

# LOK SABHA DEBATES

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**Fourteenth Session, 1966/1887-88 (Saka)**

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LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT

NEW DELHI

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## LOK SABHA DEBATES

12699

12700

### LOK SABHA

Monday, April 25, 1966/Vaisakha 5,  
1888 (Saka).

*The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the  
Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

#### OBITUARY REFERENCE

**Mr. Speaker:** I have to inform the House of the sad demise of Shri Rajendra Singh in New Delhi on the 22nd April 1966.

Shri Rajendra Singh was a Member of the Second Lok Sabha during the years 1957—62.

We deeply mourn the loss of this friend. I am sure the House will join me in conveying our condolences to the bereaved family.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee** (Calcutta Central): Like most of us here, I was shocked to hear of the news of the demise of our friend, Shri Rajendra Singh. It comes as such a surprise because he has been taken away in the prime of his life. It was quite frequently that in the Central Hall, and in the Lobbies we would meet him and he would come and talk to us. A young, pleasant colleague, he was, whose working in this House also we had learnt to cherish, when he was here in the Second Lok Sabha. I am really stunned to hear of the news of his sudden passing away.

I had not the foggiest notion that he was suffering from any particular ailment and the news comes to us as a real, sudden and poignant shock.

I am sure you would convey to the family of the deceased the feelings of

very deep sorrow of all sections of the House at the passing away of our young friend.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy** (Kendrapara): The sudden demise of Shri Rajendra Singh is such a personal loss. It is very difficult for me to say anything about him at this moment.

But while expressing my condolences and sympathies to his family, I would like one thing to be inquired into by Government. I was told that he was admitted to the hospital in time, yet what the disease he was suffering from was not properly detected and diagnosed, as a result of which he passed away. He was suffering from appendicitis and that burst, leading to his death. This is really tragic, if this had happened. I would specially like Government to make an inquiry into this matter.

We are all sorry that we lost such a valued comrade in the prime of his life. I am sure the House will convey its condolences to the bereaved family.

**श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री राजेन्द्र सिंह जी के निधन पर मैं और मेरा दल शोक के साथ अपनी गहरी हमदर्दी जाहिर करता है, और साथ ही यह कहना चाहूंगा कि ऐसी मौत जो कि डाक्टरों की लापरवाही से होती है या उनकी कमियों से होती है वह उन व्यक्तियों के साथ जो एक खिलवाड़ होता ही है, इससे लोगों के घनद निराशा फैल जाती है कि इस तरह से लोगों की तरह मर जाते हैं। मैं जरूर चाहूंगा कि इसके लिए खास तौर से एनक्वाय हो। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं गहरा शोक प्रकट करता हूँ।

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** I associate myself with the feelings that have been expressed by you, Mr. Speaker, and my colleagues opposite in expressing our sorrow and sense of shock at the sudden demise of a very lovable colleague, Shri Rajendra Singh.

He always played a very active role as a Member of this Parliament. He was a dynamic person with progressive ideas, and although for some years he was no longer in Lok Sabha, most of us had the pleasure of meeting him in the lobbies and in the Central Hall, when we noticed that he continued his interest in public affairs, and we, in fact, were hoping that he would be amongst us after the next general election, but the cruel hand of death has snatched him away, and we are all extremely sorry at this sudden shock.

I myself was greatly grieved to learn of his having been taken ill suddenly, and I was making enquiries. I came to know that he had already expired.

He was a very gentle person, very lovable person, and we have all possible sympathy for his aged father and his aged mother who have been personally shocked by the loss of such a promising young man.

About the other matter that has been raised by Shri Dwivedy and my hon. friend opposite, Shri Bagri, we will certainly look into it, but the preliminary information that we have indicates that the doctors tried to do the best for him. But we will look into the particular aspect that has been mentioned by my friends opposite.

*The Members then stood in silence for a short while.*

#### ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

##### Recovery of Missing Persons from Fazilka Sector

+

\*1307 Shri Yashpal Singh:

Shri Bagri:

Shri Vishram Prasad:

Shri Kishen Pattnayak:  
Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia:  
Shri Karni Singhji:  
Shri Hukam Chand  
Kachhavaia:  
Shri Bade:  
Shri Hem Barua:  
Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:  
Shri S. L. Verma:  
Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:  
Shri S. C. Samanta:  
Shri Subodh Hansda:  
Shri P. C. Borooah:  
Shri M. L. Dwivedi:  
Shri Basumatari:

Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether about 6 dozen persons who were found missing from Fazilka Sector have been recovered from Pakistan; and

(b) if not, the steps taken by Government to recover those persons from Pakistan?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) and (b). 117 Indian nationals were reported missing from the Fazilka Sector after the September India-Pakistan hostilities. 116 of them were repatriated on 23rd December, 1965.

The case of the remaining person has been taken up with the Pakistan Government.

**श्री यशपाल सिंह:** क्या सरकार को यह भी ज्ञान है कि जिस तरह से लेडी डाक्टर को जामूसी के सन्देह में गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया था उसी तरह से कुछ ऐसे लोग भी गिरफ्तार किए गए हैं जिन का सरकार को बोध नहीं है, और उन का क्या हो रहा है ?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** उन्होंने बताया कि फाजिलका से 117 प्रादमी लापता थे उनमें से 116 प्रा गए हैं।

**श्री यशपाल सिंह :** इसके मुनाल्लिक भारत सरकार क्या कर रही है ? क्या नामला

है, किस वजह से वह रोके हुए हैं, पाकिस्तान के पास नहीं है या देने से इन्कार करते हैं, या क्या मामला है ?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** On April 7th, 1966, the Government of Punjab informed us that there was one person still missing from the Fazilka sector. The name of this person is Gurdit Singh. We have taken up his repatriation with the Government of Pakistan who have not yet given any information about him.

**श्री बागड़ी :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं विदेश मंत्री का ध्यान इस ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि 117 जो गुम हुए उन में से 116 पा गए। ये धाकड़े किम आधार पर दिए गए हैं ? विदेश मंत्री को खुद पता है कि जिस वक्त वहाँ हमला हुआ उस वक्त बहुत से लोग मारे गए थे और कुछ की लाशें नहीं मिलीं थीं। तो ये जो गुम बतलाए गए हैं इन में वे लोग भी शामिल हैं जिनकी लाशें नहीं मिलीं। या उनके धाकड़े को प्रत्यक्ष इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं। इस का क्या हिसाब है ?

**श्री स्वर्ण सिंह :** जो मर गए हैं और जिनकी लाशें नहीं मिलीं उनका जिक्र इनमें बजाहिर नहीं हो सकता। मिसिंग की कुल तादाद थी 117 और इनमें से एक नहीं आया है। जो मरे हैं पर निजकी लाशें नहीं मिलीं वे इनमें शामिल नहीं हो सकते।

**श्री बागड़ी :** मेरे सवाल को मंत्री महोदय नहीं समझे हैं। मैं समझा दूँ। गुम का मतलब तो यह होता है कि जो लोग उन गांवों में थे जब हमला हुआ था और उस वक्त नहीं मिले थे। जिस वक्त हमला हुआ उस वक्त काफी लोग मारे गये थे, जिन में बच्चे भी थे, औरतें भी थी और मर्द भी थे। उस वक्त काफी तादाद में लाशें पाकिस्तानी से गये थे और लाशें हिन्दुस्तान को नहीं मिली थीं। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि विदेश मंत्री महोदय ने किम आधार पर हिसाब लगा कर यह बताया है ?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** These persons were 53 men, 28 women and 35 children, eight above twelve years of age, eighteen between three and 12 years and nine children below one year, totalling 116, from Fazilka sector of the Punjab border who were arrested and detained by Pakistan during the India-Pakistan hostilities of September were repatriated on 23 December 1965. This information that I am giving relates specifically to these persons who were arrested, detained and later on repatriated.

**श्री बिधाम प्रसाद :** मंत्री महोदय ने बताया है कि जो घादमी नहीं मिला है उसका नाम गुरदित सिंह है। जिस वक्त कैदियों का घादान प्रदान हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के बीच हुआ था उस वक्त सरकार को यह नहीं मालूम था कि हमारा एक घादमी अभी नहीं मिला है ? यदि पता था तो उस वक्त क्या कार्यवाही की गयी ? अब आप कर रहे हैं कि आपने लिखा है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उस वक्त क्या कार्यवाही की गई थी ?

**श्री स्वर्ण सिंह :** उसी वक्त पता था कि 117 घादमी हैं। पाकिस्तान ने जिन को पकड़ा था 116 उनमें से वापिस आ गए हैं। तहकीकात के बाद ही मैंने आपको इतिला दी है कि उसका भी पता लग गया है। उम्मीद है कि यह घादमी भी पाकिस्तान से वापिस आ जाएगा।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** क्या 117 घादमियों से सरकार ने पाकिस्तान में उनके साथ जो बरताव हुआ था पाकिस्तान की हालत के बारे में जो उनको मान्य हुआ था पाकिस्तान की सरकार ने उनके जिम तरह के विचार बदलने के काम किये, पता लगाया है और प्रगर लगाया है तो क्या खबरे सरकार को मिली है ?

**श्री स्वर्ण सिंह :** मेरे पास यह डॉक्यूमेंट नहीं है। अगर पाकिस्तान ने किया होगा तो

मेरे पास इस वक्त इसकी इतिला नहीं है।

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know the number of women out of these 117 persons kidnapped by Pakistan during the Indo-Pakistan conflict and whether these women who had been repatriated have narrated tales of torture by Pakistani authorities on them and, if so, could we have an idea?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** As I have said already, I have no information about the nature of enquiries that have been made from these persons or about the statements, if any, that these persons and women made in the course of such interrogations.

**श्री विश्राम प्रसाद :** पंजाब सरकार से यह इनकारमेशन ले कर क्या आप सदन को बतायेंगे ?

**श्री श्रींकार लाल बेरवा :** यह जो आदमी पाकिस्तान ने रखा है, क्या आपने यह जानने की कोशिश की है कि इसको क्यों रखा है, किस लिये रखा है ? यह कोई अफसर था या कोई बड़ा आदमी था ? यदि हां तो क्या इस कारण से रखा है ? क्या आपने इसके बारे में पाकिस्तान से पूछा है, यदि हां, तो पाकिस्तान ने क्या जवाब दिया है ?

**श्री स्वर्ण सिंह :** यह कोई सरकारी अफसर या किसी तरह का मुलाजिम नहीं था। लेकिन हर हिन्दुस्तानी बड़ा है यवाह वह अफसर हो या गैर अफसर हो। इसका कोई इससे संबंध नहीं है।

**श्री श्रींकार लाल बेरवा :** कोशिश की है पूछने की।

**श्री स्वर्ण सिंह :** अभी तक उन्होंने जवाब नहीं दिया है।

**Shri P. C. Borooah:** The purpose of kidnapping civilians, particularly womenfolk obviously with a criminal motive is opposed to the international

law and the Hague and Geneva Conventions. May I know whether these matters had been taken up?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I would not hazard an opinion upon the legal aspect but if the hon. Member gives me the particular legal aspect that he has mentioned, I will examine it further.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** Is the hon. Minister aware that both the Punjab government as well as the military authorities have been invariably putting pressure on all these witnesses not to state inconvenient facts to the enquiry body set up by these two agencies and if the government are aware, may I know whether any steps have been taken to do away with this mischief?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I will certainly ensure that no pressure is put on any person..... (Interruptions.) I am not aware of any such pressure; if the hon. Member had conveyed it to me earlier, I would have ensured that no pressure is put on any of the persons to suppress any real facts.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** Is he aware that responsible persons have already made allegations that this is being done, that it has been done?

