

12.17 hrs.

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

REPORTED CROSSING OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMY UNITS INTO CAMBODIA WITH THE SUPPORT OF UNITED STATES COMBATANTS

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): I call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon :

"The reported crossing of South Vietnamese army units into Cambodia with the support of United States Combatants and the reaction of the Government thereto."

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI DINESH SINGH) : It is with deep regret and concern that we witness a sharp deterioration in the Cambodian situation. It is clear that this country, which had managed to keep out of armed conflict since the Geneva agreements of 1954, has been dragged into the general war in Indo-China.

The situation has particularly deteriorated during the last week. On 29th April, the South Vietnamese authorities announced that they were moving their forces into Cambodia to "neutralise North Vietnamese communist's schemes of using Cambodian territory" for operations against them. Simultaneously, the United States authorities announced that they would be providing support to the army of South Vietnam for its operations in Cambodia. According to the U. S. Defence Department the support was to take the form of "advisers, tactical air, air coordinators, medical evacuations and some logistics assistance". It was also clarified that it was not in response to the request for military aid by the Cambodian authorities. The next day on 30th April, the U. S. President announced that "in cooperation with armed forces of South Vietnam attacks are being launched this week to clean out major enemy sanctuaries on the Cambodian-Vietnam border". About the same time, armed forces of United States moved into Cambodia on a large scale. Heavy casualties are reported to have occurred. It is clear that

Cambodia is now the scene of full scale war.

We are deeply distressed at the loss of lives, especially of many innocent people. It is our firm belief that foreign intervention will only make the situation more complicated and a peaceful solution more difficult.

We are greatly concerned at this further escalation of the conflict and the additional induction of foreign forces into Cambodian territory. It cannot lead to lessening of tension. On the contrary, it will only aggravate an already difficult situation. What is needed in Cambodia is not further intervention from outside, but the stoppage of all foreign interference. We must not allow Cambodia to become the battle ground of foreign interests. The people of Cambodia should be left free to settle their internal matters without any interference from outside.

We appeal to all parties to stop hostilities immediately. We are convinced that a peaceful solution can be found by getting together all the concerned parties in a 1962 Geneva type conference which should be convened as soon as possible to arrange a cease fire, followed by a withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia, Laos, North and South Vietnam leading to a political settlement that will ensure the independence, sovereignty, integrity and neutrality of the former Indo-China States.

India and Cambodia have always had close and friendly relations from the ancient times and it is our wish to see Cambodia prosper in freedom. It is also our earnest hope that all concerned will endeavour to halt the present deterioration and escalation of the conflict and make every effort to bring about a peaceful solution.

Honourable Members would have seen the reports of the resumption of American bombings of DRVN territory. To resort to bombing after it had been stopped in October, 1968 in response to world public opinion, is a retrograde step. The House will recollect that we have always expressed our firm view against the bombing of North Vietnam by U. S. forces ever since it was started in early 1965. We are convinced that this action cannot lead to

[Shri Dinesh Singh]

an early peaceful solution which we all desire. As we have said repeatedly, there can be no military solution to the problems of Indo-China. Only a peaceful political solution through negotiation is possible.

Even at this late hour and in the midst of developing conflict we strongly urge all sides to stop the senseless killings and fighting and return to the conference table.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade) : What do you mean by "allsides"? (*Interruption*).

SHRI M. L. SONDHI (New Delhi) : What is this? The conscience of the world has been aroused. The Treasury Benches have failed this country. (*Interruption*)

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down. Order, order. All the time he is behaving like this.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : Not all the time. I have come here having been elected by the people. I have already told this Government ; years ago we have warned them—(*Interruption*)

MR. SPEAKER : Order, order. Please sit down. Shri S. M. Banerjee.

SHRI S.M. BANERJEE : He has been elected by the people, not selected by the ballot. I have been elected by the people and selected by the ballot also.

Before putting my question, kindly allow me to congratulate the students and some of the Senators, and last but not the least, the people of USA for condemning President Nixon for this naked aggression. The students have described Mr. Nixon as a killer and burnt his effigy which clearly proves that the people of USA are against this aggression.

I quote from the 'Hindu' "U. S. Senators yesterday, besides demanding a meeting with Mr. Nixon, introduced a censure resolution against him and talked of cutting off Vietnam war funds eventually." Further it says : "For the first time since, the debate over joining the league of Nations 51 years ago (when Mr.

Woodrow Wilson was the President), the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee unanimously requested yesterday a face-to-face confrontation with the President." Then Mr. John Kenneth Galbraith who was the US Ambassador in India charged that military machine was controlling President Nixon over the decision announced on Thursday. He further said : "The President does not control the military machine. The military machine controls the President."

