

15.58 hrs.

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: We shall now take up the Demands under the control of the Ministry of External Affairs.

DEMAND NO. 15—TRIBAL AREAS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,54,01,000 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, 1965, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

DEMAND NO. 16—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,99,91,000 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, 1965, in respect of External Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 17—DADRA AND NAGAR
HAVELI AREA

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,22,000 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, 1965, in respect of 'Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area'."

DEMAND NO. 18—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,16,06,000 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, 1965, in respect of 'Other revenue expenditure of the Ministry of External Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 115—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,51,25,000 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, 1965, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs'."

Mr. Speaker: Those hon. Members desirous of moving their cut motions may send chits to the Table within the next ten minutes.

Shri P. K. Deo: While moving the cut motion standing in my name, I beg to submit that it is gatifying to note that the world is today no longer divided between two monolithic and antagonistic power blocs; thanks to the statesmanship of the UK, USA and USSR in signing a test ban treaty and the great political foresight shown by the USA and the USSR by retrieving this world from a boiling cauldron in the Caribbean by solving the Cuban crisis, which would otherwise have not only led to mutual suicide of the USA and USSR but would have led to the total annihilation of the world. A new awareness has dawned on the world that there is no future for the world without some kind of a world order.

In spite of this favourable climate being created in the world, it is regrettable to note that the graph of tension so far as our relations with Pakistan are concerned has been increasingly rising. We hear distressing reports of firings by the Pakistani Rifles along our border. Several instances of violation of cease fire have come to our notice along the Kashmir border. Communal passion has been let loose in Pakistan, which has led to the migration of nearly two lakhs of refugees from East Pakistan. This stream has not yet dried up. The influx is at the rate of 5,000 per day.

As many as 30,000 Christians have come from East Pakistan from the Mymensing area. We learn that Buddhists are also coming away from Pakistan. We will have to give them full opportunity for rehabilitation. After all, it is we who were a party in agreeing to the vivisection of this country on the basis of religion. I condemn all those who say that we should retaliate. It is unchivalrous, cowardly and un-Indian. We sincerely hope, this House also sincerely hopes, that the Home Ministers' conference which is now taking place will be crowned with success and a climate of safety will be created for the minorities in Pakistan. Whenever there is communal riot in Pakistan, naturally it has its repercussions in this country, and I therefore hope this conference will go a long way to create a climate of safety for these minorities.

16 hrs.

As you know, the joint talks at the Ministerial level on Kashmir had failed. On the eve of the talks, the Sino-Pakistan alliance, a marriage of convenience, was solemnized, and the dowry given was 2,000 square miles out of the 32,000 square miles of Indian territory illegally held by Pakistan. It came as a bank just on the eve of these talks. We all know that Kashmir is an integral part of India, in fact and in law. This is affirmed by history, tradition and culture. We got the legal status by the Instrument of Accession of Maharaja Hari Singh and it has been further ratified by the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir, and subsequently by the elected Assembly of Kashmir.

However firm it may be, if we want that it should be permanent, we will have to win the heart of the people of Kashmir, and make them feel one with us. This cannot be achieved by thrusting on them an unpopular and corrupt Government as we have done for the last ten years.

Then separatist provision of article 370 has to be abrogated. That will hasten the process of full integration of Kashmir with India.

I cannot appreciate why the problems of Goa, NEFA and Nagaland should be looked after by the Ministry of External Affairs. They are integral parts of India, their problems are our domestic problems; if at all they are to be looked after, they should be looked after by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

16.03 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*].

The hesitancy on the part of Government in taking such action puts impediments in the process of national and emotional integration of this country. Unless we act in the right direction, we should be afraid that Assam in no time will be a second Kashmir for India.

With all their hesitation, so far as Kashmir is concerned, it is a good thing that the correct step has been taken in that the Sadar-e-Riyasat is going to be termed the Governor, and the Prime Minister is going to be called the Chief Minister as in any other State. We have also taken the correct step in freeing Sheikh Abdullah, the leader of the masses in that area.

For the Kashmir problem there should be a national approach; it should not be a parochial or partisan approach. It should not be thought that it is the National Conference, which is a part of the Congress, which is the only organisation which can deliver the goods. There are patriotic elements like Shri Premnath Dogra, and the Praja Parishad, which is a unit of the Jana Sangh. All these patriotic forces should be rallied together and a national Government be forged if we want the people of Kashmir to be with us for all time to come. Once the people of Kashmir are with us, no evil design of Pakistan or China is going to succeed.

[Shri P. K. Deo]

Pakistan cannot frighten us by using the word "plebiscite".

Shri R. G. Dubey: But Shri Masani wants a plebiscite.

Shri P. K. Deo: In Pakistan, a reference to democracy cannot be tolerated in the National Assembly. When an hon. Member made a reference to the success of democracy in India, the Speaker of the National Assembly did not permit him to do so. So, for Pakistan, where there is absolutely no democracy, to talk of self-determination of the Kashmir people and to ask for a plebiscite is ridiculous.

We know that even if there is a plebiscite, it will be in India's favour. Have we not seen that in 1949 that the two tiny villages of Hilchi and Tavat voted in favour of India, even though these are predominantly Muslim villages, when a referendum was taken to determine their will, whether they would like to opt for India or Pakistan?

A study of the debates of the Security Council makes very interesting revelations. It will be risky to rely indefinitely and exclusively on the veto of Russia. We will have to make our case stronger. For that, we will have to make the other Members of the Security Council interested in the case and make them know the real state of affairs. Shri Chagla has done a very good job, but simply going to the Security Council is not enough. All the decisions in the Security Council are taken in the State capitals. So, he has to visit all those State capitals and convince them that our stand is perfect and they will have to support us.

In spite of various pinpricks, I do not think there will be any military adventure or showdown by Pakistan

because of the following reasons. If Pakistan ever attempts to have a military adventure with India, she will lose all diplomatic sympathy. Secondly, Pakistan's military machine has been linked with that of the United States of America, and the United State's friendship with this country has been reaffirmed and confirmed. Further, the whole world banks on this country. They all feel that a militarily strong and economically progressive India can put a stop to the expansion of Chinese imperialism in this world

It is a pity that with utter disregard to all friendly advice, Pakistan goes ahead to strengthen the Pindi-Peking axis. It is only hatred against this country that has brought about this collusion.

Coming to China, we get grim reports that there has been larger concentration of troops since 1962, and that they outnumber us at the border. We also hear that where there was nothing a bunker has been put up, where there was a bunker, a tent has been pitched, where there was a tent now there is some stone structure. By occupying large chunks of Indian territory, China has been reaping military and political benefits. It is most unfortunate that we have acquiesced in these illegal acquisitions of China. Till now no step has been taken to redeem the pledge of November 14, 1962, to oust the intruders from the sacred soil of this country. We rely on Colombo proposals and the several talks which are likely to take place. But any talk prior to redeeming the pledge of November 14, 1962 would be derogatory to India's honour. We hear of the Second Bandung Conference in the name of non-alignment and Afro-Asian solidarity. It seems to be a trap to invite India, to make India eat the humble pie and accept the *status quo* on the northern border. We should be careful.

Coming to the home front, we see that there are persons in this country, in the Communist Party of India, who act as the fifth column and they have been actively circulating documents defining Chinese aggression 'as the struggle caused by unjustified provocation of China by reactionary elements in the Government of India.' All these things have to be looked into.

We are of course grateful to the West for their timely help, for the joint air exercises, for the economic aid and for PL 480 aid. But the acquisition of genuine friendship is more important than acquisition of military hardware. With India's diplomatic fumbling, China has stolen a march ahead of us in diplomacy. While China has been making new friends, we are losing our confirmed allies. At the age of 63, the Chinese Prime Minister walked over our head in his hectic tour of Africa and in the periphery of the Indian sub-continent to make friends. We should shed our big brother attitude. We are fast losing our ground in Burma, Ceylon and Nepal. If you take into consideration the export figures of 1960-61, our export to Burma was Rs. 651 lakhs which is today Rs. 189 lakhs. From 1843 lakhs in 1960-61 in the case of Ceylon, it has come down to 819 lakhs. I do not have the figure for Nepal for 1960-61; for 1961-62 it was Rs. 916 lakhs; it has come down to Rs. 490 lakhs.

