

RUPEE SERIES



BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

**CHINESE AGGRESSION**  
and  
**ITS IMPLICATIONS**  
**K. M. Munshi**

GENERAL EDITORS

**K. M. MUNSHI**

**R. R. DIWAKAR**

327.54051  
M 927 C



**BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY**



**INDIAN INSTITUTE OF  
ADVANCED STUDY  
SIMLA**

DATA ENTERED



CATALOGUED

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

*Organising Committee:*

LILAVATI MUNSHI—CHAIRMAN

K. K. BIRLA

S. G. NEVATIA

J. H. DAVE

S. RAMAKRISHNAN

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

CHINESE AGGRESSION  
AND  
ITS IMPLICATIONS

K. M. MUNSHI



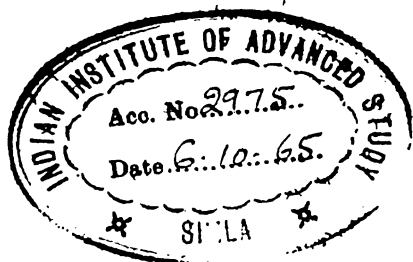
1963

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

CHOWPATTY : BOMBAY

*All Rights Reserved.*

*First Edition, November 1963*



Price Re. 1.00; Sh. 1/9; S 0.50

327.54051

M 927 C



Library IAS, Shimla



00002975

PRINTED IN INDIA

By P. H. Raman at Associated Advertisers & Printers, 505, Tardco,  
Arthur Road, Bombay 34, and Published by S. Ramakrishnan,  
Executive Secretary, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7.

## GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

The Bhavan's Book University volumes had rare success. About a million and a quarter volumes have been sold in about eleven years. However, there is an insistent demand for the stray volumes which the Bhavan has issued from time to time at a lower price. In order to meet this demand, it has been decided to issue the new One-Rupee Book University Series side by side with the Book University Series.

I hope this new One-Rupee Series will have the same good fortune which the other Series had, of being useful to those who are interested in the fundamental values of Indian Culture, and of reaching out to a wider audience.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,  
Chowpatty Road, Bombay-7.  
*Vijaya Dashami*  
September 28, 1963

K. M. MUNSHI





## CONTENTS

	Page
1. THE SOLEMN HOUR	1
2. EXPLODED MYTHS	5
3. THE FIERY ORDEAL	12
4. DHARMA YUDDHA	16
5. WHAT MAKES FOR NATIONAL GREATNESS	24
6. KNOW THINE ENEMY	31
7. CHINESE AGGRESSION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS	37

## THE SOLEMN HOUR

THIS is the solemn hour in the history of our beloved Motherland—an hour which is going to test our courage, tenacity and faith as a people. On September 8, 1962, we were confronted with a danger which unfolded itself as day followed day.

Now a foreign army has overrun a part of our sacred soil.

An unscrupulous and ruthless foe has sought to disrupt our stability and our plans for peaceful progress; he has also posed a threat to our freedom and our democratic institutions; all of Asia is in danger too.

Our national existence, our way of life, the values which we cherish—moral, religious and spiritual—are in jeopardy.

We have to pass through a fiery ordeal of war and come out victorious.

This is not the time for recrimination. All controversies must be hushed. At the same time, we must face facts as they are, and not as interpreted to us by those in power.

We must realise that many of our policies have been fatuous. Our pathetic faith in Russia has been belied. Somehow, our conduct

has irritated Nepal. Towards the United States and United Kingdom, we have often been ungenerous.

We have proved ourselves inadequate to face the task, the gravity or the magnitude of which some of our leaders could never realise so far. We lived in an artificial atmosphere of our own creation, auto-intoxicated by our own eloquence, induced by self-righteousness and self-complacency.

Reality has taken a revenge on us.

The Chinese have overrun a part of NEFA. They are progressively digging in in Ladakh.

The military crisis, about which many well-meaning friends forewarned, but which those in power sought to minimise, has found us "outnumbered" and "out-weaponed"—in plain words, utterly unprepared and un-equipped.

However, out of the debris of our policies, promises and hopes, has emerged a nation, resolute and united as it never was before. The truth of the Shakespearean phrase "words without deeds never to Heaven go" has been brought home to us.

From the debris has also emerged the perception that while industrial advance is needed for defensive strength, an attempt at such an advance, without developing defensive strength, is suicidal.

From the debris has also arisen a realization that integration is the very breath of a nation's life; that when national existence is in danger, regional boundaries have no meaning, and even fundamental rights which circumscribe military effort have no sanctity.

From the ashes of a self-complacent government has arisen, it is hoped, a government of national defence, ready to become the flaming symbol of heroic resistance, unyielding till the last vestige of the invading hordes is driven out of the country.

And now, out of the creeping disintegration which was paralysing us, there has also arisen a mighty flood of patriotic fervour and universal enthusiasm: of youth to join the army; of every sector to offer sacrifices; of every section of the people to help the defence effort.

Above all, men, women and children in different walks of life have developed a will to arm themselves with modern weapons; to repel the brutal aggressor; to defend, at any cost, the Motherland and our way of life.

The spirit of India has been stirred to its depth. The indomitable Will to Resist which maketh nations has been born.

