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(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Tuesday, 17th March, 1953

The House met at Two of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

3 P.M.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

DEMAND NO. 22—TRIBAL AREAS

DEMAND NO. 23—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

DEMAND NO. 24—CHANDERNAGORE

DEMAND NO. 25—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now proceed with the further discussion of the Demands for Grants in respect of the External Affairs Ministry.

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda):** For full four hours we have already had a discussion on the Budget Demands of the External Affairs Ministry and, as could have been anticipated, the discussion has been more or less on the expected lines. For instance the hon. the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party has presented us with a lovely string of vituperative and violent adjectives. In his faultless English, in his pleasant Oxford diction, he has proclaimed his freedom of the British hegemony prevalent over India. His gentle soul recoils at the sight of books like *I Killed Stalin* being sold in the streets of India, but his Communist heart feels elated when an effigy of President Eisenhower is burnt in the streets of Calcutta.

537 P.S.D.

My distinguished countryman Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has, as usual, thundered, though to my ears it seemed the rumblings were a little less intense on the present occasion.

And then our venerable Member, the self-constituted protector of Hindu interests in this country, Dr. Khare has regaled the House with his observations. He has advised us that should we not be able to use the big stick we should use the lip stick. We are of course grateful to the Doctor for this very pleasant prescription, but I feel a little apprehensive about the Doctor himself—that he is so much interested in the lip stick at his age.

Through eighteen cut motions Members of this House from various sides have sought to censure the foreign policy of this country and also, in varying degrees, to try to condemn the Ministry which I have the honour to represent here. Some of these cut motions refer to important measures of policy and some of them refer to matters which are not so important. The Prime Minister in his role as the Foreign Minister will wind up the debate and I daresay he will deal fully and effectively with our foreign policy and reply to all the major questions that have been raised in this House. But he may not have time to deal with all the matters and therefore I, in my own humble way, will deal with a few of them, necessarily of lesser importance, and leave the major issues to be dealt with by the Prime Minister himself.

**An Hon. Member:** Like lip stick.

**Shri Anil K. Chanda:** I could not quite catch the interruption.

I shall deal with Chandernagore first. The administration of this former French possession has come in for a good deal of criticism from some of our friends opposite. My hon. friend Mr. Tushar Chatterjea has almost a feeling that we have some sinister

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designs on the freedom-loving people of Chandernagore. But let us go into the facts of the case.

It was only nine months ago, or to be quite precise, it was on the 9th June, 1952 that we had *de jure* control of Chandernagore. For the time being, as an interim arrangement—I repeat, as an interim arrangement—it was decided that the President will take over the administration of that city, carrying on his work through an Administrator assisted by an Advisory Council of five members. In the selection of those five members all the major political parties were consulted, and today there are in the Advisory Council two members from the Congress Party, one from the Praja Party, one an Independent, and the other from the United Progressive Front.

**Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour):** The Congress lost all the seats there in the elections.

**Shri Anil K. Chanda:** But the methods of that election will not bear an ethical examination.

As I said, at present the administration of the city is being carried on by the Administrator with the help of the Advisory Council, but it is purely an interim arrangement.

The administration of the city has considerably improved during the time of this Administrator. Out of a total budget of Rs. 23 lakhs no less than Rs. 16 lakhs are being spent for education, health, sanitation, works, etc. This alone will show the benevolent character of the present administration of Chandernagore. But even though, technically speaking, the administration has been a great success we do not want to carry on with this temporary arrangement for long. We have given an assurance to the people that they would be consulted with regard to the future administration of Chandernagore, and steps are being taken—as soon as possible they will be announced—to have an election in the city of Chandernagore on an adult suffrage basis.

During this short period of the Administrator's rule in Chandernagore there has been considerable improvement in the conditions of the city. The food situation has improved. There has been greater security in the public services and at present there are no complaints from the members of the public services and from teachers about arbitrary dismissals,

suspensions and so on. There has been a careful husbanding of the financial resources and long-term plans have been prepared with regard to sewerage, etc. Only recently a fifty bedded hospital has been opened in the city. We are now examining the possibility of extending the operation of the West Bengal Municipal Act of 1932 to Chandernagore and we hope we will be able to make an announcement in this connection before long.

I will now come to the question of emigration, especially of emigration from South India about which Mr. Sreekantan Nair referred yesterday. For some time past there has been a tremendous rush of people desiring to emigrate from South India to Malaya. It may be due to the prevalence of scarcity conditions in certain areas of South India. It may also be due to the fact that there is an impression that the Malayan Government are soon going to issue an Ordinance requiring an entry permit from people who want to go into Malaya. Up till now a mere passport and a proof that the man has sufficient means to fall back upon in the country entitles a man to get into Malaya. But it is understood that before long the entry permit system would be instituted in Malaya, and therefore there has been a tremendous rush of people desiring to go to Malaya. But we do not want indiscriminate mass emigration of unskilled labour out of India. And under the Indian Emigration Act we have our Protector of Emigrants who has to see and satisfy himself about certain conditions before he gives a 'No objection' permit to anybody who wants to emigrate from this country.

As I said, there has been a tremendous rush of people from South India to go to Malaya. And there are only two boats which ply between Madras and Malaya. Between these two sailings only three thousand deck passengers can be carried, in these two boats. Therefore there has been a tremendous congestion in the Office of the Protector of Emigrants. With great difficulty our Protector of Emigrants has been able to persuade the shipping company to allow even advance booking for the deck passengers. But in spite of that a new class of black-marketeers in steamer tickets has arisen, and poor simple people are being deluded. They are told that if a certain fee is paid to them they would be able to get the certificates and tickets out of turn from the Protector of Emigrants. In order to safeguard against all these we have

developed a system of "first-come first-served" principle; whosoever sends his application is given a definite date by reply, or if he appears in the office he is given a token specifying a certain date on which he is to appear before the Protector of Emigrants for his examination. In November we sent a senior officer of our Ministry down to Madras to see that the conditions are such as to make it possible for the people to have their certificates and scrutiny and examination in fairly reasonable comfort. Everything is not possible to be done in the midst of this mad rush but all that could be done has certainly been done.

Mr. Nair yesterday referred to a case which could not be discussed as the subject was *sub judice*. The next hearing of the case is, I understand, being taken up today. Pending the final decision of the case it is but proper that we should not discuss it here; but for the information of the House, I might say that we have asked the officer concerned to go on leave till the case is finally decided in the law courts.

No specific and concrete cases of corruption on the part of our officers or members of the staff anywhere have been made though sometime ago, in a general manner, our Member, Mr. V. P. Nayar wrote, I believe, to the Prime Minister alleging that there was great corruption in the passport offices of Madras and Travancore-Cochin. Our Government wrote to the two States concerned and asked them to make enquiries and take steps in the matter. At the same time Mr. Nayar was requested to let us have specific cases of corruption which could then be investigated with positive results but nothing further was heard from him.

Yesterday, there was a good deal of criticism about our Publicity Organisation. Older Members at least will no doubt remember that till very recently this Section of our Ministry has been starving for want of adequate funds. In 1950-51, the actual expenditure was only Rs. 30 lakhs, in 1951-52, the expenditure was Rs. 37 lakhs, it is only from last year that there has been considerable expansion in the grants made to this Section and I am happy to say considerable improvement in our Publicity Organisation has been noticed during this period. This year, we have provided for Rs. 65 lakhs for external publicity of which for the Central headquarters, we are going to spend Rs. 29 lakhs and in our Embassies Rs. 28.85 lakhs, in the Legations Rs. 1.27 lakhs

and in the High Commissions Rs. 8.65 lakhs. Through the Public Service Commission, we have also recruited more or less a full complement of the staff necessary and I am certain, Members will have no complaints to make about our Publicity Organisation from now on.

With regard to the criticism made by Mrs. Kripalani that our publicity literature in foreign countries deals only with ancient India and has nothing to say about modern India, it truly seems surprising because she has recently been abroad. I am giving you below a list of publications we have. Up till now, 72 pamphlets have been published of which 71 deal with present India and modern developments in the country, economic and social. Only one deals with ancient Indian culture. Therefore the percentage of pamphlets of ancient Indian culture is 1.3. We distributed during the year 86 feature articles of which 83 dealt with present-day India and modern developments in the country and only three articles dealt with our ancient Indian civilisation. We supplied on demand 16 background notes and all those 16 notes dealt with modern India and present problems and none with ancient India. At the moment we are having five daily short bulletins issued by the External Publicity Division through its foreign post which deal wholly with day-to-day news and background views and news and facts about India of today.

Now, I would like to come to the question of economy in the Ministry and in our Embassies. There is I know a popular belief that our Missions abroad play ducks and drakes with our money. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Utmost control is exercised from the headquarters on any disbursement in our Embassies abroad. I have myself since joining office often been bewildered at the very small, insignificant items of expenditure which have to be referred to the Ministry for previous sanction and scrutiny. I do not know whether it is a very rational method but certainly this should satisfy the economy faddists; nor is there any reason for the popular belief that we had been going on increasing our Missions in a spirit of megalomania. I am glad to note that Mrs. Kripalani expressed the desirability of having an Embassy in Yugoslavia. I may mention that our Ambassador in Rome is accredited to Yugoslavia also though we have not got a separate establishment there. Of course, we would like to have a full-fledged

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Embassy but for want of finance, that has not yet been possible. There are other countries where we would like to open our Missions but for reasons of finance, we cannot do it. In fact we have developed rather a bad habit of having our Ambassadors to cover more than one country. For instance, our Minister in Sweden is in charge of Finland and Denmark both. Each of the two latter countries maintains a Mission in Delhi. Our Ambassador in Paris is in dual charge of France and Norway and our Ambassador in Rome, of Italy and Yugoslavia. Our Ambassador in Cairo, in addition to his direct charge in Cairo, has also the charges of Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. I could give you a pretty long list of these but it is a fact that it is impossible for us to go on pluralising our Missions like this.

I will come to certain figures. Out of the expected expenditure of Rs. 968 lakhs in 1953-54 in the entire field of External Affairs, we shall be spending only Rs. 34.35 lakhs on pay and Rs. 38.85 lakhs on foreign and other allowances of the Heads and Officers of the 66 Missions and Consulates. These figures do not include the figures for London. That is, in salary and allowances, we pay less than eight per cent. of the total amount. This works out on an average to Rs. 1.11 lakhs for each Mission. Out of the total provision of Rs. 968 lakhs for this Ministry, we have all sorts of miscellaneous obligations to meet; for instance, this amount includes an amount of Rs. 378.53 lakhs for the Tribal Areas; contribution to U.N. and other international bodies and Delegations amounts to Rs. 69.9 lakhs and subsidies to certain neighbouring States, etc., amount to Rs. 30 lakhs. If these and similar other expenditure are excluded, the actual expenditure to be incurred by the Ministry comes to Rs. 418 lakhs. Of this total, the cost of our Missions abroad including the High Commissioner's establishment in London comes to Rs. 292.95 lakhs. Thus, the total cost of our diplomatic representation abroad comes to less than one per cent. of the total amount of the Union Budget. If you take, therefore, a dispassionate view, you will no doubt agree that we have done indeed a good job with the comparatively little money and we have good reasons to be proud of our achievements in that field.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha (Patna East):** Since last afternoon, discussions are going on on our foreign policy, and

today, it is going to end. During this period, I have sat with perfect composure and have, unfortunately, heard the most disorderly speeches that could ever have been delivered in this great House by Members opposite. My experience of parliamentary life is still in its infancy; but, even I felt that the chief and only pretended merits of the speeches were that they contain no extraordinary matter. With every respect to the speeches and the speakers concerned, I must say that they have become too flat and stale to bear repetition. Especially at this time when antiquity has lost all its effects on the minds of men and when novelty alone retains the power to capture their fancy, these speeches have become an idle parade of words without meaning. Any one who has cared to go through the proceedings of the last year's debate is shocked to find that these speeches which were expected to create havoc and thunder are only repetitions of memorised quotations and hysterical paraphrases. When my hon. friend the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party, with his drawing voice got up yesterday, I was suddenly reminded of a sentence of Burke by which he characterised a speech of Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, and that is, that an over-blown bladder has burst and nobody has been hurt by its crack. His lamentations have been loud, if not louder than before and as usual hundreds of accusations have been made against our foreign policy: that it is senseless, lifeless, that we are stooges of the Anglo-American bloc, that our Government is pursuing a policy not of peace, but a policy of complete involvement. One gentleman, I do not remember his name, went to the extent of saying that our cry has become a cry in the wilderness. This remark reminds me of a story—thanks to Dr. Jaisooriya—and if you will permit me, Sir, I would like to repeat it here. I read a little story when I was a little child, reading at school and the story is this. A father and son went to a fair and bought a pony. On the return journey, the father asked the son to sit on the pony and he himself started walking. When they reached a small village the villagers of that village said, that it was really disgraceful on the part of the son to ride on the pony forcing his old father to go on foot. Feeling a little ashamed by this remark, the son requested the father to ride on the pony and he started walking. They reached another village. There also some persons remarked, how disgraceful it was on the part of the father, the old and selfish haggard fellow, to ride on the

pony, compelling the poor young boy to drag along on his legs. (An Hon. Member: A donkey.) No; pony. Hearing this, they both jumped on the same pony and started for the third village. There also some persons remarked, how dare they treat this poor animal in such an inhuman way, the poor thing is going to die on the way. So at last, they both got down from the pony and reached their own village. But there their own relatives began to taunt the father, saying: "why did you take the trouble to go to the fair and buy this pony when you do not use it? Have you brought this pony to keep in the show case?" This is actually the mentality of the Members opposite.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna):** An accurate description of our foreign policy.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:** I know this irritation shows how it pinches them and I am sure it is going to pinch them.

In 1950, the persons who vehemently accused us of being sympathetic to Russia, are here again accusing us that we have walked into the Atlantic bloc. I am really surprised to note how the Members who were the greatest obstacles in the struggle for our freedom and whose history of recent past is full of examples of showing constant divergence between the spoken words, ideals proclaimed and the real motives and objectives, can dare to criticise our Prime Minister who has spent the whole of his life fighting the imperialists not only in India, but in the whole of the world. (Some Hon. Members: He is going out.) I do not suppose the Prime Minister will walk out; he has got the patience to hear me; if he can listen to the speeches of the Opposition Members, he can certainly have the patience to hear me also when I am speaking something in his support. And he was the only person who really advocated the study of Indian problems against a wider international background. It was because of him that the Congress Party, of all other parties in the country, had formulated a foreign policy of its own. In this connection, I want to read a letter which Lokamanya Tilak wrote to Mr. Clemenceau who was then the President of the Peace Conference at Versailles. He wrote:

"India is self-contained and harbours no design upon the integrity of other States and has no ambitions outside. With her vast areas, enormous population and prodigious resources, she may well aspire to be a leading power in

Asia. She could therefore be a powerful steward of the League of Nations by maintaining peace in the world."

This is our foreign policy. These are the principles on which we have stood, and we have never shifted from these principles, I am very proud to say this, that our most important principle has been the principle of maintaining peace as far as it is possible for us to do. I know that we are really in a very peculiar position and you also, Sir, will, I am sure, sympathise with us, in the position in which we have been placed. I say that this new-born sympathy on the part of the Opposition is poisonous; their newborn sympathy is simply mysterious; I believe in an old Hindi proverb which says:

अगर कोई दूसरी औरत बच्चे को  
उसकी मां से अधिक प्यार करे तो उसे  
डाइन समझना चाहिये ।

I can translate it into English, so that my hon. friends who are listening so patiently now, may understand the meaning, it means, if some woman starts loving a child more than its own mother, then, you should regard her as a witch. The same is the case here. Here is our hon. Prime Minister, who has spent the whole of his life for the country and here are our new-born mothers and fathers who have developed a love that is so much overflowing that they have lost all sense of restraint when they start to discuss foreign policy. So when I came to the House to speak on foreign policy, I waxed my ears so that I may not hear all the accusations that they were making towards me. I am sorry to inform them that they are not going to pinch me any more.

Now, I come to discuss the foreign policy. The first accusation is that our foreign policy is vague, confusing and inconsistent. I must say that we have never for once shifted from the principles for which we have stood. As regards the charge that our foreign policy is confusing, I say that there is no confusion in reality in our foreign policy, but the only confusion was with the hon. Members opposite who had utter confusion in its interpretation. What actually determines the foreign policy of a country, I ask them? What is it that actually determines the line that a country takes in relation to foreign affairs? I do understand that foreign policy is, to some extent, a reflection of a country's domestic policy, but do they forget that the fundamental difference between foreign

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policy, and domestic policy is that while in the domestic sphere every move is taken by us, in the foreign sphere, it is predetermined to a large extent. My friend Dr. Lanka Sundaram has said that our foreign policy is vacillating. How can the foreign policy of a country be static? How can it offer permanent solutions when every solution becomes outmoded in a changing world situation? Foreign policy must be adapted to the changing situations and the changing circumstances of the world. A Foreign Minister can only do this, that he can keep a very vigilant watch on foreign affairs, and he can try to save the country when there is danger, when he feels that danger is coming to the country, and he can avoid the danger as far as possible. This is the foreign policy that our Prime Minister is following, and judging by this criterion, I can say that our Prime Minister is one of the best experts of foreign affairs today. His policy may sometimes appear to be steeped in disinterested casualness, but in reality this disinterested casualness, this superficial covering, is the product of a peculiar alertness of mind and singleness of purpose. But if my hon. friends opposite do not understand this, I really feel sorry for them, and I want to say that:

भैस के आगे बिल बजावें,  
भस पड़ी पगुराई ।

**Shri Frank Anthony** (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): What does it mean?

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:** When you really play flute before the buffalo, the buffalo does not understand what the meaning of the flute is. That is exactly the meaning of this proverb.

But the most unfortunate thing is that once they start a discussion of the foreign policy, they lose all sense of restraint and they become dangerously vociferous. What fantastic proposals have come from them—that we should cut ourselves away from the U.N.O., that we should come out of the Commonwealth—when we have put faith in the U.N.O., when we understand that it is the only body that can really solve the world's problems. There is no other international body. It is only the U.N.O. that provides scope for further improvement. It is the only international body that we have got. How can we leave it and come out? Can India cook in its own broth leaving the other countries of the world? India can have no guts of that kind, because India is a very poor country, which is very nearly choked to death and so it

cannot go on breaking relationship with other countries in haphazard way, just to please some whimsical people.

I want to say another thing, and that is, those Members opposite are really preaching something that they cannot do. Have they any other alternative except the U.N.O. that they can offer? And we hope—and it is a bright hope—that only the U.N.O. can solve these big world problems, and it is in this realization that we are going to join and co-operate with the U.N.O., and in fact, we are co-operating with the U.N.O. It is very easy to be cynical about that unwieldy body whose proceedings have so far borne all the appearance of an international theatrical opera, but still we have every hope that this body alone offers further room for encouragement and further solutions, though the record of the U.N.O. has really not been very bright. In spite of all our efforts, the House will remember, that we did not succeed sometimes in the United Nations. When the question of the declaration of war in Korea was brought in the Security Council, the Indian delegation at that time had brought the cease-fire resolution, but North Korea did not agree to it, and that is why war was declared. You also know how our Prime Minister wrote letters to late Marshal Stalin, Acheson and Bevin, trying to find out ways and means—*modus operandi*—to solve these world problems and to halt the war, but that also did not succeed. Then also, he carried on negotiations with the Chinese delegation, but there also we failed. But that is not our fault. We are always trying to find some new solution and give some new ideas, and these ideas are respected. The latest proof of the acceptance of our idea was the 17-point resolution that was accepted by the General Assembly of the U.N.O. Only Russia and China rejected it. Their rejection was painful indeed, but not very surprising because it is now a well-known fact that, 25 years of suspicious existence has made Russia completely neurotic. As for China, one can say she is the case of a new religious convert—fanatic, blind and highly spirited—and so this stand on the part of China was also natural, and it was expected. But we are still trying, and in the future, we are going to bring more and more proposals and more and more solutions in the U.N.O. and we are bound to solve the world problems, because the world has become too tired of wars. After the second Great War, the forces of the world have

become too exhausted. Moral and physical exhaustion has taken its deep root in the world, and the world is not going to indulge more in this cold and hot war. I have every hope that we can solve the world problems through the United Nations, and I feel that the Prime Minister is very right in co-operating with the U.N.O. in spite of the fact that the U.N.O. has not co-operated with us on the Kashmir issue.

And lastly, before I sit down, I will make some remarks on our attitude towards Pakistan and Ceylon. With all respect for the Prime Minister I feel that I must disagree with him on this point. As regards the attitude of Ceylon towards India, it is well known how she is illtreating Indians without giving them even full citizenship rights. Even then, last year, we sent rice—we presented rice—to Ceylon to feed her people, the rice which we imported from Burma, though it was needed here to feed our own people. Why this shower of generosity to those countries who do not deserve it?

