Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I take it that the hon. Member has the leave of the House to withdraw his Resolution.

The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: I object to the withdrawal of the Resolution.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is to late now. We will take up the next Resolution by Shri S. M. Banerjee.

15·41 hrs.

RESOLUTION *RE:* PORTUGUESE WITHDRAWAL FROM GOA, DAMAN AND DIU

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): I beg to move:

> "This House is of opinion that Government of India should give a final ultimatum to the Portuguese Government to withdraw from Goa, Daman and Diu."

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जब मैं यह प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत कर रहा हूं, तो मेरे सामने १५ अगस्त, १९५५ का वह नजारा है, जब कि हमारे देश के नौजवान, हमारे भाई और बहनें, शहीदों की टोलियां सालाजार के जुल्मो-तशद्दुद के खिलाफ़ गोआ में हमारे देश का तिरंगा झंडा लहराने के लिये आगे बढ़ रहे थे। मैं उस वक्त किरकी में था और मुझे याद है कि जब मैं उन शहीदों की टोलियों को देखता था, तो मेरे दिल में यह ख्याल आ जाता था कि अगर हमारी सरकार कुछ थोड़ी बहुत मदद कर देती, तो शायद हमारा वह अनमोल झंडा, जिस को लाखों माताओं-बहनों के सुहाग लुटवाने के बाद हम ने हासिल किया, वहां पर लहराने लग जाता। १५ अगस्त, १९५५ के दिन हमारे जो भाई वहां पर शहीद हुए थे, मैं चाहता हूं कि आज के दिवस मैं उन अमर शहीदों के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करूं, जिन की लाशें हम लोग ला सके थे। वे भाई थे महाराष्ट्र से हिरवे गुरुजी, पंजाब से सरदार करनैलसिंह, मध्यभारत से राज भाऊ महाकाल, मध्य प्रदेश से मधुकर चौधरी, उत्तर प्रदेश से रामगिरि साधु, सूरत से व्यास अमृत नाथूराम, आन्ध्र से एस० एस० रामराव, मध्यभारत से बापूलाल होलवाला और नागपुर से कामले।

हमारे ऐसे भी साथी थे, जिन की लाशों को लाया नहीं जा सका और जिन को वहीं पर सालाजार की जबर्दस्त हुकूमत ने जला दिया तथा लोगों को उन के दर्शन करने का सौभाग्य भी प्राप्त नहीं हुआ। उन के नाम थे : हनुमन्तैया, तेलुगु कर्नाटक से, अन्दनया गजेन्द्रगढ़ कर्नाटक से, राजस्थान से पन्नालाल यादव, आन्ध्र से जगन् मोहन राव और सुब्बाराव गुरु, यू० पी० से बृजमोहन शर्मा, मध्यभारत से जे० श्यामबर मारे और कल्याण शर्मा और महाराष्ट्र से शेषनाथ वाडेकर।

इतना ही नहीं, उस के बाद २४ जून को अमीरचन्द गुप्ता, ४ अगस्त को नित्यानन्द साहा और ३ अगस्त को बी० के० थोराट भी वहां पर शहीद हुए थे। आज इस प्रस्ताव को पेश करते हुए हम उन शहीदों को श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करें और जो प्रण उन्होंने किया था, उस को हम भी याद करें।

इस सदन के तीन माननीय सदस्यों ने भी गोआ की आजादी के संघर्ष में भाग लिया। हमारी बहादुर बहन श्रीमती सहोदरा बाई ने वहां पर गोलियों का मुकाबला किया। हमारे बहादुर और माननीय दोस्त श्री एन० जी० गोरे ने इक्कीस महीने और श्री त्रिदिव चौधरी ने उन्नीस महीने तक सालाजार के कारावास में अपना जीवन व्यतीत किया।

आज हमारे सामने केवल गोआ का ही सवाल नहीं है, बल्कि पुर्तगाली साम्राज्यवाद, (पार्टुगीज कालोनियलिज्म) को खत्म करने

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

का बहुत बड़ा सवाल है । आज अफ्रीका में, जो कि जाग रहा है और जिस ने अंगड़ाई ली है, अंगोला का बहुत बड़ा सवाल है । आज अफ्रीका के लोग, जिन को सोये हुए अफ्रीकी कहा जाता है, जाग रहे हैं और कहते हैं कि अगर गोआ को आज़ाद किया गया और सालाज़ार की हुकूमत के खिलाफ़ कोई सख्त कार्रवाई हिन्दुस्तान ने की, तो वहां पर लिबरेशन मूवमेंट को काफ़ी मदद मिलेगी । इस से पहले जब कभी, चाहे अक्तूबर, १९६० हो, चाहे मई, १९६१, इस सदन में या बाहर यह सवाल आया, तो हमारे पूज्य प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यही कहा कि मिलिटरी एक्शन इज़ रूल्ड आउट—मिलिटरी एक्शन मुमकिन नहीं है । लेकिन मुझे खुशी है कि हाल ही में हुए सेमिनार में भाषण करते हुए उनके जज़बात भी कुछ उभर आए और समाचार पत्रों में उनके भाषणों के बारे में यह लिखा गया :

"In a passing reference to Goa Mr. Nehru reiterated that India did not rule out military action to liberate it from Portuguese domination. India, he said, was not tied down to pursue a policy of peace in this matter."

इससे साफ़ जाहिर है कि आज इस प्रस्ताव में जो यह कहा गया है कि पुर्तगाल की हुकूमत को चुनौती दी जाये, तो उसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि आज ही अपनी फ़ौज गोआ में भेज दी जाये और फ़ौरन ही वहां एक्शन लिया जाये । उसका उद्देश्य यह है कि कम से कम एक चुनौती उसको दी जाये कि वह गोआ, दमन और दीव से हट जाये । माननीय सदस्य, श्री वाजपेयी, ने इस प्रस्ताव में एक संशोधन पेश किया है, जो इस प्रकार है—

In the resolution,

add at the end—

"by January 26, 1962".

हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में २६ जनवरी से पवित्र दिवस और कोई नहीं हो सकता है । इसलिये पुर्तगाल को यह अल्टीमेटम दिया जाये कि चौदह साल से उस के शान्तिमय ढंग से हट जाने की बात हो रही है, लेकिन वह नहीं हटा और अब २६ जनवरी, १९६२ तक वह नहीं हटा, तो उसके खिलाफ़ कार्यवाही की जायेगी । मैं समझता हूं कि इतने अत्याचार और रिप्रेशन सहन करने के बाद अगर पुर्तगाल के खिलाफ़ यह कार्यवाही की जाये, तो तमाम दुनिया की हमदर्दी, कुछ लोगों, नाटो पावर्ज़ आदि, को छोड़ कर दुनिया के सब तरक्कीपसन्द लोगों की हमदर्दी हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार के साथ होगी ।

इस बारे में दिये गये पंडित जी के भाषण के बाद हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने शायद यह सोच कर कि गोआ में पुलिस एक्शन में खर्चा ज्यादा होगा और उनको फिर रुपये के लिये अमरीका और रूस की तरफ जाना पड़ेगा, यह कहा कि गोआ की समस्या को शान्तिमय ढंग से हल किया जायेगा । मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि प्रधान मंत्री जी के इस बयान के बाद वित्त मंत्री जी को बयान देने की क्या ज़रूरत थी । कभी-कभी मैं सोचता हूं कि हमारे मंत्रि-मण्डल के सदस्य चाहे वह प्रधान मंत्री जी हों, चाहे वित्त मंत्री जी, एक ही जगह से, एक ही सेमिनार में जब तरह-तरह के भाषण देते हैं, तो मालूम होता है कि यह मंत्रि-मण्डल एक नहीं है । कभी-कभी ऐसी बातें होती हैं, जिनसे आदमी यह सोचने लगता है—मुझे कहने में शर्म महसूस होती है—कि क्या यह मंत्रि-मण्डल है या शिव जी की बरात है । पता नहीं, क्या-क्या बातें कौन-कौन कह डालते हैं । मुझे मालूम नहीं कि वित्त मंत्री जी को ऐसी बातें कहने की क्या ज़रूरत थी । जब अफ्रीका और एशिया की ताकतें गोआ की आज़ादी की जंग में हिन्दुस्तान की मदद के के लिये आने वाली थीं, उस वक्त उन्होंने

अपना भाषण देकर पूज्य प्रधान मंत्री की चुनौती पर पा ो फर दिया ।

लेकिन उसका जवाब भी पिन्टो साहब ने दे दिया । उन्होंने कहा कि गोआ के मसले को शान्तिमय ढंग से हल करने के लिए हमने चौदह साल तक इन्तजार किया है अब और साफ जाहिर है कि शान्तिमय ढंग से यह मसला हल नहीं हो सकता । आप समाचार पत्रों को देखिए, एडिटोरियल्ज को पढ़िये । वे सब कहते हैं कि :

"We had allowed the Salazar Government to consolidate its powers."