**Mr. Speaker:** He is not aware.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I would request the hon. Member to pass on to me any information that he may have.

**Shri Daji:** We understand that the Government of India makes no enquiries from the prisoners who come back from Pakistan because of the conditions in which they were kept and all sorts of things that had taken place. Is it left to the State Government to make enquiries, or only in this case the Government of India is lukewarm?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** The general practice has been that these prisoners who are rapatriated to India and who belong to the security force or the police force are regularly interrogated, and about the civilians also

general enquiries are made. But I do not want to make a guess unless I satisfy myself in this particular case what enquiries if any have been made.

### आकाशवाणी के महानिदेशक

+

\* 1308. श्री भागवत झा आजाद :

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी :

श्री प्र० चं० बरभा :

श्री स० चं० सामन्त :

श्री सुबोध हंसदा :

श्री हरि विष्णु कामत :

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :

श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती :

क्या सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) संघ लोक सेवा आयोग द्वारा प्रति-कूल मलाह दिये जाने के बावजूद भी आकाश-वाणी के महानिदेशक अपने पद पर क्यों काम कर रहे हैं ; और

(ख) इस पद पर किसी योग्य व्यक्ति को नियुक्त करने में देरी होने के क्या कारण हैं और नियुक्ति के कब तक किये जाने की संभावना है ?

सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्रीमती नन्दिनी सत्यजी) : (क) संघ लोक सेवा आयोग द्वारा नियमित चयन किए जाने तक, वर्तमान महानिदेशक को आयोग की सहमति से इस पद पर रखा जा रहा है।

(ख) संघ लोक सेवा आयोग द्वारा यह पद विज्ञापित किया जा चुका है और जैसे ही चयन हो जायेगा, नियमित नियुक्ति कर दी जायेगी।

श्री भागवत झा आजाद : जब इस महानिदेशक को लोक सेवा आयोग ने ना-

मंजूर कर दिया था तो उसके बाद फिर क्यों इन्हें रखा जा रहा है। मैं इस पर सफाई चाहता हूँ।

सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री (श्री राज बहादुर) : जहाँ तक हम लोगों को ज्ञान है इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि इनका चयन नहीं किया गया है। इनको प्रायोग्य माना गया है इस लिए नहीं बल्कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन की प्रमोशन कमेटी के जो रिमार्क थे वह यह थे कि ये अपने विषय में निपुण हैं किन्तु एक आध जो एंटरी इनके रिकार्ड में थी उसके बेसिस पर इनका चयन नहीं हुआ था (इन्टरप्रॉज) मैं पूरा जवाब दे रहा हूँ, पूरी जानकारी दे रहा हूँ। इसके उपरान्त आवश्यकता इस बात की थी कि इस जगह को खाली न रखा जाये और कमिशन से पूछा गया कि जब तक आप आखिरी चयन नहीं कर लेते हैं इस जगह के लिए उस वक्त तक इनको रखा जाए या न रखा जाए। कमिशन ने इसकी मंजूरी दे दी थी।

Shri Shinkre: Why did you require the advice of the Public Service Commission on this? Why did you not take action thereon?

श्री राज बहादुर : उनको प्रोफिशिएंटिंग कैपैसिटी में उस वक्त तक जब तक कि कोई आखिरी मिलैक्शन नहीं होता है, रखा गया है।

श्री भागवत झा आजाद : जब कि संघ लोक सेवा आयोग ने इनको दो दो बार या एक ही बार नामंजूर कर दिया तो उसके बाद क्या हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार के इतने बड़े-बड़े विभागों में कोई भी योग्य व्यक्ति नहीं था जिस को इस कार्य के लिये रखा जाता ? क्या यह जरूरी हो गया था कि इनको रखने के लिए फिर से लोक सेवा आयोग को रीफेस किया जाता ? अगर यही बात है तो फिर क्या यह सच बात नहीं है कि इस महानिदेशक के जाने के बाद आकाशवाणी में राजनीति का जान दिनों दिन बढ़ता ही जा रहा है ?

श्री राज बहादुर : अब्बल तो यह है कि जो माननीय सदस्य का इम्प्रेशन है कि दो बार रिजैक्ट किये गये हैं यह ठीक नहीं है (इंटरप्शन) : जब मि० भट्ट के जाने के बाद जगह खाली हुई, उनकी दूसरी जगह नियुक्ति के बाद जगह खाली हुई तो तीन आदमियों के नाम भेजे गये। उस वक़्त यह माना गया कि उन में से इस पोस्ट के लिए कोई पूरी तरह योग्य नहीं है।

रहा सवाल इस बात का कि सारे देश में कोई इस प्रकार का आदमी है या नहीं ; इस जगह को भरने के तीन तरीके होते हैं जिन के द्वारा चयन होता है। एक तो होता है प्रमोशन से। एक होता है आई० ए० एस० सीनियर या आई० सी० एस० सीनियर जोकि क्लास एक सर्वास के हैं उन में से और तीसरे होता है डायरेक्ट रिक्रूटमेंट से। डायरेक्ट रिक्रूटमेंट के बेसिस पर अब इसका चयन हो रहा है।

राजनैतिक की जो बात इन्होंने कही है उससे मैं इन्कार करता हूँ।

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know why the man next to him in rank in the department was not given a chance to officiate, instead of keeping in his post?

Shri Raj Bahadur: The post requires certain qualifications, and certain equipment,—(Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Raj Bahadur: And we have to be guided by the opinion of the UPSC. (Interruption). The UPSC has expressed its opinion—(Interruption); I think hon. Members should realise that at least I am not in the UPSC—in decide in regard to all the three of them. Out of the three persons considered, one is Dr. Menon; the other is Mr. Mullick who was regarded as

one who has not come up to the mark, and the third was on probation. So, the question put by Shri Samanta about the next man—could not be considered.

श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती : क्या सरकार बतायेगी कि इन्हें महानिदेशक बनाने के लिए श्री भट्ट जैसे योग्य अधिकारी को यहां से हटाया गया था, क्या यह सत्य है ?

श्री राज बहादुर : एक प्रकार का इनका यह मत है। ऐसी बात नहीं है।

Shri Ranga: We do not know anything about these Menons and Bhattis. We only know whatever information is placed before us now. He asked whether it is true that one Mr. Bhatt was transferred from this department before the appointment was made.

Shri Raj Bahadur: Mr. Bhatt was transferred as Chairman of the Central Board of Film Censors.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Apart from the personalities involved in this matter, may I know whether the government have been able to make up their mind in respect of upgrading the post of Director General of AIR and of securing a person of the highest possible status in order to impart prestige and independence to the whole organisation of AIR? May I know whether they are reconsidering the matter in that perspective or whether they are considering it merely in the perspective of appointing this or that individual?

Shri Raj Bahadur: That is a suggestion for action, which we shall bear in mind in the light of the recommendations made by the committee of which the hon. member was a member. The present situation is that direct recruitment has to be made by the UPSC from out of those who apply for this post.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I want your protection in this matter....

**Mr. Speaker:** That is a different matter. That can be considered separately.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** I put this question with a very heavy heart, because the impression not only in radio circles, but in other circles also has been gaining ground every day that this appointment was a case of sheer nepotism. May I know what the Government of India has done to dispel that impression and whether the Government of India now as a result of the questions and interpellations put in this House will do away with this kind of impression at the earliest possible opportunity?

**Shri Raj Bahadur:** The facts are these. The post fell vacant. One of the methods of recruitment, namely, promotion of the next junior officer by the UPSC Committee was adopted. So, the question of nepotism does not arise. About the second question of removing some impression, the impression is a subjective affair. I would like to submit that we shall only depend on the advice of the UPSC and UPSC alone. We shall not flout it and whatever person the UPSC selects, we shall, certainly appoint that person.

**श्री विभूति मिश्र :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी मंत्री जी ने जवाब दिया कि यूनियन पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन ने उनके बारे में दो तीन चीजों की खामी पायी और जब उन्होंने खामी पायी तो जिस जगह पर वह रहे गए हैं, जिन चीजों में खामियां हैं उनके अन्दर क्या उन खामियों के रहते हुए वह उस काम को चला पायेंगे और यदि नहीं चला पायेंगे तो तत्काल भारत सरकार ने क्यों नहीं ऐसे आदमी को रखा कि जो खामियां न रखता हो ?

**श्री राज बहादुर :** मैंने खामियां नहीं कहा था। मैंने कहा था कि उनके रेकार्ड में एकाध एन्ट्री के ऊपर आपत्ति थी। इसलिए उनकी नौकरी लिया था। और उस एन्ट्री के

बावजूद भी उनकी अस्थायी नियुक्ति के बारे में लोक सेवा आयोग ने स्वीकृति दी और इसके बाद वह एक भ्रष्टाचार परीक्षा से होकर निकले जिस समय कि युद्ध हुआ पाकिस्तान से उस समय भी वह कार्यक्रम के संचालन के अपने कार्य में सफल रहे... (शब्धान)... अब यह अपना-अपना मत अलग-अलग हो सकता है कि उसको कोई क्या समझता है ?

**श्री बूटा सिंह :** मन्त्री महोदय ने उत्तर देते हुए कहा कि उन भट्ट साहब से नीचे जो तीन अफसर ये मिस्टर मलय, मिस्टर मेनन और तीसरा नाम मुझे भूल गया यह पहले उसके सामने नहीं थे तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब यू० पी० एस० सी० को यह केस फिर रेफर करेंगे तो यह मिनिस्टर साहब के रिमार्क्स उनके रास्ते में तो बाधा नहीं डालेंगे ?

**श्री राज बहादुर :** मेरे कोई रिमार्क्स यू० पी० एस० सी० के मार्ग में बाधा नहीं डाल सकते क्योंकि यू० पी० एस० सी० बिल्कुल स्वतन्त्र है।

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा नाम भी था।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आपका जिस वक्त नम्बर आया, आप थे नहीं।

#### Naga Hostiles

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\*1309. **Shri Madhu Limaye:**  
**Shri Kishen Pattnayak:**  
**Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia:**

Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to refer to the statement made in reply to the Calling Attention Notice on the 3rd December, 1965 and state:

(a) whether Government are in a position to confirm or deny the reports about the opening of rocket fire by the Naga hostiles; and

(b) if the former, wherefrom the hostiles got these rockets as well as the arms to fire them?



**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas):**

(a) It is confirmed that Naga hostiles fired on 27 UP Passenger train near Dhansiri railway station on 29th November, 1965 with rocket 73 mm strim.

(b) It has not been possible so far to ascertain the source from which Naga hostiles obtained this weapon which is a Strim Type rocket of French Manufacture.

