसे भौंकों पर आगे सरकार

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

18.43 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

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

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

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

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

from one tray in to another tray out
 बाली कहावत चरितार्थ हो जाय।

नेपोलियन ने कहा है :

in military operations the most valuable item is time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“नैन छिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि नैन दहति पावकः । न चैनं क्लेदयन्त्यापो न शोपयति मारुनः ॥”

प्रथम् इस आत्मा को शस्त्र नहीं काट सकते, इस को आग नहीं जला सकती, इस को जल नहीं गला सकता और वायु नहीं मुखा सकता । हम ने इस बात का फैसला कर लिया है कि हिमालय में तो पांच पांडव गले थे अगर धर्म और सत्य के रास्ते पर चलते हुए हम ४४ करोड़ में में ५ करोड़ इंसान भी हिमालय में आक्रमण का मुकाबला करते हुए गल जायें प्रथम् नष्ट हो जायें तो भी कोई पर्वाह की बात नहीं है लेकिन यह निश्चित बात है कि हम चीन को कभी भारतवर्ष में आने नहीं देंगे । उन को अपनी धरती पर टिकने नहीं देंगे और उन को खदेड़ कर ही दम लेंगे ।

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

“जग में सखा निशाचर जेते लक्षण ही हनहि निमिष महि तेते ।”

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

“कहो मुखागर मूढ़ सुन मम सन्देश उदार, सीता देहु मिलऊ नत आवा काल तुम्हारा ॥”

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

“सीता देहु मिलऊ नत आवा काल तुम्हारा ।”

भारत को और से चीनी दर्दियों को यह अनितम अवसर दिया जा रहा है ।

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

[श्री पाराशाह]

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

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

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

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

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

बूँकि मेरा समय समाप्त हो गया है इसलिये मैं श्री अधिक समय न लेते हुए अन्त में सिफ़ एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ । मैंने इस प्रस्ताव पर एक संशोधन रखा है जिसमें मैंने चाहा है कि प्रस्ताव के अधिकर में यह शब्द जोड़ दिये जायें कि हम दुर्घटन को निहानें, लड़ाई चा जितनी लड़ा जा, हमलावरों को अपने सैनिकों द्वारा निकालें और इस में हम विदेशी सेनाओं की सहायता नहीं लेंगे । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं एक बार फिर अद्वांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ जिन्होंने कि इस आजादी की लड़ाई में अपना बलिंदान दिया

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

19 hrs.

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

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

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

[Shri J. P. Jyotishi.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

श्री किं० पटनायक : एक तरफ तो सारे देश को एक होने के लिए आह्वान किया जा रहा है, जनता को इकट्ठा होने के लिए आह्वान किया जा रहा है और दूसरी तरफ जबकि सारी विरोधी पार्टियां, यहां तक कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी तक देश रक्षा के काम में सहयोग देने के लिए और त्याग करने के लिए तैयार हैं, तब उस हालत में कांग्रेस पार्टी दलबन्दी और गुटबन्दी में व्यस्त हो, तो यह कहां तक जायज़ समझा जा सकता है। मैं यह इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने समझ रखा है कि यह भौका आ गया है जब कि वह कमज़ोर होती चली जा रही है और उसको तकड़ा बना लिया जा सकता है। प्रधान मंत्री श्री नेहरू अब कुछ अलोकप्रिय हो रहे हैं तो यह अच्छा भौका है कि उनको थोड़ा ज्यादा लोकप्रिय बना लिया जाये और ऐसा करने के लिए यह अच्छा भौका हाथ लगा है और इसका पूरा लाभ उठा लिया जाना चाहिये। इससे तो यह पता चलता है कि यह देश रक्षा का काम नहीं है बल्कि नेहरू रक्षा का काम हो गया है। जहां देखो इस तरह के रेजोल्यूशन आते हैं, वातें होती हैं कि नेहरू के पीछे खड़े हो जाओ और नेहरू ही हमारे नेता हैं, वह ही सब कुछ हैं। यह जो चीज़ है यह बहुत ही खतरनाक है।

आज जो मसला है वह देश रक्षा का

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[श्री कि० पटनायक]

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

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

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

अध्यक्ष महोदय : चार दिन के बाद ।

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

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

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

जहां तक हमले का सम्बन्ध है, बड़ा कठिन है, इस बात को डिटरमिन करना कि उस का मौटिंट क्या है, क्यों चीन चाहता है कि वह हमारी सीमाओं की ओर बढ़ । लेकिन कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी का एक इरादा है, दुर्निया का

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

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

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapalli): This was subsequently corrected.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

अध्यक्ष महोदय : क्या आप यहीं क्यूंकि मैंदात बनायेंगे? आप अपनी तकरीर करते जायें और मेरी तरफ मुख्यातिव रहें।

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

दर्द इस्त दर दिल गर वा जबानआरम जबां
सोजद,

गर दम दर मी कशम मगाजे उस्तखां सोजद ।

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

आज समय आ गया है कि सरकार जनता का साथ दे, जनता ने ही यह जीवन ज्योति जगाई है । आज की प्रेरणा सरकार की नहीं, जनता की दी टूँडी है । अगर सरकार वा वश चलता तो जिस तरह ऊपर के इलाके के भीदह हजार मुरब्बे मील चुपचाप दे बैठी थी उसी तरह नेपा में भी खामोश बैठी रहनी ।

जनता के इस आवाहन पर मेरा सर्वन्व अप्रित होगा । भारत के प्रधान मंत्री ने इस भौके पर जनता की आवाज की सही तजुमानी

[श्री राठ शिं शाण्डे]

की है। मैं अपने प्रधान मंत्री को यह विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि जो सज्ज तरीन मोर्चा हो उस पर मुझे भेजें और फिर मेरा जौहर देखें।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आपके जौहर की यहां भी जरूरत है।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके सम्मुख यह प्रतिज्ञा करता हूँ कि इस घमें युद्ध में रूलिंग पार्टी के तमाम एम० पीज० से ज्यादह खून दूँगा। कम्युनिस्टों के साथ मेरा कम्प्टीशन नहीं है। मेरा कम्प्टीशन सिर्फ कांग्रेस एम० पीज० के साथ है। अगर कोई कांग्रेस एम० पी० एक बोतल खून देगा तो मैं सबा बोतल खून दूँगा। मैं ने अपनी सेना सेवाओं के लिए अपने राष्ट्रपति को लिख कर भेज भी दिया है कि देश रक्षा के लिए वे मुझे चाहे जिस तरह इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं।