What was our attitude towards Malaysia. We lack genuineness of heart to support the cause of Malaysia the genuineness of heart with which Tunku Abdul Rahman supported the cause of India when this country was the victim of naked Chinese aggression in 1962. In Africa, Mr. Chou En-Lai declared after his tour that conditions in Africa are excellent for revolution. The prophecy was followed by a coup in Zanzibar. From oblivion personalities like Okelo and

Babu emerged into prominence, with their training in China and in Cuba. We got grim reports that Indian life and property had been lost. In this connection, an hon. friend from Kutch has written a letter to the hon. Prime Minister in which he has narrated the various details, how the Kutchs going from this country and settled in Zanzibar have been ill-treated. An atmosphere of insecurity still exists in East Africa after its independence. Government has been conspicuous by its callousness. They should use their good offices and through their various High Commissions in the respective States should ensure human and equal treatment to Indians. Diplomatic ties have to be established with countries like Mauritania, Chad, Nigar, Dahomy, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazaville), etc. They are all in the French Community, they have become independent and are members of the U.N. but no diplomatic ties have been established so far. So, also is the case in regard to Cameroon and Gabon.

Our external publicity is far from satisfactory; it has to be streamlined. We should not be niggardly regarding the provision of funds. I had the privilege of visiting the most populous State in Africa, Nigeria in 1962. The Prime Minister's historic letter written immediately after the Chinese invasion to the Prime Minister of Nigeria Abu Baker Balewa—I could not get sufficient number of copies of that letter to be circulated to the various delegations to the Commonwealth Conference which they wanted to see for lack of funds in the Indian High Commission at Nigeria. In populous places like Nigeria, we must have our news bulletins. A small country like Pakistan prints a weekly news bulletin and it circulates the length and breadth of that country. I think similar steps should be taken to disseminate Indian news in foreign countries.

Some of our Ambassadors are doing excellent work and some are mediocre but some are still confined to their bureaucratic cell. They do not go out

[Shri P. K. Deo]

and mix with the people at large and they do not take the opportunity to contact and educate people in those countries about what India stands for. Government should consider sending more delegations of M.Ps, artists, sportsman, farmers, students, etc. to various countries to project a true picture of India; then we will be able to win friends. There exists a wide area of international friendship and if we are wise and hold enough we will be able to cultivate friendship with success. There is a saying: faint hearts do not win fair ladies. When I quote this, I mean genuine friends. We should shed our international ambiguity of non-alignment. Our policy of non-alignment was at one time equidistant from U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. In the present context, it should be close proximity to both and take all possible help from both. Luckily for us, both are antagonistic to China.

Coming to Sino-Soviet conflict I beg to submit that it is not only ideological; there has been a definite clash of national and international interests. I should say international interests because each one has been fighting with the other to dominate the movement of international communism and it has its repercussions on the C.P.I. in this country which has its extraterritorial roots. Instead of dogmatic approach of non-alignment we should rally all forces against Pindi-Peking axis. In the past by our inconsistent behaviour we have lowered our prestige and turned many friends into foes. As a glaring example of double standard I shall quote one. The simplest exercise in foreign affairs is recognition and establishment of diplomatic ties. By switching recognition from Formosa to Peking we have laid down the principle that any regime which governs the territory is entitled to recognition whether it is to one's liking or not. But we do not follow this noble principle so far as Israel is concerned. It is a living reality and we have been guarding the Israel border on behalf of the United Nations in the Gaza

strip. Is it not the fear of offending Nasser? A small country like Burma has diplomatic ties both with Israel and U.A.R.

Coming to anti-colonialism, I beg to submit that even though we condemn Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, we accept the Chinese colonialism over Tibet. If we take cognizance of this medieval treaty of China with Tibet to establish Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, we cannot afford to ignore the treaties of Salazar and his clique for their claims over Goa.

Sir, we expressed indignation at the murder of Lumumba, but we remained completely silent when Imre Nagy was killed. We loudly regretted the assumption of direct rule by King Mahendra in Nepal, but we kept mum when democracies were thrown overboard in Asia and Africa by the determined cliques, when graveyards of democracy were dug by the perpetuation of one-party rule and when Presidents were elected for lifetime by their own henchmen.

Lastly, with all humility, I beg to submit that the Prime Minister who has had the privilege to guide the destinies of this nation for the last 17 years is not keeping well. We pray to God that he will get back his health and, at the same time, under the present circumstances as he is now today, I beg to submit that he should relieve himself of the onerous responsibilities of this Ministry and nominate somebody as Deputy Prime Minister. Somebody now officiates for him in the Cabinet meetings; somebody acts for him in the External Affairs Ministry and there is a deputy leader in this House who is also somebody else. So, I beg to submit that to put an end to all speculation, he will have to nominate a Deputy Prime Minister, because the administration is not just to turn the wheel of democracy but is something more; it requires dynamism.

डा० गोविन्द वास (जबलपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आरम्भ से ही अपनी वैदेशिक नीति का बहुत बड़ा समर्थक रहा हूँ। इस का कारण है। हमारी वैदेशिक नीति मेरी दृष्टि से कोई नई नीति नहीं है। लेकिन भारत की संस्कृति रही है, उस संस्कृति की परम्परा के अनुसार है। हम अपने हजारों वर्षों के इतिहास को देखें तो भारतवर्ष ने कभी इस बात का प्रयत्न नहीं किया कि संसार में संघर्ष हो, युद्ध हों, विप्लव हों। भारतवर्ष में कभी किसी दूसरे देश पर आक्रमण नहीं किया और सदा इस बात की कोशिश की कि सारे संसार में शान्ति रहे। इसी नीति का अनुसरण महात्मा गांधी ने आधुनिक काल में किया, और उन्होंने एक नये मार्ग से हम को स्वराज्य दिलाया। उसी नीति का अनुसरण हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू कर रहे हैं, और आज से नहीं कर रहे हैं, जब से वे कांग्रेस में आये तब से कर रहे हैं। मुझे भी कांग्रेस में आये लगभग ४५ वर्ष हो गये और मैं जानता हूँ कि जिस समय हम पराधीन थे उस समय भी पंडित जी के ही प्रस्ताव वैदेशिक नीति के सम्बन्ध में कांग्रेस कार्यकारिणी में आते थे, अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी में आते थे और कांग्रेस के खुले अधिवेशनों में आते थे। तो हम ने जिस नीति का अनुसरण किया है, पंडित जी जिस नीति के अनुसार भारतवर्ष को चला रहे हैं, मैंने अभी आप से निवेदन किया कि वह नीति हमारी नई नीति नहीं है। हमारी परम्परा के अनुसार है।

श्री नाथ पाई : दुनिया बदल रही है।

डा० गोविन्द वास : स्वाधीनता के बाद भी हम इस नीति पर चले। हमारे पंचशील के सिद्धान्त भी इसी नीति के अनुसार हैं।

चीन का आक्रमण हुआ। चीन के आक्रमण के लिये हम तैयार नहीं थे। हमें आशा नहीं थी कि चीन हमारा इतना बड़ा मित्र बनता है, जो चीन हमारे पंचशील के सिद्धान्तों का स्वीकार करता है, उस के पक्ष में घोषणायें करता है, वह चीन इस प्रकार हमारी पीठ में छुरा भोंकेगा। जब चीन का आक्रमण हुआ हम उस समय विफल हुए अपनी रक्षा में, और यदि हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के सद्गुण एक महान् व्यक्ति न होता तो वह एक ऐसा समय था जिस समय हम अपनी नीति में डिंग जाते और किसी न किसी गुट में सम्मिलित हो जाते। हमने वह नहीं किया, पंडित जी के सफल नेतृत्व के कारण नहीं किया, और पंडित जी स्वयम् इस नीति से नहीं डिंगे।

