

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]
cally paralysed. Related efforts to persuade the Islamabad regime to take some step which would lead to a lasting solution fell on deaf ears.

The wrath of the West Pakistan Army has been aroused because the people of Bangla Desh have stood and struggled for values which the Army is unable to comprehend and which it has suppressed in every province of Pakistan.

As the Mukti Bahini's effectiveness increased the West Pakistan Army became more desperate. Our tradition is to stand not with tyrants, but with the oppressed and so the anger has been turned upon us.

West Pakistan has escalated and enlarged the aggression against Bangla Desh into full war against India. War needs as much patience and self-restraint as does peace. Military regime of West Pakistan will go all out to sow suspicion and rumour in the hope of fomenting communal tension and internal trouble. Let us not be taken in by their designs. We must maintain unity and a sense of high purpose.

We should be prepared for a long struggle. High production, agricultural and industrial, is the foundation upon which defence rests. The courage and fighting capability of the jawans have to be backed by the dedication of the farmer, the worker, the technician and the trader. The business community has a special responsibility to resist the temptation to hoard or to charge higher profit. Artists and writers, teachers and students—the nation looks to them to defend our ideals and to keep high our morale. To the women of our country I make special appeal to save every possible grain and rupee and to avoid waste. The sacrifice of each of us will build the nation's strength and enduring power.

We have stood for peace, but peace itself has to be defended. Today we are fighting to safeguard our territorial integrity and

national honour. Above all, we are fighting for the ideals we cherish and the cause of peace.

11.06 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS, MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : I beg to move :

"That the House approves the Proclamation of Emergency issued under article 352 of the Constitution by the President on the 3rd December, 1971."

MR. SPEAKER : Resolution moved :

"That the House approves the Proclamation of Emergency issued under article 352 of the Constitution by the President on the 3rd December, 1971".

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN (Palghat) : By its large-scale air-raids and shelling on various sectors yesterday, the military junta of Pakistan has confronted this country with a full-fledged war. This has come because of the support India has given to the liberation struggle of the people of Bangla Desh, and our Party has always stated that in case of such a development, the nation will rally to a man to defeat the military junta's aggression, because it is essential for the victory of the Bangla Desh struggle, to defeat the game of imperialism in the sub-continent and to strengthen democracy not only in Bangla Desh but also in West Pakistan. We reiterate this stand of our party. We would appeal to the Government of India to end all hesitation, resist all pressures and accord immediate recognition to Bangla Desh because we are fighting for Bangla Desh, and today formally we have to recognise Bangla Desh.

We would also like to warn, however, that there are reactionary elements in the country which will strive to work up chauvinism and whip up communal tension. We should firmly fight these reactionary attempts and tell our people that this is a war to help the victory of Bangla Desh people. We should tell them not to become victims of any anti-Pakistan hysteria that is worked up.

As far as the Proclamation of Emergency is concerned, we are of the opinion that because the whole country is behind the Government, formal Proclamation of Emergency was not necessary now, but it has been done, we have nothing to say about it. We confirm that we will be supporting whole heartedly the struggle for Bangla Desh and against Pakistan.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): On behalf of our party we pledge our total and utmost support to the supreme national task which devolves upon us at this hour of defending our territorial integrity against this treacherous and unscrupulous aggression that has been launched against our country.

Since last night a great and historic mission has fallen to the lot of our armed forces. It is not only to defend our territorial integrity. The enslaved people, the tortured people of Bangla Desh are looking to us since last night to wield the sword of retributive justice on their behalf. Let that sword be wielded with courage and determination. At the same time, I would request the Government to make it clear beyond any shadow of doubt that we harbour no ambitions of territorial aggrandizement against Pakistan. We have no quarrel with the common people of Pakistan, with whom we have always wanted, and hope one day we shall be able, to live as peaceful and friendly neighbours.

Our struggle is against the military junta of Islamabad, which has brought such indescribable suffering and sorrow to the

peoples of Bangla Desh. So, I would request the Government to lose no opportunity in declaring before the world in clear terms what our war aims are, so that communal and chauvinistic forces are not allowed to get the upper hand. Also, now the time has come when we must boldly declare our recognition of Bangla Desh and the Government which represents the people of Bangla Desh.

We are going shortly to pass the Defence of India Bill and rules will be framed thereunder. This will arm the Government with practically omnipotent powers. In the interests of the country and its defence, the Prime Minister has spoken about maximising production. We are one with her. The working class will play its part in this. But you must see, with the powers you will now get at your command, that the owners of industry, the employers, are not permitted to close down production units and to retrench the workers at their own sweet will. You must see to it that over 3000 industrial units which are lying closed in the country today are made to open and resume production, so that the full capacity of our resources can be brought into play.

Just as we are all resolved to defend our country against aggression, so the Government must see to it that the people are defended also in the rear against any unscrupulous profiteers, hoarders or speculators, who might try to take advantage of the abnormal situation, with which we are now confronted.

I do not wish to take more time now. Our thoughts today are primarily with the gallant men of our armed forces and also with the heroes of Mukti Bahini, but for whose epic resistance during the last eight months, I think, there would have been nothing left of Bangla Desh. Had they succumbed, had they surrendered and given away, we would have been faced with a very different situation. But hope is

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

the light today and by the sacrifices that the people of Bangla Desh and Mukti Bahini have undergone, they have kept the flame of liberty and revolt aloft. And today, when the desperate junta at Islama-bad is trying to make its final bid to suppress the people in blood, we should be proud of the fact that history has intertwined inextricably our struggle for national defence and the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh for their liberation. We are living through a period of history today and let it not be said that we failed at this time. With courage, determination and resoluteness, we must go ahead, but keeping true to the traditions of our great country, we should make a declaration. We were always a peace-loving country. We have only gone to war when it has been thrust upon us. We do not wish to annex anybody else's territory. We wish to defend our soil and to help the people of Bangla Desh to achieve their liberation, so that they may live freely as they wish to live under a Government of their own choice.

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam)

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the DMK, I rise to support the Proclamation and also to express our solidarity with the Government. We did not want war, but war has been thrust on us and we take up the challenge to see that our democracy is defended and our territorial rights are preserved. If the military regime in Pakistan feels that they can paralyse our Government by show of arms, we on this side and also the people of Bangla Desh who have based their conviction and their entire living on democratic rights, shall take up the challenge. United we stand, united we shall win!

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बालियार)

अध्यक्ष जी, हम एक राष्ट्रीय संकट की छाया में एकत्र हुए हैं। पाकिस्तान ने हमारे ऊपर युद्ध घोषित किया है। बंगला देश में मुक्ति वाहिनी की निरंतर सफलता से दुनिया का ध्यान हटाने

के लिये और इस युद्ध के अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय दबाव को ध्यानस्थ करने के लिये पाकिस्तान ने हमारी सुरक्षा, अखण्डता और हमारी स्वाधीनता को चुनौती दी है। यह चुनौती भी है और महान अवसर भी है। हम अग्नि परीक्षा में से गुजर रहे हैं, कोई कारण नहीं है कि हम इस अग्नि परीक्षा से कुन्दन बन कर न चमकें। कोई कारण नहीं है कि हम अपनी सीमा की सुरक्षा न करें और पाकिस्तान के शासकों का ऐसा पाठ पढ़ावें जिस वह जिन्दगी भर न भुला सके।