**श्री मधु लिमये :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि बार बार यह समाचार छपते हैं कि नागा विद्रोहियों को हथियार पाकिस्तान से मिल रहे हैं, पाकिस्तान की भूमि का वह इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं, दूसरा मामला है उनको दिया जा रहा है तथा पाकिस्तान की भूमि पर उनको प्रशिक्षण भी मिल रहा है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या नागा विद्रोहियों को यह जो सहायता दी जा रही है तथा मिजो के विद्रोहियों को भी, इसके बारे में सारी जानकारी इकट्ठा करके सरकार कोई श्वेत-पत्रिका प्रस्तुत करने जा रही है?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan):** Sir, this is a matter which will have to be considered very seriously, and I can assure the hon. Member that we will have to go into the matter as a whole.

**श्री मधु लिमये :** मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारे रिश्ते बिगड़ते हैं तब हमको पख्तूनस्तान और पूर्वी बंगाल की स्वतन्त्रता आदि चीजें याद आती हैं लेकिन पाकिस्तान की हमारे मुल्क के बारे में एक नीति है, हमारी एकता और सार्वभौमिकता को भंग करने की चेष्टा वह कर रहा है और विद्रोह की प्रवृत्तियों को सहारा दे रहा है, तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या जब रिश्ते बिगड़ेंगे तभी हम पख्तूनस्तान की बात करेंगे या हिन्दुस्तान की एक घर नीति रहेगी और पाकिस्तान के अन्दर

जो प्रजातांत्रिक शक्तियाँ हैं उनकी हम हर तरह से सहायता करें?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Sir, the question of Naga hostile gangs crossing over to Pakistan has been brought to the notice.....

**Shri Shinkre:** Sir, will it not be more appropriate for the senior Minister to reply to this?

**Mr. Speaker:** Let anyone answer.

**Shri Shinkre:** Sir, after all, this is a policy question and a very important one. I know anyone can reply.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let him answer.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Sir, we have lodged as many as two protests with the Government of Pakistan regarding these Naga hostile gangs going from our area to the Pakistan area and coming back with arms and ammunitions. On both the occasions the Government of Pakistan have denied the facts and described them as baseless allegations.

**श्री मधु लिमये :** मेरे प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं आया। मैंने यह कहा कि एक और पाकिस्तान के द्वारा यह नीति चलायी जा रही है और स्वयं सरकार ने उसको स्वीकार किया है. . .

**Mr. Speaker:** I will put it to him. The first part of the question has been answered. The second part of his question was, that the question of giving assistance to the movement of Pakhtoonistan is only taken up when there are troubles with Pakistan and whether the Government will make it a constant policy to encourage such process for development of democratic institutions there?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** We do not think that that question arises from this. This question is with regard to the type of weapon which has been used to attack this railway. I have already given the type of weapon that has been used.

**श्री मधु लिमये :** यह क्या उत्तर आया ? आपने भी उनके सामने रखा दो दो मंत्री बैठे हुए हैं, विदेश मंत्री हैं और मुरक्षा मंत्री हैं, वह जवाब दें। . . . (अध्यक्ष) . . . अध्यक्ष महोदय।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आप मेरी बात सुन तो लें। जल्दी से नाराज न हो जायें उन्होंने कहा है कि यह पालिसी जो है ब्राड पालिसी है, यह इस सवाल के जवाब में इस का जवाब मैं नहीं दे सकता। यह सवाल खास उन हथियारों का और राकेटों का है। इसलिए इस के जवाब के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं वह। इसके लिए आप दूसरा सवाल करें।

**श्री मधु लिमये :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपको शायद पता हो कि यह पहली बार ध्यान आकर्षण के मिलसिले में उठाया गया था। उस वक्त मुरक्षा मंत्री ने कहा था ऐसी आशंका है और सारी जानकारी इकट्ठा करेंगे। अब यह बिल्कुल साफ हुआ कि उनको मदद दी जाती है। तो क्या हमारी कोई नीति है या नहीं ?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब पालिसी जो है वह सप्लीमेंट्री में डिस्कम नहीं हो सकती।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** अभी मंत्री महोदय ने फरमाया कि पाकिस्तानी सरकार ने यह राकेट नहीं दिये हैं नागाओं को, ऐसा उन्होंने कहा . . . . .

**Shri A. M. Thomas :** I did not say that.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** कहा है।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** जो गये थे और हथियार लेकर आये थे उन के बारे में प्रोटैस्ट किया था। लेकिन उन्होंने इस से इन्कार किया है और कहा है कि यह बात गलत है।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** पाकिस्तान ने इन्कार किया मगर राकेट का नहीं। खान्नातौर

मे कुछ लोग थे जो ट्रेनिंग लेने गये और हथियार लेकर आये। उन्होंने प्रोटैस्ट किया था लेकिन उस राकेट के बारे में नहीं। अब या तो पाकिस्तान सरकार या बर्मा सरकार या भारत के किसी फौजी आदमियों के जरिए और यह चौथी संभावना है कोई विदेशी शक्ति हवाईजहाज से इन नागाओं को हथियार दे रही है तो इन चार सम्भावनाओं पर क्या सरकार ने पूरे तरीके सोच विचार करके कुछ फैसला किया है क्योंकि मैं अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप से बतला दूँ कि सिर्फ यह कह देने से कि यह नहीं हुआ वह नहीं हुआ काम नहीं चलेगा। आखिर इन चारों में से किसी एक पर सरकार को कुछ न कुछ तो जवाब देना चाहिए।

**Shri Y. B. Chavan :** It is certainly Government's view . . .

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** जरा जोर से बोलिये।

**श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण :** कोशिश कर रहा हूँ। The point is that though we have not got any definite information to show that it is exactly this source from which it came, certainly we can draw our own inference from the situation and the inference is that these came across the border from Pakistan.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** कहाँ से है ?

**श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण :** पाकिस्तान से।

**Shri A. P. Sharma :** So far as the Naga hostiles are concerned, it is a well-established fact that these Nagas have gone to Pakistan, received training and have come back with Pakistani arms. So far as our Government is concerned, they have protested and Pakistan has denied this. May I

know what further steps the Government proposes to take in view of the fact that it is a well-established fact that the Nagas have gone there, got training and come back with Pakistani arms?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** As you know, from time to time we have given information about some of the teams of Nagas going to Pakistan, getting training and then coming back. We are trying to put a stop to that. Sometimes we succeed partly and sometimes we do not. That is the whole story and the whole House is aware of the entire process.

**Shri A. P. Sharma:** My question was about the denial by Pakistan. Pakistan has denied this, though it is a fact.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Minister says that we can draw our own inference.

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब कभी इस प्रकार की घटनाएं होती हैं सरकार यह कहती है कि हमने विरोधपत्र भेज दिया है। इस प्रकार के शस्त्रास्त्र देने पर भी पाकिस्तान यह कहता है कि हमने तो साहब ऐसा नहीं किया, हथियार नहीं दिये और हमारे यहां कोई नहीं आता तो भारत सरकार कोई ऐसा प्रबन्ध कभी कर सकेगी कि उस की वास्तविकता का पता लगा सके ?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** The point is that when we take it up at the government or diplomatic level we always get a reply in the negative. They have not accepted the responsibility for supplying these things. Naturally, our responsibility as a Government is to act effectively in our territory, stop the people from going out or stop the people from coming in after they have gone out or catch hold of them and punish them. That is all what I can say in this particular matter.

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने यह नहीं कहा था। मेरा निवेदन तो सुन लें। मैं स्पष्ट कर दूँ। मैंने कहा कि ऐसी घटनाएं जब होती हैं और वह कहते हैं कि हम ने कुछ नहीं किया तो क्या कोई आप के पास ऐसा भी सूत्र है जो उचित रूप से उनका पता लगा सके क्या राजनीति में आप के पास ऐसे गुप्तचर हैं ?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आप कुछ बतला सकते हैं तो बतला दें।

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द :** अगर आप मुझ से पूछते हैं तो मैं बतलाये देता हूँ कि राजनीति में इस प्रकार के गुप्तचर रखते हैं जो कि इस प्रकार की बातों का पता दिया करते हैं।

**Shri R. Barua:** In view of the fact that a group of hostile Nagas have now adopted the new strategy of disrupting communications in the plain as well as the political life of the eastern region, may I know whether Government is in possession of information that some of the foreign powers are involved in the whole affair and, if so, what steps Government are taking in that regard?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** Certainly, this Naga question is continuously under the examination of Government, particularly these actions that were taken or are being taken immediately. In the recent instance I cannot say because these matters are under examination and investigation and I do not know about this particular matter. But, certainly the strategy is to disrupt the internal communications and internal life. It is obvious.

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द :** धोखा दिया जा रहा है संसद को।

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I know if Government are aware of the fact that during the recent visit of some Chinese leaders, Mr. Liu Shao-chi and Marshal Chen Yi, to East Pakistan a strong delegation of Naga hostiles met Marshal Chen Yi and Mr. Bhutto,

the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, at Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan; if so, whether Government have tried to find out through our diplomatic sources in Pakistan what the discussion was about, whether it was about further supply of arms and ammunitions to Naga hostiles to step up their revolution against India?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** Personally I have no information in my Ministry about it. I will have to try to get these particular details from the External Affairs Ministry.

**Shri Hem Barua:** May I submit that this shows the futility of this Government, of the Intelligence Department and the diplomatic services of the Government? I have disclosed the information that a strong delegation of Naga hostiles met Marshal Chen Yi, the Chinese leader, and Mr. Bhutto, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, at Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan and I wanted to know whether the Government has ascertained the facts through our diplomatic channels in Pakistan. Now they say that they do not know. What do they know then? They do not try to know anything. They have allowed the country to go to the dogs.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The External Affairs Minister is there. He must say whether they have made any inquiry about it.

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** If I have understood the hon. Member correctly, he said that he has disclosed this information and he wants me to check on that information. I will certainly have a check on that information.

**Mr. Speaker:** The complaint is that it was passed on some time ago and Government have not done it so far. He wants the information whether Government have verified it through diplomatic channels.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I do not remember the hon. Member having ever mentioned this to me or to anyone else. On this issue I am knowing

it for the first time that there was any meeting or an allegation of a meeting between the Naga hostiles and Marshal Chen Yi. It is true that the Nagas have been going from our part of the country to Pakistan from time to time. Whatever information is available we have always tried to give, but this is a specific point about which I am learning for the first time from the statement that is made here today. So, I cannot be expected to have this information always at my fingertips. He has mentioned it; he could pass it on to me even outside and I could make a check on that.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Am I to understand that if a thing does not appear in the press, the Minister does not know anything?

**Mr. Speaker:** He says, he will check it up.

**Shri Hem Barua:** He does not know because it has not appeared in the press.

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:** As it is a well known fact that Naga rebels have been indulging in all sorts of hostile and disruptive activities and are using arms and ammunitions as well as rockets in such activities, I would like to know from the Government very humbly . . .

**An hon. Member:** Why humbly?

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:** . . . whether they could find out any clue as to which countries are supplying these arms and ammunitions and rockets to them; or, whether they have not been able to detect it even after laboratory tests or findings of the various parts of those arms and ammunitions as to from which countries they are getting this supply.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** As far as this particular incident was concerned, the weapon that was used has been identified as a particular type of weapon which was manufactured in France.

