

[Shri A. Kevichusa]

The first one was Thepfulchu of Mezo-ma village. He was held in one of the Battalion headquarters at Piphema and he died on the 16th March as a result of beatings. The second was Dozhu of Chedema Village. He was a man who had rendered useful services to the Peace Committee. He was arrested on the 4th April and he was taken to the Army Cantonment at Ranga pahar near Dimapur on the 5th and, on 7th morning, he died as a result of beatings. The use of third degree methods are not uncommon in that region. Such dealings stand in the way of establishing better relationship between the people and the Government.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: The Home Minister should make a statement.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): We will get the information.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, why do you get up every time?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I have already tabled Calling Attention motions. I would only request you to ask the Finance Minister to make a statement...

MR. SPEAKER: You cannot have it as and when you please.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Burdwan): I would like to raise this because the Prime Minister is going to make a statement. We have seen from the papers that the Prime Minister has declared that the emergency is going to continue. Now, those persons detained under MISA, including political opponents, will continue indefinitely in jail until the proclamation of emergency is revoked. When Parliament passed the Maintenance of Internal Security Act in 1971, the maximum period of detention was one year from the date of detention. Now, when the Defence of India Act came....

MR. SPEAKER: This cannot be raised at this time.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: When the Defence of India Act was passed by Parliament, that provision in MISA was altered and now the law is that the period of detention will be until the proclamation of emergency is revoked.

MR. SPEAKER: You are a distinguished lawyer. How do you get up like this without even a motion...

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I am bringing it to the notice of the Government because I take it that the Prime Minister is going to make a statement on the question of emergency. I won't take long.

You will kindly see that so long as the proclamation of emergency remains, the persons detained under MISA will continue to be in jail without any trial whereas those detained under the new Detention Act, viz. smugglers and economic offenders.

MR. SPEAKER: You have not even moved a motion...

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Whether the Government is going to make a statement is matter to be decided. I will take only half a minute more.

Under the new law against smugglers and economic offenders, the maximum period of detention is only one year. While these people remain in jail for only one year, those people who are in jail for more than two or three years have no prospect of their release until the emergency is revoked.

How long will this continue? How long will this life imprisonment continue? One of the judges of the Supreme Court has said that this is life imprisonment, that there should be a periodical review of these cases. How long will these people rot in the jail? We are calling ourselves a civilized country. I am bringing it to the notice of the Government, so that when the Prime Minister makes a statement this evening, she may refer to this point how long this will continue. (Interruptions)

12.57 hrs.

DEMANDS\* FOR GRANTS, 1975  
76—contd.

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION—contd.

MR. SPEAKER: We now take up further Discussion on the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation. Mr. Vikal

\*Moved with the recommendations of the President.

was on his legs. After he has finished, I would not be able to accommodate more than two or three members. Then the Minister will speak. The discussion on these Demands has taken three hours more than the time allotted by the Business Advisory Committee. This is not a good practice. Next year it would be said that last year we discussed it for so many hours little knowing what was the time that it got from the Business Advisory Committee. This is not a very good practice. I would advise the Minister not to encourage this. Suppose there are 100 members who have given their names, it does not mean that the time should be extended to accommodate all of them. Then there is no use the Business Advisory Committee meeting and fixing the time. It is not a question of only the Minister; the Speaker is also there. The whole business has to be readjusted and the Demands of other Ministers will have to be quillotined at the end. There is no sense in doing that. Therefore, I can accommodate only two speakers.

Mr. Vikal. He is not here. The Opposition has taken much more than what was allotted to them. The time is available only for Congress members—not more than two.

Shri R. G. Tiwari.

श्री राम गोपाल तिवारी (बिनामपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कृषि और सिंचाई विभाग की डिमांडज पर अपने कुछ विचार रखना चाहता हूँ; कृषि की समस्या का उचित मूल्यांकन कृषकों की सामाजिक और आर्थिक स्थिति-सौगियो-इकानामिक कन्डीशन्स आफ फार्मर्ज-तथा गांवों के सामान्य वातावरण, परिस्थितियों और समस्याओं से अलग करके दही किया जाना चाहिए। कृषि, कृषक और गांव पर सम्मिलित रूप से ही विचार किया जा सकता है, और तभी हम किसी उचित निर्णय पर पहुंच सकते हैं।

13 hrs.

पूज्य महात्मा गांधी कहा करते थे कि भारत गांवों में बसता है। उसका स्पष्ट अर्थ यही था कि जिस अनुपात में गांवों में बसने वाले

कृषकों तथा किसानों की समस्याओं का निराकरण करते हुए उनको जीवन के विकास और प्रगति के मार्ग पर बढ़ाया जायेगा, उसी अनुपात में देश का विकास माना जा सकता है। इस स्थिति में यह आवश्यक होगा कि जब कृषि और सिंचाई के संबंध में चर्चा किया जाय तो गांव में बसने वाले किसानों की स्थिति पर भी ध्यान रखा जाय इस देश का विशाल जन-समुदाय अपेक्षाकृत, आप अनुभव करेंगे, स्वावलम्बी है। गांव का किसान केवल अपने सीमित साधनों से ही अपना जीवन बसर करने का प्रयत्न करता है। हम आप सब जानते हैं कि बहुत सी आवश्यक वस्तुओं का भाव इस बीच में काफी बढ़ा। पर उस अनुपात में किसान को कोई राहत नहीं दी गई, न उसे बात की कोई अपेक्षा ही है। दुर्भाग्य से हमारे देश का किसान इसअर्गनाइज्ड है, व्यवस्थित नहीं है, इसी-लिये चारों तरफ से उसकी आवश्यकताओं के प्रति उदासिनता व्यक्त की जाती है और उपेक्षा की दृष्टि से देखा जाता है। परिणामस्वरूप किसानों के परिश्रम से जो उन्हें प्राप्त होना चाहिए, वह हम उनको उपलब्ध नहीं करा पा रहे हैं। हमारा किसान अभाव से ग्रसित है। उसकी समस्याओं पर उपयुक्त ध्यान किसीका नहीं जा रहा है। हम देखते हैं कि इतना बड़ा जन-समुदाय जो गांवों में रहता है न उस के लिए पीने के पानी का समुचित प्रबन्ध है, पीष्टिक भोजन की तो बात छोड़िए, सामान्य भोजन भी उसका उपलब्ध नहीं हो रहा है। स्वास्थ्य की सुविधा उसके लिए करीब करीब ना के बराबर है। बीमार होने पर न उसे दवा मिलती है न डाक्टर ही प्राप्त होते हैं। शिक्षा की व्यवस्था उस के बच्चों के लिए नगण्य है। जिस प्रकार का वातावरण गांव की पाठशालाओं में है उस से हम आप सब भ्रम हैं। परिणामस्वरूप लाखों लाख बच्चे जिनका भविष्य शिक्षा पर निर्भर करता है ...

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आप कौन सी डिमांड पर बोल रहे हैं ?

**श्री राजगोपाल सिंघानी :** एग्रोकल्चर को डिमांड पर बोल रहा हूँ। कम्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट मिनिस्ट्री के साथ इसका संबंध है।

मैं यह कह रहा था कि उनकी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था गांवों में न उन के व्यक्ति के उत्कर्ष के अनुकूल है और न ही उसके लिए उपयुक्त वातावरण है। शिक्षक बड़ी ही गैरजिम्मेदारी से काम कर रहे हैं। परिणामस्वरूप लाबों की तादाद में बच्चे अपने भविष्य को नष्ट कर रहे हैं। इस परिस्थिति की और सरकार का ध्यान पर्याप्त रूप से जाना चाहिए। यदि हम सही ढंगों में समाज के उस अंग का जो निर्बल अंग है जो गांवों में बसता है उत्पादन करना चाहते हैं तो उसकी इन मूल आवश्यकताओं की ओर हमारा ध्यान जाना जरूरी है।

कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए शासन की ओर से अनेक प्रकार की बात कही जाती है। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि ऐसा कोई किसान इस देश में नहीं है जो अपने कृषि उत्पादन को बढ़ाने की बात न सोचता हो। पर जब बहुत सी बातें उसके बूते के बाहर हो जाती हैं तो वह हिम्मत छोड़ देता है। इस देश के किसान की कृषि संबंधी समस्याएं आसमान से ले कर जमीन तक फैली हुई हैं। आसमान के भरोसे उसकी खेती चलती है और हमें अच्छी तरह से मालूम है को रेन्स इरेटिक हो चुकी है। कभी कभी क्या प्रति वर्ष ही हमें ड्राउट का सामना करना पड़ता है। ऐसी स्थिति में यह उम्मीद करना कि हमारा उत्पादन बढ़े कोई माने नहीं रखता।

इसलिए अत्यंत आवश्यक है कि हमारे सिंचाई के जो साधन हैं वह अधिक से अधिक बढ़ाए जायें उनका विस्तार किया जाय। समझ में नहीं आता कि हम करोड़ों रुपये का अनाज देश के बाहर से मंगाते हैं और उसमें हमारी विदेशी मुद्रा व्यय होती है जब कि

हमारे सामने अनेक सिंचाई के कार्यक्रम फँसे हुए हैं उनकी ओर हमारा ध्यान कम जा रहा है। मध्य प्रदेश की बात कहें मारे देश में जहाँ सिंचाई का औसत अनुपात 23-24 प्रतिशत है मध्य प्रदेश में वह केवल दस ग्यारह प्रतिशत है, खाम कर के हमारे विनासपुर जिले से तो और भी कम है जहाँ से मैं आना हूँ। लेकिन हमारे विनासपुर की तीन सिंचाई की योजनाओं के कागजात केन्द्रीय सरकार के सामने पड़े हैं, अरपा योजना, बागो योजना और आयर हाफ योजना, इन सभी के कागजात यहाँ पड़े हुए हैं। मध्य प्रदेश शासन से पूछा जाता है तो वह कहते हैं हमने कागजात भेज दिए। केन्द्रीय शासन से पूछा जाता है तो वह कहते हैं कि हमारी अकॉरेज के जवाब नहीं आए। इस प्रकार से नाल-फीताशाही के चक्कर में हमारी महत्वपूर्ण सिंचाई की योजनाएँ बस्ते के भीतर बधी पड़ी हैं।

वर्षों के अभाव और सिंचाई के साधनों की कमी से मुलतः हमारे उत्पादन में कमी हो रही है। मैं कृषि मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूँगा कि इस ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाय और विनासपुर में जो प्रस्तावित सिंचाई की योजनाएँ हैं उन्हें शीघ्र कार्यान्वित कराया जाय।

इसके साथ ही साथ बीमारियों के भी प्रकोप होते हैं। प्रति वर्ष कुछ न कुछ बीमारी विनासपुर के खेतों में लगती है जिससे फसल नष्ट होती है। कीड़ों के भी प्रकोप होते हैं। गत वर्ष दस बारह दिन के भीतर दस बारह लाख से लेकर एक करोड़ रुपये की धान की फसल चन्द घंटों में बरबाद हो गई। केन्द्रीय शासन से कहा गया, मध्य प्रदेश शासन से कहा गया किसी का ध्यान उस ओर नहीं गया। इस तरह करोड़ों के मूल्य की धान की फसल हमारी नष्ट हो गई। इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था की जाय कि समय पड़ने पर खेतों में लगाने वाली जो आवश्यक वस्तुएँ हैं जिन का कृषक स्वयं

प्रबंध नहीं कर सकता, शासन की ओर से उनका प्रबंध किया जाना चाहिए।

इसके साथ साथ यदि कृषकों की हालत सुधारनी है तो छोटे छोटे उद्योगधन्धे उनके नजदीक खोले जायें। जापान में जिसको उभन देश माना गया है, केवल 40 प्रतिशत आमदानी ही खेती से होती है, बाकी 60 प्रतिशत वह दूसरे धन्धों से पूरा करता है। हमारे यहां इस का अत्यंत अभाव है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां भी ऐसी व्यवस्था की जाय कि कृषकों के नजदीक छोटे छोटे धन्धे खोले जायें जिससे कि अपने बच्चे हुए समय में वह अतिरिक्त आमदानी का व्यवस्था करे। जब तक यह नहीं होगा तब तक गांव में बसने वाले किसानों का आर्थिक और सामाजिक हालत कभी सुधर नहीं सकता।

बिलासपुर जिले के संबन्ध में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वहां बन्ने का उत्पादन दस या बारह हजार एकड़ जमीन पर किया जाता है। शासन से कहा गया है कि वहां पर एक मीडियम साइज शूगर फैक्टरी लगायें यदि कैश क्रॉप भी बढ़ाने की और हमारी कुछ दृष्टि हो तो यह एक ऐसा स्थान है बिलासपुर जिला कि जहां एक मीडियम साइज की शूगर फैक्टरी लग सकती है। इसी प्रकार से उस क्षेत्र में अधिक से अधिक तिलहन भी पैदा होता है। रायगंज, बिलासपुर, सरगुजा, और बस्तर जिलों के कुछ हिस्सों में अनेक प्रकार के तिलहन की पैदावार होती है। मेरा निवेदन है कृषि मंत्री से कि वहां एक तेल का प्रोसेसिंग युनिट या तेल का कारखाना भी लगाना आवश्यक है जिससे किसान को अपने उत्पादन का उचित मूल्य मिल सके। भिलाई के पास दुर्ग में एक फर्टीलाइजर का जनरेटिंग प्लांट भी लगाया जाय। उसके नजदीक छत्तीस गढ़ के क्षेत्र में सबसे अधिक खाद का उपयोग होता है। इसलिए यह बहुत आवश्यक है कि दुर्ग में

फर्टीलाइजर का एक जनरेटिंग प्लांट जो मार्केटिंग फेडरेशन का शेड है उस के पास लगाया जाय।

कृषि उत्पादन वृद्धि के लिए स्थायी लैंड पालिसी भी जरूरी है। कोई भी किसान उस में इन्वेस्ट करना नहीं चाहता जब तक कि उसको निश्चय नहीं हो कि शासन कि ऐग्रीकल्चरल लैंड की पालिसी क्या है। हमेशा उसमें परिवर्तन की बात कही जाती है। इस से किसान भ्रमणित होता है। इसलिए यदि लैंड सीलिंग भी लगानी है तो एक निश्चित रूप उस को दे कर उसमें अनसर्टेन्टी को दूर करने का प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए ताकि किसान प्रेरित हो कर उस दिशा में आगे बढ़े। इसी प्रकार अनाज के मूल्य का निर्धारण जो किया जाता है मेरे ख्याल से वह बहुत ही इर्रेशनल है। हम देखते हैं कि कृषि में लगने वाली प्रायः सभी वस्तुओं का दाम बढ़ चुका है। खाद बहुत महंगे दाम पर बिक रही है। कृषि जानवर भी दुगने तिगुने दाम पर मिल रहे हैं। लेबर की मजदूरी भी बढ़ गई है। ऐसी हालत में उसकी खींच कर के अनेकोनामिक सिद्धांतों पर उसकी कीमत को कम करने से किसान की आर्थिक स्थिति पर उसका आघात पहुंचता है और कृषि उत्पादन के बढ़ने में भी रुकावट पड़ती है। मेरा निवेदन है कि कृषि मंत्री जी इन बातों के ऊपर समुचित ध्यान देने की कृपा करेंगे।

श्री चिरंजीव झा (सहरसा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय मैं कृषि मंत्रालय की अनुदानों के समर्थन में खड़ा हुआ हूँ। अनाज के खास कर गेहूँ के मूल्य की जो समस्या है, खाद का अभाव, तथा उसकी भी मूल्य वृद्धि डीजल का अभाव हदबन्दी चकबन्दी भूमिहीनता मिटाने की बात इन विषयों पर सदस्यों ने प्रकाश डाला है। मैं उन सबकी चर्चा नहीं करूंगा। मैं देश की दस प्रतिशत जनसंख्या वाले बिहार राज्य जिसकी 90 प्रतिशत आबादी गांवों में और कृषि पर निर्भर करती है उसका पिछड़ापन खासकर ग्रामीण और कृषि क्षेत्र के विकास से

[ श्री विरंजीब शा ]

अबरोध के मूल कारणों पर कुछ प्रकाश डालने की कोशिश करूंगा। इकोनामिक एण्ड साइंटिफिक रिसर्च फाउन्डेशन नई दिल्ली के द्वारा 1973 में क्षेत्रीय आर्थिक असमानता की दृष्टि से जो अध्ययन किया गया है Study in regional economic disparity in relation to Bihar and Punjab उससे स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि बिहार के पिछड़ेपन के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार कितनी दूर तक जिम्मेदार है। मैं इस स्टडी टीम की रिपोर्ट से सिर्फ कृषि से संबंधित मुद्दों का यहाँ उठाना चाहता हूँ।

किसी भी राज्य के ग्रामीण कृषि विकास के लिये मुख्यतः तीन बातों की सर्वाधिक आवश्यकता होती है। एक तो बैंक में उपयुक्त मात्रा में उधार और अग्रिम धन प्राप्त करना। दूसरे सिंचाई को समुचित व्यवस्था और तीसरे बिजली की आपूर्ति की सहूलियत। जहाँ तक बैंक से उधार और अग्रिम धन प्राप्त करने की बात है रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि 1969 में जब सम्पूर्ण देश में बैंक से 2 अरब 58 करोड़ रु० राज्यों का वितरित किया गया वहाँ देश की 10 प्रतिशत आबादी वाले बिहार राज्य को सिर्फ 1 करोड़ रु० मिला जब कि उस कम से कम आबादी के अनुपात से भी 25, 26 करोड़ रुपया मिलना चाहिये था। 1970 में कृषि कार्य के लिये और भी अधिक धन दिया गया। उसमें जहाँ तमिलनाडु का 65 करोड़ 50 लाख रु० और आन्ध्र को 51 करोड़ रु० मिले वहाँ बिहार को सिर्फ 5 करोड़ 37 लाख रु० मिले। इतना ही नहीं बुरी यह कि बिहार को अपनी बचत जमा में से भी उच्चिन् हिस्सा प्राप्त नहीं हो पाता है जो नीचे के आकड़ों में स्पष्ट हो जाता है।

1962 में जहाँ देश के सभी राज्यों को उनकी जमा में से जोसतन 69 प्रतिशत दिया गया वहाँ बिहार को सिर्फ 43 प्रतिशत मिला। इसी तरह 1965 में जहाँ अन्य राज्यों को पहले की अपेक्षा अधिक यानी 71 प्रतिशत दिया गया वहाँ बिहार को पहले से भी कम 36

प्रतिशत दिया गया और 1970 में जहाँ अन्य राज्यों को 78 प्रतिशत मिला वहाँ बिहार को और घटकर मात्र 35 प्रतिशत मिला। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि बिहार के साथ यह अन्याय क्यों हो रहा है? उसके साथ सीतेली माँ जैसा व्यवहार क्यों किया जा रहा है?