आज मैं पार्टी की ओर से बोलने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ। अब ता सारा देश एक पार्टी है। राजनीति के मतभेद भलाकर छोटी-छोटी चीजा का ताक पर रख कर सारे देश का कर्मान्ते से कन्धा लगा कर और कदम से कदम मिला कर विजय के लिये भाग बढ़ना होगा। यह सचय जितने बलिदान की मांग करेगा, वे बलिदान दिये जायेंगे, जितने अनुशासन का परिचय देगा, यह देश उतने अनुशासन का परिचय देगा। काठ कारण नहीं है कि हम इस संकट की घड़ी में उस राष्ट्रीय संकल्प का परिचय न दे जा राष्ट्रीय संकल्प ऐसे अवसरों पर आवश्यक दुआ करता है।

अध्यक्ष जी आप मझे क्षमा कर, कोई यह न वह कि मैं भावनाप्राप्त का उभारना चाहता हूँ, युद्ध है, अगर सीमा पर आक्रमण है, तो देश की जनता को युद्ध के प्रयत्न से जोड़ना होगा। हम उन्माद पैदा न कर, मगर लागों की देशभक्ति का जगा कर हर एक में यह भाव भरना होगा कि जो काम वह कर रहे हैं, उस को ठीक तरह से करें, मोर्चे पर खड़े रहिये, जवान सीमा पर मार्चा सभालेगा और हम घरेलू मोर्चे का सभालेंगे, किसी तरह का उपद्रव नहीं होने देंगे, किसी तरह की साम्प्रदायिक अशांति पैदा नहो हाने देंगे।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मातायें जिस दिन के लिये बच्चों को जन्म देती हैं आज वह दिन आ गया है। बहनें जिस दिन के लिये भाइयों के हाथों से राखी बाँधती हैं आज वह दिन आ गया है।

भारत पाकिस्तान यह समझता है कि छोटे से हमला कर के वह हमें गड़बड़ में पकड़ सकता है तो यह पाकिस्तान की भूल है। दुनिया ने देखा लिया कि हमलावर कौन है और अब हमलावर को हमारे जवान मुंह-तोड़ उत्तर दे रहे हैं।

हम आशा करते हैं कि इतिहास को बदलने की इस घड़ी का दायित्व जिन के हाथों में है और प्रधान मंत्री जी इस संकट की घड़ी में देश को नेतृत्व देने के लिये सामने आ रही हैं हम चाहते हैं कि यह देश विजयी हो और प्रधान मंत्री जी के नेतृत्व में हम एक नये इतिहास का निर्माण करें।

मैं चाहता हूँ—प्रधान जी, इस आक्रमण के काल में यह पार्लियामेंट याहिया खां के खिलाफ एक हथियार के रूप में इस्तेमाल की जा सकती है। पाकिस्तान में पार्लियामेंट नहीं है, पाकिस्तान की सरकार को जनता का समर्थन नहीं है, यहाँ जनता के प्रतिनिधि बैठे हैं और दुनिया देख रही है और आगे भी देखेगी कि इस देश में संकट की घड़ी में एक हो कर प्रत्युत्तर देने की आवश्यकता है।

मैं यह भी चाहूँगा कि युद्ध के प्रयत्नों में सभी को सहभागी बनाने के लिये योजनाएँ तैयार की जायें, अलग-अलग काम दिये जायें और देश में ऐसा वातावरण उत्पन्न किया जाय कि हम इस युद्ध में विजयी हो कर निकले।

आज संकट की घोषणा की गई है, इस का मैं समर्थन करूँ यह तो कहने की आवश्यकता ही नहीं है। मैं अपने मित्र गोपालन से सहमत नहीं हूँ कि इस की जरूरत नहीं थी। पाकिस्तान ने युद्ध का एलान कर दिया है, पाकिस्तान ने आश्चर्यक हमला किया है, ऐसे अवसर पर हम किसी तरह की दुल-मूल नीति दिखलायें, इस का सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता है। संकट की स्थिति की घोषणा की गई है, यह सबन उस का पूरा समर्थन करेगा और विषय में भी देश के लिये जो कदम उठाये जायेंगे, देश की सुरक्षा के लिये और आक्रमण का मुंह तोड़ उत्तर देने के लिये, उन में यह सबन पूरा समर्थन देगा

और तारा देश एक भयित के नाते इस बुनौती का उत्तर देने में कामयाब होगा।

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of my party I am here to say today that we are one, unbreakably one, as a nation against the aggressor. Today we recognise no differences amongst ourselves, except the differences against the aggressor and his allies. We might have had some differences in the past but they not only pale into insignificance now but disappear completely for the moment.

Today to my mind there is only one task before the nation and that is to meet effectively the challenge of the aggressor. And there is only one way of doing it, namely, complete and unshakable unity under one leader. There is only one way of sustaining and maintaining it, namely, to steer clear of all narrownesses and pettinesses at the moment.

Sir, this is going to be a cold and calculated war so far as the aggressor is concerned. The aggressor had given us a ten-day notice. I think, President Yahya Khan has been as true as his word.

He had told his country that in ten days' time he would be off to a front. Now let me say on behalf of this country that today the whole nation is in the battle-dress against the aggressor.

If President Yahya Khan thinks that he had been a general and our Prime Minister has not been a general, I must say that the Prime Minister does not only represent the velvet in the nation but also steel and the granite in it and she would be acting like Durga on our behalf if there is a general from that side.

We have been brought up in the peaceful traditions bequeathed to us by Mahatma Gandhi. We had never thought that we would be aggressors at any time. We had never conceived our role as an aggressor at any time. But we have been victim of aggression perhaps for the fourth time by

[Shri Shyammandon Mishra]

Pakistan. All the aggressions in the past had been repulsed by India but let me hope that this aggression would be more decisively repulsed so that the aggressor does not have the courage to do it again in future.

Let us also be aware that the international community also must be fully ready with a battery of steps that it might take. Some other important countries too might be ready with many good offices that they might like to offer. With full awareness of all this I have no doubt that our country will face up to this task with determination undiminished by any circumstances, and the Government will face up to this task with faith, confidence and fortitude of which the Prime Minister spoke in her broadcast last night.

I have no doubt that the whole country, in whatever sections of the community we might be divided for other purposes, is going to rise as one man today and whatever tasks are assigned to us would be accomplished with perfection. We would not be satisfied with anything less than perfection in every field of life.

With these words, Mr Speaker, I assure the Government of full support and cooperation on behalf of my party. In fact, it would sound trite but it is indeed important to emphasize that we are going to do all the best we can in the effort that would be required to mobilise the country against the aggressor.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated—Anglo-Indians) Mr Speaker, Sir, I have the privilege to associate the Members of the United Independent Group with the sentiments that have fallen from the spokesmen of the other Groups.

Only the other day, at the lunch you gave I told Senator Frank Church of America that I expected the Pakistani military junta to attack us in a few days. He asked me my reasons and I told him that the unspeak-

able atrocities of the Islamabad butcher were coming home to roost and that he must have realised that he and his mercenaries could not hold on in Bangla Desh but that like every military dictator he had to save face and he could only save face by attacking us. And it has come.

The spokesmen and representatives of every Party and Group in this House have pledged their unwavering, unstinted support to the Prime Minister and the Government in this hour of national crisis. But I think we are also at one on this that this time there cannot be and there must not be another Tashkent.

The Security Council, the Governments of leading nations have looked on mutely with almost cynical inhumanity while the Islamabad butcher and his mercenaries were massacring more than a million innocent men, women and children, and committing mounting aggression against India by driving out over 10 million people on to our territory.

Indeed, some Governments seem to have the temerity to tell us not even to defend our borders but to withdraw our troops while they were, in fact, abetting in word and deed this greatest genocide in history I believe but for the abetment of genocide that even the Islamabad butcher would not have dared to declare a full scale war on India as he has done. The world knows the restraint that India has exercised. It knows that the Prime Minister had the capacity and strength to keep India on the leash for a considerable time in spite of all this mounting aggression.