पहले अमरीका और रूस दोनों ही हमारी इस नीति को नहीं समझते थे। जब कोई बात हम सत्य के, न्याय के, आधार पर रूस के पक्ष में कहते थे तो अमरीका नापज हो जाता था, जब कोई बात हम सत्य और न्याय की दृष्टि से अमरीका के पक्ष में कहते थे तो रूस नापज हो जाता था। लेकिन अब वे हमारी नीति को समझने लगे हैं। इसीलिये आप देखिये, दोनों में से कोई इस बात का इच्छुक नहीं है, दोनों में किसी की इच्छा नहीं है, कि इन गुटों में से किसी में आज हम सम्मिलित हों। आज यह आवाज अमरीका के गुट से या रूस के गुट से नहीं उठ रही है। आज यह आवाज देश में ही उठती है। हमारी नीति इस समय भी सफल हुई। इस के लिये भी चीन का आक्रमण प्रमाण है। समझिये कि इस समय

[डा० गोविन्द दास]

हमारी नीति अगर किसी गुट में सम्मिलित न होने की न होती, यदि हम अमरीका के गुट में होते या चले जाते, तो रूस जो चीन का इतना बड़ा मित्र था, क्या करता। इस लिये हम उस समय भी इस काम में मफल हुए।

अभी सुरक्षा के जो अनुदान थे उन पर बोलते हुए डा० लोहिया ने कुछ बड़ी अजीब बात कही। पहले वे अपने भाषण में बोले :

“हमारी नीति मायाजाल हो गई है, पलटन की नीति एक मायाजाल हो गई है, जममें यथायंवादिता बिल्कुल रह नहीं गई है। उसका नमूना, अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप को भी कई दफे मिला होगा। कई दफे क्या हमेशा ही मिलता रहता है। यह सारी बातें ऐंसे कह दी जाती हैं जैसे कि उन को कभी करना नहीं है। कभी तो इतनी लम्बी बातें कही जाती हैं कि उममें मे नतीजा क्या निकलता है कि चलो राष्ट्र पंचायत में जा कर अपना झल निकाल लें। बात तो ऐंसे कही जाती है मानो सारी दुनिया का सामना करना है, सारी दुनिया को बदलना है। लेकिन नतीजा हमेशा राष्ट्र पंचायत निकलता है।”

उसी भाषण में केवल दो/मिनट बाद डा० लोहिया ने क्या कहा, उसको भी जरा सुनिये :—

“अब मैं आंग्ल अमरीका और सोवियत सहरों के बारे में अर्ज करूंगा कि इन में से सदा किसी एक पर निर्भर रहना गलत है। और यह हमारे लिए बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात हुई है कि

देश की आत्मा टूट चुकी है। हम देखते हैं कि देश में कुछ लोग हैं जो केवल आंग्ल अमरीकी गहारे पर निर्भर रहना चाहते हैं, तो कुछ दूसरे लोग हैं जो कि केवल सोवियत गहारे पर निर्भर रहना चाहते हैं। मैं जोरदार शब्दों में कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारी रण नीति और विदेश नीति में इतना लोच होना चाहिए कि ज़रूरत पडने पर हम देश की सुरक्षा के लिए जहां से भी हमको सहायता मिल सकती है वहां से ले लें। हमको अपने दिमाग को किसी एक गुट से नहीं बांध देना चाहिए। और साथ साथ हमें अपनी खुद की ताकत भी बढ़ानी चाहिये।”

जिस नीति को डा० लोहिया मायाजाल कहते हैं उसी का समर्थन एक ही व्यक्ति एक ही मांस में ये दोनों बातें एक दूसरे के खिलाफ कैसे कह सकता है यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। डा० लोहिया जी की कई बातों के कारण मुझे सन्देह होता है कि उन के दिमाग का कोई न कोई स्कू डीला है। इसीलिए वे हर बात में इस तरह की बात कहा करते हैं। हिन्दी को वह बड़े भारी समर्थक हैं। लेकिन फिर कहते हैं : “Let Hindi go to hell.”

श्री त्यागी : ताकि वहां भी लोग हिन्दी बोल सकें।

डा० गोविन्द दास : वे कहते हैं, यहाँ अंग्रेजी न चले लेकिन १४ भाषाएं चलें। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि केन्द्र का काम, इस संसद का काम या सचिवालय का काम दो भाषाओं में तो चल सकता है—हालांकि चलना एक ही में चाहिए—हिन्दी में ही

चलना चाहिए—लेकिन १४ भाषाओं में कैसे चलेगा ? इस तरह की अनाप शनाप बातें वह जाने किस प्रकार और कैसे कह देते हैं, यह मेरी समझ के बाहर है। जो बातें वह कहते हैं उससे एक ही बात मेरी समझ में आती है कि उनके दिमाग का कोई न कोई स्क्रू ढीला हो गया है।

जहाँ तक हमारी वैदेशिक नीति का सम्बन्ध है, अभी कोलम्बो में जो एक बड़ी भारी परिषद हुई उसमें वहाँ की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती भंडारनायके ने जो कहा उसकी रिपोर्ट समाचारपत्र में इस प्रकार है :—

“द्वितीय तटस्थ देश सम्मेलन की तैयारी समिति में श्रीलंका की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती भंडारनायके ने कहा, द्वितीय सम्मेलन आयोजित करने का मुख्य उद्देश्य उन मुद्दों एवं विषयों पर पुनः विश्वास प्रकट करना है जिन्होंने तटस्थ देशों को सन् १९६१ में समीप ला दिया था। इसी के साथ हमें इस निश्चय को और दृढ़ बनाना है कि हम अपनी नीतियों पर कायम रहेंगे। सन् १९६१ के बाद कई देश स्वतंत्र हुए हैं और उनमें से कई ने तटस्थ नीति को अपनाया है।”

कुछ बातें ऐसी हैं कि जिनके सम्बन्ध में हम विभिन्न राजनीतिक दलों में रहते हुए भी एक साथ रह सकते हैं, जैसे हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ हैं, देश के निर्माण का प्रश्न है आदि। हमारी वैदेशिक नीति ऐसी नीति है जिस पर हम सब लोग एक साथ रह सकते हैं। जिस नीति का आख इतने तटस्थ देश भी समर्थन कर रहे हैं उस नीति के सम्बन्ध में हमारे यहाँ बार बार प्रश्न होते हैं और उसमें मन्देह व्यक्त

किया जाता है। इसे मैं दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बात मानता हूँ।

श्री नाथ पाई : मैं एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाना चाहता हूँ। माननीय सभासद ने अभी कहा कि डा० लोहिया के दिमाग का एक स्क्रू ढीला है। जहाँ तक मैं हिन्दी समझता हूँ उस तरह के शब्द पार्लियामेंट में किसी सदस्य के लिये कहना पार्लियामेंट के शिष्टाचार के विपरीत है, और इस के लिये मैं आपसे अपेक्षा करता हूँ कि आप की तरफ से माननीय सभासद से विनती की जाय कि वह अपने इन शब्दों को वापस लें।

डा० गोविन्द दास : उपाध्यक्ष जी, यदि आप समझते हैं कि ये शब्द अनपार्लियामेंटरी हैं तो मैं इन को वापस लेने के लिए तैयार हूँ। लेकिन मुझे जितना भाषा का ज्ञान है उस ज्ञान के अनुसार ये शब्द अनपार्लियामेंटरी बिल्कुल नहीं हैं।

श्री नाथ पाई : यह तो एक तरह का इल्जाम लगाया गया है।

डा० गोविन्द दास : मैं तो यह कहना चाहता था कि मुझे ऐसा मालूम होता है..

श्री नाथ पाई : यह अच्छा नहीं है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It may not be unparliamentary, but it may not be proper. The hon. Member may withdraw it.

डा० गोविन्द दास : उपाध्यक्ष जी मैं ने कहा कि अगर आप इन शब्दों को अनपार्लियामेंटरी समझते हैं तो मैं इन को सौ बार वापस लेने के लिये तैयार हूँ। लेकिन मुझे जितना भाषा का ज्ञान है उस ज्ञान के अनुसार अगर किसी के भाषण को, किसी के मत को—अनाप शनाप—कहा जाय तो यह बिल्कुल जायज़ है और वह कहा जा सकता है।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : (बिजनौर) : दिमाग में कोई स्कू नहीं होता, लिहाजा आप जैसे गम्भीर आदमी को ये शब्द वापस ले लेने चाहियें ।

श्री त्यागी : अगर दिमाग में स्कू नहीं है तो आप उन के कहने पर क्यों नाराज होते हैं ।

डा० गोविन्द दास : मैं अपनी राय जाहिर कर रहा हूँ, और प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री जी से, जोकि हिन्दी के इतने बड़े भारी समर्थक है, पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब डा० लोहिया साहब ने यह कहा कि "Let Hindi go to hell." तब उन्होंने क्या महम्म किया था ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : "दिमाग का स्कू ढीला है" ये शब्द अच्छे नहीं हैं । इन को आप वापस लीजिए ।

Shri C. K. Bhattacharaya (Raiganj): Usually when this expression is used, it is not seriously taken. When Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri resigned from Railway Ministership, the Press reporters asked him at Calcutta why he had resigned. His reply was, "There seems to be some screw loose in my head."