The same is the case with Pakistan. We know how Pakistan is behaving. Pakistan's behaviour has really become intolerable and still we are being quite nice towards Pakistan. \* \* India cannot really go on having compromising attitude towards Pakistan. If you will permit me, Sir, I will read a passage which really preaches the slogan of war and which really shows how Pakistan is preparing for war. This is the passage, from *Dawn* that came out on 12th December, 1952:

"What next if India rejects the Pakistan offer to solve the Kashmir problem?"—

asks the *Dawn*. It adds:

"With full knowledge of the importance and implications of what we are saying, we do say in the name of Pakistan's millions, that Bharat will have to be offered something which she cannot refuse. Throughout the history of mankind, nations have gone to war for less complaining reasons, and the bigger country has not necessarily won. Pakistan must now inform the world of the inevitability of armed conflict over Kashmir in unambiguous terms."

This shows clearly that Pakistan is preparing for war, is ready for war, and so we cannot be generous. We cannot very well go on behaving like this when Pakistan takes this attitude.

I admit that we are not in a position to declare war just now on Pakistan, but at least we should immediately cut off diplomatic relations with Pakistan. Pakistan is not a fit country with whom diplomatic relations can be maintained. And we definitely know that when we are stiff to Pakistan, Pakistan is bound to come down on her bended knees to our feet. We know that Pakistan has taken our money. Pakistan cannot very well exist without the help of India. These are all bare facts. Why can we not be so firm with Pakistan? Why can we not change our attitude towards Pakistan? I know that the hon. Prime Minister is very kind, and also our country is very kind towards Pakistan. We have this tradition of kindness, and so we go on being kind to everybody and also considerate to every country. But the time has come when we must change our tactics. We must be more firm in our attitude towards Pakistan.

I would not like to take up the time of the House, but I would conclude by congratulating the hon. Prime Minister on the glorious foreign policy which he has followed for so many years, and is still pursuing, because I assure him that this is the only right line that we can take, and that is the only right policy which can increase our prestige and honour in the international world. I feel that the stand that India has taken will certainly increase our prestige and honour in the comity of nations in the world and the world will come to realise that whatever India has to offer is really correct, and is really something to be talked about.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram** (Visakha-patnam): I quite agree with my hon. friend Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha, who in her charming speech said that this is not the place for an idle parade of words, and I say that I shall try to avoid the temptation of running off into ideological discussions when approaching the routine and almost remorselessly humdrum Demands for Grants under the Ministry of External Affairs.

It is quite understandable that my hon. friend the Deputy Minister, making his first formal speech on behalf of the Ministry of External Affairs, should commit the mistake that every one of the cut motions given notice of, from various sides of the House, is intended to censure the Government. You know, Sir, that there are cut motions and cut motions. Some cut motions are intended really to cut,

\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

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whereas others—I am sure you will agree with me—are not so harmful, and are intended only to spotlight certain points which emerge from a discussion of the administration of the Ministry of External Affairs. One such cut motion stands in my name where I intended to draw the attention of the Prime Minister to the policy of drift in our foreign policy.

Yesterday, my hon. friend Mr. Shiva Rao in his peroration, made a reference to this cut motion standing in my name. I shall quote him with your permission. He said:

“We may succeed, in a limited fashion here and there, but whatever hon. Members opposite may say—Dr. Lanka Sundaram accused the Prime Minister's foreign policy of being a policy of drift—the enormous respect in which the Prime Minister is held throughout the world, and the greatly enhanced prestige that India enjoys today and has built up for herself year after year in the United Nations—that fact, Sir—indicates far more conclusively than any speeches made from the benches opposite that the policy of the Prime Minister is the right one.”

You would recall that last year while opening this debate on foreign affairs, I myself said words which are not far dissimilar to those used by my hon. friend Mr. Shiva Rao. This is what I said on the 11th of June last year:

“For the Prime Minister there is a tremendous amount of goodwill in this land, and to my personal knowledge there is an equal amount of goodwill all over the world.”

The point at issue is not the debate as to whether or not the Prime Minister of India is held in the greatest possible esteem not only in this country but also in various parts of the world. I feel, personally speaking, very strongly, that every time this smokescreen of popularity of the Prime Minister is brought in, in justification of policies. I am here to say very seriously that every policy in the realm of foreign affairs, which is pursued in the name of this country, must be examined structurally and basically, in order to assess whether each foreign policy has succeeded or not.

Without wasting any more time over this matter, I would like to read out three particular passages in the report

of the Ministry of External Affairs, which has been circulated to us.

In regard to France, on page 8, the report says:

“...the Government of India have formally proposed to the French Government that negotiations may be started on the basis of a direct transfer of these Settlements to India, without a referendum.”

In regard to Portugal, the report says:

“The Government of India have sent a Note to the Portuguese Government requesting that negotiations may be started for the transfer of Goa, Daman and Diu to India.”

In regard to Ceylon, there is a very illuminating passage in the report, which says:

“2,37,034 applications for citizenship, involving nearly 8 lakhs of persons of Indian origin, were made to the Commissioner for Registration till the 5th August 1951—the last date fixed for the submission of these applications. Till the 31st December 1951, 4,498 applications, covering 15,569 persons, were granted. At the close of the year, an amendment was made in the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act, which in effect, denies citizenship rights to several thousand persons in Ceylon.”

I have quoted these three passages, in order to emphasise only one point, viz., that every time we pursue a certain foreign policy with respect to a particular country, we must assess the results thereof, and as I have said, the manner in which the Prime Minister is held in esteem not only in this land but also abroad, does not in the least justify the results obtained or not obtained, in respect of the foreign policy we are pursuing regarding individual countries in the world.

I would not labour this point any further, beyond making a reference to what happened last week in this House. The Prime Minister, as Leader of the House, paid a magnificent tribute to Marshal Stalin, on his passing away, which to my mind, heralds a new epoch in our foreign policy. As a historian, it occurs to me that this one single statement is capable of making this country achieve undiluted esteem



all over the world, for the reason that the lofty character of the words used by the Prime Minister in extolling the policy of peace and the contributions to peace which Marshal Stalin throughout his lifetime had made, will yield remarkable dividends. I am sure, when the history of contemporary India and India's foreign policy comes to be written, this one single factor will obtain pride of place.

Having said this, I would like to make one comparison—I am sure my hon. friend Mr. Shīva Rao would not object to this comparison—and say that while the whole world is reverberating about the statement made by the hon. Leader of the House regarding Marshal Stalin on his passing away, our Ambassador in Washington was discussing the arrangements for a visit to this country, by Mr. John Foster Dulles. I do not think that there would be any breach of protocol if our Ambassador does not come into the picture, or is prevented from coming into the picture to make arrangements for a visit to this country by Mr. John Foster Dulles. This country has received quite a number of foreign diplomats, and is bound to receive these diplomats from every part of the world. It occurs to me that all this plethora of publicity for arrangements sought to be made by our Ambassador in Washington need not have been there, unless it be that some sort of hypochondriacal fear.....

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** I beg your pardon. May I know what arrangements the hon. Member is referring to? I am not aware of any arrangements.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** Press reports have appeared that Mr. G. L. Mehta, our Ambassador in Washington, was making arrangements.....

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I can assure him that I know nothing about it. He is making no arrangements.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** I am satisfied with the statement of the Prime Minister. But these reports did appear in the papers only a few days ago.

But I have no quarrel with him on this point. The point that I am trying to make is that.....

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazari-bagh West):** He does not know. He says that.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** The point that I am making is that we are still

oscillating between one end and the other. Beyond that I would not like to say much on this point, because I am satisfied with the assurance given by the hon. Prime Minister.

With your permission, Sir, I would like briefly to refer to our position with regard to the Commonwealth, the Coronation and the Queen, questions on which the Prime Minister holds very definite views. I have before me the text of a speech delivered in the House of Lords on the 11th of this month by Lord Swinton, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, while introducing the Royal Style and Titles Bill. Here is a discussion of the manner in which the British Commonwealth is proceeding and so on and so forth, and with your permission, I want to put on record two important statements, which to my mind are of vital importance to this country. I would like my hon. friend, the Leader of the House, to correct me if by any chance I have misunderstood these statements of Lord Swinton made so late as the 11th of March. Here he says:

“There were other considerations besides those relating to the Irish Republic and India which made further alteration in the title desirable. There was a feeling in other member countries of the Commonwealth, which we in the United Kingdom fully shared, that the title should reflect clearly what is now the established constitutional position—that the Sovereign stands in exactly the same relation to each of those countries as to the United Kingdom, and that for this purpose the names of the other countries should be included in the title no less than the name of this country”.

Then, Lord Swinton proceeds and says as follows:

“The title as used in all the countries concerned will include the phrase ‘Head of the Commonwealth’ and a reference to Her Majesty’s other realms and territories”.

Further, he proceeds:

“The adoption by each Commonwealth country of the royal style and title it chooses will emphasise and enhance the relationship of the Queen to all her peoples, as it affirms the love and loyalty felt for Her Majesty throughout her realms”.

[Dr. Lanka Sundaram]

Of course, there are two categories—one calling Her Majesty the Queen in the case of, Ceylon, for example, and the other which does not.

Finally, Lord Swinton said:

"So I move today this Bill, which has its counterpart in the other countries of the Commonwealth. And when each of us has taken action appropriate to our Constitutions, there will be one further demonstration of the unity of the Commonwealth: the seven proclamations proclaiming the Queen's titles will be made throughout the Commonwealth on the same day. God save the Queen."

I am not importing into this discussion any theatrical considerations. But I am trying to ask the hon. the Leader of the House whether this statement commits our country, whether he is bringing before this House a Bill in order to expound the titles of the Queen in relation to India.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** No, Sir. It has nothing to do with us. It has nothing to do with India.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** Well, here is the document and, if necessary, I shall place it on the Table of the House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. the Prime Minister is here and what he has said is valuable, whatever be Lord Swinton's speech. He is himself here.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** What he read is perfectly correct, but it has nothing to do with India. It has to do with the other countries who regard the Queen as their Sovereign. But it has nothing to do with India where she is not so recognised.

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon):** Even the word 'British' was omitted from 'British Commonwealth'. We did not want it to be there; so that word was omitted.

**An Hon. Member:** That is true.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** I would not like to labour this point. If you permit me, I will read the crucial sentence again: "The adoption by each Commonwealth country.....etc....." But I am glad of the Prime Minister's assurance that we are not going to have a Bill for the Royal titles, and so on and so forth.

Having said that, I would come back to a point which was raised last year. You will remember that last year during the debate on the Demands for Grants of the External Affairs Ministry I requested the Prime Minister to agree to the appointment of some sort of a consultative machinery, whereby spokesmen of the Opposition could sit with him on these questions relating to the realm of foreign policy. In reply to the debate on the 12th June the Prime Minister made three points—I am quoting:

"(1) that it is a matter for the House to decide,

(2) I gladly welcome frequent Consultations,

(3) We can think about it and devise some methods not only to discuss the general international position, but also to discuss specific problems as they arise".

It so happened that on the 2nd of July last year some sort of a preliminary discussion took place on the basis of the assurance given by the hon. the Prime Minister. Since the 2nd of July, Sir nothing has happened. So I put myself in correspondence with the Prime Minister, and wrote to him on the 28th January this year as to whether in the light of the undertaking given by him to this House—I am not putting anything out of context—he proposed to continue the procedure. I received a letter from him on the 2nd of February this year, in which he said there was some embarrassment caused because of certain references made in newspapers to what happened in the discussions on the 2nd July, and, as such, subsequently, the Prime Minister said, he is hesitating to have further meetings. I am here to say that if any Member or Members are guilty of indiscretion, or even of bad faith, they must be discharged from the service of Committees of the House, or even from informal consultation with members of this House to discuss this question. Instead, the Prime Minister said that he was unable to call a meeting. He also said that it was not his intention to have a formal Committee, and it was not possible to circulate the agenda and papers, because they came in the way of secrecy, and so on and so forth. I

request the Prime Minister once again today that in the light of the undertaking he gave last year, he should devise ways and means for continuous consultation with all shades of political opinion in this House and also outside in the country, so that he will have the public of India behind him in the formulation of his foreign policy. I am here to say that even today the External Affairs Ministry has not been able to build up a sizable 'Brains Trust' to discuss each individual question technically and remorselessly all the year round. I am sure the Prime Minister would not object to this description, because, as I have said on the last occasion in this House, 'foreign affairs' is a very remorseless and technical matter and there must be continuous study of problems. Because the goodwill for the Prime Minister must be cashed in with a view to arousing public opinion in his favour. I have got the greatest possible misgivings that the Prime Minister's foreign policy is misunderstood, at times, misinterpreted. These two things would not happen if the plea which I put forward, and which I repeat, is accepted by the Prime Minister, and some sort of machinery created for continuous consultation between him and the spokesmen of other political parties in this country.

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** I did not want to interrupt the hon. Member, when he referred to the visit of Mr. Dulles. But may I ask him, Sir, is it not open to the Ambassador of our country to arrange the visit of any foreign Minister—however unwelcome the visit of Mr. Dulles may be, or however repugnant may be his views?

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** May I explain, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I cannot allow an argument on this matter.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** On a point of personal explanation, Sir. My hon. friend has misunderstood what I said. I said, the fanfare of publicity for the arrangements sought to be made by our Ambassador in Washington was not necessary at all. The American Embassy is here; the Protocol is here; anybody can be looked after by them.

ڈاکٹر سید محمود (چیمہارن)

ایسٹ ) : ڈاکٹر شہاما پرشاد مکرچی

کا اعتراض تو تھوڑا سمجھ میں

آسکتا ہے ۔۔ لیکن ہمارے پروفیسر

مکرچی کا اعتراض فارین پالیسی (foreign policy) کے متعلق کسی

طرح بھی سمجھ میں نہیں آتا -

ان کو شاید یاد ہوگا اور یاد ہے

کہ ہندوستان پہلا ملک تھا جس

نے چین کو ریگنلائز (recognise) کیا -

یہی نہیں کہ چین کی اس نئی

گورنمنٹ کو ریگنلائز کیا بلکہ انگلستان

اور کاسن ویلٹھ کے دوسرے ملکوں کو

فالباً اپنے اثر سے - بلکہ مجھے تو

یقین ہے کہ ہندوستان کے اثر سے

انگلینڈ نے بھی چین کو ریگنلائز

کیا - یہ ایک فلاحی مہلتل

(fundamental) بات ہے - ہندوستان

نے ایسا اسٹپ نہیں کیا کیونکہ

چین کمونسٹ ملک تھا بلکہ چین

کا حق تھا کہ اس کو ریگنلائز کیا

جائے - چین کو ریگنلائز کرنا ضروری

تھا اس لیے ہندوستان نے ایسا کیا

اور دوسروں کو بھی ایسا کرنے کی

ترغیب دی - اب پہلا ہٹلائیے اس سے

پوچھ کر اور کہا چیز ایک کمونسٹ

کے لئے ہندوستان کی فارین پالیسی

کر سکتی تھی - اس کے علاوہ

ہندوستان کی ایکلامی کا تعلق

سندری ہے اور اس میں بھی کوئی

شہہ نہیں کہ ہندوستان کی ایکلامی

کا تعلق انگلستان کی ایکلامی سے

رہا ہے اور بہت ممکن تھا کہ اگر

کوئی دوسرا فارین منسٹر ہوتا تو وہ

ان اثرات میں بہت جانا کیونکہ ہم

کو ایسے ملکوں سے جو کہ سندری

[ڈاکٹر سید محمود]

طاقت رکھتے ہیں مدد کی ضرورت  
 نہی - لیکن باوجود ان ضرورتوں کے  
 اور باوجود اس سببندہ کے جو انکلیڈ  
 کی ایکنامی سے ہمارا رہا ہے ہم نے  
 جس بہادری سے اور اپنے انٹریسٹس  
 کا بھی خیال نہ کر کے جو اسٹریٹ  
 لائن فارین پالیسی میں ہو سکتی تھی  
 اسکو اختیار کیا - یہ واقعی بہت بڑی  
 بات ہے فارین پالیسی کو دوچیزیں  
 ایکنامی اور ملہتری کی ضرورت طے  
 کرتی ہیں - ہم نے شروع ہی سے  
 طے کیا کہ ہم ایک لیبر ویلفیئر  
 اسٹیٹ (Labour Welfare State)  
 بنانہنگے اور اس کے بنانے کے لئے  
 ضروری تھا کہ ہم ملک میں صلح  
 و شانتی اور امن چھن قائم کریں  
 اور ایسی ویلفیئر اسٹیٹ بنانے کے لئے  
 یہ ضروری تھا کہ ہم اپنی ساری  
 انرجی اس میں صرف کریں اور یہ  
 مناسب بھی تھا کہ ہم اپنے ایکونامک  
 انٹریسٹس (economic interests)  
 کے مطابق ایسی فارین پالیسی  
 بناتے -

4 P.M.

یہی نہیں کہ ہمارا ایکنامی کا  
 انٹریسٹ تھا - بلکہ ساری ویسٹرن  
 ایشین کلتریز کا انٹریسٹ تھا کہ  
 ایسی فارین پالیسی ہو کہ ہم  
 کسی بلاک میں شامل نہ ہوں -  
 اس کے علاوہ ملہتری کا انٹریسٹ ہمیں  
 دیکھنا ہے - اپنے فرنٹیئرس (frontiers)

کو سہنوارڈ (safeguard) کرنے سے  
 فارین پالیسی تقررین (determine)  
 ہوتی ہے - ہمارے انٹریسٹ  
 میں نہیں تھا کہ ہم ریشیا اور  
 چائنا سے لڑتے - اس وقت جب انہوں  
 نے ہمالیہ میں (bases) بھسز بنائے  
 اس وقت ہم دوسرے بلاک میں شریک  
 ہو کر ان کو خفا نہیں کر سکتے تھے -  
 دوسری طرف مہدو (medo) کا جو  
 ساتھ ایشین آرگنائزیشن بن رہا ہے - یا  
 ہلا ہے - جس سے ہم کو اور دوسری  
 ایشین کلتریز (Asian countries) کو  
 خطرہ لاحق ہے اس حالت میں  
 ہم روس یا چائنا کی طرف ہو کر  
 گیا اپنی آزادی کو قائم رکھ سکتے  
 تھے - ڈاکٹر مکرچی نے کہا کہ ہماری  
 فارین پالیسی انڈیپنڈنٹ فارین  
 پالیسی نہیں ہے - میں نہیں  
 سمجھتا کہ اس سے زیادہ انڈیپنڈنٹ  
 فارین پالیسی کہا ہو سکتی تھی -  
 بصر حال ایکنامی (economy)  
 اور ملہتری دونوں کے لئے ضروری  
 تھا کہ ہماری فارین پالیسی ایسی  
 ہو - ایکنامیکل بات تو یہ نہی کہ  
 ہم اپنی ساری ایلرچی (energy)  
 اپنے کو ویلفیئر اسٹیٹ (welfare State)  
 بنانے میں صرف کریں - دنیا  
 میں صلح رہے تاکہ ہمیں اپنے  
 آپ کو ویلفیئر اسٹیٹ بنانے کا موقع  
 ملے - ملہتری کے متعلق آج خطرہ  
 ہے - اس وقت ہم کو ایک بہت  
 بڑا اسٹیپ (step) لہنا ہے آج کی

جو خطرناک خبر ہے کہ ایشیا میں ایک بہت بڑی فوج بلائی جا رہی ہے جس کی وجہ سے یہ پتہ چلتا ہے کہ شاید امپریوریازم نے پھر سر اٹھایا ہے اور ایشیا میں ایشیاٹک (Asiatic) فوجیں بڑی تعداد میں بھرتی کی جائیں گی۔ جو ایشیائی ملکوں سے لیں گی۔ اس لئے ہوشکرم کو ایک ڈیفینٹ اسٹیپ (definite step) ساوتھ ویسٹ ایشیا (South West Asia) اور ویسٹرن ایشیا (Western Asia) اور ایسٹرن ایشیا (Eastern Asia) کے معاملات میں اتنا ہوا ہے اور وہ وہی ہے جو کہ پرائم منسٹر صاحب نے ایک ایریا کے نام سے تعریف (define) کیا ہے۔ وہ آئیڈیا (idea) ان کا مدت سے رہا ہے۔ لیکن اب وقت آگیا ہے کہ اس میں ڈیفینٹ اسٹیپ لیں اور اس طرف آئے ہوں۔ گذشتہ چلند دنوں میں آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ پاکستان نے بھی اس بارے میں بہت کچھ ہاتھ بڑھایا ہے۔ پاکستان منسٹرس نے اور پاکستان پریس نے اس بارے میں بہت کچھ ہاتھ ہماری طرف بڑھایا ہے پاکستان بھولا بھٹکا رہا ہے لیکن اگر صبح کا بھولا شام کو کھرا جائے تو اسے بھولا نہیں کہتے۔ اب بھی اگر پاکستان نے ہماری طرف ہاتھ بڑھایا ہے اور سمجھا ہے کہ اس کا اپنا انٹریسٹ (interest) ہندوستان کے