इसी तरह सिंचाई की सुविधा की दृष्टि से भी बिहार बहुत ही पिछड़ा हुआ है। जहाँ आन्ध्र और तमिलनाडु में जितनी सिंचाई की व्यवस्था है बिहार में उससे आधा है और पंजाब की दृष्टि से उमका स्थान मात्र बाँटा है। बिजली की स्थिति यह है कि बिहार में सिर्फ 11 30 लाख किलावाट बिजली कृषि कार्य के लिये मिलनी है उससे 12 गुना अधिक पंजाब को मिलती है। दूसरे राज्यों को अधिक मिलनी है इसमें मुझ कोई अंगुलि नहीं है लेकिन बिहार के साथ इस तरह का व्यवहार क्या होता है यह आपूर्ति की बात है। पंजाब में किमानो का बिजली पर जो खर्च पड़ता है उसमें दुगुना किमानो को बिहार में खर्च करना पड़ता है। यह एक विडम्बना है। नी महोदय इस ओर ध्यान दें और देखें कि ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है। अगर मैं यह कहूँ कि बिहार का जो पिछड़ापन है उसमें केन्द्रीय सरकार का भी मुख्य योगदान है तो अत्यन्त नही होगा। यह सौभाग्य की बात है कि हमारे वरिष्ठतम नेता श्री जगजीवन राम जी के हाथ में कृषि मंत्रालय आया है जो बिहार में ही आने हैं। मैं उनसे बिहार के साथ किसी तरह का पक्षपात करने की बात नहीं कहता लेकिन बिहार की जो स्थिति है, उस के हिसाब से उस की आबादी के अनुमान से पिछड़ेपन के अनुपातसे उसको जो हिस्सा मिलना चाहिये वह दिया जाना चाहिये इस की कम से कम व्यवस्था बँटकर करे। अगर बिहार की प्रतिगति से विकास की व्यवस्था नहीं की गई तो उसकी इतनी बड़ी आबादी है कि वह सारे देश के विकास को अवरुद्ध कर देगा। इसलिए राष्ट्रीय विकास की दृष्टि से मैं

आवश्यक है कि बिहार को उस का उचित हक मिलना चाहिये, द्रुत गति से उसका विकास किया जाना चाहिये ।

इसी तरह मिट्टी की जांच की बात है । जमीन में अधिक से अधिक पैदावार लेने के लोभ में किसान खाद का प्रंधाधुन्ध प्रयोग करते आये हैं । अब तक जो उन के द्वारा खाद का प्रयोग हुआ है उस के अनुभव के आधार पर यह कहा गया कि मिट्टी की जांच के अभाव में अधिक मात्रा में खाद प्रयोग करने में भूमि की प्रकृत प्रदत्त अपनी उर्वरा शक्ति नष्ट होती चली जा रही है और दूसरी ओर खाद का कुत्रिम अभाव भी पैदा हो जाता है । इसलिये आवश्यक है कि मिट्टी की जांच की समुचित व्यवस्था की जाय और जांच के बाद अगर मही मात्रा में जमीन में उचित खाद दी जायेगी तो म खाद का अभाव रहेगा और न जमीन की उर्वरा शक्ति ही नष्ट होगी उसमें भी बिहार की हालत ऐसी है कि बिहार में सिर्फ दो जगह मिन्दरी में और बरौनी में मिट्टी की जांच की व्यवस्था है जब कि पंजाब में हर जिले में एक नही दो दो जगहों पर उस की व्यवस्था है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : हम से ऐकम वेंज कर लीजिये । पंजाब ले लीजिये और बिहार हमे दे दीजिये ।

श्री चिरंजीव झा : मैं चाहता हू कि उस अनुपात में बिहार को भी उस का हक मिले । मेरा विचार है कि कम से कम वहाँ भी हर जिले में मिट्टी की जांच का इतजाम कराया जाय और जब तक वह नहीं होता है तब तक मोबाइल यूनिट्स की व्यवस्था हो जो पंचायतों और गांव गांव में जा कर मिट्टी की जांच करे । इस से लोगों को काफी सहूलियत मिलेगी और उपज बढ़ाने की दृष्टि से, उर्वरा शक्ति की रक्षा करने की दृष्टि से भी लाभप्रद होगा ।

मेरे ओख सहरसा की अनेक समस्याओं में सब से बड़ी समस्या यह है कि कोशी के दोनों बांधों के बीच जो तीन सौ गांव में तीन लाख आबादी है उस की हालत ऐसी दुःखद है, जिस

का कोई वर्णन नहीं किया जा सकता । पीचण बाढ़ नदी की बाढ़ से जमीन फसल, और घर का निरन्तर कटाव एवं अनिश्चितता की अवस्था बराबर बनी रहती है । बराबर में इन लोगों की यह माग रही है कि उनके स्थायी पुनर्वास की व्यवस्था की जाय, तो एक बहुत बड़ी राहत मिल जाएगी और सरकार अगर चाहे तो उस पीडित लोगों को सहूलियतें देने की व्यवस्था कर सकती है लेकिन वह ऐसा नहीं कर रही है । समयाभाव में अभी वह इतना ही मैं कहना चाहूंगा और आप ने जो मुझे समय दिया है उस के लिए मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : बाबू जी आप कितना समय लेंगे ।

कृषि और सिंचाई मंत्री (श्री जगजीवन राम) : 45 से 50 मिनट ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : फिर तो इन को एकोमोडेट किया जा सकता है । आप तीनों पांच पांच मिनट ले लें और घंटी बजने ही बैठ जाएं । अगर पांच मिनट के बाद बैठ जाएंगे तो आप तीनों आ सकते हैं लेकिन वे तो 10 से भी ज्यादा बढ़ गये और उन को जबरदस्ती बैठलाया ।

श्री देसाई ।

SHRI D. D. DESAI (Kaira) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, while supporting the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, I would request the Government to pay greater attention to agriculture which forms 45% of our gross national production. Most of our producers are rural people. Unfortunately, they have not been recognised to the same extent as in the case of other people. Sir, I feel that we will have to, somehow or the other, see that the rural people or the agriculturists or the farmers are given the prestige and the income which they deserve because our aim is to see that poverty is completely eradicated.

23.25 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Sir the various measures which we have taken have so far not yielded proper results because much of our effort has been

[Shri D. D. Desai]

wrongly directed and we feel that whatever we have been able to extract from the people or the farm side, seems to have been diverted in to areas which have left the countryside barren. Therefore, greater amount of effort and investment will have to be made in raising the standards of living or incomes of the farmers. To do that the agricultural universities which we have established throughout the country can be directly tied the farms. Water is our principal or one of the biggest resource and that has to be conserved and managed in a manner that it provides us optimum yields.

Sir, the rich farmer syndrome has also had adverse psychological effect and fortunately for us, since Babuji has taken over, the psychological atmosphere in the countryside has improved a great deal. We also hope that this atmosphere will be conserved and will be improved upon to see that our farmers feel more confident to deliver the goods.

Sir, two days ago, I went round the districts of Farukkabad, Etah, Manpuri, Aligarh and other areas where potatoes are grown. There has been a glut. I went to these areas because reports have been appearing in the newspapers about the potato glut. I would request Babuji to arrange for quick transport of potatoes to scarcity affected areas in the country and even organise exports.

The same is the case in regard to cotton growers. They produced according to the Government's requirements. But, there is no buyer for cotton even at the low price. The question of exporting cotton has to be settled at once but if export is restricted and there again if export monopoly is limited to Government agencies, I am afraid the policy may be defeated. Therefore, Government should allow export by anybody to any destination. Export promotional incentives of Rs. 500 per candy of the large staple cotton is required to be given.

After all we cannot compete in world markets though our prices may be comparative in international markets we are new and there had been old and established long staple cotton growers like Egypt, Sudan and other African countries. Therefore, introducing our long staple cotton in world markets is the most important thing. We have the technical know-

how, the infrastructure for growing long staple cotton and this could give us a grand opportunity to capture the world markets and put us on the world map as big suppliers of long staple cotton.

Agricultural scientists and technologists are paid in a different manner from other technologists. It is not a good thing to do. After all they are contributing to the development of the country in a manner and area which is very vital. So, they should be put on par with others.

I do not want to dilate upon wheat prices. The farmers feel aggrieved that Rs. 105 is a low price.

We have a huge population of cows. Cross breeding has been started in the country and a programme of extension services had been proved. This could easily be extended by the agriculture ministry. In fertilisers if we have a glut, we can cancel the import contracts. If fertiliser is not being lifted, instead of blocking the money which the cooperative societies are forced to do, Government could cancel the imports. Farmers do not get power in time. Cotton and jute should be placed under the Agriculture Ministry instead of the Commerce Ministry whose interests conflict with the growers' interest. This is a request made strongly with a view to see that justice is done to agriculturists. The responsibility in regard to landless labour is put upon the Agriculture Ministry. I honestly feel that landless labour is nobody else than village small scale industry personnel. Persons who were engaged in a variety of cottage and village industries have lost their jobs to large scale industries. Those persons should be trained and provided with similar means of livelihood by Industry Ministry.

SHRI D. P. JADEJA (Jamnagar) : While supporting the demands for grants of the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, I shall restrict myself to chapter 9 concerning fisheries. It is, heartening to note that the Government are taking extra-care for promoting this vital industry in our country. They have made a special allotment for this in the Fifth Plan. Our Country is fortunate in having one of the longest and the richest fishing coasts in the world. I feel that enough attention is still not being given to this vital part of the Ministry. I personally feel that it is divided up between the Ministry of Shipping and

Transport, Ministry of Commerce and the Ministry of Agriculture. For want of co-ordination, fishing industry is suffering. I request the Government to take this up and implement the fisheries development programme on a hygienic and time-saving basis throughout the country.

The first point I want to stress is the extension of our sea-limits. Our fishing rights are restricted to 12 miles. I do not mean to say that we do not go beyond 12 miles. But there are other countries, major fishing countries of the world who are fishing within our 12 miles limit. Some developed nations have extended the limit to 200 miles. Even super powers like the United States have also got to stay away from the 200 miles limit. We have extended our limit upto 12 miles only following the old international convention, not even to 50 miles which Pakistan has done. At the Geneva Conference, which I believe is still going on, we should demand 200 mile limit at least for fishing, if not for anything else and this should be implemented as early as possible.

On the West Coast also Pakistan has already extended its fishing limit to 50 miles. We should also do likewise. But extending it 50 miles or 200 miles is not enough. We have to protect that limit of 200 miles or 50 miles that we extend and that is more important and for that protection I would urge the Government to give importance to this point whereby they should have more patrol boats, more efficient staff and modern speed-boats to compete with the activities of the foreign firms.

Sir, I would only request the Government to give better and more infrastructural facilities to the fishermen in this country by allotting them modern fishing vessels with up-to-date electronic, cosmic and modern equipment so that our fishermen can also compete with the fishermen of the world, not only in exploiting our sea resources but also to operate in the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, which are justifiably ours and do not belong to those fishing countries who are today infiltrating in our water territories.

Sir, I would suggest that an extensive survey work is required to be done all along the coast to discover and demarcate not only fishing grounds but there should be a regulated fishing operation so that we

avoid over-fishing of our coastal regions, give protection to breeding grounds and also give protection to the small farmers, to those small fishermen belonging to those fishing communities who are living all along the coast and if protection is not given to them, their livelihood is going to be more in danger. Sir, I would request the Government to stress more on market research as far as fishery products are concerned and to have more storage, transport and processing facilities for this vital industry. Fishing industry is export-oriented industry and I do not know why this industry is not put at par with the other industries of the country. If the fishermen or the fishing company give a guarantee of exporting much more within two or three years, then whatever the worth they import, why cannot they be considered at par with others?

Another point I would like to mention is about the Fishing Harbour. Sir, exclusive and planned fishing harbours are being established in other parts of the world. Sir, here we have the National Fisheries Harbour Board which is under the Ministry of Shipping and Transport Ministry and our Fishing Harbours are under this Ministry. But what they are doing? They are developing harbours and they are looking to the inner parts of harbours and ignore as far as development of fishing harbours is concerned. For example Visakhapatnam harbour project was to be completed at an estimated cost of Rs. 200.00 crores and here about Rs. 3.00 crores was allotted for the development of fishing harbour project. Sir, the entire harbour project at Visakhapatnam has been completed except the fishing harbour. Whereas from Visakhapatnam alone we are, only through deep fishing trawlers, exporting worth about Rs. 1.0 crore. If you go into the economics of this project, you will find that development of fishing harbour will be more important to our country.

Sir, I would like to say something on the Wild Life. The Wild Life Protection Act has been extended throughout the country except in five States. Sir, I plead that the Government should please see that this Act should also cover these five States. Otherwise the Kashmir stags and Manipur stags which are very rare will be extinct and we will never see them in future.



श्री श्रीकृष्ण अग्रवाल (महासमुन्द्र) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं कृषि एवं सिंचाई विभाग  
की मांगों के समर्थन में बोलने के लिए खड़ा  
हुआ हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय आप जानते हैं कि हमारा  
देश कृषि प्रधान देश है। हमारे देश की अस्ती  
प्रतिशत जनता कृषि के कार्यों पर ही आश्रित  
है। इस सबध में कोई भी दो रायें नहीं हो  
सकती कि आजादी मिलने के पश्चात देश ने  
उन्नति की है। लेकिन फिर भी जितनी इस  
क्षेत्र में उन्नति करनी चाहिये थी उतनी नहीं  
हुई। मैं आपके माध्यम से शासन का ध्यान  
अपन प्रदेश मध्य प्रदेश जो कि देश का क्षेत्रफल  
की दृष्टि से सबसे बड़ा प्रदेश है, की समस्याओं  
की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

पूरे देश में 24 प्रतिशत सिंचाई की व्यवस्था  
है जबकि हमारे देश में सिर्फ आठ प्रतिशत ही  
सिंचाई के साधन हैं। हमारे यहाँ नदियों की  
कमी नहीं है तथा और भी अन्य सिंचाई के  
साधनों की कमी नहीं है। लेकिन हमारे यहाँ  
की सभी योजनाएँ अन्तर-प्रान्तीय होने के  
कारण किसी न किसी कारण से रकी पड़ी  
हैं, झगड़ में पड़ी हुई हैं। किसी भी योजना का  
अभी तक निपटारा नहीं हुआ है। उसके  
कारण हमारे यहाँ सिंचाई के क्षेत्र में कोई  
काम नहीं हो रहा है, उन साधनों से लाभ  
नहीं उठाया जा रहा है। देश के अन्दर अभी  
भी अन्न की समस्या है और मेरी मान्यता है कि  
सिंचाई पर जितना खर्च किया जाता है उसकी  
शत प्रतिशत लागत एक वर्ष में ही जिस जमीन  
पर सिंचाई होती है उसके द्वारा देश को  
वापिस मिल जाती है। आप जानते ही है कि  
ज्यादा से ज्यादा दो हजार रुपया प्रति एकड़  
खर्च आने पर ही उस योजना को किञ्चित्त मान  
कर काम चलते हैं, उसी को मद्देनजर रख कर  
कार्य किया जाता है। तो भी रबी और खरीफ  
दोनों फसलों को मिला कर किसान दो हजार  
से ज्यादा की आय एक साल में दे सके हैं।  
इस बावजूद यह जरूरी है कि सिंचाई पर हम  
ज्यादा से ज्यादा ध्यान दें। शासन को हमारे

पिछड़े प्रदेश की जितनी योजनाएँ हैं चाहे वे  
अन्तर-प्रान्तीय हो या हमारे प्रान्त के सबध  
रखने वाली हो, उनको तुरन्त स्वीकृति देना  
चाहिए।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ माह पहले कृषि  
राज्य मंत्री श्री शिन्दे रायपुर गए थे। तब उन्होंने  
वहाँ कहा था, कि हमारे देश में कुछ ऐसे  
क्षेत्रों की खोज की जा रही है जहाँ पर इमिडिएट  
रिटर्न स्कीम के अन्तर्गत केंद्रीय शासन धन की  
व्यवस्था कर सके। कहा तुरन्त उसका रिटर्न मिल  
सकता है इसके लिए मध्य प्रदेश के छत्तीसगढ़  
क्षेत्र को चुना गया था और उस को प्रथम स्थान  
दिया गया था और कहा गया था कि वहाँ पर  
इस योजना को लागू करने से देश का तुरन्त  
लाभ मिल सकता है। इस हेतु एक सौ करोड़  
रुपयों की स्कीम बनाई गई थी। यह शिन्दे  
साहब ने रायपुर में बताया था। लेकिन  
अभी तक उस स्कीम पर कोई ध्यान नहीं  
दिया गया है। मानूँ नए दिन वारणा  
में उस स्कीम का रजिस्ट्रार दिया गया है।  
अगर रुपयों या साधनों की कमी के कारण  
इस पर ध्यान न दिया गया हो तो मैं आपके  
माध्यम में उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, शासन में  
और कृषि मंत्री जी में निवेदन करना चाहता  
हूँ कि हमारा क्षेत्र एक पिछड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र है, छत्तीस-  
गढ़ धान के कटोरे के नाम से प्रसिद्ध था और  
आज हमारी स्थिति यह है कि इस क्षेत्र के लोग  
जोकि हर साल लाखों टन चावल दूसरे प्रदेशों  
को देते थे आज खुद दूसरा के मुहनाज हैं  
और उनकी तरफ देख रहे हैं और इस बावजूद  
जहाँ तक छत्तीसगढ़ का प्रश्न है आपको साधनों  
को आर्डे नहीं आने देना चाहिये और उस स्कीम  
को तुरन्त बहाल लागू करना चाहिये।

छत्तीसगढ़ में आजादी मिलने के बाद से  
पाच छ मयंकर अकाल पड़ चुके हैं और इन  
अकालों के कारण हमारे किसान घटने गरीब  
हो चुके हैं कि जो फसल उनकी होती है उन  
से वे उनके इन कर्जों पर जो ब्याज है वेह  
शुक्ल से वे पाते हैं। इन बावजूद मेरा निवेदन

है कि हमारे क्षेत्र के जो दस एकड़ या दस एकड़ से कम वाले किसान हैं उन पर जो कर्ज बाकी है चाहे वह राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों का हो या कोऑपरेटिव बैंकों का हो या प्राइवेट बैंकों का हो, चाहे जिस किसी का हो, वह पूरा का पूरा माफ कर दिया जाना चाहिये ऐसा अगर किया गया तभी वे किसान पनप पाएंगे और उत्पादन बढ़ा कर देश को लाभ दे पायेंगे।

जब राज्यों का पुनर्गठन हुआ था तब पुनर्गठन समिति ने अपने सुझावों में यह सुझाव भी दिया था कि चूँकि मध्य प्रदेश चार राज्यों से मिला कर बनाया जा रहा है और वह बहुत बड़ा प्रदेश होगा और चूँकि इसकी आय बहुत कम होगी इस वास्ते वह खुद अपनी आय से अपना विकास नहीं कर पाएगा, इस वास्ते केन्द्र से ज्यादा से ज्यादा साधन इसके वास्ते मुहैया किए जाने चाहियें। केन्द्र द्वारा जितना साधन उसको दिये जाने चाहिये थे नहीं दिए गए। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि वहाँ आवागमन के साधनों का अभाव रहा है और उपज भी नहीं ज्यादा बढ़ पाई है। हमारे प्रदेश ने अस्सी करोड़ की आप से मांग की है मड़कों बनाने के लिए। अभी भी 3300 गांव हमारे प्रदेश में ऐसे हैं जिन की आजादी पंद्रह सौ से ज्यादा है लेकिन उनको मड़कों द्वारा जोड़ा नहीं गया है। अगर उपज बढ़ती है तो उसके लिए यह जरूरी है कि उपज को मांडियों में लाने के लिए यातायात के उचित साधन हों ताकि किसानों को अपनी उपज का उचित मूल्य मिल सके। मेरा आग्रह है कि इस और आप विशेष ध्यान दें . . .

Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Your name should have been given first in the list from your party.

श्री श्रीकृष्ण अग्रवाल : मैं एक मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूँ। हमारे प्रदेश में खनिज प्रचुर मात्रा में उपलब्ध हैं। कोयले के वहाँ विशाल भंडार हैं।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : What have mineral resources to do with Ministry of Agriculture?

श्री श्रीकृष्ण अग्रवाल : आपके माध्यम से मैं यही कहूँगा कि मेरी इन बातों पर गम्भीरता से विचार मंत्री महोदय करें और मेरे चुनाव क्षेत्र में ज्यादा से ज्यादा राहत कार्य चलाने की कृपा करें।

SHRI RAGHUNADAN LALBHATIA (Amritsar) : Sir, actually I did not intend to intervene in this debate but for the low fixation of wheat prices because I come from an area which is a grainary of foodgrains. Sir, I do not know as to what are the factors which led the Government to fix the prices so low. I do not know whether there are representatives of farmers in the Agricultural Prices Commission which consists of experts. The low fixation of prices has created a stir in our area. We all feel that this price is thoroughly unjustified.

Sir, we understand that now in order to compensate the farmers a bonus scheme is under consideration of the Government. When that bonus is to be payable and what will be the quantum of that bonus, is not known to us. Last year, bonus was given to the farmers against procurement of paddy. We know that even half the bonus did not reach the farmer. There were middle agencies which took away the entire bonus. Now again, it is being repeated. If the Food Minister really wants to help the farmers, I would request him to change the price of procurement. This will be a direct help to them. Last year, if you see the figures, about one lakh acres or so had been diverted and if this price is fixed. I am sure next year much more area will be diverted to other crops and this Government will again be depending on more import. The Minister must think seriously about the situation that is developing with regard to the low fixation of the wheat prices. I have also to say that there are too frequent changes in our food policy. Whenever there are good crops, the officers begin to say that there is no need of any food policy; relaxations are made which ultimately cause havoc. So, this is the right time that the Government should consider a permanent and purposeful food policy so that the farmer should know in advance that this is the price that the Government is going to pay, this is the method of procurement and this is the method of distribution.

[Shri Raghunadan Lalbhatia]

Coming to irrigation, I would like to say that India's economy is based on agriculture. In our country, 80% of the population is dependent on agriculture. But this is a subject which is being least attended to. The surplus waters of Bihar and UP are not being harnessed. In my own State, there are three rivers—Sutlej, Beas and Ravi. We have been able to tap the Sutlej waters and we are trying to tap the Beas waters. But the waters of Ravi are not being tapped at all. We have a quarrel with Pakistan with regard to the surplus waters of the Ravi and we went to the International Court. We paid Rs. 100 crores as compensation to the Pakistan Government for getting use of the Ravi waters in our own country. That was in 1969. It is unfortunate that after 1969 the water is still flowing to Pakistan. So, this is very important thing. A dam must be constructed to capture the water that goes to Pakistan. The Centre has not done anything in this regard and Pakistan is deriving the benefits of this water. Therefore, I would suggest that immediate tackling of this problem should be taken care of.

Punjab needs 11 million hectare feet of water. But it is getting only .6 million hectare feet of water. Out of this, you will be surprised to know that about 30% of our water is taken away by seepage alone. By investing Rs. 100 crores, we can tap that water also. And this will give us 2.6 million tonnes of foodgrains because 1.7 million acres will be extra irrigated by this 30% water. It is not a very big project and it does not require a foreigner to make a scheme for that.

It simply requires a lining of our channels. That is all. I would request the Minister to take this matter very seriously. We are paying Rs. 400 crores to Rs. 500 crores of foreign exchange; but Rs. 100 crores given to Punjab will solve much of the problem. I want that the land reforms should be there and the small farmers should be helped.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Those two are important enough.