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

मैं कांग्रेस के साथ कम्प्टीशन नहीं करना चाहता था। लेकिन नेशनल डिफेंस काउन्सिल की फार्मेशन ने मुझे इस बात के लिए मजबूर कर दिया है कि यह सावित कर दूँ कि स्वतंत्र पार्टी के एम० पीज० कांग्रेस एम० पीज० के मुकाबिले में ज्यादा कुर्बानी कर सकते हैं।

सदे मुहररम, आसमान में अगर सूरज और चांद न रहें तो आसमान बेकार हो जावेगा। इसी तरह डिफेंस काउन्सिल में भी यदि जनरल करिअपा और जनरल कुलबन्त सिंह न हों तो बहुवर्य हो जावेगी। इस काउन्सिल का निर्माण पश्चात और पार्टी पालिटिक्स की बेसिस के ऊपर क्या गया है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत य० एन० एम० में जब चाइना को मान्यता प्रदान करने की सिफारिश करता है तो संसार हमारी बुद्धि-हीनता का उपहास किये बगैर नहीं रह सकता। कोई मूर्खता का चक्रवर्ती भी हो तो भी इन नाजुक घड़ियों में ऐसी निरर्थक बातें करना पसन्द न करेगा। अच्छा होता कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री को इंटरनेशनल पालिटिक्स की इतनी डीप नालिज न होती। उस समय वे हमारे नेशनल एक्विज़स्टेंस के लिए खुले दिल से सोच सके होते “Where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise.”

“मेरी गफलत ही अच्छी मेरी इच्छाहीश्वारी से,

बला में फंस गया मैं वे खबर से बाखबर होकर”

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

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

क्या यह हमारे लिए लज्जा की बात नहीं है कि जो वैम्पायर जैक्स इंडोनेशिया से हम नूरीद रहे हैं वे इंडोनेशिया जैसे छोटे राष्ट्र की उत्तरात के लिए भी नाकाफी सावित हो चुके हैं। मैं इस सिलसिले में १६ अक्टूबर के हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स की रिपोर्ट पढ़ता हूँ:—

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

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

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

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

प्रस्तुत में बात करने की कल्पना वे लोग किया करते हैं जिनकी मिलेंटरी स्ट्रैन्ड टूट जाती है और जिनका कि बलबोर्य ख़त्म हो जाता है। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि देश में फौजी तालीम लांजमी को जावे। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि देश का प्रत्येक नागरिक हथियार लेकर चले। मैं ने इस सदन में अपनी पहली ही तक्रीर में अर्ज़ किया था कि हथियारों पर से पावनी हटाइ जावे। रिवाल्वर और राइफलों के लाइसेन्स के बदले कांग्रेस के पदाधिकारी पब्लिक से बोट मांगते हैं। इस मनोवृत्ति को ख़त्म किया जावे।

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

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

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

“हंसी तलवार की हम लोग उड़ाएं न कभी इस की अजमत की शहादत गुरु गोविन्द ने दी इस के साए में है जब्रत यह है कफनि रसूल हक्क की नुसरत के लिए तेग अली की चमकी” उसी समय थ्रीमान्, मुझे ख्याल था कि पंचशील और अर्हिसा के बयाबानों में भटकी रुद्द और प्यासी झौम कहीं दम न तोड़ दे। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि पंचशील की शिला को उठा कर चीन के मस्तक में मारा जावे और उस की पेशानी में से जो खून निकले उस को

[श्री रारोशि० पाण्डे]

पी कर हिन्दुस्तान के नौजवान दुश्मन की द्याती
को रौद ढालें.....

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

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

आज डिफैन्सिव से काम नहीं चलेगा
आज आरोपेंसिव लेना पड़ेगा। अध्यक्ष महोदय,
मैं आप को विश्वास दिलाता हूं कि मेरे लाखों
नवयुवक साथी सब बंधनों को तोड़ कर शत्रु
की बेस पर हमला बोलना चाहते हैं। लेकिन
मैं इस जनतन्त्र के मंदिर में बैठा हूं और
मैं कोई काम ऐसा नहीं करूँगा जिस से इस
परिव्रत्र पार्लियामेंट की मर्यादा पर ढूँफ़ आवे
वरना—

“चाहूं तो अब भी जानिबे मंजिल पल्ट चलूँ
गुमराह इसलिए हूं कि रहवर ख़फ़ा न हो ”

चन्द्रशेखर शर्मा आजाद, सरदार भगत सिंह,
सरदार ऊधमसिंह और भाई अशोकांग उल्लाह
खां का खून कोई ठंडा नहीं पड़ गया है।
सरहदी गांधी बादशाह खान अब्दुल गफ़कार
खां की कुर्बानीयां कोई बेकार नहीं हो गई हैं।
मुझे यह फ़द्द हासिल है कि मैं बादशाह
खान के सुख्खोशाक में रहा हूं। मुझे यह भी
गौरव प्राप्त है कि मैं चौदह साल की उम्र
में काल कोठरी में बंद रहा हूं। मुझे इस पर
भी गौरव प्राप्त है कि मेरे स्वर्गीय पिता
महात्मा काली कमली वाले ने लोकमान्य तिलक
के साथ अंग्रेज की कठोर यंत्रणाएं सही थीं।

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

बात कहता हूं। जो जनरल शाहनवाज खां
वुरे दिनों में भारत की आजादी के लिए फौजों
की कमांड कर सकता था, युगपूरुष नेता जी
सुभाषचन्द्र बोस का जनरल बनने के लिए
जिसमें भरपूर मिलिट्री जिनियस थी वह आज
व्यों हिन्दुस्तान की फौजों की बागडोर नहीं
सम्भल सकता? मैं आप की ही बात कहता हूं।
जो एस० के० पाटिल भारत की राजनीति
का स्तम्भ है जिसने फ़ूँड प्राव्लम के सब से
ज्यादा उलझे हुए भसले को अपनी पैनी
प्रतिभा और बेमिसाल बहादुरी से हल कर के
दिखला दिया है वह व्यों हिन्दुस्तान का डिफ़ेंस
मिनिस्टर बनने लायक नहीं है?