For the nation and, indeed, for every Indian, this war will be a test of character. It may be a long war; the sacrifice and suffering, as in every war, will be great. But we are fortified in the knowledge that we are fighting an evil military dictatorship whose hands are dripping with innocent

blood and, above all, we are fortified in the knowledge that we are fighting not only for our country but for a supremely worth while way of life for democracy and secularism while will be demonstrated by every Indian, irrespective of caste, creed and community, standing shoulder to shoulder in order to defeat the blood-drenched militarist madmen of Islamabad.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I deem it a proud privilege to speak on this momentous occasion in India's history. I support the Proclamation of Emergency and condemn the unprovoked, shameless, blatant, naked, Pakistani aggression on India in bombing and strafing on our civilian population.

This will go down in the history of the world as the aggression of the worst kind on a peace-loving people. The action taken by Pakistan brings into insignificance even the unprovoked Japanese attack on the Pearl Harbour.

We mean all well to the people of Pakistan. It is the desperate military clique led by Yahya Khan which does not understand the democratic values and committed genocide on its own people that has waged war on India.

If India has done anything, it is that India has saved the life and has given shelter on humanitarian and compassionate grounds to ten million destitutes of Bangla Desh.

On this occasion, the country will rise to the occasion and will stand as one man behind the Prime Minister. The Swatantra Party pledges its full support and solidarity to the Government and appeals to the people to temper their spirit as steel and to be prepared to give sweat and blood and be prepared for the supreme sacrifice for the preservation of freedom and national honour of the country.

कृतो वा प्राक्स्यन्ति स्वर्गं जित्वा वा नोदयसे महिम्

I appeal to the Government not to repeat the folly of 1949 or 1965 of a cease-fire but to be properly insulated against all sorts of pressure and bring this conflict to its logical conclusion. The logical conclusion will be nothing but victory.

Sir, truth and righteousness is on our side. God is on the side of truth and righteousness. We have got the best of the fighting men and material which any country could be proud of. So, victory will be on our side.

Lastly, I remind.

यत्न योगेश्वर कृष्णो यत्न पार्थो ब्रह्मर्षर
तत्र श्रीविजयो भूनिर्द्धना नौनिर्द्धतिर्मेन ॥

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : The badlamite military dictator of Pakistan has thrown the challenge before our nation. It is a challenge to defend our national honour, to defend our national security, to defend all the cherished values for which our freedom is to-day.

Sir, I have no doubt that the whole nation today will not only accept this challenge but will accept it as a crusade in the defence of the highest values, the values of freedom and democracy which we cherish so high but which are denied to the people of Pakistan.

Sir, in this hour of discharging our supreme task, I, on behalf of the Socialist Party of India, place myself and my Party totally to this supreme task of defending our national honour and national security.

It will go down in history that the treacherous aggression committed by Yahya Khan has in a sense raised the soul of India to a new height. It is that India, India of Mahatma Gandhi, India of Pandit Jawahar-

[Shri Samar Guha]

lal Nehru, India of Netaji Subhash Chander Bose, that India which can even take the risk of the whole nation, the risk of immense sacrifices, of immense suffering and the risk of undergoing immense loss in defence of freedom and democracy, wherever it may be endangered, and it has been endangered in a part which by the historic bond and heritage of three thousand years of Indian civilisation was a part and parcel of our nation, was a part and parcel of our old self. Therefore, if we have to take the risk and risk our all in defence of freedom and democracy of Bangla Desh when today the imperialist power the colonialist powers of the world are completely submerged in their old power-politics and in their old parochial and narrow 'isms', the future history of the world, the future history of humanity will say that here was nation which stood for defence of freedom and democracy of a part of a people where a military dictator wanted to butcher and wanted to commit one of the heinous crimes that world history had ever seen.

Today, the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh has become the freedom struggle of India also. Today, let our friends in Bangla Desh know that now it is not the freedom struggle of 75 crores of Bengalis only but of the 55 crores of Indians also. The Yahya regime should know that it is a joint struggle in defence of the highest values of freedom and democracy of these 63 crores of people.

Already my hon friends have paid a glowing tribute to the freedom-fighters of Bangla Desh. I need not add more because I know that this whole House, the whole Parliament and the whole Indian nation today is one in paying glowing tribute to the freedom-fighters of Bangla Desh, is one in committing ourselves to their highest cause and to their destiny.

I would like to add only one more word for the Prime Minister. Today, she is not an individual; she is not the leader of a party only, she is not even the Prime Minister of India only, she is the flaming sword of the national, personality of our country today. The whole nation will do everything possible to see that this flaming sword of the Mahashakti—the people of India believe in the cult of Mahashakti—will not remain content merely with repelling Pak aggression, will not remain content merely with defending our national border only, but for good and for ever crush that machinery, that war machinery, that barbarous savage machinery of the Pak dictatorship which is geared to crush the freedom and democracy of the people of Bangla Desh.

A snake half-beaten is dangerous. A snake is to be beaten and is to be beaten completely and for good, and we want that the snake of Yahya Khan should be beaten and beaten completely.

I want to conclude with this observation. In this supreme hour, let us take the pledge that was taken by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose during the freedom struggle of India. He raised three basic mantrams for the freedom fighters in those days. He used the words इत्तफाक, इत्तहाद और इत्तानी. Unity, faith and sacrifice, unity of the people, faith in our highest values and supreme sacrifice to fulfil those two objectives.

My other friends who spoke have put the argument. Let Bangla Desh be recognised. By recognising Bangla Desh, let the world know it definitely that we, the Indian people, are ready to risk everything in defence of freedom and democracy.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Kozhikode). Mr. Speaker, Sir, at this momentous hour, I rise in this House to very unequivocally condemn the unprovoked

naked, Pakistani aggression against our sacred country, I also support the Proclamation of Emergency by the President of my motherland.

Sir, today the country is passing through a very critical period in its history. At this critical juncture, let me declare in very clear terms to be understood by everybody inside my country and outside that the Mussalmans of this country, 8 crores of them, are prepared to fight and even sacrifice their lives, standing shoulder to shoulder with their brethren for the security, honour and integrity of the mother country.

Sir, in the past our country has passed through oceans of blood and fire. Today also such a situation has come, and God willing, we will come out with flying colours, in the present struggle also.

I say all this not because of fear from any quarter, not because I want favour from anybody, but because love of our country, defence of our country, is an article of faith as far as the Mussalmans are concerned. Therefore, let me agree with my respected colleague in Parliament, the leader of the Jan Sangh, Shri Vajpayee, that today we have no party differences. Today we have one party, the Indian Nation, and one leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India.

On behalf of my Party, the Indian Union Muslim League, I pledge full support to my country, my Government and my people. I also wish all success to the fighting forces of my country.