ساتھ ہے نہ کہ دوسری طرف شریک ہونے سے یا مہدو (Medo) میں شریک ہونے سے تو ہم کو بھی ڈیفینٹ اسٹیپ لہنا ہے اور ہم ایک ایریا ویسٹرن جس میں کہ تمام ایسٹرن ویسٹرن ملک شریک ہوں یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ تیسرا ایریا بنا کر ہم کسی بلاک کا مقابلہ نہیں کر سکتے۔ لیکن لڑائی کے روکنے میں ہم ایسا کر سکتے ہیں۔ اور اگر ہم سے یہ کہا۔ چھسا کہ غالباً ہم کریں گے۔ تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہم کو اس میں بہت کچھ کامیابی حاصل ہوگی۔

پروفیسر مہرجی نے نہپال کا ذکر کیا ہے۔ اور اس سلسلہ میں اس ریپورٹیشن کا بھی ذکر کیا ہے جو وہاں کی کانگریس کے ایک گروہ نے پاس کیا ہے اس میں کہا گیا ہے کہ ہم کو وہاں سے اپنے ٹیکلہشہلس اور ملٹری مشن کو واپس بلا لینا چاہئے۔ اس سے انہوں نے ثابت کرنا چاہا ہے کہ ہم نے نہپال میں جو پالیسی اختیار کی ہے وہ بالکل بیکار تھی اور اس سے سخت نقصان ہم کو ہوا۔ لیکن وہ اس بات کو بھول گئے کہ یہ جو کچھ ہوا وہ نہپالیوں کے آپس کے جھگڑے کی وجہ سے ہوا ہے۔ وہاں بد قسمتی سے دو گروہ ہیں۔ ان دونوں کے جھگڑے کی وجہ سے ایسا ہوا۔ جب بھی لوگ نہپال کی حکومت میں

[ڈاکٹر سید محمود]

تھے۔ انہیں نے لوگوں کے کہنے پر انہیں لوگوں کے بلانے پر یہاں سے ملٹری مشن گیا تھا۔ اور وہاں سول ایڈمنسٹریٹرس یا ٹیکنیشنس بھیجے گئے۔ آج ان کا ایک گروہ لڑائی کی وجہ سے اعتراض کرتا ہے لیکن اس سے ہم نے جو کچھ نپہال میں کیا اس سے ہماری ناکامیابی نہیں ثابت ہوتی۔

دوسری چیز یہ کہ ملایا کے متعلق اعتراض کیا گیا۔ میں اتنا ضرور کہونگا کہ میں نہیں جانتا کہ یہ ہماری فارین پالیسی کا اثر ہے۔ اس سے کوئی تعلق ہے لیکن یہ فیکٹ (fact) ہے کہ وہاں کی آبادی اس وقت ہندوستانیوں کے خلاف ہے۔ اس وجہ سے کہ وہاں گورکھے استعمال کئے گئے۔ وہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ تمام گورکھا فوج ہندوستانی ہے۔ اور اسی لئے ہم پر شبہ کرتے ہیں۔ وہ اس کو نہیں سمجھتے کہ اس معاملہ میں ہمارا کوئی تعلق نہیں ہے۔ لیکن پھر بھی اگر یہ خراب اثر وہاں پڑ رہا ہے تو ہم کو اس کا علاج کرنا ضروری ہے۔

ڈاکٹر مکرجی نے یہ فرمایا تھا کہ وہ لڑائی نہیں چاہتے۔ لڑائی نہیں ہونی چاہئے لیکن پھر بھی ہم کو وہ لقل اسٹریٹگتھ (a little strength)“ دکھلانی چاہئے۔ اگر وہ یہ کہتے کہ وہ

لڑائی چاہتے ہیں تب تو شائد ایک آدمی اس کو سمجھ سکتا تھا کہ تھپک ہے نتیجہ کچھ بھی ہو کتنی ہی بے معنی چیز لڑائی ہو۔ لیکن وہ ضروری سمجھتے ہیں تو تھپک ہے۔ لیکن میں لقل اسٹریٹگتھ کے معنی نہیں سمجھ سکتا۔ یہ چیز انہوں نے بار بار کہی۔ کیا اس سے ان کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ ہم آستین چڑھا کر خط لکھیں کہ دیکھو اب تم نے آگے کچھ کہا تو ہم آجائیں گے۔ اب ہم حملہ کر دیں گے۔ ان کو جاننا چاہئے کہ ہمارے ملک کے گرو گاندھی جی نے ہم کو یہ نہیں سمجھایا۔ چمپ ہم کچھ بھی ارادہ کریں لڑائی کا تو ہمارے پیچھے کچھ سیلکشن (Sanction) ضرور ہونا چاہئے۔ اگر ہم ارادہ کرتے ہیں۔ کوئی سخت الفاظ لکھتے ہیں یا دھمکی دیتے ہیں تو اس کے معنی یہ ہیں کہ اگر دھمکی کا اثر نہ ہو تو ہمیں لڑائی کے لئے بھی تیار رہنا چاہئے۔

ایک طرف تو وہ کہتے ہیں کہ وہ لڑائی نہیں چاہتے دوسری طرف کہتے ہیں کہ لقل اسٹریٹگتھ دکھلانی چاہئے۔ اگر سخت الفاظ لکھے جائیں تو اس کا کچھ اثر ہونا چاہئے اور اگر نہیں ہوتا تو پھر ہمیں لڑائی کے لئے تیار رہنا چاہئے۔ لیکن اس کے لئے تو وہ کہتے ہیں کہ لڑائی چاہتے ہی نہیں۔ پھر انہوں نے پرائم منسٹرو

سے سوال پوچھا ہے کہ -

“What about foreign pockets in India? What about South Africa, what about Pakistan?”

قبل اس کے کہ میں ان پر کچھ کہوں میں نہایت ادب سے پوچھونگا کہ

“And what about Indonesia, what about Libya, what about Sudan, what about that tremendous effect which was created in all the Asiatic countries in favour of India because of our straightforward, honest and sympathetic foreign policy? What about the tremendous antagonism which created—practically raised a revolt—against the colonialism in all the Asiatic countries?”

یہ تمام چیزیں کیا نم ہیں - یہ فارین پالیسی کی کامیابی نہیں ہے تو اور کیا ہے کہ ہم نے تمام ایشیا میں کلونلزم (colonialism) کے خلاف ایک لہر دوڑا دی ہے - ہم نے اپنے ہندوستان کے فہور (favour) میں اور ہندوستان کی آئیسٹ اور آسٹریٹ فارورڈ فارین پالیسی (honest and straightforward foreign policy) کے لئے ایک زبردست پبلک اوپینین (public opinion) تمام ایشیا میں قائم کی ہے - تمام ایشیا تک ملک و سرگرن ایشیا کے ایک طرف اور ایسگرن ایشیا انڈونیشیا وغیرہ دوسری طرف ہماری طرف دیکھ رہے ہیں - یہ اس لئے کہ وہ ہماری فارین پالیسی کو ایک مناسب پالیسی سمجھتے ہیں - سبھی کے ساتھ ہماری سہتمی (sympathy) ہے کسی کے ساتھ اس کے خلاف کرنے کا ملشا نہیں

ہے - اس کے علاوہ ہم نے سوڈان میں کیا کیا - یہاں میں یاد دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ قبل اس کے کہ جنرل نجھب آئے مصر کی پالیسی کیا تھی انگریزوں کے مقابلے میں کہ سوڈان اور سوڈی کینال کا مسئلہ ایک ساتھ طے ہو - انگریز یہ کہتے تھے کہ ہم ایک ساتھ آجے نہیں کر سکتے - دوسرے وہ کہتے تھے کہ سوڈان کا تعلق صرف مصر سے ہے اور اسکو مصر کے ساتھ رکھنا چاہئے - ان دونوں باتوں پر بار بار کانفرنسوں ہوئیں - میں یاد دلاتا ہوں کہ جنرل نجھب کے آنے سے کچھ دن پہلے ہندوستان نے اپنے کسی کمونیکیشن میں مصر کو یہ کہا تھا کہ مصر کی پالیسی یہ ہونی چاہئے - الفاظ کیا تھے یہ تو میں نہیں جانتا مگر مطلب یہی تھا - کہ سوڈان بالکل خود مختار ہو اور جس طرح کی گورنمنٹ وہ اپنے وقت سے طے کرے وہی ہو - اس وقت کی گورنمنٹ پر اسکا اثر نہیں ہوا مگر جب جنرل نجھب آئے تو انہوں نے غالباً بلکہ یقینی طور پر ہندوستان کی صلاح پر عمل کیا - کیونکہ وہ بار بار ہندوستان کی طرف دیکھتے ہیں اس لئے انہوں نے ضرور ایسا ہندوستان کی صلاح سے کیا ہوگا - یہاں تک کہ لوگ کہنے لگے ہیں کہ جنرل نجھب سہکنڈ نہرو آف ایشیا ہے اس سے پتہ چلتا ہے کہ انہوں نے ہندوستان کی صلاح

[ڈاکٹر سید محمدر]

کو مانا ہے اور اس میں ان کو کامیابی ہوئی ہے اور کم سے کم سوڈان کا مسئلہ طے ہو گیا ہے دوسرا مسئلہ سامنے ہے - دیکھنا ہے کیا ہوتا ہے - تو اتنی چیزیں ہم نے کہیں - لہذا میں ہم نے زبردست کارروائی کی - جس طرح ہم نے لہذا کے لوگوں پر انحصار کیا اس کا شکریہ کرنے ان کا قبیلہ کھشن آیا تھا جو کچھ ہم کر رہے ہیں اسکا اثر ان تک پہنچا ہے - میں تو کہتا ہوں کہ ہماری فارن پالیسی نے یہ اثر کیا ہے کہ ہم اپنا فرنٹیئر مراکش سے انڈونیشیا تک بنا رہے ہیں - فوجوں کے ذریعے نہیں - بلکہ وہاں کے لوگوں کے دل پر قبضہ کرے - یہ چیز ہم نے گاندھی جی سے سیکھی ہے - اس سے کہیں زیادہ بڑا فرنٹیئر بنتا ہے کہ ہم ان کے دلوں پر قبضہ کریں اور وہ ہماری طرف دیکھیں - ابھی دہائی میں چند ہفتے ہوئے کہ ایک ایشیاٹک فارن ڈپلومیٹ (Asiatic foreign diplomat) نے مجھ سے کہا تھا کہ تمہاری فارن پالیسی ایسی ایمانداری کی ہے کہ پلڈت نہرو نہ صرف ہندوستان کے لئے ہڈر رہے ہیں بلکہ ہمارے بھی لئے ہوئے ہیں - اتنا بڑا اثر تمام ایشیا میں ہے - پھر بھی آپ کہتے ہوں کہ ہماری فارن پالیسی ناکامیاب رہی - ہماری فارن پالیسی نہ انڈیپنڈینٹ ہے اور

نہ اسٹیٹ ہے - تعجب ہے - اگر آنگہ بند کر کے اعتراض کرنا ہے تو دوسری بات ہے -

میں صرف ایک لفظ اور کہونگا اپوزیشن کی تمام اسپیچز میں میں نے صرف ایک کانسٹرکٹو سبجیشن پایا اور وہ مسوز سمجھتا کرپٹنی کی اسپیچ میں - انہوں نے دو باتیں کہی تھیں جن میں سے ایک کا تو میں ذکر کر چکا ہوں - دوسری بات انہوں نے یہ کہی تھی کہ ہمارے پروٹو منسٹر صاحب بڑے ملکوں کے بجائے چھوٹے ملکوں پر نظر ڈالیں اور ان کو اپنی طرف کھینچیں - ویسے وہ ملک خود ہماری فارن پالیسی کی ایمانداری کی وجہ سے ہماری طرف کھینچے ہوئے ہیں - اب ان کو صرف ایک لڑی میں پرو دینا ہے - اتنا کام باقی ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ ان کا کانسٹرکٹو سبجیشن تھا اور اس میں ہے کہ اس طرف ہم آگے قدم بڑھائیں -

(English translation of the above speech)

Dr. Syed Mahmud (Champaran East): While one may understand Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee's criticism somewhat, the opposition of Prof. Mukerjee to our foreign policy is not intelligible at all. Perhaps he remembers—and I think he does—that India has been the first country to recognise China. Not only that, probably it was due to India's recognition—and for myself I feel certain that it was so—that England and other countries of the British Commonwealth have also recognised the present Chinese Government. This is the fundamental fact. India has done so not because China happened to be now a Communist country, rather she has recognised



what was China's due. It was necessary to recognise China. That India has done and has persuaded others to do the same. I do not know what more our foreign policy could do to please a communist. Apart from that India's economy has had much to do with the sea-borne trade, in particular, with England. Any other Foreign Minister was very likely to be carried away by these considerations because we needed help from the countries which possess sea-power. Notwithstanding this need and our close link with England's economy, we have been bold enough to adopt a straight line in regard to our foreign policy. In doing so we have not cared even for our industry. It is, indeed, a big step that we have taken. Foreign policy plays a vital role in a country's economy and her military needs. From the very beginning we have proclaimed the establishment of a Labour Welfare State as our aim. To that end it was necessary to preserve peace and tranquility within the country. It was also proper that we should frame our foreign policy consistent with our economic interests. Yet the interests of our economy were not the sole consideration, herein the interests of all western Asian countries were involved and that led us to adopt a foreign policy which should keep us aloof from all power blocs.

Further, we have to be vigilant with regard to our military interests. The need to safeguard a country's frontiers determines its foreign policy. It was not in our interests to fight with China and Russia, particularly at a time when they had set up bases in the Himalayas; we could not afford to offend them by alignment with one or the other power-bloc.

There is also a South Asian Organisation called MEDO in the making or has perhaps already been an established fact. It holds out a threat to us as also to other Asian countries. In the circumstances, we could not preserve our independence by taking sides with Russia or China. Dr. Mookerjee has declared that our foreign policy is not an independent policy. I cannot visualize what policy could have been more independent. Anyway, considering both the economic and military exigencies facing the country, our foreign policy should have been what it is. A more scientific approach would be that we devote all our energy to set up a Welfare State in our country. We should try to have peace in the world so that we may set ourselves to that task; viz., the establishment of a Welfare State. Military danger is looming large today. We have to decide about a very big step. Today a very disconcerting news has come in. A very large army is proposed to be

organised in Asia. It perhaps indicates a resurgence of imperialism. Asiatic armies will be organised in very large numbers that will fight against the Asians. We have, therefore, to decide upon a definite step with regard to the happenings in the Western and Eastern Asia. That step is no different than the one defined by our Prime Minister as one particular area. He has held that idea for long. But the time has come now when we have to go ahead. You are aware that Pakistan too has made much progress in this matter. Both Pakistan Ministers and Pakistan Press have extended their hand towards us. So far Pakistan has been on the wrong path, still it is better late than never. If Pakistan has realized even now that her interests are interlinked with India's and not with the participation with others in organisations like the MEDO, we too have to take a definite step. We have to carve out an area in the creation of which all Eastern and Western countries may join hands. It is true that by creating a third area we shall not be able to oppose any particular bloc. Still we can prevent war. Should we so decide—as I think we shall—we may achieve notable success.

Prof. Mookerjee has referred to the situation in Nepal. He has spoken of a resolution passed by the Nepalese Congress in which we have been asked to recall our technicians and military mission from that country. Thereby he has sought to establish that we have been pursuing a useless policy with regard to Nepal and that the country has suffered thereby. But he has forgotten that whatever has happened, is the outcome of the internal strife of the Nepalese. Unfortunately two rival groups exist there. The present situation there is the result of their mutual disputes. The military mission was sent to Nepal at the request of these very persons when they were running the administration there. The civil administration as also the military mission were sent there at their own request. One of these groups now has objections to their presence because of their mutual strife. That, however, is no proof of our failure.

Again our policy with regard to Malaya has been criticized. I wish to say this much that it is not necessarily the result of our foreign policy and I doubt whether the situation there has really something to do with our foreign policy. It is, however, an established fact that a majority of the local inhabitants are against the Indians. The reason for that is to be found in the use of the Gurkhas against the Malayans. They are under the impression that the entire Gurkha troops are

[Dr. Syed Mahmud]

Indians. That explains their misgivings about us. They are not aware that we are not in any way concerned with it. If despite that the bad impression is gaining ground, then it only calls for some measures on our part to combat the same.

Dr. Mookerjee has said that he wants no war. He dislikes that there should be any war. Still he thinks we should show 'a little strength'. Had he expressed a desire to have war, one could have understood it. Once we want war, we need not then care for the result. War may be an evil but once it is considered to be necessary, then it is all right. I have failed to understand what he meant by this phrase 'a little strength', which he has used repeatedly in his speech. Does he mean that we should get ready and warn them in writing that any further action will result in an attack on them. He should know that our teacher Gandhiji has not taught us like that. We must have some sanction in any decision of war that we may take. Once we take a decision or write to them in stern words or hold out any other threat, it means we have to get ready for war in the event of the failure of that threat.

So, on one hand he does not want war, on the other, he favours the idea of showing 'a little strength'. Accordingly, if we write in stern terms, they should yield results and failing these results we have to get ready for war. But then he wants no war. That is the position.

Next he has posed a question to the Prime Minister "What about foreign pockets in India? What about South Africa, what about Pakistan?"

Before I say anything with regard to this question I would like to know.

"And what about Indonesia, what about Libya, what about Sudan, what about that tremendous effect which was created in all the Asiatic countries in favour of India because of our straightforward, honest and sympathetic foreign policy? What about the tremendous antagonism which we created—practically raised a revolt—against the colonialism in all the Asiatic countries".

All these facts are, by no means, insignificant. It is nothing but a success of our foreign policy that we have been able to unleash a wave of opposition against colonialism throughout Asia. We have created a strong public opinion in favour of India and her honest and straightforward foreign policy. All countries of Western Asia

on one hand and Eastern Asia on the other are looking to us for guidance. It is so because they consider our foreign policy to be a correct one. We have sympathy for all nations. We do not want any one to be opposed to us. Now what has been our achievement with regard to Sudan? I may remind the House that before General Naguib took over, the line of policy followed by Egypt was that both the Sudan and Suez Canal issues should be settled together. The British expressed inability to do it. Next they held that Sudan was linked with Egypt only and should remain with Egypt alone. Many conferences were held on these two issues only a few days before General Naguib took over. India in a communication to Egypt, had suggested the foreign policy that, in her opinion, should be followed by Egypt. I do not know the actual words. It may, however, be stated that the idea was that India should be completely independent and should be allowed to have the type of the Government that a popular vote may decide. The Government of that time took no notice of that suggestion. But with General Naguib in power, he acted most probably—rather certainly—on India's advice. Time and again he has sought guidance from India and no wonder that he must have done it in consultation with her. People have even begun to style him as the 'Second Nehru of Asia.' That shows he must have accepted India's advice—he has achieved success. At least the Sudan issue has been settled. The other problem is still unsolved. We have to wait and see. These are the things we have done. We have taken strong action. The Libyan Delegation came here the other day to thank us for all that we had done for that country. They have felt the impact of all that we are doing here. Our foreign policy has, at least, this result that we are extending our frontiers from Morocco to Indonesia—not by the help of armies but by leaving the impress of our goodwill on the peoples of those countries. It is what we have learnt from Gandhiji. To win people's hearts which may make them look to us, helps in creating much broader frontiers. Several years back, an Asiatic foreign diplomat told me in Delhi that our foreign policy, based as it was on honesty, has made Pandit Nehru not only India's leader, but their leader as well. That is the magnitude of the effect our foreign policy is having in Asia. Still you hold that our foreign policy has been a failure—that it is neither straight nor independent. It is simply surprising.

One word more and I have done. In all the speeches made by hon. Mem-

bers on the Opposition, I have found only one constructive suggestion and that is from Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani. She has said two things. I have already referred to one of them. The other thing she said was that our Prime Minister should give his attention more to small countries rather than the big powers. He should try to win these small countries. Speaking otherwise because of our honest foreign policy, these countries are looking towards us. All that remains to be done is to bring about unity amongst them. I regard it as her constructive suggestion and I hope we shall make progress in that direction.

**Shri Jaipal Singh** (Ranchi West—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): I see no reason why I should not once again, looking at the overall picture of our foreign policy, congratulate the Government in pursuing the policy it has enunciated. After all, foreign policy is new to us not only as a people but as a Government. But I do firmly believe that we are treading the right path. That does not mean to say that in traversing the course which we have set for ourselves, we are making no mistakes or are making no blunders. Far from it.

