

which the Prime Minister will continue to be Chairman, should be composed of all Union Cabinet Ministers, Chief Ministers of the States and the Union Territories and Members of the Planning Commission. Delhi Administration will be represented in the Council by the Lt. Governor and the Chief Executive Councillor, and the remaining Union Territories by their respective Administrators.

It will be essentially for the State Governments to consider what arrangements they will make to deal with planning at the State or lower levels. These will be discussed and settled between the Central and State Governments from time to time.

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): Mr Speaker, may we make a few observations on this statement?

Mr. Speaker: Not, now. We can consider it later on.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : (कन्नौज) :
उप्यक्त महोदय, एक-भाषा प्रश्न पूछने
दीजिये ।

श्री एबी एम् (पुरी) : इस पर क्लर
होनी चाहिये ।

Mr. Speaker: Let us see.

12.35 hrs.

DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION (AMENDMENT) BILL*

The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Deesai): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Deposit Insurance Corporation Act, 1961.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Deposit Insurance Corporation Act, 1961."

The motion was adopted.

Shri Morarji Deesai: Sir, I introduce** the Bill.

12.36 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS—contd.

Mr. Speaker: We have got another 3 hours and 15 minutes for discussion of these demands. Today we will be also be taking up the adjournment motion and so we will get about two hours. This will have to be continued tomorrow. The Prime Minister, I am told, is speaking at 3.30 p.m. today.

An hon. Member: On what?

Mr. Speaker: On the Demands of the External Affairs Ministry.

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (Phulpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the foreign affairs debate has already covered a wide area and a number of conflicting discussions and suggestions have emanated from it. The Government has been under criticism for several of its policies, and especially, for the manner in which it has handled the crisis in West Asia. May I seek your indulgence to express a few views of this area and on allied matters?

Human memory is proverbially short and I am sure that many hon. Members of this House have already forgotten the Suez crisis. It is good to remember that at the time when President Nasser nationalised the

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**Introduced with the recommendation of the President.

[Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit]

Suez Canal, the state of hysteria emanating from frustrated hopes that was evidenced in the western world, particularly in London where I happened to be posted at that time, was something almost beyond belief. We now have the inside story of what happened at that time, a story narrated by the Minister of State of Foreign Affairs in the British Cabinet, and it makes very ugly reading indeed, because, step by step and day by day, he traces how France and England came together and how they manoeuvred to create a situation through which the crisis was exaggerated and a second war in that area was started. It is obvious that this active support, given by these two powers was responsible for the way in which Israel was able to go ahead at that time.

The motive, too obvious and it is the same motive that today led to this third war. Today, there was no open alliance but the moral support given to Israel encouraged her to go ahead and fire the first shot. France was not in it this time, and the support came from others who still hope that when opportunity arises they can manipulate the situation to their own interests. Many countries in the west are still smarting at the end of an empire, they are by no means reconciled to the present status.

We are often told that we are not reconciled to the creation of Pakistan. This of course is completely incorrect, because no act of ours has ever shown that we have not accepted fully and finally the creation of Pakistan. We have never tried by underhand means to upset any plans or to seek for ourselves any advantage under cover of some sort of friendly action.

What happened in the recent war was that with the desire to re-create a new balance of power in west Asia, very definite encouragement was given to Israel and if Israel had continued expanding her gains, if the authority of the world community had not led

to the cease-fire, then there is no doubt that some Powers would have gladly stepped in and once again that area would have become a chess-board for those whose ambition has no end and who seek to hide that ambition by talking about in terms of establishing stability, helping to raise economic standards and what not.

The other day, I think it was the hon Member for Rajkot, Mr. Masani, who mentioned that the very act of the UAR barring the Gulf of Aqaba was an act of aggression. I would like to say in reply

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): The blockade is an act of war.