The Spirit now speaks in the words of Sri Krishna:

मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि संन्यस्याध्यात्मचेतसा ।

निराशीर्निर्ममो भूत्वा युध्यस्व विगतज्वरः ॥

“Thy every deed dedicated unto Me,  
Thy heart in self-suffusing strength  
rested,  
All selfishness and, hope forsworn,  
With thy self from fever cured  
Dost thou fight on, Oh! Arjuna.”

The fight before us is long, stern and fierce. Today it is going in favour of the invader, but the battle is not to the strong alone; it is to the active, the vigilant, the brave, the dedicated, and to those who have faith in themselves and in God.

“Today is ours—  
What do we fear?  
“Today is ours—  
We have it here.”

## EXPLODED MYTHS

IN recent times, those who wanted us to read history in the light of their wishful thinking, gave us myths for facts. These myths have now gone the way of all unrealities.

We were told that there was centuries-old friendship between India and China. With the uncrossable Himalayas between the two countries, no war was physically possible. With the barrier no longer effective, there is no friendship—wishful thinking notwithstanding.

Again, we were told that anyone who talked of getting ready for a military eventuality with China, was a “war-monger”. The “war--monger” proved correct in his estimate. Those who held him up to ridicule were living in a fool’s paradise.

It was dinned into our ears day in and day out that we were a “peace-loving” nation. Historically it was a lie. In point of fact, it is a figment of the imagination.

Historically we were a “peace-loving” nation only in the sense in which all people who do not suffer from conquest-mania are, of

wanting to live in peace, of shunning wars for their own sake.

If by it is meant that at no time we were warlike or took to war when occasions arose, it is pure untruth.

The *Vedas* breathe a spirit of heroism in many a stirring hymn. Indra, the head of the Vedic pantheon, was a war god. The horse which won wars was a divinity. Not to be ready to fight was to be an “un-Arya”.

Shiva, the god of well-being, the *Ishan*—the head of the later pantheon—was the guardian god of war. With his name on their lips, millions of heroes braved death on the battle-fields century after century. Several wars by Indians against the foreign invaders were fought with the victorious cry of “*Har Har Mahadeva*” on their lips.

His consort, Chandi, is no less warlike. She destroys the wicked, inspiring the will to fight in heroes. Guru Govind Singh’s famous hymn to her is a classic in India.

It is true that, with their eyes fastened on the ultimate in human destiny, saints and seers sang of peace or taught non-violence. Veda Vyasa, with hands upraised in despair, bewailed that men preferred possessions and enjoyments to *dharma*. But men and passions being what they were, even he never interdicted the war which ended in the battle of Kurukshetra.

Again it was Veda Vyasa who wrote that—

*“Wherever there is Krishna, there is dharma;*

*Wherever there is dharma, there is victory”.*

And Sri Krishna told Arjuna “to stand up and fight”, “to fight and win” as “My instrument”. He himself fought wars, supported and inspired the Pandavas to fight to victory. The stirring words— तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युध्दाय कृतनिश्चयः । “Stand up, Arjuna, your mind made up to fight”—have rung through the corridor of the Indian mind for centuries.

Even Yudhishtira, righteousness incarnate, so gentle and lovable, did not desist from war when the call came. And Bheeshma was as terrible in battle as he was in righteousness.

Buddha and Mahavira taught *ahimsa*, it is true. Bands of ascetics, over whom they respectively presided, were taught to preach compassion and non-violence. These virtues, practised by the saintly, mitigated the violence-mindedness in a measure among the people. But the people went their way.

Manu and Yajnavalkya, Bheeshma in *Shanti Parva* and Kautilya in *Arthashastra*—all living inspirers of popular conduct and statecraft—never repudiated war as an instru-



ment of righteousness; on the contrary, they taught when and how to fight wars.

At no time, even after Buddha, the people of India abjured war. Ajatashatru and Bimbisara waged wars; so did Chandragupta Maurya, and even Asoka till the Kalinga incident, and after Kalinga he had nothing more to fight for. So did his successor Pushyamitra, who rescued the Maurya empire from collapse. Sri Harsha, a Buddhist, waged determined wars, and so did the Palas who believed in Buddhism.

The Gupta emperors led huge armies to victory. Kartikeya, the god of war, was their guardian.

The Pratiharas, the Rashtrakutas and the Cholas led their people to spectacular triumphs. When the Huns, the Afghans, the Turks and the Moghuls overran the country, people resisted inch by inch, year after year.

Rana Sanga, Prithvi Raj Chauhan, Rana Pratap, Shivaji Maharaj, Guru Govind Singh, have been household names for centuries because of the heroic struggle they led in the field of battle.

When Aurangzeb departed from the tolerant policies of his predecessors, the Punjab, Rajasthan and Maharashtra fought tenaciously to bring about the downfall of his empire.

From 1757 to 1857, the country fought the British in a continual series of wars, revolts and outbursts. In the Great Revolt of 1857, large sections of the people rose in revolt, though unsuccessfully, against the overpowering might of the British.

The Great Revolt was crushed. The British occupation of the country became complete. Peace was enforced at the point of the bayonet. Armed resistance became almost an impossibility. It was then that the genius of the country turned to unarmed resistance.

From 1857, the people had to take to peaceful resistance because they could not do otherwise.

Sri Aurobindo, the apostle of militant nationalism, who did not abjure violence as a matter of principle, in the circumstances of the day, as a realist, accepted non-violent means as an instrument available to us for national liberation, though he inspired patriotic young men to brave death as martyrs.