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : सेठ जी, आप ये शब्द विदङ्गा कीजिए ।

Shri Khadilkar (Khed): You must first decide whether it is parliamentary or unparliamentary. If your ruling is that it is unparliamentary, the hon. Member should withdraw it. As I understand it, the expression he used was "he is somewhere loose in brain". It means he is confused. What is unparliamentary in it?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Such remarks should not be made against any hon. Member.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Does he mean that he is a mad man? If so, why not say that? (Interruptions). I think it is unparliamentary.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have asked him to withdraw and he has withdrawn it.

Some Hon. Members: He has not withdrawn.

डा० गोविन्द दास : उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं अपने साहब को अपना बजुर्ग मानता हूँ । उन्होंने मझे संस्कृत पढ़ाई है और वे मेरे गुरु भी हैं । लेकिन ममत्र में नहीं आता कि उन को यह बात क्यों बुरी मालम होनी चाहिये ।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर । उन्होंने अपने शब्द वापस नहीं लिए हैं ।

डा० गोविन्द दास : क्या आपने मुझे आज्ञा दी है कि विदङ्गा करूँ ?

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : जी हाँ ।

डा० गोविन्द दास : मैं आप की आज्ञा पालन करता हूँ और अपने वे शब्द वापस लेता हूँ ।

जहाँ तक चीन के खतरे का सम्बन्ध है, वह अब भी मौजूद है, और इस विषय में मुझे जो सब से अधिक चिन्ता की बात मालूम होती है वह यह नहीं है कि अन्य देशों से हम को कोई खतरा है । लेकिन हमारे देश में ही कुछ ऐसी बातें हो रही हैं, जिन से कि मैं चिन्तित हो उठता हूँ । अभी आप ने श्री वासवपुर्नैया का, जो हमारे साम्यवादी दल के हैं, एक वक्तव्य पढ़ा होगा, जोकि ५ अप्रैल के पत्रों में निकला है । वह इस प्रकार है :

"Mr. M. Basavapurnaiah, spokesman of the leftists in the

Communist Party of India, today clearly defined his group's loyalty to the Chinese Communist Party and opposition to the Soviet Communist Party."

जब चीन का खतरा आज भी देश के सामने मौजूद है उस वक्त हमारे देश के किसी भी दल के किसी भी व्यक्ति को, और इतने जिम्मेवार व्यक्ति को, चीन से सहानुभूति है। हमारी सरकार और कम से कम पंडित जी को, जिन की नीति हमेशा बड़ी उदार रही है, यह विचार करने की आवश्यकता है कि आखिर वह उदारता कहां तक जा सकती है। हमारे अखबार कुछ भी लिखते हैं, कुछ भी छपता है, किसी की इज्जत भी सुरक्षित नहीं है, किसी पर कोई भी आरोप होते हैं, भाषणों में कुछ भी कहा जाता है, कोई भी वक्तव्य प्रकाशित किए जाते हैं . .

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : जैसा आपने अभी कहा।

डा० गोबिन्द वास : और इस प्रकार के वक्तव्य भी प्रकाशित किए जाते हैं, एक जिम्मेदार व्यक्ति के जोकि एक विशेष दल से संबंधित है, कि वह, चीन का हमारे देश के एक भाग पर कब्जा रहते हुए भी, चीन के साथ हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इस तरह की चीजें कैसे बेरदाशत की जा सकती हैं ? हम ने प्रजातंत्र की स्थापना की है, हम प्रजातंत्र चला रहे हैं, प्रजातंत्र पर हमारा विश्वास है, लेकिन प्रजातंत्र में भी आजादी की कोई न कोई सीमा होनी चाहिये। यह नहीं कि कोई भी कुछ कहे, कोई भी कुछ लिखे, चाहे वह हमारे पक्ष में हो या विपक्ष में हो, केवल व्यक्तियों के ही नहीं समूचे राष्ट्र के विपक्ष में हो, वह प्रकाशित होगा रहे और हम चुपचाग बैठे उसे देखते रहें। मेरी समझ में यह उदारता की परतफाटी है। उदारता की भी कोई न कोई सीमा होनी चाहिये।

अपने दूसरे पड़ोसी पाकिस्तान के सम्बन्ध में भी मैं कुछ शब्द कह दू। यह खुशी की

बात है कि पाकिस्तान का झगड़ा निपटाने के लिए इस समय दोनों देशों के गृह मंत्रियों की एक परिषद् हो रही है। यह कोई नहीं चाहेगा कि पाकिस्तान और भारतवर्ष का झगड़ा रहे। हम तो सप्ताह में किसी से भी झगड़ा नहीं रखना चाहते तब हम पाकिस्तान से झगड़ा रखना चाहेंगे यह शलत बात है और हमारी ऐसी कदापि इच्छा नहीं है। लेकिन वह झगड़ा भी कुछ सिद्धान्तों पर ही मिट सकता है।

जहां तक कश्मीर का प्रश्न है, कश्मीर को यह समझना जिसको कि अंग्रेजी में "नो मॅस लैंड" कहते हैं, या यह समझना कि कश्मीर का प्रश्न अभी भी ऐसा है कि जिस प्रश्न पर विचार किया जा सकता है, सोचा जा सकता है तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कश्मीर के प्रश्न को अलग रख कर, कश्मीर भारतवर्ष का अविभाज्य अंग है, इस को मान कर ही पाकिस्तान से कोई समझौता किया जा सकता है।

अभी यह जो परिषद् हो रही है गृह मंत्रियों की, इस परिषद् में मुख्य विषय तो साम्प्रदायिक एकता का है, ठीक है, साम्प्रदायिक एकता न रहे और साम्प्रदायिक कलह इस देश में रहे, इस से ज्यादा दुर्भाग्य की बात हमारे लिए नहीं हो सकती है। जैसा मैं ने आप से निवेदन किया, पाकिस्तान से समझौता करने का हमें हर प्रकार का प्रयत्न करना है लेकिन कुछ सिद्धान्तों पर और कश्मीर को उस प्रश्न से बिलकुल अलग रख कर करना है।

अभी मेरे से पूर्व जिन माननीय सदस्य ने भाषण दिया उन्होंने हमारे वैदेशिक प्रचार के सम्बन्ध में कहा। इन विषय में मैं बिलकुल उन से सहमत हूँ। हमारा वैदेशिक प्रचार बड़ा कमजोर है इस में कोई शक नहीं है। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा एक सुझाव है कि हमारे प्रतीक रहते हुए भी हमें इस पर अधिक खर्च करना चाहिए। जिन जिन विदेशों में

[डॉ० गोविन्द दास]

हमारे दूतावास हैं उन्हें हमें यह कहना चाहिए कि हमारी जो नीतियां हैं, हमारी जो कृतियां हैं, उन के सम्बन्ध में उन देशों में वे वहां उन की भाषाओं में प्रचार करें . . .

श्री त्यागी : हिन्दी में नहीं ?