After studying that particular thing that information has been given. But exactly from which source it was given to them has not been established.

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:** Has any protest been made to France? (Inter-ruption).

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** जवाब नहीं आया है। आखिर मवाल का जवाब तो आना चाहिए। अगर ये हथियार फ्रांस से आए, तो उन्होंने फ्रांस में क्यों नहीं पूछा ?

**अध्यक्ष श्रीवर्मा :** उन्होंने कहा है कि उन को एजेंट सोर्स मालूम नहीं है।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** यह तो मालूम हो गया है न कि वह हथियार फ्रांस का है ?

**Shri Swell:** The Minister of External Affairs has just now said that he will check on the information that my colleague, Shri Hem Barua, has disclosed to the House. May I know whether it is a new policy of this Government to check on certain information given to them by Members. Have not their own diplomatic missions in different countries a duty to keep watch over the interests of the country?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** If I may be permitted to say, it is correct that it is my duty and the duty of our missions abroad to keep us fully informed and they do keep us fully informed. If such a thing had really taken place, certainly I would have got the information. I have not got any such information so far. It is a specific point that is alleged here and it is a very serious matter that the hon. Member is suggesting, and I have already offered that I will have a second check on that. There is no question of any new policy being adopted by the Government.

**जवानों के बच्चों के लिये सुविधायें**

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\* 1310. श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ता :  
श्री बलुसतारी :

क्या प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या ऐसा निर्णय किया गया है कि जिन जवानों ने अपने जीवन का बलिदान किया है उनके बच्चों को अपनी शिक्षा पूरी करने के पश्चात् प्रतिरक्षा पुलिस तथा अर्सेनिक विभागों में रोजगार दिलाने की व्यवस्था की जाये ;

(ख) यदि उपरोक्त भाग (क) का उत्तर 'हाँ' है तो क्या उन बच्चों को प्रतिरक्षा सेवाओं में भरती करते समय प्राथमिकता दी जायेगी ; और

(ग) क्या इस प्रकार की सुविधायें पहले भी दी गई थीं ?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thamas):**

(a) So far as Defence Establishments are concerned, orders were issued in November 65 to the effect that the wife/son/daughter of a member of the Armed Forces who is killed or disabled by enemy action should, if eligible, be considered for employment in any available vacancy in relaxation of the normal procedure of reference to the Employment Exchange. As regards Police and Civil Departments, the question of issuing similar orders is under consideration.

(b) No, Sir. Instructions, however exist that for recruitment to the Boys Battalions North and South, only sons/adopted sons of serving personnel and ex-Servicemen will be eligible.

(c) Similar facilities for employment without reference to the Employment Exchange were provided for in respect of the wife/son/daughter/near relation of a member of the Armed Forces who may die in harness or may be killed or disabled in action,

leaving his family in indigent circumstances and in need of immediate assistance, if he/she is eligible for such employment under orders issued in December 1964.

**श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती :** जैसा कि मैंने पहले भी इस प्रकार के प्रश्न के सम्बन्ध में निवेदन किया था, मैं फिर पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्रालय ने विभिन्न जिला अधिकारियों को यह कहा था कि वे उससे बीरगति पाने वाले जवानों की लिस्ट लें और उनके बच्चों आदि को काम दिलायें और जिनको काम दिलाया जायें, उनकी सूचना प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्रालय को दें। क्या यह काम किया गया है ?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** If they are qualified, as I have already said, without reference to the other normal procedure of referring them to employment exchanges, they could be got employed. In fact, we had issued instructions in December, 1964 and after the Pakistani aggression, we had also issued separate orders on the subject on 2nd November, 1965..

**श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती :** मन्त्री महोदय प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं दे रहे हैं। वह तो अपनी ही कह रहे हैं। मैंने पूछा है कि...

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** माननीय सदस्य जवाब तो सुन लें। शायद उनका जवाब आ जायें।

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** We have also addressed the various establishments of the Ministry of Defence to the effect that wherever possible vacancies should be filled up by qualified persons who are dependants of the jawans killed in action. The Director-General, Ordnance Factories, has been asked to reserve 500 vacancies.

**Mr. Speaker:** He wanted that the district authorities should be informed by the Defence Ministry of the names of those persons who are

dependants of jawans who have died, so that the district authorities may proceed with taking action and helping them in the matter of employment.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** In order to apprise the dependants of the jawans who are not fully aware of these facilities, we have decided that the orders should be announced, now and then, through the All India Radio and also through the local newspapers. We have also advised the various N.C.C. officers and other retired officials whom we have appointed, attached, to various army headquarters and other establishments that these persons should be contacted and they should be let known of the facilities that they would have in the matter of employment. We have got the list of dependants, and where qualified persons are there, we shall suggest to them to apply for employment.

**श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती :** बीरगति पाने वाले नौजवान प्रायः उन स्थानों के रहने वाले होते हैं जहाँ न समाचार पत्र जाते हैं और न रेडियो का प्रचार होता है। इस स्थिति में उन को सूचना कैसे मिल सकती है ? मैंने कहा है कि प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्रालय जिला अधिकारियों से सूचना मंगाए। क्या प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्रालय ने ऐसी सूचना मंगाई है और क्या उसके पास कोई ऐसे आंकड़े आए हैं कि इतने व्यक्तियों को रोजगार दिला दिया गया है ?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** As I have already said, the NCC is a far-flung organisation. In fact, they have got units all over the country. The NCC officers have been deputed to obtain details with regard to these dependants who are qualified for employment and they have also been advised to apply in case they are suitable for employment.

**Shri Basumatari:** It appears from the answer given by the hon. Minister that Government have no machinery set up to find out the details regarding the dependants etc. May I know

whether Government contemplate to set up any machinery for the purpose?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** In fact, there is a machinery to spot the dependants of the various persons killed in action etc. We have also got various officers to approach them. I have already mentioned about the NCC apparatus those officers also will be contacting them. The House may rest assured—we are very happy that the Members are alive to the need to give succour to these unfortunate people—the Ministry is also in close touch, and they have also as great concern as the hon. Members have, if not greater concern.

**Shri M. R. Krishna:** May I know whether the Defence Ministry has any programme to train the children of the soldiers who have laid down their lives in the battle-field, in their own ordnance factories and also in the HAL, the BEL and other concerns under the Defence Ministry?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** According to the instructions now existing, only persons who fulfil the qualifications with regard to age and other educational qualifications would be eligible for the posts, because the position should be like that. But we are also now thinking whether if the dependants do not fulfil the prescribed conditions in regard to age and educational qualifications, at the time of the father's death we could give them five years' time so that they may get qualified within that time and they may be absorbed in suitable posts.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** पाकिस्तान के साथ हुए संघर्ष में मारे गए जवानों के बच्चों को शिक्षित करने के लिए कुछ संस्थाओं और व्यक्तियों की ओर से सहायता और सुविधाओं की माफ़र की गई थी। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय ने उनकी सेवाओं से कुछ लाभ उठाया है; यदि हाँ, तो कितने बच्चे उससे लाभ उठा रहे हैं ?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Yes, we have certainly taken advantage of the

good offices of the the non-official organisations also in this matter.

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** In order to provide employment to the children of those who have laid down their lives in the recent quarrel with Pakistan, may I know whether Government have approached the private industries also for the purpose?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** There has been a general appeal made to the private industries also to take into their employment the retired army personnel as well as the dependants in suitable places; in certain cases the response has been encouraging while in others it is not so encouraging.

**श्री बूटा सिंह :** मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने सैनिक स्कूलों में दाखिले के सम्बन्ध में जो कन्डीशन रखी हुई हैं, क्या उन म युद्ध में शहीद होने वाले सिपाहियों के बच्चों को कुछ प्रायर्टी देने की व्यवस्था की गई है ?

**Mr. Speaker:** Do they get any priority for admission to Sainik Schools?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Yes, they have got a particular quota; a percentage has been reserved for them.

**Shri Buta Singh:** May I submit that the quota is meant for the children of the persons who are in active service? I want to know what special provisions have been made in the case of the children of those who have been killed in action etc.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** In fact, there are provisions to admit them in the military schools, Sainik schools and also the Lawrence Schools.

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:** The most effective test of our gratitude and service to these brave soldiers would be that cent per cent of their dependants should be rehabilitated properly. I disagree with the hon. Minister in regard to the use of the word 'unfortunate'. I think they are the fortunate

people who have laid down their lives for the country. I would like to know how many of the dependants have so far been rehabilitated, educated and given land?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan):** May I explain the position, because I do not want hon. Members to have any wrong impression about this matter? (*Interruption*) I am giving the actual position.

Most of the children are offered educational facilities in the local areas wherever they are. My personal experience in this matter is that some families are not prepared to send the children to longer distances. But where they are prepared to send their children—I am talking particularly about those families where the head of the family was killed in action or disabled—if they want to send the children to Sainik schools or military schools, we have reserved a certain number for them. At the present moment, it is about 100, but if more is required, we can certainly provide more. But even for this 100, there is not much of a response. This is the actual position.

As regards training their children, we can think of it if there are any offers. But the main question raised by Shri Siddhanti is how to reach these families, and how to make them aware of the existence of certain facilities. For that, we are trying to activate these District Soldiers Boards. This is the only organisation through which we can continuously approach the families of these ex-servicemen or of those killed in action. So these machineries are being activated. I think through them we will be able to reach them and impart the children education and training.

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:** For the information of the hon. Minister, I would like to mention one thing....

**Mr. Speaker:** No, no. Next question.

379 (Ai) LSD—2.

### Commonwealth

**\*1311. Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether some of the countries have left or threatened to leave Commonwealth;

(b) if so, the names of those countries; and

(c) the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) The Government of India are not aware of any country having threatened to leave the Commonwealth nor has any country left the Commonwealth recently.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** In this House itself a resolution in which this country itself was threatening to leave the Commonwealth was moved by Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad and discussed. The hon. Minister does not know.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** It is still there.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Is it a fact that during the Pakistani aggression, the behaviour of some of the Commonwealth countries, particularly Great Britain, was so bad that there was a feeling, both inside the House and outside in the country, in favour of leaving the Commonwealth? Was the hon. Minister aware of that feeling, and if so, what action has been taken by Government in this regard?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** It is true that at the time of the Indo-Pakistan conflict, the attitude adopted by the British Government, their press, was objectionable, and Government themselves clearly took notice of that and expressed their opinion. There was a discussion in the House also which was inconclusive. That discussion was not finalised.



The question of the hon. Member was whether any country threatened to leave the Commonwealth.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** India is a country.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** India is a country. India is one of the 22 countries. He put the question about any commonwealth country....

**An hon. Member:** India is a commonwealth country.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** There was very strong feeling in the country; still Government has not decided to quit it. The country will decide only when the Government or Parliament decide.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Is it a fact that the senior partner of the Commonwealth, UK, treated India differently from Pakistan? She sympathised with Pakistan and expressed contempt for India. Even today this is so. In view of this fact and in view of the treatment meted out to our Prime Minister in view of the treatment when she was not received by Mr. Wilson at the airport, and the discussion between them was held in an airport hotel, and also in view of their behaviour to the other Asian countries, I would like to know whether Government still want to continue in the Commonwealth?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** Our continuance in the Commonwealth is a much bigger issue, which is not decided on who receives our Prime Minister at London airport (*Interruptions*). I am giving information. They can draw any conclusion, and I am in the hands of Parliament.