Gandhiji had the saint's attachment to non-violence. Few of his adherents, however, had the saint's outlook. By reason of his mystic influence, violence became disreputable with a small section of the people. But others accepted it because they wanted him to lead the battle of freedom.

In fact, a large number of those who followed him had mental reservation on this

point. Bengal never accepted non-violence. Punjab never did. Many in other parts of the country took advantage of the *satyagraha* movement to become frankly violent wherever possible.

Gandhiji forged the instrument of *satyagraha* as a substitute for war but it could succeed in a substantial measure, first, because violent means were not available to the people; secondly, because he was opposed by the humane imperialism of the Britishers, and self-imposed martyrdom stirred the conscience of the best among them; lastly, because the valiant performance of the Indian army, then the best in Asia, in three continents, and the adventures of the I.N.A. created a situation in which, once the army was disaffected, it became impossible for the British to hold India in subjection after they were exhausted at the end of the Second World War.

Even Gandhiji never suffered his loyalty to non-violence to overshadow the duty of the hour. He advised sending an army to Kashmir. When I was the Agent-General at Hyderabad, he took a promise from me that I should *first* exhaust all peaceful means.

However, the spectacular success of *satyagraha* induced a self-righteous attitude in many of us which tried to give a moral veneer to our temperamental docility.

When did the people of India abjure wars? When did they reject war as an instrument of resistance to what they thought was evil?

In the post-Partition period, there was no non-violence evident anywhere. Hyderabad was not integrated without an appeal to arms. Pakistan's invasion of Kashmir was not arrested without the help of the army. And Goa was not taken over by non-violent means.

The slogan that we were a peace-loving nation in the sense of having abjured war, was a hypnotic spell cast over the people by a few leaders who talked eloquently of peace in the hope that other nations would leave us in peace.

The Chinese invasion has broken the hypnotic spell of unreal slogans. The people have been aroused from their timidity and frustration into an enthusiastic mood of resistance.

In a sense, therefore, China has saved us from self-hypnotising ourselves into imbecility. The vigour, the enthusiasm, the spirit of sacrifice and the will to resist, which we see during these past few days, have been a gratifying sight.

India has been saved.

## THE FIERY ORDEAL

THE Chinese invasion is a fiery ordeal. If our freedom and strength have to be maintained, if our culture and religion have to be preserved, we must be prepared to pass through it successfully.

In this fiery ordeal, there is no room for party warfare, no scope for conditional support, no place for doubt or hesitation. The task of making the war effort a thundering success confronts every man, woman and child. So long as a single Chinese soldier remains on our soil, we cannot rest.

Let us not minimise the enormity of the task. Its success cannot be achieved merely by popular enthusiasm or emotional upsurge for sacrifice. Let us be clear: It will require a total mobilization of men and resources in this country.

In this total mobilization, the energy of the youth—and particularly of the student world—is of vital importance. The schools and colleges are the active cells of a living society. They would have to be inspired with such fervour as would lead to disciplined enthusiasm.

If the students are disciplined, every home would have enlisted itself in the war effort. Then the nation's will will have been driven forward to collective action. Sustained effort will follow.

The war effort on a stupendous scale necessary to repel China's aggression and contain its expansionist ambition, can only bear fruit if there is discipline in the homes and schools, in colleges and camps, on the sports ground and the battle-field.

In a democracy people normally dislike externally-imposed discipline. During a war, however, there are no likes and dislikes. Discipline directed to collective action is the essence of war effort.

Such discipline may be either imposed by the people on themselves or induced by regulated direction from the government. But self-imposed discipline is the only guarantee for such action as would generate the energy required for driving the invader out.

A war such as this cannot, in the nature of things, be either a short or an easy one. Even if a truce is patched up—I hope it won't be—the country cannot afford to lapse into a wishfully 'peace-loving' mood.

A continuous and sustained effort at mobilizing men and resources is sure to impose hardship on the people. It might even

tax their patience. It will certainly mean forswearing pleasure in all sectors of life and in getting rid of hedonism which has lately been creeping into our urban life.

As a nation, we must, therefore, turn to austerity at all levels. It is the *sine qua non* of success. It alone will raise the morale of the people. In maintaining it, young men and women will have to play an important part.

We have earned our freedom cheaply. After freedom, we took its continuance for granted. We took things that came our way in a leisurely way. With more and more money pumped into our economy, certain sections of the community became easy-going and pleasure-loving.

All these must change. As a nation, we have to be military-minded—well prepared, well equipped, well organized to play our part in a conflict-ridden world dominated by ruthless expansionism. Unless we are strong in the way of modern weapons and latest strategy, we cannot survive.

A heavy responsibility, therefore, rests on the youth of the country. No able-bodied man, or for the matter of that, woman, can stay away from active war work.

The students have to join the N.C.C. in all their strength. Others have to join allied organizations. The weak, the vacillating and the craven should not be permitted to escape.

A prolonged war is bound to put a heavy strain on the normal functioning of the society. Special efforts will, therefore, be necessary to regulate and direct social movements and channels of essential supplies.

The secret of such an effort is not men, material or organization. It is the common man's Will to Resist.

All great societies are built on the foundation of this Will to Resist—the will to resist foreign aggression, to resist internal disintegration, to resist weakness and frustration, to resist anti-social forces and to resist all other factors which weaken a nation's strength.