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Yes, as an act of war. I was not present then and I am merely repeating what I read in the newspapers. In my view, the road to aggression was paved when the home for the Jews was carved out of the heart of Arab lands, and this was and has been an invitation to continued crisis in that area. They will go on until some *modus vivendi* is discovered, some relationship is established, between these two countries since what has been unjustly done cannot now be undone.

The establishment of Israel took place in 1947. I was present at the U.N. and was a witness to the release of the most violent sentiments and emotions which were almost uncontrollable. It was a hysterical occasion but it was perfectly natural. The pressure that was being brought for the creation of Israel State, and the division of Palestine, was too great, and ultimately a home for the Jews was established. I think quite a number of countries were aware—India certainly among them—that a time-bomb was being planted and that in course of time it would explode. It has exploded not once but three-times, and nobody knows how often it will explode again because the conditions remain inflammable.

An hon. Member: Time-bomb in Pakistan will be released.

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Time-bombs are planted all the time by interested politicians

Shri M. L. Sondhi (New Delhi): Does she want Israel to be extinguished?

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Time-bombs are created by politicians. Pakistan was created by political manoeuvre and all the troubles of the world stem from such manoeuvres. The older I grow the more I realise that it is not through politicians that the world will be led into a safe harbour of peace and security but through the efforts of those people of goodwill, who cut across politics, who attach importance to truth and moral and ethical values and who work for the good of mankind as a whole, and this applies specially to our country at the present time. (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: Let her get along with the speech

Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: The question before us today, that has been specially condemned in this House and by quite a section of public opinion is the fact that India has said that aggression must not pay dividends; that India has demanded that aggression must end and the Israeli forces must be withdrawn before there can be any talk of peace. Unless Israel is made to understand that it cannot profit by aggression, how can there be a climate in which calm and quiet discussions on important and vital issues on the future of the areas can take place? If every war of aggression, if every act of indiscipline, leads to fulfilment and reward, well then, the United Nations had better wind itself up, and we who talk in such loud voices about peace, progress and all the rest of it had better stop doing so. Aggression must be condemned. It cannot be allowed to pay dividends. In the present case, how are the Arabs to come to the

Conference table unless first the areas which the enemy holds are vacated? I believe India has a role to play and India can and should play this role in trying to persuade the Arabs to give guarantees of security to Israel. But India cannot do this as fully as she might have been able to, because her relations with Israel have been rather illogical. We recognised Israel at the time of its creation and we have wished her well. But on the other hand, we have had no influence over her, because there has never been any kind of contact through which our common interests could develop.

We believe in non-alignment and in peaceful co-existence. The other day I read the speech of the Foreign Minister of Tanzania wherein he said that non-alignment should not mean hypocrisy. Therefore, I submit very humbly to the Government that our role is that of peacemaker in West Asia, a role which we can very well fulfil, we have done it in the past and we should be able to do it in the future and with the assistance of all shades of opinion in the country. After this immediate crisis is over and after the vacation of the areas occupied by Israel, I think it would not be a bad idea if the Government could give a new look to some aspects of its policy and create a new form of thinking in which whilst not necessarily supporting Israel on the things that do not suit us, because ultimately it is our own benefit and interest that we have to look to, yet we can have more power to influence than we possess today. So far as the world is concerned so far as Israel is concerned, we are aligned very definitely with one particular area. Of course, the area to which we are aligned is a vital area for us. It is also vital for the progress of Asia. The Arab countries so recently emancipated, still divided, struggling for progress and stability, must be assisted and helped to go forward along the path that they are desperately struggling to carve out for them.

[Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit]

oneselves and must be protected from those who eye them with a view to imposing their power again, not necessarily in the old forms—those old days are gone and cannot be brought back—but in new ways, with which we in this country are familiar. What I would like to say is that perhaps after the stand India has taken on this issue in and outside the UN, a stand to which I give my fullest support, she could have the courage to say that whilst retaining the closest friendship with the Arabs and the desire to see them progress and prosper, she feels she can play a part by helping to lessen the gulf between them. Eventually, it would not only benefit the Arabs and Israelites, but it will be for the benefit of West Asia and possibly of the world.