श्री एच० ए० शमीम (श्री नगर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सदन ने और इस मुल्क ने पिछले पच्चीस बरसों में बड़े ही नाजुक और तारीखी फैसले किये हैं और वाकयात की निशानबेही की है, लेकिन गालिबन इस मुल्क की तारीख में आज का लमहा सब से ज्यादा नाजुक और सब से ज्यादा तारीखी लमहा है। इस से पहले हम

ने लड़ाइयां लड़ी हैं अपने मुल्क की हिफाजत के लिये, अपने सार्वभियत के लिये, लेकिन आज की लड़ाई का किरदार उस से भूखतलिफ है। आज हम सिर्फ अपने मुल्क की हिफाजत के लिये ही लड़ाई नहीं लड़ रहे हैं, हम बयलावेज के लिये भी लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं, आज हम सिर्फ अपने मुल्क की आजादी की लड़ाई नहीं लड़ रहे हैं बल्कि मगरबी पाकिस्तान की गुलाम भवाम की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं। यकीन कीजिये, इस लड़ाई में सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान के 55 करोड़ लोग ही नहीं, बल्कि तमाम आलमी इस्लामियत और खास तौर पर मगरबी पाकिस्तान की कुचली हुई भवाम भी आप के साथ शामिल हैं, जो पिछले पच्चीस बरसों से यहिया खां और अयूब खा की मिलिटरी मशीन में पिसे जा रहे हैं।

इस लिये मैं समझता हू कि आज की लड़ाई सिर्फ सरहदों की लड़ाई नहीं है, आज की लड़ाई उन ख्वाबों की हिफाजत की लड़ाई है जो ख्वाब महात्मा गांधी ने देखे थे, जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने देखे थे और मार्टिन लूथर किंग ने देखे थे। इस लड़ाई की सरहदें फाजिल्का पर खत्म नहीं होती हैं, कश्मीर पर खत्म नहीं होती हैं, इस की सरहदें आप को बियटनाम के साथ मिलती हुई बिखलाई देगी। रोडेशिया के कुचले हुये भवाम की लड़ाई और इस लड़ाई का आपस में गहरा संबंध है। इस लिये मैं चाहता हू मुल्क के भवाम इस लड़ाई की अहमियत को समझें।

मैं इस ऐवान के सामने एक खास हैसियत से भी बोलना चाहता हू। मेरा ताल्लुक मुल्क की उस रियायत में है जिन रियायत पर पाकिस्तान की हरीसाना निगाहे आज पिछले पच्चीस बरसों से उठी हुई हैं। मैं अपने आप को काबिले फख्र समझता हू कि आज भी जो सबसे पहली निगाह हरीस की पड़ी है वह मेरी रियायत पर गई है और सब से पहला हवाई हमला श्रीनगर पर हुआ है। मैं इस ऐवान को, इस मुल्क को और तमाम उम जनता को, दुनिया भर की जनता को, जो जुल्म के खिलाफ, जहाँ भी वह हो, लड़ रही हैं, यह यकीन दिमाना चाहता हू कि जिस तरह

[बी एस 0 ए 0 नवीं]

कश्मीर की प्रथा ने आज भी पाकिस्तानी हथके का ही नहीं, पाकिस्तानी तरगीबों का और मायाक शांतिपत्रों का मुकाबला किया, इस प्रथम तारीखी वर्ष में कश्मीर की महानुर और गबूर प्रथम पाकिस्तान की कौड़ी मशीनरी को ही नहीं बल्कि पाकिस्तान के नजरिया एहसास को हिला कर रख देंगी।

पाकिस्तान से दावा किया था, और पाकिस्तान की दुनियावत उस नजरिये पर कायम है, कि मुसलमान अपने हिन्दू भाइयों के साथ नहीं रह सकते। वह तबारीख का बहुत बड़ा झालमिया है कि पञ्चवीस वर्ष से इस देश के कुछ नेताओं ने इन गलत माझूजे, इस गलत हकीकत को मान लिया था। आज मुसलमानों के लिये सब से ज्यादा प्रथम जिम्मेदारी का सबक है। मैं फर्क नहीं करता, लेकिन आप लोग मुझ से इतफाक करोगे कि मुसलमान के लिये लड़ाई किसी हद तक, नाजुकतर है। आप की एक मुस्क के साथ लड़ाई है, लेकिन हमें बहकाने के लिये, मैं तरगीबे देने के लिये पाकिस्तान का सिपाही हाथ में कुरान ले कर आता है, हमें बहकाने के लिये खुदा और रसूल का नाम लिया जाता है। हमारी जूरत का इन्तहान, ईमानदारी का इन्तहान, हमारी गैरत का इन्तहान यह है कि हम इस खोजे में नहीं आते। यह कोई आसान बात नहीं है। मुसलमान खुशकिस्मत है, खुशबख्त है, आज एक बार फिर यह साबित करने का मौका मिला है कि इन्सानियत की आला कद्रों पर उस का विश्वास है, वह मजहब को जुदाई की दीवार नहीं समझता, आपस में भाईचारे की जिन्दगी गुजारने का प्रथम दरवाजा समझता है।

मैं बीबीआजम के मुखातिब हो कर खास तौर से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे जाती तौर पर, मेरी कांस्टिट्यूसी को, मेरी रियायत को उन से एक नहीं, एक हजार शिकवे हैं, इस हुकूमत से एक नहीं एक लाख शिकवे हैं, लेकिन वह सारे शिकवे, सारी शिकायतें, हरबे गलत मिट गई जिस वक्त पाकिस्तानी हवाई जहाजों ने परवाज कर के हमारी एरिया पर बन गिराने की कोशिश की।

जब तक पाकिस्तान को इस लड़ाई में फैसलाखुश शिकस्त नहीं मिलती, हवाएँ तमाम शिकायतों जमीन के नीचे बफन हैं, और मैं समझता हूँ कि जब मैं अपनी बात करता हूँ तो उन प्रथम लोगों की तरफ से बात करता हूँ जिन को प्राइम मिनिस्टर से और उन की जमात से शिकायत है।

बी बाजपेयी ने ठीक कहा कि आज इस मुस्क में कोई जमात नहीं है, और मुझे खुशी है कि मेरी बी कोई जमात नहीं है। बूँक मेरी कोई जमात नहीं है, आज आप सब लोग इन्वेन्डेंट हो गये हैं। लेकिन इस इन्वेन्डेंट में आपका इतिहास और आप की जो भावना है वह एक मुक्ते पर मरकूज है कि दुश्मन ने हमला किया है और दुश्मन को जवाब दिया जायेगा।

यहाँ बहुत जजबाती तकरीरें हुई हैं। मौका ही ऐसा था कि जजबाती तकरीरें होनी चाहिये थी, लेकिन एक बात की तरफ मैं आप की तबज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जग बहुत बड़ी खतरनाक बीज होती है। यह सिर्फ महाजो मे नहीं लड़ी जाती, आप के घरों में भी लड़ी जायेगी। आप प्रन्दाजा कीजिये कि बम जब बिरंगे तो आप के पड़ोस ही मे नहीं, आप के मकान के ऊपर भी गिर सकते हैं। अभी से आप गन्हे-गन्हे बच्चों को तैयार कीजिये खतरे के लिये। आप बहिया खां से नहीं लड़ रहे हैं। उस की हकीकत क्या है, उस का बजबूद कहां है। मैं आज मुबालगा नहीं कर रहा हूँ कि आप प्रेजिडेंट निक्सन से लड़ रहे हैं, मैं मुकाबला नहीं कर रहा हूँ कि आप चीनी आहरियत के खिनाफ लड़ रहे हैं, और आज हिन्दुस्तान की फतेह, हिन्दुस्तान की कामयाबी और कामरानी इस जान में है कि लड़ाई जो वह है महज अपनी जान के लिये नहीं लड़ रहा है, तमाम दुनिया के लिये लड़ रहा है। यह सही है कि चाहना, अमरीका और पाकिस्तान के अगोड़े फौजी हुकूमत एक साथ मिल कर हम पर वार कर रहे हैं। यह हमारी खुशबखती है। इस नयी, इस दौर की खुशबखती है कि तारीख ने हमें इस कड़ी आजमाइश में डाल दिया। इस नाजुक इन्तहान में डाल दिया है कि आने