श्रीमान्, मैं आज पार्टी पालिटिक्स की
भाषा में नहीं सोचता। मैं आज मां की लाज
बचाने की रोशनी में सोचता हूं। सच्चा
नेता वह है जो आज चीन के दानव को पीछे
खदेड़ देगा। सच्चा देशभक्त वह है जो अपना
बलिदान देकर भारत माता की प्रतिष्ठा को
बचा लेगा। अपने प्रधान मंत्री से भी मैं यह
निवेदन करता हूं कि आज हमारा मुळ
और हमारा ईमान खतरे में है। वे अपने
दिल के दरवाजे को खोल दें। पार्टी पालिटिक्स
से ऊपर उठ कर ४४ करोड़ की जबान में
सोचें। इस विशाल देश का एक भी शब्दस
अगर कहीं अपने को माइनारिटी में समझ
कर गैर मुतमझ बैठा है अगर वह खुद को
गैर महफूज समझता है तो यह हमारी आजादी
के ऊपर एक कलंक होगा। प्रधान मंत्री की
जिम्मेदारी सारे देश को प्रेम की एक गंगा में
स्नान करान की है। मुहब्बत का दरिया वह
जाय जिस में अवगाहन कर के भारत माता
के ज्वालीस करोड़ अमृत पुत्र सगे भाई और
बहन बन कर रहें—

“हम मवाहिद हैं हमारा तर्ज है तकें रसूम,
मिलतें जब मिट गई अज्जाएँ ईमां हो गईं।”
जंग के मंडराते हुए इन बादलों के नीचे हम
कम्प्युनिस्ट पार्टी की तरफ से आंखें बन्द कर के
नहीं रह सकते।

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

चीन के हमले ने भारत में वह एटमौस-फियर पैदा कर दिया है कि आज कम्युनिज्म और पैट्राइटियम अपेजिट टम्सं समझी जाने लगी हैं। मैं इंकार नहीं करता। कम्युनिस्टों में भी देशभक्त होंग लेकिन आज के माहौल में नीतिकार की यह युक्ति चरितार्थ होती हैः—

“पयोऽपि शौडिकी हस्ते वाह्लीत्यमिधीयते”

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

उज्जबल बनाता है, जो असम भारत की नाक है, जिस असम की खूबसूरती को हमारे इतिहास ने कामरूप कह के याद किया है, जिस असम ने माननीय हेम बरुआ जैसे इप्टैलैक्ज़ुल जाइण्ट्स पैदा किये हैं, जिस असम की ब्रह्मांशकर देव ने अपने रुहानी नूर से मुनब्बर किया है, जिस असम की धरती पर माधवदेव की आध्यात्मिकता अवतीर्ण हुई है और जिस असम को केशव देव मालवीय ने अपने शुभ प्रयत्नों द्वारा पैट्रोल से परिपूर्ण कर दिया है, उसी असम में कम्युनिस्टों द्वारा हमारे प्रधान मंत्री का पुतला जलाया गया और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के ठेकेदार सिर्फ बड़ी हुई क्रीमतों की ही चर्चा करत रहे। मैं पूछता हूँ कौन होते हैं आप लोग हमारी बड़ी हुई क्रीमतों को घटाने वाले? जिन की लायल्टी फादरलैंड के साथ है वे क्यों चिन्ता करते हैं? उनसे मैं गालिव के लफजों में कहना चाहता हूँ:—

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

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

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

मैं ने इसी पालियामेंट के पिछ्ले इच्छास में कहा था कि भारत सरकार इस ख्याल को हपेशा के लिए छोड़ दे कि कोई सोशलिस्टक कन्टरी हमारी सहायता करेगा। मैं अनुभव और ज्ञान के प्रकाश में अपनी राय को बदल दूँगा। भगवान करे कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री का स्वर्णिम स्वप्न सत्य हो।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझ आज तक तटस्थ शब्द की सार्थकता मालूम नहीं हुई। इस

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

तटस्थता के मातहत तिब्बत को कुर्बानी का बकरा बना कर चीनी भेड़िये के सामने डाला गया। इसी तटस्थता के मातहत हिमालय की दुर्भेद्य—अन्कांकरेविल—चौटियों को दुश्मन के पैरों के नीचे कुचलवाया गया। इसी तटस्थता के मातहत पड़ोसी देश नैपाल को अपने से दूर किया गया। इसी तटस्थता के मातहत हिन्दुस्तानी फौज के चमकते हीरों को अपन गुलाबी खून से कांगों और गाजा के चमन को सरसब्ज करने के लिए उस वक्त भेजा गया जब कि चीनी दुश्मन हमारे बुलन्दतरीन इलाके को चीनी की तरह लज्जीज समझ कर हड्डप करता जा रहा था। स्पीकर साहब, अंग्रेजी में एक कहावत चली चाती है:—

"It is never too late to mend."

आज भी समय है कि हम तटस्थता के मोह को सवरण कर के दोस्त और दुश्मन में सच्ची तमीज पैदा कर लें।

तटस्य शब्द संस्कृत का है। इस का अर्थ होता है दरिया के किनार पर बैठा हुआ "sitting on the bank of the river" जो किनारे पर बैठा हुआ है उस को कोई भी घबका दे कर दरिया में डाल देगा। यह समय कूल का नहीं, लहरों का है।

ऐ रहरवाने बहरे अमल मौजों से सकोने टकरा दो साहिल पै खड़े हो कर भी कहीं अन्दाजए तूफां होता है॥

नीर-झीर विवेकी राजहंस। जिस के मुख-नुख के हम साथी नहीं, जिसे अपन मित्र कहते हुए हमें संकोच हांता है, जिस की दोस्ती पर हमें नाज नहीं, क्या उस से सहायता लेने का हमें मारल राइट हासिल है?