If I had my way and if I could break the conventions of this House, I would have made an attempt whereby I would have pleaded with Parliament to increase the Demand under this particular Ministry. Unfortunately, there is no such procedure whereby I can increase the amount that is demanded by Government, and my only recourse is to reduce the Demand by a cut motion. As you know, I have submitted no cut motion.

I do feel that a great many of us make a mistake in debating matters of foreign policy by forgetting that foreign policy is above party politics. Whenever we are talking of our foreign policy—the policy of our External Affairs Ministry—we must one and all—Congressmen, non-Congressmen, Members of the Treasury Benches and Members of the Opposition—should forget ourselves as Members belonging to any particular party. If any country has a foreign policy, that foreign policy must be pursued as a national policy—whether my hon. friend sits opposite or sits here. There must be a certain consistency. We should have what one may call a certain integrity in our policy in the matter of national and international affairs.

While I say all this, I have some criticisms to offer. Maybe, they are very small things, but they go to prove that my friends on the other side are themselves guilty of dealing with this matter of our foreign policy as a party

affair. Take the question of these delegations and these deputations that we send abroad. Examine their personnel. What has happened? Has my hon. friend ever thought it desirable or necessary in the interests of harmony in our foreign policy to take into confidence Members who are not at one with him from a party point of view? Again and again, I see that there are certain types of people who are sent abroad and others are completely neglected. There I maintain that we must be very, very careful in choosing our personnel—whether they are official or non-official; whether they are directly sent abroad at the instance of Government or otherwise. We must see to it that every deputation is of the right type when it is sent abroad.

For instance, I have nothing against my hon. friend, the voluminous giant, Sardar Atma Singh Namdhari. If you put him in a delegation, for instance, we can explode this idea of India being an under-developed area. If he is sent abroad, nobody will believe that India is under-developed. But what is the good of that? Similarly, if a deputation consists only of vegetarians—and one recent deputation was overwhelmingly vegetarian in its character—I do maintain that it is not quite fair to this country. I do not know whether anybody has gone to America to spread or propagate Hindi or not. What I am certainly concerned about is that the purpose for which we send our delegation should be material to the task that is set before us.

As I said earlier, I certainly would like this particular Ministry to have more money. On the floor of this House, we are much too fond of doing things cheaply. All the time, we are shouting about economy. We forget that when we are abroad, we have to meet on level terms, and this is where I come to the question of the Indian Foreign Service. According to the information that has been given to us, I regret that the Indian Foreign Service is still diminutive. There are 42 Legations of this country. We want to play our full part in shaping world opinion, but what are we doing to build a body of career diplomats? Are you going to rely on party politicians to be Ambassadors here or there? We find that when they make a mess here, they get a promotion elsewhere. Is that the way how we are going to tackle this big problem? I know that it is a difficult problem. We cannot overnight have a diplomatic service. I appreciate the difficulty of the External Affairs Ministry, but when I am told in this booklet that only four new members have been recruited to the Indian Foreign Service, I cannot but

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

suspect that my hon. friend over there wants to recruit only from his party men to man all these various foreign Legations that are being multiplied day by day. I am not against their multiplication. I think we should be represented in every country. We have a part to play in this world and I am very glad that my hon. friend over there has not deflected from the path which he has chalked out for himself.

Take, for example, the question of the West African territories. From this booklet, I find that as a result of the visit of our representative to East Africa, we are going to open a Legation in Accra in the Gold Coast Colony. But we are told that the Legation is going to be in Gold Coast Colony and Nigeria only. I want to ask my hon. friend: has he taken the trouble to see the map of West Africa? How is it that he has completely forgotten the Indians in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Belgian Congo, etc. Does it mean that our interests, the interests of our connections with West Africa are limited only to the Gold Coast Colony and Nigeria? I do maintain as the late Rev. Andrews when he visited that part of the world said very clearly to the Congress on his return to this country that this is a territory which has much in common with Indian conditions, a territory where, if ever such a problem arose, Indians could go and settle—it is ideal particularly for my Bengali friends, exactly the same type of climate and so forth, and the people very friendly to us.

One can go on like that. There is plenty of room for improvement as far as the External Affairs Ministry is concerned and the only way it can be done is by appreciating the fact that if it is to be a national foreign policy, the Ministry of External Affairs must shed the parochial outlook. In other words he must take everybody into confidence so that, as I have said earlier, we have a consistent policy, a policy which will adhere to its path and continue to go—Governments may come and Governments may go.

I would like to remind hon. Members here that we live in a world, a modern world of heightened economic interdependence. I do not think that there is a single person who can get away from that. We use loose words like an 'independent attitude' towards a particular subject. Do we seriously believe that there can be such a thing as an independent outlook, divorced from the interdependence of the modern world? Is such a thing possible? If it is accepted that the world is interdependent, the world is one, then there is

no country, no territory so great, there is no dogma so powerful that can make any particular State self-enclosed. Therefore, I think it is quite right that we have chosen a path of universality, that is to say, however unpopular we might become with certain powerful groups, on whom we may be economically dependent, or of whom we may be independent, we say: we shall get to know everyone. That is exactly where in a limited way, the question of independent outlook comes in. But otherwise there is no such thing as neutrality. My friends may talk about neutrality: I do not think it has really any meaning. But let us be quite frank with ourselves.

Again, if we have any foreign policy it must be reflected in our trade and commerce and supplies that come to this country and the supplies that go out. That is the test of an effective foreign policy. I would like to know, while we have been talking about a national policy, have we really benefited to the extent to which we make claim for the success of our foreign policy? It is very important. I will give only one instance for example. Look next door. There is our neighbour, a very friendly neighbour, Burma. Now Burma has taken a loan from us. I need not mention the figures; but it is an astronomical figure, as far as my information goes. We lent money to Burma. But our tea industry is in a very serious crisis. What happens? Although we lent money to Burma, Burma prefers to drink Ceylon tea. It may be a small matter. So, I say the wisdom, the soundness of our national foreign policy should be reflected in our trade, commerce, supplies that come and supplies that go, and above all in the treatment that Indian nationals and people of Indian origin receive throughout the world. If it is not reflected, then there is something wrong.

There is the question of Ceylon Indians. I do not mean to say that we should resort to police action, or withdraw Indian labour from Ceylon plantations. But there are instances where I do think we are weak, or at any rate we have not been firm enough.

Take the case that was referred to the International Civil Aviation Organisation. One of our internal airlines was given an external right to fly to Afghanistan. What happens? Immediately Pakistan says: you may fly to Karachi but you cannot fly direct to Kabul. The result is you have to take to a very expensive route. Was it necessary for us to go all the way to ICAO, because we say we want to resort to peaceful methods? There are

other peaceful methods. Do not allow the Pakistan airways to fly through India and you will see that within twenty-four hours they will see sense, which has taken them two years now.

I have given only a few instances. Overall I have the fullest support for the general foreign policy of the present Government. I have said that. But let not the present Government run away with the idea that their record is perfect: It has been far from perfect and the sooner they realise it the better. There are many instances where if this House as a whole and the parties together could be taken into confidence; I have no doubt whatsoever that our foreign policy would be more and more effective and bring honour to this country.

**Shri Raghuramaiah (Tenali):** I quite welcome the new approach to foreign policy which has been made by the previous speaker. One thing particularly struck me and that is the necessity for consistency. Well, consistency is a very rare dose with certain groups to be very sparingly used. I am very sorry Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party is not here this morning. But I was pleasantly surprised to hear him yesterday starting his speech with a glorious tribute to Netaji. Well, Netaji was certainly one of the greatest Indians. Normally it should not have surprised any one, but the language in which he clothed it, I thought was very interesting. He said:

"He is surely one of the most outstanding and never-to-be-forgotten figures in the history of our freedom movement."

I was thinking what the party to which he belongs said about Netaji in 1945—the fifth columnist of Japan! Well, opinions do change. But when they follow a certain pattern it becomes rather interesting.

Next Prof. Hiren Mukerjee referred to Ceylon in such pathetic, sympathetic and generous terms that I was for a moment again reminded of what their attitude to Ceylon was only a little while ago. When the question of Ceylon's admission to the United Nations came up, Soviet Russia objected to it, and not one of my friends on the other side ever thought it fit to say one little word in favour of Ceylon. Now that Ceylon supplied rubber to China, of course, all their sympathies are for Ceylon—most curious thing!

We often hear the Members of the Communist Party denounce the Point

Four Programme and Indo-American Technical Agreement. But yesterday Prof. Mukerjee was referring in such suppliant terms and saying: what a pity, now that Ceylon has supplied rubber to China they have deprived her of the Point Four help. I do not know whether he was thinking he was speaking in the United Nations, voicing somebody else's feelings. From the way he referred to NATO, MEDO and all that, anybody would think that we are the sponsors of NATO and MEDO. We have made it clear more than once that neither the NATO nor the MEDO is our cousin. Yesterday my friend Mr. Shiva Rao from these Benches explained the implications of NATO. Our policy has always been to discourage these 'Locarno Pacts' of the mid 20th Century. We have said so. As for MEDO one has only to read this morning's papers to find out what the real intention behind this MEDO is. It is supposed to be the Middle Eastern Defence Organisation. But what President Eisenhower proposes to do with regard to the Free Asians versus the Red Asians as announced in today's papers shows what the nature of the organisation M.E.D.O. is going to be. It is not going to be the Middle Eastern Defence Organisation; if I may say so, it is going to be the Middle Eastern Fodder Organisation for the American and the Russian guns. Naturally we protested and said that it would create a grave situation in Asia and that we would not look upon it with composure.

The acting Leader of the Communist Party referred to our bad record in colonialism. I do not know whether he forgets so quickly that 600 million people have achieved independence after the Second World War and that the spark that generated the light of that freedom emanated from this country. I do not know whether he has so easily forgotten the way we helped Indonesia to get her freedom, and the way we urged for the liberty and freedom of Libya. Of course, the Communist Party is always thinking of three things: Malaya, Indo-China and Korea. Well, for us they happen to be parts of the global strategy of both the Anglo-American and the Communist powers. While on the one hand the United States is interested in keeping up and propping up the tottering imperialist and capitalist authorities in those countries, the Communist countries are interested in creating their own satellites. Naturally it is not for us to interfere in a situation like that. But just because we stand aloof from this fight, of Communism on the one hand and of capitalist imperialism on the other, it does not

[Shri Raghuramaiah]

mean that our love of liberty is any less. In fact it is well known that it is one of the dictums of Lenin—and Stalin has said so—that Communists will support the fight against colonialism only so far as it is consistent with the fight of the proletarian masses. Therefore, the love of freedom is not an abstract or absolute thing even with the Communist powers.

Mr. Punnoose, I think, asked yesterday how we are going to reconcile our Korean resolution with the Geneva Convention. Well, it is only a question of interpretation. It is well known that at the meeting in Korea, when the draft armistice agreement was prepared, there was agreement on all the vital issues and the combatants could not agree only on one issue. And that related to the treatment of prisoners of war. In the first place the United Nations suggested that these prisoners should be interrogated in a de-militarized zone by a neutral Commission consisting of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Switzerland. I would like you to mark the emphasis on Poland and Czechoslovakia, neutral powers. The United Nations agreed for that. But China and Korea insisted that these prisoners of war should first be transferred to their own custody and then, they said, they could be interrogated by those powers. Naturally there was no agreement on that, and it was on that issue that the negotiations broke: so that when we took up the thread in the General Assembly we knew full well that a cease fire would follow if only this little hitch was hammered out. Therefore, the Indian resolution concentrated on that and suggested that first of all there shall be no use of force either for retaining the prisoners or for repatriating them to their respective homes and that the ascertainment of their wishes should be left to the four power Commission. The Russians moved an amendment that there shall be a Commission of eleven powers consisting of Russia, New China, Czechoslovakia, North Korea—four—U.S.A., U.K., France South Korea—four—India, Burma and Switzerland—three—altogether eleven—and that not only the question of prisoners of war but the entire Korean issue and the entire Far Eastern question should be settled by this eleven power Commission. And remember that the decision has to be by a two-thirds majority. Four Communist powers, four Anglo-American powers, I would venture to call them; and three neutral powers. And a two-thirds majority in that contest would definitely mean a Russian veto, and the world would be where it was before.

Of course it is said that the Indian resolution did not emphasise cease fire as the Russian amendment did. I do not know what the Russians really believe the Indian resolution was meant for: is it to prolong the war or to stop it? There is bound to be a cease fire, and in fact a word was added at the end of the Indian resolution to the effect that the entire arrangement was being made in order to facilitate cease fire. And the whole basis of the negotiations at Pan Mun Jon was intended to effect cease fire on the basis of an honourable understanding between the two powers.

Well, it is easy to run down this country time in and time out. A few Members yesterday were asking: why was there so less propaganda about this country? How could there be? Prof. Hiren Mukerjee himself referred in such disparaging terms to the dams in this country. And his Leader has been writing numerous articles from Moscow in the form of letters to his wife. It would be interesting to know what he has to say about the dams and the canals in the Soviet Union. In one article he writes: "Having come to the U.S.S.R. naturally the first place I visited was Stalingrad and the Volga-Don Canal". And after eulogizing and praising the great construction and engineering feats involved in that Canal with which I have no quarrel, he comes down and says: "As our ship sailed on and on along this Canal, I was thinking about our villages in India where when the rains come the village is flooded and the mud-houses collapse". I am glad that the Volga-Don Canal did not remind him of our municipal drains. Is it proper to think of the work done in this country and compare it in such fashion with the Soviet Union or any other country? Has my friend so conveniently, and so disparagingly to the credit of this country, forgotten the dams which we are constructing which are our pride and the envy of the whole world—Bhakra-Nangal, Hirakud, Damodar Valley? If I may point out another very interesting passage, he says "As our ship sailed on and on along this canal I was thinking of Rayalaseema, the dry land which is in the grip of famine today in spite of the big rivers Krishna and Godavari, each of us in the ship was seeing and thinking deeply...". I am sorry he did not think deep enough, for had he thought enough he would have remembered our Tungabhadra project which was built on the river Krishna just to give water to the dry land of Rayalaseema. You cannot expect great appreciation of this country outside if our own people go and run down this coun-

try. Of course, it was denied that Mr. Gopalan ever brought down this country in Russia. I am glad that when I heard that denial I took it with a pinch of salt. For there is no doubt whether he actually ran down this country in Russia or not, he has been running it down from Russia. And it is really shameful.

Something has been said about our trade with Russia. We are not a totalitarian country. Our trade follows a certain pattern of demand and supply at competitive prices. If Russia can supply at these rates I do not think we would mind buying from Soviet Russia or any other country. That is doubtful and there are some practical difficulties too. When in 1950 or 1951 Russia sold us wheat she made us pay for it on the nail. When we get goods from the United States or Great Britain we have a facility because of our sterling resources, and also the American Wheat Loan. There are certain other advantages also and besides we have British machinery here and we have to get spare parts from Britain. You cannot persuade people accustomed to drink coffee with cream to drink the Russian tea without milk. It does not fit in.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

Then, I will say something about the Coronation. Dr. Lanka Sundaram and a few others attacked our association with the Commonwealth in the context of the Prime Minister attending the Coronation. Well, Coronation happens to be one of the great occasions for the British people to enjoy themselves and tomorrow, I am sure if the great Malenkov decides on having a Coronation, we will have a regalia. There is nothing extraordinary in that as the great Napoleon did once.

As for the visit of Mr. Dulles, I may say that we are not a totalitarian country where the ingress and outgress of foreigners is at a diminishing rate. We welcome visitors from whatever country they come and we will be failing in our hospitality if we do not extend our warm hospitality to them.

I would only add one more thing. Every time we hear so much about China and Russia and so much running down of this country in every debate. I would respectfully tell those that do so—ventriloquism is no doubt a great art but it is found to be suicidal in politics and if any comrades have any doubt about it, I would advise them to correspond with Comrade Tito who is now temporarily sojourning in the 'Coronation Islands'.

**Shri N. P. Damodaran (Tellicherry):** The problems created by the existence of foreign pockets in India are not properly understood by the people who live far away from those areas. The first one is that it renders the independence of our country incomplete. So long as there remains in free India Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe, Yanam, Goa, Daman and Diu, they are question marks to our freedom. Their continuance is a sore wound to our Indian body politic. The mighty upsurge of the people of India against imperialism was not against the British alone but against imperialisms of all kinds. Immediately on attaining independence, our Prime Minister was all threat against these lingering imperialist possessions and swore their early effacement. But with the march of time, he seems to have forgotten his words and seems to have compromised with them. In his speech at Madras on the 8th of October, 1952, he reiterated his invectives against the prevailing oppressive conditions in the French possessions, particularly in Pondicherry. Speeches made by statesmen of his stature are usually backed with positive action. But in this case, nothing has been done so far.

No independent country has got within its territory possessions of another country. If there is any, it will only make the independence of that country incomplete. That will naturally lead to wars; but in free India, we have got seven places belonging to two imperialist powers. Apart from internal tyranny that these powers perpetrate, they are potential danger spots. France and Portugal are parties to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation along with America, Britain and some other countries. This matter was brought before the House yesterday by the hon. Member, Mr. Shiva Rao and he gave us an idea of the danger lurking behind this Treaty Organisation. This Treaty Organisation is intended for mutual assistance in case of war. Even if India were to remain neutral during a probable world conflagration, the imperialist powers could find fertile soil both for operations and intrigues in these dissipated settlements. Even if our policy at a crucial stage is based on strict neutrality, these pockets would provide vulnerable points for the opponents of the aforesaid imperialist powers. These parts of India thereby turn into battlefields. The smallness of these territories would invite the direct impact of extremely destructive and piercing arms on us and we will be constrained to take up arms for the ejection of these powers confronting each other. Our weakness in being kind to the French and Portuguese imperialists at this stage would embolden

[Shri N. P. Damodaran]

us in the unpleasant task of fighting against two foes to preserve peace and tranquillity in our land. I mean to say war would be the inevitable consequence of this irrational and vacillating policy.

The struggle for independence that was launched against the British has generated in its turn struggles against the French and the Portuguese. All these form the integral part of a total struggle for the complete independence of the land. That a few of our brethren in scattered areas should continue under foreign yoke is beyond reasonable understanding. They are entitled to the same extent and quantum of freedom that we enjoy. Political considerations apart, such slavery in India can only be abetting the cause of imperialism. Our anxiety for Indonesian freedom and colonial emancipation having found bountiful expressions of our Prime Minister from time to time looks unreal in the face of entrenched imperialism in his own country. While movements were forging ahead in these localities for their liberation, our Government adopted the most weak-kneed policy of leaving them in the lurch and to greater humiliation. They were not freed. We did not help them to get themselves free, we made them still more slaves and many of these patriots who participated in the struggles were pulled out of their homes in Pondicherry, Goa and Mahe and thrown in prison cells in Mauritius and other far away islands. Some of them are wandering for the last four years in the wilderness of free India yearning for the freedom of their home. One of these places, namely Mahe, is close to me and is geographically within my constituency. I was very proud of my association with the participants of the October revolt of 1948 in Mahe. Now I am ashamed of it and I feel that my pride and shame are shared by all right thinking citizens of India. It was against numberless, petty and cruel oppressions of the French that these honest men of Mahe rose in revolt and raised the banner of free India at Mahe in 1948. It was in the earnest hope of our brotherly succour and aid in their emancipation that they carried on the fight. Not only did we not aid them, but we left them to be hunted and persecuted by their French masters. The more sorrowful part of it is that consciously or unconsciously all that we did was to aid the French. Still, they are not free on the Indian soil. Still it is our duty to make them free.

Looking at the administrative worries that these pin points raise before us

political expediency will tell us straight that they should be forthwith abolished. Complaints of enormous loss of customs revenue around all these possessions are recurring with speed and frequency. We have to maintain at heavy cost a preventive staff to guard against smuggling, and not the least important, they provide absorbing soil for corrupt officers. Thus Indian officers around Mahe, and for that matter, Pondicherry or any other place, make it their evening rendezvous for refreshing liquor which they may not get as easily and cheaply in Madras or Bombay. The population of Mahe has risen by 20 or 25 per cent. during the last four years. Persons who lost their jobs on account of prohibition here, have crossed over to Mahe where toddy became one of the principal commodities of business for usual visitors from our areas. It was good that we introduced prohibition. But, we are constrained to see that little Mahe provides an asylum to maintain the drunkards of the neighbouring areas. Our prohibition policy has foundered at least in the two taluks of Kottayam and Kurumbranad, in Malabar district because of the existence of a few square miles of French territory there. Our officers are made corrupt there with all the French temptations. Mahe has a developing trade in petrol as petrol is sold at 0-4-6 less per gallon. This, again, because they do not pay the sales tax. To Mahe come various articles from far and distant French and other foreign possessions, which are smuggled into Indian territory. This apparent affluence of Mahe owing to their free sale of liquors and low price of foreign articles has set afoot a great propaganda that Mahe is a paradise and all the surrounding places a pandemonium. This gradually converts militant nationalists to the pro-French camp. Even citizens of Free India are lured by it. Many do believe it. All these are increasing the stranglehold of the French on Mahe and at a later date, it might be even difficult for us to awake them from the effects of docile attachment.