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION [SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM] : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the discussion has had a chequer progress in the House. Some other subjects intervened and the debate went on prolonging. As a matter of fact, I had to postpone some of my programmes, because

I could not reply earlier. But I think it had given opportunity to a large number of Members of the House to contribute to the debate. 81 Members, excluding the two Ministers, have made their contribution on the debate and have made valuable suggestion in the various fields covered by the Ministry. My handicap, Sir, is that all the subjects that are included on the Ministry and have been dealt with during that debated are primarily and constitutionally in the State sphere. If we are dealing with those subjects, it is only because the State Governments have agreed that in certain matters we can assist them either by technical advice or by financial assistance. Otherwise, all those decisions that are taken in consultation with the State Governments, had to be enforced and implemented by them. But I quite understand the anxiety of the Members; and that is why suggestions have been made to make certain subjects as Central subjects. If we put together the suggestions, it amounts to this that every subject is to be made a Central subject. Members suggested: why not make agriculture a Central subject? Other Members suggested: 'Make Forestry a Central subject.' Of course, about water there has been a consensus that it should also be made a Central subject. It is not possible. Sir, but food is the product of agriculture and agriculture depends upon the combination of Soil and Water. The agrarian conditions also determine the pace of productivity. You will remember, Sir, that before 1937 when for the first time popular governments were established in the various States, there was confusion in the tenancies in this country; and the first step that the governments in 1937 took was to rationalize the tenancy system in the country that it would eliminate intermediaries between the farmer and the State, I think during these years, that matter has practically been completed in all parts of the country in intermediaries between state and farmers have been eliminated. That is not a mean achievement. Today, when we talk of land reform, it is mostly about the enforcement of ceiling laws because all other aspects have, as I have said, generally been completed in all parts of the country. It may be that in certain parts the problem of share-croppers or tenants-at-will still continues. But that is a very complicated matter the abolition of which may help or even adversely affect those who are engaged in share cropping or are tenants-at-will.

So far as the ceiling laws are concerned, the House is aware that the law has been passed practically in all the States. In some States the process of enforcement has been tardy. The difficulty in some States is that they do not have the requisite land records, as for example in the eastern States of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal where they were governed by the Bengal Tenancy Act. All the records were with the Zamindars and when we abolished Zamindari, the Zamindars were so much enraged that most of those records were not made available to the Governments. We had to re-construct them. But I am not saying this with a view to justify the delay that has taken place in the enforcement of the ceiling laws. In spite of these complications the part to which I have the honour to belong has been emphasising upon the State Governments to implement the ceiling laws, so that whatever surplus land may become available can be distributed among the landless people. Though I have no hesitation in admitting that the delay in the implementation of the ceiling laws has led to the depletion of the surplus expected, one purpose has been served, decentralisation has taken place so far as those holdings are concerned. The farmer is assured about his title to the holding which he is cultivating and that is why this land reform was necessary.

After having undertaken land reforms, it is also necessary to take up land development and for that consolidation of holdings is necessary. This also is a complicated matter. The farmers have attachment to the plots of land that they have. The quality of land in different parts of a village differ from each other. The problem is how to find the equivalent of a particular type of land in the same village. And this complicated matter has been taken in hand by the State Governments. In some States appreciable progress has been made, in others a beginning has been made, but on that point also we have been emphasising on the State Governments that the processes of consolidation should be expedited.

When, of course, land shaping and land development are very necessary. In that connection also in some States very satisfactory progress has been made so far as land shaping is concerned, particularly in Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Tamil Nadu.

For production from land the most important input is water and in our country a major portion of our arable land which is under cultivation depends upon rain.

We have made effort during these last 25 years to increase the irrigation potential in the country, by major river valley projects, by medium and minor irrigation. And we have been able to cover 27% to 28% of the cultivated area; but still we have to go a long way before we can claim that the major portion of our cultivated area, or the cropped area, has assured water supply. Major river valley projects are under construction by the State Governments. There have been difficulties of finances; but certain compulsions of the State Governments make them undertake a number of projects at the same time which they know and we know it is not possible to complete during the scheduled period with the result that the completion of the projects is delayed, thereby increasing the cost and estimate that were originally made and it also disturbs the cost effectiveness of the whole project. I am making an endeavour that some of the major irrigation projects which are nearing completion, should be expedited. We are talking to the World Bank, and requesting them to make a generous contribution in the shape of loan so that with their help, we can complete quickly within the next 2 or 3 years, major schemes like the Rajasthan Canal or Nagarjunasagar or Godavari quite a number of such projects. Let us hope that it will be possible to receive the necessary loan from them, so that we can complete these projects. But having provided irrigation facilities, Sir, it is very important that the area commanded by that irrigation project is capable of utilising water; and therefore command area development becomes very important. That also we have undertaken; and the House is perhaps aware that it has been possible to secure World Bank loan for the command area development in Rajasthan, Nagarjunasagar and Godavari. I am not going into details of minor irrigation, because I have to keep to my time. In regard to minor irrigation, I would say that spectacular progress has been made so far as tube well and medium irrigation projects are concerned in the matter of tube wells either by the State sector or by the individual farmers. Perhaps they have been assisted with loan by their State Governments and by banks. We have a large programme; figures have been made available of developing our underground water resources. One difficulty that comes in

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regard to our rivers or underground water, is that we do not have full data about the rivers or underground water. So, at the first stage, our proposal is to establish a number of stations which would collect full data about our rivers. We have nearly 14 river systems; and before we undertake major river valley projects, the data has to be collected.

We have competent engineers, we have a competent consultancy service and we want to study the problems from all aspects.

Connected with irrigation is the problem of floods. The monsoon in our country is irrational and the rainfall, a substantial portion of it, is concentrated within four months and even within these four months it is mostly concentrated within six or eight weeks. The result is that a major portion of this water is not retained and flows to the sea. A bold scheme, again that depends upon the finances that we can have, will have to be conceived to see whether we can save this water from flowing to the sea and conserve it. It may be possible to store this water only underground without permitting it to go to the ocean. That scheme also will have to be examined and if the necessary finances become available, either from the resources in the country or from outside loan, that will be a day when we can conserve all the water that we got from the rains.

14 00 Hrs.

There has been imbalance in the development of irrigation potential in the various States. Hon. Members have given the figures that in some States it is 80 per cent and in others it is eight per cent. Our endeavour is to develop the river valley projects or medium or minor irrigation projects that in any area where the irrigation potential today is very small, they can get a reasonable percentage, even if local water is not available, from one system or the other.

I would like here also to mention that though we say that we have nearly 30 million hectares under irrigation, one should not forget that all this area is not assured of irrigation facilities throughout the period. For example, our tubewells have, even if they have the water, to depend upon the availability of power, whether it is electricity or diesel, in order that, when water is required, the wells can be energised. It is a

fact and a reality of the situation that there has been shortage of power not only in our country but it has become a world phenomenon as such. Universal shortage of electricity has taken place and has been felt, especially the shortage of diesel in our country. I would not like to go into the causes but the oil producing countries had to take certain steps due to certain developments in international politics. All the same, Hon. Members are aware that when it came to protect the agricultural crops, electricity was staggered, even certain industries had to stagger their supplies so that we could divert electricity to the agricultural sector for serving the tubewells.

Having provided irrigation facilities it has become possible to introduce a new method of agriculture in those areas depending on high yielding variety of seed and application of fertiliser. When we apply fertilisers, there is a danger of insects and pests growing in larger number. So, application of insecticide also becomes necessary. For all these things, soil testing is very important, and I quite appreciate the anxiety of the Members that facilities for soil testing should be provided. I have discussed it with my officers. Last time, when I was Minister in-charge of Agriculture, I had suggested that we should make such an arrangement where facilities for soil testing might be made available to the farmers, and it is a simple process. If we encourage young men to take up soil testing as a profession, it will facilitate the work of the farmers and they will not have to run to the soil testing laboratories. I think, in many cases, they do not know where such facilities are available. So, we can give training for a few weeks to a large number of Higher Secondary boys or Inter-science boys and provide them soil testing kits so that they can start private practice in soil testing. After that, they can go to the village, collect samples, test them and give the results to the farmers. Where they find that it is more complicated, then in those cases, they can refer it to the laboratory and obtain the result. I propose to introduce this scheme as early as possible.

Having known the quality of the land, it may be possible for a farmer himself or for the Government agency to advise him to go in for a particular crop. For increasing agricultural production, it is necessary to have a good quality of seeds. So, a large number of farmers are also purchasing new seeds. Sometimes complaints

are heard from here and there that the seeds supplied are not as good as it was claimed to be. I have suggested to the State Farms Corporations and the National Seeds Corporation to produce these seeds, as far as possible, either of the States or of the Centre so that direct responsibility can be placed upon the Government themselves. It may take some time, but a beginning has to be made.

So far as fertilisers one concerned are, we have been producing them. But, due to one reason or other, we have not been able to produce them upto the installed capacity. This year, efforts were made to see that whatever stock of fertilisers was available reach the States in time and from there, they should reach well in time to the blocks.

Having done this the chances of black marketing or complaint of non-availability of fertilisers in the blocks were not there. I am happy to say that complaints of non-availability or of black-marketing have not been heard this time. It is only because we followed up to see that fertiliser reaches the block from where the farmer can take it.

The production this year is going to be good so far as rabi crop is concerned. So far as kharif crop is concerned, the House is aware that the monsoon was indifferent in certain parts of the country. The conditions in some of the States have been very acute. Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat and certain parts of Rajasthan have suffered. The condition today in Tamil Nadu is rather serious. As regards Madhya Pradesh, it used to contribute a substantial quantity of rice to the Central Pool. The rice crop has been so adversely affected that it has not been possible for Madhya Pradesh to contribute even a single ounce to the Central Pool. Orissa also used to contribute. Today, Orissa sends their demand for rice to the Centre. Occasionally, whenever we approached Tamil Nadu, they were good enough to contribute something to the Central Pool to divert to Kerala. This has increased pressure on us and, though it has not been possible for us to supply rice to them, we have supplied nearly 70,000 tonnes of wheat to Tamil Nadu and also to Orissa. We have been supplying to Gujarat. Test works have been carried on there. About the principle of Centre-state share

in the expenditure on relief work, the Finance Minister has made a statement. No relief work has been permitted to suffer for want of funds or on account of paucity of funds. I am mentioning this because this has made an impact on the allotment of food grains to these States and has also depleted the prospect of the production of kharif crop.

When we think of food in this country, we primarily think of only cereals. Obviously food is not only cereal. We have in the Food department the fisheries, we have the poultry and we have the animal husbandry and it means that all these departments are meant to supply such food to our people which will provide necessary nutrient for their sustenance and growth. The practice however in our country is that everything else is meant to help us to take more cereals.

When there is a meat preparation, a Punjabi will say "we will have more chapatis"; when there is a fish preparation, Bengali will say "prepare more rice"; If there are good potatoes preparation, a vegetarian will say "we will have more puris".

श्री समर मुखर्जी (हावड़ा) : हवा खिलाने की बात कहिये ।

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM: If you can exist on that, I have no objection at all.

Now is it not a fact that when you have fish you require more rice?

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna) : Where are the fish?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM: In the sea.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Fish is now selling at Rs. 14/- per kilo.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM: That is because you refuse to take sea fish.

What I am suggesting is that if we can orient our food habits, any of our problems, will be simplified. I am saying this because as you have now heard in the House about production of potatoes, we have produced a large quantity of potatoes. The potato crop has been very good and it is produced in several parts of the country. Previously it was produced in only certain areas and

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not produced in other areas, and so it was transported from one area to another. But fortunately, it has developed in all areas now. We have potatoes in larger quantities and prices have fallen. So, when we find that it cannot be consumed in the country, we will have to see that we find some outlet for our potatoes so that our farmers are not affected. And I am glad to inform the House that it has been possible for us to find some export market for our potatoes. As a matter of fact, some quantity has been exported.

Similarly, about fisheries, we are attaching great importance to fisheries and there is no difficulty in permitting the parties so desirous and making foreign exchange available to them on certain conditions for importing fishing trawlers. As a matter of fact, I may inform the Member who has spoken about fisheries that all the licences, or permits that have been given have not yet been implemented. But we have no objection to giving them to new parties. So far as fisheries are concerned, it has been our policy to encourage them and to give modern fishing boats to fishermen's co-operatives. In Kerala and Madras there has been good progress.

We attach equally great importance to inland fisheries because we have several exotic varieties of fish in our country and they should not be permitted to become extinct. Therefore we are developing our inland fisheries as well.

I would not like to go into details about poultry, but we have undertaken on a large scale the production of milk. A Dairy Corporation has been established and they are going to open a large number of Dairies in several parts of the country. The Report in that, in certain areas, it is a very happy development, the people have begun to feel that there is surplus of milk....

AN HON. MEMBER: Where ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM: In Punjab, Gujarat and a part of Maharashtra. It is not one area. I have said, in certain areas. And pressure is being utilised on us to see that it is consumed. If my friend takes some interest, that situation can be created in West Bengal also. It is not very difficult; it can be. And when I say that, I mean it.

We are producing cross-breeds with high-yielding ones, so that it becomes economical for the farmers; it also helps in providing employment, self-employment, to a large number of people. So, the progress in this direction has been quite good and I think that within the next three or four years every part of the country can be served with its requirement of milk and milk products. I am mentioning all these because all these, cumulatively, provide the necessary nutrient to our people.

I have mentioned about potato. Agriculture produces the raw materials for some of our very big industries like textiles. The production of cotton, especially long and extra long staple, has been quite sizeable this year in our country, and it has created a problem for purchase of it. Complaints have been heard and they are so that the millers are not purchasing. Even the Cotton Corporation has not been so active in making purchases from them. Also the price offered for long staple cotton is regarded by the farmers as not remunerative. We have been anxious about that. I am in a position now to inform the House that we have decided to export long staple cotton.

AN HON. MEMBER: How much ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM: It will not be in public interest to disclose the quantity. But we hope that it will be possible to send such quantity as would ensure a good price.

Jute also sometimes produces problems for us, and we have provided the Jute Corporation for purchasing jute and to see that our farmers do not suffer in this matter.

About fishing, some hon. Member has suggested that we should go deeper in the sea. That question has been undertaken with the international body. That deals with that.

Hon. members have raised the question of inter State river valley projects, minor irrigation and tubewells. I will get all those examined; they will be brought to the notice of the State Governments; and where it concerns the Centre, we will see what we can do in the matter. But, as I have said

generally our attention is going to be concentrated on all these three types of irrigation, so that conditions can be created in the country that, even when the monsoon is indifferent, we can produce as much foodgrains as will be required for the consumption of our people.

A few months back when I took over this Ministry, the situation was bleak and dark. In this country and outside an atmosphere was created that a large number of people will become victims of starvation.

**SHRI NOORUL HUDA (Cachar) :** There have been a large number of starvation deaths.

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** That also contributes to that. If you are saying that that is there, perhaps you are interested in creating that scare.

In foreign countries, interested propaganda was made with horrible photographs about the conditions in this country.

**SHRI NOORUL HUDA:** It is a fact that a large number of people died of starvation.

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** I will suggest to them, let them give hundred names with their addresses, and the date on which they died of starvation, and also see whether on that date, there was food stock in that area or not.

(Interruptions)

**श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (इलाहाबाद) :** सवाल यह है कि जो मर रहा था, उसके पास खाना था या नहीं? उस एरिया में तो रहा ही होगा। यह हम कह रहे हैं।

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** I agree that even if the food stock is there, and the man has not got the capacity to purchase, he cannot purchase. But your complaint, has always been to the Food Minister and as Food Minister, I have to see whether food was there or not.

**श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र :** हम सारी सरकार की बात करते हैं। भूख से मरे या किस चीज से मरे, वह आप आपस में तय करें? हम तो स्टार्वेशन की बात कह रहे हैं।

**श्री जनजीवन राम :** आपस में क्या तय करें? मैं आप को बता दू कि आप को मालूम होना चाहिए कि

Our country is a poor country. In normal time many people do not get work and even if they get work, they are exploited by upper class people. Even in normal time, they do not get nutritious food.

**SHRI NOORUL HUDA:** Who is responsible?

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** Every body is responsible.

**SHRI NOORUL HUDA:** It is the Government who is responsible.

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** Do you think that I should say things which are palatable to you only. I have to state facts, what is the national position and what is the reality of the situation.

**SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE:** You do not accept that there were starvation deaths. You say that these were because of mal-nutrition. This technical difference is there. This is the attitude of the Government. The fact is that people are dying of starvation.

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** I am discussing the food problem and I will hold myself blame-worthy, if I find that no kind of food was available. I cannot say that there was not large scale distress. There was large scale distress, but that distress was increased by indiscriminate creation of climate of shortage in the country.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore):** It is done by the hoarders.

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** Yes, yes, by hoarders and political leaders also.

**SHRI NOORUL HUDA:** Who are in league with the Government? Who are allowing the hoarders?

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** What I did you saw and even after that, you see the whole climate changed because the climate of shortage changed.

**SHRI DINEN BH ATTACHARYA (Si-rampore) :** What of that? There is no procurement in West Bengal even though there is more production.



**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** If you cannot help it, what can we do? Every time if you defer the production efforts, what will happen? (*Interruptions*) Certainly there is no difference with regard to dealing with the hoarders and profiteers.

**SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE:** You are not dealing with the hoarders and in Bengal there is no procurement though the stocks are there.

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** I was saying that after that the Government took certain measures, and new confidence was generated in the country among the consumers. I will give a simple illustration. Ours is a huge country. If a climate of shortage is created and if every housewife retains say only 10 kg of food-gains at least there are 12 crore families that will amount to 12 lakh tonnes. from the consumers market of you demobilise 12 lakhs tonnes, the shortage is acute.

After this confidence was created, that type of keeping something for the worse days ceased. The steps taken by the State Governments to de-hoard from the hoarders had its effect and the winter rains which were very favourable for the rabi sowing, all these taken together, made the situation less difficult than it was. And who can deny that the availability increased and the prices also went down? They are facts. I do not say that everything has become satisfactory. I do not mean to say that they should develop any sense of complacency. We have to continue the efforts and that we are doing all these days.

With the favourable condition of weather, the reports from all areas are that the Rabi crop is very good.

Friends have complained that there has been some diversion from wheat. I may inform the House that if there is any restriction of any type, it is only on wheat and rice. So far as other commodities are concerned, there is no restriction or control either regarding the price or regarding the movement.

I would not like to take more time of the House in going into the details of the various cut motions and the points our friends have raised. As I have said, I will get all of them examined and take it up with the State Governments also if the members so desire. They may write to me on any problem where they think it is necessary to do that.

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA:** Water is not being supplied to the cultivators.

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** It has been given. Perhaps you have no information.

**SHRI DIENEN BHATTACHARYYA:** It has not been given. That is why the cultivators squatted on the railway track as a protest measure.

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** Will you listen to me? So far as water from Kendu Ghat is concerned it has been given.

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :** It has not been given. Please come with me and I will show you. Only day before yesterday I was there and I have seen. So many farmers came to me complaining. I come from that area.

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM :** You may come from that area, but I have to go by the words of the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

**SHRI NOORUL HUDA:** He is not telling the truth.

**DR. HENRY AUSTIN (Ernakulam):** It is said that in the Nagarjunasagar the project has been completed and there is so much of water in the reservoir but only the canals are not there. The Andhra Government, it is said, has said that if only Rs. 50 crores can be allotted to the project, they can undertake to provide adequate supply of food to both Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** Is it not an unnecessary intervention? You have taken all the schemes for the World Bank, you have served your purpose.

श्री नाथू राम मिर्धा (नागौर) : जो पानी है वह सेंटर का सबजेक्ट नहीं बन सकता है। पानी के जो झण्डे हैं उनको सुलझाने के बारे में जो प्रोसिजर है वह बहुत लम्बा चौड़ा है जिस की वजह से जो जरूरी प्रोजेक्ट्स भी हैं उनका सोल्यूशन भी ठीक नहीं हो पाता है। एक स्टेज पर अपने यह फरमाया था, केन्द्र ने यह कहा था कि संविधान में परिवर्तन किया जाएगा मैं जानना चाहता कि कब आप ऐसा करने वाले हैं?

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** As I have been saying there have been water disputes; it has been suggested that water should be made a Central subject. But the hon. Member is aware that it can be done only when the State Governments agree. I will be very happy about it, if the hon. Member could utilise his services to persuade State Governments to agree to that, I will have no objection. Rather, it is welcome. Certainly we welcome it. But how can we amend Constitution, unless they agree? That is also a Constitutional problem. Irrigation has been in the State list and unless they agree, Constitution cannot be amended. Whenever there is dispute between States we try to find a compromise and whenever it is found that no compromise or agreement between two or three States is possible as the hon. Member is aware, the dispute is referred to a tribunal. This is a time-consuming process. Therefore it has been my effort to see that these water disputes among the State Governments are resolved amicably. There are disputes between West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, between Haryana and Punjab, between Haryana and U.P. and Rajasthan, between Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra and between Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala. In some cases it has been possible to succeed; in some other cases there are still hurdles; but efforts are being made. I am hopeful that in many cases it may be possible to achieve agreement between States concerned out of core.