डॉ० गोविन्द दास : हिन्दी में तो वहां पर हो नहीं सकता । अगर हो सकता होता तो मैं कहता कि वह हिन्दी में किया जाय लेकिन वह सम्भव नहीं है ।

हमारे वैदेशिक प्रचार के सम्बन्ध में बहुत समय आ गया है जब हम को एक विस्तृत योजना बनाने की आवश्यकता है और अभी तक वह प्रसन्तोषजनक है इसमें पंडित जी का भी मतभेद नहीं हो सकता । हमें विचार करना है कि उस सम्बन्ध में हम क्या करें और किस तरीके से आगे बढ़ें । इस समय अब कि दुनिया इतनी छोटी हो गयी है, आतायात के तीव्रगामी साधनों के कारण, तब हम अपने वैदेशिक प्रचार के विषय की बातों को अलग नहीं रख सकते । उसकी व्यवस्था नहीं कर सकते । इस सम्बन्ध में हमें एक योजना बनाने की आवश्यकता है और उस योजना को कार्यरूप में परिणत होने की आवश्यकता है और उस पर अधिक धन खर्च करने की आवश्यकता है ।

वैदेशिक दूतावासों का कुछ थोड़ा सा मुझे अनुभव है । मैंने उनको देखा भी है । वहां पर जो खर्च हो रहा है वह शायद उतना नहीं है जितना कि होना चाहिए । यदि हम अपने देश के सम्मान को रखना चाहते हैं तो जिन जिन देशों में हमारे दूतावास हैं, उन उन देशों की परिस्थिति को देख कर हमें दूतावासों पर खर्च करना पड़ेगा । और दूसरी चीजों में चाहे हम अपने खर्च को कम करें लेकिन दो बातों के सम्बन्ध में हमारा खर्च कम नहीं होना

चाहिए, एक तो जो हमारे सुरक्षा के प्रयत्न हैं उन में हमारा कम खर्च नहीं हो सकता और दूसरे जो हमारे वैदेशिक दूतावास हैं उन पर भी हमारा खर्च कम नहीं हो सकता । जैसा मैंने आरम्भ में निवेदन किया था, अपनी वैदेशिक नीति का मैं सदा से समर्थन करता रहा हूँ, कारण मैं ने आप को बताया और आज भी मैं यह मानता हूँ कि वह नीति केवल इस देश के लिए ही नहीं बल्कि सारे संसार के लिए एक ठीक नीति है और हमें किसी भी परिस्थिति में उस नीति को बदलने की आवश्यकता नहीं है । मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ ।

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad (Gaya):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we should ignore public opinion abroad if it comes into conflict with public opinion at home. We should ignore public opinion at home if it comes into conflict with national interests.

Public opinion at home stands for the withdrawal of China and Pakistan from the Aksai Chin area, Hunza, Chitral, Gilgit, Puniyal and the so-called Azad Kashmir and not for any negotiation and settlement with them. This stand, in my humble opinion, is in conformity with our national interests.

Friendship between India on the one side and China and Pakistan on the other is possible after China and Pakistan have withdrawn from our territory. We should ignore public opinion in our neighbouring countries because Asia and Africa have got no part to play on the stage of international politics.

Disarmament is the next step in political evolution. The stage of international politics will be shattered to pieces the day the goal of disarmament is achieved. The Russo-American hegemony prevails and will continue to prevail till the goal of disarmament is achieved.

We should never give up our lien over the Aksai Chin area. The best

missile base in the world can be built there. No fool of a Russian would like us to give up our lien over the Aksai Chin area. China cannot consolidate its position in Sekiang if the Russian troops are inducted into the Aksai Chin area. The pull of Sekiang over Russian Turkistan would become irresistible, if China is allowed to consolidate its position in the Aksai Chin area. But if Russian troops are inducted into the Aksai Chin area not only China and Pakistan cannot invade India but the pull of Russian Turkistan over Sekiang would become irresistible. The future of Sekiang will determine the politics of the Afro-Asian sector of the Rimland if not of the whole world.

As long as the world of sovereign nation state lasts all states in general and the giant states in particular would have both friends and enemies. Enemies are as indispensable as friends.

Shri Tyagi: They are more intimate than friends.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: Pakistan has incurred the hostility of Russia and won the friendship of England and America by quarreling with India. By quarreling with India, China has incurred the hostility of both Russia and America and won the friendship of England and Pakistan. To be perturbed at the hostility of China and Pakistan is a sign of political immaturity. The coming together of Russia and America led to the coming together of China and Pakistan. It has also led to the emergence of one school of thought in Western Europe in general and in Great Britain in particular, which stands for the establishment of a military alliance between countries of Western Europe on the one side and China on the other. The aim is to throw overboard both Russia and America. Russia will be confronted with the strategy of war on two fronts if the states of Western Europe enter into a military alliance with China. The states of Western Europe will not require any help from the United States of America if such

an alliance is formed. No Russian expansion can take place. China and the states of Western Europe would become autonomous centres of power and the bi-polar world would break up into a multi-polar one.

The coming together of China and Pakistan is an anti-Russian move. It is anti-Indian to the extent it is anti-Russian. It is anti-Indian because it is anti-Russian.

The aim of China is not only to prevent the consolidation of Russo-American entente but to drive out Russia from the whole region that extends from the Ural mountains in the west to the Pacific Ocean in the east and from the Arctic Ocean in the north to the Himalayas in the south. The condition precedent to the establishment of Chinese hegemony, either now or at any time in future, over the Afro-Asian sector of the rimland if not over the whole of the rimland is the expulsion of Russia from the heartland. The destiny of India and Russia is intertwined. The maxims of geopolitics will be invalidated only after the establishment of a world government.

The Government of the United States of America is bound to pursue an anti-Chinese and pro-Russian foreign policy despite the fact that large segments of public opinion in the United States of America are sympathetic towards China. The choice before China is between dismemberment and disarmament. The condition precedent to German disarmament was the dismemberment of Germany. The condition precedent to the establishment of world peace on a permanent basis is the dismemberment of the giant States into smaller units.

Shri Nath. Pai: Is India giant or small?

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: The constituent units will break away from the centre without encouraging any resistance from any quarter whatsoever either before or after the estab-

[Shri Brajeshwar Prasad]

lishment of a world government. The *raison d'être* for the establishment of giant States will disappear if and when a world government is established. The days of the Greek city states would come back once again.

The Russo-American hegemony prevails over the world. It is the result of the thermonuclear stalemate. The *status quo* cannot be changed by force of arms. Neither Russia and America can fight each other nor they can attack any other State nor they will permit any State to attack another. Pakistan and China cannot attack India. England, France and Israel had to withdraw from Egypt. The *status quo* in Korea could not be changed either by China or by the United States of America. America did not interfere in Hungary. Russia dismantled its missile base in Cuba.

The Russo-American hegemony is a form of world government. It will be transformed into a full-fledged world government if and when the Afro-Asian sector of the rimland and Latin America are industrialised to the full height of their being. No attempt made by China or the countries of Western Europe can liquidate the Russo-American hegemony. Russia and America can destroy the whole world within a few minutes. Foreign policy has become obsolete.

Shri Kapur Singh: The Foreign Ministry has also become obsolete.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: China is not going to disarm itself voluntarily and hence its dismemberment is inevitable. The thermonuclear stalemate does not leave any other choice. Disarmament is a historic necessity. It is no longer an ideal. To talk of a political settlement with China, a State which like Germany, Korea and Indo-China is bound to be dismembered, is suicidal folly. For heaven's sake, do not antagonise Russia and America. China is on hostile terms with both. It has laid claims over 7 lakh square miles of Russian territory in the heart-

land. The Pacific is the bone of contention between China, Russia and America. America has built a missile base in Formosa. The Seventh Fleet is patrolling in the Chinese waters.

If there is going to be any meeting between the Prime Ministers of India and China, the venue should be either Moscow or Washington . . .

Shri Kapur Singh: A very good suggestion.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: Please do not disturb.

Both the President of the United States of America and the President of the Soviet Union . . .

An Hon. Member: The Prime Minister.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: Both the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union should be invited to participate in the meeting as full-fledged members. No attempt should be made to solve our own problems in isolation, for without Russo-American agreement on all outstanding disputes no problem can be solved on a bilateral basis either between India and China or between India and Pakistan. No problem of international politics has been solved after the close of the Second World War. Neither the Kashmir dispute *vis-a-vis* China and Pakistan nor any other dispute on the stage of international politics can be solved till the goal of disarmament has been achieved. The problems of international politics have never been and can never be solved in a world of sovereign nation-states based on power politics and balance of power. The main problems of international politics involve the question of peace and war. The international problems change their forms only. The centuries-old rivalries between England, France, Germany and Russia still continue. There are two camps now: Russia and

America belong to the same camp; China belongs to another. For all practical purposes India has entered into military alliances with Russia and America. Russia and America have come together to combat the yellow peril. All the nation-states of Asia and Africa must join hands with Russia and America and refrain from talking about Afro-Asian unity. The goal of disarmament will recede into the background if we pursue any other ideal. We should have nothing to do with those who either stand for the break-up of the bi-polar world or want to establish some new form of hegemony in place of the existing Russo-American hegemony. The economic development and the defence of the rimland are the responsibility of Russia and America. Either chaos and anarchy will prevail or Chinese hegemony will be established in the rimland if Russia and America withdraw from the heartland and the rimland. Russia must remain in control of the heartland if India is to exist as a sovereign entity till the goal of disarmament has been achieved.