In a crisis like this, it is only the Will to Resist which will triumph over weakness, distraction and frustration and—above all—fear.

If the war has to be won, we should stand fearless. We should learn not to fear defeat nor worry as to the future. Fear is an illusion. An apparent defeat should only re-ignite the fire of enthusiasm.

In the end, what will count is the Will to Resist. If it is irresistible, faith will be re-animated again and again, whatever the setback and the valour of the soul will be refilled with heroic tumult.

With the Will to Resist alone, could we realise the glorious destiny that is BHARAT'S.



## DHARMA YUDDHA

WHAT we are waging on the frontiers of India is not an ordinary war; it is a *dharma yuddha*, a war to vindicate righteousness.

The Chinese aggression is the first step in the plan to occupy parts of India, East Pakistan and Burma, ultimately aimed at the conquest of South-East Asia.

If in this conflict with India, China wins, there will be no democracy, no individual freedom, no independence for us; no culture as we understand it; no moral and spiritual life which we have prized through the ages. India as we knew it and lived for, would have ceased to exist.

If China wins, it would not merely mean the submergence of India; the whole of Asia will be at its feet. The Chinese Communists will smother freedom, religion and the life of the spirit throughout Asia, prepared to dominate the world.

We are, therefore, fighting for the very existence of India and for all that is implied in its history, culture and characteristic values. We are fighting for something more—for the

dignity and freedom throughout Asia, and to meet the impending menace to the world.

A distinction is sometimes sought to be made between Chinese expansionism and Communism. This is illusory.

Communism as a way of life and a plan for world conquest, is an evil wherever it exists. It stands for the negation of all higher values. In the Marxian decalogue, the word "good" and "justice" are only myths. Engels wrote that there was no such thing as a universalistic moral sense which transcended the theory of class ethics. The persecution of religion wherever Communism captures power, is more thorough-going and ruthless than under the Mediaeval Inquisition.

It should not be forgotten that Gandhism and Marxism are poles asunder. The Communists, in their International Programme of 1928, made this clear: "Gandhism is more and more becoming an ideology directed against mass revolution. It must be strongly combated by Communism."

We have rather vague ideas of Yugoslavia and Russia. Yugoslavia is not a Communist state in the orthodox sense of the term. It is a successful dictatorship in the person of Marshal Tito, who has been a sort of national deliverer.

Soviet Russia again, as is seen from the Cuban episode, is shedding its Communistic

skin. It is a very powerful and efficient dictatorship with State capitalism and nothing of proletarian rule. Successfully arrested by the West, its zest for internationalising Communism is getting weaker.

China, on the contrary, has adopted all the objectives, slogans and techniques of orthodox Communism. Mao stands today as the arch apostle of its orthodox variety. Stalinism is his admitted creed.

The Communist rule in China is as tyrannical, its regimentation of the people as complete, and its ambition to dominate the world as unabashed, as would have delighted the heart of Stalin himself. In fighting China, therefore, we are fighting Stalinism.

In this crisis, the Free World has spontaneously come forward with ungrudging assistance, for between it and us, there is a bond of higher values commonly shared.

In this war, the Communists of India are clearly against India. They swear by Communism. They deny the validity of the higher values of life which we cherish. Throughout they have been subservient to the policies and leadership of the Communist powers. Like the chameleon, they have developed infinite capacity to assume protective colours to suit the dangers of any difficult situation without giving up their ultimate objective. With all Communists of the world, they are banded in

a struggle against democracy, freedom, religion and God. They have never offered unqualified loyalty to the nation.

The anti-national antics of the Indian Communists during the Quit India movement are well known. In the early years of freedom, their aim was to establish a 'Yenan' in Telengana, from which to operate for the establishment of a Communist regime in the whole country.

During the Hyderabad episode—of which I had first-hand experience—they first joined hands with the Congress to secure the integration of Hyderabad with the Indian Union.

Having captured power through this alliance in Hyderabad, they destroyed the influence of the Congress in village after village and secured absolute control by loot, arson and murder. The object was to establish a base for a Communist liberation of the whole country.

The horrors that they perpetrated are thus described in the official records:

*"From the 15th August, 1946 to 13th September, 1948, they brutally murdered nearly 2000 persons, attacked 22 police outposts, seized and destroyed village records, manhandled a large number of village officials, burnt 'chadris' and Customs outposts, captured 230 guns, looted or destroyed paddy and robbed cash and*

*jewellery worth more than a million rupees. They attempted large-scale disruption of communications and lines of supply and transport and steadily and systematically adopted the technique of guerilla fighting with the arms and resources at their disposal."*

The Communists have mastered the technique, tried in several countries successfully, of weakening the will of the masses to resist aggression to secure Communist triumphs. They are using it in India even today.

Their loudly-proclaimed support to national war effort is a deceptive slogan; in fact, sabotage activities are being reported in different parts of India.

In Assam, they are busy announcing the arrival of the Chinese liberators. I received a report that even in a village in Maharashtra, slogans are being written on the road that "our King is coming. The Congress raj is going. Be prepared".

Let us not forget: Those who believe in Indian culture, in *dharma* and have faith in God, can place no trust in the Communists of any colour—crimson, red or pink.