बाकी 'मसलें' खूब इस क्षेत्र की सारीख की याद करेगी तो यह कहें कर वाद करेगी कि यह सरमाया, यह कथ्य उसी नस्ल को इराकिल या जिसने पाकिस्तान की जरूरत को ही नहीं, बल्कि उस नजरिये को भी निकरस दी जिसने हिन्दू और मुसलमान के इम्बानि तकरीक करना चाहा, जिस ने मजहब के नाम पर खून बहाया और जब यह साफ हो गया उस वक्त मजहब वा फर्क नहीं रहा। तब मुसलमान ने मुसलमान के खिलाफ बोली चलाई, बाहिमां खां के फौजी सिपाहियों ने मुजीबुलरहमान को जो याहिमा खां के मुकाबिले पाच हजार गुना सही और सच्चे मुसलमान है, उस पर गोशिया चलाई। यह मबक मुसलमानों ने सही तौर पर समझा। मैं उन दोस्तो से जिन्होंने माजी मे मुसलमानों की नीयत पर शक किया है, एक मुघदबाया गुजारिश करना चाहया। बहुत हो चुका जो माजी मे हो गया। हमारी रूह इस मामले में जखमी हो चुकी है, हमारा वजूद भी जखमी हो गया है। हम अपनी जबांमदारी और वफादारी का सबूत दे चुके हैं। वफादारी नाम की कोई चीज नहीं होती है, कोई सवाल नहीं टोता है जब आप एक मुल्क के बाशिन्दे होते हैं। हमने अपनी जबांमदारी का सबूत अब्दुल खलील के रूप मे दिया है। आज एक और इस्त-हान वा हमे मौका दीजिये। आप मौका दीजिये इस मुल्क के अब्बाम की उन गरपसन्द कुब्बतो का मुकाबला करने के लिये जो पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारी इस लड़ाई मे कोशिश करेगी कि इसको फरको की लड़ाई बना दिया जाये। बहुत से दोस्तो ने इस खतरे का इजहार किया है। लेकिन मैं खास तौर पर इसको कहना चाहता हूँ। पाकिस्तान ने अपना सारा जोर एक ही बात पर लगाया है। मैं कल से रेडियो पाकिस्तान बराबर सुन रहा हूँ। उस पर सिर्फ इस्लाम का नाम लिया जा रहा है। मुसलमानों को खास तौर पर तीर किया जा रहा है। मुझे यकीन है बामिशासन्द, सिवासतदां, जबांमद मुसलमान लोग इस सारिख का शिकार नहीं होंगे।

आखिर में एक मोर धरं करना चाहता हूँ अपनी बुबबकी पर नाश करने हुये यह कतबा

बुलन्द मिला जिसको मिल गया पाकिस्तानी लोगों के इहाने हमारी तरफ हूँ, यह हमारे लिये फयद की बात है। खून और जुल्म की शोष है।

यह कतबा बुलन्द मिला जिस को मिल गया हर मुर्द के वास्ते वारे रसन कहा।

आपको मेरी हिमायत की जरूरत नहीं लेकिन मुझे आपके तपाबुन की जरूरत है।

شری ایس اے شمیم (سری نگر) :
 اندھیکش مہودے - اس مدن نے اور اس
 ملک نے پھلے پچیس برسوں میں بڑے ہی
 نازک اور تاریخی فیصلے کئے ہیں - اور
 واقعات کی نشان دہی کی ہے - لیکن غالباً
 اس ملک کی تاریخ میں آج کا لمحہ سب
 سے زیادہ نازک اور سب سے زیادہ تاریخی
 لمحہ ہے - اس سے پہلے ہم نے لڑائیاں
 لڑی ہیں اپنے ملک کی حفاظت کے لئے -
 اپنی سلامیت کے لئے لیکن آج کی لڑائی
 کا کردار اس سے مختلف ہے - آج ہم
 صرف اپنے ملک کی حفاظت کے لئے ہی
 لڑائی نہیں لڑ رہے ہیں - ہم بنگلہ دیش
 کے لئے بھی لڑائی لڑ رہے ہیں - ہم صرف
 اپنے ملک کی آزادی کی لڑائی نہیں لڑ رہے
 ہیں بلکہ مغربی پاکستان کی غلام عوام
 کی آزادی کی لڑائی بھی لڑ رہے ہیں - یقین
 کیجئے اس لڑائی میں صرف ہندوستان کے
 وہ کروڑ لوگ ہی نہیں بلکہ تمام عالمی
 انسانیت اور خاص طور پر مغربی پاکستان
 کی کھلی ہوئی عوام بھی آپ کے ساتھ
 شامل ہے - جو پچھلے ۲۵ سالوں سے
 یحییٰ خان اور ایوب خان کی ملٹری مشین
 سے بے جا رہے ہیں -

اس لئے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ
 آج کی لڑائی صرف سرحدوں کی
 لڑائی نہیں ہے - آج کی لڑائی

ان خواہوں کی حفاظت کی لڑائی ہے جو خواب سہاتا گاندھی نے دیکھے تھے۔ جو اہرلال نہرو نے دیکھے تھے۔ اور مارٹن لوتھر کنگ نے دیکھے تھے اس لڑائی کی سرحدیں فاضلکھ پر ختم نہیں ہوتی ہیں۔ کشمیر پر ختم نہیں ہوتی ہیں۔ اس کی سرحدیں آپ کو ویٹنام کے ساتھ ملتی ہوئی دکھائی دینگیں۔ ریڈیشیا کے کھلے ہوئے عوام کی لڑائی اور اس لڑائی کا آپس میں گہرا سمبندھ ہے۔ اس لئے میں چاہتا ہوں ملک کے عوام اس لڑائی کی اہمیت کو سمجھیں۔

میں اس ایوان کے سامنے اس خاص حیثیت سے بھی بولنا چاہتا ہوں۔ میرا تعلق ملک کی اس ریاست سے ہے جس ریاست پر پاکستان کی حریصانہ نگاہ آج پچھلے پچیس برسوں سے اٹھی ہوئی ہے۔ میں اپنے آپ کو قابل فخر سمجھتا ہوں کہ آج بھی جو سب سے پہلی نگاہ حریص کی پڑی ہے۔ وہی میری ریاست پر گئی ہے۔ اور سب سے پہلا ہوائی حملہ سری نگر پر ہوا ہے۔ میں اس ایوان کو اس ملک کو اور تمام اس جتنا کو دنیا بھر کی جتنا کو جو ظلم کے خلاف جہاں بھی وہ ہو لڑ رہی ہے۔ یہ یقین دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ جس طرح کشمیر کے عوام نے ماضی میں پاکستانی حملے کا ہی نہیں پاکستانی باغیوں کا اور ناپاک سازشوں کا مقابلہ کیا۔ اس اہم تاریخی جنگ میں کشمیر کی بہادر اور غیور عوام پاکستان کی فوجی مشینری کو ہی نہیں بلکہ پاکستان کے نظریہ احساس کو ہلا کر رکھ دینگی۔