Regarding sugar industry, certain conventions have prevailed for long and it is not possible to break them within a year or two. It has been the practice in the sugar factories that cane is supplied by farmers to sugar factories and payment is made to them after sugar has been sold. That has been the practice all along. And, I don't know how this developed; it has developed. This year, the financial accommodation from the bank to the factor is on the basis of last year's production of sugar. This year, weather condition being very favourable, the production of sugarcane has been larger with the result that there is going to be larger sugar production.

The margin moneys the Banks were providing to the sugar factories were not adequate to pay the sugarcane prices. The matter was taken up with the Finance Ministry and the Reserve Bank. The

Reserve Bank has agreed, on being satisfied by the factories, to provide larger accommodation to the sugar factories. And, I think, to-day, they are in a position to pay their arrears. The condition in eastern U.P. and Bihar is not so satisfactory.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur):** Why don't you nationalise the sugar factories?

**SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM:** That is different subject.

I hope the hon. Member is aware that if the sugar factories fail to give the cane price, then the arrears of cane price may be recovered from the sugar factories as arrears of land revenue.

Then I come to the question of wheat. So far as wheat is concerned we have reverted to the position that existed a year before last all along since 1966 or 1967. In 1969 or 1970 it was relaxed. The production this year is going to be larger; the productivity is going to be larger. In the year 1973-74, in spite of application of fertilisers, the indifferent weather condition was such the hon. Members are aware that though the bulk was large, the weight was less. So, the farmer per unit got less in quantity than he would get, this year. This one fact should be borne in mind. Then, while fixing the price, the Agricultural Prices Commission took into consideration all the various factors that had to be taken into consideration. After that they recommended the price for any particular commodity. All those factors have been taken into consideration by them. In recommending the existing price of Rs. 105 per quintals. It was regarded by Government as a satisfactory price. There have been demands, for increasing this price, it is but natural. Shri Shinde has given detailed replies about the rise in fertilisers price rate of water supply and other things on which I shall not go in to details. In view of the general feelings for a higher price, perhaps Government would have considered that 'Alright, even if it is not justified, on merits some increase may be given'. But at time—the House will agree—when there is a general downward trend in prices and when it has been possible for the Government to hold in inflation, it would not have been desirable to add to the price. We have therefore worked out a

[Shri Jagjivan Ram]

bonus scheme. The amount of bonus is to be paid to the State Government for investing in such developmental works as will be primarily for the benefit of the farmers. If the State Governments so decide it may also be utilised for making available to the farmers certain inputs like fertilizers at concessional prices. I think, this will be to the benefit of the farmers and the State as well.

As regards the quantum, well, it depends upon the quantity supplied as it is on a graduated scale. In cases where stipulated quantity will be supplied, it will be roughly Rs. 4.75 per quintal. That is the scheme we have worked out. That this Government can be anti-kisan or anti-farmer, is beyond our imagination. The whole base of the party to which this Government belong is the rural peasantry.

The party to which I have the honour to belong has all these years been working for consciousness and consolidation of the peasantry throughout the country. Whether it is big, medium, small or the marginal farmer it has always been our endeavour to work for their progress as it is our base. We can never think of taking a step which will be injurious to the interests of the farmers in this country. The farmers in our country have always been patriotic. Whenever occasions have come we have always found our farmers in the forefront of any patriotic or national cause. I only wish that in society the farmers—whether small or marginal—could have been invested with the honour and dignity, they deserve for feeding the whole nation.

I think, Sir, I have covered most of the points. I will again express my thanks to the Members who have participated in the debate and who have made suggestions which will be useful to the Government. I will take this opportunity also, Sir, to congratulate our farmers throughout the country for the magnificent work they have done and in the willing way in which they have adopted the new scientific method of production—whether it is foodgrains or other commodities. I hope, Sir, the House will pass the Demands.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Sir,

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We have far exceeded the allotted time. How much more you want. The Minister has also said that the Members can write to him and he will look into that and give a reply. Let us move to the other subject.

Now, there are a number of cut motions which were moved by the hon. Members, Sarvashri Bhogendra Jha, Ramavatar Shastri, Kathamuthu, etc. I will put all the out motions to the vote of the House.

*All the cut motions were put and negatived*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is :

“That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the fourth column of the Order Paper be granted to the President to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 1 to 10 relating to the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation”

*The motion was adopted.*

[The motions for Demands for Grants which were adopted by the Lok Sabha, are produced below—Ed.]

#### DEMAND NO. 1—DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,51,61,000 on Revenue Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March, 1976 in respect of ‘Department of Agriculture.’”

#### DEMAND NO. 2—AGRICULTURE

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 47,35,50,000 on Revenue Account and not exceeding Rs. 9,24,29,96,000 on Capital Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976 in respect of ‘Agriculture.’”

**DEMAND NO. 3—FISHERIES**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,75,42,000 on Revenue Account and not exceeding Rs. 1,14,78,000 on Capital Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976 in respect of Fisheries."

**DEMAND NO. 4—ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND DAIRY DEVELOPMENT.**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 25,65,12,000 on Revenue Account and not exceeding Rs. 2,66,38,000 on Capital Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976, in respect of 'Animal Husbandry and Dairy Development.'"

**DEMAND NO. 5—FOREST**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,94,76,000 on Revenue Account and not exceeding Rs. 1,14,92,000 on Capital Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976 in respect of 'Forest.'"

**DEMAND NO. 6—DEPARTMENT OF FOOD**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,38,22,62,000 on Revenue Account and not exceeding Rs. 7,79,61,000 on Capital Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976 in respect of 'Department of Food'."

**DEMAND NO. 7—DEPARTMENT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT.**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 48,61,46,000 on Revenue Account and not exceeding Rs. 5,00,25,000 on Capital Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976 in respect of 'Department of Rural Development'."

**DEMAND NO. 8—DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND EDUCATION.**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,63,000 on Revenue Account be granted

to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976 in respect of 'Department of Agricultural Research and Education.'"

**DEMAND NO. 9—PAYMENTS TO INDIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH.**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 32,79,99,000 on Revenue Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976 in respect of 'Payments to Indian Council of Agricultural Research'."

**DEMAND NO. 10—DEPARTMENT OF IRRIGATION.**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,59,31,000 on Revenue Account and not exceeding Rs. 3,71,35,000 on Capital Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976 in respect of 'Department of Irrigation.'"

14.48 hrs.

**MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** The House will now take up discussion and voting on Demand No. 30 relating to the Ministry of External Affairs for which six hours have been allotted.

Hon. Members present in the House who desire to move their cut motions may send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicating the serial numbers of the cut motions they would like to move.

**DEMAND NO. 30—MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.**

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER :** Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 82,72,58,000 on Revenue Account and not exceeding Rs. 25,25,00,000 on Capital Account be granted to the President TO COMPLETE the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976, in respect of 'Ministry of External Affairs.'"

SHRI NOORUL HUDA (Cachar) : Mr. Deputy-Speakers Sir, I shall begin my speech by taking first of all, the proposition which I believe had been discussed during the last 26 or 27 years of our Independence. The first proposition which I want to state is, the foreign policy of any country essentially reflects the domestic policy of that nation or country. Sir, unless, in today's world, a country can stand on her own, stabilise her economy and show rapid industrial development and reduce her dependence on other foreign countries, specially imperialist countries to the bare minimum, that country, necessarily Sir, cannot follow a consistently anti imperialist and progressive policy.

Secondly, Sir, I would like to state that it is about, seventy years since Lenin propounded his theory on imperialism. It was clear from our many years of struggle against British imperialism and also the struggles being waged by the people of Viet Nam, Cambodia and by other people against imperialism, that in certain aspects, may be here and there, imperialism might have changed its tactics, but the essence of imperialist strategy, the essence of imperialist plan to subjugate other people, to exploit the dependent and subordinate people, to exploit the under developed economies of many countries remains the same. Sir, it is very strange that even after recent revelations of American intelligence agency, the notorious CIA, their machinations in Cuba, Guatemala, Chile, Bangladesh and Portugal and also their revelations the latest of which clearly stated that the CIA was also actively engaged in assassinating popular national leaders of various countries in the world, even in spite of the fact that during 1971, the American Seventh Fleet had come very near the Indian Ocean threatening the peace and tranquility of our country, even after that, the External Affairs Minister and the Government of India would like to make us believe that there is no conflict of interest between India and the U. S. A. I will come to this later. But now we are discussing the foreign policy of our country against the background of the sweeping victories of the National Liberation Forces in Vietnam and Cambodia, US imperialism, the world's gendarmes, is receiving blows after blows and defeat at the hands of the national forces. The people of Vietnam and Cambodia have achieved brilliant military

and political victories. In Cambodia, the Lon Nol Government have already fled and in South Vietnam the propped up Thieu regime is cracking and so the days of the machinations of imperialism are numbered.

There is a growing realisation and unity among under developed countries to resist imperialist pressure of throwing the burden of their economic crisis on to the shoulders of other dependent and less developed and under developed countries. Even now, in spite of these series of defects which are being inflicted on American imperialism, they have not given up the policy of imposing neo colonialism and colonialism on other countries. What is our experience in the last 18-20 years? The latest one is the Bangladesh struggle. During that struggle in 1971 and in the early part of 1972, we had seen that American imperialism tried its best to crush and suppress the national liberation movement. It had come into the Indian Ocean with its Seventh Fleet which was a flagrant violation of all international rules and canons of law.

15 hrs.

Recently we have seen that the U. S. A. has resumed arms supplies to Pakistan as part of its grand strategy to create bases in the West Asian region together with the one at Diego Garcia. This process of arms supplies to Pakistan, and their machinations and the use of Diego Garcia as a military base is threatening the peace and freedom of all peoples in Asia and Africa who are fighting their reactionary rulers and imperialist patrons. The US arms supply to Pakistan, let it be noted very clearly, this House has already discussed it is directed against the socialist countries who are their best friends of the colonial, dependent and anti-imperialist peoples of the world. The arms supply to Pakistan and the establishment of Diego Garcia as a base are meant to create tension in the Indian subcontinent and embitter the relations between Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. It was truly said in this House that the American decision has dealt a heavy blow to the process of normalisation.

We are sure that the US imperialists will exert greater pressure on our Government to get closer to the imperialist camp in matters of foreign policy and taken the relations of friendship and amity with the Soviet union and they would try to deter us

from taking the initiative to have normal relationship with the people's Republic of China. They would also try to force us abandon the element of anti-imperialism which is now displayed to words west Asian, African and other people's struggles. This is possible because even now we are harbouring illusions about American aid. We are more and more dependent upon British and American imperialism aid. What is our attitude during the last 28 years? we have discussed those issues in Parliament. Our Foreign Minister and our Prime Minister had declared again and again that we were up against imperialism and its tactics. But in reality we find ourselves more and more dependent upon US imperialism. The report here says:

"It was generally recognised in both countries that in view of their democratic traditions and absence of any conflict of national interests there was considerable scope for development of relations on the basis of equality and mutual respect and understand."

After the experience of so many years of British and American imperialism, their tactics in our country, in Bangladesh, in Viet Nam, in Cambodia and China and Guatemala and other countries, this is what they say. The stark reality has come up in the addendum and the Government of India had to admit: "That the hopeful trends in Indo-U.S. Relations in 1974 were clouded by the American decision to reverse the ten year old arms policy towards the sub-continent."

We are surprised that our present Foreign Minister and his predecessor were nurturing hopes of establishing mature and stable relationship with the United States in spite of the nefarious role of the imperialism all over the world. It is not at all possible for a dependent country like ours.

India is the second largest country in the world. Apart from the very size of this country, we have a glorious tradition of anti-imperialism. During the days of the Spanish Civil War, Pandit Nehru raised the banner of anti-imperialism in this country. In spite of such traditions, we could not play a decisive role in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism because economically we are dependent upon imperialist countries and monopoly capitalist loan. Mere expres-

sion of regret at the establishment of a military base at Diego Garcia and at the US arms supply to Pakistan is not enough. I would pointedly ask the Foreign Minister: Are you prepared to work out your economic and political policies as to be in a position to dispense with American aid? The reply would be: no.

In September 1973, it was decided to fully recognise the Government of National Union of Cambodia and also the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam. But even this report states that "the situation in Cambodia continues to be fluid". Only a few weeks back they prepared this report. Does it still continue to be fluid? Now, of course, after a long thinking, when Lon Nœ has already fled the country, the Government of India has decided to recognise the National Union of Cambodia. But even now after one and a half year we have not been able to accord full recognition to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam.

I should like to ask the Government whether it would like to be the last to recognise the P. R. G. of South Viet Nam. Why don't you give them recognition? Here imperialism wants to interfere and President Ford is asking for aid of 722 million dollars from the Congress. But who sabotaged and nullified the provisions of Paris Agreements? Antics of Thieu puppet regime are well known. They have organised raids to grab the territory under PRG control. They have organised air raids in areas deep inside the territory of PRG. They have refused to release two lakhs of political prisoners within 90 days as provided for in the Paris Agreement. Further they have detained 60,000 people during the last two years and at least 25,000 U.S. military personnel in civilian disguise are still operating in South Viet Nam and there is continuous arms supply by U.S. to Thieu clique. Sir, I suggest to the Prime Minister to ask the representatives of puppet Thieu regime leave our soil and to recognise the PRG of South Viet Nam immediately.

What is the role of U. S. Imperialism in South Korea? They are perpetuating barbarous hostile acts against DPRK. They are aggravating tension to perpetuate division of Korea and in spite of all these things and in spite of the fact that the other day 8 patriots including two journalists were done to death and were

[Shri Noorul Huda]

executed in South Korea, there is no condemnation by the Government of India. Not only that, The External Affairs Minister had paid a visit to South Korea only last year thus allowing the fair name of our country to be sullied. In the Middle East we have made our position very clear that the U. S. Imperialism is still conspiring to pressurize Arab countries. Israel should vacate aggression and restore the rights of Palestinians, I should ask: Can Israel defy U. N. resolution without the connivance of the U. S. A. ? There is a coup in Chile and it is the result of the C. I. A. activities

Sir, a Committee of group of 20 eminent persons were appointed by the U. N. Secretary-General to study the role of multi national corporations and their impact on development specially on developing countries and to submit recommendations for appropriate international action. What was the result ? The External Affairs Ministry reports says that "the report also concluded that, while the role of transnational corporations was mainly economic in character and influence, the non-economic impact was frequently as important as or even more important than the economic impact. The Report unequivocally condemned subversive political intervention on the part of the transnational corporations in the affairs of the host countries. Even after this, in this country our Prime Minister, Finance Minister and others do not condemn the activities of multi-national corporations; on the other hand, they are welcoming the inflow of aid from multi-national corporations.

I will quote from today's TIMES OF INDIA which contains an article about the situation in Vietnam:

"The novelty in the methods to achieve U. S. objectives consisted of three elements. There would be President Thieu's mercenary armies, equipped with American weapons and trained and directed by U. S. military personnel, most often in civilian disguise. There would be the 'deterrence' of preponderant U. S. forces—some off shore with the Seventh Fleet and others lurking in Pacific Island bases, in the Philippine, in Thailand to which the U. S. air operational command for South Viet Nam had been shifted, and further back in Taiwan and Japan. Backing all these would be the

nuclear weaponry to intimidate the PRG and the North Vietnamese.

According to the data compiled by the PRG, from November 1972 to January 1973 when the Paris agreement was signed, the U. S. shipped 652 planes of various types (260 fighter planes, 300 helicopters, 32 C-130s, 60 reconnaissance planes....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Why read it ? I am sure the Minister has read that article. I have read it.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA : This indicates the depth of the crisis in Vietnam. I say with all humility on behalf of our party that unless we reduce our dependence on American aid and multinational corporations, our Government cannot follow consistently an anti-imperialist policy. I would ask the Government immediately to recognise the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and also ask the Americans to withdraw all their armies from South Korea, South Vietnam and Cambodia.

SHRI H. N. MUKHERJEE (Calcutta-North East) : I beg to move :

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to have full diplomatic relations with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. (17)]

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to evolve ways and means of defeating U. S. blackmail and bluster which threatens the peace, freedom and security of Asia. (18)]

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Need of working out positive measures to counter U.S. hegemonistic scheme in the Indian Ocean region. (19)]

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Urgency of friendly settlement with Bangladesh over Farakka waters, sea boundary demarcation and other issues. (20)]

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Reasons for apparently unconscionable increase in Discretionary Expenditure, (21)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Necessity of toning up foreign policy planning and implementation mechanisms in the Ministry. (22)]

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[India's policy about imperialist functioning through multi-national corporations. (23)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Feasibility of positive steps towards Asian Security and peace. (24)].

**SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI**  
(Patna) : I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1".

[Inordinate delay in recognising the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (25)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1".

[Need to strongly condemn the U. S. intervention in South Vietnam (26)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1".

[Need to demand withdrawal of 25000 American military advisers from South Vietnam and to stop supply of U. S. arms to the puppet Government there (27)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1".

[Need to start joint action with littoral countries for the removal of American base at Diego Garcia (28)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1".

[Failure to get Hindi recognised as language in the U. N. (29)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1".

[Need to post only such persons in our Missions abroad as have firm faith in our foreign policy (30)].

**SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR** (Ahmedabad) : I beg to move :

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1.

[Failure to formulate and implement a good, vigorous and imaginative policy of achieving unity and understanding among the countries of Asia. (31)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1.

[Failure to reorient drastically and realistically the pattern of diplomatic missions and relations of India, with various countries all over the world. (32)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to shape a sensible, bold and sound foreign policy which would be genuinely pro-India, promoting the best interests and ideals of the nation. (33)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1".

[Failure to pursue a truly non-aligned approach and a similar line of speeches and actions at the United Nations in particular, and at various international conferences and gatherings in general. (34)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."



[Need for a sustained effort at persuading member nations of the U. N. to accept Hindi as an additional language for all official purposes in the word body. (35)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for effecting large economies in the establishment and running of our diplomatic missions abroad. (36)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

(Need for sending well-equipped, enlightened and knowledgeable persons at the U. N. and other world agencies annual meets and special sittings. (37)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for improving the standards of efficiency and service at our Embassies and Missions abroad, particularly in regard to extending all necessary courtesy assistance and guidance to visiting Indians and tourists. (38)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for improving India's relations with the developing new nations in Africa and Latin America. (39)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for a fresh, meaningful and courageous initiative at breaking the long drawn out stalemate in Sino-Indian relations. (40)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for a prompt and purposeful action at building up sound Indo-American understanding and friendship, so that the relations between the two peoples are strengthened and the administrations in the two countries

are better able to inform and understand each other. (41)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for a constant vigilance and endeavour at keeping the Indian Ocean free from any military, strategic or allied considerations by the Big and Super Powers. (42)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Necessity for a thorough overhaul in the functioning of the Ministry of External Affairs. (43)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for restricting the amount to be spent under the category of Discretionary Expenditure (44)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for a greater and better initiative and effort by India for strengthening the Commonwealth of Nations. (45)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for removing the uncertainties and for improving the lot of Indian Nationals who were and some still are living in the various newly independent countries of Africa. (46)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for toning up the planning research and study divisions in the Ministry of External Affairs. (47)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for a sane and a balanced approach regarding invitations and arrangements for welcoming state dignitaries from various countries of the world. (48)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for good, friendly relations particularly with close neighbours like Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Pakistan. (49)].

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100".

[Need for a reappraisal of India's effective role in the non-aligned nations. (50)].

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The cut motions are also before the House.

SHRIDINESH SINGH (Paratagarh): Sir, it is heartening to see that after a lapse of two years, the House has found time to discuss India's foreign relations.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): He is also speaking on a special commission now.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: This battle of Asian freedom that had begun at the turn of the century is now coming to an end. I think this would be an appropriate moment for us to take note of the fact that a new Asia with all its inspirations is coming up. I say this particularly in relation to the heroic struggle for independence of the people of Vietnam and in fact, of the people of Indo-China as a whole. The people of Vietnam had to face not only a colonial country but the world's largest military power. In doing so, they won the respect of the world and it is matter of great pride for all of us, because their struggle symbolises not only the independence of Vietnam but the independence of Asia and the emergence of a new Asian personality which can resist, however strongly and willfully it might have been used. Therefore, I take this opportunity of speaking in this House to pay my homage to the people of Vietnam and in fact to all others who have made the supreme sacrifice, so that they may be able to live in freedom and dignity. Sir, all of us in Asia fought our battle for independence in different ways. Under the great leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, we evolved a non-violent pattern; others dealing with different powers had to fight differently. But the focus of all our effort was against colonialism, because it was

colonialism which manifested itself in different ways. There was a direct colonial rule which we fought in this country; there was indirect colonial rule which the people of Vietnam were fighting. In its new garb colonialism has, in places, emerged though Local Governments, stooges of foreign powers, and it has been established that foreign powers will not be able to have client State in Asia; that they will not be able to run affairs in Asia indirectly through their stooges; and that is why, particularly, we ought to take note of what has happened in Vietnam and what is happening in Vietnam because, to my mind, it marks the end of the client-State-relationship which the colonial powers had established in this part of the world. I draw the attention of the House to the client States because we ourselves suffer from a neighbour who has tended to be a client State of a foreign power since its own independence and in dealing with it we shall have to bear in mind that we have to go to the people, we have to persuade the people to appreciate that a client status would imply foreign domination and only then we shall be able to make adjustments with them because there will have to be adjustments between two free peoples. But in relation to the point that I was making, I would wish to draw the attention of the House to the continuing battle that goes on in Asia and that is against economic exploitation. It would be interesting to recall that out of the 138 member-States of the United Nations, 103 are the developing countries. And if you take away socialist countries from the others, then only a handful of countries in the world today have cornered the wealth of the entire world. It is important to realise that in order to corner the wealth of the world, they have attempted to dominate this world through military power, through economic power and at times even through cultural efforts. Fortunately for us, we are a country with tremendous raw material and also a country which has the world's third largest technological man-power and, therefore, a tremendous possibility exists in this country for harnessing the raw materials that we have and also for working together with countries in Asia to give a new lead against the war of exploitation that still goes on. I am personally happy that there is a much greater economic content in the conduct of our foreign relations and it is particularly heartening to see

[Shri Dinesh Singh]

Finance Minister as the head of the Ministry of External Affairs so that he is able to combine his knowledge of financial matters with diplomacy to enable India to play a greater role in bringing about economic development in the developing countries. And I say this with the background of what I said earlier that India with its raw materials and with its third largest technological man-power has a tremendous possibility to assist other developing countries.