Coming to the actual statement, it is really a sad commentary on our foreign policy that the hon. Minister for External Affairs has said "we appeal to all concerned." This naked aggression of U. S. imperialists with the help of their puppets, the South Vietnamis, have killed more than thousand people there. We know what fate U. S. is going to meet. They landed in North Korea and were beaten back. With all the might available with them they could land on Moon but not in Vietnam. That is the history of Vietnam. The hon. Minister has said that a Conference is being convened of the Geneva type. Members from various Opposition parties have demanded that India should convene a conference of the non-aligned nations who want peace and justice and who are against the naked aggression just to forge a common platform against the imperialist aggression. I want to have a clear answer from the hon. Minister that before asking for any conference he will express the sentiments of the people of this country and tell the USA to withdraw its troops and stop bombing and killing of innocent people. Will they make such a statement here and now and not have this tight rope walking or trying to please the US because a handful of dollars or foodgrains under PL-480 are coming to our country? I want India to tell the US that the Indo-China problem can be decided only by the people of Indo-China who are suffering today not by the US Imperialists. I know that this crisis which has developed in the USA will also make Nixon resign. But the fruits of aggression should not be allowed to be enjoyed by the USA and they must withdraw the US forces unconditionally and stop bombing. I would request the hon. Minister not to yield to the

pressures of the US Imperialist and their stooges, some of whom follow the Nixon doctrine in this House. Let the hon. Minister make a clear announcement here and now.

SHRI DINESH SINGH : I have already made a very clear statement expressing our sentiments and have also indicated the direction in which we feel a peaceful solution is possible—(Interruption)

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA (Begusarai) : Our External Affairs Minister has not the courage to say even what American Senators say. Shame to you !

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Do not play into the hands of the reactionary forces. Before convening any conference ask for the withdrawal of US forces and the stoppage of bombardment unconditionally ; otherwise, it will be giving sanction to the bombardment and the naked aggression.

SHRI DINESH SINGH : We have very clearly expressed our views that all foreign forces should be withdrawn from each of the States of the former Indo-China.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Not all, but all American forces.

SHRI P. GOPALAN (Tellicherry) : This statement of the hon. Minister comes in the wake of an unprecedented type of move on the part of the representatives of the American people to put the President of their own country in the dock and question him by way of an impeachment. It also comes in the wake of powerful demonstrations and mass protests in various parts of America led by the youth and students of that country. In what more stronger terms do you want the people of America to condemn the naked aggression of their own country on the soil of Cambodia ?

But what does this statement carry ? Does it carry any word of condemnation of the American intervention in Cambodia ? The Minister has striven to find out the mildest words in the English language to deal with the American aggression here. He has used the words, "The Government is very much

distressed because it will result in the escalation of the Vietnam war."

What is the solution that he has proposed ? He wants all foreign troops to be withdrawn from Cambodia. Thereby the Minister is indirectly justifying the intervention of America in Cambodia. He is equating the most treacherous foreign power, America, with the Asians. And there by he is indirectly justifying the presence of America on Asian soil. The Americans have come to Asia to put down the civil war taking place in different countries.

I would like to ask the hon. Minister whether the Government is prepared to categorically state that we condemn the action of America. Will the Government categorically say that ? That is the first thing I would like to know.

As regards your foreign policy, it is put to an acid test here and the time will only prove whether you will come out successful as a non-aligned country. Here the basic question is whether the present treacherous clique ruling in Cambodia represents the will of the people of Cambodia, the neutrality and independence of that country. I would like to ask the hon. Minister whether he can deny the fact that Prince Sihanouk is the symbol of neutrality and independence of Cambodia and the will of the people of Cambodia. If the Government considers so, may I know whether the Government is prepared to extend cooperation and help to the National Liberation Movement that is fighting against American imperialism in the soil of Cambodia ?

Sir, even now India is the Chairman of the International Control Commission. Thousands of people of Vietnamese origin were massacred in Cambodia by this treacherous clique and dead bodies were thrown into the river and they were allowed to flow up and down the river for weeks. But what India as the Chairman of the International Control Commission has been doing you are sitting tight-lipped over this greatest tragedy of the year ? I would like to ask the hon. Minister what right has this organisation got to remain there on the

[Shri P. Gopalan]

face of the earth. Are you prepared to quit that organisation and wash away the shame which has been piled upon the head of our country?