I would like to say a word about Vietnam. We have disapproved of what is happening in Vietnam. We have disapproved rather mildly and it has had no effect. No doubt Government have their reasons, "which reason knows nothing of." Each day of escalation of conflict, with all its horrors and suffering with each day of the mounting tensions on both sides, it is shameful that we are lessening the effectiveness of our leadership. When the whole world has expressed its horror at what is happening in Vietnam, when even in America conservative elements are raising their voices against this, we have not come forward in an emphatic manner. Now is the time when India should say something more specific than merely condemning the escalation which everyone condemns anyway, thereby seeking again to give a lead which must help a wider circle of interests than merely our own. It is very important that time should not be wasted any longer, because the longer we wait, the less opportunity we get for playing a part in helping to end a tragic situation.

I read in the papers the other day that our Foreign Minister was about to go to Belgrade and Cairo, to discuss our future policy towards West Asia and I supposed to seek the wisdom of our friends in those two capitals. This seems to me a reversal of the role that India has played in the past and should play in the future. I would welcome the visits of others to us sometimes in search of our wisdom and advice, rather than our being wanderers on the face of the earth, collecting wisdom, opinions and advice of other people who may be very learned and wise, but who ultimately cannot look at our problems or even at the wider world problems as they affect us and our future.

I would like to say merely this. Though we have passed through very rough seas and the waves are still pretty high, there is no doubt that there is in this country ample wisdom, ample experience and ample courage. When I say in this country, I am not trying to insinuate that this talent, ability and wisdom should be taken into the Government. What I am trying to say is, when a country is in deep waters, every single person in the country must be made to feel that he or she is contributing towards the objectives of that country. Therefore, I would appeal to Government, who in their wisdom have done many things that have put the country on the road to progress, to think once again of those aspects of all their policies which could do with a little pruning and trimming. After all, policies are made by man; man is not made for policies. There is no question of any insult to oneself in so doing nor any disloyalty to ideas and ideals. Changed times require changed directions. I shall close by pleading with the Government that when times are a little more normal, those things might be taken into consideration so as to build a stronger, more united, more purposeful India, an India which can take its real place in

leadership and in giving direction towards the things to which we are pledged—not just peace and progress in our country but peace, economic progress and fulfilment for mankind.

डा० राज कपोहर लोहिया (कन्नौज) :
सम्बन्ध महोदय, श्री विषय सफ़ी पंखित ...

कुछ सामग्रीय सत्य : श्रीमती ।

डा० राज कपोहर लोहिया : श्री पंखित के भाषण में पहले हिल्ले को मुन कर तो मुझे लग रहा था कि अब हम लोगों की कोई उम्मत ही नहीं रह गई है, रसनीति करने वाले तो अब बेकार हो गए हैं । अब तो साधुओं से दुनिया का ज्ञान चलेगा । लेकिन आखिर में क्या उन्होंने आजा के लिए कुछ किया छोड़ दी, बाहर के लोगों को बुलाया कि वे आये और हिन्दुस्तान से जान लेकर जायें

श्रीमती विजयलक्ष्मी पंखित . आप भी जब मेरी उम्र में पहुंचेंगे तो आप भी माधु हो जायेंगे, मुझे यह धाया है ।

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकरी सिन्हा (भाइ) :
आज भी फर्क नहीं है ।

डा० राज कपोहर लोहिया : आपकी उम्र में और मेरी उम्र में बहुत अधिक फर्क नहीं है । बहुत साब हो सकता था, इतनी नवदीक की उम्र है । और फिर साधु तो जोड़ा बहुत मैं मुझ से ही रहा हूँ, वह आप जानती ही हैं ।

मुझे धाया बंधी कि आसद हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर के लोगों को भी कुछ सीखने के लिए बाकी है ।