Also the tendency that we have developed, to look up to the developed countries as the sole source from which technological information can come, has to be broken. We have ourselves, together with our friends, also to go in to research which has enabled the richer powers at the moment to receive the technological know-how. Whatever we do, Sir, we have to bear in mind that greater emphasis has to be on Asian affairs, that we are a part of Asia, that we are strategically situated in Asia, that we command the largest portion of the Indian Ocean and are in the middle of the routes, the sea lines that go through the Indian Ocean. Therefore, from the points of view of raw material, technological know-how, manpower as also geographical situation, we have an advantage that few countries enjoy; but this advantage has to be turned for collective benefit. What has been lacking in Asia is a collective organization for the development of Asian countries. You will be surprised to hear, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that there is hardly an Asian organization worth its name, either political, economic or even cultural. We did make an effort to get together into what was to be known as the Asian Council of Ministers; but I am afraid it is now practically dead as a doeb. It is this emphasis that we have to re-create; we have to give a feeling to the Asian countries that here is another Asian country, capable and willing to assist in the larger development of Asia. And I speak of development in Asia in no parochial sense. I am not saying that Asia should be built up against Europe, against Africa or against others; but that our primary responsibility,—historical, geographic and strategic—is to develop the areas surrounding us; and therefore, we have inevitably to place greater emphasis on the development of Asia. Unfortunately, our outlook is still European or Western-oriented. Our main Missions

are in Western countries. Our tours are usually to Western countries; and the general orientation of our service is also towards the Western countries. It has been my hope that it would be possible for us to develop a sense of Asian identity in the conduct of our external relations; and I hope that the Foreign Minister will be able to make a positive contribution in this direction.

SHRI SHYAMANANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): But even the Indian identity in external affairs is completely lost now. Where do you matter?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: What we have to project Mr. Deputy Speaker, is cooperative identity and not a national identity in international affairs, which does not mean (*Interruptois*) that we become oblivious of our national interests; but our national interests will have to be welded together with the national interests of other countries, to evolve a common approach. Unless we do that, there will be a tendency for a large and potential country like India to turn chauvinistic and inward looking and that is why I have not attempted to emphasise the national identity. The image, as the hon. Member would recall, which we collectively helped to build, was that of India as a part of the Afro-Asian solidarity.

As I was saying, it is necessary for us to evolve Asian organisations for mutual development. In this context, I would like to say that what is happening in West Asia is of great importance to us. The new wealth that the West Asian countries are acquiring out of the sale proceeds of their oil is being diverted for investment into the developed society, into the countries which do not need external capital for their own development. I am conscious of the effort that the Foreign Minister and the Government have made to try to divert some of this for development in the developing countries and I would urge upon him to use his influence to strengthen this move. In fact I would go so far as to suggest to him that he takes the initiative in establishing an Asian cooperative endeavour, in which these funds could be used. This would be natural because of the inter-dependence that Asian countries have on one another. Otherwise, the difficulty is that West Asia may get isolated from the mainstream of Asian thought, which will permit the

powers outside to put direct pressure on the West Asian countries. The dangers of war in West Asia are not to be taken lightly. Therefore, their security lies not only in the assertion of their own power, or the build up of their own power, which can not be done in such a short time, but by bringing together the Asian consciousness in their defence. And that consciousness can come to their defence only if there is a cooperative effort. If, as developing countries, we suffer greatly by the imbalance that has been created by the rise in oil prices, then the Asian solidarity is weakened. Therefore, there should be a conscious effort to try to put together those newly-generated resources into the development of the Asian region.

There was a time when India's voice was the voice which was greatly valued in the councils of the world. I can see my hon. friend, Shri Mishra, agreeing with me. But I am not going to say in the next sentence what he would have liked me to say; or, my be, at the end of it he may not agree. I am not saying that the power behind India's voice has been weakened. In fact, the power behind India's voice has been strengthened. I gave the example of our economic potential, I gave the example of our technological potential. We have made great strides in developing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and we have made tremendous development in the industrial complex of this country.

**SHRI SHYAMANANDAN MISHRA :** No addition to the economic assistance recently.

**SHRI DINESH SINGH:** When one talks of a country's external relations one does not think in terms of one or two years, specially those years when the entire economic order may have been in difficulty, but one thinks of trends which will inevitably produce certain results.

I tried to mention earlier that India does not only have the potential but has also made a demonstration of its technological progress. Therefore, it has generated tremendous potential. But I referred to the question of India's voice in the councils of the world with a particular point in mind. I recognise that diplomacy, silent diplomacy is of great value. I am conscious of the fact that at times it becomes necessary for a country to take a low

key posture; but a low key posture at a time when tremendous activity is taking place around one is not necessarily productive. And this is again relation to the developments in West Asia and South East Asia. There was a time when, if anything happened in this part of the world, India was always in the centre of the picture. India was not only consulted; but India was also usually the main instrument of the international will. Now, we have for some reason, moved away from it; and it is now necessary to go back to that, because it would be an essential element in building up and Asian personality. A lead will have to be taken and in this, we need not be over-concerned about the attitude of China or Pakistan or any other country. If the most important power in the world to-day has not been able to prevent the emergence of the Asian personality, I am sure China cannot stand in the way of Asian unity. Asian unity will come and we must play our role, irrespective of the attitude that China or Pakistan or any other nation may have; and I have no doubt that once an initiative is taken even countries which may not be particularly friendly to us to-day or whose governments do not see eye-to-eye with us to-day, would find it difficult to be away it from the mainstream of Asian thinking. Sir, I would wish to conclude with a reference to our relations with the super powers. I have refrained from talking about our relations with individual countries, because I know many of my friends will be referring to it to-day; and in the short time available to me, I wanted mainly to point to certain trends rather than go into details; but Sir, our relations with the super powers, as naturally with any other country, have to be built on the basis of identity of interests. We have fortunately been able to identify our interests with the Soviet Union; and what we see to-day as the manifestation of Indo Soviet friendship is not a relationship between a weak and a strong power; but it is a relationship between two equal countries, because they have been able to find areas in which their interests are common; and it is a tribute to the policy both of India and of the Soviet Union that irrespective of their global strategy elsewhere, they have been able to identify areas in which they could very closely work together. Now, unfortunately such a development has not taken place with the United States. I have, on a number of

[Shri Dinish Singh]

occasions, mentioned that there is need for us to make such an effort because irrespective of which government may be in power in the United States, there is a certain identity, at least of ideals and purpose, and also I am sure of interests, with a large country like the United States; and our relations should not be left to the whims of individual ambassadors and others, however distinguished they may be, but it must be based on certain realities, and these realities can be understood only when there is an assessment of our own interests and the possible interests of the United States.

### 15. 35 hours.

[SHRI ISHAQUE SAMBHALI in  
the Chair]

I am sure that the Foreign Minister would be able to make a beginning in this direction. Once we are able to sort out our relations with the super powers, it would help us more in our effort to develop an Asian personality and in developing Asian cooperation. Thank you very much.

SHRI H. N. MUKHERJEE (Calcutta North East) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, having taken part in this particular debate almost without intermission for the last 25 years I confess to a certain fatigue in approaching this subject, a fatigue which I fear I have not been able to overcome, in spite of whatever relation I could draw from the very interesting speech just made by my friend, the former Foreign Minister of India. My difficulty in regard to a discussion of our country's foreign policy drives from our difficulty in dealing with the principal political organisation in our country, the Congress which the Prime Minister lately described somewhere as a loose sort of party, rather amorphous, rather difficult to organise and integrate. In relation to foreign policy also, I find that it is somewhat loose, and it has lost the footing in principle which in his time Jawaharlal Nehru in his incessant dialogue with his people in Parliament and outside used to try to evolve. The result is a kind of *ad hocim* which does no good for anybody. The result is a dependence upon the bureaucracy, which operates from South Block, in a manner which, quite frequently, is somewhat disgusting.

We have recently had the mortification of having to see our Ambassador in the United States taking seriously the amoral and scrupleless politician like Kissinger, whose award of a Peace Prize must be the prize joke of the century. When our Ambassador was talking about tilting or re-tilting of this man or the other he was making a fool of himself. It shows the nearly ineradicable pro-West orientation which has made a permanent settlement in the South block, which is wh't large all over in the report which has been presented to us in this House.

Before I get into the other subjects, I would like to have some clarification of the reasons why we are asked to grant discretionary expenditure funds, which have jumped up from Rs. 11.69 crores to Rs. 23.69 crores this year. I know discretionary expenditure cannot and need not be expounded to us, but we must have some idea as to why in one year's time the discretionary expenditure at the mercy of certain people has jumped to that extent.

Before I proceed further, I must congratulate the Government that in regard to Cambodia they have at last recognised, not too late happily, the regime that rightfully has taken over, almost taken over, in that country. I would only ask our Foreign Minister to remember that with Cambodia we had very friendly relationship, as evidenced by the fact that in the capital Phnom Penh one of the most important avenue still named after Jawaharlal Nehru,

I am glad my friend the former Foreign Minister referred to Vietnam. The glory of Vietnam has been written with a sun beam in the pages of history. There was a cruel calamity, the United States aggression, even after the Paris Agreement of 1973, which the United States continued in violation of the agreement, spending in the period after 1973 settlement no less than three billion dollars. But they failed and we know the result.

Sir, I am glad Mr. Dinish Singh mentioned Vietnam to begin with, more or less as the text of the sermon so to speak, when we discuss foreign policy. It is good to remember that power like the United States can never, whatever the machinations of the rulers of that country might be

reverse the process of history. They have spent 150 billion dollars over Vietnam since 1954 and that amounts to Rs. 150,000 crores at least in Indian money, either the United States' funds, nor the United States' arms supplied to the black-guard elements in Vietnam which was twice what was supplied to the popular side by the Soviet Union and China, or the United States troops which at one time numbered 550,000, nor the United States, advice could prop up the dirty regime in Vietnam which they wanted to continue under their thumb.

I have had the mortification of listening to certain people whom I do not see now, and who said at one point of time in this House, in the last Parliament, that India's fight for freedom was being conducted on the Mekong River. I do hope that they do get information about what is happening in Mekong River at the present time.

Sir, we have certain responsibilities. The entire dastardly gang which goes by the name of the Thieu clique must go and we must not allow our country to be told all sorts of fibs, manufactured stories about "evacuation". Actually, even the Well known West Germany paper "Der Spiegel" has been constrained to expose American reports about evacuation taking place, as if from the liberated zone people are running away while the fact of the matter is that the American imperialists and their satellites are trying to give the last blow to their own people. They are compelling whoever lives in the liberated area to gun point to leave the place and they have already run away with hundreds and thousands of children who like the *Janissaries* in the old Turkish *sultan* Court, were taken away from Bulgaria and other European countries under the Turkish *sultan* and were taken away and brought up in order to become something of an instrument of the *sultan*. So, they are stealing thousands of children. They are staging all kinds of ugly tricks.

The world's conscience can no longer be hoodwinked and we know exactly what is happening.

Since the PRG of South Vietnam has proved itself to be what it is; since ten out of seventeen million people now in South Vietnam live under PRG adminis-

tration since more than three-fourth of the territory is now liberated, we have to go ahead. Our Foreign Ministry should come forward without a minute's delay and give the fullest diplomatic recognition to the PRG of South Vietnam. In the meantime, we should also send relief so that the people who are suffering there can have some kind of alleviation. I say this because I learn that even Finland and Sweden have sent relief to South Vietnam. The International Red Cross is also taking some steps. The French Communist Party has sent a donation. If Jawaharlal Nehru was alive, I expect he would have said, "let us do something about the people there. We shall send relief there." But we do nothing of the sort. On the contrary, instead of saluting the glory of Vietnam, we delay recognition to the PRG of South Vietnam.

We have an Ambassador in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam whom we have called back. I don't think we have an Ambassador resident at the moment in Hanoi. Perhaps a Deputy Secretary is being nursed somewhere to be sent as an unimpaired customer to function in Hanoi. Actually, from Hanoi, the great leaders have come to us the never... to be forgotten Ho Chi Minh, came to Delhi some years back. Prime Minister Pham Van Dong came more than once; Jawaharlal Nehru himself told me once how about Pham Van Dong's face, there was a stamp of nobility, the stamp of suffering borne with equanimity, worthy of the finest Buddhist. He is of course not a Buddhist but a revolutionary. Pham Van Dong came twice to this country. Ho Chi Minh came to this country. But of course, our big leaders do not go there. Our Prime Minister does not go there. Our External Affairs Ministers, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, has not yet gone there. Perhaps, the only Minister of External Affairs to visit Hanoi, Mr. Dinesh Singh, had imbibed something of the glory of Vietnam and that is why, speaking from those Benches, he put Vietnam in the centre as far as the then of this afternoon was concerned.

We should do our duty by Vietnam; we should at once recognise P.R.G. we should send an Ambassador of the proper stature without delay. Let one of our leaders, big leaders, go to Hanoi as well as to South Vietnam, if that is possible. That is something which we owe to ourselves and to history.

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

We are happy that talks continue between us and Bangladesh and, I hope, that a friendly settlement would come about over Farakka, over the sea boundary issue and whichever other problems there might remain. Some delay is perhaps inevitable. If our inter-State river projects get held up, then, possibly, in regard to such problems, some delay might take place. But, I am sure, that the leaders of Bangladesh would understand the difficulties of this country, particularly, the problems of Calcutta. About Calcutta, I know, the leaders of Bangladesh have a certain nostalgic sentiment. So, if the matter is properly pursued, I am sure, a settlement would come about. In any case the interest of both the countries is to be safeguarded and a way out must be found. It should not be impossible in this technological age to sort out technological problems.

I remember our External Affairs Minister, Mr. Chavan, saying at a public meeting, and has been repeating it from the international forums that in regard to the Indian Ocean bases which are being set up by the United States along with its friends, action and not only protest is wanted. We read in the papers about the meeting held at Lima. There was a meeting also at Havana where, I am very happy, our friend Mr. Chavan, was present. I was glad to notice that, while in Havana, Mr. Chavan made a statement about Fidel Castro. I am quoting Mr. Chavan's words. He said:

"What we said in more guarded words, Dr. Castro said in a very plain and forthright manner. It is a great service to developing countries that he has done".

This is something relating to the trade problems of Developing countries about which my hon. friend, Mr. Dinesh Singh, was speaking just now.

I want to say this about Cuba. There you find a new society which is clean and young and invigorating. The Cuban revolution, now a part of world socialism, is something to which India also has a certain responsibility. The Prime Minister is going to Jamaica... I find, she is going to Jamaica—to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, and, if she goes to Jamaica it is not a very big leap for her to go also

to Cuba. Fidel Castro has been here in India. Nehru went and saw Dr. Castro in New York in Harlem Hotel when both were at a meeting of the United Nations and told him, "You are a very brave man." Perhaps, Mr. Chavan, can find out from the archives of his Ministry a memorandum perhaps gathering dust which had been prepared by our own Embassy in regard to the fruitful trade possibilities between Cuba and India, but even to day trade hardly exists with Cuba. This is something about which we must wake up. Something has got to be done about it. The Government of India must also intervene in a matter about which I have got information only today—and that is that in Chile (somehow befriended by the People's China) there are 180 prisoners in concentration camps, among them Luis Corvalan, the leader of the Communist Party. He is also in the concentration camp and there is a plan to kill them off. Since 24th March they are completely isolated from the world and police dogs are there, the idea being that a false plea would be put forward that they were trying to run away and therefore they were shot and killed. This is the plan which has leaked out. The Government of India must intervene and do something about it. In regard to Chile, at least, our record is clean. Let us go forward and see that the fascist Junta there does not get away with such atrocities.

In the recent past, the United States has encountered defeat everywhere, not because it is the United States—after all, it is a child of evolution which is a big factor in history—but because the rulers of the United States today have chosen to be the *gen darne* of world reactions and the result is that they are defeated everywhere. But money-power is not every thing, after all, as a revolutionary once said, the laws of artillery cannot be stronger than the laws of history.

And so it is that the oldest imperialist power, Portugal, Portugal is now a very different place from what it was, and the people urge forward. From Portugal to Philippines we see a different picture emerging. The oldest monarchy in the world—Ethiopia—has gone the way of all flesh. Americans so called unsinkable air-craft carrier, which is the country called Thailand, is showing many symptoms which are not at all to the liking of imperialists. In the Arab world, the U. S., as overlord of Israel, finds itself

prospects unable to that Arab freedom and prospects of Palestinian liberation are so much brighter than before.

Even so, the United States are trying to prop up such ugly customers as South Africa and Rhodesia. I saw only the other day some telegrams put up in Parliament House about the United States deliberately carrying on trade in strategic goods with South Africa and Rhodesia, and shamelessly flouting the Directive of the United Nations.

Knowing however that all these things will not work, the United States naturally have their eye on South Asia—on the Indian Sub Continent—and so they are arming Pakistan, with China in to—always doing what is needed even for the inspeakable Chile junta.

The madness in China will however pass the madness in Pakistan is contrived and that will also pass before long but the madness in the United States needs to be fought and defeated. Their plan is to have de-stabilisation in our kind of country. There is no need to go into details about their ways and means of doing so. They have various devices and they want de-stabilisation in the Indian Sub Continent; and of course we have the sappers and miners of U. S. imperialism, the "total revolutionaries" jumping about from place to place today with a somewhat melancholy face, but their aim is clear, which is to help the task of "de-stabilisation" in countries like ours.

Part of this de-stabilisation effort is to be seen in the case of Sikkim, for example, about which, at least, our Government has taken good stand. I hope they will stick to it in a principled manner. We passed laws in regard to Sikkim because we wanted the democratic forces to advance there. We do not want to do away with the office of Chogyal if it can co-exist with the developing democratic forces; but if the Chogyal and his advisers play the kind of evil game that they are doing, then naturally they will have to be taught the lessons they deserve. But the Government must make sure that the hopes and aspirations of the people of Sikkim for their genuine liberation are not thwarted in any way and therefore we have to move with wisdom and circumspection. We cannot persuade certain elements of the world

outside who will never listen to our arguments. They have never forgiven us our freedom; and those who have not forgiven us our freedom will never understand our argument. The rest of the world, at any rate, must be made to understand the reason why India has acted in Sikkim—wisely, firmly and for principles that really matter.

I would refer to another matter which I thought of when my friend, Shri Dinesh Singh, mentioned the Super Powers. I am very glad he talked about the desirability of Asian countries coming together. Asian security and Asian peace are themes which are heard all over the world, and we in this country have responded favourably to the idea of Asian security because that is the only way of consolidating Asian freedom. In the 20th year after Bandung, we must remember—and I am glad, my friend, Shri Dinesh Singh, also referred to it—that we have been fellow-sufferers under imperialism, we have been fellow-fighters for freedom from imperialism, and we have, today, to be fellow-fighters for cooperative existence in an Afro-Asian world because that is in the logic of things, that is on the logic of history. Already we have bilateral arrangements, and sometimes even something like multi-lateral arrangements. India has agreements with the Soviet Union, with Bangladesh, with Afghanistan, with Sri Lanka, with Burma, we can go ahead with Iran; we can go ahead differently in different cases; we can certainly go ahead and, generally speaking, generate an atmosphere where these Asian countries would no longer be play-things of imperialist intrigue. Today they are trying to concentrate on South Asia. Today they want the Indian Ocean base because their game is up in South-East Asia and Indo-China; their game will be up very soon in the Arab world; but South Asia, the centre of the universe so to speak, is still at their mercy and, therefore, they are trying to do all the damage they can.

But let us not imagine that there are two Super Powers and between the two of them we could try to do some kind of tilting operation. We have to try and understand certain aspects of the world situation. Whether we like the Soviet Union and its policies or not is a different matter, but the Soviet Union pursues not a Super Power policy but a



[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

class, socialist policy, which enables it to be friendly with country like India, genuinely friendly with countries like India. But with more resources of worldly goods, the United States can never be friendly with the countries of the developing world because that goes, basically, against their interests.