It is no use wasting words on whether non-alignment is good or bad. Today the closest co-operation between India and the

Free World is in full swing. Soviet Russia for the time being is immobilised. When the Chinese are driven out, there will be time enough to recapture the faded glamour of non-alignment. But then the world would have changed; perhaps a new slogan of alignment will have to be invented.

In this struggle, what is required is a revolutionary re-appraisal of all our plans, policies and programmes and our attitudes—not only of the Government, but of all political parties and the people as a whole.

During the last century, protected by the impenetrable military wall constructed by the British, we came to think of war as something alien, far-off, unnatural. We have now to gear our minds and attitudes to a total war effort—to learn to live with and for a war, to vindicate our righteous cause.

In this re-appraisal, we must change our attitude towards the Government, formed in agitational days. The Government, in the first and last resort, is the nation's instrument to victory.

The Government as at present is manned by patriotic leaders, most of them participants in the struggle for freedom, determined to prosecute the war to victory.

The Prime Minister has solemnly pledged himself to drive out the Chinese from our

land. His leadership—the product of history—is indispensable.

Our Parliament has become democratically mature; it is vigilant and alert, and except for its Communist section, pledged to an uncompromising resistance to aggression.

We must learn to give them ungrudging support.

The enquiry made for clarification raised doubts in certain minds about the Government's will to resist. It is an unfounded doubt. Nothing is going to come out of it. China is not going to accept the 8th September line. And our Government cannot depart from that demand.

There is no place for wobbling, no scope for weakening the will to victory. For, the wobbler perishes.

We should, therefore, one and all, enter into the spirit of the Emergency and appreciate the steps taken by the Government to meet it.

In the midst of a war like this, there cannot be civil liberties as we know them in times of peace. We must trust those in power not to abuse it.

The executive must, of necessity, assume wide powers to direct and regulate the life of the community. There can run no writ except

the Centre's, and no place for protests against Statism.

The history of freedom tells us of a number of occasions when democratic freedom had temporarily to yield place to maintaining national existence and carrying on a fight for a free way of life.

While the people should have implicit confidence in the Government, the Government should also continuously evoke confidence in its war effort by facing the realities hard-headedly.



## WHAT MAKES FOR NATIONAL GREATNESS

A NEW age dawned for us when the Chinese committed aggression on India in October last. The event moved every Indian worth the name to make a resolve to drive out the invader and, if need be, to suffer any hardship to achieve that purpose.

We must understand the significance of this turning point in our history, particularly in terms of the processes which go to make virile nations.

Factors like compact geographical frontiers, racial or linguistic unity, the existence of a single government, contribute to the making of a nation. But not any of them, nor all of them put together, necessarily makes a nation.

There might be geographical compactness as it was during the British rule in India, and yet no nation. There might be racial unity or unity of language as in the Arab world or in Latin America, and yet there might be different nations. We saw it during the days of the British Empire in India, and of the Hapsburg Empire of Austria-Hungary that a single government does not make a nation.

Nation is an organism born of a concept. Two things go to make it up: a rich heritage of common traditions and memories and the *will* to be a nation inspiring collective action.

To put it in other words, the dominant minority of a people must consciously enjoy a common heritage of traditions and be inspired by memories of collective achievements. But more. It must have the capacity to inspire collective action in the people. Then only nationalism becomes effective.

Collective traditions mould uniformity of conduct, intercourse and outlook. It leads to a general way of life; by itself, it does not necessarily lead to nationhood.

From the beginning of the century, many of us claimed that India was a nation. Englishmen denied the fact. And they proved right. Centuries of conflict had left the Hindus and the Muslims with a legacy of mutual distrust. In Mediaeval times, the Hindus treated the Muslims as *mlechhas* and the Muslims treated the Hindus as *kafirs*. Behind these labels, they had differing conventions, associations, standards of conduct, traditions and attitudes of life, with the result that whenever they came face to face with difficulties, this divergence was not slow to express itself.

Similarly, the heritage of victories won in common is an essential factor in effective nationhood. If one section of the people look

upon the exploits of Rana Pratap and Shivaji with pride, and another on the memories of Mohamad Ghazni and Aurangzeb with admiration, no such common heritage can come into existence.

In 1857, during the Great Revolt, both the Hindus and the Muslims in some parts of the country enthusiastically resisted English rule in India. However, the Muslims when they rose in revolt, in most cases, raised the green flag of Muslim domination. And Nana Saheb, when he joined it, proclaimed himself as the defender of Hinduism. The will to common nationhood was lacking.

We often find that even with a common tradition and a memory of common achievements, people fail to develop the *will* to collective action.

When Mahmud Ghazni invaded India, the people of the day had common traditions, a common social structure in *chaturvarnya*, common memories of the heroes of Ramayana and Mahabharata. Still, when Prithviraj Chauhan went to fight the invader, his neighbouring Hindu kings either stood away from him or took advantage of his absence to filch his territory.

A common culture by itself is not enough to make for a nation if the will to collective action is absent. An apt illustration is furni-

shed by the conduct of the Naga Bavas at the Battle of Panipat in 1763.

For some centuries they had defended Hindu shrines in North India at the cost of their lives. But they accompanied the Nawab Wazir of Awadh, in whose pay they were, to help Ahmad Shah Abdally, the Afghan invader. The Bavas helped the Afghans to destroy the Hindu army of the Peshwas.