**Mr. Chairman:** I have rung the bell second time. The hon. Member has already taken ten minutes.

**Shri N. P. Damodaran:** I think I am entitled to 15 minutes. I am the only speaker of my party.

**Mr. Chairman:** There are so many other speakers who are anxious to speak. The hon. Member may finish in one minute. He has already taken about ten minutes.



**Shri N. P. Damodaran:** I thought I was allowed 15 minutes.

**Mr. Chairman:** Nobody is entitled to any specific number of minutes. The hon. Member is reading from a manuscript. All the same I did not object because I wanted him to have his full say. With so many hon. Members anxious to speak, I must request the hon. Member to finish in a minute. He has already taken sufficient time.

**Shri N. P. Damodaran:** I shall finish in two minutes. The two other important things that I wanted to bring to the notice of the House regarding Mahe are that Mahe should be isolated; not only Mahe, but all the French possessions and pockets in India should be isolated. I would suggest that the economic relations with these French possessions should be cut off. The railway facilities afforded to these foreign possessions should be stopped and our trains should not run into these French possessions. The post offices run by our own Government in these French possessions should be closed down. In the Question Hour, my hon. friend Mr. Chacko brought before the House the fact that rice is being supplied by us to the French authorities in Mahe and Pondicherry and to the Portuguese in Goa and our Government is licking the boots that kick us. I would suggest that no commodity should be exported to the French possessions and stern action should be taken against the French and Portuguese settlements in India.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly):** I have tried to approach this Foreign Affairs discussion not from a partisan point of view; but I regret I do not appreciate this chorus of adulation or congratulations which has been offered to the Prime Minister of India. Of course, he needs no patting on the back from his lieutenants or political supporters,

What I want to point out is this. What is the policy that you are pursuing and how far has it benefited India or raised India in the estimation of the world? We wanted independence because we have something to give to the world, that is, India's great heritage. The greatest fighters for freedom fought not for any political hegemony, but for imparting some message which India had cherished throughout the ages.

We have been solemnly furnished with a report of the Ministry of External Affairs for the year 1952-53. It is a very disappointing report. I do not know whether hon. Members had

the time to go through this report. But, it looks like a head clerk's report giving very scanty information about the working of this Department. It is something manufactured by the bureaucrats really for the consumption of bureaucrats. There is very little in it. I wish we had more consultation, and more intimate discussion with the Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs and I share the regret of one of the previous speakers that although we had a chance of discussing some matters relating to Foreign Affairs with the Prime Minister, he has not thought fit to take the Opposition Members into his confidence or to give them a chance of discussing matters in a free atmosphere in a more or less informal conference.

What is this "dynamic neutrality"? What is neutrality in the modern world? A great writer on international relationships says that a neutral is he who shirks his share of the burdens of humanity. I think this is what Disraeli said, that an Independent Member of Parliament is one on whom nobody can depend. So also a neutral member in a modern world is one on whom nobody can rely. That is the result of trying to be the friend of everybody. It has happened that we have not a single friend to-day on any of these vital issues which matter. Take, for instance, Kashmir. We had not one friend; not one to support us. We went to the UNO. That was a tragic mistake. I said so before, and still I repeat it. We went on one issue. That issue has been side-tracked and instead of being the complainant, we have been put in the category of the accused. Sir Owen Dixon, the great Australian Judge reported—I am quoting his words:

"I am prepared to adopt the view that when the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed on 20th October, 1947 by hostile elements, it was contrary to International law. When in May, 1948, units of regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with International law. I therefore propose that the first step in demilitarisation should consist in the withdrawal of Pakistan regular forces commencing on a named day."

Even that has not been done. We went on one issue. That issue has been side-tracked and the relevant issues have been blacked out. Our publicity and propaganda machine has been a dismal failure and I think, to my very great regret, Members of Parliament should be told and the Prime Minister should acknowledge it.

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

that India has been beaten badly by Pakistan in this Kashmir issue. It's no good saying that we have been doing very fine work. Test the whole thing from a realistic point of view. What has happened? Indians are being driven out, mal-treated and ill-treated and disfranchised, not only in South Africa, not only in East Africa, but also in Ceylon and Burma, and everywhere. How is our foreign policy successful? I honestly do not find signs of a successful foreign policy. You are trying to please everybody, ending with pleasing none. We have been told that Indo-Pakistan relations have improved. I do not know where it has improved, how it has improved. Hindu-squeezing and Hindu-baiting is still going on. I am sorry to say, in East Bengal, the situation regarding evacuee property is going worse. With regard to movable property, you ought to know that the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement has completely been made abortive in the course of the past few months. They have decided—my information is that our Deputy High Commissioner at Lahore has been told that no further will that agreement be operative, and no one has been allowed to bring out any of his movable property during the last few months.

5 P.M.

I am now pleading for the unfortunate refugees who have come from East Pakistan. We are thinking of paying some compensation to the unfortunate people who have come over from Western Pakistan. The same thing should be done with regard to those unfortunate brothers and sisters of ours who have come over from East Bengal. There should be really no distinction made between the two categories of refugees from West Pakistan and from East Pakistan. Really they had to come because the sense of security has disappeared, and rule of law has proved abortive. Muslim evacuees are still able to dispose of their property at fair market value in India, and the Hindu refugees from East Pakistan cannot do so because there is an organized boycott of those who buy Hindu property. Hindu litigants, I know in some cases, deposited large sums of money in courts as security for stay of execution of decrees, but after the decrees were set aside they cannot get back their money even from the High Court of Lahore. An eminent lawyer like Mr. P. R. Das was not allowed to appear in the Dacca High Court when he wanted to appear for some of the Hindu landlords who had

some just grievances. And in spite of the little remarks which we get in this report—this very fragmentary report of the Ministry of External Affairs—the truth has not come out. The passport and visa system has been an instrument of torture. Men who have got business relationship, when they want to go to Pakistan, are not allowed to go there and there is a lot of difficulty. The diplomatic representatives of Pakistan are creating all sorts of trouble. Even men who have still got business firms, and who are serving in important and responsible positions in business firms or commercial houses cannot go there, and all sorts of difficulties are still being created.

You know what we have often said. It is no good simply saying that relations have improved, but the people are still there, and although they cannot come out—the exodus has stopped—it gives us no satisfaction because a good deal of persecution is going on. Every little trouble that is created, even trouble that is created by members of the majority community, is being placed to the disadvantage of the minority community. Shri Satin Sen is still in jail. Other important Hindu leaders of East Bengal are still in jail. In spite of talks and pacts and everything, nothing has been done even to get them out of jail, and even more people have been incarcerated there. They are merrily carrying on with their *modus operandi*. They are now doing this in East Bengal to prevent the Hindus from coming over to East Pakistan and taking away their property, taking advantage of the situation which they have themselves manufactured to treat them as evacuees, and therefore to squeeze them. I do not know how the relations have improved.

This policy has got to be changed—this policy of "dynamic neutrality". What you are doing is that you are resorting to aggressive belligerency in India towards your political opponents. Even a Member of Parliament is informed by a Provincial satrap solemnly in the year 1953, functioning under the Constitution of the Republic of India, that he cannot utter a word about Jammu and Kashmir. You say you are talking of democracy and trying to educate the world on democracy. That kind of thing will not do. I plead for a rational approach. Really, with regard to Pakistan, the policy should be reciprocal. With regard to foreign affairs, it should be dictated by the principle of "enlightened self-respect", and not by sentimentalism and idealism. The result of our present policy

is we get knocks from both the blocs and really have no sincere friend. We send goodwill missions, we entertain distinguished visitors from abroad and we keep up our tradition of hospitality and so on. We are sending monkeys, we are sending elephants and other specimens of animals to different countries, but really you do not get any reciprocity. My friend, Mr. Jaipal Singh, was quite right. Burma has not treated us fairly. Apart from the non-payment of loans, we have got to pay three or four times the price for which we could get rice from Indian merchants who were handling the rice there, but we have now got to pay to the Burma Government a large sum of money. Throughout, we have been losing.

I press the hon. Prime Minister to realise that our propaganda machine requires overhauling; especially on Kashmir we have lost, and I am still pleading for that. That should be the objective approach. It is no use simply congratulating ourselves and congratulating the Prime Minister on his wonderful achievement. That shows really an inferiority complex. So much adulation and fulsome flattery bespeaks that you are really not satisfied with what is happening.

We spent in 1951-52 Rs. 397 lakhs. This year's Budget is Rs. 532 lakhs--that means Rs. 135 lakhs more. The question is: is the poor oppressed Indian taxpayer getting his money's worth? I submit he does not. The facts show that he does not. The U.N.O. is still dilly-dallying with the Kashmir issue. The Security Council is still shilly-shallying. I have read article 34, and I have read article 35 of the United Nations Charter. With a full sense of responsibility I say that the Government are perfectly justified, after the scandalous way in which the United Nations has treated us, to withdraw the Kashmir case. We have lost faith in them. They have not decided the issue. They are bringing in irrelevant issues to befog world opinion. The case should be withdrawn. I am pleading for the withdrawal of the Kashmir issue from the United Nations. Take a firm step and see that our prestige is no longer put in jeopardy. We should no longer allow India to be made a laughing stock by the way she is being treated in the world today.

**डा० सुरेश चन्द्र (औरंगाबाद) :**

कल से वैदेशिक नीति पर हमारे विरोधी दल के वक्ताओं ने बहुत सी बातें कही हैं और उनके भाषणों को और उन के व्याख्यानों

को मैं बहुत ध्यानपूर्वक सुनता रहा हूँ। उन के व्याख्यानों को सुन कर मुझे ऐसा प्रतीत हुआ कि उनके दिमाग की यह कटुता जो हमारे देश की वैदेशिक नीति के प्रति आई है उस का कारण हमारे देश की वैदेशिक नीति को न समझना है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज हिन्दुस्तान की वैदेशिक नीति को समझने के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि हम इस बात को समझें कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति, या हमारी स्ट्रगल आज से ५० साल पहले से या आज से २० साल पहले से किस प्रकार चलती रही है। किसी भी देश की वैदेशिक नीति उस की गृह नीति पर निर्भर होती है और उस देश का ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठ चित्र, उस का हिस्टारिकल बैकग्राउन्ड देखने की आवश्यकता होती है। आज जो हमारे विरोधी दल के भाई इस वैदेशिक नीति को देखते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह इस बात को नहीं समझते हैं कि आज नहीं सन् १९२१ से इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस ने एक वैदेशिक नीति के बारे में अपने मौलिक सिद्धान्त रखे थे। उन सिद्धान्तों को बार बार इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस ने दोहराया था और वह उन सिद्धान्तों को अमल रूप में लाई। फिर सन् १९४७ में जयपुर कांग्रेस के बाद से जिन सिद्धान्तों को कांग्रेस ने रखा था, उन्हीं सिद्धान्तों को कांग्रेस की गवर्नमेंट जब हुकूमत में आई वैदेशिक नीति के रूप में अमल में लाई। शायद, सभापति महोदय, सब को याद होगा कि किस प्रकार जब कभी किसी भी देश के लिये, किसी भी गिरे हुए देश के लिये, कांग्रेस ने और आज के जो हमारे देश के नेता जवाहरलाल नेहरू हैं, उन्होंने बार बार उस को उठाने के लिये और उस देश से विदेशी हुकूमत को हटाने के लिये कोशिश की, हमने बराबर उनका साथ दिया।

यह शायद आज से नहीं सन् १९२१ से हमारे सामने है। आज की हमारी वैदेशिक नीति भी इसी तरह से स्वतन्त्रता के संग्राम

[डा० सुरेश चन्द्र]

के इतिहास के साथ चिपकी हुई है और मैं यह कहता हूँ कि मौलिक सिद्धान्त जिसे हमने उस वक्त स्वीकार किया था दुनिया के अन्दर शान्ति कायम करना और विश्व में शान्ति कायम करना था ताकि सब देशों के अन्दर स्वतंत्रता स्थापित हो और हमारा निरन्तर उद्देश्य यही रहा कि हम उन देशों के अन्दर स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई को मजबूत करें और वहाँ दूसरे देशों द्वारा होने वाले अत्याचारों से उन पीड़ित देशों को मुक्त करने का ध्येय सदा हमने अपने सामने रखा। दूसरे कोलोनिअलिज्म के खिलाफ हमने सदा अपनी आवाज बुलन्द की। इसके अलावा कांग्रेस ने सदा एन्टी रेशियलिज्म के तारे को दुहराया है।

दूसरी बात में आपके सामने यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसी भी वैदेशिक नीति की कसौटी, वैदेशिक नीति की सफलता की कसौटी इस बात पर है कि उसका सेल्फ इंटरेस्ट, उसका अपना असली हित किस में है। मैं यह नहीं समझता कि आज हिन्दुस्तान की वैदेशिक नीति वही हो सकती है जोकि अमरीका की वैदेशिक नीति है। आज हिन्दुस्तान की वैदेशिक नीति वह नहीं हो सकती जो रूस की है। अगर रूस हमारी नीति के खिलाफ कुछ कहे या अमरीका हमारी नीति के खिलाफ कुछ कहे, तो वह हमारी नीति की सफलता या असफलता की निशानी नहीं होगी। हमारी वैदेशिक नीति की सफलता की निशानी तो यह है कि उस में हमारे देश का हित हो सकता है या नहीं। और मैं समझता हूँ कि जब से हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ और जब से हिन्दुस्तान ने और उसकी अपनी आजाद हुकूमत ने अपनी नीति बर्ती, उस वक्त से हमने सचमुच न सिर्फ अपने रियल इंटरेस्ट के मुताबिक बल्कि अपने कंटी के इंटरेस्ट को अपने

सामने रखकर अपनी वैदेशिक नीति निर्धारित की है और किसी भी देश की वैदेशिक नीति उस देश के असली हितों की रक्षा करने का एक साधन होती है और जैसा कि मैंने अभी आपके सामने कहा अपने हितों की रक्षा करने के लिये आवश्यकता इस बात की होती है कि देश में पूर्ण शान्ति हो और मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने जब से उन्होंने यह पद सम्हाला है, जब से कांग्रेस की हुकूमत आयी है उन्होंने इस बात की कोशिश की है कि हमारे देश में शान्ति हो, चाहे वह पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध के सिलसिले में हो और चाहे वह अमरीका, फ्रांस व रूस आदि से हमारे सम्बन्ध के सिलसिले में हो, चाहे किसी भी विदेश से हमारे सम्बन्ध के सिलसिले में हो, हमें उनमें शान्ति को आगे बढ़ाना है, और दुनिया में शान्ति रखने के साथ-साथ हमने किसी भी ब्लाक के साथ नौन एलाइनमेंट का अपना उसूल रखा है और हम देखते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान ने हमेशा इस नौन एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी पर अमल किया है और अपने को किसी भी गुट से अलग रखा है। और आपने देखा कि जब पैसिफिक पैक्ट बनने को हुआ तो हिन्दुस्तान ने उसका घोर विरोध किया। इसी पैक्ट के साथ २ साउथ ईस्ट एशिया के मुल्कों का एक गुट बनाने की चर्चा हुई और उसमें इंग्लैण्ड व अमरीका सब मुल्कों ने मिलकर कोशिश की कि हिन्दुस्तान भी उन पैक्टस के अंदर शामिल हो जाय। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान ने उनके खिलाफ बड़ जोर से बहस की और उनके विरोध में अपनी आवाज उठायी और किसी भी पैक्ट में शामिल होने से उसने इन्कार कर दिया।

प्रोफेसर मुकर्जी ने कहा कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति कतन नहीं है और वह इस

कारण क्योंकि हम अमरीका आदि दूसरे देशों से सहायता लेते हैं। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह रूस के इतिहास से तो जरूर वाकिफ़ ही होंगे, मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या रूस ने सन् १९१७ के बाद किसी विदेश से सहायता नहीं ली, क्या वह इससे इन्कार कर सकते हैं? रूस वालों ने बराबर दूसरे देशों की सहायता प्राप्त की है, चाहे धन के रूप में न ली हो, लेकिन उन्होंने दूसरे रूप में सहायता ली है, इंजीनियर्स के रूप में, टेकनीशियन्स के रूप में, डैमस बनाने आदि के कार्य में उन्होंने दूसरे देशों ब्रिटेन आदि से सहायता ली है। अगर हम आज अमरीका से सहायता लेते हैं तो क्या हम इस कारण अमरीका से बंध जाते हैं और मैं तो आपको अमरीकन एम्बेसी के एक बड़े आदमी ने जो मुझ से कहा वह आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा कि आपकी वैदेशिक नीति हमारे साथ बिल्कुल नहीं है और आप लोग तो रूस व चीन की तरफ झुकते हैं, उनका साथ देते हैं। मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि अब मैं अपने कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों की बात मानूँ या एक अमरीकी विदेशी विभाग के व्यक्ति की जो कहते हैं कि आपकी वैदेशिक नीति चीन और रूस के साथ है। क्योंकि हम हमेशा यूनाइटेड नेशन्स में चीन के हक में आवाज़ उठाते रहते हैं और जब कभी हम महसूस करते हैं कि रूस शान्ति के लिये आगे बढ़ा है, वहाँ हम रूस के पक्ष में भी आवाज़ उठाते हैं।

इसके अलावा कोरिया के बारे में जो हमारे दोस्त श्री पुन्नोज ने कहा मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि कोरिया के बारे में अगर आप यूनाइटेड नेशन्स के इतिहास को देखें, शुरू से लेकर आज तक का इतिहास तो आप पायेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान ने अरब एशियाई के साथ चार प्रस्ताव पेश किये, जिनमें दो प्रस्ताव यूनाइटेड नेशन्स ने पास किये

और उनमें से दो प्रस्ताव रद्द हो गये, जो आखिरी प्रस्ताव था उसको छोड़कर दो प्रस्ताव रद्द हो गये, इसलिये यह कह देना कि यह हमने कोरिया में समझौता कराने के लिये कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया, ग़लत है। हमने हमेशा यूनाइटेड नेशन्स में शान्ति लाने के लिये अपनी आवाज़ उठाई और एक स्वतंत्र देश की स्वतंत्र नीति को सामने रखकर अपनी आवाज़ उठाई है।

मुझ से पहले श्री एन० सी० चटर्जी ने कहा कि हमारे डेलीगेशन्स बाहर जाते हैं किन्तु इन सब के बावजूद भी भारत का सम्मान और प्रतिष्ठा विश्व में नहीं है। मैं श्री चटर्जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह कभी हाल में विदेश में गये हैं और क्या उन्हें मालूम नहीं है, कि आज हिन्दुस्तान की प्रेस्टिज दूसरे मुल्कों की निगाहों में कितनी बढ़ गयी है। डाक्टर मुकर्जी ने भी कहा कि आज हिन्दुस्तान की प्रेस्टिज नहीं है। और डाक्टर खरे साहब ने बड़े मज़ाक के तौर पर कहा कि आज मुमकिन है कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू का नाम शायद दुनिया में बढ़ गया हो लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान का प्रेस्टिज नहीं बढ़ा है। आखिर क्या नादानी की बात वह कहते हैं। अगर आज जवाहरलाल नेहरू का नाम दुनिया में बढ़ा है तो मैं कहूँगा कि हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी का नाम बढ़ा है। अगर आज जवाहरलाल नेहरू की पालिसी अच्छी है तो हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी जो भी विदेश में जाता है वह यह महसूस करता है कि इससे हमारे सबकी दूसरे लोगों की निगाह में इज़जत बढ़ी है और आज यह उनकी वैदेशिक नीति की सफलता की निशानी है कि विश्व के रंगमंच पर हिन्दुस्तान को विशेष आदर की दृष्टि से देखा जाता है। और अपने जाती तजुर्बे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि मैं दावे और बैलेन्ज के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि आज सचमुक

[डा० सुरेश चन्द्र ]

हमारी वैदेशिक नीति और गृह नीति और हमारी एक स्वतंत्र और निष्पक्ष नीति के कारण हमारा नाम दुनिया के अन्दर बहुत आगे है और नित्य प्रति और आगे बढ़ता जायेगा अगर हमारे यह साथी भी इसमें हमारा साथ देंगे और मैं उन मित्रों से दरलुवास्त करता हूँ कि वे इसमें हमारा साथ दें।