मैं इस बात को अच्छी तरह समझता हूँ कि अगर चीनी कम्यूनिस्टों के इमान में हुआ, तो वे सब से पहले मुझे अपनी गोली का शिकार बनायेंग। लेकिन भारत के प्रधान

मंत्री भी यह नोट कर लें कि यदि किसी चीप पापुलैटी के फेर में पड़ कर वह आज कम्यूनिस्टों के लिए अपने दिल में सापट कानंर रखेंगे, तो जिस आइडियालोजी ने बेरिया को माफ नहीं किया, वह किसी दूसरे को भी स्पेयर नहीं कर सकती।

मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज चाइना से डिप्लोमेटिक रिलेशन्ज न तोड़ने की क्या जस्टिफिकेशन है। आगे चल कर चाइना कुछ भैत्री या समझ से काम लेगा, ऐसा कोई अक्ल का दुश्मन ही सोच सकता है।

श्रीमन्, मैं नतमस्तक हो जाऊंगा अपने प्रधान मंत्री के सामने, अगर वे संसार भर के इतिहास में से एक मिसाल भी ऐसी निकाल कर दिखला दें कि आजादी के लम्बे पंद्रह सालों के बाद किसी मुल्क के बजीरे-आजम ने अपने देश की रक्षा का प्रस्ताव गैर-मुल्कों जुबान में रखा हो। यह सारे संसार में पहली मिसाल है कि अपनी आजादी की रक्षा का प्रस्ताव पांच हजार मील पर बनी हुई जुबान में रखा गया है। मुझे कोई एनराज न होता, अगर यह प्रस्ताव कबड्डि, भलवालम, बंगला, गुरुमुद्दी, उर्दू, गुजराती या भारत की किसी भी भाषा में रखा जाता। लेकिन पांच हजार मील पर बनी हुई विदेशी भाषा में रखा हुमा यह प्रस्ताव सारे देश को परेशान कर रहा है।

मुझे आश्चर्य होता है, जब मैं रह देखता हूँ कि जिस देश की छाती पर शत्रु चढ़ा हुआ आ रहा है, उस देश के शरावधर एक दिन के लिए भी बन्द नहीं हुए, उस देश के सिनुमाओं में अब भी तक मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग स्कॉल नहीं खोले गए।

स्पार्टा को जब रक्षा के लिए तैयार होना था, तो वहां पर यह कानून बनाया गया था कि बच्चा पैदा हो, तो तुरन्त छत पर ढाल

दिया जाये। अगर वह चौबीस घंटे की सर्वेगर्मी बर्दाश्त कर ले, तो उस की परवारिश कर ली जाये, लेकिन अगर वह सहन न कर सके, तो उस कमज़ोर बच्चे की ज़रूरत स्पार्टा को नहीं है।

आज इसी तरह के रूप्त्व हमारे देश में बनाए जाने चाहिए। आज सब से बड़ी ज़रूरत इस बात की है कि यहां का बच्चा बच्चा इस देश को अपना देश समझे। यह देश किसी के नाम गिरवी नहीं रखा गया है। यह किसी पार्टी का, या इंडिविडुअल का, या पसंन का किसी तरह का कोई खास गहना नहीं है। यह सारे देश की सम्पत्ति है। प्रधान मंत्री बड़े हैं और रक्षा मंत्री भी बड़े हैं, लेकिन मेरा देश प्रधान मंत्री से बड़ा है। अगर प्रधान मंत्री देश की सही सही हिफाजत नहीं कर सकते हैं, तो वह इस बोझ को अपने कंधे से उतार दें और देश के नीजवानों को बुला कर कहें कि इस देश की रक्षा करो। हमारा देश प्रधान मंत्री से बहुत बड़ा है।

मैं इस सदन का ध्यान इस और आकृष्टि कराता हूँ कि वह पार्टीबाजी से ऊपर उठ कर भारत-भाता की रक्षा की भाषा में सोचें। तभी इस देश का कल्याण हो सकेगा। अगर हम ने अपने कैरेक्टर को ऊंचा किया, अपने चरित्र और सदाचार को ऊंचा उठाया, तो संसार को कोई ताकत नहीं है, जो हम को गिरा सके। सब से पहले इंडिविडुअल कैरेक्टर की ज़रूरत है। जिस देश के लोग शराब पीते हैं, अश्लील सिनेमा देखते हैं, कोटोजम और दाला खाते हैं, वह देश कभी रण-प्रांगण में खड़ा नहीं हो सकता है। अगर हर एक शास्त्र अपनी जगह पर सुन्दर हो जाये, तो सारा देश सुन्दर होगा।

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: He has read it at a terrific speed. The stenographers have not been able to record

Mr. Speaker: The stenographers were sure that they would be able to copy it out from his speech.

I allowed these speeches in this particular discussion to be read out as I thought that the speeches must be responsible ones because it is a delicate subject, but sometimes this facility is used to make it appear as if they are speaking on a public platform. That should not be done.

Shri K. L. More.

श्री बाल्मीकी (खुर्जा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हम और कितनी देर बैठेंगे ?

Mr. Speaker: As you wish. It is the pleasure of the House. As the House wishes. I am entirely in the hands of the House.'

I am just exhausting the list of names I have got. I have promised to call each one of them, and I must do that. If today the Members want that they should rise at 8 O'Clock, tomorrow they ought to be ready to see that we finish all this.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharya: My submission is that you finish the list that you made yesterday, so that those who give their names tomorrow may get a chance after that.

Mr. Speaker: Because Shri Bhattacharya is not in that list, he is finding out a loophole for himself. I will give him a chance tomorrow. He may rest assured.

श्री बाल्मीकी : क्या मेरा नाम लिस्ट में है ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : है। मैं आप को तसल्ली दिलाता हूँ कि जिन माननीय सदस्यों के नाम मैं ने लिखे थे, उन को ज़रूर इस डिबेट में वक्त दिया जायगा।

श्री बाल्मीकी : मेरा नाम ऊपर है, नीचे है या बीच में है ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : ऊपर भी है और नीचे भी।

Shri D. D. Puri (Kaithal): On a point of information. How many names of yesterday's list still remain?

Mr. Speaker: About ten more.

Shri D. D. Puri: We should also continue after that.

Mr. Speaker: What is the pleasure of the House? (Interruptions.) Today we may rise at 8 O'clock and tomorrow we will exhaust the whole number that is there.

श्री बाल्मीकी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, क्या एक बार फिर नाम देना पड़ेगा?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : परसों भी मैं ने माननीय सदस्यों को नोटिस दिया था कि वे आज तैयार हो कर आयें, ताकि अगर उन को बैठना पड़े, तो वे बैठ सकें।

चूंकि गोनी साहब बाहर जा रहे हैं, इस लिए इस के बाद मैं उन को टाइम दे दूँगा।

Shri Deshpande (Nasik): When today's list will be exhausted, does it mean that nobody will be included in the list any more or nobody will get a chance? When today's list is exhausted, tomorrow no fresh name will be included? Is that the position?

Mr. Speaker: I have got a fresh list also—those who have sent in their names today. That list is also there.