Only when the dead bodies of the Hindu generals killed in the battle were prepared for obsequial rites, they became culture conscious. They got ready to protect the sanctity of the funeral pyres of the very generals whom they had helped to destroy, lest they might be contaminated by the touch of a Muslim. They had no objection to Hindus being killed with their help, they were only concerned with the purity of their dead bodies!

It is the collective will to action in face of a critical situation that is at the root of nationhood. It is entirely a modern group sentiment, perhaps the most powerful in the world today, in spite of a general development of an international outlook.

A nation comes into existence under two circumstances: first, when distinct groups of people combine under the leadership of one of them to commit aggression, as in the Franco-German War of 1870; secondly, when the different groups combine to resist a common foe.

England and France both became nations as a result of the Hundred Years War and by the resistance which they offered to each other. In the case of England, the heritage of memories was enriched by the exploits of Henry V, and in that of France, by those of Joan of Arc.

In the same way, Netherlands became a nation when it resisted the supremacy of the Catholic Spain.

In India, the urge to nationhood came into existence only when the dominant minority educated through English came out of the universities. It was drawn into the current of Western nationalism and many of them were inspired by the national achievements of England, France and Italy.

This English-educated minority was not only united in a common desire to be a nation, but recaptured the inspiration of Sanskrit and revived the memories of our glorious past by reconstructing the achievements of the Mauryas, the Guptas and the Moghuls.

Dayanand restored to us our cultural self-respect through religion. Bankimchandra invested the country with the living form of the Mother Goddess. *Karma Yoga*, which till then signified only a performance of rituals, was accepted as implying martyrdom for one's country. Tilak gave a patriotic turn to the Hindu rituals.

The chapter of collective resistance began when Tilak was arrested in 1898; when the revolutionaries cheerfully gave up life to resist foreign rule; when Sri Aurobindo taught militant nationalism.

Then came Gandhiji. His non-violent movements led to the growth of national resistance. Self-invited martyrdom on a large scale in the cause of freedom created a new heritage of heroic memory, which was enriched by the exploits of the I. N. A.

But still the common traditions and memories of these movements had not inspired the collective mind of the people as a whole. When we attained freedom, there was no collective urge. In consequence, India was divided. Pakistan became separate.

Some time back, we thought that linguism would split the country as it is, but the Chinese aggression came—a blessing in disguise. In one week, the spirit of resistance which we had never conceived, much less developed, swept over the country. Partisanship comparatively disappeared. Inter-State conflicts were shelved. Linguism lost its venom. There was only one urge to drive out the Chinese. Such a spontaneous expression of the will to resist is a milestone in our progress.

It would be a mistake to remain under the impression that the conflict with China will

be short or easy. The donations in money and gold and the demonstrations are not enough. The whole national mind must be dominated by the will to resist. It must be powerful enough to revolutionize the whole of our life.

The nation will have to emerge strong and determined. Parochial differences will have to disappear. The ways of living would have to undergo a change and a military-minded people in the modern sense of the term to emerge.

National greatness is not achieved by enjoying life or delivering speeches or making elaborate Five-Year Plans unrelated to the Emergency. It comes of self-imposed discipline which represses hedonism and develops readiness to live and, if necessary, to die in defence of the nation.

## KNOW THINE ENEMY

THE Chinese aggression has forced on us the necessity of an agonising reappraisal of all attitudes. It has raised not only military and political problems, but problems affecting our very existence as a nation, our way of life and the values we cherish.

In the affairs of man, "know thine enemy" is as important a maxim as "know thyself".

We should not miss the wisdom of both these maxims. First, we should make a realistic appraisal of our own weaknesses. In success we should not become self-complacent. Faced with a crisis, our pride should not suddenly yield to the temptation of covering our inability to face it with self-righteousness. In defeat, we should not take solace in rationalising our disasters.

We should not lay the flattering unction to our soul that our political wisdom was immaculate; that our diplomatic handling was unexceptionable; that our economic foresight was unerring and our defence preparations as they should have been. We should not attribute our disasters in NEFA to weather, to terrain, the perfidy of the Chinese—to everything



but to our own lack of vigour and imagination.

Again, when dealing with other nations, we should not take it for granted that we were and are always in the right. In the historical as well as in the recent past, India has again and again failed to know the strength of her enemies—to her unmaking. Again we have always been obsessed by a belief inherited through centuries that war is a combat between men of honour alone.

Mahmud of Ghazni invaded the Punjab towards the end of the 10th century. Jaipal, the Shahi King of the Punjab, had to give up his dominions west of the Indus to the invader.

Eleven years later (1001 A.D.), Mahmud again invaded Jaipal's dominions and defeated him. The proud king gave the legacy of resistance to his son and courted the flames of the funeral pyre.

Mahmud invaded the Punjab again, spreading fire and terror. Anandapal, its brave ruler, was defeated and he had to fly to Kashmir. His son was taken prisoner.

But, soon, Mahmud was between two fires: the Turks under Ilak Khan crossed the Oxus in Central Asia and the Shahis were across the Indus.

Anandapal, who never knew the maxim “know thine enemy” and who was entirely

ignorant of the terrific power of Mahmud, sent assistance to his ruthless foe with a message: 'I have been conquered by you, but I do not wish another to conquer you'.