एक बात में और आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ। यहाँ पर यह कहा गया है कि हमारा दूसरे देशों के साथ सम्बन्ध अच्छा नहीं है। यह सर्वथा गलत है। मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो हाल ही में मिडिल ईस्ट कंट्रीज़ में गये हैं, टर्की में गये हैं, ईरान में गये हैं, मिश्र में गये हैं वे इस बात का सबूत देंगे कि उन सब देशों के साथ हमारा सम्बन्ध पहले से अच्छा है और पाकिस्तान का इन देशों से जो सम्बन्ध है उस से हमारे इन देशों के साथ सम्बन्ध अच्छे हैं।

सभापति महोदय, मैं एक मिनट में अपनी बात को समाप्त किये देता हूँ। अन्त में मैं केवल आपकी सेवा में एक आध सुझाव पेश करना चाहता हूँ। एक्सटर्नल पब्लिसिटी के बारे में मैं समझता हूँ कि डाक्टर मुकर्जी ने जो कुछ कहा है वह बिल्कुल गलत है। हमारी एक्सटर्नल पब्लिसिटी बहुत अच्छी है और यह संतोष का विषय है कि हमारे आफिसर्स बहुत अच्छी तरह से उसको निभा रहे हैं, लेकिन उसमें थोड़ी सी तरक्की की जरूरत है। आज हमारे जो पब्लिसिटी आफिसर्स हैं उनको कुछ कठिनाइयाँ हैं। एक तो उनकी कठिनाई यह है कि वह परमानेंट नहीं हैं और उनको एक प्रकार का आप पांच पांच साल का कंट्रैक्ट दे देते हैं जिसके कारण वह अपने को सिक्क्योर नहीं समझते और

इस कारण वह अपना पूरा ध्यान व इनर्जी इस कार्य में नहीं लगा सकते। इसलिये मैं दरलुवास्त करूँगा कि उनकी सर्विस कंडीशन को ठीक करने का हमें प्रयत्न करना चाहिये जिससे कि वह एक तरह की परमानेन्सी फील कर सकें और जिससे दूसरे अच्छे अच्छे अन्य पत्रकार और जर्नलिस्ट्स आदि भी इन स्थानों पर आने के लिए प्रोत्साहित हों।

इसके अलावा हमारे श्री जयगाल सिंह ने कहा कि हमारी फारेन सर्विसेज़ में बिल्कुल सत्ताधारी पार्टी का प्रभाव है। यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है। बल्कि हमारी शिकायत तो उल्टी यह है कि हमारे यहाँ जो एम्बेसे-डोरियल एपायंटमेंट्स होते हैं उनमें ज्यादातर आई० सी० एस० सर्विस के लोग लिये जाते हैं। इसलिये जैसा कि श्री अल्वा ने कहा कि उसके लिये एक पालियामेंट की फारेन रिलेशन्स कमिटी स्थापित होनी चाहिये जिस तरह की अमेरिका में है जो हमारे एम्बेसेडोरियल एपायंटमेंट्स को स्कूटनाइज़ कर सकें, जांच कर सकें। इतना कह कर मैं फिर यह कहूँगा कि हमारी फारेन पालिसी की वजह से आज दुनिया में हमारी प्रेस्टिज बढ़ गयी है। और अशोक का जो इस सम्बन्ध में वाक्य था मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर उन्हीं शब्दों को लेकर चले हैं :

"Never fearful, but ever watchful."

**Shri Chattopadhyaya (Vijayavada):** I rise to speak on the foreign policy which, I hold, is very foreign to us, to our country and our country's freedom. The foreign policy of a country is the logical reflection and function of the totality of its own social, economic and political policy. The Commonwealth, at best, is a respectable, high-sounding and very consoling name, indeed, given to the old British

Empire, in which, due to altered conditions, a few apparent changes have been effected to suit local conditions.

The Commonwealth today may be roughly divided into types of countries: (1) the highly developed, and (2) the under-developed. But the fact remains that the economic basis of the Commonwealth remains just the same as it was during the time when the old Empire existed, namely, to use under-developed countries as a source of raw materials and the turning of them into manufactured goods to be sent back to those very under-developed countries to be dumped there. So the basis is the same, fundamentally.

One of the major disadvantages of belonging to the Commonwealth is that we have to bear the repercussion of all the fluctuations that occur in Great Britain with their consequent influence weighing us down. Take, for instance, the three crises which took place in Great Britain—in the years 1947, 1949 and 1951. What did we find? We found an inevitable corresponding balance of payment crisis in our own country. According to the inexorable logic of the Commonwealth, we were forced to follow the methods adopted by Great Britain to solve those crises.

In 1947, the first crisis took place. Great Britain suspended the convertibility of sterling, securing very heavy loans from America and other countries such as South Africa, Canada and Australia. What was the repercussion in our country? We consequently experienced a very heavy deficit which we had to meet by a very heavy drain on our sterling balances; unwillingly but nevertheless we had to swallow the bitter pill and along with the bitter pill we had to swallow our own parsimony!

Crisis No. 2 came in 1949. This was met in Great Britain by devaluation and, parrot-like, we had to repeat the invaluable *mantra* of devaluation!

In 1951 came the third and the worst crisis of all. Even the Chancellor of the Exchequer said it was the most critical time, it was the most perilous crisis England had ever had to face in her economic history! This crisis is by no means finished. It is deepening and still continues and threatens to swallow up whatever is left of the Exchequer.

Now, in 1951 identical with that crisis, what was our position? We had the biggest deficit in the balance of payment.—240 crores of rupees!—re-

member, Sir! This, incidentally, should make our great, very great, smug, planning planners sit up and begin to think—if they are not tired of thought already! This might and, probably, will become the basis of an excuse to revise their much-advertised Five Year Plan. We are at sea, Sir! The Commonwealth is a sinking ship. It is losing its economic basis. The hull of that ship which is the sterling area reserve is already much below water level!

Again, politically it is a sinking phenomenon, since it has to depend more and more on the U.S.A. This is quite obvious from the glaring fact which stares Great Britain in the face—that she is wholly unable to meet the rearmament expenditure. As a consequence, much to the irritation, disgust and chagrin of the British people, America has already secured about 12 naval and air bases in Great Britain!

Yes, we are clinging on to a sinking ship, a crashing aeroplane! Is it not insanity to do so? I ask the Prime Minister—is it not a betrayal of our country?

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** Yes.

**Shri Chattopadhyaya:** Politically it neutralises all talk of neutrality. It binds us more and more to the U.S.A.—since Great Britain herself is involved!

I have no particular preference or bias for any particular country. Humanity is one. Humanity is one and I want friendship with the world. But remaining in the Commonwealth, it is rank absurdity—almost idiocy—to think that we can be friends with all countries alike. It is impossible—it is a kind of humiliating of logic. Being a member of the Commonwealth, we have to hold the uncommon wealth of British capital—with respect. It is sacrosanct! It dominates the economy of our country. It is upheld even by the Prime Minister who is also the Foreign Minister. On the 6th April 1949, he said in the Constituent Assembly:

“I should like to add a few words about the British interests in India which naturally form the largest part of the foreign investment in India. Although it is the policy of the Government of India to encourage the growth of Indian industry and commerce to the best of their ability, there is, and will be, considerable scope for investment of the British capital in India.”

[Shri Chattopadhyaya]

Depending on foreign assistance, India's plans and policies have to be acceptable, not only within the country, but also to those countries which are most able to help. This, of course, is inevitable. In fact, it boils down to this: that the ideology behind the plan and the policy measures to be adopted should be acceptable to the U.S.A., members of the British Commonwealth and international agencies like the World Bank! Well, I shall not speak more on that policy.

I now come to the prestige question which has been loudly talked of so much in this House. The Prime Minister said that our foreign policy had brought us a great deal of prestige in the world. I would now like to refer to Mr. Shiva Rao's speech yesterday. In 1950, you remember, he spoke and this is what Dr. Matthai said of his speech:

"I will now turn to Mr. Shiva Rao. Now, Mr. Shiva Rao whenever he speaks in this House, speaks with the air of an elder statesman—I might say elderly statesman—"The modulated accents, the upward gaze which he wears, all that has greatly impressed me. The newspapers the morning after he made his speech, said that he made a notable contribution to the debate".

Well, history repeats itself! This morning when we got up, we found that Mr. Shiva Rao had made a very great contribution to yesterday's debate! Mr. Shiva Rao said that "no other country had such a magnificent and unblemished record"—magnificent and unblemished adjectives! This reminds of Hans Anderson's King who was made to imagine by his flatterers that he walked about in magnificent and unblemished clothes, specially made for him by cunning and crafty tailors—but it was later proved that the King was really walking in magnificent and unblemished nakedness! Our prestige, Sir, is a parrot in a cage of gold!

While boasting, on the one hand of India's influence, the Prime Minister's boast is accompanied by the sorry contradictory admission that India is weak and is unable to do very much to influence world politics. Is it not most illogical to say that we are very influential and in the same breath to say we are weak? It seems to me something is rotten—something is rotten in the State of Denmark.

On September 26, 1946, Pandit Nehru said at a Press Conference:

"India will uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples."

On 19th December 1948, he told the plenary session of the A.I.C.C.:

"Our foreign policy is that no foreign power should rule over any Asian country."

How has Pandit Nehru fulfilled that policy? Malaya is still under British domination. France is waging a bloody dirty war in Indo-China. Similar things are happening everywhere in Asia. What has the Prime Minister done to show unequivocally that he wants to stop all this. Has he ever moved a finger, does he ever move a finger?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: No, no.

Shri Chattopadhyaya: He does not. There are reasons for it. There are reasons into which I cannot go within the ten minutes allowed to me. I come as an artist to the question of tendentious literature. I have to do it because culture is part of my very being, as it is part of the being of most of us here. Foreigners come here to teach us what moral rearmament is. We are such an immoral people! Naturally! Or else we would not need moral rearmament! In season and out of season, we talk of the American way of life. As far as we are concerned, it is the American way of death! All this wretched literature that is propagated here, there and everywhere! Here is a book that was referred to yesterday; it is a most disgusting, squalid and putrid book by a pettifogger—stinking shoals of which are being sold in Railway and other stalls. Here is a picture of the great man to whom our Prime Minister paid such a great compliment the other day. This book was selling by the thousand during his life-time. I would like this book to be read by the Prime Minister, at least this picture to be seen, this great patch of blood. This is a non-violent country and this is not tendentious literature!

One other thing I would like to point out is this. Here is a paper. This is published by the Prachin Prakashan Publishing House, sponsored and financed by the U.S.A. The Government of India have permitted the use of a post mark incorporating the words "Communism has nothing to offer but chains". I do not want any kind of prejudicial preference in this country. I do not think that we have a right to allow a prejudicial view. If you allow such a thing, certainly you cease to be



able to call your country a democracy. It is nothing but "mockracy".

I am afraid I have to sit down. I would have spoken more and I have a lot of things to say. I really do wish that Pandit Nehru of 17 years ago, that great Pandit Nehru who inspired us all, who made us hate Fascism and Imperialism, who was a great beacon light of our country, I hope that Pandit Nehru would just get into this body of the Prime Minister once again and inspire him with all the noble and burning ideas of the past and apply them with a consistency that never wavers and never falters.

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar):** I am intervening in this debate in order to correct a statement made yesterday on the floor of this House by my hon. friend opposite, Mr. Hiren Mukherjee. He referred to a film which was not allowed by the customs, a film which was devoted to peace. I understand, on enquiry, that no film has been stopped by customs. There is a film called *Road to Peace* which was referred to the Central Board of Film Censors for a certificate in the ordinary way and though it is a film which purports to be a film of the Peace Conference in Berlin, the bulk of it related to germ warfare, Koje Island prisoners' bombing including Atom Bomb explosions and Nazi German Army and its similarity to the present combined European Army that is being built up and some other issues. The Central Board of Film Censors have directed that a film which is derogatory or tries to run down a power or a group of powers against another should not be certified. And, under the general directive, they were entitled to refuse to grant a certificate.

**Shri Chattopadhyaya:** I should like very much to inform the hon. Minister that there are several films that are allowed in this country, which are utterly poisonous and derogatory to other countries and these films are passed and if the hon. Minister would like to have a list of those films, I shall be extremely happy to give it to him.

**Dr. Keskar:** That depends on his own standards of what is good and what is bad. (*Interruption*). The submission which my friend Mr. Mukherjee made here that a film which was sent to Shrimati Renu Chakravartty was not allowed to be taken out by the customs authorities is incorrect. I do not know whether the customs authorities told her as Mr. Mukherjee alleges that they did not allow her to take it because it was opposed to the

Hollywood variety. I do not find it anywhere. I would be very much obliged if she could quote chapter and verse to show that it was not allowed because of that. The film which my friend Mr. Mukherjee referred to, the film about which I just now said, was sent to the Central Board of Censors. They are certainly entitled to allow or disallow a film according to the general directives which have been issued to them.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat):** On a point of personal explanation. It was stopped by the Board of Censors and not by the customs. But, I would like to point out to the hon. Minister that one of the reasons why it was not allowed was that it shows the horrors of war. I have got the original refusal certificate here. It says that it is tendentious and causes disaffection against certain powers, but not one single word is said about any particular power in that. If the Government of India takes it upon itself to think that it is derogatory of and tendentious against America, it is for them to do so.

**Dr. Keskar:** I may inform the hon. Member that if any person who applies for a certificate is dissatisfied with the decision given by the Central Board of Censors, he has every right to appeal to the Government that the certificate had been refused wrongly. Every day the Government is getting appeals and is looking into those appeals and many times we have overruled the Central Board of Film Censors. I invite the hon. Member opposite even now to apply. I am quite ready to consider it.

**Shri Velayudhan (Quilon cum Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes):** I was trying to benefit from the speeches that were already made here, not only from that side of the House but also from this side. I mean from the main political parties who are sitting in this part of the House. I must submit to you first of all that I expected—of course, I naturally expect—from the critics of the foreign policy of the Foreign Minister, an intelligent criticism, an intelligent appraisal of the policy which the Government is following for the last four years. I was a keen student of the foreign policy of the Prime Minister, and I may humbly submit to you, Sir, whenever I had an occasion to speak on the foreign policy in this House—I may add that it is only on rare occasions that I get a chance—I have always upheld the policy of the Prime Minister

Let me tell you, Sir, when hon. Mr. Hiren Mukherjee was speaking,

[Shri Velayudhan]

rather criticising the Prime Minister, I was thinking of one point which he said here. When he wanted that India shall be aligned with any particular bloc, I was thinking of some of the literature which I was reading some months ago—I mean the Cominform literature—regarding the foreign policy of some foreign countries. Ever since this new Parliament, whenever foreign policy matters are discussed in this House, I as an intelligent Member of this House should naturally expect something new and intelligent from the Opposition Benches. The speeches were utterly barren of political ideologies. They expressed a kind of sterility in politics. I can pardon anything, but I can hardly excuse sterility in politics. Not only today, but on so many occasions Members of the Opposition have opposed foreign aid and made all kinds of criticisms about the Government. Only the other day I came across a book written by the Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. I do not know if my Comrades on the other side have read it. Here is a very interesting, intelligent and important passage:

"There are great perspectives for the development of foreign technical assistance during the present five year period. The work of Colonel Cooper in the capacity of a consultant in the construction of the Dnieprostroy, the technical assistance of the Ford Company in the erection of the automobile plant, the engineering work of numerous foreign specialists in the various planning organizations of the Soviet Union, etc., bear witness to the growing participation of foreign engineers and experts in the industrial development of the U.S.S.R. Suffice it to say, to show the great proportions assumed by foreign technical assistance and the great perspectives it opens for the best engineers and technical experts of the leading capitalist countries, that in 1929—1930 the payments for foreign technical aid reached into tens of millions in rubles. The Soviet Union is prepared to appropriate great sums to pay for the scientific and technical consultation of first class world-wide engineering firms, as well as of individual scientists and experts. It may be expected, however, that the perspectives of the great construction taking place in the U.S.S.R. will prove to be sufficiently attractive for the most enlightened and advanced minds in the ranks of the technical intelligentsia of the capitalist

world to enlist them not merely as temporary consultants, but as permanent co-workers."

The book is written by G. T. Grinko. When I read this passage, I was convinced that the Government of India was following a correct policy in inviting foreign experts to this country. It is quite natural that we do not have enough contracts with the blocs which come under the Communist ideology, but I do not think at any time we refused to take any help from them if they willingly offered it.

Apart from this, I want to refer to the general ideology of our foreign policy, the political content of it. I spoke on this subject during my speech on the Presidential address. I do not want to repeat all that I said. I wish only to say that the foreign policy of the Prime Minister is a realistic policy; it is a policy which has never run down our prestige and our independence. Two weeks after I spoke on the President's address, I was surprised to read in the editorial of the *New Statesman and Nation* five or six sentences which I had spoken.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Look at the map of the world from the Middle East to Hong Kong and then think of the position of Asia as a whole. Then only you can see whether the Prime Minister's foreign policy is good or bad. In my humble opinion, what we have to see is whether our foreign policy is good for our enlightened self-interest as a nation. Has it served our enlightened self-interest? Has it served the interests of Asia as a whole? What is our position in Asia today? As a nation we must admit our military and other weaknesses. When we ask that the Chinese people should take a realistic view of the situation, and when we say that China must get a seat in the U.N.O., Soviet Russia need not suspect it. Our Communist friends also need have no worry about it. Our Prime Minister has been following a realistic policy as far as Asia is concerned, and in Asia I include China also. We do not want white domination of Asia. We want to continue independently. We want to build up our own Asian nationhood as a whole. How is it possible? If China follows a kind of extreme policy, China will again become the mainland of battle and I have every fear that the independence of China will once again be lost. [Babu Ramnarayan Singh: No]. I have every fear. You may not have the same fear. But

If white domination takes place in any part of Asia, through another war India's independence also will be jeopardised. The independence of the Middle East will be jeopardised. It is from this angle that I look at the Prime Minister's policy and say that it has adopted a realistic angle. I agree with it completely from this angle.

Another point I wish to mention is about our policy towards the colonies. Take the foreign pockets in India as well as Ceylon and South Africa. I humbly submit that we made a mistake in withdrawing our agent from South Africa and in imposing an embargo on trade with that country. Today, what is the position of Indians there? They are helpless. We do not have even our agent there to look after their interests. We have done mistakes there and it is very difficult to correct them now. The situation has gone to the advantage of the Government there. Then about Ceylon, always the people were criticising the Ceylon Government's policy. I have studied this Ceylon problem thoroughly. Nobody has come forward with the plea as to why the Indians who have gone there should have their families in India and should remit huge sums of money home and not settle down in Ceylon. This Indo-Ceylon problem would have been solved if only the Indian leaders had given correct advice to the people there to settle down permanently and if possible inter-marry and inter-dine with the Ceylonese.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He must now resume his seat.

**Shri Velayudhan:** This Indo-Ceylon question is of vital interest to my State also. Therefore, I suggest that the Government of India should openly say that what we want is that our people should settle down there permanently.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Barely a month ago this House debated this question of foreign affairs in connection with the President's address. At that time too, I think, we gave a good deal of time to foreign affairs. I imagine that there are few Parliaments in the world which concern themselves as much as this House has done in so far as debates are concerned, at least with foreign affairs. Personally, I am glad of that, because in considering foreign affairs we get some right perspective to see our own affairs. It helps us to see the entire picture. At the same time, these frequent debates necessarily lead to a great deal of repetition on either side. I would not like again and again to repeat what

I have said in this House only a short while ago or before. But to some extent one is compelled to repeat when the same problem comes up.

May I, to begin with, say a word about our general approach. The hon. Member opposite Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, quoted the words of Oliver Cromwell: "I beseech thee, in the bowels of Christ, think for a moment that you might be wrong". Well, I can assure him and the House that whether it is a question of foreign affairs, or any other question, speaking for myself, and I think for my Government, we have no feeling of unfeeling rectitude. We have no feeling of having a monopoly of virtue and we frankly confess that we try to see the light to the best of our ability and where we see it and where it shows that what we have done has not been the right thing we have the courage to change it. So, there is no question of our imagining that in foreign policy or in domestic policy we are unfailingly and undoubtedly right and no more can be said about it.

But frequently as we debate this question of foreign policy I have found almost always that it takes a certain direction in regard to some hon. Members, in whose opinion foreign policy is confined to that particular outlook in that particular sphere. Hon. Members who are Members of the Communist Party view it in one light and with unfeeling regularity and commendable endurance they go on repeating that. The hon. Member opposite, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee thinks that foreign policy is essentially the policy dealing with Pakistan, and lately essentially the policy dealing with Jammu: so, foreign policy ultimately revolves round Jammu. And so, the conception of foreign policy changes very much with the Member who speaks about it. I am reminded of a certain definition of a politician when I think of the speeches of some hon. Members opposite. The definition was that they were prepared to consider every new idea with an open mouth. Or, to put it differently, we find first-rate minds, absolutely first-rate till they are made up; but when they are made up nothing enters them and nothing can enter them any further. They are made up long ago and there they remain. I have that feeling.