Lastly, I would like to say that Mr. Nigam has made a statement in which he has tried to justify American intervention in Cambodia saying that it was done on the ground of military necessity for the safety of their troops in Vietnam. For the safety of U. S. troops in Vietnam they can intervene in Laos, they can intervene in Cambodia and every where. The war is coming very near to us. The distance from Calcutta to Cambodia is equal to the distance from Calcutta to Kerala. The war has become very real to us. And there is every possibility of a world war taking place. Will the Government ask America to withdraw their troops from there?

Finally, the Government has suggested a meeting of non-aligned countries of South and South-East Asia. I do not think any purpose will be served by this Conference. I would like to ask the hon. Minister whether this Government is prepared to take the initiative to convey a meeting of all the Asian countries who are interested to participate on the basic principle that they must be prepared to demand the withdrawal of all American troops from the Asian soil. Are they prepared to do that? I would like to know whether you are prepared to uphold the so-called policy of non-alignment.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Sir, the hon. Member has asked me to use strong language in describing the situation that has emerged in Cambodia and in Indo-China. I can assure him that our sentiments are not any less than his or anybody else's in this House when peace is threatened or when freedom is lost. But it has not been our custom to express it in strong words. If an expression in strong words will find a solution to this problem, I am willing to express our sentiments in much stronger terms than what the hon. Member has said. The whole situation is that, unlike the hon. Members who can express their sentiments and leave it at that, we are working to find a

solution. We have a special responsibility in Indo-China and we have got to conform to the international obligations that we have accepted as a result of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962. Therefore, our statements and our action have got to conform to the position in which we shall be able to play an active role in finding a peaceful solution to this problem.

Regarding convening of an Asian Conference that the hon. Member has mentioned, it is our view that we should have a meeting of all the parties concerned to find a solution. That is the only way in which a peaceful solution can be found to the situation that has arisen. But it has been our view that as a first step if we could have a meeting of the non-aligned nations of South and South East Asia, it could reinforce the efforts to find a peaceful solution. This is what we have conveyed to the Government of Indonesia which has sought a wider conference. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. GOPALAN: I seek your protection, Sir. A very important question I have asked. I have specifically asked whether the Government is prepared to extend help and assistance to the liberation forces operating in Cambodia.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, No.

SHRI P. GOPALAN: This is a specific question to which I want to have a reply.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF FINANCE, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): There is no question of our joining in the conflict. As my colleague has clarified, we have had a particular stand which is that we have condemned the interference by outside forces in any country and more specially in this area. (*Interruptions*) We are gravely concerned.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI: Your father might have done differently.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not know if I made such great influence that I could have prevented Mr. Dubcek's removal. This is not the occasion to discuss Czechoslova-

kia. Still I would like to remind the hon. Members, that I was the first person to make a statement on Czechoslovakia in Parliament. Later, the United Nations' resolution enumerated the points which I had made here. (Interruptions) This does not change the fact.

श्री रवि राय (पुरो) : लेकिन, अध्यक्ष महोदय, इन्होंने रूस की निन्दा भी नहीं की थी।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: As I said, the present situation in Cambodia is a very grave one and we are deeply concerned about it. Not only we but, I think, the Governments and Chanceries all over the world have expressed their deep concern.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR: Except a few on this side. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Their views are well known. I think hon. Mr. Sondhi might give his advice to other Governments so that it may help in solving many problems of the world. I would only like to say that we have not, in this House, used very strong words with regard to these matters. But, as my colleague has said, it does not mean that we do not feel strongly. We feel strongly not only because of the injustice but we also feel strongly because the escalation of war has grave consequences to all Asia and perhaps to the world. It is a matter of great sorrow and concern that certain steps which had been taken because of the pressure of world opinion and because of opinion in the United States itself, have now been retraced.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): With or without reason.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Merely using strong words does not provide a solution. We have always said that such issues must be taken off the battlefield and on to the conference table where they can be discussed.

We stand second to none. Our stand has been firm and consistent from the very beginning. We had welcomed the meeting in Paris. But