No war can break out between India and Pakistan if the Kashmir dispute is not solved. Russia will occupy the whole of West Pakistan if India is attacked. If this eventuality comes to pass, the State of Pakistan will be dismembered into the three States of East Pakistan, Pukhtoonistan and West Punjab. The seaport of Karachi will become a joint port of Russia, Afghanistan, Pukhtoonistan and West Punjab.

There is absolutely no necessity for coming to terms with China as well. The Russian and American troops will occupy and dismember China into the six States of Tibet, Sekiang, Mongolia, Manchuria, North China and South China if a full-fledged Chinese invasion of India takes place. Dismemberment means disarmament. The achievement of the goal of disarmament will be accelerated if China invades India. Comrade Mao, on the other hand, thinks that the achieve-

ment of the goal of Communism will be accelerated if China invades India. China will be dismembered whether India is invaded or not. All ideologies have become obsolete in the thermo-nuclear age.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: Two minutes more.

Shri Ravindra Varma (Thiruvella): Please give him some more time. He speaks only once a year and is making an original contribution.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: It is a mistake to think that the goal of disarmament cannot be achieved unless and until all traces of colonialism and racialism have been liquidated. Are we to understand that Russia will not disarm itself however willing America may be to do so unless the Government of South Africa gives up its policy of racial discrimination and Portugal liberates its colonies? Or, are we to understand that it lies in the power of the nations of the Afro-Asian landmass to disarm themselves or not however willing Russia and America may be to disarm themselves unless and until all traces of colonialism and racialism have been wiped out? There will be no need for the establishment of a world government if all evils can be liquidated in a world of sovereign nation-states. The achievement of the goal of disarmament is dependent upon the sweet will of Russia and America. Disarmament means the division of Asia and Africa into two spheres of influence, Russian and American. Uptill now, no agreement seems to have been arrived at on the question of dismembering China. The leaders of Russia and America are waiting for the opportune moment to pounce upon China. There are elements in the Kremlin and in the White House which are pro-Chinese. The goal of disarmament cannot be achieved unless and until these elements are liquidated lock, stock and barrel.

[Shri Brajeshwar Prasad]

17 hrs.

Before I conclude, Sir, I would like to say one or two sentences more. I know that these ideas may run counter to what the Prime Minister may stand for. These are my individual reactions. I regard him as a philosopher-king. If he in his supreme wisdom thinks that it is in the interest of the country to negotiate with China and Pakistan, he will have my full support.

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members may now move their cut motions relating to the Demands under the Ministry of External Affairs subject to their being otherwise admissible.

17.01 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shri P. K. Deo: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to tighten the control of finances of the Indian Missions abroad (4)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to improve Indo-Nepal relations (5)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to follow a policy of consistency in giving recognition to the foreign Governments (6)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to establish diplomatic relations with the African Republics within the French Community (7)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to recognise the Government of Israel and establish diplomatic relations with the said Government (8)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to streamline the external publicity (9)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100"

[Need to take steps to safeguard the interests of Indians in Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Mozambique and Angola (10)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Condition of Indians in Ceylon (11)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to sever diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (12)].

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) :
में प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

"कि वैदेशिक-कार्य शीर्ष के अन्तर्गत मांग को कम करके १ रुपया कर दिया जाय ।"

[विदेशों में काश्मीर की स्थिति के बारे में पूर्ण जानकारी का अभाव (१३)]

"कि वैदेशिक-कार्य शीर्ष के अन्तर्गत मांग को कम करके १ रुपया कर दिया जाए ।"

[विदेशों में स्थित भारतीय दूतावासों के बढ़ते हुए व्यय पर नियन्त्रण की आवश्यकता (१४)]

"कि वैदेशिक-कार्य शीर्ष के अन्तर्गत मांग

को कम करके १ रुपया कर दिया जाए।”

[विदेशों में स्थित भारतीय दूतावासों से सम्बद्ध प्रचार विभागों की निष्क्रियता (१५)]।

Shri Shinkre: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced to Re. 1.”

[*Failure to bring Assam Rifles under the control of Defence Ministry* (20)].

“That the demand under the head Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area be reduced to Re. 1.”

[*Failure to integrate Dadra and Nagar Haveli with the adjoining State* (21)].

“That the demand under the head Capital Outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1.”

[*Failure to take steps to expedite the merger of Pondicherry with the adjoining State* (22)].

Shri Shinkre: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head capital outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1.”

[*Failure to assess properly the results of recent General Elections in Goa, Daman and Diu and to take immediate steps for merger of Goa with the State of Maharashtra and that of Daman and Diu with the State of Gujarat* (23)].

“That the demand under the head capital outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[*Need for laying down policy for the selection of proper personnel for our diplomatic missions abroad* (24)].

“That the demand under the head capital outlay of the Ministry

of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[*Need to reorientate our foreign policy on the basis of national requirements* (25)].

Shri Yashpal Singh: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[*Need to improve the publicity of Government policies abroad* (26)].

“That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[*Working of Indian Missions in foreign countries* (27)].

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[*Working of the general amnesty to hostile Nagas declared on 1st July, 1963 and its result* (38)].

“That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[*Planning and reconstruction activities in tribal regions* (39)].

“That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[*Need to raise frontier constabulary on a large scale in the tribal regions bordering Pakistan and China* (40)].

“That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[*Need for a comprehensive development programme for the tribal regions* (41)].

“That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

[Visit of Rev. Michael Scott to India and the assistance extended to him by the Government of India for bringing out underground hostile Nagas (42)].

"That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Pattern of administration in NEFA and its shortcomings (43)].

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

[Inadequacy of the steps taken to invoke the Genocide Convention against Pakistan for its policy of extermination against the minorities in East Pakistan (44)].

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

[Refusal to accept techno-economic assistance from Israel for the development of desert areas in India (45).]

Dr. M. S. Aney: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to adopt and follow the policy of reciprocity in dealing with nations which are hostile to India (46).]

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Problem of Stateless Indians created by the Government of Ceylon (47).]

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to take effective steps by Indian Embassies to counteract the propaganda carried on by Pakistan and China in America, Europe, Africa and Asiatic countries (48)].

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for U. N. Charter revision (49)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for securing a permanent seat for India on the Security Council (50)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for developing closer relations with Latin American countries (51)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for reorganising External Publicity (52)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to send a delegation of Members of Parliament to study the conditions of persons of Indian origin in different foreign countries (53)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to send Parliamentary goodwill missions and delegations to foreign countries (54)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Undesirable activities of the officials of Pakistan High Commission at New Delhi (55)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Composition of Indian delegations to foreign countries (56)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Problem of reclaiming or recovering migrants' property in East Pakistan (57)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Status of Tibet and the cause of Tibetan people's freedom (58)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Sino-Pakistan collusion against India (59)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Proposed conference of neutral nations and India's participation in it (60)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Indo-Nepalese relations and economic collaboration (61)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Inadequacy of existing machinery for foreign Publicity (62)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Plight of persons of Indian origin abroad (63)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Repatriation of Indians from Mozambique (64)].

"That the demand under the head Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Pace and pattern of integration of the erstwhile Portuguese pockets in India. (65)].

"That the demand under the head Other revenue expenditure of the Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Delay and obstacles in securing quicker integration of Goa (66)].

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

[Manning of Indian Missions and Delegations abroad (67)].

"That the demand under the head Capital Outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Unregulated expenditure by our Missions abroad (68)].

"That the demand under the head Capital Outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Administrative indifference in acknowledging letters from Members of Parliament raising general issues (69)].