Shri K. L. More (Hatakanangle): Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by the hon. Prime Minister wholeheartedly. The whole nation is inflamed with magnificent patriotic fervour to drive out the treacherous Chinese aggressor from the sacred soil of our motherland. The resolution affirming the firm resolve of the country to expel the aggressor is a clear definition of a national objective that will be readily understood and endorsed by every citizen. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's firm leadership and enthusiasm with which the people have magnificently ac-

cepted it during the national crisis is a sure indication of victory to our nation. We had reverses but they are very much like those suffered by England and France during the Second World War in the initial stages. We should not be disheartened by that. The real significance of the proclamation of Emergency by the President is to make the nation alert to meet the danger ahead. It is our sacred duty to respond to it and give our hearty approval to the Proclamation. Now, with regard to the Resolution, it is the duty of every citizen to carve out every word within his own heart. The first aspect of this resolution is the expression of deep regret that China has betrayed the goodwill and friendship shown so far by India and committed aggression and initiated a massive invasion of India by her Armed Forces. We are shocked at the cruel and crude invasion of our motherland. As has been said by our leader, we accept the challenge. The nation accepts the challenge and has shown unity and enthusiasm unparalleled in history. But we must train ourselves to be prepared to face it however long the crisis may be. Let us understand that our war effort essentially apart from actual fighting is an effort to greater production in the field and in the factories.

We must remember that in this kind of struggle, we are all involved and every peasant in the field is a soldier and every worker in the factory is a soldier as is put by our leader. Therefore, our Five Year Plan is the real spring of our strength. One of the main aims of the unabashed Chinese aggression is to uproot the very basis of our Plan. We must take utmost pains to make it a success.

20 hrs.

The policy of non-alignment followed by our nation is the soundest and I am sure it will lead to ultimate success. It would be a mistake to judge it by the reverses and give it up. At the same time, I am of the view that the national leader should

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be given free latitude to give it a suitable shape from time to time.

The second aspect of the resolution is to record our high appreciation of the valiant struggle of our men and officers of the armed forces while defending our frontiers and to pay our respectful homage to the martyrs who have laid down their lives.

The third aspect of the resolution is that it records our profound appreciation of the wonderful and spontaneous response of the people. In this connection, I must also bring it to the notice of the House that our ablest Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Shri Y. B. Chavan, has offered his readiness to serve even on the frontier, and at this very critical time, he has sounded the trumpet that when the Himalayas are in peril, Sahyadri would come to the rescue. Such is the heartening message that he has given and therefore we realise its importance.

The fourth aspect of the resolution is to acknowledge with gratitude the sympathy and the moral and material support given by many friendly countries like the United States of America the United Kingdom, Canada, etc. Nearly 40 countries of the world have supported the just cause of India and condemned China.

In this connection, I may mention that America is like Lord Krishna coming to the rescue of India. In Mahabharata, there was a war between the Kauravas and the Pandavas. Lord Krishna came to the rescue of the Pandavas. (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: These comparisons do not look nice.

Shri K. L. More: The most important aspect of the resolution is the affirmation of the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be. To emerge successfully out of this crisis, my suggestions are as follows: we must have an unflinching faith and love in our esteemed leader, Shri

Jawaharlal Nehru. Let us allow him to take his own decisions and act up to them. The nation should try to carry every word of his as gospel to achieve success.

The second suggestion is that the entire nation must through disciplined and hard work, back up the army which is fighting against China on the frontier. The third suggestion is, let us create a climate for fighting the Chinese aggression.

Now, my last suggestion is that many of the MPs and MLAs should be represented on the National Defence Councils whether it is in the Centre or in the districts. I also support the suggestion of Mr. Sonavane that Mr. Jagjivan Ram should be included in the Council. Then, Sir, the licence for purchasing guns should be given freely to every loyal citizen of the country.

Lastly, Sir, I express my gratitude to you for giving me this opportunity. You have expressed that we will sit longer till everybody is given a chance. This is a very generous gesture and I express my thanks for that.

Mr. Speaker: I had just said that we will adjourn at 8 O'clock. Now, Mr. Goni has to go to Jammu this night. If the House bears with him, he might make his speech today.

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वाकी माननीय सदस्यों को खड़े होने की जरूरत नहीं है। उनको आज बक्त नहीं मिला है तो कल मिल जाएगा।

श्री आत्मीकी : कल जरूर मिल जाना चाहिये।

श्री प्रबुल गनी गोनी (जम्म ता काश्मीरी) : जनावर स्पीकर साहब, मैं आपके बहुत मशक्कर हूं कि आपने मुझे बोलने का भोका दिया है।

[श्री अब्दुल गनी गोनी]

पेशतर इसके कि मैं इस रेजोल्यूशन पर कुछ बोलूँ मैं सब से पहले कुछ अलफाज उन जवानों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ जो वहां पर लड़ रहे हैं। मैं उस इलाके का रहने वाला हूँ। उस जिले का रहने वाला हूँ जो लद्दाख के साथ वाला ज़िला है और जिसका नाम छोड़ा है। मुझे मालूम है कि वहां क्या हो रहा है और किस तरह से हमारे जवान लड़ रहे हैं। सब से पहले मैं अपनी तरफ से और कौम की तरफ से उन जवानों को, जिन्होंने कुर्बानियां दी हैं, जम्मू काश्मीर मिलिशया की सूरत में, छोगरा रेजीमेंट की सूरत में या मुल्क के जो दूसरे जवान हैं दूसरी रेजीमेंटों में, उस सूरत में, श्रद्धांजलि और मुवारिकवाद पेश करता है। वे मुल्क और कौम की खातिर ये कुर्बानियां दे रहे हैं। नेफा में भी कुमायूँ रेजीमेंट जो वहां लड़ रही है और उसके जो जवान शहीद हुए हैं, उनको भी मैं अपनी और कौम की तरफ से श्रद्धांजलि पेश करता हूँ। यकीनी तौर पर व शहीद नहीं हुए हैं बल्कि कौम की वे नई जिन्दगी और नई बुनियाद डाल रहे हैं। कहा गया है कि शहीद की जो मौत है, वह कौम की हृतात है। हमारे नौजवान अगर मुल्क और कौम के लिए कुर्बानियां देते हैं तो वह नई कौम की बुनियाद रखते हैं।