इसी सम्बन्ध में मेरी सब से बहती टीका यह है कि अब-कभी-किसी भी भाषणों पर बहुत ध्यान करती है तो यह आत्मिकता की सम्बन्ध में फल आया करती है । उम्मीदियों को धरती होती है, उनमें यह फल आया करती है । जैसे अन्त सम्बन्ध का-सम्बन्ध, जैसे-जैसे सम्बन्ध-सम्बन्ध का

विस्फोट । विवतनाम कुछ पुस्तका उकर है । इन्हीं मसलों को लेकर जैसे और दुनिया के लोग इधर उधर चक्कर लगाते हैं हम भी यहां पर अपना बयत बरबाद कर दिया करते हैं । विदेश नीति पर इतनी सामयिकता और बकती बहुत करना बुरा होता है आस तीर से एक ऐसे मुक्त के लिए जो कमजोर हो । इसलिए सब से पहले मैं विदेश नीति के सम्बन्ध में यह फर्क बताऊंगा कि दो तरह के देश हैं, एक ताकतवर और दूसरे कमजोर । ताकतवर देशों को बकती भाषणों पर, सामयिक भाषणों पर करना पड़ता है, बिना, धरना पड़ता है कान और अपना रक्ष बनाना पड़ता है । इसका कारण यह है कि वे ताकतवर हैं, शक्तिशाली हैं, धन के, अस्त्र के लेकिन जो देश धन और अस्त्र में कमजोर हैं उनका अग्र बड़ी रक्ष हो, जहाँ कहीं अग्र लगे, बलौ बुझाने तो ठीक नहीं है । अग्र बुझाने के लिये कोई हथियार तो है नहीं, फावरसिगैठ तो है नहीं, रमकल तो है नहीं, लेकिन बलौ बुझाने को तो यह चीज बड़ी मलत हो जाया करती है (कमजोर देशों के लिए सब से पहला ध्यान होना चाहिए देश और सीमा की सुरक्षा और दूसरा ध्यान होना चाहिए विश्व हित के लिए आदर्शवाद । लेकिन मुझे यह कहना है कि आरतवर्ष की विदेश नीति न जाने कसे पिछले बीत बरस से कुछ उलटी हो गई है । देश हित के मामले में तो आदर्शवाद आ गया है, देश रखा के मामले में वे तो आदर्शवाद आ गया है लेकिन दुनिया के मामले में आदर्शवाद आ गया है । अमरीका जो कहे, रूस जो कहे, चीन जो कहे, नासर जो कहे, बस उठी दलदल में फले रह जाओ । इसलिए हमको विश्व हित में आदर्शवाद और देश हित में आदर्शवाद पर चलना चाहिए ।)

मुझे हम पिछले कुछ दिनों की प्रधान मंत्री जी की बरसतों पर बीड़ा मक हो रहा है । वह कहाँ कहाँ जा रही हैं ? मेरे, लक्ष्मीकरी पताफोट । पता नहीं और कहाँ कहाँ गई है । मैंने यह भी सुना है कि अब यह कभी