It is a good thing for history that the Soviet Union today cannot be deterred from advance by the greater power of the United States. To that extent, if it is a big power, a great power, let it be so; it is a good thing for history that the Soviet Union is a great power. But let it not be bracketed with the United States as a Super Power because, qualitatively, they are in very different streets altogether. And let us not always talk in terms of one Super Power against another as South Block statements often suggests. In regard to the Indian Ocean base concept, for example, all that we want is that the world's navies and fleet will certainly have the freedom of navigation on the high seas, but we prevent such machinations, conspiracies and manoeuvre which are aimed against Asian freedom, Asian fulfilment and Asian development. That is why we have to make a differentiation between the U. S. S. R. and U. S. A. Let us never call them Super Powers in the same sense. Let us remember that it is a good thing that the Soviet Union and the socialist community of the world are today so strong that they cannot be trifled with, and thus big money cannot decide the fortunes of civilization. The third world, to which we belong, is basically anti-imperialist force and that is the essence of our strength.

I shall conclude by saying that, now that we have completed 25 years of our Republic, now that we have completed 20 years after Bundung where Jawaharlal Nehru, Chou-en-Lai, Soekarno, Nasser and others got together to write a new page in the history of our continent, now that we have completed 30 years after the victory over fascism, let us make up our minds to have a more firm and principled and consistent policy, because, if only we have a firm and consistent foreign policy, we shall evoke the world's respect as well as the understanding and co-operation of our own people.

I have been rather baffled as I said before, by the amorphous quality of the Government's thinking or lack of it on foreign policy. Repeating therefore, the sort of discomfort with which I began and with which I fear, I am ending my speech, I am still hoping—one lives in hope—that there would be a firm and consistent orientation given to our foreign policy in the near future.

16 hrs.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch Behar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, when Prof. H. N. Mukherjee, one of our senior most Members of Parliament started speaking on the debate on External Affairs, he started by a offering brickbats and ended almost by giving bouquets to the Government's policy. Let me recall, that he started by saying that the party of the Prime Minister is a loose party and went on to say that because of this looseness in the party, the foreign policy and the external relations and the policy adopted by this party and the Government is also loose and *ad-hoc* or something like that. Sir, who does not know today that in the whole of the world, if there is any consistent, any relevant and meaningful foreign policy that has been pursued, it is the policy of India, which has been sustained and which has been vindicated from time to time?

Notwithstanding the ideological and philosophical differences between the USA and China, it has been seen that it is possible to come on a meeting place. Let us, therefore, come to facts. Even with the Soviet Union, they are coming closer and closer. Some detente has started. All these countries of the world to day have come to realise the importance of policy, programme, philosophy and the approach behind the policy of non-alignment that has been persistently followed by this Government. It has been established.

Prof. H. N. Mukherjee is not here now. He has described the happening and the setback of the South-East Asian countries, particularly in Vietnam and Cambodia. Its ups and downs would provide new eyes to the students of foreign policy and to these who would like to study international relations. It is clear that any big power is not in a position to save that country unless the people

of that country themselves like to take that posture. It has become very much clear by now that to take an umbrella or to march to any country either with this super-power or that super-power is not going to save the future of that country unless the people of the country those who are really the makers and builders of that country come to understand this. This is the lesson that we have to take today from the happenings in Indo-China area, both in Cambodia and Laos, as also in Vietnam, particularly South Vietnam. Where is Marshal Lon Nol today? Where is the regime of Thieu? Where have they gone? It was so much said in the early fifties, at the time of formation of SEATO and CENTO that India must take its part either this way or that way. Probably that will be the only protector and not to lean this side or that side. To-day, it has been seen that no big power is in a position to protect themselves. Marshal Lon Nol has to take refuge somewhere else either in America or somewhere else. Mr. Thieu is on the way out and the valiant fighters of Vietnam and Cambodia have to take up their own place which they could not have taken some years ago because of certain pressures put by big powers.

Keeping these facts in mind, it is true as our ex-Foreign Minister, Mr. Dinesh Singh has said, what is there today, particularly, in the South East Asia? The big powers have started retreating. They started withdrawing their powers leaving the countries to their respective peoples. The only thing that remains to-day is to build up those countries, to make them keep so much of their energy, and enthusiasm with the help and co-operation from outside countries like India so that they are in a position to live with their own spirit of independence, own sense of liberty and make their own contribution to the world comity of nations. I fully appreciate what Mr. Dinesh Singh said that time has come now to have a proper perspective and to have a reap-praisal of our policies towards these countries, and in what way we can also contribute our best for the world comity of nations, particularly, for the poor and developing countries, those who are fighting for their own survival, to enable them to live with honour and dignity as independent countries. It is time enough to think in that line, and if it is possible, to have a sort of

an organization at large for these developing nations in South East Asia, utilising the wealth that we have and the technology we have.

It is also a fact that the centre of all international forces of developing countries has started changing from the Western powers to the Asian powers, particularly, through this petro-dollar arrangement. As for example, in India we are trying to have our own self-sufficiency and to depend more and more on our own hard labour and to depend less on any developed countries much less the United States as far as possible. Not only these petro-dollars, a new coinage that we have, the Arab countries are also coming forward to help the developing nations. It is a good sign that we must take this up to a greater extent so that the Asian money is revolved and revolved within the Asian countries, the African countries and the developing countries so that none of these countries is dependent on any of the big powers.

Another lesson we must have learnt out of the recent world events. That is: what is the real meaning of being 'non-aligned'? Is it only to be taken as a matter of strategem, that is, to get the utmost out of the two super-powers? Or non-alignment has its own moral? Non-alignment and non-aligned policy in a feudal society like ours, having diverse political opinions, needs to be put in to operation to deliver even-handed justice, to keep up the morality and respect for human values and mutual respect, so that, in the ultimate analysis, in the comity of nations, we are knit together as brothers and forces of war, hatred and any amount of bitterness and rancour will be eliminated. This policy by and large has come to stay. There is no doubt that having regard to this approach, the Government's policy as it is being framed needs some further restructuring and reconsideration. I do not deny even when Prof. Mukherjee has said that the policies framed at Government level sometimes have to be treated as secret. By all means keep them as secret, do not disclose, but, at the same time, there should be frequent consultations and frequent discussion either in the Parliament, among Members of Parliament or with the public or open up a forum out of which you can take the best decision

[Shri B. K. Daschowdhury]

out of the best minds of our country that we have and that decision should be taken in the best interests of the country. There are certain events; it is not possible to explain all of them; but events are there no doubt when certain decisions have been taken, I would not say foolishly, but in such a way that we have had to repeat later on. Therefore, what I say is, before we come up with decisions, let the mind of the Government not be expressed, let the best brains of the country put their own opinion, let there be open forum, let there be occasionally a seminar etc. Why do you not now invite the best brains in this regard in various universities and other spheres, hold some occasional seminars on a region-wise basis, getting experts, for example, in West Asian affairs, in Western affairs, in South-East Asian affairs etc., and get them published, take public opinion and come to your own conclusions in the matter of formulation of policies. That will open up a new scope. That is my submission.

We have concluded a number of treaties and bilateral agreements and I would like to refer to the agreement which we signed in May 1974, with Bangla Desh, called, Indo-Bangla Desh Joint Declaration. I have nothing to say against it; in regard to the whole approach that has been made by this joint declaration, I am fully in agreement but with a little exception. I would like here to refer to Clause 14 of the Border Agreement between India and Bangla Desh. I will read out only 3 or 4 lines in regard to the exchange of enclaves in between Bangla Desh and India. I quote :

'India will retain the southern half of South Barubari Union No. 12 and the adjacent enclaves, measuring an area of 2.64 sq. miles approximately, and in exchange Bangla Desh will retain the Dahagram and Angarpota enclaves.'

Please permit me two minutes to explain this. This Dahagram and Angarpota enclave is absolutely within the Indian territory, as its name itself implies, but the Geophysical situation is that it goes from one point to the other, one point starts, on the road side and ends in the Tista river; it is within the Mekhliganj sub-division in the district of Cooch-Bihar.

There is another small enclave adjacent to Dahagram. But these are very close to the Mekhliganj Sub-divisional headquarters. And there is one road that goes from the southwest to the southeast known as Kuchliberi Anchal. Here about 17,000 to 18,000 people are feeling insecure. There is an area measuring 178 metres by 80 metres near Thin Bigha Road connecting Dahagram with Panbari Mouza. If this area is given on lease in perpetuity to Bangla Desh, what will happen to nearly about 18,000 to 19,000 people? They will all be dislocated from this area when this area has been declared a new enclave.

These are instances that have taken place. Without giving due consideration to the problem, we simply want to create a sort of friendship with Bangladesh by not attaching importance to this problem at all. There are thousand and one ways to mitigate this problem to the satisfaction of the people by both the leaders of Bangladesh and India. Unfortunately that has not been given the importance I would only request the hon-Minister for External Affairs that whenever there is another chance that comes up to him, he will see to it that he will kindly consider in what way a fresh reappraisal of the whole situation in the matter of transfer of areas could be considered. By creating new enclaves, how the difficulties of the people could be avoided. They will only create a lot of administrative problems by the creation of the new enclave. If, for example, one criminal from India leaves us and takes shelter in Bangladesh, then it is absolutely not within Indian area—we have nothing to do with that area—to apprehend him. Suppose, a citizen of Bangladesh takes shelter in India, how can he be apprehended when the area is not within their region? That is why I say that if this land is given to Bangladesh in perpetuity, obviously, the people living on the other side will have deep apprehensions that they might be got dislocated.

I would now like to state three points in short. First is of course the deployment of American forces. Government should consider what might be the consequence of the deployment of American forces. This is point number one. Though President Ford has started asking for more funds in the name of giving some relief-humanitarian relief to the affected

people in those parts of the country, in the U. S. Congress, some members had raised their objections. I do not know what will happen if hundreds of millions of dollars are put into the service. Perhaps, a new tension might be created. Government of India should consider their own defence preparedness. Consider first of all by and large the position obtaining in South East Asia; secondly, they have at the same time, lifted the arms embargo on Pakistan. This is another geopolitical position which they have created. At the same time, we find in the last few years that consistently they have been building up bases after bases. There is one in Diego Garcia. If these are really used for a genuine purpose, then we have nothing to say. But, if they are being used for other purposes, that is, for creating another tension in the Asian regions, then it would be a very-very serious one. That should be defended by all sorts of preparations that we may have. To that extent, I would humbly submit that our foreign policy and the defence preparedness must be strengthened and our foreign policy could be made successful only if we are in a position to meet them. This is what I would like you to consider for all times to come.

With these few words. I support the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs.

**SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA**  
(Guna) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, foreign policy should be directly based on a country's projected aims. It should be a policy of enlightened self-interest. After the last Indo-Pakistan War India emerged as the dominant power in South Asia. It is ironical that in spite of this it is the defeated nation which always seems to emerge the gainer from negotiations. In the Tripartite Agreement the Government of India merely resolved problems which had arisen only from 1971 war, that too by objectly surrendering to most Pakistani demands. Whatever territory Pakistan lost India returned. The prisoners of war issue was completely resolved in acceptance of most of what Pakistan had been demanding. In spite of our having emerged victorious in all Indo-Pakistan clashes we have as yet secured no commitment from Pakistan regarding the basic issue—the return of our land still under their occupation.

If our motive had been to meekly allow Pakistan to secure all she desired I cannot comprehend why the process took so long. Was it merely to allow time to act as a cover ?

The conversion of potential power into actual power depends upon the leadership to grasp the initiative and hold it. We have failed to retain the initiative which we derived after the 1971 war. The situation will become graver still with the lifting of the U.S. embargo on arms sale. This move will succeed in driving another nail into the resurrected coffin of Indo-U.S. relations. This most ill-conceived step will arrest the trend towards the restoration of some sort of equilibrium in our relations with the two Super Powers. It is not in our interest that we lean emphatically towards one or the other. If we do the reaction will be equal and opposite but Washington narrows our options. It is a measure of the inter-dependence of the modern world that developments are related to one another like beads in a chain. They constitute the warp and web of an extremely complicated but unified pattern of events.

With the deteriorating situation in the Middle East and the annihilation of American policy and aspirations in Viet Nam and Cambodia, Kissinger the man of miracle has been transformed into the man of debacle ! The American move is most ill-timed, unbalanced and unjustified and deserves to be deplored and condemned on all counts. It is yet another attempt to influence and dominate regions through proxys, a policy which is doomed to failure but not before it has endangered the entire security and stability of the region.

Bhutto does not seem satisfied by merely replenishing the losses suffered by the Pakistan army but evidently wants to re-build a powerful and aggressive military machine and it is not difficult to visualise which country this will be aimed against. I fear that in case of any further deterioration in Pakistan's internal situation it is possible that he may once again resort to Pakistan's traditional diversionary gambit—conflict with India. In such an eventuality we must be prepared to ensure that that is the final round.

[Shri Madhavrao Scindia]

This decade is witnessing a rapidly increasing Russian presence in the sub-continent. Let us not forget how in the 1930s, Hitler's trade and economic cooperation with the countries comprising the little Entente was swiftly converted overnight into an instrument of complete domination. What we must understand is that we serve Moscow's geo-political interests far better than Pakistan ever could. We have a large Indian ocean periphery. We serve as a possible counter-balance to China and we certainly have a far greater big power potential. There is no need, therefore, to go overboard in our relations with Moscow because the advantages which we are seeking we will derive in any case. But still we are witnessing a capitulation to the economic domination of the Soviet Union. Even unfriendly actions are conveniently overlooked. The Government of India has failed to dissuade Moscow from unilaterally altering the Rouble Rupee parity rate, not once, but seven times and that means to us, a loss calculated over 4 years of almost 450 crores of rupees. In addition, I am told, a gold clause has been inserted in our agreement with Moscow which gives them the option of convertibility. Not only is there interference in our economic matters especially after the institution of the joint planning commission, but, Russian news agencies like Tass and Pravda have stepped up their vitriolic criticism on certain political developments within our country. Even Kreshnev on his Indian visit and on Indian soil, said that he could not understand the need for an opposition in India. All these actions and statements are tantamount to interference in our internal matters. But our Government is sitting an idle spectator smug in their tiny minds, I suppose, that it is criticism of the opposition that is taking place. Not even the publishing of a map a few years ago showing parts of India as belonging to Pakistan could provoke the faintest of squeaks out of the mice in our Foreign Ministry. We must judge this commentary by another country on our internal situation not just as a member of a particular political party, Congress, Jan Sangh or any other but, we must judge it as patriotic Indians. How can our Government allow this sort of propaganda to go on without lodging any protest against it? Have you no national pride? It is this display of impotency on the part of our

Government which weakens our international stock in the world.

Another serious threat is posed from another neighbour in the North, China. How can we forget that the Indian Government had pledged in Parliament that every inch of our sacred soil would be recovered? How can we overlook the fact that large chunks of our soil still lie under an alien flag? The blow dealt to us in 1962 has left an indelible mark on India's prestige in Asia and the world from which she has never really recovered. I do feel that it is very unfortunate that the two Asian giants should be wedded to policy of confrontation. But, it is not possible for us to reconcile ourselves to the idea of surrendering thousands of square miles of our land to China just because it suits our strategic and military interests. Feeble attempts through statements or ambassadorial miles and nods at cocktail parties are futile. Our Foreign Minister must ensure that in our game of diplomatic ping pong with China, we play the role of the bat and not that of the ball. We must recognise that the dispute with China can be satisfactorily resolved only when we speak from a position of strength and that strength can only come when we have a vibrant economy to back us and a strong armed force with nuclear muscle.

But, because of the erroneous policy of the Government, our economy is in shambles. The green revolution has turned an autumnal brown. The twin cancers of inflation and unemployment are spreading discontent like wild-fire. Many of India's public sector projects often in the past called India's topless wonders have not remained simply topless but have swum in bottomless deficits. What respect can a power like China have for a country with such an economy? It is this internal situation which weakens our international position.

Even Bhutto could say .

"India should not have pretensions to becoming a dominant power. There are more people in India sleeping in the streets than any place else in the world. A dominant power is dominant inherently".

Is it not miserable that the victor had to bear such taunt from the vanquished?

In the nuclear field too, we are comparatively still far behind. The principal value of a nuclear arsenal is the political prestige of belonging to the nuclear club. The generally perceived fact is that such nations are more influential than their non-nuclear peers. This is poignantly true in Asia where both Japan and India have a major claim to international status but are overshadowed at 'high table' discussions by Peking largely because of China's nuclear armament status. China is forging ahead of us in nuclear armament technology and we have donned as yet what I can only describe as a nuclear mini-skirt! I cannot understand India not developing her nuclear military strength. Or is the Government preserving this to use as an electoral atom-bomb in 1976?

Instead of strength, the Government displays flagrant and unprincipled weakness in most of its decisions. What happened in Katchativu? As someone said, the *bloodan* of Katchativu clearly demonstrates the mind of a very *katcha* Government. Besides, with the recent discoveries of oil under the sea-bed, what may seem today as a minor and inexpensive gift may turn out to be a very major and expensive concession to make.

I do feel very strongly that relations with our neighbours must be strengthened and improved, but the prewar years clearly showed in the failure of Neville Chamberlain's policy that relations cannot be strengthened through a policy of appeasement. Appeasement always indicates weakness, and weakness can never be respected. But our Government refuses to learn, even in the aftermath of Tashkent and Simla. Katchativu simply adds another inglorious chapter to the annals of an already inglorious Government.

In the Indian Ocean region, the impending reopening of the Suez Canal in June will result in a clear logistic gain for Moscow's Indian Ocean fleet, automatically increasing her Black Sea Fleet's Indian Ocean potential. The Americans are bound to take further steps to restore the balance. Due to the negligent attitude of our Government a stage seems to have been reached in the superpower commitment in the Indian

Ocean region from which retracting seems difficult. Even the restriction of port facilities would provide some sort of brake to their activities in the area. India occupies a very commanding position in the Indian Ocean with her land mass extending deep into it. She is in a natural position of becoming the epicenter of regional cooperation in the area, possibly even a future Asian Common Market. To convert this into a reality, we must develop a sea power capable of protecting our interests. With our dominant geographical position we must seize the initiative to examine the possibility of an Indian Ocean defence system based on Afro-Asian cooperation but with no super-power interference.

Also important are our relations with our neighbours on the periphery. Efforts must be made to quell suspicions after events in Sikkim. It is possible that China may misuse the situation, heighten these suspicions and create a grave situation in the area to use at a future date. Diplomatic moves to forestall this must be made immediately and continuously.

With Nepal we share common historical and cultural ties. She is an essential part of the sub-continent south of the Himalayas. Therefore, there will always be a natural bias towards us, but both countries must not take this for granted. In my opinion, a great deal of maintenance effort is required to ensure a friendly relationship. The very fact that we are so alike in culture and heritage and that we have such a long common border would itself offer greater points of potential friction.

The relationship between brothers is always more sensitive and prone to misunderstanding than that between strangers. Both countries must understand this and curb tendencies to over react on minor matters. Our relationship instead of being so hypersensitive should be a more related one. In the present King, Nepal has a dynamic young leader with whom our relationship can be built on long term considerations. His appeal that Nepal be declared a zone of peace is interesting in what it symbolises and for the psychology it attempts to create.

[Shri Madhavrao Scindia]

There was a feeling of euphoria in the country after the last Indo-Pakistan war, that our success in the war meant we could be successful in all fields—this does not hold. Our military victory was a victory in a traditional field and our true failures are in the developmental one. What we require is an enterprising polity on the one hand and a development-oriented managerial set-up on the other to carry out the task of transformation. Despite the fact that we have such rising technological talent in the country our results are poor because of our Government's poor decision making. The crying need in India today is a political leadership which can crystallise the hard and unpalatable issues and act on the basis of enterprising decisions arrived at as a result.

Dynamism and confidence are sadly lacking in the handling of our internal and external affairs. What we need is more action not mere reaction; initiation not mere response; real politik not mere dogma.

Only then will we be able to mould our country into a continuous positive and cohesive force, and enable India to play the leading role which awaits her.

**SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara) :** I welcome the Demands of the Ministry of External Affairs. I had a chance to speak on those demands on 24 April, 1973; as far as I can remember last year the demands for grants of this Ministry were guillotined for want of time. Since the hon. Minister Shri Bipinpal is present here in the House, he was not there in 1973, I think it may not be out of context if I quote what I said in 1973, on 24th April, the relevant part of it ... (*Interruptions*)

"In this context I think that the continued presence of the United States as a military power in the Asian Continent has limited prospects. It was Viet-Nam yesterday; Cambodia today..."

We have to reverse it: Cambodia today and Viet-Nam tomorrow.

"... But I think that within the course of the next few years the public pressures from the people

of the United States as well as the hard realities of the post shock period will make the United States and its democratic Government understand that it is no use continuing in the Asian continent and inevitably the United States would like to withdraw."

I should like to repeat what I said then irrespective of the fact that there seems to be fresh areas of tension and fresh areas of conflict in the form of Diego Garcia or American base in Oman or in Pakistan or any other place.