बाकायदा लिसबन से उनकी आर्मी आ रही है । १९५७ की बात आज भी हमें याद है जब कि एक पत्र की शक्ल में गार्जियन में एक चीज छपी थी । मैं उसको पढ़ने के लिए तैयार हूं । यह चीज तब छपी थी जब कि हमारे नैशनलिस्ट को उन्होंने मारा था और मारने के बाद जीप के साथ बांध कर जिन्दा हालत में वे ले गए थे और ले जाने के बाद पैट्रोल से सोक किया गया और आग लगा कर तमाशा देखा गया । इस तरह के जो जुल्म वहां पर हो र हैं, इनको हम कभी भी बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते हैं । हमारे शहीद वहां पहुंचे थे । हमारे यहां के सदस्य वहां गये थे । गोआ की जेलों में भी उनकी एड़ियों और बेड़ियों की झंकार में एक इनकलाबी तराना ही था । मैं समझता हूं कि उस वक्त भी सालाजार की हुकूमत की नीव हिल गई थी और उस हिलती हुई नींव को रोकने की कोशिश नहीं की गई होती तो उसके अच्छे नतीजे निकल सकते थे । मैं चाहता हूं कि आज भी कोई गलती आप न करें।

मैं जानता हूं कि आज भी यहां पर कहा जायेगा कि यह हमारी अहिंसा की नीति के खिलाफ होगा । लेकिन, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हैदराबाद के सिलसिले में वहां के निजाम ने जब त्योरियां बदली थीं और कहा था और यह दावा भी किया । कि रजाकारों की मदद से वह अपनी सत्ता को कायम रखेंगे तो इस नीति पर नहीं चला गया था और क्या यह बात सच नहीं है कि एक दफा के पुलिस एक्शन से उनकी स्कीमों की तमाम इमारत चूर-चूर हो गई और वह हमारी सरकार के कदमों में झुक गये ?

गोआ को आजाद कराने के बारे में किसी कनवेंशन या सेमिनार की ही राय नहीं है बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की, हर खास और आम की राय है और वे चाहते हैं कि गोआ पर जो साम्राज्यवादी शक्ति अपना पंजा जमाये बैठी है, उस आखिरी पंजे को हमारे देश की धरती से हटा दिया जाए । यही सवाल विदेशों में जो हमारे विद्यार्थी हैं, वे भी समय-समय पर करते रहते हैं । श्री एम० सी० सीतलवाद, एटार्नी जनरल साहब जब वह हेग से वापस लन्दन आए तो वहां के विद्यार्थियों ने उनसे पूछा कि आखिर नो-एक्शन पालिसी सरकार की कब तक चलेगी । उन्होंने भी इस चीज को समझाने की कोशिश की लेकिन उनको किसी भी तरह से तसल्ली नहीं हुई । इसका कारण यह है कि लोग वहां पर हो रहे अत्याचारों की कहानियां सुनते और पढ़ते हैं । वे कहने लग गए हैं कि धीरज की भी कोई सीमा होनी चाहिये और इसकी भी आखिर एक सीमा होती है । यह सीमा पार हो चुकी है । अखबारों में जो कुछ छपता है, उसको आप देखें । १९६० और १९६१ के जो अखबारात हैं, उनमें गोआ के बारे में जो कुछ छपा है, आर्टिकल निकले हैं, उनके आधार पर भी मैं आपको बता सकता हूं वे समझते हैं कि एक वहशी हुकूमत इंसानियत के जामे में हैवानियत का नंगा नाच कर रही है । हमारे नेशनल जो आज आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं और गोआ को आजाद कराने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, उनकी लाशों

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

पर सालाजार नंगा नाच कर रहे हैं। यह नंगा नाच कब तक चलता रह सकता है, कब तक इसको चलते रहने की हम इजाजत दे सकते हैं। ये तमाम जो खबरें हैं ये लोगों को पहुंचती हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि आज अगर यहां से, इस पार्लियामेंट से, एक राय से हम लोग एक चुनौती दे दें तो उसका असर जरूर होगा और वह चुनौती जरूर रंग लाएगी। हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार का इस लोक सभा में, इस सदन में यह एक राय से कह देना कि गवर्नमेंट अगर इस सवाल के बारे में २६ जनवरी, १९६२ तक कोई फैसला नहीं हुआ तो कुछ कदम उठायेगी और वह कदम ऐसा नहीं होगा कि जैसे कोई प्रोटैस्ट नोट भेज दिया जाता है जिसका जवाब तक नहीं आता है बल्कि ऐसा होगा जो अपना असर दिखायेगा। साफ तरीके से हमें कहना पड़ेगा कि आर्मी या पुलिस एक्शन हम लोग करेंगे।

मैं अपने माननीय सदस्य श्री श्रीनारायण दास जी के सबस्टीट्यूट मेशीन को पढ़ करके दंग रह गया। इसमें आप फरमाते हैं :—

"This House calls upon the Government to take suitable steps as will lead to immediate withdrawal of Portuguese Government from Goa, Daman and Diu . . ."

यहां तक तो मेरी समझ में यह आती है। इतनी सी अंग्रेजी तो मैं भी अच्छी तरह से समझता हूं। लेकिन बाद की अंग्रेजी जरा टेढ़ी है और वह सालाजार की अंग्रेजी मालूम पड़ती है, पुर्तगाली अंग्रेजी मालूम पड़ती है। वह कहते हैं :—

"and the holding of plebiscite to ascertain the views of the people residing there as to the nature of Government they would like to have in their territories."

श्री नाथ पाई (राजापुर) : शेमफुल।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : आप सालाजार के बयानात को पढ़ें और उनको पढ़ने के बाद इस सबस्टीट्यूट मोशन को पढ़ें तो आप को सब चीज साफ हो जाएगी। ऐसा कह कर क्या आप नहीं समझते हैं कि आप पुर्तगाली साम्राज्यवादियों के हाथ में एक ऐसा हथियार दे रहे हैं जिसका वे दुरुपयोग कर सकते हैं और क्या इसका मतलब यह नहीं होगा कि सालाजार साहब जो करते हैं ठीक करते हैं, जो कहते हैं ठीक कहते हैं और जो कुछ हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री जी कहते हैं, हैं, सब गलत कहते हैं।

श्री दी० चं० शर्मा (गुरदासपुर) : कोई एक्सेप्ट नहीं होगा।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है कि इसको ऐसे मौके पर उन्होंने क्यों मूव किया है। मेरे पास सौ से ज्यादा चिट्ठियां आई हैं जिन में लोगों ने मेरे इस प्रस्ताव का स्वागत किया है और कहा है कि इस प्रस्ताव के बारे में आप प्रधान मन्त्री जी की मिन्नत कर, उनके सामने आप सारी बातों को साफ तरीके से रखें और उनको विश्वास दिलायें कि यहां की जनता इस स्ट्रगिल में उनका साथ देगी और उनसे कहें कि एक गरजती हुई आवाज में, एक आजाद देश की आवाज में लोगों को आह्वान करे कि हम साम्राज्यवादियों के पंजे को हिन्दुस्तान की धरती पर जमे रहने नहीं देंगे।

मैं समझता हूं कि अब तो हमारा केस बिल्कुल साफ है। नागर हवेली और दादरा के बारे में वर्ल्ड कोर्ट का जो जजमेंट है वह हमारे हक में जाता है। अगर यह कहा जाता है कि नाटो के हाथ में कठपुतली है जिसकी एक रस्सी इनके हाथ में है और ये नचाते रहते हैं, तो यह बात भी गलत है। सालाजार में यह मजाल कहां से आई कि वे यू० एन० में खड़े होकर या दूसरी जगह खड़े होकर कहें कि हमारे देश के लोग भूखों मरते हैं

फाकाकशी करते हैं? १५ अगस्त, १९५५ के दिन जिस दिन हमारे नौजवान, करनैल सिंह, शाह, थोरट वगैरह तिरंगा झण्डा लेकर आगे बढ़ रहे थे, उस वक्त अगर हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार एक दफा कह देती कि हमारी मदद तुम्हारे साथ है तो विश्वास मानिये कि वह झण्डा गोआ में भी लहराता। आज भी मौका है कि हम इसको करें।

इस मामले में बाहर वालों ने भी हमारा समर्थन किया है। एडलाई स्टिवेंसन ने जो यहां आए थे १६ या १७ मार्च, १९६१ को एक प्रेस कान्फ्रेंस में कहा था :—

"Change in U.S. Attitude to Goa is Evident."