जब हम हिन्दुस्तान की पिछली तारीख को देखते हैं, दस बीस साल की नहीं बल्कि १२० या १५० साल पहले की तो हम पाते हैं कि जोरावर सिंह और मेहता मंगल की कमान में हमारे इलाके के लोग और पंजाब के व हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे इलाकों के लोग वहां गए और उन्होंने चीन के साथ जंग करके लद्दाख को अपने कब्जे में ले लिया। उन लोगों ने जो कुर्बानिय तब दीं, उनकी हार्दिग्यां, उनका खून आज भी पुकार पुकार कर कह रहा है कि उठो, क्यों सोवे पढ़ हो, देश की खातिर अपने भाषप को कुबांन करने के लिए तैयार हो जाओ। आज उन लोगों की रुह हिन्दुस्तान के और हम इस एवान के चारों तरफ धूम रही है और हम

से यह उम्मीद रखती है कि कौम के ये नुमाइदे हमारे लिये बया कर रहे हैं।

इस करारदाद को देख कर मुझे खुशी होती है। पंडित जी ने बहुत तफसील के साथ इस पर रोशनी डाली है। कई मैम्बरों ने इस पर तकरीरे की हैं। कुछ ने इसको त्रिटिसाइज भी किया है। इस रेजोल्यूशन के पांच छः प्राविंजंज हैं। एक में तो एमरजेंसी डिक्लेयर की गई है। यह एमरजेंसी इस मुल्क के ४५ करोड़ नौजवानों पर असर अंदाज होती है। लेकिन लास्ट पैरा में हम देखते हैं कि हम एक लम्बा रोप दे देते हैं, एमरजेंसी को जितना लम्बा चाहे रखा जा सकता है, जितनी देर भी चाहे रखा जा सकता है। इतना लम्बा रोप गवर्नमेंट को नहीं देना चाहिये। कई लोगों ने कहा कि साल तक यह रहे या दो साल तक रहे। अगर यह दस साल लड़ाई चलती है तो क्या यह एमरजेंसी दस साल तक चलती रहेगी? यह बहुत मुनासिब नहीं है। ८ सितम्बर के बाद बीस रोज़ में जब चीनी ल्हासा से उठ कर या सिक्यांग से उठ कर लद्दाख पहुंचते हैं या ल्हासा से नेफा पहुंचते हैं, तो “हाऊएवर लांग इट में बी” का क्या मतलब हो सकता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कौम की कमज़ोरी है, गवर्नमेंट की कमज़ोरी है जो कि सिचुएन को असेस नहीं कर सकती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस करारदाद में कुछ खामियां हैं और हमें करारदाद को रिकास्ट करना पड़ेगा और कौम को लोड देनी पड़ी कि हम कब तक दुश्मनों को बाहर निकालेंग, ख्वाह वह चीनी हों या कोई और दुश्मन हो। हमें देखना है कि यह हमला सिंफ नेफा के लिये नहीं, सिंफ लद्दाख के लिये नहीं, बल्कि तमाम साउथ ईस्ट एशिया के लिये है। आप नवाये को देखिये कि किस तरह से कम्पूनस्ट ब्लक आज ताशकन्द से ले कर कावुल तक सड़क बना रहा है, ल्हासा से ले कर काठमाडू तक सड़क बना रहा है, नेफा तक सड़क आ रही है, आक्साईचिन और चुगूल को यह सड़क बन कर आ

रही है। इसके पीछे भी उन का एक मकसद है। उनका मकसद यह नहीं है कि उनको सिर्फ लद्धाख तक सड़क लानी है, नेफा तक सड़क लानी है, बल्कि यह आर्टिलरेनेट रोड्स बनाई जा रही है। कम्यूनिस्ट ब्लाक यानी चाइना और रशिया मिल कर एक कामन प्रोग्राम की तहत बढ़ते नज़र आते हैं। नक्शे से जाहिर होता है कि किस तरह से वह ब्लाक साउथ ईस्ट एशिया पर छा जाना चाहता है। एक तरफ तो वह न्यूकिलब्रर पावर अपने मुल्क के अन्दर बढ़ा रहे हैं दूसरी तरफ यह सड़कें बना रहे हैं लैंड फोर्सेज को मात करने के लिये ताकि वह ऊपर से हमला करें और नीचे से लैंड फोर्सेज मेज कर कंसेलिंग करे। यह सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान को ही चैलेन्ज नहीं है बल्कि राइट फ्राम अफगानिस्तान, पाकिस्तान, इंडिया, नेपाल, भूतान और इसी तरह से बर्मा और सीलोन के इस तमाम ब्लाक को चैलेन्ज है। आज भले ही हम समझते हैं कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू दुनियां को लीड कर रहे हैं, उसकी रहनुमाई कर रहे हैं और अमन का रास्ता बतला रहे हैं, लेकिन जब कम्यूनिस्ट ब्लाक आगे बढ़ना चाहता है तो हम पर यह फर्ज आयद हो जाता है कि जो नई न्यूली बार्न नेशन्स नक्शे पर उभर रही हैं उन को लोड करे, चाहे हम ने कितनी ही नानाराजाइनमेंट पालिसी की जिम्मेदारी ली हो। हम जहां कम्यूनिस्ट ब्लाक के इस ऐप्रेशन को बैकेट करने के लिये या रिप्लस करने के लिये तलबार उठायेंगे वहां एट दि सेम टाइम हम एक ब्लाक के अन्दर राइट फ्राम अफगानिस्तान से मलाया तक मुल्कों को इकट्ठा कर के रखें और हिन्दुस्तान उसका मर्कज बने। हिन्दुस्तान को चाहिये, खुसूसन पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को चाहिये कि वह नानाराजाइन्ड नेशन्स की, जो कि उनको अपना लीडर मानती हैं, एक कांफेंस बुलायें, और उन को सावधान करे कि अगर आज लद्धाख पर हमला होता है, नेफा पर हमला है तो कल दुश्मन और आगे बढ़ेंगे। आज की खबर है कि कराकोरम को पास कर के चाइनीज़ पाकिस्तान की एशिया में दाखिल

हो गये हैं। इससे उन लोगों को नियत मानूम होती है। उनकी कोई रेस्ट्रिक्टेड प्लैन नहीं है बल्कि उन की बेसिक प्लैन है टु एक्स्पैंड। एक्स्पैंशन का नमूना उन्होंने शुरू किया है नेफा से और लद्धाख से। अगर आज कोई मामूली स्थायत का पढ़ने वाला भी इसको देखे तो उस के सामने जाहिर हो जाता है कि यह एक बहुत बड़ी प्लैन है, जिस प्लैन पर बढ़ने से अगर उनको आज रोक दिया जाये तो आज नहीं कल, कल नहीं तो पासों, दो साल, तीन या पांच साल बाद उनको बढ़ने की कोशिश करनी है। लिहाजा आज हम पर फर्ज आयद होता है, हमारे ऊपर जिम्मेदारी आ जाती है कि हम इन पांच, सात या दस नेशन्स को, जो साउथ ईस्ट एशिया में पड़ी हुई हैं, इकट्ठा करें और उनको लैंड दें। उन की कांशसनेस को खड़ा कर दिया जाये।