According to the British protocol, normally the Prime Minister does not come to receive any other Prime Minister of any other country. You may not like it, you may like to adopt the same attitude with regard to them, but that certainly is not a matter which should be a strong

ground for leaving the Commonwealth.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** In the first part of my question I mentioned specifically this point that our Prime Minister was not received by the Prime Minister of Great Britain. My question is this. Generally their behaviour towards India was as if India was a colonial country, still a colony of the British Empire.

**Mr. Speaker:** Government does not think that it is enough provocation to quit the Commonwealth.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Will Shrimati Indira Gandhi invite him to Moti Mahal and discuss the whole matter there, and not here?

**श्री भागवत झा आजाद :** प्रश्न के अ भाग के उत्तर में माननीय विदेश मन्त्री ने कहा है कि उनको नहीं मालूम कि कुछ देशों ने राष्ट्र मण्डल छोड़ने की धमकी दी है, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि विदेश मन्त्रालय को, जिनके अधिकांश अधिकारी ब्रिटेन से प्रेम रखते हैं, नहीं मालूम कि अफ्रीका के देशों की सरकारों ने खुले आम रोडेशिया के प्रश्न पर राष्ट्र मण्डल छोड़ने की धमकी दी है ?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** To give the facts correctly, Ghana and Tanzania were the two countries which have broken off diplomatic relations with U.K., but it is important for me to add that they did not leave the Commonwealth. Out of these two, Ghana, in February, 1966, after the new regime was established, has resumed diplomatic relations with Britain.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** We have been discussing our relationship with the Commonwealth all these days, and on the floor of the House we have been told of its advantages, but the impression is now gaining ground that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages of being in the Commonwealth. May I know if the hon. Minister has given any thought to

the disadvantages that are accruing to us by being members of the Commonwealth, such as the racial policy in U.K., and the policy of the U.K. vis-a-vis Pakistan and other things, whether he has weighed these things, and whether he has come to the definite conclusion that the disadvantages are greater than the advantages?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** It is very valid consideration. We have constantly to weigh the advantages against the disadvantages, and as soon as we come to the conclusion that the disadvantages for outweigh, then certainly we will seriously think of taking the step in line with what the hon. Member is suggesting, but at the present moment, I am unable to agree to this proposition that the disadvantages for outweigh the advantages.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Ever since the fateful day in 1949 when the then Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, reportedly on the reported advice of the then Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. Clement Attlee and the former Indian Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, devised that ingenious formula, for this country of a royal republic with two heads, the President here and the head of the Commonwealth, . . .

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** Our is not a royal republic. Mr. Speaker you should not allow that expression.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** . . . is it not a fact that the links binding India to Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth have, instead of becoming stronger, become more and more tenuous during the last 17 years, and we have now reached the end of our tether?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** The head of the U.K. Government, that is the Queen, certainly is not in any way the head of the Commonwealth.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** She is the head of the Commonwealth.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** She is head of the U.K. Government, but she has got absolutely no authority or no status in the other Commonwealth countries. The President of India is the only head whom we recognise as the head of the state according to our Constitution, and this position is absolutely indivisible, and this is not at all compromised by our membership of the Commonwealth. I would like to add that not only India, which is a republic, but several other members of the Commonwealth are also independent sovereign republics, and it is accepted in the Commonwealth circles that any country being a republic is not at all inconsistent with their membership of the Commonwealth. That does not at all compromise their status as an independent country.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Can our President preside over the Commonwealth conference?

**Shri Swaran Singh:** The Queen also does not preside over the Commonwealth. I would like to remind the hon. Members that when the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers took place in Lagos, it was not the British Prime Minister who presided but the Prime Minister of Tanzania who presided over the deliberations.

The other question is about links becoming stronger or tenuous. That is a matter of judgment. The links themselves have never been specified. It is a sort of association where each member is independent and discusses matters which are of common interest. On the whole, discussions among the Commonwealth members have been good and it puts a lot of pressure on the UK government, particularly on colonial matters. It also increases the chance of economic collaboration . . . (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** The question hour is over.

# WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

## Allotment of Land to Army Personnel

\*1312. **Shri Karni Singhji:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether any areas in the irrigation zone are earmarked for allotment to the army personnel; and

(b) if so, whether Government are aware of the inordinate delays occurring in the allotment of lands to soldiers and others who are eligible for it?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan):** (a) and (b). No lands in the irrigated zone have been earmarked for allotment to army personnel except in the State of Rajasthan. It is reported by the Government of Rajasthan that there is no delay in the allotment of such land to any soldier who is entitled to it in accordance with the rules.

## Racial Problem in British Politics

\*1313. **Shri P. R. Chakraverti:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the remarks of Dr. D. R. Prem, a member of the British National Commission for Commonwealth Immigrants made in New Delhi on the 13th January, 1966 relating to the emergence of racial problem in British politics;

(b) if so, the steps taken by Government in tackling the problem before it assumed an ugly character; and

(c) whether the Indian High Commission in the United Kingdom has made attempts to persuade the immigrants from India to improve their cultural level?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) The Government has seen a Press report of

a statement, on the subject made by Dr. D. R. Prem.

(b) This is primarily the responsibility of the British Government. However, our High Commission in London is in constant touch with the British authorities with a view to improving the situation.

(c) Yes, Sir.

## Television through Satellites

\*1314. **Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:**  
**Shri M. L. Dwivedi:**  
**Shri S. C. Samanta:**  
**Shri Subodh Hansda:**  
**Shri P. C. Borooah:**

Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are considering the possibility of using satellites to extend its television network; and

(b) if so, the progress made, if any, in this field of communication through satellites?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):**  
(a) No, Sir, not at present.

(b) Does not arise.

## रंगून में नेताजी का मकान

\*1315. **श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** क्या बेंबेशिक-कार्य मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या सरकार रंगून में उस मकान को खरीद कर जिसमें रह कर नेताजी सुभाष-चन्द्र बोस आज़ाद हिन्द फ़ौज का संचालन किया करते थे उसे एक ऐतिहासिक स्मारक बनाने का विचार कर रही है ;

(ख) यदि हां, तो क्या बर्मा सरकार से इस सम्बन्ध में कोई बातचीत हुई है ; और

(ग) इस बारे में कब तक अन्तिम निर्णय हो जाने की सम्भावना है ?

वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री  
(श्री दिनेश सिंह) : (क) जी, नहीं।

(ख) और (ग) . प्रश्न नहीं उठते।

### English as a Cultural Language

\*1316. **Shri Sidheshwar Prasad:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that since 1960 the maintenance of English as a cultural language in the Commonwealth has become the official policy of all the Member-Governments;

(b) if so, the steps taken by each of them in this regard; and

(c) the assistance India has got from the U.K. for its implementation?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) It is not a fact so far as the Government of India is concerned. The Government is not aware whether other members of the Commonwealth have adopted any such official policy.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

### Publication of Journals

\*1317. **Shri Subodh Hansda:** Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) the number of journals being published by Government at present;

(b) the objects of publishing such journals;

(c) whether these journals are distributed freely;

(d) if not, how much annual subscription is realised from the subscribers in each case; and

(e) whether the object of publishing those journals has been fulfilled?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):** (a) to (e). A statement relating to the journals brought out by the Publica-

tions Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is laid on the Table of the House. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6132/66]. Similar information in regard to journals brought out by the other Ministries/Departments of the Government of India is being collected and will be placed on the Table of the House.

### Paper Pulp Project in Sikkim

\*1318. **Shri N. R. Laskar:**  
**Shri Liladhar Kotoki:**  
**Shri R. Barua:**  
**Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey:**  
**Shri Maheswar Naik:**

Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are installing a paper pulp project in Sikkim;

(b) if so, whether the Indian technical team who visited Sikkim has submitted its report; and

(c) when this project will be taken up?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):** (a) No, Sir.

(b) No team sponsored by the Government of India has visited Sikkim in this connection. The question of conducting a feasibility survey is separately under examination.

(c) This will depend on the feasibility survey and other relevant factors.

### Death of Indian Internees in Pakistan

\*1319. **Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) the number of Indian internees who died in Pakistan before their repatriation to India; and

(b) the circumstances under which each of them died?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) According

to the information furnished by the Pakistan Government the number of Indian internees who died in Pakistan before their repatriation to India is 46.

(b) According to the Pakistan Government 45 internees died in West Pakistan due to heart failure on account of old age and debility. One internee died in East Pakistan due to Pulmonary Tuberculosis.

**Movement of Refugees into East Pakistan on account of Unrest in Mizo Hills**

\*1320. **Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether Pakistan have protested to India that unrest in the Mizo Hills and Indian action there had caused movement of refugees into East Pakistan and this had in turn created tension in the area;

(b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto; and

(c) the nature of reply sent to Pakistan, if any?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). Government have received reports that some bands of Mizo rebels have crossed over to East Pakistan. The Government pointed out to Pakistan that these Mizo rebels could not be considered as refugees in the generally accepted sense of the term. The Government of India have accordingly requested the Pakistan authorities to intern any such Mizos and return them to India.

**Chinese 100 Million Dollars Aid to Pakistan**

\*1321. **Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:**  
**Shri Jashvant Mehta:**  
**Shri D. C. Sharma:**

Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether his attention has been drawn to the offer by the Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic of

a sum of 100 million dollars to Pakistan for buying arms from the world market on cash payment;

(b) whether China has approached the Soviet Union and other East European countries to secure arms on cash-and-carry basis; and

(c) the steps taken by Government in this context?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) Yes, Sir. Government have seen reports of a new Chinese credit of 100 million dollars to Pakistan for purchase of arms. We have no information whether this credit is for purchasing arms from China or from the world market.

(b) Government have no information.

(c) Does not arise.

**Vietnam**

\*1322. **Shri P. C. Borooah:**  
**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:**

Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the reports that the Government's views expressed in the External Affairs Ministry's Annual Report for 1965-66 about Vietnam have disturbed the U.S. Government;

(b) if so, whether any steps have been taken to explain or elucidate India's attitude towards Vietnam as mentioned in the report; if so, what; and

(c) the latest attitude of U.S.A. Government towards India's views on Vietnam?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). The Annual Report of the Ministry for 1965-66 has, while outlining India's views on Vietnam only reiterated Government of India's

known policy and has not enunciated any new policy on Vietnam. Since the Government of India has not changed its policy, there is no question of clarifying the views stated in the Report. However, when the U.S. Charge d'Affaires called on the Minister for External Affairs recently the position was explained to him.

**Bharat Electronics Ltd., Bangalore**

**\*1323. Shri Indrajit Gupta:  
Shri S. M. Banerjee:**

Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 537 on the 21st February, 1966 and state:

(a) whether Government are aware that radio receiving valves manufactured by the Bharat Electronics, Ltd., Bangalore are being sold at Blackmarket prices far above the published rate of Rs. 3.30 per piece;

(b) if so, whether any inquiry will be held into the present system of appointing/renewing distributing agents; and

(c) whether there is any proposal for the Bharat Electronics Ltd., to have its own retail show rooms at least in major towns?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas):**

(a) Some complaints that valves manufactured by BEL are being sold at prices higher than at published prices have been received.