"Whereas the former U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, described Goa as a province of Portugal in 1956, Mr. Stevenson has now advocated advancement towards full self-determination of all the territories under Portuguese administration . . . Addressing a press conference in Delhi in March, 1956, Mr. Dulles had said: The U.S. has never taken any position on the merits of the Goa controversy, I made a statement in August last in which I expressed the views of my Government hoping for a peaceful solution."

उसके बाद स्टिवैंसन साहब यह कह गए हैं कि राइट आफ सैल्फ डिटरमिनेशन होना चाहिये। रूस के प्रधान मन्त्री जब इस देश में पहले आए थे तो उन्होंने भी हमारा समर्थन किया था।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप जानते ही हैं कि १९५५ में हमारे कितने वालेंटीयर वहां गए थे। उस वक्त मैं भी एक सरकारी कर्मचारी था। मुझे भी श्री एम० एम० जोशी ने एक आह्वान दिया था पूना में कि वालेंटीयर दिए जाएं। मेरी सोलह साल की नौकरी थी। मैंने कहा कि मैं चलूंगा। कोयम्बटूर से, मद्रास से और हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे हिस्सों से, कोने-कोने से शहीदों की टोलियां चलीं। वे देखना चाहते थे कि वहां पर क्या हो रहा है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि यह कोई राजनीतिक सवाल नहीं है और न ही कोई ऐसा सवाल है जिसका कोई विरोध हो। मुझे चिट्ठी लिखी सालाजार के किसी साहब ने गोआ से और इस तरह की मेरे पास तीन चार चिट्ठियां आई हैं जिन में इस तरह की चीजें लिखी हुई हैं :—

"Long live Salazar".

"You are the stooge of U.S.S.R. You are moving this Resolution at the instance of U.S.S.R."

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप यकीन मानिये कि इन चिट्ठियों को पढ़कर मुझे इतना सदमा नहीं हुआ जितना सदमा कि श्री श्रीनारायण दास जी के सबस्टीट्यूट मोशन को पढ़ कर हुआ है। गोआ से मुझे जिन्होंने चिट्ठियां लिखी हैं, वे सालाजार के दोस्त हो सकते हैं और उनको आप छोड़ दीजिये। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में आज के दिन अगर इस तरीके का प्रस्ताव पास किया जाता है तो मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे जम्हूरी असूलों की बुनियादें ही हिल जायेंगी हमें साम्राज्यवादी ताकत का मुकाबला करना होगा।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक आंधी उठी थी, अंगोला में, मार्च १९६१ में। वहां पर विद्रोह हुआ सरकार के खिलाफ और वहां की सरकार थर्रा गई। वहां पर लोगों ने कहा कि अफ्रीका का, अंगोला का हमारा मसला तभी हल हो सकता है अगर गोआ के बारे में फैसला हो जाए और मैं समझता हूं कि अगर आज हम लोग इसका फैसला कर लें और एक यह चुनौती चली जाए और उनको यह मालूम हो जाए कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार और लोग काफी

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

सह चुके हैं, काफी लोग वहां पर मर चुके हैं, शहीद हो चुके हैं, तो यह मसला आसानी से हल हो सकता है। जो वहां पर शहीद हो चुके हैं, उनकी मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं और उनके प्रति मैं अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूं। यह जो प्रस्ताव मैंने रखा है यह लीस्ट आफेंसिव है, लीस्ट कंट्रोवर्शल है। इस में यह नहीं कहा गया है कि अभी चलो बल्कि यह कहा गया है कि अल्टीमेटम दे दिया जाए। सालाजार साहब को साफ तरीके से यह बतला दिया जाये कि सालाजार साहब, आप मेहरबानी कर के जाने का बन्दोबस्त कीजिये, वर्ना हम आप को भेज देंगे। और मैं समझता हूं कि यह मुमकिन होगा। अपने प्रधान मंत्री जी के ब्यानों को जब मैं पढ़ता हूं तो मुझे खुशी होती है, और यकीन मानिये आप कि जो उन का आखिरी ब्यान निकला, मैं समझता हूं कि कम से कम यह उन के दिल का ब्यान था, और यह बात सामने आई कि वे इस बात को चाहते हैं।

16 hrs.

इस लिये अपने प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित करते हुए मैं यह मांग करता हूं, सदन से, कि इस प्रस्ताव को नामजूर न किया जाय, सिर्फ इसलिये कि बदकिस्मती से बैलट में यह मेरे नाम से आया है। मैं राष्ट्रीयता के नाम पर कोई बात नहीं कहना चाहता, मेरी कुर्बानी, राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में, शायद कुछ नहीं है। लेकिन आज जब यह सवाल उठता है तो कुछ लोग यह सवाल भी उठाते हैं, और मेरे पास चिट्ठियां भी आई हैं, कि बनर्जी साहब, इसी प्रस्ताव की तरह से चीन के बारे में भी एक प्रस्ताव दे दीजिये। मैं एक चीज का यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूं, इस सदन में, कि हिन्दुस्तान की धरती के बारे में अगर कोई सवाल हुआ तो, मैं यह तो नहीं कहता कि राष्ट्रीयता की सारी मोनोपोली मेरी है, मैं यह तो नहीं कहता कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान की खिदमत में मैंने जवानी खो दी, मैं तो एक मामूली सिपाही हूं, कभी कभी सरकार की लाठियां और गोलियां खाई हैं, लेकिन एक जीव हो सकता हूं उन लोगों में से जो कि इस सदन के ८० फी सदी लोगों में से नहीं हैं, लेकिन फिर भी एक छोटा सा विश्वास दिलाता हूं कि अगर कभी देश की धरती के बारे में कोई सवाल उठा और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने आह्वान किया तो देश के एक सच्चे नागरिक होने की हैसियत से मैं सिर्फ अपने को ही उन की खिदमत में पेश नहीं कर दूंगा बल्कि १३ साल के अपने एकलौते बच्चे को भी उन के चरणों में डाल कर कहूंगा कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान की धरती को बचाने के लिये न्योछावर होने की जरूरत हो तो वे उस को भी कुर्बानी दे दें।

मैं जजबाती आवेश में आ कर यह चीज नहीं कह रहा हूं, लेकिन मैं ने देखा किस तरह से पूना में उन लोगों की लाशें लाई गईं, मैंने देखा कि किस तरह से गोलियां से परेशान हो कर वे लोग वहां आये थे। मैंने देखा था कि किस तरह से उन को मारा गया, गेस्टापो मेथड्स के तरीकों से मारा गया, पागल कर दिया गया और अन्धा कर दिया गया। यह हालतें मैंने अपनी आंखों से देखीं। इसलिये मैं समझता हूं कि यह साम्राज्यवाद का आखिरी पंजा हिन्दुस्तान से खत्म होना चाहिये, और मैं आशा करता हूं कि प्रधान मंत्री जी मेरे इस प्रस्ताव को मानेंगे और उस को सदन भी एक राय से पास कर के सालाजार की हुकूमत के सामने भेजेगा ताकि हमारा जागा हुआ अफ्रीका और जागे और साम्राज्यवाद का खात्मा कर के उस को कब्रिस्तान में भेज दिया जाये। साम्राज्यवाद का आखिरी जनाजा हिन्दुस्तान और अफ्रीका के कन्धों पर निकले ताकि यह जनाजा बहुत अच्छी तरह से निकल सके।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Resolution moved:

"This House is of opinion that Government of India should give

a final ultimatum to the Portuguese Government to withdraw from Goa, Daman and Diu."

There are some amendments. Shri Shree Narayan Das.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad): He is evaporating.

Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur): I move the amendments.