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

जाती हैं तब उसके बाद खबर मिलती है, पहले नहीं मिलती है। कुछ मेरे मन में खयाल था रहा है कि कहीं इजराइल भी छूत तो नहीं दुनिया को लगने वाली है? इस बात इजराइल के ऊपर मैं कोई अपनी राय नहीं दे रहा हूँ। उनसे प्रच्छा, बुरा काम किया, इस के बारे में कुछ राय नहीं दे रहा हूँ। आप जानते हो है कि मैं हर लड़ाई को बुरा समझता हूँ। इजराइल की लड़ाई को भी बुरा समझता हूँ। लेकिन अब जिस इलाके को इजराइल अपने कब्जे में रख रहा है उसको मैं बुरा समझता हूँ एक काँ छोड़ कर। और वह है यरुशलम की दाखान। उस दीखाम के मामले में जरूर मेरी कुछ राय है और अगर यहाँ किनी तरह से अन्तर्गण्ट्रीय गहर बनाया जा सके ता बड़ा अच्छा है। क्या यहाँ भी इजराइल का छूतना नहीं लगी है उग जन्वी से, घमाके के साथ, पाण्डु जमा दा, कुछ हथिया ना, क्या करेगा समुक्त राष्ट्र? ऐसा कुछ मुझका डर लग रहा है कि पाकिस्तान का चीन को तर्फ में आक्रमण जो हमेशा अकूबर्ग में हुआ करता है वह नहीं, बल्कि इसी तरह में हो सकता है। जायद इसी बान्ने प्रदान मवो पंगई हुई घुमबास रही हैं इस/ उध/ लेकिन उस घुमने घामने से कुछ हागा नहीं जा नक सकल्प शक्ति न हो, जब तक हथ सकल्प शक्ति न बना लें इस आक्रमण के बारे में कि हमको इसका सामना करना है। उस आक्रमण का सामना करते वकन एक पुरानी बात में धार दिलाऊंगा। मैं काम तीर से मजिदों में मिला नहीं करना। काम तीर में क्या, कभी नहीं मिलता। लेकिन एक बार आम्वी जी से मिला था। एक बड़ी घटकनें लगाई गई थी। वह भर गए हैं। इनलिये मैं इन बात का खुलासा कर रहा हूँ। अभी तक मैं कभी इस सम्बन्ध में बोला नहीं था। मैं उनसे मिला था इस निर कि कुछ उबाई कड़ा पकड़ून मोनो को दे सिये जावें और यह मैं अपनी तरफ से नहीं कह रहा था। मुझे पकड़ून मोनों से कहा

था कि अगर उन्हें उबाई उगाव मिलेगी तो मैं उनका इस्तेमाल करूँगे। मैंने यही बात उस वकन के लेना लगी से भी कही थी। वह जिन्दा है। तब भी बोझाण ने। उनका क्या जवाब था वह मैं आपको नहीं बतनाऊंगा। इसका कारण यहाँ है कि मेरा यहाँ आना है कि किस दिना प्राचीने से मेरी बानबीन होती है व' बानबीन अपनी है। उनकी तबीयत हो बरायें, न बनाये।

लेकिन एक बात बिल्कुल सच है। मैं युद्ध नापसन्द करता हूँ। मैं कभी नहीं चाहता कि हिन्दुस्तान चीन घबरा पाकिस्तान पर आक्रमण करे। मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि जब चीन और पाकिस्तान हिन्दुस्तान पर आक्रमण करेंगे तो सारी दुनिया में वह खबर फैलायेगी कि आक्रमण हिन्दुस्तान में किया है। उन वकन आपके लिए बड़ा मुश्किल हो जाएगा अगर आप चीनने नहीं रहेंगे। आक्रमण में बिल्कुल नहीं करना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन अगर कभी आक्रमण हो गया तो फिर ऐसे मौके पर भी मुर्गी का दिल और कछुए के प्राण होते हैं, उनको रख कर काम नहीं चलेगा। अच्छा महोदय, जायद आप कछुए के प्राण जानते होंगे। बाजार में बिकते हैं। उनकी टांग छोरे छोरे कटती जाती है, उस बेचारे को कुछ पता नहीं चलना है कि मेरी टांग कट रही है या कोई दूसरा हिस्सा कट रहा है, बिक रहा है। तो मैं कहूँगा कि कछुए के प्राण और मुर्गी का दिल रख कर आक्रमण का सामना नहीं किया जा सकता है।