हम देखते हैं कि रूस भी हमारा भाई है, चीन भी हमारा भाई है, अमेरिका भी हमारा दोस्त है जिस तरह, उसी तरह रूस भी हमारा दोस्त है, लेकिन कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जिनकी बुनियादी पालिसी है, बुनियादी टार्गेट है कि हमें आगे बढ़ना है, हमें अपने आप को महदूद नहीं रखना है। उन्हें चेक करने के लिये अगर हम खड़े नहीं होंगे, सावधान नहीं होंगे, तो यकीनी तौर पर हमारा देश जिस नक्शे को दुनियां के अन्दर पेश कर रहा है उसको पेश नहीं कर सकेगा। लिहाजा मैं समझता हूं कि जहां हमारा काम उसको चेक करना है वहां मैं एक गुजारिया यह भी करूंगा कि आप अपने मुल्क के चारों तरफ देखें। हिन्दुस्तान ने पाकिस्तान का भी कांफिंडेंस हासिल नहीं किया है, बर्मा का कांफिंडेंस हासिल नहीं किया है, अफगानिस्तान का कांफिंडेंस ओपनली हमारे साथ नहीं है। नेपाल हमारे साथ नहीं है, सीलोन हमारे साथ नहीं है, श्रीपेनली, बाई ब्हाट आई अंडरस्टैंड। तो इन चार पांच देशों को, जो कि हिन्दुस्तान के चारों तरफ पड़ रहे हैं हमें अपने कांफिंडेंस में लेना है। जब तक हम ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तब तक

[श्री अब्दुल गनौ गोनौ]

कम्यूनिस्ट व्लाक के एक्स्पैन्शन प्रोग्राम को चेक नहीं कर सकेंगे। लिहाजा मेरी गुजारिश है कि जहां हमें इस प्रोग्राम को अमली जामा पहनाना है वहां जैसा यहां पर कहा गया नेफा के बारे में, पाकिस्तन से नेफा तक उन का कारिडोर है, देन दे कैन कम टू दी सी। लेकिन आज काश्मीर की तरफ आप देखिये। बहुत से दोस्तों ने काश्मीर का नक्शा देखा होगा। आज जम्मू और काश्मीर रियासत को एक ही रास्ता सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान से मिलाता है। Jammu and Kashmir State is being linked with the rest of the country only by one road. किसी बक्त भी उस के इंटरफिश्र होने का खतरा पैदा हो सकता है क्योंकि पाकिस्तान ने एक तरह से अपेनली हमसे बगावत की है। लिहाजा मेरी गुजारिश है कि जहां एक लिंगर आइडिया हमारे सामने है, एक बड़े उमूल को हमें अपने सामने रखना है, वहां हम को सावधान भी होना चाहिये और इन छोटे छोटे साथी मुल्कों को अपने साथ रखना चाहिये जो कि हमारी नेवरिंग कंट्रीज़ हैं। मसलन पाकिस्तान है। आज हिमाचल प्रदेश का जो हमारा इलाका पंजाब में आ रहा है, उसके बाद लद्दाख का एरिया शुरू होता है, सारा किश्तवार का इलाका है, जिसको डोडा डिस्ट्रिक्ट कहते हैं, वहां पर हमको सड़कें बनानी चाहिये। जिस तरह की आल्टरनेट रोड पठानकोट और जम्मू के दर्शनी है उसी तरह से एक रोड हिमाचल प्रदेश और डोडा डिस्ट्रिक्ट के बीच में भी होनी चाहिये जो कि सीधे काश्मीर तक जाये ताकि इमर्जेंसी के बक्त जो वहां की अकेली रोड है जाने के लिये अगर वह डिस्टर्ब हो जाय तो हमारे पास एक अल्टरनेट रोड रहे ताकि हम बांदर तक अपनी लैंड फोसेज पहुंचा सकें। हिमाचल प्रदेश जिसको चम्बा कहते हैं, तक गाड़ी जाती है। चम्बा से भरदार तक ५० मील की दूरी है। उस की ऊंचाई ज्यादा नहीं है। भरदार से सीधी गाड़ी काश्मीर को जाती है। श्रीनगर को जाती है, लद्दाख को जाती है और बांदर

का इलाका है उस को मिलाती है। जब तक हम वहां पर ठीक से रोड्स नहीं बिछायेंगे तब तक हम बांदर तक नौजवानों के लिये, जो लड़ रहे हैं, पूरी सप्लाई नहीं भेज सकते। So, I would request the Government to take notice. An alternate defence line must be created in the State to connect it with the rest of India so that in times of emergency when, God forbid, the Jammu-Pathankot Road is disturbed at any time we may have an alternate road to go to Kashmir. मैं गुजारिश कर रहा था कि यह जो बाक्यात है उन को हमें अपने सामने रखना है।

आखिर मैं मैं एक चीज़ और अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं। आज हमारे नौजवान लड़ रहे हैं। यकीनी तौर पर तमाम कौम उठ खड़ी हुई है और तमाम कौम एक जगह हो कर आगे आ रही है। मुझे इस को देख कर बड़ा दुख हुआ कि अपोजीशन युस आपस मैं ही लड़ रहे हैं। Why do you fight with each other? Come with a certain resolution

आज हम को चाहिये कि हम एक यूनाइटेड प्रॅट गवर्नमेंट को दें, हम सब के सब आपस में यूनाइटेड रहें। हम देखते हैं कि कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी नुक्ताचीनी करती है स्वतन्त्र पार्टी की और स्वतन्त्र पार्टी नुक्ताचीनी करत है जन संघ की। सब आपस में सर-फुटोवल करते हैं। आज से अपोजीशन युस को एक जगह बैठ कर कोई स.लिड तजबीज पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को देनी चाहिये। आज पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की जात पर हमला करने का बक्त नहीं है। आज पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की मिनिस्ट्री या उनकी गवर्नरमेंट पर हम से पहरा नहीं देना है। बल्कि आज हमारा पहरा चालीम करोड़ इन्सानों को हिकाजत करने के लिये है। लिहाजा हम से चाहिये कि हम इकट्ठे हो जायें और इसके लिये लड़ें।

1129 Resolutions re: KARTIKA 21, 1884 (SAKA) Proclamation of
Emergency and
Aggression by China 1130

मैं फिर उन नौजवानों और शहीदों को
श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूं जो कि मुल्क के लिये
लड़ रहे हैं और अपनी जानें दे रहे हैं।

20.18 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till
Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday,
November 13, 1962/Kartika 22, 1884
(Saka).