[شری ایس۔ اے۔ شمیم]
پاکستان نے دعویٰ کیا تھا اور پاکستان کی بنیاد اس نظریے پر قائم ہے کہ مسلمان اپنے ہندو بھائیوں کے ساتھ نہیں رہ سکتے۔ پھر یہ تاریخ کا بہت بڑا عالمیہ ہے کہ پچیس برس سے اس دیش کے کچھ نیتاؤں نے اس غلط ماحوذے۔ اس غلط حقیقت کو مان لیا تھا۔ آج مسلمانوں کے لئے سب سے زیادہ اہم ذمے داری کا سبق ہے۔ میں فرق نہیں کرتا۔ لیکن آپ لوگ مجھ سے اتفاق کریں کہ مسلمان کے لئے لڑائی کسی حد تک نازک تر ہے۔ آپ کی ایک ملک کے ساتھ لڑائی ہے۔ لیکن ہمیں بھگانے کے لئے۔ ہمیں ترغیبیں دینے کے لئے پاکستان کا سپاہی ہاتھ میں قرآن لیکر آتا ہے۔ ہمیں بھگانے کے لئے خدا اور رسول کا نام لیا جاتا ہے۔ ہماری جرات کا امتحان۔ ایمانداری کا امتحان۔ ہماری غیرت کا امتحان یہ ہے کہ ہم اس دھوکے میں نہیں آنے۔ یہہ کوئی آسان بات نہیں ہے۔ مسلمان خوش قسمت ہے۔ خوش بخت ہے۔ آج ایک بار پھر یہہ ثابت کرنے کا موقعہ ملا ہے کہ انسانیت کی عالمی قدروں پر اس کا وشواس ہے۔ وہ مذہب کو جدائی کی دیوار نہیں سمجھتا۔ آپس میں بھائی چارے کی زندگی گزارنے کا اہم دروازہ سمجھتا ہے۔

میں وزیراعظم سے مخاطب ہو کر خاص طور سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ مجھے ذاتی طور پر میری کانسیٹیوونسی کو۔ میوی ریاست کو ان سے ایک نہیں ایک ہزار شکوے ہیں۔ اس حکومت سے ایک نہیں ایک لاکھ شکوے ہیں۔

لیکن وہی سارے شکونے۔ ساری شکایتیں
حرف غلط مٹ گئیں جس وقت پاکستانی
ہوائی جہازوں نے پرواز کر کے ہمارے
اوپر پر ہم گرانے کی کوشش کی۔ جب تک
پاکستان کو اس لڑائی میں فیصلہ کن
شکست نہیں ملتی ہماری تمام شکایتیں
زمین کے نیچے دفن ہیں۔ اور میں سمجھتا
ہوں کہ میں جب اپنی بات کرتا ہوں تو
ان تمام لوگوں کی طرف سے بات کرتا ہوں
جن کو پرائیم منسٹر سے اور ان کی جماعت
سے شکایت ہے۔

شری واجپائی نے ٹھیک کہا کہ آج
اس ملک میں کوئی جماعت نہیں ہے۔
اور مجھے خوشی ہے کہ میری بھی کوئی
جماعت نہیں ہے۔ آج آپ سب لوگ
انڈیپنڈنٹ ہو گئے ہیں لیکن اس
انڈیپنڈنٹس میں آپ کا جو انہیاس اور
آپ کی جو بھاونہ ہے وہ ایک نطفے پر
مرکوز ہے کہ دشمن نے حملہ کیا ہے اور
دشمن کو دبا دیا جائے گا۔

یہاں بہت جذباتی تقریریں ہوئی ہیں۔
موقعہ ہی ایسا تھا کہ جذباتی تقریریں
ہونی چاہئیں تھیں۔ لیکن ایک بات کی
طرف میں آپ کی توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ
جنگ بہت بڑی خطرناک چیز ہوتی ہے۔
یہ صرف محازوں میں نہیں لڑی جاتی۔
آپ کے گھروں میں بھی لڑی جائیں گی۔
آپ اندازہ کیجئے کہ ہم جب گرینگے تو
آپ کے پڑوس میں ہی نہیں آپ کے مکان
کے اوپر بھی گر سکتے ہیں۔ ابھی سے
آپ اپنے ننھے ننھے بچوں کو تیار کیجئے
خطرے کے لئے۔ آپ بھی خان سے نہیں
لڑ رہے ہیں۔ اس کی حقیقت کہا ہے۔ اس

کا وجود کہاں ہے۔ میں آج معافہ
نہیں کر رہا ہوں کہ آپ پریزیڈنٹ نکسن
سے لڑ رہے ہیں۔ میں معافہ نہیں کر
رہا ہوں کہ آپ چینی جاہریت کے خلاف
لڑ رہے ہیں۔ اور آج ہندوستان کی فتح
اور ہندوستان کی کامیابی اور کاسرائی
اس بات میں ہے لڑائی جو ہے وہ محظ
اپنی ذات کے لئے نہیں لڑ رہا ہے۔ تمام
دنیا کے لئے لڑ رہا ہے۔ یہ صحیح ہے
کہ چائینا امریکہ اور پاکستان کے یہ
نگوڑے فوجی حکمران ایک ساتھ ملکر
ہم پر وار کر رہے ہیں۔ یہ ہماری
خوشبختی ہے۔ اس صدی۔ اس دور کی
خوشبختی ہے کہ تاریخ نے ہمیں اس
کڑی آزمائش میں ڈال دیا۔ اس نازک
امتحان میں ڈال دیا ہے کہ آنے والی
نسلیں جب اس دور کی تاریخ یاد کریں گی
کہ یہ سرمایہ۔ یہ فخر اس نسل کو
حاصل تھا جس نے پاکستان کی جاہریت
کو ہی نہیں بلکہ اس نظریے کو بھی
شکست دی جس نے ہندو اور مسلمان کے
درمیان تفریق کرنا چاہا۔ جس نے مذہب
کے نام پر خون بہایا۔ اور جب وہ صاف
ہو گیا اس وقت مذہب کا فرق نہیں رہا
تب مسلمان نے مسلمان کے خلاف گولی
چلائی۔ یحییٰ خان کے فوجی سپاہیوں نے
محبیب الرحمن کو جو یحییٰ خان کے
مقابلے پانچ ہزار گنا صحیح اور سچے
مسلمان ہیں اس پر گولیاں چلائیں۔ یہ
سبق مسلمانوں نے صحیح طور پر سمجھا۔
میں ان دوستوں سے جنہوں نے ماضی میں
مسلمانوں کی نیت پر شک کیا ہے۔ ایک
مودبانا گزارش کرنا چاہوں گا۔ بہت ہو
چکا جو ماضی میں ہو گیا۔ ہماری روح
اس معاملے میں زخمی ہو چکی ہے ہمارا

[شری ایس۔ اے۔ شمیم]

وجود بھی زخمی ہو گیا ہے۔ ہم اپنی جوانمردی اور وفاداری کا ثبوت دے چکے ہیں۔ وفاداری نام کی کوئی چیز نہیں ہوتی ہے۔ کوئی سوال نہیں ہونا ہے۔ جب آپ ایک ملک کے باشندے ہوتے ہیں۔ ہم نے اپنی جوانمردی کا ثبوت عبدالخلیل کے روپ میں دیا ہے۔ آج ایک اور اسمان کا ہمیں موقعہ دیتے ہیں۔ آپ موقعہ دیتے ہیں اس ملک کے عوام کو۔ ان شہسند فوجوں کا معاملہ کرنے کے لئے جو پاکستان کے ساتھ ہماری اس لڑائی میں کوسس کر سکیں۔ اس کو پھر کھینچ کر لڑائی بنا دیا جائے۔ بہت سے دوسروں نے اس خطرے کا اظہار کیا ہے۔ لیکن میں خاص طور پر اس کو کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ پاکستان نے اپنا سارا زور ایک ہی ناب پر لگایا ہے۔ میں کل سے ریڈیو پاکستان برادر سن رہا ہوں اس پر صرف اسلام کا نام لیا جا رہا ہے۔ مسلمانوں کو خاص طور پر سر کیا جا رہا ہے۔ صحیحے یقین ہے۔ دانشمند۔ ساسدان جوانمرد مسلمان لوگ اس سارس کا سکار نہیں ہونگے۔

آخر میں ایک شعر عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں ابھی خود بخوبی پر نار کدے ہوئے یہہ ربہ بلند ملا جس کو مل گیا۔ پاکستانی بوہوں کے داہے ہماری طرف ہوں نہ ہمارے لئے فخر کی ناب ہے۔ خون اور ظلم کی بوب ہے۔

یہ مرہبہ بلند ملا جس کو مل گیا
ہو مدعی کے واسطے دارے رسن کہاں
آپ کو میری حماب کی ضرورت نہیں
لکن بھجے آپ کے تعاون کی ضرورت ہے۔

MR. SPEAKER: Many other hon. Members are very keen to speak and they are sending me so many chits. I would request them to take one or two minutes. Enough has been said already on it.