I am accused of a certain, perhaps, shall I say, pride in the foreign policy. There is no question of pride in changing it. Any person who thinks of foreign policy or any policy in terms of unchangeability is likely to be wrong at any time, more especially in a dyna-

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

mic and changing period like the present. But I do feel that many of our critics—not all—look at it in those very terms of an unchangeable view-point and outlook. I submit that whether that view-point occasionally may be right or may be wrong, it gives a wrong perspective and therefore the results that flow from that approach are likely to be wrong.

Now, I have to choose whether I should enter into a large number of details which have been referred to in the course of the debate or rather concentrate on certain major facts. One thing I might say. The hon. Member Mr. Jaipal Singh said something about appointments or delegations, and something about our foreign policy not being a party policy. Well, I entirely agree with him. A foreign policy can hardly ever be, if it is at all fully thought out, a party policy. It may be right or wrong; that is another matter. But it can hardly be a policy which is a purely party policy. Otherwise, no country can have any consistency in its policy. There has to be a certain continuity, at the same time a certain flexibility, in that policy. I would submit that the kind words that many hon. Members have said about me in regard to this matter of foreign policy are rather beside the point. I am grateful to them, of course, for their sentiments.

I am convinced that whoever might have been in charge of the foreign policy of India during these years could not have but followed more or less the broad policy that we have pursued, because it did not come out of my head or anyone else's head; it came out of the circumstances in which we live and the background of our history and the present context of events. It is the inevitable policy, barring variations here and there, barring certain emphasis here and there. There could be no other foreign policy and I am quite convinced that if by some remote and unlikely chance, hon. Members opposite have the sharing of this policy, or the conduct of it, they would inevitably have to follow something like this foreign policy—the emphasis might vary. I am rather doubtful if that statement would apply to the hon. Members of the Communist Party opposite. It is possible that they may vary.

So that, let us consider this question of foreign policy not in a party sense, but really in a national sense and to a certain extent in an international sense. After all we live in a rather difficult and trying period of history, and seeing the changes from day to day, it

is not an easy matter even to keep up with those changes. It is an extraordinary thing that while almost everything that we see around us in this world is ultimately the product of human minds, nevertheless human minds lag behind their own products. Events take place; changes take place; and the average human mind remains behind it, cannot catch up with the very thing that it itself has created. Whether it is the developments due to the pace of technological progress, which are tremendous today, or whether it is other things, we lag behind; even the so-called advanced countries lag behind, mentally speaking; much more, other countries who technologically speaking are not advanced.

Now that applies very much to the political sphere at present. It is a good thing to judge of a statement or a speech and find out if that speech would have been in keeping with events, say, ten years ago, or five years ago. I think one will find that many a speech delivered might well have been the same five years ago, or ten years ago. The passage of time or circumstance has made no difference. Now, that itself means that there is a certain static character about the thinking behind it. It is not in keeping or in tune or parallel with reality. Therefore, let our foreign policy be considered as a national policy, as a continuing policy except for the inevitable variations and changes that may come into it from time to time.

There is one minor matter to which Mr. Jaipal Singh referred, that is about our deputations and the like. Well, a large number of deputations go from India, from various Ministries, on various subjects. So far as the External Affairs Ministry is concerned the principal delegation is the one to the United Nations, and one or two of its immediate organs—not even the U.N.E.S.C.O. which is somewhat different. If you try to find out the type of work that is done there and the kind of delegations that are sent by various countries, whether they belong to the Eastern group of powers or Western or any one else, you will find that year after year the same people are sent—practically the same, sometimes some newcomer might come in—because there is a continuity about that work and they think that that continuity can only be maintained by the persons who have done that work, and not treating these delegations and that work merely as a training ground for future work. We have been compelled, therefore, in a large measure,

to adopt that practice and to send, of the four or five persons we send, more or less the same persons who have gone before. The United Nations, whatever its political conflicts might be, ultimately becomes a large club where the same persons foregather and meet together and, apart from delivering speeches, come to decisions—or not—in private. There is therefore that factor to impel us to send more or less the same persons who have some background experience with them.

One other thing I might mention right at the beginning, which Dr. Lanka Suridaram and some other Members mentioned, that is about my consulting Members from time to time about foreign affairs. Last year I did that on one occasion, and I must express my regret that that occasion was not repeated more often. I should like to repeat that, and I hope to do so.

Now, if I may take up one or two relatively small matters and dispose of them before going on to the wider issues. Prof. Hiren Mukerjee referred to the controversy about the death of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose. I was glad to see his interest in this matter. He also referred to something appearing in the papers about some funds which Shri Subhas Chandra Bose apparently possessed and which have disappeared.

So far as the question of his death is concerned, during the last five years we have made every effort to enquire into this matter, which efforts included sending men from here to Tokyo to enquire. We have had long reports of all kinds of persons, some first-hand, some second-hand witnesses; and if the House will remember, a year or a little more ago we issued one or two of those reports. Now, we have enquired into it from every possible angle that was open to us. And so far as we are concerned we are convinced about it. There is no doubt about it in our minds. Some people indulging in wishful thinking, if I may say so, go on repeating that they get messages from the occult world to tell them that that is not true. Sometimes also, some newspaper correspondent or other gives out some story which is, I think, very objectionable, in the sense that it is libellous to others. Now, we cannot go about, from our personal knowledge, denying all kinds of stories that appear. It is an embarrassing thing. But I do submit that in a matter of this kind, generally and more specially in a matter affecting a very famous and beloved personality of India, we should not be so irresponsible in our statements.

About these funds, some time before I became a part of this Government, that is to say early in 1946 I happened

to go to Singapore; and from that day I was interested in these funds which were supposed to belong to the India Independence League or like organisations. I saw some people in Singapore who knew something about them. In fact, with great effort I managed to get some of the money. It is not very much. I forget the amount, it is under a lakh, 70 or 80 thousand in Singapore dollars, in gold, in fact. It was rather difficult to get it, and I happened to get it. Well, I could not have got it by myself, but I got it with the help of the then British authorities there, or, to mention the name, Lord Mountbatten who happened to be at the time there. I did not take the money myself; I could not. My suggestion was that that money should be kept there as a trust to help the old I.N.A. people; and a trust was created. I was one of the trustees, and the others were old I.N.A. people in Singapore. I also got a purse in Singapore at the time, possibly amounting to a lakh of rupees, which I added on to that trust. And we left it there. That was the beginning of my interest in these funds. Since then I pursued it, I left a person there to pursue it still further. We have tried to enquire in Singapore, in Rangoon, in Bangkok, in Tokyo, and we have been unable to trace much. We have got some bits of gold, some bits of jewellery; some odd things like that we have got. But we totally failed. I cannot say of course what funds there were or what has happened to them. But I am merely informing the House that we have made every effort to trace them and get them. And this is all that we have got. I may say about the trust that was created in Singapore that a part of the money was utilised in helping the I.N.A. people. Later, after several years, my co-trustees there suggested that this might be used for another purpose and I agreed, that purpose being to give scholarships to Indians studying in the University of Singapore which was recently established. And it is being used for that purpose. For the rest we have here some other bits of gold and a little money—not very much—which came recently from Tokyo. It is locked up somewhere in the bank. We do not quite know what to do with it. So much for that matter.

Now I should like, if the House will permit me just to refer to a matter which was adequately discussed a month ago, although my hon. friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has dealt with it again, about this Jammu matter. I will say this that Dr. Syama Prasad has been good enough to assure us that if the situation worsens in the country he will stand shoulder to shoulder with all of us. Now, that is a

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very comforting assurance for which we are grateful. Meanwhile it would be worth thinking whether it is desirable before the situation worsens very much, to do everything in one's power to worsen it. Because, I say so with all respect, I cannot conceive—speaking nationally or internationally, speaking more particularly in regard to Kashmir, speaking, if you like, more especially in regard to Jammu—of anything that worsens that situation more, makes it more difficult to solve it, makes our international position more difficult, than the activities indulged in by those who bring up this subject of Jammu so often.

Now, the hon. Member, Mr. Chatterjee spoke feelingly and strongly about the failure of our propaganda abroad, more especially in regard to Kashmir. Has it ever struck him that what the hon. Member does is also propaganda abroad—to our disadvantage? Very much so. It is very easy to find out; one need not search for it, one need not spend much time in searching for it as if it was hidden somewhere. It is a patent and obvious fact. Let the hon. Member try to find out the effects of the agitation with which he is himself concerned, whether it is in the world or whether it is in India, on the Kashmir problem. How does it affect, whether it is in the valley of Kashmir or in any other part. Therefore, it has surprised me enormously that such a patent fact should not be obvious to the highly gifted minds and brains of the hon. Members, and so I came to the conclusion that this must be a case of those first rate minds till they are made up, and after that, apparently, they do not function.

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee:** Why do you refuse to discuss? You are only describing yourself. We are willing to discuss but you are not.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Hon. Members have referred to this little report issued by the Ministry of External Affairs and criticised it for its baldness and for its lack of content. Well, the criticism would have been justified, of course, if it pretended to be anything other than it is. Some two years back it was—I forget whose idea it was—but we accepted it, that very brief reports from each Ministry should be circulated at the time of the Budget debate just to give a broad outline and figures. In fact, many Members did not like to be encumbered with heavy tomes. So, this was precisely meant to be not a discussion of our foreign

policy. How can a report do that? But it gives certain salient facts partly in regard to the expenditure, partly in regard to offices—where they exist, where they were closed and that kind of a thing—it is not meant to be anything else. Of course, if it is required that the External Affairs Ministry should issue a bigger book on the subject which might perhaps help hon. Members to consider the various aspects of foreign policy, it might be considered. I myself am rather doubtful about that venture because, one does not, officially at least, deal with foreign policy in this way. One gives out broad outlines. One cannot deal with foreign policy as frankly in public as perhaps it might be done in a Committee or in books. Other people write about it no doubt, but I am not at all sure that it is the practice of Foreign Offices to issue or publish works giving in some detail their problems and I am at a disadvantage myself in this matter. Hon. Members opposite or even Members this side can speak with a certain lack of inhibition about countries and matters affecting foreign policy. They have the right to do so, within limitations, I hope. Naturally, as the Foreign Minister, I cannot do that or refer to other countries in that way. I may differ with a country's policy very much. Even so, I would indicate that difference in a rather moderate language. In any event, it is not customary either in publications or in speeches—although there are more and more exceptions to this in the modern so-called diplomacy—to run down other countries. In fact in the old days, the strongest word used against a country's policy was that that is "unfriendly to us". That was the height. Let the House think what we have arrived at now, the words that we use now. In fact, to say that the policy, or some activity, was unfriendly was almost a prelude to the declaration of war; the next step was war. Now we bandy words and very strong language. And may I express my extreme regret that a Member of this House, in regard to Pakistan, used words which I consider exceedingly objectionable. That is not the word to be used but it can be expunged. I am surprised that a Member of this House should entertain that idea; and what that lady Member stated before in praise about our policy had no value left after we saw what she thought of that policy when she uttered that word. So, I think, naturally whether in this report or elsewhere, the language used has to be moderate, restrained. You can see behind the restrained language the policy. A policy is not to be judged by the language which perhaps some of us may use at a public meeting.

Hon. Members referred to Ceylon or other places. Mr. Jaipal Singh referred to Burma. I confess I could not quite follow that. I may be mistaken but he talked about loans to Burma. There have been no recent loans to my knowledge. Of course, a large sum is owed to us by Burma after the partition and there were some loans some years ago, I believe, but nothing recently. But I should like to say that if Mr. Jaipal Singh or any Member of this House thinks that Burma is treating us in any hostile manner, I think he is not right. With Burma our relations are very friendly. The House knows that Burma has had to face great difficulties, and has still to face those difficulties. There is disorder in parts of Burma. In North-East of Burma, a tremendous problem has existed for sometime because of some of the so-called Kuomintang troops having come in, unwelcome as they were, and squatting there and creating mischief there. So, Burma has had to face all these grave difficulties and throughout this period, I should say that our relations have hardly ever been quite so co-operative and friendly with Burma as they are now. It is true that we have had to pay heavily in the past for our rice purchases from Burma. We hope that we shall be able to arrive at a suitable understanding with them whether it is in regard to barter of goods or in other ways.

Then, again, hon. Members seem to have suggested in regard to Ceylon that we should show strength. Well, this reference to strength is frequently made. Exactly how we can exercise that strength in regard to Ceylon is not quite clear to me. The difficulty of a place like Ceylon, more so than others, is the fear that Ceylon has of India. The use of strength means more fear on the other side: not less. Here is a great big continent lying astride north of Ceylon and they are, I am sorry, I think unreasonably, just afraid of being swamped or swallowed by India or by the Indian people. So far as I am concerned, and I am quite sure, so far as this House is concerned, there is absolutely no reason for the Government or the people of Ceylon to have any such apprehension. We have absolutely no kind of wish or desire to interfere in Ceylon in the slightest. We certainly are interested and deeply interested in the fate of large numbers of people of Indian descent who have gone there in the past, who have worked there, and if I may say so, who have helped in building up the prosperity of Ceylon in the past.

I remember the first time that I went to Ceylon more or less officially, although I was not an official; it was in 1938. I went there to discuss these

Indo-Ceylonese problems with the Government there. I went there really in my capacity as the Congress President, I think. The Government of Ceylon were good enough to meet me and fully discuss these matters. At that time, I delivered a speech where all the notabilities of Ceylon were present. I said that a time will come, I hope, when the people of Ceylon will put up a statue in Ceylon to the Indian labourer who came here and built up Ceylon. So, I have been interested in this matter and personally involved in it, and for 15 years at least, I have closely followed it. I have seen that the real difficulty one has to face is the psychological difficulty of the people of Ceylon—who have, otherwise, very friendly feelings towards India, which is, to large numbers of them, a sacred land, from which their religion and culture sprung—a fear that this great and big continent of a country might overwhelm them, and that fear and that apprehension comes in their way. So, my effort has been to try, in so far as I can, to remove that fear and apprehension from their minds. Any attempt to adopt what are called strong measures increases the disease, and does not remove it. What is war? Strong economic measures you may say. If they injure them, they injure us too. We drive them to other hands to carry on their trade, etc. Therefore, we have pursued this policy of firmly insisting on certain things, but at the same time, always doing so in a friendly manner and remaining friendly. Remember this also, that it is a curious situation. Because, in the ultimate analysis, each country decides for itself who its citizens should be. Suppose somebody here in India insisted, or some other country insisted, that so-and-so must be an Indian citizen, you will not like it; I will not like it. That is for us to decide who will be a citizen of India: not for anybody else to tell us as to who should be. But, it is also true that there is a history behind this settlement of Indians in Ceylon; it goes far back. It is not a new matter. Because of that history, the Government of Ceylon cannot dispose of it merely by saying that it is just their lookout and nobody else's, or by throwing out 100,000 or 200,000 persons, and making them Stateless.

Then, again, an hon. Member, getting angry with Pakistan for what it has done, said that we should cut off diplomatic relations. How exactly that helps us is not clear to me. It may result in the exact opposite of what that Member possibly thought. Now, this question of Pakistan has been discussed here on many occasions. I should not like to take up the time of the House much with it. But, I should like to say

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a few words about the general approach to this question, because we are accused of appeasement and not being stern and strong enough. Whenever we have asked as to how we can show strength, some suggestions have been made, which appeared to me then, and which appear to me now, as totally impracticable and undesirable, as this suggestion about breaking off diplomatic relations.

Look at the picture of Pakistan today. What is happening there, in West Punjab especially and to some extent elsewhere? It is not a pleasant picture. I am not concerned with their arguments there as to who is right as it is none of my concern to interfere there. But, that picture is interesting from two points of view to me. One is that if we in India fall a prey to that narrow bigoted outlook which prevails in Pakistan, we shall also equally suffer. It is well to remember that. Because, it is the same type of mind, although it may use different words, and different slogans, the same narrow bigoted type of mind which has brought Pakistan to this difficult pass in which it is today, politically, economically, in every way.

I have ventured to suggest to this House in the past that we must not mix up the Government or the governmental policy of Pakistan with the people of Pakistan. The people of Pakistan only a few years ago were the people of India. There is not much difference between them and us, and their failings or their virtues. And if, after the partition, horror overtook us, it overtook us in both places, and both places had plenty of misbehaviour, to use a very mild word. Now, geography has thrown us together even though—whether it is due to our mistakes or folly, if you like; whatever it may be due to, or to circumstance—we parted. Nevertheless, they are there as our neighbours, and there they are going to remain. And therefore we have to think of any policy that we may have to pursue, not in terms of the anger and passion of today, but looking a little further ahead, just as, if I may refer to something entirely different, if we have to think of any policy that we may have to pursue in regard to the Chinese State, we have to remember that we have a frontier of roughly 2,000 miles with them, and we are neighbours today, tomorrow and in the future. Therefore, whatever other countries do, whatever policies they may have—and I am not going into that question—we have to consider our policy in regard to China remembering not only whatever past we may have had, but

the present and the future, that we have to live together in peace and friendship, and I hope, co-operation.

So, coming back to Pakistan, we have to look a little ahead and not be swept away by the passion of the moment or by some ill-deed that we hear about from there, and thereby adopt policies which may bedevil us in the future. We have to solve this problem of India and Pakistan. It is better to solve it at leisure, than to break it in haste. It is a difficult problem. Almost every problem is a difficult problem in the world of today.

Hon. Members ask me what have we done in South Africa or in some other places. Well, it is perfectly true that we have been unable to do anything in South Africa except to express ourselves in the United Nations or otherwise. But what am I to do in South Africa? Let us think of that calmly. It is not a matter of my or hon. Members opposite beating argument by argument. We have, all of us, got to face these questions, and these questions are not of high policy—we agree—but of the method of reaching a certain result. I confess I do not see any solution of the problem in South Africa in the near future—certainly, I cannot bring it about—except a gradual development of situations in the world which bring enormous pressure. That situation has been developing. I regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa is so constituted that it seems to be impervious to any such reasoned approach. Well, as it is that Government has to face a difficult situation. I have no doubt that it will have to face a much more difficult situation, and the time may come when other countries of the world will have to choose definitely as to what policy they are to adopt in regard to a country like South Africa where this policy of racial inequality, discrimination and suppression is applied in the way it is done. I confess at the present moment to a feeling of disillusion at the way a number of important and great countries quibble about these matters. They cannot openly support this kind of policy, of course, because practically no reasonable person in the world can support it. All that they can say is, raise some legal argument: "Oh, this is a domestic issue. Let us not interfere. Let us not make matters worse. It will be settled gradually." They may say that as an excuse. They cannot support it. But that is not good enough, because it is a vital matter not a thing today for the few hundred



thousands of Indians who live in South Africa, but for the millions of Africans who have a much greater right to that country than any Indian. Fortunately, I am happy that the Indians in South Africa and the Africans there have co-operated in this matter together.

So, I think that this kind of half-hearted attitude of some of the important countries does not do credit to them in this matter. It is all very well for some countries to divide up the world into the so-called Western bloc and the Eastern bloc, and the Communist world and the non-Communist world, and try to label everybody by these labels. We have refused to be labelled, and what is more, we refuse to consider these questions in terms of those labels, whether it is a racial issue in Africa or whether it is a national issue, a question of national freedom anywhere. It is no good telling us that we have to support some colonial power because, if we do not, Communism will win there. The answer to that, the obvious answer to that, is this, that whatever may happen if nationalism comes in there, one thing is certain, that if you go on supporting colonial authorities there, something very much to your disadvantage will happen. That is dead certain. And it amazes me that intelligent persons and Governments cannot see this simple lesson of history and do not understand the minds of people in Asia or Africa today. It just does not matter what country you may take. This simple lesson holds: if you support colonial authority, if you support colonial domination and colonialism, apart from doing the wrong thing, you encourage and strengthen the very forces you apparently think you are contending against.

Now, hon. Members say to me, why do you not go out in the market place, if I may say so, and condemn this and that country? Well, I do not and I cannot, because I happen to be a responsible Member of a responsible Government. I cannot behave in a manner of raising slogans against countries, but I can state policies as I have done now, and as I have done previously. These policies can be interpreted easily by those who take the trouble to interpret them.