"That the demand under the head Capital Outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Circumstances leading to the proposed withdrawal of prosecution against Sheikh Abdullah and the announcement of his release. (70)].

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Arrival of Rev. Michael Scott in Nagaland without Government permission*, (71)].

"That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Need to restore peace and normalcy in Nagaland, immediately* (72)].

"That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Contacts between some Naga hostiles and Pakistan authorities* (73)].

"That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure of general amnesty for Naga hostiles* (74)].

"That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Need for enlightened development programmes in all tribal areas* (75)].

"That the demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Need for intensive tribal orientation courses for officers posted to tribal areas* (76)].

Shri Nath Pai: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure of foreign policy* (77)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure to evolve a dynamic, coherent and integrated policy towards China and Pakistan* (78)].

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Inadequacy of overseas publicity and propaganda regarding India's disputes with Pakistan and China* (79)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*India's role in forthcoming conference of non-aligned nations* (80)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*India's role in proposed forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference of Bandung type* (81)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Need to intensify external publicity work in Afro-Asian countries* (82)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Need to supplement official with non-official channels of presenting India's image abroad* (83)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Lack of reliable data regarding condition of persons of Indian origin in various countries* (84)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to send more non-official missions of goodwill to foreign countries (85)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Activities of Foreign Service Inspectorate (86)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Complaints regarding red-tape methods at U.K. Office of Indian High Commissioner (87)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to standardise service conditions and emoluments of staff employed at Indian High Commission Office, London (88)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Prolonged absence of Ambassador and other responsible officials from Indian Embassy at Vienna (89)].

"That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give up policy of non-recognition of the German Democratic Republic (90)].

"That the demand under the head capital outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100". 3b

[Move to remove Pondicherry from judicial jurisdiction of Madras High Court (91)].

Shri Swell (Assam—Autonomous Districts): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it is natural that a discussion on the Ministry of External Affairs, at present, should bear reference to the person of the Prime Minister—and the first speaker this evening of the Swatantra Party has done that—for

the reason that the Prime Minister who has headed this Ministry right from its inception and has left an indelible imprint of his personality on its workings and policies is not in the best of his health. I would like to take this opportunity of conveying to the Prime Minister my earnest good wishes for his quick and full recovery.

Let me assure you that if this country, more especially this Ministry of External Affairs, ever needed his leadership it has never needed it more than at present for we are passing through very difficult and acute times in our relationships with other countries. I do not know what an average Indian conceives of the image that is projected of India abroad today. Today that image is no longer the resurgent image of India committed to the ways of peace to which many countries, many young and resurgent countries in Asia and Africa, looked up for guidance. That image is not there. The events of the last 18 months have besmirched and broken that image and has rendered it pathetic.

Sir, an analysis, a short analysis—because the time at my disposal is very limited—of the events will bear me out. Let us take our relationship with China, the Chinese aggression in 1962, the humiliation and the defeat China inflicted on us, the unilateral cease-fire that they imposed, our unconditional acceptance of the Colombo proposals and our offer to China that we were prepared to take our dispute with her to the International Court at the Hague. As you know, China cleverly dodged a full acceptance of the Colombo proposals and spurned at our offer of taking the dispute to the International Court. Following that, China stepped up its war against India. It was no longer a shooting war but we entered into a cold war with China after that. The Prime Minister of China, accompanied by his War Minister, went on peripatetics to different countries in Africa and Asia to impress those young and impressionable countries with the might and the

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sweet reasonableness of China. I do not know how we gauge the success that the Chinese Prime Minister achieved. But to all intents and purpose, it appears that rather than he being isolated, we are being isolated. On our part, what have we done? We did next to nothing. The most we did was to send a junior Minister of the Ministry of External Affairs to Cairo and Belgrade to discuss about the preparations for a non-aligned conference. I am sorry that in the process of going to Cairo, he also willingly or unwillingly did something that made our immediate neighbour, Ceylon, a little unhappy about this matter. Now, while we were taking the initiative for a conference of non-aligned nations, China counteracted that by trying to revive the idea of another Bandung conference. We had said and declared many times that we would never sit on the same table with China again unless and until China accepted the Colombo proposals and we had also discountenanced the idea of another Bandung conference. But now when one of the Colombo powers, Indonesia, started taking up this subject earnestly, and has called for a preparatory conference at Jakarta and has made it clear that China was one of the invitees to that conference, we hurriedly decided to send a team to Jakarta to be headed by one of the senior Ministers of this country. It appears to me that we are losing this war, the cold war, with China and that the history of our foreign policy in regard to China in the last 18 months or so has been the history of indecision, vacillation and failure.

Let me pass on to another vexed problem which is facing us today, that is, our relationship with Pakistan. With regard to Pakistan, there are three prominent and distinct issues that have emerged. Firstly, it is the question of Kashmir. We have declared times without number in this House and outside that Kashmir is a part and parcel of India, as much as

Delhi or Bombay is a part and parcel of India. But we did nothing to eject the aggressor from the soil of Kashmir. We still keep reacting to the acrobatics of Pakistan in the Security Council. Much has been said about the part that was played by Mr. Chagla, our representative in the Security Council last time. But I am afraid that despite all the good presentation of the case that he made, we escaped a consensus of opinion in the Security Council and we escaped a resolution of the Security Council that would have been unfavourable to us with great difficulty. Today, before another meeting of the Security Council is due in the month of May, we took another very big step with regard to Kashmir and that was to release Sheikh Abdullah. Personally speaking, I welcome this action of the Government, for the reason that we could not keep Sheikh Abdullah in jail any further. The conditions in Kashmir today are that we could not keep Sheikh Abdullah further in jail without doing harm to our cause, and without lending substance to the charge of Pakistan that we are ruling Kashmir by repression. But the facts are that Sheikh Abdullah stood fast, in his eleven years of incarceration, to his ideal of an independent Kashmir. He had never recanted it, and he gave no undertakings when he came out of jail yesterday. And the Prime Minister also has given expression to his misgivings by referring to that action of the Government as a calculated risk. Tomorrow, if Sheikh Abdullah should again raise the flag of independent Kashmir and the Kashmiris go with him, we shall have very little to say in support of our case. I shall say only so much about Kashmir.

With regard to East Pakistan, two questions arise, and they are the treatment by East Pakistan of the minorities, which has been the subject of many heated interpellations in this House and the question of the eviction of the illegal Pakistani infiltrators into Assam, Tripura and West Bengal.

I was happy that as a result of the anxiety expressed on many occasions in this House, of the danger to Assam, Government saw it fit to send the Home Minister personally to Assam to study this question, and on the whole, the Home Minister created a good impression in Assam. But no sooner had the hopes of the people of Assam been raised, and no sooner had the hopes of the minorities in Pakistan been raised that India would be welcoming them all and rehabilitate them here, than we took another step, and that was to invite the Home Minister of Pakistan to a conference with our Home Minister here in Delhi. I wish this conference well. I wish that this conference produces something good and tangible in our interest and in the interests of Pakistan. But I have my fears and misgivings. If the newspaper reports today are any indication, this conference is going to be a failure, and it will be lucky if we emerge out of this conference with feelings not further embittered. This is the dismal picture of our foreign policy. We had expected something better.

The annual report of the Ministry of External Affairs has made a mention of the fact that we have so many as 129 Missions abroad in different parts of the world. I want to ask this pointed question of the Prime Minister, for whom I have a very great respect personally. Will he tell me whether in Asia and Africa today, we have got any country that we can consider to be our real and genuine friend? Let us not talk about America and Europe, for we do not count in America and Europe. But in Asia and Africa, can we put our hands to our hearts and point to a particular country and say that that country is our friend? Can we say today that Ceylon is our friend? Can we say that Burma is our friend? Can we say that Indonesia is our friend? That is the question that bites deeply and that calls for an answer. Now, if we are isolated in the world, the important question is what our 129 Missions in the different parts of the world

have been doing. There are so many charges against these Missions. The charges are that these Missions, the people who run these Missions, are careeristic, cavalier, irresponsible, and supercilious in their general attitude.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

Shri Swell: I have yet to make the point that I really wanted to make. I request you to give me a few more minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's party is entitled to 14 minutes, and the hon. Member has taken already 15 minutes.