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI (Berhampore) Mr. Speaker, I join my voice to the unanimous declaration of support that has been expressed in this House today on this historic occasion for the proclamation of national emergency and the declaration of national determination to fight a war that has been forced on us, upto the last.

This is a moment, not of words but of action. So, I do not want to inflict a long speech in this House. But I would be failing in my duty if I do not utter a word of caution to the Government and the Leader of the country today, Shrimati Indira Gandhi that this is a war, not only to safeguard the security and territorial integrity of India, this war has inescapably become merged with the war of Independence of Bangla Desh. We stand on the threshold of historic decisions. The world has refused to recognise Bangla Desh. The world has refused to see the basic problems of Bangla Desh. Let us also realise that the world has failed to see or understand the problems that India is faced with because of the explosion in Bangla Desh. That is why the time has come when Bangla Desh must not only be recognised by India, given diplomatic recognition, but at the same time, the world must be told that this is not a war between India and Pakistan. They must also be told in the clearest possible terms that there is another war, the war of the people of Bangla Desh, the war of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, against the military occupation regime of West Pakistan, and that war also must be fought to the finish, and that India is within her rights to help that war, to help the people of Bangla Desh to win that war.

With these words, I again support the Proclamation of Emergency.

DR. KARNI SINGH (Bikaner) : Pakistan has posed a great challenge before our nation, and it is now up to every Indian citizen to tighten his belt and project a united image before not only Pakistan and the enemy, but the world also. Pakistan, by precipitating this war, has precipitated the recognition of Bangla Desh, and I have no doubt that in a very short while Bangla Desh will be recognised and Pakistan will financially destroy itself, as a result of its own act of aggression and I can only hope that out of the wreck and ruin of Pakistan will emerge as loose-knit confederation of democratic secular States in this region in which India can take the lead.

I would like to say this much that many of us young Members of Parliament are desirous of serving to the best of our ability the defence of our country. It was one of my dreams almost 30 years ago in the World War to join the Air Force, and I would like to offer my services to the Prime Minister to join the Fighter Command of I. A. F.

I find that all hon. Members of the House from different parts have offered their unstinted support to the hon. Prime Minister, and all of us Independents also do likewise, and I sincerely hope that the Prime Minister would also in her wisdom consider the formation of a National Government for the duration of the emergency.

I thank you for giving me time to speak. I would only like to say this much that the speeches of my hon. friend Mr. Shamim and other Muslim friends have convinced the world of what the great Gandhiji and the great Jawaharlal Nehru used to say that India was a secular nation. They have proved that India indeed is a secular nation.

**SHRI V. K. KRISHNA MENON (Tri-
vendrum) :** The unanimity of the sentiments expressed in this House is not only a proclamation to Pakistan, but to the world, and particularly to that part of the world whose weapons have always been used against us. These expressions have been inspired by sentiments which may appear in the surface to be emotional, but this emotion is a reflection of the firm and resolute will of this nation. If the Prime Minister at any time wanted proof of this, she has had it from the lips of people who, not as professionals but as part of their duty, criticise her in this House.

12 Hrs.

There are one or two matters to which I would like to refer at this moment. I do not say my word is the last on this subject. The cease-fire line in Kashmir no longer exists. The cease-fire agreement is dead by the act of aggression. I hope it is for the Government to decide—it is not for us individuals to lay it down—to hand over the exit permits to the members of the UN Observation Commission, because their capacity will now be not to supervise the cease-fire line objectively, but to be the allies of the forces that resist us. In the least, these observers are very much in the way and they might get killed. So, we have a great responsibility. So, we shall ask them to go away or send them away to our guest houses, because there is a tremendous international responsibility. The life of one of these international observers will emotionally surcharge the UN in a way that it forgets all other matters.

Secondly, I heard the Prime Minister say—my hearing is still very good—that Pakistan has declared war against us. I beg of her to verify the statement with great accuracy, because if Pakistan has declared war against us, it is one matter. But if Pakistan has simply said, it has declared a state of war, it is a different matter. De-

[Shri V. K. Krishna Menon]
 citation of a state of war is a statement made by the State of Pakistan to its own people and is still undeclared war. But so far as we are concerned, war exists. This is the occasion to hand over the exist permit to the High Commissioner of Pakistan here, which takes away whatever inhibitions there may have been in the way of the recognition of Bangla Desh. That is to say, Pakistan State is no longer a recognised State so far as we are concerned. Of course, if they have declared war against us, there is the end of it. That is to say, there is nothing standing in the way. But this matter must be cleared, because in the eminent position the Prime Minister occupies, if she says in the House that Pakistan has declared war against us, international opinion will turn round and say, this is an exaggeration. Now, it is no exaggeration in fact, but we should not put ourselves in the wrong in this matter. If it is not declared war, it is undeclared war and what is known as pre-emptive war. Pre-emptive war is the most sinful of all things. The decision who to hit and where to hit must remain with the Government and not with the Generals. War is too serious a matter to be entrusted to Generals. Therefore, I have no doubt that the Defence Minister who is otherwise pre-occupied will see to it that where and in which terms to hit is left to be decided by Government and nobody else.

I do hope that today, tomorrow or whenever, it is, Bangla Desh should be recognised because that would be a fitting answer to Pakistan, almost as powerful as the lethal blows that we may deliver.

I want to conclude by saying, this is a sorry business. War is a gruesome affair, especially in a population of our size without the necessary equipment for shelters and things of that character, with a nation that has not seen a war on its own soil since the battle of Wandiwash.

That is to say, our people, our professional soldiers, have fought in other fields of battle with glory, but on this soil, we have not seen a war. War is a gruesome business, with the black-outs, the fear of bombing, etc. It is a gruesome business. So, there may be no competition amongst us as to who makes the most extreme speeches, because that hits nobody. I want to assure the Prime Minister that I belong to no party. Apart from that, there are no differences here; we are one nation.

Philip of Spain thought in the 16th century because Mary Queen of Scotland, was executed the Catholics would support him when he invaded Britain. But it is the same as what you have heard from the representative of the Muslim League. This is one country and one nation and I have no hesitation in saying that today we are under one leader irrespective of her ideologies. I do not believe she would bring socialism to this country. I want to say this quite frankly, because you cannot jump into a ditch and then leap. But that is another matter which we will deal with afterwards. There will be neither socialism nor any ism unless this nation survives. The survival of this nation is the most important thing.