(i) In the resoultion,—

after the words "Portuguese Government" *insert* "and ask it" (1)

(ii) In the resolution—

add at the end "by January 26, 62". (2).

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं श्री बनर्जी के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं। किन्तु अपने वर्तमान स्वरूप में यह प्रस्ताव अधूरा है क्योंकि उस में इस बात के लिये कोई तिथि निर्धारित नहीं की गई है कि जिस के भीतर पुर्तगाल को भारत छोड़ कर चला जाना चाहिये। यदि हम उन को अल्टीमेटम देंगे तो उस में तारीख बतलानी आवश्यक है, और इस लिये मैंने संशोधन उपस्थित किया है कि पुर्तगाल से कहा जाये कि आगामी २६ जनवरी तक, जो कि भारत का गणराज्य दिवस है, पुर्तगाल गोवा, दमन और ड्यू को छोड़ कर चला जाये।

इस बात से इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि जब तक गोवा गुलाम है तब तक भारत की आजादी अधूरी है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी भी कहते हैं कि राजनीतिक क्रांति तब तक पूर्ण नहीं होगी जब तक भारत में पुर्तगाली बस्तियां कायम हैं। प्रश्न यह है कि इन बस्तियों की स्वतंत्रता के लिए हम ने क्या किया है? गोवा के बारे में भारत सरकार की क्या नीति है? हम ने पुर्तगाल के साथ अपने सम्बन्ध तोड़ लिए, किन्तु उस से गोवा की आजादी निकट नहीं आई। हमने इन बस्तियों में काम करने वाले पुर्तगाली शासन के विरुद्ध आर्थिक कदम उठाने की कोशिश की, उनका भी कोई परिणाम नहीं निकला। अब यह सरकार का काम है कि वह बतलावे कि यदि गोवा की आजादी उस का लक्ष्य है तो इस लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति के लिए वह क्या कर रही है।

जहां तक विश्व के जनमत का सवाल है, संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में और अन्य अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मंचों पर हम ने पुर्तगाली साम्राज्यवाद के विरुद्ध अपनी आवाज उठाई है, और उठानी चाहिये। लेकिन उसके परिणामस्वरूप गोवा की आजादी आजायेगी इस मुगालते में रहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। अंगोला में पुर्तगालियों ने अत्याचारों की पराकाष्ठा कर दी है। विश्व के मंचों से उसकी कठोर निन्दा की गई है, लेकिन पुर्तगाली साम्राज्यवादियों पर इस का प्रभाव होगा, इसके कोई चिन्ह दिखाई नहीं देते। अब यदि कूटनीतिक, आर्थिक और जनमत के जागृत करने के प्रयत्न विफल हो गये, तो फिर कौन सा रास्ता बचता है जिस के द्वारा हम इन पुर्तगाली बस्तियों को मुक्त देखना चाहते हैं। दो ही रास्ते हो सकते हैं। या तो भारत को सरकार जनता को इन बस्तियों की मुक्ति के लिए कदम उठाने की छूट दे। सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन चला था और सारे देश से आन्दोलन में भाग लेने के लिए लोग गये थे। हो सकता था कि उस समय ऐसी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न होती कि पुर्तगाली शासन को गोवा छोड़ कर जाना पड़ता, लेकिन शासन ने उस सत्याग्रह को चलने नहीं दिया। अब यदि सत्याग्रह का रास्ता बन्द है और जनता शांतिपूर्ण प्रयत्नों से पुर्तगाल की जेलों में पड़े हुए भारतीय बन्धुओं की स्वतन्त्रता के लिए कोई कदम नहीं उठा सकती, तो सरकार को यह स्पष्ट करना चाहिये कि गोवा की आजादी का उसके सामने कौन सा तरीका है।

[श्री वाजपेयी]

यह कहना कि पुर्तगाली साम्राज्य के विरुद्ध सारे ससार में रोष की लहर बढ़ रही है, अफ्रीका में प्रचन्ड आन्दोलन चल रहा है और पुर्तगाली साम्राज्यवाद के दिन इने-गिने हैं, और अगर अफ्रीका से पुर्तगाली साम्राज्य खत्म हो गया तो गोवा में कितने दिन तक वह रह सकता है, भारत के लिए कोई स्वाभिमान की बात नहीं है । अफ्रीका के लोगों की आजादी से, उन के आजादी के प्रयत्नों से गोवा आजाद हो जाये, क्या स्वतन्त्र भारत की जनता के लिए और उसकी भारतीय सरकार के लिए यह कोई बड़े गौरव की बात होगी? सारे संसार में हम साम्राज्यवाद के विरुद्ध, पूंजीवाद के विरुद्ध, आवाज उठाते हैं, भारत के प्रतिनिधि राष्ट्रसंघ में पूंजीवाद की निन्दा में प्रस्ताव लाते हैं और साम्राज्य वाद समाप्त होना चाहिये इस तरह की मांग करते हैं मगर अपनी छाती पर हम पुर्तगाली साम्राज्यवाद को सहन कर रहे हैं । अगर हम पूंजीवाद की समाप्ति चाहते हैं तो उस समाप्ति का आरम्भ गोवा की मुक्ति से होना चाहिये, और इस के लिए सरकार के सामने एक ही रास्ता है । सब प्रयत्न कर के वह देख चुकी है । और वह रास्ता यह है कि वह पुलिस कार्रवाई करे । इस के लिए पुर्तगाल को एक अल्टिमेटम देना आवश्यक है । कुछ दिनों से कहा जानें लगा है कि गोवा की आजादी के लिए अगर बल प्रयोग करना पड़े तो हम बल प्रयोग भी कर सकते हैं । मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूं । वह गोवा की आजादी के लिए ही नहीं, भारत की भूमि का कोई भी भाग हो, यदि उस पर पुर्तगाल का कब्जा हो, या कम्यूनिस्ट चीन का कब्जा हो या पाकिस्तान का कब्जा हो, और उस की आजादी के लिए बलप्रयोग की आवश्यकता हो तो बलप्रयोग होना चाहिये । लेकिन मुझे आश्चर्य होता है जो सुरक्षा मंत्री पुर्तगाल के विरुद्ध बल प्रयोग की बात करते हैं । वह यह भी स्वीचार करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं कि लद्दाख में चीन की फौजें आगे बढ़ी हैं या वह फौजें आगे बढ़ रही हैं । वह कहते हैं कि वे चीनी फौजें नहीं हैं बल्कि कुछ चीनी तत्व हैं । और फिर कहा जाता है कि और मसले हम शान्ति के साथ तैय करेंगे । हां गोआ में बल प्रयोग हो सकता है ।

मेरा निवेदन है कि बलप्रयोग की हर एक सरकार को छूट होती है, और सब सवालों को शान्ति से हल करने के हमारे मन्तव्य का यह अर्थ नहीं हो सकता कि हम अपनी सार्वभौम सत्ता पर, अपनी स्वतंत्रता पर, अपनी सुरक्षा पर जो संकट आया है उसके लिए भी बल का प्रयोग नहीं कर सकते । अहिंसा का यह अर्थ नहीं है । गांधी जी कहा करते थे कि मेरी अहिंसा में तलवार चलाने की जगह है और उन्हीं के आशीर्वाद से हमने काश्मीर को बचाने के लिए सेना भजी थी । अहिंसा या शान्ति से समस्याओं को हल करने का हमारा निश्चय गोवा की आजादी में बाधक नहीं बन सकता ।

हमने निश्चय किया है कि हम आक्रमण नहीं करेंगे, हम किसी की आजादी पर आंच नहीं लाएंगे, हम किसी की स्वतंत्रता को ललचायी हुई आंखों से नहीं देखेंगे, हम किसी की सुरक्षा के लिए संकट का कारण नहीं बनेंगे । लेकिन इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि जो हमारी भूमि पर आक्रमण करेगा उसका हम मुकाबला नहीं करेंगे । और पुर्तगाली बस्तियां क्या हैं ? भारत पर चार सौ साल से निरन्तर चलने वाला एक आक्रमण है, और इस आक्रमण को हटाने के लिए बलप्रयोग करना यह कोई अनैतिक कार्य नहीं है । यह वैध है, नैतिक है और अपनी सार्वभौम सत्ता की रक्षा के लिए यह हमारा