इस बातसे मैं चाहूँगा कि उस वकन वह सरकार संकल्प शक्ति अपनी रहे। फलटन नम्बर तीन है। बेटी कारवाये नम्बर दो पीछे है। नम्बर एक पीछे है चौथी, संकल्प शक्ति, वह संकल्प शक्ति जो कभी कभी बराब मोक्ष दिखाया करती है या कभी कभी कण्ठ मोन दिखाया करती है कि जब

कभी कभी उबर हुआ हो जाए तो उस हलके को खत्म करने के लिए पूरी ताकत बना कर, पूरी कतिबत बना कर जितना ज्यादा मुस्ताफ देना हो दे कर अपनी बात को हासिल किया जाए । मैं धाय से अपनी इस विदेश नीति पर बहुत के बीगन इसकी नांग करता हूँ ।

बाहिर विदेश नीति है क्या । मैं एक अपना नेता हूँ । विदेश नीति एक ऐसी पत्नी है (इंटरफ़ॉन्स) भाप चाहें तो मैं बाप में उलट दूंगा [विदेश नीति एक ऐसी पत्नी है जिस का पति है अन्न और उद्योग विभाग और जिस का बेटा है राजा देना चाहे । तो विदेश नीति का पति है अन्न और उद्योग उसका बेटा है पलटन और सेना । लेकिन हमारी विदेश नीति जिस ढंग से चल रही है उस में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह पुत्र हीन विधवा बन गई है । कोई ताकत इस में नहीं है] मैं पलट देता हूँ । अगर भारत की जगह मैं ले ले तो मैं कहूंगा कि बंस लोपी बिहूर बन गई है । इस में कोई ताकत नहीं रह गई है । बस लोपी बिहूर, ऐसा एक मर्द जिस में अब कुछ बंस को बसाने की ताकत नहीं रह गई है । जब विदेश नीति इस स्थिति के ऊपर पहुच जाए तब हम को पूरो ताकत के साथ फसला करना पड़ेगा कि बाहिर हमारा संकल्प कैसा हो ।

13 hrs.

बसे बाब मैंने जखबारों में पढ़ा । विदेश मंत्री धाह्य कहते हैं कि चीनियों की हमारी जमीन के ऊपर तो ठकीमत नहीं लेकिन कुछ राजनीति की ठकीमत है । इसको पढ़ कर मुझे ऐसा लगा कि ये जाकर माओ लो दुब से कहीं निकर कर तो नहीं जाए हैं ? किसकी ही हमारी जमीन उनके अधिकार में चली गई है फिर भी वह हजरत कहते हैं कि चीनियों की बाब हमारी राजनीति पर नहीं है, उन की बाब हमारी राजनीति पर है । क्या उन की बाब की उपायाय या को

राममूर्ति पर है ? किन पर है उन की बाब ? अगर उन की बाब जमीन पर नहीं है, तो कहीं है ?

कल जब श्री चपलकांत भट्टाचार्य ने संस्कृत का एक श्लोक पढ़ा, तो मैं तदन में नहीं था । मैं कालीधाम के कुमारसंभवम् से हिमालय के बारे में श्लोए पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ । भायद दुनिया को सारी कविता में हिमानय को ले कर ऐना श्लोक नहीं है और वह भकेला यह सिद्ध करता है कि अगर हिमालय किसी का है, तो वह हिन्दुस्तान का है—मेरा मतलब भारत से नहीं है, बल्कि मेरा मतलब उस हिन्दुस्तान से है, जो भारत और पाकिस्तान को बिना कर बनेगा ।

भस्त्वुत्तरस्या दिशि देवताः(५) हिमानयो नाम नगाधिराजः

पूर्वापरा तापनिष्ठा विवाह्य स्थितः
पुषिष्वा इम मानदद.

यह है हिमानया । इम हिमालय के लिए .

Mr. Speaker: We adjourn for lunch now.

12.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Fourteen of the Clock.

[Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS—contd

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Dr. Lohia may resume his speech.

He has lifted the debate, by quoting Kalidasa, to Himalayan heights. I wish the sublime height is kept and not brought down.