(b) BEL have appointed distributors in the principal cities of India for sale of valves direct or through their agents and dealers at fixed prices. The terms of appointment provide that action can be taken against the distributors or their agents if any specific cases of irregularities come to notice. Preliminary investigation has been made into the complaints as in (a) and it will be pursued.

(c) There is no proposal at present to set up retail show rooms by B.E.L.

**Territorial Army Personnel**

**\*1324. Shri Krishnapal Singh:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Territorial Army personnel took an active part in fighting during the Pakistani and Chinese aggressions;

(b) the steps taken to re-settle them in civil employment in the State, Central Government and in the private sector; and

(c) whether it is also a fact that applications of Territorial Army personnel are not being entertained by the Directorate of Resettlement?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas):**

(a) Yes, Sir. Some Territorial Army units took active part in the fighting against Pakistan.

(b) Persons who join the Territorial Army are only taken on for a part-time engagement in the Territorial Army, while pursuing their civil vocations. They are embodied for service in a grave national emergency and that too for the minimum essential period. On disembodiment, they revert to their civil vocations. The question of resettling them does not arise.

(c) Yes, Sir.

**Geographical Publications Published by East German Authorities**

**\*1325. Shri Buta Singh:  
Shri Krishnapal Singh:  
Shri Tan Singh:  
Shri Hukam Chand  
Kachhavaia:  
Shri Hem Barua:  
Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:  
Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:**

Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether several publications on geography published by the East German authorities, for example "World-Atlas, States and Economy", "Erdkundeunterricht" (Geography teaching)

and "Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen" (Petermann's Geographical Information) are showing parts of Indian territory as part of the Communist China as per the claim of Peking;

(b) if so, whether copies of these publications are being circulated unhampered in our country;

(c) whether any protest has been lodged with the East German authorities and their reaction thereto, if any; and

(d) whether Government propose to prescribe these publications?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) Yes, Sir. According to the Atlas, "World-Atlas, States and Economy", the Sino-Indian border as shown in the map is shown with a broken line is not in accordance with the first part and bears the legend:—

"Final demarcation of border will be clarified through negotiations between the P.R. of China and India."

The other two publications are not readily available.

(b) No, Sir.

(c) No, Sir.

(d) According to existing regulations, the imports of these and similar publications are banned.

### विदेश स्थित भारतीय दूतावासों की कार्य-प्रणाली

\*1326. श्री म० सा० द्विवेदी :

श्री प्र० चं० बरुआ :

श्री भागवत झा आजाद :

श्री सुबोध हंसवा :

श्री स० चं० सामन्त :

क्या बंबेशिक-कार्य मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) विदेश स्थित भारतीय राजदूतों के विरुद्ध लगाये जाने वाले इन आरोपों में

क्या तथ्य है कि वे प्रायः आरामतलबी, व्यर्थ की प्रतिष्ठा और राजनयिक कार्यों में ढील के आदी हो जाते हैं ;

(ख) क्या विदेशों की यात्रा करने वाले भारतीयों द्वारा सामान्य रूप से लगाये जाने वाले उपरोक्त आरोपों को ध्यान में रखते हुए सरकार का विचार विदेश स्थित भारतीय दूतावासों के कार्यसंचालन में सुधार करने तथा उनमें परम योग्य व्यक्ति नियुक्त करने का है ; और

(ग) क्या एक ऐसी उच्चस्तरीय समिति गठित करने का कोई प्रस्ताव विचाराधीन है जो आवश्यक तथ्य एकत्र करके विदेश स्थित भारतीय दूतावासों के कार्य-संचालन में सुधार करने, उन्हें सुसंगठित अथवा पुनर्गठित करने के उपाय सुझावेगी ?

**बंबेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री स्वर्ण सिंह) :**

(क) इस आरोप में कोई सच्चाई नहीं है।

(ख) और (ग) . श्री एन० आर० पिल्ले की अध्यक्षता में एक समिति बनाई गई है जो कुल मिला कर भारतीय विदेश सेवा की कार्यक्षमता को बढ़ाने और उसे प्रभावकारी बनाने के लिए सिफारिशें करेगी। वह विदेश स्थित भारतीय मिशनों की कार्यपद्धति को सुधारने के उपायों का सुझाव भी देगी। आशा है, यह समिति जल्दी ही रिपोर्ट देगी।

### Principle of Self-determination

\*1327. Shri Madhu Limaye: Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Joint Communique, issued at the end of King of Nepal's recent visit to India, stated that the principle of self-determination cannot be extended to integral parts of sovereign States; and

(b) if so, whether this declaration will affect India's position of support to 'Fundamental Freedom' of the Tibetan people and the free Pakhtoon movement?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The declaration is not inconsistent with the Government of India's stand on the Tibetan and Pakhtoonistan issues.

**Chanda Committee's Report on Television**

\*1328. **Shri Yashpal Singh:**  
**Shri P. C. Borooah:**  
**Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**  
**Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:**

Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have examined the Report of the Chanda Committee on Television; and

(b) if so, the result of the examination?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):** (a) and (b). The final Report of the Chanda Committee was received on April 18, 1966. The Report is being examined.

**Pakistan's Anti-Indian Propaganda Abroad**

\*1329. **Shri P. C. Borooah:** Will the Minister of **External Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have through a circular to the Indian Diplomatic Missions asked their Diplomatic Missions abroad to be prompt in countering Pakistan's anti-Indian propaganda;

(b) if so, the precise instructions issued; and

(c) the circumstances in which these instructions were issued?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):** (a) to (c). Directives including policy directives and publicity directives to counteract anti-Indian

propaganda are issued from time to time to our Missions abroad. However, discussion of the precise instructions and the circumstances under which they are issued would not be in the public interest.

**Delhi Cantonment Areas**

\*1330. **Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:**  
**Shri Hukam Chand**  
**Kachhavalaya:**  
**Shri Bade:**  
**Shri Vishram Prasad:**  
**Shri S. M. Banerjee:**

Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 470 on the 9th December, 1963 and state:

(a) the action so far taken on the recommendations made by the Estimates Committee (Second Lok Sabha) that Government would introduce necessary legislation to give statutory effect to provide adequate democratisation in the cantonment areas;

(b) whether, pending further legislation, any further executive orders/instructions have been issued by Government for democratic functioning of the Cantonment Boards;

(c) if so, the broad features thereof;

(d) if the answer to (d) be in the negative, the reasons therefor; and

(e) whether the executive orders issued so far are being scrupulously followed in all Cantonments, and if not, the reasons therefor, and the names of such cantonments?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan):** (a) In order to give statutory effect to the recommendations of the Estimates Committee, work relating to comprehensive amendments to the Cantonments Act, 1924 was taken up. The amendments are of a complicated nature requiring detailed and systematic study of other Municipal Laws. There had been appreciable progress in this regard, but further



work was postponed on account of the present emergency.

(b) No, Sir.

(c) Does not arise.

(d) The civil population has representation on the Cantonment Boards consistent with the nature of Cantonments as Military stations. Pending finalisation of the comprehensive legislation in regard to amendments to Cantonments Act, 1924, it has not been considered necessary to issue any orders/instructions for introducing further democratisation in the functioning of the Cantonment Boards.

(e) The executive orders are being scrupulously followed by all Cantonments.

#### **Pak. Allegation about Press in India**

\*1331. **Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Pakistan in a letter to the Security Council has alleged that the Press in India had resumed provocative propaganda against Pakistan despite the terms of the Tashkent agreement; and

(b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) India's continued desire to implement the Tashkent Declaration has been repeated on many occasions and is well known. It is the Pakistani newspapers and news agencies which have been carrying provocative statements and comments, while the Indian Press on the whole has observed great moderation and restraint. As the Tashkent Declaration is binding on both the countries, the Government of India hope that the Government of Pakistan will ensure that its provisions are respected by the Pakistani Press.

#### **National Defence Fund Collections in U.P.**

\*1332. **Shri Madhu Limaye:  
Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:  
Shri Sarjoo Pandey:**

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the National Defence Fund collections in U.P. out of which a sum of Rs. 1.5 crores has been earmarked for Police Force in the State in the form of a trust; and

(b) if so, whether such an allocation is lawful and authorised by the Centre?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):** (a) The Chief Minister of U.P. has constituted a trust of Rs. 1.5 crores, known as Uttar Pradesh Police and Armed Forces Sahayata Sansthan, out of the funds collected for the Chief Minister's Defence Purposes Fund.

(b) The matter was considered by the Executive Committee of the National Defence Fund. They did not approve of the constitution of the Trust by the Chief Minister. However, since the Trust had already been set up and its objects were more or less the same as those of the National Defence Fund, it was not thought desirable to upset the arrangements already made.

#### **Junior Employees in Armed Forces**

\*1333. **Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether a scheme to set up a forum to eliminate the grievances of junior employees in the Armed Forces was under consideration;

(b) if so, the broad outlines of the scheme; and

(c) the steps taken in this direction?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan):** (a) I presume the question is in respect of Armed Forces Civilian Employees. Pending finalisation of the Joint Consultation and Compulsory Arbitration Scheme, we were considering the question of setting up a forum to eliminate the grievances of junior civilian employees in the Armed Forces. Now that the Joint Consultation and Compulsory Arbitration Scheme has been finalised, we would follow the same scheme for the civilians in the Armed Forces.

(b) and (c). The broad outline of the scheme has been indicated by the Home Minister in the Lok Sabha on 20th April, 1966. Steps for its implementation will be taken very soon.

#### **Indian Rare Earths Ltd.**

**4299. Shri A. K. Gopalan:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is a scheme for the expansion of the Indian Rare Earths Ltd., Eloor, Kerala; and

(b) if so, the details thereof?

**The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):** (a) and (b). The capacity of the Alwaye Plant of Indian Rare Earths Ltd. was doubled in 1962. Though the Company presently has no plans for further expansion, a phased programme of diversification of its production activities has been undertaken. A plant to manufacture rare earths fluoride was designed and set up by the Company recently without any expenditure in foreign exchange. Besides, possibilities of manufacturing lanthanum oxide and separating europium oxide are being examined.

#### **Press Council of India**

**4300. Shri Basumatari:** Will the **Minister of Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Press Council of India has been formed;

(b) if so, its personnel; and

(c) if not, by what time it will be formed?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):** (a) to (c). The Press Council of India is under the process of being formed and action has already been initiated for the nomination of its members in accordance with the provisions in the Act.

#### **Salary to A.I.R. Artistes, Jaipur**

**4301. Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:**  
**Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**

Will the **Minister of Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) the total amount paid as salary to staff artistes of All India Radio, Jaipur (Rajasthan) during 1965-66;

(b) whether any special allowances have also been paid to those artistes during the above period; and

(c) if so, the details thereof?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur)** (a) amount paid as fee—Rs. 1,37,759.

Staff Artistes are not paid salary but are paid fee plus allowances.

(b) The Staff Artistes in All India Radio are now paid the same allowances as are admissible to Central Government employees holding civil posts.