कर्तव्य है। यह हमारे स्वाभिमान के अनुकूल है।

गोआ की गुलामी हमारी स्वतंत्रता को अधूरा बनाती है, गोआ की गुलामी हमारी सुरक्षा के लिए संकट पैदा कर रही है, गोआ की गुलामी भारत की जनता को आजादी के आलोक से वंचित कर रही है, उपनिवेशवाद के विरुद्ध हमारी घोषणाओं का मजाक बना रही है। गोआ की गुलामी हमारे लिए एक चुनौती है, भारत की मरदानगी के लिए एक ललकार है, और अगर शासन समझता है कि उपनिवेशवाद के विरुद्ध उसकी घोषणाएं संसार में गम्भीरतापूर्वक ली जानी चाहिए, तो उसके लिए एक ही रास्ता है कि गोआ की आजादी के लिए सक्रिय कदम उठाए। हमने पुर्तगाल से अपने कूटनीतिक सम्बन्ध विच्छेद कर लिए, उसके विरुद्ध आर्थिक नाकेबन्दी भी की परन्तु वह विफल रही। संसार के जनमत को जगा कर भी हम पुर्तगाल के हिंसापूर्ण हृदय को नहीं बदल सके। अब हमारे सामने केवल एक ही रास्ता है कि हम पुर्तगाल से उस भाषा में बात करें जिसको वह समझता है। और पुर्तगाल एक ही भाषा को समझता है। पुर्तगाल से कह दिया जाए कि या तो तुम हमारी भूमि खाली कर दो नहीं तो जो तुम्हारी बची खुची सत्ता है उसको हम सागर में डुबो देंगे। भारत की जनता भारत की इन बस्तियों की गुलामी के कलंक के टीके को अब अपने माथे पर ज्यादा दिन बरदाश्त नहीं करेगी।

इसलिए मैंने सुझाव दिया है कि आगामी २६ जनवरी सन् १९६२ तक की तिथि निर्धारित कर दी जाए और पुर्तगाल से कह दिया जाए कि वह इस तिथि तक भारत की भूमि खाली करके चले जाइये। मेरा निवेदन है कि इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार को अपनी नीति स्पष्ट निर्धारित करनी चाहिए। कहा जाता है कि बल प्रयोग किया जाएगा। मगर उसके कोई लक्षण नहीं दिखायी देते। कुछ लोग यह भी आरोप लगाते हैं कि बल प्रयोग की बात इसलिए की जा रही है कि भारत की जनता का ध्यान चीन आक्रमण की ओर से हटाया जा सके। मैं तो इन आरोपों में विश्वास नहीं करता लेकिन ये आरोप लगाए जा रहे हैं और इनका सम्बन्ध बम्बई के एक चुनाव से जोड़ा जा रहा है। मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार को अपनी नीति स्पष्ट शब्दों में घोषित करनी चाहिये। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी कहें कि बल प्रयोग हो सकता है और हमारे वित्त मंत्री कहें कि बल प्रयोग करना ठीक नहीं है। इससे भ्रम पैदा होता है। इससे जो लोग गोआ की आजादी के लिए सहानुभूति रखते हैं उनको भी गलत विचार करने का मौका मिलता है। हमारी नीति स्पष्ट होनी चाहिए, और मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार इस प्रस्ताव का लाभ उठा कर गोआ के सम्बन्ध में अपनी नीति की स्पष्ट घोषणा करे।

जहां तक मेरा सवाल है, मैं तो यही चाहूंगा कि २६ जनवरी तक का पुर्तगाल को अल्टीमेटम दिया जाए और अगर वह इस अवधि में नहीं जाता तो पुलिस कार्रवाई की जाए। वह लड़ाई नहीं होगी, पुलिस कार्रवाई होगी। इसी प्रकार पुर्तगाल को भारत की भूमि छोड़ने के लिए विवश किया जा सकता है। इससे विश्वयुद्ध आरम्भ होने की सम्भावना नहीं है और न यह आशंका है कि नाटो राष्ट्र इसमें आ कूदेंगे। इसकी कोई सम्भावना नहीं है। यह हमारे और पुर्तगाल के बीच का मामला है। इसके लिए हमारी सरकार में दृढ़ता चाहिए, जरा पुरुषत्व चाहिए और गुलामी को मिलने वाली चुनौतियों का सफलतापूर्वक सामना करने का साहस चाहिए।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Amendments Nos. 1 and 2 are now before the House. The resolution as well as the amendments are now before the House for discussion.

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): The hon. Mover of the resolution is a Bengali, and as a Bengali, he should be familiar with the characteristics of a Bengal tiger. A Bengal tiger just leaps into action; he gives no ultimatum; he gives no notice.

Shri Vajpayee: The hon. Mover is from UP.

Shri Joachim Alva: He just leaps into action, and he just springs into action without any notice. A strong armed man has to give no notice; he takes action without any notice. In the case of Goa, likewise, we shall have to take action without any notice. It is not in consonance with the dignity of our nation that we give an ultimatum to a puny power like Portugal which can be wiped off from the map of Europe or whose possessions in India can be wiped off by our own Forces and even by a handful of or own patriotic, nay, illiterate folk.

It is true that we have made a mistake in the past. Time has slipped by. But let us not ruminate on our blunder. Our blunder was that in 1947, we did not occupy Goa without any notice and without any ultimatum.

When the British Cabinet Mission gave their last press conference, at which the late Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Alexander and the late Lord Pethick-Lawrence were present, I asked them a question as to what the attitude of the Government of Great Britain would be in regard to Goa, after the attainment of Independence by India. Sir Stafford Cripps just shrugged his shoulders, and consulted his neighbour to his left and his neighbour to his right and said certain words which I have not forgotten even till today, namely "that it would be a matter for the future Government of India." With all this explicit statement by a responsible Cabinet Mission like that, which is as good as a British Cabinet declaration, the Government of Britain and their representatives have not been fair to us. They have not done fair justice to us.

We have no objection if the Foreign Secretary of Her Majesty's Government, Lord Home goes and pays a visit to Portugal, and even the liberal parts of the British press denounce it. But what we object to is that when some non-violent satyagraha was led by Mr. Tony Desouza, a young man, right in 1955-56, and he was taken as prisoner in Goa, the High Commissioner of Britain should have walked into our Foreign Office and registered perhaps a note of protest, and we also perhaps sat idling thereafter. This was what happened when we wanted to take some action, when Mr. Tony Desouza, a non-violent young man, walked into Goa and he was awarded eight years' jail. (So please!). At that time, five thousand Hindu women wept from Majali seeing D'Souza crossing the borders of Goa. It was a great feat for a young man of Goa, a Goan Christian, as well as for the Hindu women to have visibly shown such sympathy for a Satyagrahi on our side of the border. On this occasion, I shall not fail to pay my humble tribute to some of the valiant men from that side who went and courted imprisonment. But, we, for our part, had to follow the policy of the Congress Party. The policy of the Congress Party is one of non-violence. And, therefore, we have not taken any action in regard to Goa. We cannot say one thing at the forum of the United Nations and do something else on the border of Goa.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Is satyagraha violent? (*Interruptions*).

Shri Joachim Alva: I did not interrupt my hon. friends when they were speaking. So, let them not interrupt me when I am speaking.

Our policy is one of non-violence. The declared policy of the Congress Party has been one of non-violence. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Non-violent men should not be assaulted like that. Let us hear the hon. Member.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: What did the Congress Party do in Kerala? Was that not satyagraha?

Shri Joachim Alva: When we are preaching non-violence on the floor of the United Nations, we cannot adopt violence ourselves. After all, Goa is a tiny little thing. I have seen our sailors and navy-men and air-men saying that they would just jump and take over Goa, but they have not yet received the orders. They cannot receive orders, because they too are governed by the philosophy of non-violence which is the cardinal sheetanchor of our policy.

I pay my tribute to my hon. friends on the other side who have been to Goa jails in this connection, and a harder jail at that; their jail life was much harder than what we ourselves suffered inside the British prison-walls.

My hon. friend, Shri Goray, was there all alone. Then there was Shri V. G. Deshpande who has now a little trouble in the heart. And I would be pained to know that that trouble started inside Goa jails. Then again Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri went there. We should really take our hats off to these pioneers who said that this Parliament shall not remain empty without at least one Member going and suffering there for the freedom of Goa, inside Goa jails.

There are others. There is the great Sahodrabai who became a Member of this Parliament, who went to the borders of Goa and bared her chest and was shot down. An announcement by the Prime Minister said that she was no more. Then the Prime Minister came the next day and announced to a very very happy House that she was alive, though her hand is still lacerated and she cannot move it this way or that.