it is sad and even dangerous for the world, that once again the matter has been taken back to the battlefield. This is no way to find a solution. It is only a manner of increasing the conflict both in area and in depth.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (भोपाल) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, विदेश मंत्री जी ने जो वक्तव्य रखा है, उसमें उन्होंने जो भावना प्रकट की है, वह भावना स्वर्गीय पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने जो पंचशील का उद्घोष किया था, उससे वह सन्निहित है, किन्तु इस कम्बोडिया के कारण आज एक सवाल सामने आया है, जो बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण सवाल है कि छोटे देश की स्वाधीनता और स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा कैसे की जाय? दुनिया की जो बड़ी ताकतें हैं—चाहे अमरीका हो, चाहे रूस हो, चाहे चीन हो, (इसमें कोई भी अन्तर नहीं है) वे किसी न किसी रूप में अपने प्रभाव का विस्तार प्रत्यक्ष या परोक्ष रूप में करते जा रहे हैं। आज अमरीकी सेना किसी न किसी बहाने कम्बोडिया में आई है। रूस के पायलेट्स इजिप्ट के साथ मिलकर इजराइल पर बम्बार्टमेंट करते हैं इसको भी एस्केलेशन कहा जा सकता है। चाहे दक्षिण-पूर्वी एशिया हो या पश्चिमी एशिया हो, दोनों जगह बड़ी ताकतें स्थिति को बिगाड़ रही हैं। इसलिये, अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा सवाल यह है कि पंचशील का उद्घोष करने से काम नहीं चलेगा। भारतीय संस्कृति के अनुसार जो विचार आया था कि—

स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभीरतः संसिद्धिम् लभते नरः।

किसी के दखल दिये बिना हर एक अपना विकास कर सकता है, इसी आधार पर पंचशील खड़ा था। लेकिन चेकोस्लोवेकिया छोटा क्यों न हो, आज रूस उसको अपने हिसाब से बाहर जाने नहीं देता। चाहे वियतनाम और कम्बोडिया हो—बड़ी ताकतें जरूर दखल दिया करती हैं, यहां तक कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर भी दिया। हिन्दुस्तान के एक हिस्से पर चीन स्वयं

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

अधिकार करके बैठा है। यह देखकर मुझे हंसी आई—इन्होंने कहा—

We want the hostilities to stop and the armies to be withdrawn.

हमारे घर के अन्दर आर्मी बैठी हुई है, 1962 से लेकर आज तक चीन की आर्मी बैठी हुई है। केवल कहने से काम नहीं चलता है। जब तक उसके पीछे हम कुछ ताकत नहीं खड़ी करेंगे, तब तक दूसरों के दबाव में हम कैसे नहीं आर्येंगे—मैं यही बात पूछना चाहता हूँ। यदि हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी आवाज दुनिया सुने, तो जिस तरह से चीन आगे गया है, उसी तरह से हमने खुद अपने आपको शक्ति सामर्थ्य क्यों नहीं किया ?

आपने अभी जो वक्तव्य दिया, उसमें शान्ति स्थापित करने के लिये इण्डोनेशिया ने जो कान्फेंस बुलाई है, उसमें हम क्यों नहीं जा रहे हैं, इसके बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया। रब्बात में आपको नहीं बुलाया गया, लेकिन अपने आप निमन्त्रण लेकर आप वहाँ गये, इस लिये कि वहाँ हमारा हित था। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यहाँ हमारा हित नहीं है ? इसका तो हमारी सुरक्षा के साथ सीधा सम्बन्ध है—आज कम्बोडिया है, कल थाईलैंड है और थाईलैंड के बाद सीधा हिन्दुस्तान है। चीन पहले ही यहाँ आकर बैठा हुआ है, माओत्सेतुंग के नारे लगाने वाले हमारे घर में मौजूद हैं। बड़े सक्रिय हैं... (शब्दबान)... इसलिये वास्तव में पहल हम लोगों को करनी चाहिये थी। इतना ही नहीं कन्ट्रोल कमीशन के चेयरमैन के नाते हमारे ऊपर बड़ी भारी जिम्मेदारी थी कि दोनों वियतनामों के अन्दर एक सामान्य स्थिति पैदा करके वहाँ चुनाव क्रिया जाय किसी की भी सेना वहाँ न रहे और इसी बात को लेकर हमारे भूतपूर्व राष्ट्राध्यक्ष डा० राधा-कृष्णन् ने एक सुझाव दिया था कि किसी का भी

हस्तक्षेप वियतनाम में न हो, इन्टरनेशनल पुलिस फोर्स वहाँ रखी जाय और उसके सुपर-विजन के अन्तर्गत वहाँ चुनाव हो, किन्तु उस कन्ट्रोल कमीशन के चेयरमैन के नाते हम ने कुछ काम नहीं किया। इतना ही नहीं, स्वयं प्रिन्स सिहानुक ने इस बात की शिकायत की कि वहाँ इन्फिल्ट्रेशन चालू है, यह उन्होंने अपने अगस्त 16, 1969 के पत्र में लिखा—

"Vietnamese Communist forces in relatively important numbers have infiltrated into our northeast and eastern provinces. We try to dislodge them, first by diplomacy and when that fails, by military pressure".