Coming to war, this country never wanted to wage a war. But when our frontiers beyond the cease-fire line are unfortunately compromised by the action of another country, when another country decides to indulge in border violation and things of that kind I think a new situation arises. Therefore, while we believe in peace at any price we are in the position of an old American President who is reported to have said "I am a man of peace at any price but the present price is war". But, in the present case, we do not have to make a choice; the enemy has made the choice. War action has taken place by the bombing of our air-field for the crippling of our

jawns, not of our striking power. And I have no doubt that in the operations which we are forced to undertake, as Shri Indrajit Gupta has rightly pointed out, we have no quarrel with the people of Prkistan and we do not propose to indulge in, we will make sure that we do not propose to indulge in, the Nazi form of war, the war of exterminating peaceful population. It is only in the extreme circumstances where military targets are bombed—and our firing will never fail—that people will be put to hardship, and that we will not use those deadly weapons called napalm bombs and things like that which cripple young people. If you see people who have been affected by that you would never allow them to be used. These are things which at this time and on these occasions we should not forget in the enthusiasm of crushing the enemy. I know that the enemy can never be crushed; if he is crushed he will rise again but we have to pull out those fangs that try to kill us.

I want to say one word about the proclamation of emergency. There is no doubt that a proclamation of emergency is necessary for many legal reasons. Otherwise, government would be faced with very much delay and inconvenience, even though they can indemnify the officials later. But I am sure the Prime Minister will bear in mind a great saying which is said about a great empire and which I say about a great cause: great empires and little minds go together and generosity is seldom the least virtue. Therefore, we should not forget all that. We should go forward, not only the opposition but Members of Parliament belonging to all parties, the entire nation has to go forward together. I do not talk of a national government because, after all, the government is a national government. What else is it, except for some of us outside? Therefore, we should not have to spend our time fighting or the policemen guarding our

houses or beating young people. These are things which can wait and especially when the war is long-drawn out the government has to consider these things.

Finally, I hope the Prime Minister will at no time heed the counsel of unwise men which says the Parliament must go. That proceeds on the assumption that Parliament is a luxury which we tolerate. That is not so. Parliament is a necessary establishment, in order that in case there would be reverses—and there is no doubt about it that there would be reverses; there can be no war without reverses except in the thinking of people sometimes—the Parliament can act as the safety valve on such occasions. So, this Parliament has to sit. When bombs were raining over London the British Parliament had midnight sessions and two bombs actually struck the House when they were sitting. This is the thing which shook Hitler that people do not go away even when bombs are showered. Our people are also the same. We have passion for defending this country. When we could shake a mighty empire to its foundations, so we can shake the mighty empires that support the aggressor when aggression takes place and we should warn the world that any assistance given to the aggression in India is an act of aggression against India itself.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO (Karimnagar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the need of the hour is not making a speech but only action. We will have to make sacrifices. On behalf of the Telanagana Praja Samithi I would like to assure the Prime Minister that the whole nation is behind her. Let us forget our petty problems. There are no problems except the one problem as to how to drive out this aggressor who is coming to our country.

I will request the Prime Minister to assign some work at least to some of our young Members here. We know that our soldiers

(Shri M. Satyanarayan Rao)

are not only fighting but are laying down their lives there. We must also go there and do something. At least let us create some confidence among our soldiers that not only the whole nation is with them but, that we are also doing something. I hope, the Prime Minister will do something about this problem.

SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO (Mahendragarh) : Sir, I am associating myself with the sentiments expressed in the House, on behalf of the Vishal Haryana Party on this occasion. After the Proclamation of Emergency and after this dastardly Pakistani aggression last evening I feel proud and important as an ex-soldier. And I am not a very old soldier either ; today I feel even younger. I want to assure the Prime Minister that millions of our ex-soldiers and ex-officers in this nation of soldiers are today behind her. They would like to be assigned the most difficult role to defend our country. I have no doubt that India would come out victorious because ours is a noble and a just cause. I am sure that in this late twentieth century when those countries, which were so far professing to be champions of human rights, have failed humanity, India would emerge as the new champion of human rights and individual freedom in the world.

Sir, I must speak a few words on your behalf since you are sitting in the Speaker's Chair.

MR. SPEAKER : You have already spoken as an ex-soldier on my behalf.

SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO : Last night your district was bombarded. The people along our borders in Punjab and Rajasthan have proved to be as brave, as the people of West Bengal and Assam. I phoned a few friends this morning at Amritsar and suggested that they might send their children over to Delhi so that

we might be prepared at our borders to teach a very lasting and unforgettable lesson to Pakistan ; they all refused. They said, Amritsar was not going to be vacated ; they were going to stay there to the last minute. I congratulate you, Sir, that you represent that district, and the people on our borders in Punjab and Rajasthan who are so brave.

DR. G. S. MELKOTE (Hyderabad) : Sir, I rise to support the Proclamation of Emergency. May I say that the country has heard the clarion call of our leader ? On this occasion the national defence workers have asked me to tell this House on their behalf that during the past two aggressions they had been working 24 hours round the clock but the management of the different industrial factories gave them one holiday in a fortnight. They complained and asked why this holiday was given. The management replied that it was not because of human failure ; the machine had broken down but the man had not broken down ; therefore, a holiday was necessary. At this juncture we would like to assure the leader that in every possible manner we will out do what we did last time and help our jawans at the front.

With these words I give support to this Proclamation of Emergency.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY (Kendrapara) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the Utkal Congress and the United independent Group which I have the honour to represent in this House, I would like to associate myself with the support given to the Proclamation of Emergency which has been moved by the Prime Minister and pledge our support to it in this hour of trial. There is no question of waging war or not waging it. When the battle is called, we must join it and make ourselves oblations to that holy flame. But I would only urge upon the Prime Minister to see that the quality of free society is not impaired in the name of Emergency.

Before, I conclude, I would like to support what my esteemed friend, Shri Krishna Menon, has said that Parliament must not be off. The Parliament should continue to function in this hour of trial so that it keeps up the image of confidence and cool courage of our country.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur)
Mr. Speaker, Sir, as the President of the All-India Defence Employees Federation, I assure my full support to the Prime Minister and to the Defence Minister and I also assure that, as in 1962 and 1965, the Defence employees will rise like one man today and will sacrifice even more to see that the naked aggression of Pakistan is repelled with all force. They will help the army both in the front and also preparing everything in the rear and help this Government in this hour of trial.

MR. SPEAKER The question is

"That the House approves the Proclamation of Emergency issued under article 352 of the Constitution by the President on the 3rd December, 1971"

The motion was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER This Resolution is carried unanimously. I am very proud to be the Speaker of this House which has shown so much unity and demonstrated so much determination at this grave hour. We all pray that the nation stands all united as one man with one determination and with one leader. May God be with us.

12 21 HRS

DEFENCE OF INDIA BILL*

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS, MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) · Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill

to provide for special measures to ensure the public safety and interest, the defence of India and civil defence and for the trial of certain offences and for matters connected therewith.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for special measures to ensure the public safety and interest, the defence of India and civil defence and for the trial of certain offences and for matters connected therewith"

The motion was adopted.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI
introduce the Bill.

I beg to move ·

"That the Bill to provide for special measures to ensure the public safety and interest, the defence of India and civil defence and for the trial of certain offences and for matters connected therewith, be taken into consideration"

Mr. Speaker, I have said a little while ago that we shall be bringing before this House the Defence of India Bill. This Bill seeks only to provide necessary legal sanction as a consequence of the proclamation of emergency made by the President. We have tried to interfere as little as possible with the normal avocations of our citizens. But the country as a whole will have to make great efforts and undergo all sacrifices necessary for our defence.

The provisions of the Bill are somewhat similar to legislation undertaken on the last occasion. However, some changes in the light of our earlier experience and judicial decisions have been made. Full advantage has been taken of the laws enacted in the recent years by Parliament. Thus, the Bill does not make any separate provisions for detention. The Maintenance of Internal Security Act has been utilised with some modifications. In order that prompt

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