Mahmud took the assistance offered by the chivalrous Anandapal, defeated Ilak Khan and, with his victorious army, marched across the Indus to destroy the Shahi power.

The conquest of India on many occasions was the defeat of men who, in the pride of their culture, never took a realistic view of the strength and resourcefulness of the invader.

In spite of the reverses in NEFA, for instance, we do not seem to have fully realised that we have been clay in the hands of China.

China lulled us into somnolence when it so wanted. It committed aggression when it suited it. It withdrew when it wanted. It forced a ceasefire when it so willed. It has reduced the tempo of our morale because it so desired. It will bring us to the negotiating table when it suits it and would—if it could—force a settlement of its choice.

We cannot repeat the mistake of our ancestors. We must know who the enemy is.

What is China? What is Chinese Communism, Chinese expansionism? What share have the Chinese people in it?

For the moment, they are all indivisible parts of the Juggernaut car, and in its driver's

seat sits the highly advertised Mao Tse-tung, a ruthless despot and a brilliant Communist theorist.

The car has rolled over Tibet, easily climbed over the Himalayan barrier, crashed into India and withdrawn to suit its sinister designs. It is still poised for destroying our independence, our freedom, our way of life, our religious and spiritual values.

China and Mao are not distinct. He is worshipped and idolised by the Chinese people; his image fills them with an irrepressible will to dominate the world.

The memory of his exploits, his creed of Neo-Stalinism, his technique of conquest by force, fraud or bluff, bind the Chinese Communists together.

The programme of Chinese Communism, that is Stalinism of the Maoist variety, is implemented by this 'New Class' of Party-men. They have stubborn faith in the destiny of China. They have mastered the revolutionary technique of violence and war; the art of mobilising the masses; the tricks of indoctrination and propaganda and the ways of infiltration and guerilla warfare to weaken the will to resist in those whom they want to subdue.

China has ruthlessly absorbed Tibet. It is attempting to convert Outer Mongolia, North Korea and North Viet Nam into satel-

lites. It looks upon the contiguous countries in Asia as its legitimate sphere of domination. Its diplomatic missions and other agencies spend lavishly to swing the friendship of Afro-Asian countries. Even in India, it has its tentacles in the Chinese lobby of the Communist Party of India, which any day might obtain control of the C.P.I.

The Chinese people, by and large, look upon the ambitions and activities of their government with awe and admiration. In their millions, they have joined the Communist Party and the armies of Mao. They know that more land would mean more elbow-room for them.

By and large, the overseas Chinese pine for the day when China would conquer the land in which they happen to have settled, and spontaneously become the fifth-column to further the aims of their mother country.

China has a programme of liberating Taiwan; of supporting guerilla operations along the Chinese border; of reducing Russia into a subordinate partner in World Communism; of taking over South-East Asia and depriving America of its Pacific fortress.

Mainland China has become an industrial power of growing world magnitude. It has built up a huge war machine—famine or no famine; welfare or no welfare. It has pledged

ed itself to the goal of Communist world domination.

The Chinese Communists are out to show that, by demonstrating military force involving large numbers, eventual victory will come to them, giving them totalitarian control of Asia.

By its aggression on India, it has embarked on a tough policy of impressing weaker nations with its strength. It has undermined our prestige with non-aligned nations. It has aimed a blow at our democratic way of life and the growth of democracy in Asia.

This is not to say that China is irresistible. But to offer successful resistance we will have to be ever ready to correct our own weaknesses and also to increase our strength and resources. We will have to wake up and learn to take a hard look at realities.

We must realise that war under modern conditions is a ruthless total combat for which we must be prepared if we are to escape it.

What is needed therefore is vigour in prosecuting our plan to make our people military-minded and the imagination to make reliable friends and meet the devices of the enemy.

This is a stupendous effort. I am sure we will make it and make it successfully.

## CHINESE AGGRESSION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

THE Chinese aggression is a turning point in our history. We can seize the opportunity and become a military-minded nation sufficiently powerful to defend ourselves in the context of an unstable world. Or, we can sink into a satellite power—a euphemism for being a victim of the ruthless neo-colonialism of the Communist powers. There is no third way.

All nations, when they have developed a strong will to resist, have emerged stronger as a result. If the Chinese aggression is thrown back or even arrested, we will become a more united and vigorous nation.

War is no longer a distant far-off thing for us. We have to live in and for the war. This will mean that country-wide defence preparations and large-scale industrial development will have to be telescoped within a short time, making for far-reaching social and moral changes.

With the upsurge which followed the Chinese aggression, our people entered a revolutionary phase of life. It eclipsed our anti-West-ism. It brought realism to our defence

and foreign policy. All that is left now is for the Government to prepare the country for defence with single-minded determination and efficiency.

If emergency-consciousness is maintained at white-heat, it will have a wholesome effect on public life. Sordid squabbles in public life will recede into comparative obscurity or at least in importance. Struggle for political power in individuals and groups will, to a large extent, be subordinated to the urge to make defence preparations with single-minded zeal.

However, that largely depends upon the way the government handles the emergency. If it does not develop an image of strength and rests content with only its exhortatory performances, the consciousness—whatever of it is there—will fade away.

The people want a government of strength, which can gather the forces of the upsurge into a well-directed, rapid-flowing stream.

A national will to resist is of little value if it is not channelled by an efficient State organization. Where a government has failed the nation, nations have been known to go under, unless they have had the wisdom to replace it by a more vigorous one.