यानी यह स्वीकार किया गया है कि आज अमरीकी सेना और उसके पहले वियतनामी सेना वहाँ गई हुई है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आपने उस समय अपनी तीव्र प्रतिक्रिया प्रकट क्यों नहीं की कि बाहरी सेना चाहे किसी भी देश की हो, चाहे अमरीका की हो, वियतनाम की हो, हम उसको नहीं चाहते ? हर देश, सेना से मुक्त हो इसको हम स्वीकार कर लेते हैं क्योंकि भारत पर कम से कम दक्षिण पूर्व और पश्चिम एशिया की बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है और जब तक हम समर्थ नहीं होंगे तब तक सुरक्षा का भाव हम पैदा नहीं कर सकते हैं। यह शक्ति शून्यता का सिद्धान्त है। कल अफ्रीका का मामला आ जायेगा। छोटे-छोटे देश कैसे आजाद हो सकते हैं जब बड़ी ताकतें उनको आजादी का अनुभव नहीं करने देती हैं। दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया में जो शक्ति शून्यता का निर्माण हो गया, उसमें वास्तव में हमें अपना आघार देना आवश्यक था लेकिन वह हमकर नहीं पाये। अगर हम इसको करते तो अमरीका की फोर्स और उनके बहाने चाइना की फोर्स वहाँ नहीं आतीं। अगर यह करना है तो आज भी इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि किसी की सेना वहाँ न रहे। इस दृष्टि से दक्षिण देशों को कान्फेंस

हम क्यों न बुलायें ? जेनेवा की कान्फेन्स अगर रूस नहीं चाहता तो हम चुप रहें ? मैं कहता हूँ कि इन्डोनेशिया ने जो पहल की है उसके पहल करने के बदले में हमको पहल करनी चाहिए थी क्योंकि उसके साथ सीधा हमारा सम्बन्ध होता है। जब कुछ नहीं करना है तो चुप रहना, यह कोई नीति नहीं है—यह भारत सरकार की नीति का सबसे बड़ा खोललापन और दिवालियापन है। लगातार चीनी सेना आगे बढ़ती चली जाये लेकिन उसको रोकने का भारत कोई भी तरीका अस्तियार न करे, यह ठीक नहीं है। इसलिए मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इंडोनेशिया की बुलाई हुई कान्फेन्स में आप क्यों नहीं गए ? वहाँ के सम्बद्ध देशों की कान्फेन्स बुलाने की पहल हम करें ताकि जल्दी से वहाँ से सेना की वापसी हो और इस सारे क्षेत्र में शान्ति स्थापित करके उन देशों की तटस्थता, स्वाधीनता और स्वतन्त्रता अक्षुण्ण बनी रहे—इस दृष्टि से आप कौन से कदम उठायेंगे ?

श्री विनेश सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय सदस्य ने यह बात उठाई कि जो देश हैं दुनिया के, छोटे हैं या बड़े, वे किस तरह से स्वतन्त्र बने रह सकते हैं और खुद उन्होंने कहा कि उसका एक ही तरीका हो कि कोई देश हस्तक्षेप न करे। यही बात जब मैंने कही थी तो उनको पसन्द नहीं आई लेकिन खुद अपने आप वही बात कही। ... (व्यवधान) ... किसी भी देश की फौज को किसी देश पर आक्रमण नहीं करना चाहिए। ... (व्यवधान) ... माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि चाहे बड़ा देश हो या छोटा देश हो वहाँ हस्तक्षेप न हो। उसी के साथ-साथ उन्होंने एक बिल्कुल दूसरा खयाल जोड़ दिया कि मिलिट्री बैकुअम है, उसको भर देना चाहिए। ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त : (दिल्ली सदर) यह गलत है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री विनेश सिंह : माननीय सदस्य ने यह नहीं कहा तो उन्होंने माना कि बैकुअम है उसको रहने देना चाहिए। ... (व्यवधान) ...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप लोग सुनिये। जोश दिखाने से मसला हल नहीं हो जायेगा। ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी : तिब्बत में चीन की सेना आई तो भारत को उसको मदद करनी थी क्योंकि सामर्थ्य सम्पन्न भारत हो उसको मदद दे सकता था लेकिन वह नहीं हुआ। शक्ति प्रदर्शन भी काफी काम करता है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री विनेश सिंह : मैं यह कह रहा था कि दुनिया के जो मसले हैं, वह प्रदर्शन से या ताकत दिखाने से तय नहीं होते हैं। ... (व्यवधान) ... माननीय सदस्य जानते हैं कि इण्डो चाइना में दुनिया की एक बहुत बड़ी ताकत लगी हुई है फिर भी उसका कोई हल नहीं निकला। यही मैं कह रहा था कि खाली ताकत दिखाने से या ताकत के इस्तेमाल से भी दुनिया में सभी मामले तय नहीं होते हैं बल्कि मामलों को शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से तय करना है जिससे बाहर का हस्तक्षेप न हो। मैं समझता हूँ कि कई माननीय सदस्यों को शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग पसन्द नहीं है लेकिन हमें तो शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से वहाँ का हल निकालना है। उसका यही तरीका हो सकता है कि बाहर से जितना हस्तक्षेप है, वह बन्द हो और बाहर की फौजें हटाई जायें और वहाँ की जनता के ऊपर उसकी अपनी जो स्वाभाविक जिम्मेदारी है, वह दी जाये ताकि वह अपना भविष्य तय कर सके।