If you take a look ahead for five years or about a decade, the withdrawal of the US forces from the Asian continent is a foregone conclusion.

To that extent I would welcome the suggestion of Shri Dinesh Singh, ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs. But he used the words 'co-operative effort'. I would say 'Asian effort' to deal with the present situation. In this I would like to reiterate without trying to labour the point. What I had said then was thus, "In these circumstances if we have to project our foreign policy in the next five or ten years, we have to give it possibly, in this vacuum to be created, a second look as particularly what is called as the Brezhnev doctrine of the Russians who have advocated a collective Asian security in this continent." Quoting myself, unfortunately it is not out of egoism, but to make myself relevant to that Sir, in the context of what has happened in Cambodia, what has happened in Viet Nam, I think we have to give a very serious consideration to this. My dear friend, Shri Brij Raj Singh, had asked a pertinent question. Now, if we are going to give a go-by to our fellow concepts of non-alignment irrespective of what late Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had said, then why are you not aligning yourself with a democratic country like the U. S. A.? I would request you to bear me out or contradict me.

Now, if India was a country somewhere in the American continent, either in South America or North America, or if India were in the place of Canada, it would have been disastrous for Canada and it will still be disastrous for Canada to enter into any alignment with a country

other than the U. S. A. There are only two options left. It can remain non-aligned or it can remain absolutely neutral. To that extent it can remain as a logical consequence and corellary and it has got to remain as isolationist as the U. S. A. was after the First World War, till the advent of Second World War, till the emergence of Adolf Hitler in the European continent and the world scene, it had remained as isolationist till they were pushed willingly or unwillingly, history has yet to approve of it—till they were pushed in the European theatre of war.

Now therefore, Sir, what I am saying is that India has to take cognisance of Asian logistic as well as geopolitical realities and who else have we got in this Asian continent except another Eurasian power—part European and part Asian—just across the borders of Kashmir and across Ladakh you have got a standing super power. I would like to circumscribe my statement by certain ponderables Sir, in a bit old fashioned way, Disraeli said—was it Disraeli? I may be wrong—that "this country that is Britain, has only permanent interest and no permanent friends."

We can modernise that statement...

AN HON. MEMBER : Rationalise it.

SHRI B. V. NAIK : I agree. As long as you accept my ideas, I am most willing to accept all your words and terminology. We can rationalise that statement and say there are three factors—friends, interests and policies. If we see all the reports of the External Affairs Ministry, we seem to have fixed the priorities in an absolutely topsy-turvy way. We seem to have permanent policies, fairly fickle and impermanent friends and absolutely temporary interests in our country. I would like to be proved I am wrong. Our policy of non-alignment has become permanent in the statute-book of our country for the past 25 years. We are not ready to modify it, with due deference to that great man with reference to the time when he said it. Some of the prophets of the world, ideological leaders of the world including Karl Marx, said things which were true and relevant for the time being but you cannot expect either a Buddha or a Marx or a Mohammed

or a Nehru or a Mao to be right for all times to come. I do not think Pandit Nehru himself wanted to be made relevant for all times to come. Why are we making a holy cow of this policy of non-alignment?

Let us assess the situation regarding friends. As far as USSR is concerned, it has been going steady with us. We have seen that it is fairly dependable throughout our period of history. But I am not so sure certain about our friends in the Arab world. What happened to the worthy representatives of India at the Rabat Conference? Now because we have been caught in an oil jam, justifiably we have made another drift, with due deference to that great leader, King Faisal—I am saying about the impermanence of friendship in world affairs. It is not to be blamed; it is not from the subjective point of view but from an objective point of view. I hope I have made it clear, because I cannot mention the name of the Head of this country on the floor of the House. I am trying to say something about the permanent nature of the friendship of our friends even in the Asian context. They have not been very permanent.

With regard to the oil crisis, I find an extremely interesting statement in this Annual Report of the Ministry of External Affairs for 1974-75 :

"Along with many other developing countries, India has also been severely hit by the energy crisis brought about by the unprecedented increase in oil prices. At the same time, India has supported the right of the oil producing countries to have sovereignty over their natural resources and to secure fair prices for their raw materials."

Fair prices, my foot! Because of the rising prices of the inputs; if the Punjab or Haryana farmer asks for an increase from Rs. 110 to Rs. 125, an increase of 15%, it is not considered fair. Over the last 20 or 25 years, since the nationalisation of oil companies in Arab countries and West Asia, they have been having a fairly good time. I do not question their *bona fides*.

But why should this country apologise for the Arab wealth, for their petrodollars when they made 400% increase?



[Shri B. V. Naik]

Call a spade a spade. 400% increase overnight because it was a tactical rise backed up by military power and they had a strategic victory over the Israelis and they had made a point. They have been clever and they have been courageous but don't say that you are supporting a fair price for their raw material. What is the fair price of Indian iron-ore? You are getting today a pittance of the cost of the ultimate steel that you produce. For the iron-ore produced at Billary and other places which is virtually 60% steel, you hardly give them less than about 2% or 3% of the total finished product. Now, let us, therefore, not try to do what is called internationally, a double thing. It is a harder world and there is hypocrisy in our thinking which is to be avoided. Now I would appreciate, the Arab do have a right but it would have been much better if this world particularly the poorer countries who had stood by them were given an option and there was a gradual escalation in prices.

The other point which I wanted to make is that now we are thinking in terms of petro-dollars. I think my economist friends will be interested that in the ultimate solution the only positive point that has been brought forward is the evolution of the concept of petro-dollars. Till now, all the currencies of the world directly or indirectly were based on gold, a material which is absolutely useless. Then it was based on hard currencies of the world like sterling and dollar.

Now, it is for the first time that all the currencies of the world—or at least a portion of the currencies of the world—are being backed up by what it should be, by one of the raw materials which is essential for getting the world monetary system running. Our Minister of External Affairs Shri Chavanji, who also knows about the finance of the world, should be able to appreciate it, I think, in any pattern it may look a bit futuristic and not very relevant. In any pattern of world monetary reform it will have to go. We may have to think in terms of iron dollars; we may have to think in terms of wheat dollars. We will have to take positive initiative in trying to bring about these reforms on the basis of a raw material. And, particularly, Sir, we have a stack in regard to iron-ore and manganese ore which

we have in abundance. Mr. Chairman, I have covered almost all the points except the most valid point which I wanted to make. I had the good opportunity of going through the petition presented by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan and backed up by Mr. Charan Singh and Mr. George Fernandes. I think, if there is one thing on which there can be a national debate and a national consensus could emerge of all the patriotic Indians not toeing this line or that line or any other line.

I think that it is in the field of foreign policy, because there the interests of all parties are the same. The interests of the country in regard to education electoral reforms, various methods by which *garibi* can be *hated*—all these things can be matters of opinion, depending upon our own thinking. The only thing on which there can be a national consensus was in regard to foreign affairs and it is here, that the entire document and the petition presented to the hon. Speaker is absolutely blind. Why I am saying this is this: I completely agree with some of the sentiments of my previous speaker, Mr. Scindia — it is a sort of an adult urge to get even, to get even with the Chinese, and all that. But the Asian collective security has received a fresh spurt, as I had said before the ex-hon. Minister Shri Dinesh Singh, presiding on the 24th of February, that the USSR as a proselytising communist power in the world, has lost its edge; it is not proselytising any more. But dissimilar economic and political systems can come together on the field of defence. Two dissimilar systems can come together in regard to collaboration: examples, USA and China. Under the circumstances, there is nothing to stop us getting together on the defence plane, irrespective of our national goals and the political and economic systems, with the USSR. I had also stated on the 24th of February before Shri Dinesh Singh presiding, in a seminar, that what we now see in Europe is detente. It has been the child of the European collective security system, both of NATO and of Warsaw Pact; and this detente in the Asian context is possible, provided we have an Asian collective security system; and the so-called theory of Dr. Henry Kissinger of the balance of power, is nothing more

than a balance of terror : and this world, at the present juncture, cannot afford this balance of terror.

Only one point : since I had made the last speech, since India had on the 18th May 1974 exploded its atomic device, we have joined this elite of the six countries which are the nuclear powers, technologically and physically speaking. Under the circumstances, it would not be an association with USSR, of unequal countries but of equal countries at certain planes. And, therefore, I would request the hon. Minister, while supporting his Demands, to take a fresh look at this concept of Brezhnev Doctrine.

**SHRI V. MAYAVAN** (Chidambaram) : I rise to say a few words on the Demands for Grant of the Ministry of External Affairs. Though I am not a student of foreign policy, I am able to comprehend the apparent changes that have taken place in our country's foreign policy. Sir, the foreign policy of our country has had two shifts during the prime-ministerships of father and daughter. We can omit the short intervening period of Shri L. Bahadur Shastri. I had referred to the two Prime Ministers because the External Affairs Minister whether it is Sardar Swaran Singh or Mr. Chavan has, unfortunately, no locus standi in formulating the foreign policy of our country.

He is just the mouth-piece of the Prime Minister. To the credit of Jawaharlal Nehru, he was External Affairs Minister for quite a long time. Now Shrimati Indira Gandhi is the sole leader of both the External affairs and Internal Affairs of our country. Though the External Affairs Minister is a Cabinet Minister, yet an outsider, who is not a member of this House, is the Chairman of the External Policy Formulation Committee, of which he is just a member. So, am I wrong in saying that the External Affairs Minister is just a mouth-piece ?

17 hrs.

As a layman what I find is that Prime Minister Nehru used to visit regularly all the Countries of the world. He used to make his pronouncements on any matter in any corner of the world. that was how he could intervene in

Korea and stop the war. Things have changed now. There is a second class calibre in world leadership and this is true whether of America or of the United Kingdom. Now during his daughter's rule, every day a foreign dignitary lands in Delhi.

Jawarlal Nehru, in keeping with his stature, neglected the small neighbouring countries, whereas his daughter has raised her stature by visiting the neighbouring countries. In fact both father and daughter have neglected African countries and Latin American countries.

During the father's time P. L. 480 officials, U. S. Aid Authorities, Ford Foundation personnel, Peace Corps volunteers etc. swarmed the country. During the daughter's period, the route rules the roost. Every alternate day a Russian delegation is in Delhi. The Russians who refused to help us in off-shore drilling some 18 years ago have now offered their technical assistance. The Kremlin has become the second home for our Ministers and Officials.

Before 1969, the rupee was devalued at the insistence of the World Bank, but Russia is unilaterally devaluing the Indian rupee by changing rouble-rupee ratio, to which my friends have already referred. I find from the Economic Survey of the Government of India for 1974-75 that the assistance received from U. S. A. during the period ended 1974 is Rs. 5,321 crores and that received from USSR during the same period is Rs. 553 crores. Perhaps now Russia wants to equal the assistance of U. S. A. by raising the value of the rouble to the rupee.

In respect of the Indian Embassies and High Commissions in foreign countries, I should like to say that they should be places of hospitality for all Indians who go abroad and who approach them for some assistance. I appeal to the Hon. Minister for External Affairs to devote his attention to reorganising the Embassies abroad. I understand that the Embassies in the Arabian Gulf countries are under-staffed. He should find time to do this at least, as he is not required for policy formulation.

It was recently mentioned in the newspapers in Delhi that the External Affairs Minister, when he was in

[ Shri V. Mayavan ]

London, could not get any welcome from his counterpart in the United Kingdom. The reason attributed was that the U. K. Ministers were busy in the Labour Party Conference.

It was also mentioned in the news item that in the High Commission what the left hand does is not known to the right hand. Under the garb of matured response, the External Affairs Ministry is pachydermic in its reaction; even though recently Dr. Kissinger rebuked in public the Indian Ambassador in USA, the External Affairs, Ministry retains its Himalayan stance.

Sir, I could not also understand our External Affairs Minister attending the Non-aligned Conference in Havana. We have formally recognised the PRG regime in South Vietnam. Professor Hiren Mukerjee has also referred to this. We have recognised the Palestinian Liberation Front. We have recognised the Sihanouk's party, as forming the legal Government in Cambodia. We condemned Israeli success and we hailed the success of Arabs.

We do the largest volume of trade with East European and Socialist countries. In the United Nations the USSR and the Socialist countries are the beacon-lights for India. Are we ashamed to call ourselves a socialist country and align ourselves with the socialist countries? It is rank hypocrisy for us to call ourselves as non-aligned. As Shri Naik has rightly stated, if you believe in non-alignment, why not we accept USA as a democratic country?

Coming to the question of Indian settlers in foreign countries, I am sorry that our Embassies do not take any interest in their welfare, except to give the advice that they should identify themselves with the interests of the countries in which they are settled. For example, many thousands of Muslims from Tamil Nadu are settled in Cambodia, South Vietnam and other far eastern countries. I need not say much about the war in Cambodia and South Vietnam. I would like to know what protection is being given to them in these countries.

We have already let down people in Burma, Ceylon and Uganda. In Uganda, I am told, Indian women are molested. We have not protected human rights and property rights of our Indian settlers. So we will have to protect the interests of Indian, wherever they are settled.

Coming to Middle East, we have been advocating the Arab cause from time immemorial. We did not vacillate even when the Middle-East countries were maintaining their deathly silence at the time of Pakistan's insurgency. Our foreign policy here has not met with success even to the limited extent of getting oil on short-term credit from OPEC countries. Our foreign policy, has not succeeded even to the extent of persuading the Saudi Arabian Princes to open petrol stations in India, as they are doing in Western countries.

We have no foreign policy at all in regard to West European countries except our tenuous association with the European Economic Community. We could not have a foreign policy in regard to affluent West European countries so long as we prostrate before the East European countries.

In our foreign policy formulations Latin America finds no place. I am reminded of an article which I read in the Readers' Digest a few years ago. Brazil invited Indian farmers to settle there. The climate in Brazil is akin to Indian climate. The red-tape in India was a boon to China, which sent many thousands of Chinese farmers to settle in Brazil. This is one example.

Our Embassies in Latin American countries are just places of rest and recreation for our starry-eyed foreign service personnel.

Do we wait for the time when all the Latin American countries would have become socialist countries like CUBA where recently in non-aligned conference was held.

Our foreign policy is successful to the extent of befriending Cuba and boycotting USA to whom we rushed for arms when the Chinese knocked at our doors.

I do not want you to think that I am propounding any new theory. I have said these things to show what indiscretions we commit in the execution of our foreign policy.

I would refer here to an erstwhile Indian Ambassador in whose house, the marriage of the P.M.'s second son was solemnised. He was not a career diplomat. He was picked out by Jawaharlal Nehru for assignments in some Middle Eastern countries, which were then the key countries of Pakistani propaganda. But this diplomat turned the table on Pakistan by arduously cultivating the authorities in those countries.

It is not enough that the External Affairs Minister attends conferences abroad and in the United Nations.

The Indian Diplomats must be capable of conveying Indian view points on world events effectively. The failure of these Diplomats was evident when during the liberation of Bangala Desh scores of Central Ministers and the other dignatories including the Imam of Jama Masjid were sent abroad to put across our stand.

Now with Shri Kaul in Washington being snubbed by Dr. Kissinger with, Shri B. K. Nehru neglected by Mr. Wilson in London and with Shri D. P. Dhar in Moscow whose magic touch cannot save the rupee, the External Affairs Ministry perhaps thinks of cultivating these super powers in regard to our Kashmiri problem, which seems to be the corner-stone of our foreign policy.

Indian cultural traditions and philosophical postulates are not the basis of our foreign policy. Indian poverty and its disputes with the neighbour have become the essentials of our foreign policy. This must be changed during the rule of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

South Vietnam has now become red. The next target is Thailand. Our neighbouring country Burma where half of the population stand for red would soon gradually become red. We must take care of these factors.

In conclusion, I would like to appeal to the Hon'ble Minister that the thrust of External Affairs has to be in the direction of Economic background. Economic industrial strength alone help in external affairs.

For example, West Germany and Japan command respect because of this.

The use of oil as a political weapon by Arab countries has put up a new dimension to world politics.

I again remind the Minister of External Affairs that we should not sell our power to any foreign Blocks. Recently, appeared in the newspapers that Indian settlers in Canada are in danger. What steps has the Ministry has taken to protect their interests. What are our Embassy people doing at Canada?

To end, we must be more and more self-reliant.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH  
(Pupri) : I rise to support the demand of the Ministry of External Affairs.

I hope, this is not a mere coincidence that when this august House is reviewing the conduct of our foreign policy the victorious army of Khmer Rouge is having its triumphant march in the capital city of Cambodia—with the fall of Phnom Penh and the sagging fortunes of Saigon regime, the entire vista of foreign policy projection in South Asia assumes a new dimension. Let us hope that the last vestiges of foreign influences and domination will be over soon.

Let us also hope that this process, the final scene, will not be so painful as it has been the chase hitherto. The U.S. administration seems to have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing from its infamous blunders and retreats. Even now, it is not too late for the Americans to realise and appreciate the reality of this situation in this region and come to terms with the representative opinion of Asian nations. But that does not seem to be possible as the U.S. policy in relation to this region and, in fact, in relation to the entire developing nations, has all along suffered from short-sighted, narrow and outmoded and outdated concepts and precept. Had it not been so, the valuable efforts and the resources, both men and material would not have been wasted in forging useless, infructuous and futile military pacts and alliances and in propping up undemocratic and authoritarian regimes, particularly, in Asia and Latin America.

It is said that the American administration has failed to appreciate the real spirit of the resurgent Asia and understands only the language of force. This

[Shri Hari Kishore Singh]

failure on the part of the successive U.S. administration to understand and appreciate the urges and aspirations of the people of this region and their design to dominate them have cast a heavy burden on the meagre resources of the people of the countries of this region.

The recent decision of the U.S. administration to lift the embargo on the sale of U.S. arms to Pakistan in another pointer to the effect that Americans neither forget anything nor do they learn anything from their mistakes, failure and blunders of the past. I am sure, the House will endorse the stand taken by the Government in this regard and we fully appreciate Mr. Chavan when he decided to cancel his visit to the United States of America for attending the meeting of the Indo-American Commission.

Let us make it clear to the U. S. administration that the old policy of balancing between Pakistan and India is no longer valid. I also take this opportunity to appeal to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto that he of all persons should appreciate the futility of arms race in this sub-continent. Perhaps, if under his leadership Pakistan would not have pursued a policy of arms race, Pakistan would not have been where it is today.

Here, I was very much amused to hear the arguments put forward by the spokesman of Janasangh, Shri Madhavrao Scindia. I fail to understand the concept of victor or vanquished in relation between the three nations of the sub-continent. We have had wars with Pakistan. But it does not mean that we have been victors in the classical term of the word and that Pakistan has been vanquished in the same manner. Unless we give up the idea of victor and vanquished as it originated in nineteenth century or in the earlier centuries, we will not be able to have a permanent relationship with Pakistan. When certain Pakistani spokesmen express an apprehension towards India, I am sure, the utterances of people, like, Shri Madhavrao Scindia and other spokesmen of Jana Sangh are very much in their minds.

I think that even now it is not too late for the rulers of Pakistan—and particularly the Prime Minister—to understand the real spirit of the Simla Agreement and appreciate that it provides for a lasting, permanent relationship between the two countries of the Sub Continent which were parts of one country not very long ago.

Another point which comes to my mind today is that, of course, we have to put forward our own policy on South East Asia and our relations with eastern countries; but, in this regard, we should not forget the world body's influence which has contributed very much to the promotion of peace throughout the world. It is unfortunate that in recent years the role of the UNO has diminished very much. For this, I think the super powers should be held primarily responsible because it is they who are trying to undermine the role and effectiveness of the UNO and are trying to settle issues which ought to be in the purview of the UNO. I don't grudge them anything on this point; if they are able to settle the issues and reduce tension without the aid of the UNO well and good. But, in the process, this institution, which has so far contributed, a great deal to the promotion of international peace and understanding, should not be undermined.

Another point which crops up in this context is the role of the super powers and their attitude towards the United Nations and the very structure of the United Nations. Here I will refer to the Security Council. Every care should be taken to make this institution, the main political organ of the United Nations, very effective. So long as it exists in its present form, I don't think it will really represent the democratic rights and aspirations of the world body and, therefore, it should be re-cast and re-structured and its membership and its composition should reflect more the composition of the world body and not merely those of the victors of post-world-war period. The Security Council should be re-constituted. If it is not made more effective, it should at least be made more democratic. Therefore, the idea of veto and permanent membership should be abolished and the Government of India should take steps in this regard.

While referring to the United Nations, I would also like to make a request to the Hon'ble Foreign Minister in regard to the demand made by the World Hindi Conference which was held last year in Nagpur. The demand was that Hindi should be made the official language of the United Nations. Now, an assurance was given on the Floor of the House that the Government of India is taking steps for taking it up with the United Nations itself. I hope that positive steps have been taken and that something will come out of it in this year itself.

Finally, it is also time for us to be a little introspective. The main weakness of our foreign policy has been the absence of a strong economic base commensurate with our geo-political situation and our size. This economic base has prevented us from projecting fully both our own interests as well as those of other developing nations of Asia and Africa. It is undoubtedly true that our efforts to acquire economic self-sufficiency has made its impression on other developing nations. It is also true that our championing of the cause of developing nations at international forums like the UNCTAD, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc. has earned us their good-will. But had we succeeded in building up a strong economic base meaningful to the economic activities of the developing countries, the entire texture of our foreign relations in the region would have undergone a fundamental change.