The first impact of the Chinese aggression has been on the problems of integration. The disintegrating tendencies due to communa-

lism, linguism and casteism, have abated, if not disappeared. If the people continue to develop emergency-consciousness, these fissiparous tendencies will lose their momentum.

Due to defence activities, social mobility is sure to increase throughout the country. In the result, regional angularities would be rubbed off. Social attitudes will become increasingly flexible. New men and new ideas will come into their own.

Inefficiency, which has been characteristic both of our industry and administration, will have to go. Constitutionally an easy-going, slipshod people that we are, we will have to acquire the habit of living at high tension for protracted periods.

Ministers, and even their rich critics, preach economy and live ostentatiously. We talk of hard work and multiply holidays; some time ago when I was in Delhi, I found that more than half the days in a week were off-days. Most ministries carry on in their leisurely way.

The emergency has not stirred our conscience to its depth. 'Someone else must impose austerity upon himself,' is a state of mind which will have to be transformed into active emergency-consciousness.

What with the impetus which defence preparations will give to the economy, there is sure to be wider scope for large-scale cor-



ruption, black-marketing, adulteration and tax-dodging. In the face of this demoralising trend, public conscience will have to be unforgiving; it will have to develop the courage to take an effective stand against anti-social and anti-national activities.

Under the stress of the emergency, collective discipline will tend to increase or rather be enforced by public opinion. There will be more discipline among the citizens, particularly among the working-class and the students; less of coercive demonstrations and so-called satyagraha which have marred our public life in the past.

In our national life, there has been a conflict between a love for tradition and an urge for modernity, unavoidable in under-developed countries with a proud past trying to catch up with the modern world. This conflict will lose its importance for the moment. Under the pressure of the emergency, the foundations of our traditionalism will appear to be shaken. Modernism will penetrate many layers of our life. There will be more people taking to Westernised attitudes and ways.

However, if we are emergency-conscious, we would have saved ourselves from growing hedonism, one of the by-products of modern Western civilization, which of late has been gnawing at the vitals of our society. The social life will develop a definite purpose. Austerity,

which was almost on the point of vanishing among our well-to-do classes, will now, by self-imposed discipline or as a result of the new taxation proposals, be restored to its position as a necessary element of a vigorous national life.

If the emergency lasts long—and it should last long enough if it is to have a revolutionary impact on our life—a keener sense of realism should give us a definite start on effective defence preparedness.

Democratic forces and processes will no doubt suffer. Statism—already powerful in the country—will tend to overshadow many aspects of the life of our people. Whether on the removal of the danger we will be left with the capacity of reverting to those forms and processes, will largely depend upon the situation which will follow the end of the emergency.

Though all forms of religion will change shape, more earnest religious outlook will have developed. A spontaneous urge to lose one's egotistic self in the great cause of preserving national existence and defending freedom will follow.

A friend went to offer condolences to an ex-serviceman's father on the loss of his son during the action in N.E.F.A. 'I am happy,' said the father. 'My son has gone to heaven, having died bravely in battle. He has also

secured for me a place in heaven.' That was in the true Indian heroic tradition.

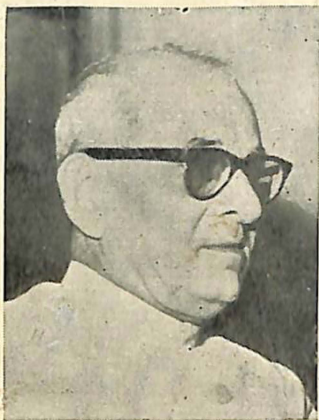
At the same time, Chinese aggression has placed in danger our way of life, its gentleness, its tolerant outlook, its regard for moral values, the sanctity in which we hold human life. The problem is how to preserve them in an appropriate measure, while developing the toughness which the emergency demands from us.

Looked in that way, the aggression is a challenge to the spiritual values for which India has stood in history. The challenge, I am sure, will be accepted by the people. We will develop an unwavering determination to maintain a religious attitude towards the Motherland and the values which it represents.

In the face of dangers, difficulties and trials, while the rigidity of religious practices will largely disappear, faith in God, which is deep-rooted in the collective consciousness of our people, will become more articulate. It will strengthen the will to resist; it will generate the zest to recapture the values for which India has stood in history, and re-shape our social and ethical life to a higher purpose.

---





#### THE AUTHOR

KANAIYALAL MANEKLAL MUNSHI'S versatility and achievements are in a way unique. He is an eminent lawyer, one of the framers of India's Constitution and a seasoned statesman. Coming under the inspiring influence of Sri Aurobindo during his student days, Munshi has been an ardent fighter for India's freedom working at different stages in close association with Jinnah, Tilak, Besant, Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru. His achievements as Home Minister of Bombay in 1937, as India's Agent-General in Hyderabad before the Police Action, as India's Food Minister and as Governor of Uttar Pradesh have been characterised by rare courage and decisive energy.

Acknowledged as the foremost writer in Gujarati literature, he has to his credit a wide variety of literature including novels, dramas and history in Gujarati, as also several other works in English, notably *Literature, Imperial Gurjaras, Bharat, Modern Life, Creative Art of Life, Saga of Indian Sculpture, The End of an Era* and *Krishnavatara*.



Library

IAS, Shimla



00002975