जहाँ तक माननीय सदस्य ने यह सवाल पूछा इंडोनेशिया की कान्फेन्स के सिलसिले में तो इंडोनेशिया ने एक कान्फेन्स बुलाई करीब बीस एशियाई देशों की कि इण्डो चाइना, खास कर कम्बोडिया के बारे में बातचीत की जाये।

[श्री दिनेश सिंह]

हम से भी इसके बारे में उन्होंने सलाह ली थी। हमने उनमें जिज्ञासा किया कि हम समझते हैं कि इण्डो चाइना और कम्बोडिया का हल उसी वक्त निकल सकता है शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से जबकि जितनी पार्टीज वहां पर कन्सन्ड हैं, वे एक साथ मिल करके इसके बारे में बात चीत करें। अगर ऐसा अभी नहीं हो सकता है तो यह बेहतर होगा कि जो गुटनिर्पेक्ष देश हैं दक्षिण और दक्षिण-पूर्वी एशिया के, वे इसके बारे में मिल करके चर्चा करें और इस तरह की कॉन्फ्रेंस की तैयारी की बात करें। ... (व्यवधान) ...

जहां तक हमारे यहां जाने या न जाने का सवाल है, हमने इंडोनेशिया से कहा कि जैसा दीखता है, उसमें सिर्फ एक तरफ के लोग शायद बहुमत में वहां पर आये और कुछ ऐसे देश हैं जोकि वहां पर जाने वाले नहीं हैं, ऐसी स्थिति में हम समझते हैं, उससे क्रिस्टलाइजेशन होगा और किसी मसले को तय करने में हम आगे नहीं बढ़ सकेंगे। इसलिए हम समझते हैं। वहां पर जाने से कोई फायदा नहीं होगा।

SHRI. M. L. SONDHI: They went to Rabat and got a national rebuff. Why do they not go there?

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK (South Delhi): What about calling a Geneva-type conference?

श्री दिनेश सिंह: उसके लिए मैंने जिज्ञासा किया था कि जेनेवा कॉन्फ्रेंस को चेयरमैन बुला सकते हैं और उसको बुलाने में इस वक्त अगर कोई देर हो रही हो या कठिनाई हो तो कम से कम गुटनिर्पेक्ष देश मिलें। उसमें अपनी बात कह सकेंगे और उसका भी एक असर होगा।

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara): I think this particular statement is a slight improvement on all other statements made by Government in this connection. They have admitted that the conflict and hostilities should cease, and made an appeal to all sides. Then he has also said in the statement:

"We are greatly concerned at this further escalation of the conflict and the additional induction of foreign forces into Cambodian territory."

So far Government have maintained that we are for withdrawal of all foreign troops from any land. This country has expressed its opinion on those lines and it is good that Government also have condemned the attack by American forces. We have all sympathy for those people in America who are fighting against the military junta there, and we hope there will be opportunities in Russia also for the people there who would one day rise in revolt against the forces there. Since you admit that there is additional induction of foreign troops, the very simple question is: which other foreign troops were there in Cambodia before, what steps did you take, what protest did you make, which countries did you ask to withdraw from Cambodia, and when?

13. hrs.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA (Bangalore): That is enough.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: That is enough for you. When you become a Cabinet Minister, you can reply. You have yet to wait for your turn.

Secondly, Prince Sihanouk went to China and appeared on the same platform with Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung. He is already being considered as their ally, and he is trying to invade Cambodia with the support of North Vietnam and other forces. May we know whether we accept the situation that there are already two camps, that Prince Sihanouk has joined the other camp, and that the combat has been extended to Cambodia as it was extended in Vietnam?