Now, again, my colleague, Mr. Shiva Rao, referred to NATO and how this NATO which started as a defence organization for the defence, it is said, of the Atlantic community, has gradually developed into something much more. First of all, it has gone beyond the Atlantic community, and

others are coming within its scope which have nothing to do with the Atlantic. Secondly—I do not know—but sometimes one gets the impression that some of the smaller countries, smaller or bigger, attached to NATO think that this organisation of the Atlantic community will cover up and shelter and defend their colonial domains. Now again, if that is an implication of NATO, then obviously everybody who is interested in putting an end to colonialism naturally will react strongly against it. If NATO is the defender and protector of colonialism, then it has put its wrong foot forward. At first, it talked about the defence of a certain Atlantic community. They have every right to defend themselves. They have every right to fight any aggression that may come to them. But if in this business, they think that in order to do this, they have to participate and to help in keeping down and suppressing freedom of colonial territories, then not only have they misunderstood the temper of the people of Asia and Africa today, but they are going against the obvious lessons of history. Today the person or the group or the country which is going to be welcome anywhere must go there as a liberating force, not as a repressing force.

And in this connection, may I say that in relation to what are called the foreign pockets in India, much has been said? I would only say this again, that I am not aware—I shall be glad, if hon. Members would enlighten me sometime or other—what exactly they expect me to do, short of declaring war against those who own those foreign pockets. We have declared our policy quite clearly and firmly. It is unthinkable for us, for any foreign pocket to continue in India, for a variety of reasons. It is manifestly absurd that when the great British Empire of India should cease to be, a little bit of some other Empire should remain in bits of India. That is manifestly wrong and absurd. And this new theory, to which Mr. Shiva Rao referred yesterday, of calling these bits of territories as metropolitan areas—not as colonial areas, but as metropolitan areas—is not going to help in this matter. By changing a label, they do not change either geography or the essence of colonialism. Now it should be clearly understood—our policy is clearly understood, but I wish to add something to it, and that is this—that if any parts of any of these foreign pockets in India are treated as any kind of a base for operations elsewhere, which are against our policy, we shall have

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to consider that act as an unfriendly act to this country.

But again, how do we solve these problems? How do we solve any problem in this world? Hon. Members say, 'You protest and protest and do nothing'. What do other countries do? The other day, the newspapers reported that an aircraft belonging to the United Kingdom was shot down by Soviet bombers or whatever they were.

Now, I am not going into the merits of it. I do not know who is right or who is wrong, but here was a very, very serious incident. In peace time many people die. What do Governments do? Protest. Do you expect the U.K. Government to declare war against the Soviet Union because of that? What of the numerous protests that have been made in the Far East both by the Chinese Government or the Russian Government or the American Government against each other? In spite of the fact that they are carrying on a war in Korea, they make protests for infringement of territory. But nobody increases the sphere of war. Hon. Members think rather lightly of this business of war or of sanctions etc. It is not a matter to be thought of in that way.

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee harped back to the question of our resolution on Korea before the United Nations. That is rather past history, and much has been said here, but I would again say one thing about it. First of all—the hon. Member talked about the Geneva Convention—that whole resolution was based on an acceptance of the Geneva Convention. You may say: 'If so, well, you did not do very cleverly'. You may say that. You may say: 'It might have been done better'. But to argue that the Geneva Convention was set aside is wrong, because our attempt was to follow it. Secondly, our whole attempt in that resolution was to make it clear that there should be no voluntary repatriation. Now, again, there may be two views. In fact, I will be very happy, and if that is the only point that comes in the way, I would have been prepared—the question is out of date, of course—to let this particular point, whether it is in conformity with the Geneva Convention or not, to be considered by any high judicial authority or court. I should abide by their decision—the interpretation of it. But of course these are not matters of judicial interpretation: these are high political matters. But I do submit that to bring that resolution forward and to describe it as something done in breach of our policy of not lining up with this group or that is not justified.

I should like to say a few words about this question of our membership of the Commonwealth. I am surprised continually—hon. Members will forgive me for saying so—by the lack of understanding shown by some Members of what this business is of our being in the Commonwealth. Dr. Lanka Sundaram read out some speech of, I believe, Lord Swinton, relating to countries in the Commonwealth. Now, so far as we are concerned, ever since—and even before—we became a Republic, our relationship with the Commonwealth has been completely different from the relationship of any other country in the Commonwealth. Legally and constitutionally there is no relationship; leave out the question of allegiance to the British Crown—but there is none, of course—but legally and constitutionally, there is no relationship in the sense that our own Constitution makes no reference to it. There is nothing in it. It is a relationship by understanding—by agreement if you like—which we can discontinue or put an end to when we choose or they choose—either party. It is a little difficult to understand that relationship because there is no precedent for it. We react—many of us, if I may say so—on grounds of sentiment as to why should we have anything to do with the Commonwealth, first of all, which used to be or which is the British Empire, secondly, a Commonwealth in which there is South Africa or some other country which is misbehaving. Now, I can understand that reaction. But, that reaction applies or should apply to our being in the United Nations. There are plenty of countries there, the same countries we dislike here are there too. And, in being with the United Nations, we undertake upon ourselves certain obligations and certain burdens, by subscribing to the Charter. Every country does.

Now, in being associated with the Commonwealth what burdens or obligations do we take up? I should like the House to consider that. I will submit to the House that our association with the Commonwealth, novel as it is—for this is a novel way of countries associating with each other—shows the way for the future association of nations with each other without any obligation, without coming in the slightest in the way of each other's independence—yet some kind of friendly association which leaves you free to do what you like.

What are the different types of alliances, agreements with other countries? Every alliance between independent countries is normally a

give and take affair. You give something. If it is a military alliance, of course, you are bound hand and foot. Otherwise you give something and take something. There are obligations attached to those alliances. It is no obligation on us, because we are in the Commonwealth, of the slightest kind—leave out military or economic or any type of alliances. Please do not get mixed up between two things. Our poet Member in the middle of his rhetorical attitudes read out something about what happened in 1949 to our economics, what happened in 1951 and 1952 because we are tied up with England. Do not get mixed up these two things. We may not be in the Commonwealth at all and yet we may or may not have economic relations with them. On the other hand we may not have those economic relations and be in the Commonwealth. The two are separate. They have nothing to do with each other. We have certain economic relations with England because we think they are to our advantage. That is the long and short of it. If at any moment we think they are not to our advantage, it is open to us to put an end to them or to vary them. It has nothing to do with our being in the Commonwealth or not being in the Commonwealth. It is a separate thing. Whether they are to our advantage or not is a matter I am not going into now. I am merely putting it to you that this has nothing to do with our being in the Commonwealth.

Suppose we are in the sterling area. We can emerge out of it the moment we decide that it is not to our advantage to be in that area. If we were in the past, we have thought it is to our advantage. Next, we may develop some other relations with some other countries. Therefore, please separate these two ideas. Certain things we have inherited—naturally not policies—but certain economic ties and things from the past. It is open to us to break them when we liked. But, if we think they are at all to our advantage, we continue them, but the power is with us and with nobody else whether to continue them or to break them. All that economic business apart, this has nothing to do with our being in the Commonwealth. Our association with the Commonwealth stands apart. I do submit to this House that our being associated with the Commonwealth does not, first of all, in the slightest degree come in the way of our independent action anywhere. You may say, if you like, that an economic tie may occasionally come. Let me say that you may put an end to the economic tie. But our being in the Commonwealth by itself

does not affect us in any sense, except if you like that it means a certain friendly approach. We meet each other. We discuss. We have an equality, and if I may say so, even a stronger friendly approach to our neighbouring countries like Burma. Burma is not in the Commonwealth. There is no other tie. But we are much more intimately connected with Burma—not formally; I mean informally—then with the Commonwealth countries. We may be intimately connected with any other country in Asia, but nothing comes in our way. Nobody binds us. This is more or less, what I would say, the negative side of it.

I think we have gained positively by being in the Commonwealth. Definitely so. During the past five years specially, many avenues have opened out to us which may not have been open if we had not been there. An avenue opening out does not mean that we are forced to go that way or do a particular thing. Secondly, I think that we have somewhat affected world policies, not only directly in so far as we can, but to some extent indirectly also, through the Commonwealth, and I think that that is to our and the world's advantage. Anyhow, I cannot see how any valid reason can be advanced for our cutting away from a relationship which is the best form of relationship in the sense that there is no obligation on us or on the other party, except the obligation of occasional friendly approach and friendly talk. It is, as I said, a new relationship. You have precedents, of course, in history, but it is a new type of association which we should like to develop, at any rate, I should like to develop—leave out the Commonwealth. I should like that approach between several Commonwealth nations and ourselves, and between us and the Asian nations. Nobody prevents us from doing that.

I have not referred, and I do not now refer, to the big questions that face us in the world, which can only be viewed, I think, not only in the world context but in the context of history—of history being made. It is a tremendous picture—changing, confusing. I confess to hon. Members opposite that I have no surety of vision about it, or assurances as to what will happen or what will not happen. It happens very often that one does not quite know what is the right step to take. The only test there is, is to try not to take the wrong step. That is something. Of course, I find that wrong steps are frequently taken by others. They are in a hurry to take a step and they repent at leisure. When we feel that a step has to be taken—and it is a right step—we take it.

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

Otherwise, we do not take it. It is not perhaps a very brave or dramatic attitude to adopt, but in this matter we want to show no courage. We want to show as much wisdom and tolerance as possible, because we feel that in a world which is so overburdened with fear and apprehension, anger and hatred, perhaps a little quiet wisdom and tolerance may do some good.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will put cut motion No. 110 regarding withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

The question is:

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

Those who are for the motion will say 'Aye'.

**Some Hon. Members:** Aye.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Those who are against the motion will say 'No'.

**Several Hon. Members:** No.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The 'Noes' have it.

**Some Hon. Members:** The 'Ayes' have it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Division.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** I want to raise a point.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** No hon. Member need be in a hurry. Hon. Members should not go into the Lobby where the counting will be taken, before I order division once again. Hon. Members who are in the Lobby will come back, if they intend coming back at all.

*The House divided: Ayes, 55; Noes, 278.*

#### Division No. 5.

#### AYES

[7 P. M.]

Achaul, Shri  
Amjad Ali, Shri  
Banerjee, Shri  
Basu, Shri K. K.  
Biren Dutt, Shri  
Boovaragha-amy, Shri  
Chakravarty, Shrimati Renu  
Chatterjee, Shri N. C.  
Chatterjee, Shri Tuskar  
Chaudhuri, Shri T. K.  
Damodaran, Shri N. P.  
Das, Shri B. C.  
Das, Shri Sarangadhar  
Dasaratha Deb, Shri  
Deo, Shri B. N. S.  
Deshpande Shri V. G.  
Gurupadaswamy, Shri

Jayaraman, Shri  
Kelappan, Shri  
Kripalani, Shrimati Sucheta  
Mascarene, Kumari Annie  
Menon, Shri Damodara  
Mookerjee, Dr. S. P.  
Mukerjee, Shri H. N.  
Muniswamy, Shri  
Murthy, Shri B. S.  
Nair, Shri N. Sroekantan  
Nambiar, Shri  
Nanadas, Shri  
Pandey, Dr. Natabar  
Punnoose, Shri  
Raghavachari, Shri  
Raghavaiah, Shri

Ramasami, Shri M. D.  
Randaman Singh, Shri  
Rao, Dr. Rama  
Rao, Shri Gopala  
Rao, Shri P. Subba  
Rao, Shri Vittal  
Reddi, Shri Madhao  
Reddi, Shri Ramachandra  
Bishang Keshing, Shri  
Shakuntala, Shrimati  
Singh, Shri B. N.  
Subrahmanyam, Shri K.  
Sundaram, Dr. Lanka  
Swamy, Shri N. R. M.  
Trivedi, Shri U. M.  
Veeraswami, Shri

#### NOES

Abdus Sattar, Shri  
Achal Singh, Seth  
Achint Ram, Lala  
Achuthan, Shri  
Agarwal, Prof.  
Agarwal, Shri H. L.  
Agrawal, Shri M. L.  
Akarpuri, Sardar  
Alagesan, Shri  
Altekar, Shri  
Alva, Shri Joachim  
Asthana, Shri  
Asad, Maulana  
Badan Singh, Ch.  
Balasubramaniam, Shri  
Bansal, Shri  
Bansal, Shri

Barupal, Shri  
Basappa, Shri  
Bhakta, Shri B. B.  
Bhakta Darshan, Shri  
Bharati, Shri G. S.  
Bhargava, Pandit M. D.  
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das  
Bhatt, Shri C. S.  
Bheekha Bhai, Shri  
Bhonsale, Major-General  
Birbal Singh, Shri  
Bagawat, Shri  
Barooah, Shri  
Bose, Shri P. C.  
Brajeshwar Prasad, Shri  
Buraoghain, Shri  
Chacko, Shri P. T.

Chanda, Shri Anil K.  
Chandak, Shri  
Chandrasekhar, Shrimati  
Charak, Shri  
Chatterjee, Dr. Susilranjan  
Chaturvedi, Shri  
Chavda, Shri  
Chinnaria, Shri  
Choudhuri, Shri M. Shafiq  
Dabbi, Shri  
Damar, Shri  
Damodaran, Shri G. R.  
Das, Shri B.  
Das, Shri B. K.  
Das, Shri K. K.

Jaa, Shri Ram Dhanl	Joshi, Shri N. L.	Nevatia, Shri
Das, Shri Ramanaada	Joshi, Shrimati Subhadra	Nijalingappa, Shri
Das, Shri S. N.	Jwala Prashad, Shri	Pande, Shri C. D.
Das, Shri N. T.	Kajroikar, Shri	Pannalal, Shri
Datar, Shri	Kakkan, Shri	Pant, Shri D. D.
Deb, Shri S. C.	Kale, Shrimati A.	Pataskar, Shri
Deogam, Shri	Kamble, Shri	Patel, Shri B. K.
Desai, Shri K. N.	Karmarkar, Shri	Patel, Shri Rajeshwar
Desai, Shri K. K.	Kasliwal, Shri	Patel, Shrimati Maniben
Deshmukh, Shri C. D.	Katham, Shri	Patil, Shri Kanavade
Deshmukh, Shri K. G.	Katju, Dr.	Pawar, Shri V. P.
Deshmukh, Dr. P. S.	Keshavalengar, Shri	Prabhakar, Shri N.
Deshpande, Shri G. H.	Keekar, Dr.	Prasad, Shri H. S.
Dholakia, Shri	Khan, Shri Sadath Ali	Rachiah, Shri N.
Dhulekar, Shri	Khedkar, Shri G. B.	Radha Raman, Shri
Dhulaya, Shri	Khongmen, Shrimati	Raghubir Sahal, Shri
Digambar Singh, Shri	Khuda Baksh, Shri M.	Raghunath Singh, Shri
Dube, Shri Muthand	Kidwal, Shri B. A.	Raghuramalah, Shri
Dube, Shri U. S.	Kirolikar, Shri	Raj Bahadur, Shri
Dubey, Shri R. G.	Krishna Chandra, Shri	Ram Daas, Shri
Dutt, Shri A. K.	Krishnamachari, Shri T. T.	Ram Saran, Prof.
Dwivedi, Shri D. P.	Krishnappa, Shri M. V.	Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.
Dwivedi, Shri M. L.	Kureel, Shri B. N.	Ramasubhalah, Shri
Elayaperumal, Shri	Kureel, Shri P. L.	Ramaswamy, Shri P.
Fotedar, Pandit	Lal, Shri B. S.	Ramaswamy, Shri S. V.
Gadgil, Shri	Lallanjli, Shri	Rane, Shri
Gandhi, Shri Ferose	Laskar, Prof.	Rao, Shri B. Shiva
Gandhi, Shri M. M.	Lotan Ram, Shri	Raut, Shri Bhola
Gandhi, Shri V. B.	Mahedaya, Shri	Roy, Shri B. N.
Ganpati Ram, Shri	Maltra, Pandit L. K.	Roy, Shri Patiram
Gautam, Shri C. D.	Majhi, Shri B. C.	Rup Narain, Shri
Ghose, Shri S. M.	Majithia, Sardar	Sahu, Shri Bhagabat
Ghulam Qader, Shri	Malaviya, Shri K. D.	Sahu, Shri Rameshwar
Giri, Shri V. V.	Malvia, Shri B. N.	Saigal, Sardar A. S.
Gohain, Shri	Malviya, Pandit C. N.	saksena, Shri Mohanlal
Gopi Ram, Shri	Mandal, Dr. P.	Samanta, Shri S. C.
Gounder, Shri K. P.	Masoodi, Maulana	Sankarapandian, Shri
Gounder, Shri K. S.	Mathew, Prof.	Sarmah, Shri
Govind Das, Seth	Matthen, Shri	Satish Chandra, Shri
Gupta, Shri Badahah	Maydeo, Shrimati	Satyowadi, Dr.
Hari Mohan, Dr.	Mehta, Shri Balwant Sinha	Sen, Shri P. G.
Hazarika, Shri J. N.	Mehta, Shri B. G.	Sen, Shrimati Subama
Heda, Shri	Mehta, Shri Jaswantraj	Sewal, Shri A. E.
Hembrom, Shri	Mishra, Shri L. N.	Shah, Shri R. B.
Hyder Husain, Ch.	Mlahra, Shri Lokenath	Sharma, Pandit K. C.
Ibrahim, Shri	Mishra, Shri S. N.	Sharma, Prof. D. C.
Iyyani, Shri B.	Misra, Pandit Lingaraj	Sharma, Shri K. E.
Iyyanni, Shri C. E.	Misra, Shri E. D.	Sharma, Shri R. C.
Jain, Shri A. P.	Misra, Shri S. P.	Shastri, Shri H. N.
Jain, Shri N. S.	Mohd. Akbar, Sofi	Shivananjappa, Shri
Jaipal Singh, Shri	Mohiuddin, Shri	Shobha Ram, Shri
Jajware, Shri	More, Shri K. L.	Shukla, Pandit B.
Jangde, Shri	Mudaliar, Shri C. R.	Sidhananjappa, Shri
Jasani, Shri	Mukae, Shri Y. M.	Singh, Shri D. N.
Jena, Shri K. C.	Muthukrishnan, Shri	Singh, Shri H. P.
Jena, Shri Niranjau	Nair, Shri C. K.	Singh, Shri L. J.
Jethan, Shri	Nanda, Shri	Singh, Shri M. N.
Jha, Shri Bhagwat	Narasimhan, Shri C. R.	Singh, Shri T. N.
Jhunjhunwala, Shri	Naskar, Shri P. S.	Singhal, Shri S. C.
Joshi, Shri Jethalal	Nehru, Shri Jawaharlal	Sinha, Dr. S. N.
Joshi, Shri Liladhar	Nehru, Shrimati Uma	Sinha, Shri A. P.
Joshi, Shri M. D.	Neswi, Shri	Sinha, Shri Anrudha
		Sinha, Shri G.P.

Sinha, Shri Jhulan  
 Sinha, Shri K. P.  
 Sinha, Shri N. P.  
 Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan  
 Sinha, Shri Sátyendra Narayan  
 Sinha, Shrimati Tarkeshwari  
 Sinhasan Singh, Shri  
 Snatak Shri  
 Sodha, Shri K. C.  
 Somana, Shri N.  
 Soren, Shri  
 Subrahmanyam, Shri T.  
 Suresh Chandra, Dr.  
 Suriya Prasad, Shri

Swaminadhan, Shrimati Ammu  
 Syed Ahmed, Shri  
 Syed Mahmud, Dr.  
 Tandon, Shri  
 Toltkar, Shri  
 Thimmalah, Shri  
 Thomas, Shri A. M.  
 Tiwari, Shri V. N.  
 Tiwari, Pandit B. L.  
 Tiwari, Shri R. S.  
 Tiwary, Pandit D. N.  
 Tripathi, Shri V. D.  
 Tudu, Shri B. L.  
 Tulsidas, Shri

Tyagi, Shri  
 Upadhyay, Pandit Munishwar Datt  
 Upadhyay, Shri Shiva Dayal  
 Upadhyaya, Shri S. D.  
 Valahnav, Shri H. G.  
 Valshya, Shri M. B.  
 Varma, Shri B. B.  
 Varma, Shri B. R.  
 Velayudhan, Shri  
 Vidyalankar, Shri  
 Vyus, Shri Radhelal  
 Wilson, Shri J. N.  
 Wodeyar, Shri  
 Zaidi, Col.

The motion was negated.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will now put all the other cut motions together and then come to the Demands.

The cut motions were negated.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the Order Paper in respect of Demands Nos. 22, 23, 24 and 25 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India, to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1954, in respect of the corresponding heads of demands entered in the second column thereof."

The motion was adopted.

[The motions for Demands for Grants which were adopted by the House are reproduced below:—Ed. of P. P.]

#### DEMAND NO. 22—TRIBAL AREAS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,46,99,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India, 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 1954, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

#### DEMAND NO. 23—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,16,26,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India, 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, 1954, in respect of 'External Affairs'."

#### DEMAND NO. 24—CHANDERNAGORE

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,33,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India, 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, 1954, in respect of 'Chandernagore'."

#### DEMAND NO. 25—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,46,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India, 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, 1954, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of External Affairs'."

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Wednesday, the 18th March, 1953.