[Monday, November 12, 1962/Kartika 21, 1884 (Saka)]

| ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS . . . | | COLUMNS 841-82 | COLUMNS |
|------------------------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| S.Q. No. | Subject | U.S.Q. No. | WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS—contd. Subject |
| 129 | Rise in prices . . . | 841-46 | 267 Indians in China . . . |
| 130 | M.P.'s delegation to Ladakh . . . | 846-50 | 268 Pugwash Conference of Scientists . . . |
| 131 | Alloy and Special Steel Plant . . . | 850-52 | 269 Atomic power Station at Tarapore . . . |
| 132 | Air space violation by Pakistanis . . . | 852-53 | 270 Gandhi Memorial in London . . . |
| 133 | Indian settlers in Ceylon . . . | 854-58 | 271 Raid by Pakistanis on Jammu and Kashmir border . . . |
| 134 | Escape of Naga leaders to London . . . | 858-62 | 272 Plantation workers . . . |
| 135 | Film based on " Nine Hours to Rama " . . . | 862-65 | 273 Discussion between Indian Prime Minister and Pakistan President . . . |
| 136 | Nuclear Power Station . . . | 865-69 | 274 Kozhikode Radio Station . . . |
| 137 | State Planning Boards . . . | 869-70 | 276 Provident Fnd for Air Transport Industry . . . |
| 138 | Extension of Indian Laws to former Portuguese colonies . . . | 870-72 | 277 Certification of Hindi films . . . |
| 139 | Indian diplomatic personnel in China and Tibet . . . | 872-76 | 278 National Sample Survey . . . |
| 140 | State Development Plans . . . | 876-78 | 279 Public Undertakings . . . |
| 141 | Joint Surveys on West Bengal—East Pakistan border . . . | 878-80 | 280 Expenditure on Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference . . . |
| 142 | AVRO-748 | 880-82 | 281 Indian Mission abroad . . . |
| WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS . . . | | 882-909 | 282 Work-stoppages . . . |
| S.Q. No. | | | 283 Minimum Wages Act . . . |
| 143 | Bifurcation of Defence Ministry . . . | 882 | 284 Conference of State Ministers . . . |
| 144 | Purchase of Vampires from Indonesia . . . | 883 | 285 Documentary films . . . |
| 145 | Production in ordnance factories . . . | 883-84 | 286 Lifting of cattle by Pak. nationals . . . |
| 146 | Military training . . . | 884-85 | 287 Film Institutes . . . |
| 147 | Publicity from A.I.R. . . | 885 | 288 Recognition of Unions . . . |
| 148 | Tibetan refugees . . . | 885-86 | 289 Civilian Psychologists in Defence . . . |
| 149 | Monopolistic tendencies in Newspaper industry . . . | 886-87 | 290 Navy Aerodrome . . . |
| 150 | Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference . . . | 887 | 291 Manufacture of rifles . . . |
| 151 | Indians in South Africa . . . | 887-88 | 292 Manufacture of cartridges . . . |
| 152 | Indians in Tanganyika . . . | 888-89 | 293 Military Training schools . . . |
| 153 | Equipment belonging to Indian Survey Officer returned by Pakistan . . . | 889-90 | 294 I.A.F. Canberra crash . . . |
| | | | 295 Ex-servicemen . . . |
| | | | 296 Indian Navy . . . |
| | | | 297 Quarters for Defence employees in Agra . . . |
| | | | 298 Sainik School in Punjab . . . |

COLUMNS

CALLING ATTENTION TO
MATTER OF URGENT
PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

909-12

Shri Bagri called the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the cracker explosion in Lajpat Rai Market, Delhi on the 8th November, 1962 resulting injuries to some persons.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Datar) made a statement in regard thereto.

PAPERS LAID ON THE
TABLE

913-14

(1) A copy of the Officers of Parliament (Travelling and Daily Allowances) Amendment Rules, 1962, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1209, dated the 15th September, 1962, under sub-section (2) of section 11 of the Salaries and Allowances of Officers of Parliament Act, 1953.

(2) A copy of the Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupants) Amendment Rules, 1962, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1453, dated the 3rd November, 1962, under sub-section (3) of section 13 of the Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupants) Act, 1958.

(3) A copy each of the following papers :—

(i) The Coffee (Fifth Amendment) Rules, 1962 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1271, dated the 29th September, 1962, under sub-section (3) of section 48 of the Coffee Act, 1942.

(ii) Annual Report on the activities of the Coir Board and the working of the Coir Industry Act, 1953 for the year 1961-62, under section 19 of the said Act.

(4) A copy each of the following papers :—

(i) A statement of main conclusions of the fourth session of the Industrial Committee on Cement held at New Delhi on the 15th September, 1962.

COLUMNS

PAPERS LAID ON THE
TABLE—contd.

(ii) A statement of main conclusions of the twentieth session of the Standing Labour Committee held at New Delhi on the 17th October, 1962.

(iii) Report on the activities of the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund for the year 1961-62.

(5) A copy of the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Sixth Amendment Rules, 1962 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1166, dated the 1st September, 1962, under sub-section (3) of section 40 of the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act, 1954.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE
ON PRIVATE MEMBERS'
BILLS AND RESOLU-
TIONS PRESENTED

915

Ninth Report was presented.

REPORTS OF ESTIMATES
COMMITTEE PRESENT-
ED

915

Third and Fourth Reports were presented.

BILLS INTRODUCED

915-16

(1) The Metal Tokens (Amendment) Bill.

(2) The Petroleum Pipelines (Acquisition of Right of User in Land) Bill.

RESOLUTIONS UNDER
CONSIDERATION

916-1130

Discussion on the Resolutions regarding approval of Proclamation of Emergency and Chinese Aggression and the substitute motion and amendments thereto continued. The discussion was not concluded.

AGENDA FOR TUESDAY,
NOVEMBER, 13, 1962/
KARTIKA 22, 1884 (Saka)—

Further consideration of the Resolutions regarding the approval of Proclamation of Emergency and the Chinese aggression.