Our solidarity must be with the people of Cambodia. We say that they must be left to decide their destiny, and that there should be no interference at all. How are you going to express our solidarity in action positively, in a concrete manner?

Till now we have not announced recognition of the present Government of Cambodia, but we recognised the new regime of Ghana after Nkrumah was over thrown there by the same process by which Prince Sihanouk was dislodged in Cambodia. So, we have changed our policy, to determine the nature of the Government before we give them recognition. We have not done that at any time in regard to any country before. So, I would like to know why this invidious discrimination is being made. If we are to function in that country, we must function through some agency. Which is the agency? Do you think that the agency is China, Vietnam or Soviet Russia and not the Government in Cambodia?

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA : A Government which represents the people of Cambodia.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : Who will determine it? It is not for this Government to take a referendum. We know the Communists game.

Let the Government then say that unless the communists agree, they are not going to recognise the present Cambodian Government.

Apart from this pious desire for general peace and settlement by negotiation, we are refusing to join this conference because of certain reasons. If it is desirable, and I think it is desirable, that a Geneva type conference should be convened as quickly as possible, if the Chairman does not agree to convene the conference, what concrete steps is the Government of India taking to convene such a conference as soon as possible? Who is standing in the way and what are the reasons why this conference is not being convened at this stage? Is it because some countries who are directly involved in this conflict do not want that there should be a settlement of this issue quickly by convening a Geneva type conference? What is standing in the way and what are the reasons why the Chairman of the Geneva Conference is not agreeable to convening a conference which the Government of India wants? I want a categorical reply on this issue.

SHRI DINESH SINGH : The first question

that the hon. Member asked is : which are the other forces present in Cambodia. The House would remember that for three years or so, there has been a question of the presence of some forces in Cambodia. . . . (Interruption)

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : Sir, I want to put another question which I forgot. If you permit me, just one minute. I will not take the time of the House. I would like the hon. Minister to refer to the statement made by 14 MPs. I would like to draw his attention to that statement on this issue. I find from the 14 signatories, 10 are from the ruling Congress party. I want to know the Minister's reaction to this. They have asked the Government, firstly, to take immediate steps to convene a conference of non-aligned countries as well as those who stand for freedom, peace and justice. For what? To forge a broad front of all anti-imperialist forces against the US aggression. Because 10 members of the ruling party have signed this statement, I want to know whether the Government share partly, fully or in any manner the views expressed by them in the last paragraph, namely, they

"welcome the initiative taken by Prince Norodom Sihanouk to put up a united front of the people of Vietnam, both North and South, Laos and Cambodia, to fight the US aggression."

I want to know whether the Government also share this view or they are going to do something in this regard.

SHRI DINESH SINGH : As I was saying, there have been questions raised about the presence of foreign forces in Cambodia for, I think, about three years or so. The matter was referred to the Control Commission from time to time. When the Control Commission was asked to go into this matter, it went into it, and on each incident on each occasion when there was an intervention of foreign forces, the Commission gave a report.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : Who are they? (Interruption)

AN HON. MEMBER : Which countries?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I can appreciate that the hon. Member's mind is running faster than I can speak. Why don't you have patience and listen, till I have concluded? (*Interruption*) So far as the question—which forces—is concerned, it would have depended on which incident the particular Member had in mind. (*Interruption*) Each incident was reported to the Commission; they have included the intrusion by American forces, by South Vietnam forces, and they were commented upon by the Commission. I would not like to say off-hand without a particular incident being referred to. (*Interruption*)

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: None by North Vietnam?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Why are you so impatient? The names are all coming. I cannot give more names than I know. They will all come. Please do not be concerned. Then, at one stage, the Cambodian Government had also mentioned to us about the presence of the NLF forces, the Viet Cong forces, and they have said that the Commission might investigate. Now, before the Commission could investigate and before facilities could be made available to the Commission, the Cambodian Government decided that they would like to handle this matter bilaterally and the matter was taken off the Commission.

Now there have been reports of presence of various foreign forces which I am sure the hon. Members also would have seen in the paper and that is why we have said that all foreign forces, whatever their sources might be, should be withdrawn.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI: There are 50,000 troops and he does not know their names.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I would like the hon. Member to give the names of those 50,000 soldiers so that we can send them to their families.