This again goes to prove the theory that the best and greatest women of India are the women who did not know a word of the English language. It is a great thing that we have women on this side of the House or that side, women like Sahodrabai who went to Goa and bared her chest and took those bullet wounds. We can have faith in our future with such great valiant, silent women who believe in action, who perhaps had not been tutored in the Universities, who have known the hard way of life, who are illiterate, but who can give a wonderful account of themselves on behalf of the motherland, as no other man or woman could.

I am sorry that she is not here.

Shri Morarka (Jhunjhunu): She is here.

Shri Joachim Alva: I would like to pay her this tribute, which she richly deserves, because she is a symbol of Indian womanhood; silent, illiterate, untrained in university ideas, not knowing the English language, but yet when the time of action came, went forward and gallantly played her part. We have also the example of Sudha Joshi who quietly went and suffered. To all these men and women, I am glad to pay my humble tribute.

It is not an easy task to supplant the Portuguese in Goa right at present. I shall not either over-estimate or under-estimate it. We have the strength of ten men. But look at Pakistan. It has got a three-pronged drive against us. Pakistan has got active liaison with Portugal, with the Portuguese authorities and Portuguese diplomats and also with Goa. She is sent goods there to break our economic boycott. Our policy of economic sanctions was a failure. Pakistan has pricked us on the Kashmir front also and has made terms with China. Then again, it has got a declared or undeclared policy by which she is sending her population down into Assam and disturbing the balance there.

We have got very serious problems on our borders and we have to think of them in very serious terms. A nation which is really strong does not believe in idle threats. No doubt, an ultimatum was given to the British

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Government. But we must distinguish between the motives and philosophy which guide the British Government and the Portuguese Government. The British, whatever might be said against them, have been trained in some kind of liberal traditions, and even in Africa they are giving up one territory after another; they are walking out of Africa, whatever be the troubles facing the representatives of the people there. But not so Portugal. Portugal has destroyed the culture of Goa. It tells its citizens: 'Do not write in the Marathi script. Do not write in any of the Indian languages.' It tells its citizens, Catholic or Hindu, 'You must learn my language, the Portuguese language'. No Goan in Goa has become a Cardinal or a priest or a bishop in the Church in Goa. Yet it boasts to be the defender of the Catholic faith. What defender of the Catholic faith can it be, I cannot understand, when in Angola it has indulged in the most inhuman atrocities possible.

Portugal told our first representative to Portugal when he went there: "Well, the Pope once divided Goa." They meant to say, you may as well go to hell. The Pope may have divided 500 years ago. The Pope cannot divide territories today. 500 years ago, the world was divided into colonial territories. We do not know what the condition of the world was then. Everybody wanted to grab territories. May I say in all humility that the Pope will not say today that Goa belongs to Portugal and that he can divide it? On the other hand, when the hon. Prime Minister met the last Pope, a very learned and holy man, he said: 'This is not a religious question at all'. By which he meant to say that we could take any action against Portugal.

Now, this is the situation. Also, let us remember that we cannot give an ultimatum to Portugal in the manner that we gave an ultimatum in the Indian National Congress to the British Government on the banks of the Ravi near Lahore. There we acted quickly and swiftly. We went on the Dandi March. That was not successful. Then we launched the Quit India campaign and thereafter we became successful. We have become successful politically. But still we have got many pin-pricks. We have got a crown of thorns on our head, a crown with thorns represented by Pakistan with its three-pronged drive against us, with Portugal possessing Goa and with the Chinese menacing. These are all real dangers. We should take stock of the situation. Not that we are going to overlook Goa. But even the hon. Prime Minister during this year has made a very very substantial advance in his own statements during the last ten years, when he declared in this House during this Session that he will not rule out military action. That itself is a very great improvement on our earlier policy. That very declaration has startled the powers of the world, startled our friends and our foes, and the Chancelleries of the world.

Even the Americans are turning round in the sense that whereas Mr. Dulles said that Goa was a Portuguese pocket and was within the sphere of the NATO, Mr. Stevenson says now that Goa has the right of self-determination; though he did not say that Goa shall belong to India and shall be integrated into India. Perhaps the next Government of the United States may make that statement. But they themselves made a great improvement when they said that Goa shall have self-determination.

My hon. friend is raising his hand. True, we are not satisfied. But let us be sure that the conscience of the world has been roused, that the Government of India right now with all its resources, assets and liabilities and deficiencies cannot perhaps take immediate action, but the action will come without any notice, without any warning, and then my hon. friends on the other side and this side will all be happy about the desired results.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Goa symbolises, perhaps epitomises as few other things do, the awful deficiency of the foreign policy of India when it concerns the vital interests of the nation. That foreign policy is magnificently successful in advancing, in upholding and in strengthening the interests of other nations, but awfully deficient in defending, upholding and maintaining the interests of this country.

I am reminded of a small episode in 1946 when the first satyagraha was launched by Dr. Lohia, known in Goa's history as the Jai Hind Movement. Some of us were there operating as volunteers. Dr. Lohia suddenly asked us to leave Goa and come back. We did not like it. The reason was a letter from Mahatma Gandhi which he read out to those angry young men. This was what Gandhiji had written in that letter:

> "Negotiations are going on for the transfer of power to India and I do not want anybody to act in a manner which will create additional problems for Jawaharlal. Goa's problem will be solved once India is free."

Millions of Indians agreed with Mahatmaji that once India was free, we would not be subjected to the humiliation, to this galling shame that a part of India would remain under the occupation of the most backward, the weakest and almost unknown nation of Europe. Unfortunately, all these hopes and all these expectations have been proved to be wrong during the past 15 years. One is constrained to say that though, of course, the Prime Minister and many Members on the opposite side perhaps deeply feel this shame, this agony, they have not perhaps been able to muster up the necessary degree of determination, and one may even add, courage.

15 years have elapsed. And what is the policy of the Government of India towards Goa? We run from one statement to another, and the policy towards Goa has eventually degenerated into an annual ritual, that on the 15th of August and on the 26th of January, saluting the tricolour flag the Prime Minister, and of course, the provincial satraps, must utter this homily to the people of Goa that the evolution of India, the freedom of India, will not be complete until Goa is liberated and becomes a part of India. Then the small question remains: what is it that prevents you from doing this? Of course, we hear now a sermon on our being dedicated to non-violence. The hon. Shri Joachim Alva is doing a little injustice to a speech delivered by Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, our Defence Minister, only the other day in the United Nations, that it is an element of sovereignty, that a sovereign nation is entitled to, nay, shall be called upon and is bound to, use even force in the defence of its interests.

Let us not get involved in this mumbo jumbo and mask of non-violence. We hear too much of it here. It is perhaps trite and common, but it does not lie well in the mouth of the rulers who, on the smallest pretext, use guns in quelling riots at home, to talk of non-violence in dealing with aggressors. In deference to the memory of the Father of the Nation, let us not make mention of non-violence to conceal, to take shelter and to shield our own weakness of indecision and many other not very palatable, not very pleasing, not very edifying weaknesses.

I will be now referring another thing that is going on. A plethora of committees is being set up in the country. Every day we read about a new convention, a new action committee, a campaign being launched to liberate Goa, and very important, to awaken the public opinion in this country on the issue of Goa. Nothing can be more insulting, and nothing can be more helpful to the cause of

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Salazar than to go on claiming that we need to awaken public opinion in this country. We need to awaken those sleeping, I do not want to say Ministers, and to rid this country of shibboleths. The country is awakened, united and determined, and if any evidence of this single-minded determination of this country was needed, we saw it on the 15th August, 1955. From Kashmir to Cape Comorin, from Assam to Cutch there were rallies of the sons and daughters of India.

What was the policy of the Government of India? Here was the first great demonstration of this undying unity of India. Here is one man who will bear witness to what I say. In spite of the fact that recently he has discovered unknown virtues in the Congress, my hon. friend Shri Khadilkar, a colleague of mine in the Goa Vimochan Samiti, will bear me out. What did we say? Having waited for the Government of India to discharge this duty of redeeming their pledge to the people of India to remove the last vestiges of foreign rule from our soil, a pledge given to the people of India on the 26th January on the banks of the Ravi,—not only what is called India today, but it included Goa and Pondicherry and all other parts also—and the Government having failed, the people thought it was their duty to do it, and as they knew it, they were trying to follow the path of the Mahatma. It does not lie in the mouth of the spokesmen of the defenders of this Government to refer to non-violence. It was the people who took to the path of non-violence and tried to liberate Goa, and what was the attitude of the Government of India?