It seems that we are becoming more absorbed in our own affairs. The more we become absorbed in solving our own economic difficulties, the less effective will our voice become in the world affairs in general and in the Afro-Asian affairs in particular, as has been the case in the crisis which was there last year in West Asia and even today in the crisis which is there in South-East Asia. It is, therefore, imperative that, in order to play our real role in world affairs, the foremost factor is an internal economic base which can be of some meaning to the requirement of the developing nations.

Finally, I come to the point about the Indians abroad. In very many countries of Africa and also Western-hemisphere and in South-East Asia we have a good number of Indians

they have settled down there, but they have strong cultural ties and are emotionally attached to our country. The Government of India is doing well in providing scholarships to students for study here and also in promoting cultural ties. But I do not think the number of scholarships given to the Indian settlers in South East Asian countries or African countries for example, Mauritius or West Indies is enough. I suggest that since it does not cost foreign exchange, steps should be taken to increase the number of scholarships for the students in these countries.

With these words, I support the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of External Affairs.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the opportunities for a Parliamentary debate and discussion on foreign affairs are always, comparatively, lesser than those available for discussion on domestic and national issues. And that is natural and normal because no people, even in democracies, are interested so much in the country's foreign affairs as they are interested in the country's internal affairs. The debate that has developed so far on the discussion on Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of External Affairs is also an indication of the kind of interest evinced by the House in general and by the members in particular. But, Sir, I am one of those who have always welcomed any opportunity for discussing foreign affairs in our Parliament, because it is only through the Parliamentary forum that not only the Government but even the members can voice, even though very briefly, in a very cursory manner, their points of view with regard to important matters of foreign policy.

Now, Sir, the essence of foreign policy is negotiation, not legislation. Therefore, inevitably, the processes of Parliamentary control, of Parliamentary scrutiny, over the way the foreign affairs, develop, over the formulation of foreign affairs policy, are few and far between, are limited. But that does not mean that Parliamentary scrutiny and Parliamentary control over foreign affairs should not take place.

The External Affairs Ministry's report for the year 1974-75 is a good factual record. It does mention the kind of

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contacts which the Government of India, have been able to establish and enhance with a number of countries in the world at both the governmental level, i.e. at the official level, as also sometimes at non-official levels. It also narrates in detail about the visits of various Heads of States to our country and about some visits of our own heads to the other countries.

Although I realise that we are now in a world where open diplomacy, summit diplomacy and personal diplomacy at the highest level, has come to stay—has come to stay for good, I believe, to some extent—nonetheless, by and large, foreign policy and diplomacy are a matter of secret negotiations, discussions and consultations and communications through diplomatic channels.

It is here I feel that the conduct of our foreign policy requires afresh and bold reappraisal and look by the new Foreign Minister, Shri Chavan.

Sir, in this House, as in any democratic House, we are suffering from one handicap which is that our sources of information are canty and stray. By the very nature of things, a good number of sources of information are not available to Members of Parliament, and indeed to any member of public. As I said, foreign affairs have to be conducted on a secret basis. But that does not mean that democracy should not take the risk of informing the people through its Member of Parliament about the attitude and the approach that the country and the Foreign Affairs Minister have adopted towards foreign policy issues and programme.

Having said that I now come to some of the main points. Our foreign policy during the last 25 years of freedom and more has, by and large, been, if I may put it that way, a foreign policy with extensive ideological overtures. Even before our independence, our late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had been drafting a number of resolutions on matters dealing with foreign affairs and at that time, India's rôle was obviously zero. It is only a free country that can have a foreign policy. The factor of course, cannot be denied is that late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had the imagination and vision of projecting India in the whole comity of nations. Therefore as soon as we become

independent, we lifted our status not only because of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru himself, not also because of India's position itself, but also because of the fact that during 25 years or so preceeding our independence, Nehru and the Congress, which was not just a party then, but was a national organisation, gave a certain international image for India. So far so good.

The difficulty however, is that today even after 25 years of independence, when one looks at the development of India's foreign policy, one gets an impression that our foreign policy is punctuated more by ideology and idealism high sounding as they are, good, as they are sound sentiments as they are but not by a practical and a pragmatic approach. After all, a foreign policy can succeed only if it is, along with ideals and idealism, punctuated with and by as I said, a practical, pragmatic and realistic approach. And that approach has to be a continuous one, because a foreign policy must yield results. It must not yield results in terms of a pat on the back by foreign countries, important countries or small countries. We do not want only certificates and awards from other countries and Foreign Ministers; what we want is a better economic status for our country, a better national security and a better and greater image of India in the comity of nations. My criticism is that our foreign policy over a period of 25 years and more has not been able to produce this kind of climate, wherein one can say that it is giving and accruing to us more economic interests and more national security and a better image of India.

Viewed from this angle, let us see what we have been able to do in terms of four or five concrete areas. I will touch these areas briefly. Let us take our relationship with the two super-powers, USSR and USA. The report does mention on pages 4 and 5 the relations that India has with USSR on one side and with USA on the other. Just before the report was about to be printed finally and made available, it is stated at the end about certain setbacks which we received in regard to our relationship with USA. I would like the Government of India to remember always that in our relationship with USA, we have not made a correct distinction about relations between the Indian Government and the USA Administration on one side and the Indian people

and the American people on the other side. Even at the times of the worst crisis in terms of Indo-American relationship, it is on record that a number of official leaders, Senators, Congressmen and men of public life, intellectuals, University men and common people in America have not only had a soft corner for and an understanding of India's position and of its role in Asia, but at the same time they have made the severest criticism of their own Administration, whether it was—Johnson Administration or Nixon Administration. I, therefore, feel sorry at the strained Indo-US relationship. I believe strongly in the policy of non-alignment. But when I see the report and more than the report, when I see the situation of the whole country, although we are non-aligned and so I feel, we must have good relationship with both the super-powers, USSR and America, I find that our relationship with Russia is a little more than normal; a little more than, if I may say, perfect. It is perfect plus. It is normal plus and it is excessive on the side of making India's non-alignment look somewhat doubtful, somewhat — challenging, if not suspect in the eyes of a large number of countries, particularly the western democracies. Therefore, I would have liked that when India could have a good relationship with USSR—I want it that way—then India should also be able to have a meaningful dialogue and a meaningful relationship with the people and administration of USA. When I say 'administration', I do not mean that we should agree with what they say, but we should be able to inform the administration better and more sharply, more accurately, about the sentiments, aspirations and problems which India faces as a country in Asia with all its geographic and strategic situations.

About India and China in the same report on page 9 it is said:

"Towards China India continues to follow a policy of seeking normalisation of relations. China's attitude, however, remains unresponsive and unfriendly."

The same story is with regard to of course to a lesser extent, India and Pakistan. As long as our relationship with China and Pakistan are not put on a normal basis and on a normalised pattern, I am afraid that the challenge to our foreign policy and the test of our foreign policy will always be there. After all, the test of a

foreign policy is not the number of delegations from foreign countries visiting India. The test of a foreign policy with regard to our close neighbours, particularly, Pakistan and China is: what are we doing with regard to having a normalised relationship? This is not to suggest that the fault lies only on our side and there is no fault on the other side. Indeed there have been occasions when the ball has been in that court and not in our court. But in foreign affairs and in the conduct of foreign policy, one cannot take a rigid view and say that now we have played, our game, now we have played our role let the other side start playing back and then we will again play back with a different shot or little better shot. After all, we have to constantly review the position and find out whether there are areas where initiative, imaginative initiative based on a realistic assessment, based on certain risks which have got a certain historical backing in terms of developments and event of the countries of the continents of the world is at all possible. For this then I feel that all those thinking and research developments must take place in the matter of the formulation of the foreign policy, particularly with regard to these neighbours like China and Pakistan.

17 37 hrs.

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me say just a word about our relationship with the new African countries. I am glad, of course, that India is taking greater interest in the African countries. One of my criticisms for a long time has been that we have been too much west-oriented, sometimes too much big-power oriented, but not oriented really towards the developing countries. Therefore, it is good to have a really good and normal relationship with countries of Africa, the countries of Asia and the countries of Latin America. When I talk of Indo-African relationship, may I tell the Foreign Minister that the question of Indian nationals who lived in many of these countries like Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania and many other countries in Africa and who have now been forced out of those countries and some of them have become British subjects of their own choice and some have come to India—those problems are there, and I think it is also from that point of view, from that narrow selfish point of view necessary that the Government of India's foreign policy towards African independent countries



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is more cordial and more intimate so that we understand them better and they understand our difficulties and the delicate situations equally better. That is with regard to India and Africa.

At last word about our Embassies and diplomatic missions abroad. I must say that over a period of the last two decades and more, by and large, our selection of Ambassadors and High Commissioners has been satisfactory. But there had been times when the Foreign Minister will bear me out when I say this over a period of six months or a year, some of our important missions were without the Ambassador or High Commissioner. It is not fair, and it is also no use having India's missions and embassies, diplomatic missions and consular missions in every country. After all we have to be selective in this regard. Apart from the fact that India is a poor country and we cannot afford this kind of expensive luxury, we must only spend more time and money in areas where we can get dividends back and which is possible only if you appoint good ambassadors and diplomats drawn both from the career diplomatic service and also from public life. I am sure the Minister will agree with me that India has a galaxy of people in public life, tall in terms of talents, tall in terms of attainments and experience and tall in terms of projecting India's image abroad.

Why cannot, then, the Government draw proportionately a larger number of people from amongst these people of our public life into the diplomatic posts as ambassadors and high commissioners ?

Having said that, I want to point out to the hon. Minister in all earnestness and in all sincerity, about the way our embassies and diplomatic missions and consular officers are functioning in various parts of the world. Indeed I should have said, the way they are not functioning because, as a matter of fact, it has been the experience of most of us, I have been abroad on a few occasions, not recently of course. The last time I was abroad was in 1963, but I went four or five times earlier to the countries of the East and countries of the West, and I cannot recall a single occasion when I can say this that I went to my own embassy and I got a better treatment. I am sorry to tell you about this. In other countries embassies, I got better treatment. But in our own

country's embassies I did not get any courtesy or any cooperation. This is the difficulties faced not only by Indian nationals but also by Indian tourists. It is a bit humiliating to see our own people being stranded sometimes, being put to great distress, and sometimes even accidents take place. You will remember, last year, there was a huge accident in Paris when more than 300 people died due to the aircraft mishap. There were two Indians on the plane. It was a hell of a thing for us to get information; unfortunately one was a relation of mine and it was, as I said, a hell of a time for us, to get contacts with our own people even in such acute cases of a distress. It has been found several times that the functioning of our diplomatic missions abroad was not as effective as it should be, and I am sure, now that the Minister has taken new charge of his responsibilities, he will see to it that the functioning of our embassies abroad in terms of efficiency, in terms of service-oriented attitudes, and in terms of economy, will be put on proper lines. A lot of expenses are there a lot of foreign exchange is being wasted, and therefore, what I feel is that Government could set up some kind of small cell in the External Affairs Ministry to look into the question whether we need embassies and to develop missions in every country of the world. There are 140 or so countries of the world who are members of the UN. I don't think we should need to have diplomatic relations with each and every country because that is not a barometer of our strength or prestige. Even bigger countries have fewer embassies, but India has a large number of embassies but with lesser efficiency, and so this kind of perversion has to go. There is another aspect of the matter, and that is about our external publicity. There is also linked with it the question of passport service. All these things need to be looked in to a little more effectively by the Ministry of External Affairs then what was done so far.

With these words I conclude, thanking you for having given me the time to speak on this Ministry's Demands for Grants.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDER MOHAPATRA ( Balasore ) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the policy at home generally reflects in the policy abroad. We cannot certainly take a conservative policy at home and take a liberal or revolutionary policy abroad. When Mr. Canning was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in England

some journalists branded him as a conservative at home and a liberal abroad and Canning said, it is not correct, because, the policy at home always reflects in the policy abroad. So, I conclude from that in India, under the leadership of our Prime Minister, the policy at home is revolutionary and the policy abroad is bound to be revolutionary and we are bound to extend the fullest cooperation to the socialist countries abroad.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I go into the diplomatic history of our country during the last 27 years, as a teacher, I can divide it into three parts.

First part is this. At the beginning, it was moulded by Shri Garja Shankar Bajpai who was probably a little pro-American. Later on, with the experience, gained abroad, we found resurgent nations coming up. The Government was bound to take a policy to support the revolutions outside. That was precisely why India took a revolutionary stand in the U.N.O. in supporting the Korean rebels; when Koreans were fighting against the American imperialism at the U. N. Organisation. Sir Benegal Rau took a bold stand in the U.N. to support the peoples' movement in Korea and moved for re-unification.

The period under Pandit Nehru's leadership was the period, when India started following an active neutralist policy—it was not a policy of detachment—supporting the neutral nations and making the neutral or smaller nations feel that they have faith in the comity of nations. That is why we found there came Nasser or Tito or Sockarno or Chou-En-Lai, and Pandit Nehru took a leading part in formulating a policy of neutralism—active neutralism to make our voice felt on the policy of anti-racialism, policy of self-reliance, policy to make our nation a great nation,—a strong nation.—

I would divide the entire period into three stages. From 1971 onwards, when we fought the Bangladesh war and created a Sovereign Bangladesh, probably, for the first time, Indians won this war. Sir, as a student of History, if I look back to the period of one thousand years, probably, this is the first time that the Indians felt that they could win the war. I do not know if anybody else could give me two or three more instances. Since then, we followed a policy to make our nation very strong and to make it a great nation. This feeling

that India is a nation to be reckoned with, a great nation to be counted upon to talk across the table. If India's voice has to be counted upon, then India must feel that it will lead at least the neutral nations and the Asian nations against the imperialism.

Mr. Speaker Sir, India's policy is very strong. But, India's policy has also changed from time to time. There was a time when Russia was considered to be a nation of iron curtain—State of Iron Curtain—and it was difficult to know what was going on inside Russia. But, when Mr. Khrushchev came to India and when Pandit Nehru received him and Shri Bulganin they addressed millions of people. There was a mammoth gathering in Calcutta—a few millions of them. The journalists said that there were four millions of people. For the first time, we came to know that there was already a revolution inside Russia and a democratic set-up or a democratic thinking was coming into the public and Russian politics. The Indians then started appreciating the Russian diplomacy. Since then I think, Pandit Nehru—a great democrat, a great socialist—had been to China as well as to Russia. He thought that Communism was something altogether different. What was the role of China? Well, China showed us a different type of Communism—in aggressive type of Communism—which Pandit Nehru had never thought of the great democrat or socialist, Pandit Nehru never thought that a communist country could invade another country and venture an aggression against another country. It was a shock to him that a Communist country could wage a war. After that our relation with China has been very static. Shri Mavalankar said that China had been non-responsive. Even today they are most critical of India after the Ping Pong Diplomacy. This is what the Vice-Minister, Chao Chia Hung said in Calcutta :

"We are happy to see the hospitality of the Indian people and we will cherish their profound friendly feelings towards Chinese people".

"Our Government is ready for talks to normalise our relations."

After, that when there was an accord with Sheikh Abdullah, the People's Daily of China was vigorous in criticism

[Shri Shyam Sunder Mohapatra]

against India when they said that the Indians are robbers; Indians are dacoits and if I may use the word, they said 'India has annexed Kashmir'. This is the Chinese attitude. So, we cannot be responsive to the extent that we lose our honour and our prestige. So if they are non-responsive, we should also be non-responsive to them because a strong nation should make itself a strong nation if not in words, in deeds at least. Sir, India in 1950 and 1953 probably committed a blunder in accepting Chinese suzerainty over Tibet.

AN HON. MEMBER : Sovereignty.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDER MOHAPATRA : There was conflict between the terms 'sovereignty' and 'suzerainty'. As students of history and political science we know it was suzerainty over Tibet. But I think the facts are belying the real situation because in Tibet there is no freedom of the Tibetan people. Sir, time has come when India as one of the leaders of Asian nations must raise the issue of human rights problems in Tibet. If we cannot challenge the stand once we took, and which is a settled fact, at least we must take up the cause of the Tibetan people on the floor of the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we must also focus our attention on the problems of Indian sub-continent. In the Indian sub-continent we have solved the problem of Bangladesh. As Professor H.N. Mukherjee said under the leadership of our Foreign Affairs Minister and the Irrigation Minister the Farakka problem and other problems will be solved but there is a criticism by vested interests that India has supported one party system in Bangladesh, that India has supported Presidential type of Government in Bangladesh. But I can tell you that the Government of Bangladesh now under the leadership of Mujibur Rehman is more democratic than many socialist countries. You must appreciate the crisis through which Bangladesh was going. Forty lakhs of people sacrificed their lives for independence and after that international and national vested interests sabotaged the cause of freedom. There is rank corruption there. There are saboteurs and collaborators who collaborated with Pakistan regime. They wanted to subvert the independence. What alternative was there for Mujibur Rehman to take other than this? He wanted, at least for the time being, to solve the problem

with iron hands. Is there any country in the world which can establish socialism, in such a short time, through democracy. I think there is none. As a student of history tell me, is there any power in the East European countries which has done so? It is difficult to establish socialism through democracy. That is why if he has to establish socialism in the shortest possible time perhaps he has to take some other course.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, our attitude to socialist countries should be a little different. Sir, you had been both to North and South Korea. What are we seeing in South Korea! Even today 50,000 American forces are there in Seoul. They are crushing the peoples' movement. They are murdering the intellectuals. They are killing the teachers and there is no independent thinking in South Korea. It is the North Korea and the leadership of North Korea, their President, Kim Il Sung, who is popular both in North and South Korea. What should be the attitude of our Government to North Korea? It should be this attitude that we support their cause and not support the Government of South Korea, which is a paper Government of the Americans.

Our attitude as far as the Middle East is concerned should be a little different. Our friendship with Iraq should grow from strength to strength. Let us not forget that Iraq was the only Arab country during the Bangladesh liberation to support us and after the war it was the first and the only Arab country to recognise Bangladesh. We should extend our full support to Iraq and go against zionism and go against the American clique in the Arab countries, who subvert the aspirations of the people. If we cannot do it, then, probably history will not pardon us. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will also say a few words about our embassies abroad. Mr. Mavalankar has said about this. I have also my experience. What should be the criterion of appointing somebody as an ambassador? Should he be a career diplomat? Should he be an officer who had a meritorious past and who was a top ranking student in the University? Sir, in France, people told me that after Sardar Panikkar and Ali Yavar Jung, there is yet somebody to go there who can talk to the professors about Roma Rolland and who can go to the Soborn University and find his time to talk across the table

with connoisseurs of art, architecture and literature. Sir, there are people in our embassies who even do not know when Megasthenes came to India. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you will be surprised to know that this is the stuff we find in our embassies sometimes. They must be men of culture, they must know history and they must have intellectual background to represent our country abroad. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I suggest that while assigning people to other countries, we must find out whether the ambassador who is going there to represent our country has that background to represent our country. Otherwise, I think, we will lose our reputation in foreign countries that we have not sent good people, Sir, I will not speak much, Sir, our policy has been that we should be self-reliant and our policy has been to make our nation very strong. We should pursue this policy to its logical conclusion so that our country is reckoned as one of the highest and strongest countries in the world.

With these words, I support the Demands.

#### STATEMENT RE. : ELECTIONS IN GUJARAT

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS, MINISTER OF SPACE, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI). Mr. Speaker, Sir, the House is aware that over the weekend, Shri Morarji Desai, one of our distinguished members, has broken his fast.

The earlier decision to hold elections in Gujarat only after the end of the monsoon was because of the severe drought conditions existing at present in large parts of the State and was also in keeping with the accepted convention in the country that General Elections are not held at the height of summer or during the rains in order to minimise inconvenience to the people in the exercise of their franchise.

This decision was not taken lightly or with any political motivation. No question of principle or policy was involved here apart from what we thought was the best for the people of Gujarat. We did not want to do anything against their interests.

The Government of Gujarat is putting in a tremendous effort to alleviate the hardships of the drought affected areas. We genuinely felt that elections now would divert the attention of the Administration and the people from their concentration on this urgent task and necessitate the redeployment of personnel for election work.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai) : President's Rule for fourteen months ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : This could not be in the interest of the people of Gujarat where large numbers of people are on the move, either working on relief projects or taking their cattle to other districts. Even drinking water has to be transported over long distances.

I have never stood on prestige. However, I do feel that fasts of this nature are unjustified and constitute an irrational form of political pressure. Many friends have drawn attention to the fact that Shri Morarji Desai himself was forthright in expressing similar views in the past.

I believe a rumour was spread that we might put off elections. There was no truth in this. Our motives were being misrepresented and our anxieties misunderstood. I had clearly told Shri Morarji Desai, and it had also been stated in Parliament, that elections would be held as soon as possible after the monsoons and that the process would begin in September. If the rains ended sooner, we could have advanced the date of the elections. Thus the issue at stake was only three or four months.

28 hrs.

SHRI SHYMANDAN MISHRA : Completely wrong, Using President's rule for 14 months.