SHRI PILOO MODY: They did not know for years that the Chinese were in Indian territory.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Another ques-

tion was why we had not recognised the Government in Cambodia. It is not a question of recognising or de-recognising the government in Cambodia. We are functioning with the government and authority that is existing in Cambodia. Regarding the formal declaration, as the hon. Member knows, except for the United States no other government has made any announcement, recognising or de-recognising the Government in Cambodia.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI: I want to know your policy, not the policy of the United States. Don't be guided by them.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I am talking of the world as a whole; all other countries have neither recognised nor de-recognised the Government in Cambodia. I should, therefore, like to assure the hon. Member that there has been no departure in our policy in this respect. (*Interruption*). As the hon. Lady member knows, we have not recognised them. I can send her a letter in writing to say that we have not recognised them.

The other question was what concrete steps we are taking for the convening of a Geneva type conference. The hon. Member would appreciate that if this conference is to include all the parties concerned, there has to be close prior consultation with them and their agreement, or at least the agreement of an overwhelming majority to hold such a conference; otherwise, the purpose would be defeated. It is this exercise in which we have been engaged for some time and as I mentioned to the House the other day there is no lack of effort but we have not gone in for publicity in this matter because we felt that publicity would defeat the very purpose. Therefore, though we have been active, we have not found it possible to give publicity to it. Then the hon. Member asked me to say which countries have said "yes" or "no". At this stage of our consultations it would not be desirable to give this information.

The last question that hon. Member put to me was about the statement made by some Members of Parliament. We have stated our policy.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI :
They are your own party members.

SHRI DINESH SINGH : My party mem-
bers, as I hope the party members of the hon.
Member, are free to think as they like.

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI
(Berhampore) : The hon. Minister must
realise the disappointment of the whole House
and the whole country at the sort of initiative,
or lack of initiative, that he is displaying in
this matter. We must realise that some states-
men in some big countries have pushed the
world again to the brink of a war. We are
very near that kind of precipitate brinkism. I
am not a supporter of either the Brezhnev
doctrine, or the Nixon doctrine or Eisenhower
doctrine to accept big power dictation for any
quarter. In spite of our limitations, of power
and other things, we are still a very important
nation in this world, especially in the Asian
part of the world. We ask the Foreign Minister,
I also ask the Prime Minister : what pre-
vents us from taking that sort of initiative which
Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru took when the
Korean war broke out when he addressed
himself to President Truman and also to Pre-
mier Stalin, simply conducting talks behind
the scenes and some kind of personal contacts
with non-aligned nations would not help. We
know what these non-aligned conferences come
to. It comes to nothing. They only keep on
debating on the point which State is non-align-
ed and which is aligned. So I would
like the Minister to state whether they have in
view taking of some more active initiative.
This is a time when a nation like India can
play a very big part and not merely by trying
to convene a conference of non-aligned nations.
Only today morning Reuters have reported
from United Nations Headquarters that U.
Thant is going to make a statement tomorrow,
expounding certain ideas as to how the conflict
in Indo-China and particularly in Vietnam,
Cambodia and Laos can be stopped. I would
like to know whether we are in touch with the
Chief of the United Nations ; whether we are
in touch with the American President and with
the Soviet Union President. Also with Chinese
Government. What sort of solution would
they like. Has that been ascertained through

such channels as are open to us ? What we
want and the whole country wants is that here
is a time where we can perhaps play a big part
and let the daughter of Pandit Jawahar Lal
Nehru take that initiative which was displayed
by her late father so many years ago.

SHRI DINESH SINGH : I entirely agree
with the hon. Member when he says that a
country like India should take active part in
what is happening in and around us as well as
on important matters concerning the world
community. If the hon. Member would recol-
lect, the Prime Minister made a very positive
suggestion to the countries in this area that
they should make a common declaration not
to use force and also to respect the territorial
integrity and sovereignty of each country.
She also suggested that this might be further
strengthened by similar declarations by others
I would submit to the House that here is a
positive idea which has been put forward and
we have been trying to work on it. We are in
active consultation with some of the Govern-
ments which the hon. Member mentioned
and a number of other Governments, but it is
not possible to rush into big declarations unless
they are equally backed and supported by other
countries. We can make a declaration. There
is an initiative taken by Indonesia, but what we
see from the newspapers is that the response
is not good. We have been working out in
consultation with other Governments and
seeing how best we can have a peace initiative
in this. I can assure the hon. Member this is
exactly what we are engaged in.

13.19 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

ANNUAL REPORT OF DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL
FOR ORGANIC CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES, 1968-69

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND
CHEMICALS AND MINES AND METALS
(SHRI D. R. CHAVAN) : I beg to lay on
the Table a copy of the Annual Report of the
Development Council for Organic Chemical
Industries for the year 1968-69, under sub-