On the 15th August, speaking from the ramparts of the Red Fort, no less a person than the Prime Minister had these words to say. Referring to the heroism of Subadra Devi, he said: "If I were young and if I were free, I would be marching with those who are going in the direction of Goa with the tricolour in their hands." And what was the truth? Shri Khadilkar will bear me out. It was the police of the then Government of Bombay who were using every means to stop them, not to persuade them, and in the end we saw lathis being used, and in Bombay bullets being used. What a demonstration of a policy of determination to liberate Goa! Once again, for heaven's sake, remember this that twelve people died in Bombay as a result of this firing on this side, when the others were fighting in Goa non-violently. And I am reminded of the slogan that the marching satyagrahis, a band of Biharis, U.P. men and other sons of India, spontaneously used. When they heard about this tragedy that not only were the satyagrahis beaten, shot and fired upon, but died of Indian bullets as a result of this liberating policy of our Government, this was the slogan which they gave to—I do not want to quote the Minister concerned, because it is probably unfair, and I do not wish to drag names into this, but this is the slogan:

" .... की काली गोली,
सालाजार की सफ़ेद गोली,
मौत में कोई फ़र्क नहीं है,
भारत गोआ अलग नहीं है ।"

There they were dying as victims of Salazar's police; here they were dying of these nonviolent bullets, but they were dying in the same cause. What is the policy of the Government of India?

Why do you not resort to the elementary right of a sovereign nation? What inhibits you, stops you, prevents you? Subterfuges are resorted to here. It is said there is world opinion, there is NATO. We have tried again and again to convince and drive this point home to this Government that NATO dare not, cannot, will not, lift its small finger if India exercises its sovereign

right to liberate and defend its territory. The truth is this: we want is stopping us; it is our own indecision, our own lack of determination, our own timidity that is stopping us. It is not the fear of NATO. NATO is only being used. How dare can NATO covers, excuses. It is not NATO that come?

I may here cite one example. Some of us come from that region with half of our relatives in Goa, and feel the pinch, the shame, the humiliation of it. We were trying to see what the world opinion was because often in this House it was held that opinion in Europe was not favourable to India. What did we do to galvanise, marshal and convert that opinion? Portugal was going on with one propaganda and myth. It was very simple, and it was this. They were distributing literature to this eiect that though geographically Goa might be part of India, but ethnically, religiously and linguistically it was Portuguese; that Goa might have belonged to India in the same way as, once upon a time, New Zealand might have belonged to the Maoris. This was the dangerous lie they were spreading. The Goa Committee tried to explode this myth. Pamphlets were distributed by the Portuguese Embassy in 1956 giving names of persons from this House as criminals who, not finding employment in India, were trying to go into Goa as satyagrahis.

What was the response of our Embassies and Missions? I do not want to go into the story. But I will give one more example to drive home this point, to show how indifferent they were, how uninformed they were, how unconcerned they were about it. In Rome there was a demonstration led by youths from many countries before the Portuguese Embassy. A report of it appeared in the *Times of India*, and the hon. Member also published a report of it in his *Forum*. This was a demonstration of international youth. The next day we called on a very senior official of our Embassy. We foreign capital the youths from so many countries came and denounced Portuguese colonialism and pledged their support to the Goan people in their struggle to throw off this yoke. Condescendingly we were told that they did not know anything about such a demonstration. Then I ventured to say, because I had Italian friends, that it had appeared in *Italia*, a leading paper, with a picture. I was informed that they did not read Italian papers. Without mentioning names, I tried to bring this to the notice of the Prime Minister a year or two later when I became Prime Minister—sorry, when I became a Member of this House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We all wish him well!

Shri Nath Pai: I had an opportunity of talking with the Prime Minister, and when we brought this point home, the Prime Minister said: sometimes individual private Members can do more than the Government can do.

Take the issue of galvanising public opinion, take the issue of creating world public opinion. Do we ever find in any communique issued by the Government of India after the visit of a foreign dignitary that the Prime Minister had raised this issue with the visiting Prime Minister or President? No. We raise the issue of Chinese admission to the United Nations, but our own vital issue is not pursued. What is your policy?

I do submit, though I do not shout, that I am speaking with deep personal knowledge when I say that there was a letter from the British Prime Minister, Mr. MacMillan to Mr. Anthony Wedgewood Benn, Chairman of the Goa Committee of the House of Commons, which was an all-party committee, in which he said that if India so desired, Britain would be willing to use its good offices. Of course, I would be one with the Prime Minister that we do not go begging anybody's aid, but certainly it should be part of our strategy that we try to

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gain the opinion of others, the good offices of others.

Shri Joachim Alva: On a point of information. My hon. friend is unfair to the hon. Prime Minister. The Canadian Prime Minister made a declaration here that Goa was not within NATO as a result of the talks he must have had with our Prime Minister.

But the Canadian Prime Minister went back on his word and said that it is in NATO.

Shri Nath Pai: He does not like to be interrupted but I like interruptions provided they are relevant and cogent. I would welcome them.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I would be concluding soon and I would make this point. We saw the effort of the people of India, we saw the attitude of the Government of India and we saw the failure of the Government of India to use the international forum, we saw their failure to use diplomatic means to liberate Goa. Now, what remains is the first right of a sovereign nation to use its army. After all, we do not have a very fine Army of brave men, we do not have a first-class Navy of brave men and an Air Force of first-rate boys, only to make demonstrations on the 26th January. It is needed on the Himalayan border, it is needed in Kashmir, and if it is needed anywhere it is now in Goa. Nobody will blame; but posterity will bless those who had not used the Army for something better than ceremonial parades, something better than presenting guards of honour to visiting dignitaries.

I would like to have one example where a nation has been condemned by anybody for having defended itself. It has been condemned and it has been mocked and it has been ridiculed and it has sunk down when it has failed to use its force, its strength, its determination to defend itself.

We have seen the agony of Goa for so long. One after another, we have heard the stories of the agony, the torture through which the soul of Goa is passing, not one day, not two days but for the past 14 years and the agony has become aggravated. It has become more poignant, and therefore, perhaps, more intolerable because 438 million big brothers see across the border 600,000 brothers of their own being penalised, being tortured and being crucified for the simple crime of saying *'Jai Hind'*. If any house has this sign, anybody can be dragged and beaten to death. If we want to stop this, there is one way only for the Government of India, to make up its mind. We have given enough warnings to the world; no warnings were necessary. No threats were necessary; no speeches in the United Nations were necessary because every self-respecting nation accepts India's right. Little Dahomey did that. Only we must take one precaution. That is, after the Portuguese, when they will be compelled to leave as they will be, this Government will be compelled by the people of India to act. It will be roused from its lethargy, its inaction, its indecision, its lack of determination by the people of India.

I do not agree that the present change in its policy, the present talk of arms is only to win votes. I do believe and I want to believe, and I am trying to persuade myself to believe that it is really the result of the growing pressure of the people of India and the Government will act. We will liberate Goa, therefore, by this energetic policy and integrate Goa with India. We will just complete the revolution of our own freedom. We will give the biggest single boost to the people in Africa, in Angola particularly, in Mozambique and Algeria and other parts fighting and we shall, perhaps, in the process have given a warning to all aggressors against India that we mean business,

that we are determined. We shall in this process, have provided due courage to our small neighbours who are beginning to totter in the presence of big neighbours because they are seeing India cannot defend herself. Goa's liberation, therefore, has this wider significance. I, therefore, plead with them in conclusion to abandon this policy as it is said in Gita

" कुतस्ते कस्मलमिदं विषमे समुपस्थितं "

Abandon this kind of indecision and act.

Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khandesh): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I, in the first place, join in the tribute which my hon. friend, Shri Banerjee has paid to all these martyrs, who fell for the cause of liberating Goa. I remember well what happened on 15th August, 1955 when I as the Chairman of the Goa Vimochan Committee had to face difficulties organising a march which, on account of the intervention of the then Government of Bombay came to such a sorry pass. May I point out this? While they are talking of liberating Goa, at that time, what the Government of Bombay did was to prevent the use of trucks for the conveyance of those volunteers, nearly 1200 of them to the borders of Goa. They actually marched on foot 65 miles before they reached the Goa border.