Shri Swell: I was told that I was entitled to 20 minutes. Anyway, I would request you to give me a few more minutes.

What have our Missions been doing? I was aghast the other day to read that at the height of the Kashmir crisis, when the leader of the Indian delegation, Shri M. C. Chagla, was in America, he wanted to have an interview with the American Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, but he could not do that, because the Indian Ambassador in Washington was not there and his Deputy also could not be traced.

I was more aghast to read of the stoning of the Indian embassy at Rangoon by Indians themselves. I do not know if any other country in the world has sunk to that level when the nationals of that country would be stoning the embassy of their own country. I submit to the Prime Minister that there is something very wrong with the way our missions abroad are functioning, that he would kindly look into this matter and see to it that we get a worth of job from these different missions on which we are spending so much money.

I would like to refer to the question of NEFA, but it does not seem possible. But what I would like to

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say in conclusion is this: that it appears from this analysis that we are reaching a climacteric as far as our foreign policy is concerned and that we can push on with this policy only at our peril. It appears to me that a time has come for a fresh thinking, for a reassessment, for a reappraisal of our foreign policy. I see unmistakable signs that the Government too is thinking in these terms of reassessment and rethinking about our foreign policy. There is no other explanation for the release of Sheikh Abdullah. There is no other explanation for the decision to send a team to negotiate, to talk at Jakarta along with the Chinese across the same table.

I would submit that our foreign policy should be based on certain concrete and immutable facts. They are that we are a sovereign independent country and we mean to keep our sovereignty, our independence, and towards that we will do all in our power to build up our strength, militarily and industrially. At the same time, it is necessary for us to realise this fact that we have to live together with our neighbours; we have got to get on with our neighbours. We have got to get on with China; we have got to get on with Pakistan. And if we have to live and get on with them, we have to realise that we are not all angels and they are not all devils. Our pose of self-righteousness which we have taken all along has done us no good. We have to realise that the other side too has a case. I do not know if that means that we start negotiations with those countries. There has been a talk, there has been a demand for that in this country. I for one would not suggest that we would start negotiating with China or Pakistan on their terms. I would not say that we should deviate from our stand that we should negotiate with China unless and until it accept the Colombo proposals *in toto*. But there are other ways of doing that.

I wonder if it would not be a fruitful thing if we start calling or have somebody to call, a convention of all nations in Asia, a sort of an All-Asian Organisation for Asian Unity, like the one they have in Africa, in which all the countries, irrespective of their ideologies, irrespective of their alignments, but realising that they have got to live together in Asia, will meet together round the table and try to thrash out their problems. I would put this suggestion earnestly for the consideration of the Prime Minister. His word has great value in the world. It has always had value and it has value today. If the Prime Minister with all his wisdom, with all his prestige, would try to bring that fresh thinking over the problems in Asia, it would go a long way in solving not only the problems of this country but the problems of this vast continent.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): I have listened with a great deal of respectful attention to the hon. Member preceding me and I feel that whatever he might have been saying in the beginning, he came in the end to those very conclusions which all right-thinking persons arrive at looking at our foreign policy in the correct perspective, not only in the context of national interests but also in the light of international developments.

I was slightly pained to hear that our China policy had been a failure, a policy of indecision and a policy of vacillation. I think it has been just the reverse of that. Our Prime Minister has been saying all these days, and he has never flinched from that even for a minute, that India can talk with China across that table only when China accepts the Colombo proposals *in toto* and not in substance as the Chinese have done. Is that a case of vacillation?

Moreover, I would submit very respectfully that the unilateral cease-

fire by China, the perigrinations of Chou En-lai in the countries of Africa and Europe, and the feelers that he has been putting forth through this Prime Minister and that Prime Minister—all these are not acts of magnanimity or gestures of grace or indications of any superiority, but are indicative of the fact that China got badly mauled, if I can use that expression, if not in the military sense, at least in the other sense of the word, on account of the aggression that she committed against India. It is not we who are isolated.

Shri Nath Pai: She would commit more aggression so that she would be completely mauled.

Shri D. C. Sharma: I do not think we stand in any way isolated at the bar of world opinion.

Shri Nath Pai: Not at all.

Shri D. C. Sharma: But I do feel that since China had done this inhuman, treacherous thing and had stood to lose all along the line, therefore, in order not to lose face, China ordered the cease-fire.

My hon. friend said we should build our country militarily and industrially. I think that is what our Prime Minister has been saying all these days, that is what all the members of the Cabinet have been saying all these days.

In reply to a question put on the floor of the House the other day, it was stated that we were building up our defence potential to the highest possible extent.

Shri Nath Pai: Tyagiji does not agree.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Tyagiji and you are exceptions, I cannot help it.

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): Tyagiji is a member of the Congress Party, he is not an exception.

Shri D. C. Sharma: We are building our defence potential to the highest point, and we are trying to industrialise our country as much as we can, but more than this, I would say that China has awakened the nation, has drawn our attention to the great danger with which we are surrounded, and the morale of the nation is much higher today than it was before the Chinese aggression. The emergency has percoated every hamlet, to every cottage, and every man and woman and boy and girl, because I find that boys and girls are now in the NCC and ACC. All of them feel that urge for the retention of national sovereignty and integrity, to which my hon. friend made reference.

I feel that our foreign policy is based on certain immutable principles, but, in foreign policy, as in military policy, we have the grand strategy, and we have also tactics. So far as tactics are concerned, so far as the decisions in this sector or that sector are concerned, we do have fresh appraisal, and we do try to adjust ourselves to new circumstances, but so far as the basic principles are concerned, I think they have been adjudged by time, by the emergency, and found to be quite good and quite in the interests of our country. I think one of the great principles to which my country is committed, and which is the great contribution made by our Prime Minister, is the principle of non-alignment.

We are living in a very disturbed state of mind today. The whole world is troubled by the division of so many blocks. Formerly we had only two blocks. Formerly we had only two and the Anglo-American bloc. But I feel that a time will come when there may not be two but four blocks. France is thinking of having a block of its own—not in terms of satellites but of sovereign nations. France also wants to have a revision of the old concept of the balance of power. At the same time China also wants to

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build up a number of satellites, not only in Asia and Africa but in other countries also. Therefore, the world will be riven as under and divided into four blocks in the near future. I feel that when the world is being fragmented and sub-divided into so many different blocks which could be militarily together, industrially together, for a country like India the policy of non alignment is the one policy which is not only a good policy for it but also is a policy which could bring peace and some little comfort to those countries which have acquired independence recently and which have become sovereign recently. All those countries, I think, are torch bearers of non-alignment because they know that the creation of these blocks means a lot of danger to them. As time passes this policy will gather greater and greater force and will get more and more adherents. After all people know that this policy is not based on distance or proximity but it is a policy which makes for full sovereignty of a State, whatever its population, *per capita* income, military potential or industrial efficiency. India has been one of the barbingers in this matter and as time passes more and more people will look upon this question with proper perspective.

Another important problem is disarmament. Unless there is disarmament, there can never be peace in the world. I am happy that seventeen nations got together at Geneva and the Indian delegate has given the right kind of expression to our feelings, not to our feelings only but of all those countries which yearn for peace. We want nuclear weapons to be frozen; there should not be any

proliferation of nuclear weapons and there should be some kind of limitations in those matters which are conducive to militant and warlike propensity in this world. When I look on this problem, I find that in this matter there are some countries which see eye to eye with us, other countries are there which do not see eye to eye with us. It is an urgent problem before mankind. Again, I hope that the two super-powers Russia and America will come to some kind of agreement about this problem of disarmament and that they will try to see that no country can transfer nuclear weapons or weapon technology to another country, and that non-nuclear powers do not try to manufacture, possess or receive those weapons which are there. At the same time, I feel that the plan submitted by Mr. Gromyko has within it the seeds of lasting peace for mankind.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member will take more time, I suppose.

Shri D. C. Sarma: Yes, Sir.

Some Hon. Members: Let him continue.

Some Hon. Members: Tomorrow.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has got five minutes more; he can continue and finish.

Some Hon. Members: Tomorrow.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House stands adjourned till 11am. tomorrow 17.31 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, April 10, 1964|Chaitra 21, 1886 (Saka).