I do not desire to take more time of the House but I desire to concentrate the attention of the House on one aspect. Does the Government of India really mean business? If so, I will tell them that there is a movement afoot for establishing a parallel government for free Goa in India. I would like to know from Government whether it is their policy to give facilities to such a parallel government if it is established on Indian soil, to fight for the liberation of Goa or whether they will oppose it. That is the crucial test and today I demand an answer from the Government of India to this. If they are not prepared to allow even a parallel government to be established on Indian soil, then, I for one would say that all this tall talk about liberating Goa is nothing but a vote-catching device and the people will understand it soon.

I do not desire to take up more time of the House because I asked only for two minutes which you were pleased to give me. I only want to highlight this one question and let not that question be side-tracked.

Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan (Coimbatore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, all the speakers who have spoken before me have emphasised most effectively the necessity for a very firm and decisive policy on the part of the Government of India on the question of the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. For the last so many years we have been hearing, again and again, how this question of Goa and the liberation of Goa is to be settled by peaceful methods. While this talk of peaceful settlement goes on from our side, we find on the other side, not only in Goa but on a world-wide scale also, that those who are by birth Indian nationals, who have the same birthright as we in the rest of India have, are being forced to face the most inciting behaviour, the most insulting treatment and also treatment which the Prime Minister himself has categorised as treatment that could well be treatment that existed in the medieval ages.

There have been stories galore of the treatment of Indian nationals in the jails in Goa; they are languishing in the prisons there. I do not think there is any need for me to repeat them here on the floor of the House because every bit of news that we have heard has been one more dagger in the heart of any self-respecting Indian.

When this resolution comes up today it gives us an opportunity to remind Government that when a revolt

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is there against the Salazar empire throughout the world, when a revolt is there even in the continent that used to be called a 'dark continent', then, it is high time that we do not allow time to pass by but we help to liberate Goa and to claim what is our own and not what belongs to some one else. This is all what we are asking of the Government and of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister himself, we have noticed in recent times, has been forced, as a result of public opinion in our country, and in view of the objective behaviour of the Portuguese themselves, to hint that it may be necessary to use force in order to liberate this part of our territory.

Shri Banerjee has already referred to that. So, I do not propose to take up more time on that. But I would like to remind the Deputy Minister who had been recently to my part of the country.

She has been very eloquent in appealing to people on the issue of national integration. I would like to ask her when she talks in terms of national intergration and calls upon the people of our country to consider themselves as one whole: why does she foreget this part of our country, which is a sore in the eyes of liberated India. Why does not she think of integrating Goa also with India and thus make India one whole and thus enable us to claim that here we are, truly a free and independent country and a united country. When we talk of national integration, whether it be a college union or a public meeting or on the floor of this Parliament or an election meeting, let us remember that there is Goa which has to be integrated with our country. The people of Goa are suffering under the foreign rule far worse indignities and brutalities than even the people of our country suffered in the days of British Imperialism. We cannot shut our eyes to this fact and certainly people of Goa and the relations of those who have been martyrs in the cause of the freedom and liberation of Goa have a right to turn round and ask: you talk of national integration, all the people of country being one; you forget about Goa; you forget about the sacrifices that have been made by the people of India as a whole, of the people of the surrounding areas and of the people inside Goa for the liberation of this part of our country. It took the Government of India many years to recognise that the people had taken the law in their own hands and heroically fought and liberated one part of our territory from Portuguese imperialism. It was only in the last session that we passed an Act for Dadra and Nagar Haveli. At that time the Government was called upon to take firm action with regard to Goa. Yet the Government has not moved in the matter. Only this morning we had an adjournment motion here on a further provocation on the side of the Portuguese by firing on a passenger ship going from Bombay to Cochin. These are the sort of indignities and insults which not only those who inhabit Goa but others also are called upon to face. Because of the weak and rather insipid attitude, if I may call it so, of our Government, the Portuguese Government is arrogant enough to behave in this manner and even goes to attack an innocent passenger ship. These are all factors which should make us realise how important it is in order to take firm action. Those who come from that area will bear me out when I say that here in Goa is a pocket where wide-scale smuggling is encouraged and carried on and it naturally affects the economy of our country. Similarly, we also know that through Goa various Pakistani espionage activities are carried on and in this way here in the very middle of our country, in a strategic area on the west coast with port facilities, there is a place from where various types of conspiracies and espionage activities can be carried on by all those who may have inimical

objectives towards our country and our people. So, it is not only a case of liberating part of our soil but in liberating that part of our soil which is necessary, we will also be further strengthening and safeguarding that Independence which has been won after years of heroic struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who has been quoted on this question by so many other hon. Members. It is for these reasons that I would support this resolution of my hon. friend, Shri S. M. Banerjee, and call upon the Deputy Minister, for once at least, to create history here, on the floor of the House by accepting this resolution, and in so doing, also to add one more feather in the fight for Independence that our people have carried on against foreign imperialism, both British, French and also Portuguese for a long time.

Where the French question has been concerned, there have been the issues that have been under dispute, the question of the *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry and so on. All these issues are there under the consideration of the Government. But the French Government has behaved in a totally different manner from the Portuguese. It is the Portuguese who have thought that they could continue to keep our own part of the country under the hold of imperialism and have not recognised the strength of our country, nor recognised as yet that in the world that exists today, colonialism is on the wane and it is liberation from imperialism that is today the growing philosophy and the growing strength of the peoples of the world as a whole.

When in Africa, movements are growing against them, when a bit of war is being fought in Angola, when the people in Angola also look towards our big country for moral support, we feel that if here in India a firm action and firm stand is taken against Portuguese imperialism, that could certainly have its action on the policy of Portugal towards Angola. When that is the picture today on the world scene, I would request the Deputy Minister to take the resolution of Shri S. M. Banerjee and to accept the suggestions made therein and give us the assurance here and now that immediately firm action will be taken on this question by the Government *vis a vis* the Portuguese Government, and thus ensure the liberation of Goa.

Several Hon. Members *rose*—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Everytime, like the flashlight in the exhibition, I have been moving my eyes, but nobody stood up from this side. Shri D. C. Sharma.

Shri D. C. Sharma: (Gurdaspur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, if I have understood the resolution of Shri S. M. Banerjee aright, I think he wants us only to deliver an ultimatum to the Portuguese Government, namely, that they should quit the soil of India. That resolution has been amended by an hon. Member of this House who has said that they should be asked to quit by the 26th January, 1962. Of course, the kernel of the resolution and the amendment lies in this that we must give the ultimatum. I thing if an ultimatum is needed, we have given already so many ultimatums. These ultimatums have come not only from the Government of India but also from the people of India. I join my hon. friends in paying my homage to those martyrs who fought the battle of liberation so far as Goa is concerned.

While my hon. friend was talking about the martyrs from every State of India, he forgot that there were some martyrs from the State of Punjab also.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I have mentioned them; the hon. Member has not heard them.

Shri D. C. Sharma: I do not want to raise that issue. What I mean to say is that I pay my unstinted tribute to all those martyrs who fought there. I am also full of respect for those

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

patriotic people inside Goa and those patriotic Goans in other parts of India and also for the Indian nationals who are trying to liberate Goa in all kinds of ways. I do not think any Member of this House, to whatever party he may belong, will be found wanting in adoration—I do not want to use the word 'admiration'—of all these fighters and all these liberators.

17 hrs.

I need not go far off this place. Here I find Shri Tribid Kumar Chaudhuri to my right. I also find my sister sitting over there quietly in a corner, so that she may not be noticed. Here are a brother and a sister who have suffered at the hands of the Portuguese people. If any reminders were needed of Portuguese tyranny, Portuguese brutality and Portuguese cruelty, I think those reminders are with us and we are not forgetful of them. Therefore, I would say that the first ultimatum was given by the people of India.

Then, we instituted what are called economic sanctions. Economic sanctions also are a kind of ultimatum. People who know the value of these sanctions know very well that they are also a very big step in achieving those objectives which my friends have in view. But we had to relax some of them, because they brought trouble to the people of Goa. That was not our intention to cause any trouble to the people of Goa. Since those sanctions went in some cases against . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Does the hon. Member intend to finish in two or three minutes?

Shri D. C. Sharma: No, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then, he may continue next time.

17.03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, November 25, 1961/Agrahayana 4, 1883 (Saka).