(c) Dearness Allowance—Rs. 46,596  
City Compensatory Allowance —Rs. 5,714  
House Rent Allowance —Rs. 12,501

#### **A.I.R. Artistes at Jaipur Station**

**4302. Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:**  
**Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**

Will the **Minister of Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of staff artistes and other employees working at present in the All India Radio, Jaipur (Rajasthan); and

(b) the number of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes among them, separately?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):**

(a) —

Staff Artistes	52
Other employees	136

(b)

	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes
Staff Artistes	8	..
Other employees	21	9

**A.I.R. Artistes of Hyderabad and Vijayawada Stations**

**4303. Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:  
Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**

Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) the total amount paid as salary to the staff artistes of All-India Radio, Hyderabad and Vijayawada in Andhra Pradesh separately during 1965-66;

(b) whether any special allowances have also been paid to these artistes during the above period; and

(c) if so, the details thereof?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):**

(a) —

	Hyderabad	Vijayawada
	Rs.	Rs.

(a) Amount paid as fee	2,29,105	1,42,876
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Staff Artistes are not paid salary but are paid fee plus allowances.

(b) The Staff Artistes in All India Radio are now paid the same allowances as are admissible to Central Government employees holding civil posts.

	Hyderabad	Vijayawada
	Rs.	Rs.

(c) Dearness Allowance	53,297	41,840
House Rent Allowance	20,964	6,271
City Compensatory Allowance	1,827	..
Children's Education Allowance		1,311

**A.I.R. Artistes, Andhra Pradesh**

**4304. Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:  
Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**

Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of staff artistes and other employees working at present in All India Radio, Hyderabad, Vijayawada, Cuddapah and Vishakapatnam in Andhra Pradesh, Separately; and

(b) the number of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes among them in each centre, separately?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):**

(a)

Name of A.I.R. Station	Total No. of Staff Artistes	Total No. of other employees
Hyderabad	71	148
Vijayawada	46	118
Cuddapah	2	42
Vishakapatnam	1	42

(b)

Name of A.I.R. Station	Staff Artistes	Other employees			
		Sche- Castes	Sche- Tribes	Sche- Castes	Sche- Tribes
Hyderabad	2	26	2		
Vijayawada	..	19	7		
Cuddapah	..	10	1		
Vishakapatnam	..	6	1		

**Community Radio Sets in Rajasthan**

**4305. Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:  
Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**

Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of community radio sets which have been supplied to the rural areas of Rajasthan during the Third Five Year Plan period and were lying idle at present in the State; and

(b) the steps taken by Government to repair those radio sets?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):** (a) The Rajasthan Government have not been participating in the Central Scheme for supply of Community Listening Sets since 1960-61 and no sets have been supplied to them during the Third Plan period. The State Government are running the scheme themselves.

'd) Does not arise.

**श्रीलंका में राष्ट्रकृताहीन भारतीय लोगों के बच्चे**

4306. श्री टा० ना० तिवारी :  
श्री अ० क० गोपालन :

क्या वंदेशिक-कार्य मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि श्रीलंका में राष्ट्रकृताहीन भारतीय लोगों के बच्चों को स्कूलों में दाखिला नहीं दिया जाता है ; और

(ख) यदि हां. तो इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार क्या कार्यवाही कर रही है ?

**वंदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री स्वर्ण सिंह) :**

(क) और (ख). श्रीलंका सरकार के निदेशों के अनुसार, सभी बच्चे, चाहे उनका राष्ट्रीय दर्जा कुछ भी क्यों न हो, श्रीलंका के स्कूलों में दाखिला पाने के अधिकारी हैं।

**भागलपुर में रेडियो स्टेशन**

4307. श्री भागवत झा आजाद :  
श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी :  
श्री प्र० चं० बरुआ :  
श्री सुबोध हंसदा :  
श्री स० चं० सामन्त :  
श्रीमती सावित्री निगम :

क्या सूचना और प्रसारण मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या भागलपुर में एक रेडियो स्टेशन खोला गया है ; और

(ख) यदि हां, तो इस स्टेशन से प्रसारित किये जाने वाले कार्यक्रमों का मोटा व्योरा क्या है ?

**सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री (श्री राज बहादुर) :** (क) जी, नहीं। भागलपुर के सहायक केन्द्र की स्थापना का काम चल रहा है और आशा है कि केन्द्र इस वर्ष चालू हो जायेगा।

(ख) भागलपुर, आकाशवाणी के पटना केन्द्र का सहायक केन्द्र है और मुख्य रूप से यह पटना केन्द्र द्वारा रिकार्ड किये गये कार्यक्रम प्रसारित करेगा। इसलिये कार्यक्रमों का रूप वही होगा जो पटना केन्द्र का होगा।

**भारत-पाकिस्तान संघर्ष सम्बन्धी रूपक (फीचर)**

4308. श्री भागवत झा आजाद :  
श्री स० चं० सामन्त :  
श्री सुबोध हंसदा :  
श्रीमती सावित्री निगम :  
श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी :  
श्री प्र० चं० बरुआ :

क्या सूचना और प्रसारण मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या भारत-पाकिस्तान संघर्ष के दौरान अंग्रेजी तथा हिन्दी रूपक (फीचर) एककों ने रूपक (फीचर) तैयार किये थे ;

(ख) यदि हां, तो 1965 में कितने रूपक लिखे गये ; और

(ग) क्या ये रूपक आकाशवाणी के सभी केन्द्रों से प्रसारित किये गये थे ?

**सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री (श्री राज बहादुर) :** (क) जी, हां।

(ख) अंग्रेजी—30, हिन्दी—93, कुल—123।

(ग) जी, नहीं। ये सभी केन्द्रों से ग्ले नहीं किए गए।

**गाजियाबाद के निकट सड़क निर्माण**

4309. श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :  
श्री यशपाल सिंह :

क्या प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्री 29 नवम्बर, 1965 के अतारोकित प्रश्न संख्या 1503 के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या गाजियाबाद के निकट सड़क निर्माण में कोई प्रगति हुई है ; और

(ख) यदि हाँ, तो उसका ब्यौरा क्या है ?

प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य-मंत्री (श्री श्री म० म० धामस) : (क) तथा (ख). सड़क निर्माण के लिए आवश्यक भूमि अर्जित कर ली गई है, और उसका अधिकार प्राप्त कर लिया गया है। सड़क निर्माण कार्य 14 अप्रैल 1966 को आरम्भ कर दिया गया था, परन्तु ग्रामीणों के सड़क के रेखा निर्धारण के सम्बन्ध में विरोध के कारण बन्द कर दिया गया था काम दुबारा शुरू करने के लिए प्रयत्न किए जा रहे हैं।

**Passports for U.K., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.**

4310. Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey:  
Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) the number of passports issued for U.K., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. during the last three months;

(b) the number of applications received and the number of applications entertained during the above period; and

(c) the number of applications rejected during the above period?

The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh): (a) 7134.

(b) 7783.

(c) 57.

**गणतन्त्र दिवस, 1966**

4311. श्री विश्वनाथ पाण्डेय : क्या प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) जनवरी, 1966 में गणतन्त्र दिवस समारोह पर कितनी राशि खर्च हुई थी ; और

(ख) पिछले वर्ष के समारोह पर खर्च की गई राशि की तुलना में यह कम है अथवा अधिक ?

प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य-मंत्री (श्री श्री म० म० धामस) : (क) तथा (ख). जनवरी 1966 के गणराज्य दिवस समारोह पर केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा खर्च की गई राशि के हिसाब के सम्बन्ध में सूचना इक्स्ट्री की जा रही है, और उस पर सम्मिलित एक विवरण हिसाब सम्पूर्ण हो जाने पर सभा के पटल पर रख दिया जाएगा। दिल्ली में 1965 के गणराज्य दिवस पर केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा उठा खर्च लगभग 7,39,700 रुपये था।

**सामुदायिक रेडियो सेट**

4312. श्री विश्वनाथ पाण्डेय : क्या सूचना और प्रसारण मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) इस समय देश में कितने सामुदायिक रेडियो सेट हैं; और

(ख) वास्तव में कितने रेडियो सेट प्रयोग में आ रहे हैं ?

सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री (श्री राज बहादुर) : (क) लगभग 1,41,764.

(ख) लगभग 1,06,970.

**उत्तर प्रदेश में आयुष कारखाना**

4313. श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :  
श्री बड़े :

क्या प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि उत्तर प्रदेश

में बुलन्दशहर में एक आयुध कारखाना लगाने का प्रस्ताव है ;

(ख) यदि हां, तो उस पर कितना खर्च आने का अनुमान है ; और

(ग) उसका निर्माण-कार्य कब प्रारम्भ होने की सम्भावना है ?

प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य-मंत्री (श्री प्र० म० वासस) : (क) जी, नहीं ।

(ख) तथा (ग). प्रश्न नहीं उठते ।

**Travel of Shri Davendra Kumar of Gurdaspur to U.K. on forged Passport**

**4314. Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether one Davendra Kumar of Gurdaspur, Punjab, took off from Palam for London on a false passport;

(b) whether the passport described him as a British National;

(c) whether on his arriving at London, the forgery in his passport was detected and he was deported to India;

(d) the particulars of the Officers responsible for allowing him to fly with the false passport and those who were responsible for issuing it; and

(e) the action taken against them?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) to (e). Shri Sarwan Singh, son of Rattan Singh, resident of Model Town, Jullundur, went from Palam to London on December 30, 1965, on a forged British Passport under an assumed name Davendra Kumar, son of Mohan Lal. The passport was impounded and retained by the United Kingdom Immigration authorities. Necessary enquiries are being made in the matter.

**Committees and Statutory Bodies in which Chief Justice and Judges of Supreme Court Serve**

**4315. Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to refer to the speech of the former Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, column 124 of the Lok Sabha Debates dated the 3rd November, 1965 and lay a statement showing the Committees and Statutory bodies on which the Chief Justice of India or any other judges of the Supreme Court serve?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):** The information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House.

**Newsprint Quota for Orissa**

**4316. Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:** Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:

Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) the newsprint quota allotted to the papers of Orissa State during 1964-1965 and 1965-66; and

(b) whether this quota is proposed to be increased during 1966-67?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):** (a) The newsprint quota allotted to the various Papers in the Orissa State during the years 1964-65 and 1965-66 was under:

1964-65	969.84 metric tonnes
1965-66	1023.82 metric tonnes

(b) Under the Newsprint Allocation Policy for the current year, which is being announced shortly, a small increase in supply would be possible.

**विदेशों में भारतीय भाषायें बोलने वाले लोग**

**4317. श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद :** क्या बंदेशिक-कार्य मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) विदेशों में भारतीय भाषायें बोलने वाले भारतीय उद्भव के व्यक्तियों की देश-

वार संख्या कितनी है तथा उन भाषाओं के नाम क्या हैं ;

(ख) भारत के साथ उनका सांस्कृतिक सम्पर्क बनाये रखने के लिये सरकारी/गैर-सरकारी तौर पर क्या कार्यवाही की जा रही है ; और

(ग) पारस्परिक सांस्कृतिक आदान-प्रदान को बढ़ाने के लिये क्या कार्यवाही करने का विचार है ?

**वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री स्वर्ण सिंह) :**

(क) विदेशों में रहने वाले भारत मूलक व्यक्तियों की देशवार ठीक-ठीक संख्या ब्यौरे में दी गयी है जो सभा पटल पर रखा गया है [पुस्तकालय में रखा गया देखिये संख्या एल० टी०—6133/66] अलग-अलग देशों में विभिन्न भाषाएं बोलने वाले भारत-मूलक लोगों की संख्या मालूम नहीं है ।

(ख) विभिन्न देशों में रहने वाले भारत-मूलक व्यक्तियों के भारतीयों के साथ सांस्कृतिक सम्पर्क बनाए रखने के तरीके निम्नलिखित हैं :

भारतीय विद्वानों, नृत्य और संगीत मण्डलियों की यात्राएं, भारतीय फिल्मों को दिखाना, पुस्तकालय चलाना, जिनमें भारत विषयक पुस्तकें रहती हैं, भारतीय राष्ट्रीय दिवसों को मनाना और आल इंडिया रेडियो से भारतीय भाषाओं में प्रसारण आदि ।

रामकृष्ण मिशन, महाबोधि सोसाइटी, गांधी सेवक संघ जैसी संस्थाओं के कार्य-कलापों और सर्वोदय आन्दोलन से भी भारत के साथ निकट सांस्कृतिक सम्पर्क बनाए रखने में सहायता मिलती है । सामान्य सांस्कृतिक छात्रवृत्ति योजना के अन्तर्गत भारतीय मूल के छात्रों को भारत में शिक्षा की सुविधाएं प्रदान की जाती हैं । विदेश-स्थित भारतीय मिशनो के प्रेस और कौंसली अनुभाग भी भारतीय मूल के लोगों के साथ सम्पर्क रखते हैं और भारत के विषय में उन्हें सूचित रखते हैं ।

(ग) लन्दन में एक भारतीय सांस्कृतिक केन्द्र खोलने का प्रस्ताव है । भारतीय सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्ध परिषद् (शिक्षा मन्त्रालय के अधीन) ने भी कैरिबियन क्षेत्र में वहां के स्थानीय भारतीयों के लाभ के लिए कुछ सांस्कृतिक केन्द्र खोल रखे हैं । वे मारिशस में हिन्दी का एक प्राध्यापक भेजने की और हिन्दी जानने वाले वहां के विद्वानों को भारत आने का निमन्त्रण देने की बात सोच रहे हैं ।

### Assistance to Nepal

**4318. Shri Basumatari:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the assistance to Nepal has been decreased;

(b) if so, the reasons therefor; and

(c) the projects which will be affected?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) No, Sir. The assistance in the Fourth Plan Period is likely to be considerably greater than assistance in the period 1961—66.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

### Air Accident near Delhi

**4319. Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 1906 on the 6th December, 1965 regarding Air accident near Delhi and state:

(a) whether the Court of Enquiry has submitted its report to Government; and

(b) if so, the details thereof?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan):** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The Court of Inquiry has given the following findings:—

The Pilot was correctly briefed and authorised to undertake a flight as a

part of his normal squadron training. He appeared to be in normal good health before the flight. The aircraft was fully serviceable and had been flown regularly by other pilots. The weather was hazy, visibility was 3 nautical miles, but the conditions were calm and otherwise good for the flying. The Court was unable to establish the exact cause of the accident. The Court was however of the opinion that the accident may have been caused by the pilot flying below the minimum authorised height. No one is directly or indirectly responsible for the accident.

### Arrest of Passport Forger

4320. Shri Maheswar Naik:  
Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:

Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether a passport forger Shri K. Singh leading an international gang has been arrested by Netherlands Police at Rotterdam and a clue has been found out leading to the operation of the gang at Nairobi and in Europe; and

(b) the number of cases of forgery through this man found out and how compensation to the affected persons has been made?

The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh): (a) Shri Kewal Singh Bains and two other Indian nationals, who had travelled on forged British passports were detected and detained for sometime by the Netherlands Police at the Rotterdam Police Headquarters in December, 1965. No information is available with us indicating the presence of an international gang of passport forgers at Nairobi and in Europe.

(b) The matter is being investigated. The question of compensation has not come up.

379 (Ai) LSD—3.

### Malayalam Film for International Film Festival

4321. Shri Vasudevan Nair: Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is a proposal to include the Malayalam film "CHEMMEEN" among the films to be sent for International Film Festival; and

(b) if so, when a final decision is likely to be taken in the matter?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur): (a) and (b). The film "CHEMMEEN" has been found suitable for entry in International Film Festivals abroad and will be entered in due course.

### पठानकोट—कांगड़ा सड़क पर सैनिक ट्रक की दुर्घटना

4322. श्री हुकूम चन्द कलबाय :  
श्री बाजी :  
श्री बड़े :

क्या रक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि 1 अप्रैल, 1966 को पठानकोट-कांगड़ा सड़क पर त्रिलोकपुर गांव के निकट एक सैनिक ट्रक दुर्घटना में दस जवानों की मृत्यु हो गई और एक घायल हो गया था; और

(ख) यदि हां, तो इस के क्या कारण थे ?

प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री (श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण):

(क) और (ख). जी, नहीं। तदपि 30 मार्च, 1966 को एक 3 टन लारी कोटला (पठानकोट) के निकट एक खड में गिर गई थी जिसके फलस्वरूप 4 जवान निघन को प्राप्त हुए और दो जवानों को सख्त चोटें आई थीं। दुर्घटना का कारण अभी ज्ञात नहीं हो पाया। वह अभी ज्ञात हो पाएगा जब मामले की जांच के लिए नियुक्त किए गए सैनिक न्यायालय की रिपोर्ट प्राप्य होगी।



**National Defence College, Canada**

**4323. Shri Firodia:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether a party of National Defence College of Canada visited India in April, 1966; and

(b) if so, the purpose of their visit?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan):** (a) and (b). A party of 18, consisting of Directing staff and student-officers of the National Defence College of Canada, visited India from 31st March to 6th April, 1966.

Such parties from Defence Colleges visit various countries every year to enable student-officers to broaden their outlook. The Canadian team visited the Headquarters, Eastern Command, a Community Development Block, the National Defence College, Lok Sabha and Hindustan Aeronautics. They also called on the Vice-President, Foreign Minister, Defence Minister, Defence Secretary and Chief of Army Staff.

**Radio Station at Aijal**

**4324. Shri P. C. Borooah:** Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether a radio station is being set up at Aijal in Mizo Hills districts;

(b) if so, at what cost and the transmitting capacity thereof; and

(c) the areas to be catered thereby?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The station will be equipped with a low power transmitter and the installation will cost Rs. 2.45 lakhs approximately.

(c) The city of Aijal and its immediate environs.

**Residence of Indian High Commissioner in Dar-Es-Salaam**

**4325. Shri P. C. Borooah:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether a bungalow has been purchased in Dar-Es-Salaam for the residence of the Indian High Commissioner there;

(b) if so, the price at which it has been purchased; and

(c) the details of accommodation available therein?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The property was purchased at Shillings 400,000 (Rs. 266,667 approx).

(c) The accommodation consists of a dining room, a lounge, a study, a guest room and ancillaries on the ground floor and four bed rooms, a lounge hall and ancillaries on the first floor. There is an out-house for servants.

**Maintenance of Indian Missions Abroad**

**4326. Shri P. C. Borooah:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) the amount spent on the maintenance of Indian Missions abroad during each of the last three years on (i) establishment (ii) building maintenance, and (iii) furniture;

(b) whether proportionate cut in administrative expenditure is proposed to be affected in respect of Indian Missions abroad on the same lines as administrative expenditure is to be cut on inland administration;

(c) if so, the percentage of cut to be made; and

(d) the steps taken in that direction?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) The amount spent on maintenance of Indian Mis-

sions abroad is as follows:

(i) Establishment (including allowances).

1963-64	Rs. 3,77,12,097
1964-65	Rs. 3,88,00,681
1965-66	Rs. 3,88,58,900

(ii) Building maintenance (including rent).

1963-64	Rs. 1,11,91,617
1964-65	Rs. 1,23,28,022
1965-66	Rs. 1,11,27,400

(iii) Furniture (Purchase and Repair).

1963-64	Rs. 12,57,485
1964-65	Rs. 13,56,084
1965-66	Rs. 11,54,700

(b) Yes, Sir. But our current efforts to increase effectiveness both at Headquarters and of our Missions abroad, and the need to counter hostile Chinese and Pakistani propaganda will materially affect the implementation of this decision.

(c) The budget estimates proposed for the Missions for 1966-67 have been subjected to ad hoc cuts varying from 5 to 15 per cent with a view to achieving economy in administrative expenditure. Instructions have also been issued to the Missions to economise in expenditure on staff and office maintenance.

गाजीपुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) में मिलिटरी स्कूल

4327. श्री सरजू पाण्डेय: क्या रक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या गाजीपुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) में एक मिलिटरी स्कूल खोलने का विचार है ;

(ख) क्या यह सच है कि स्वर्गीय अब्दुल हमीद की पत्नी ने इस बात की प्रार्थना की है ; और

(ग) यदि उपरोक्त भाग (क) का उत्तर नकारात्मक हो, तो इसके क्या कारण हैं ?

प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य-मंत्री (श्री प्र० म० घांसस) : (क) जी, नहीं।

(ख) मंत्रालय में ऐसा कोई निवेदन प्राप्त नहीं हुआ।

(ग) इस समय चहल (शिमला पर्वतमाला) भुजमेर, बंगलौर, बेलगांव और धौलपुर में पांच मिलिटरी स्कूल खोलने का प्रस्ताव, संबन्धित राज्य सरकार की सलाह मशविरे सहित, विचाराधीन है।

#### Cantonment Boards

4328. Shri Hukam Chand Kachhavalaya:

Shri Bade:

Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:

Shri S. M. Banerjee:

Shri Vishram Prasad:

Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 913 on the 2nd December, 1963 and state:

(a) whether in view of the persistent demands for democratic functioning of Cantonment Boards, Government have since reviewed their policy regarding filling the seats hitherto filled by the nomination of Military Officers by the nomination of civilians which is permissible under Section 13 of Cantonments Act, 1924;

(b) if so, the decision taken thereon; and

(c) if not, what is the justification for the nomination of Military Officers to the Boards when the Board's jurisdiction is essentially in the Civil areas in Cantonments?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) Cantonments are essentially military stations. Cantonment Boards have civic jurisdiction over the entire Cantonment, including the civil areas. Government consider that continuance of nominated military officers on Cantonment Boards is in the interest of Cantonment administration. However, under the existing orders parity is maintained between the number of elected and nominated members (including ex-officio members) on Cantonment Boards of class I and class II Cantonments.

**Underground Drainage in Delhi Cantonment****4329. Shri Hukam Chand****Kachhavalya:****Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:****Shri Bade:****Shri Vishram Prasad:****Shri S. M. Banerjee:**

Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 1647 on the 21st December, 1964 and state:

(a) the present position regarding the scheme to construct underground drainage in Delhi Cantonment;

(b) the approximate cost of the scheme;

(c) whether the proposed scheme includes the civil areas of Sadar Bazar and Gopi Nath Bazar in Delhi Cantonment; and

(d) the reasons which are still holding up the implementation of the scheme?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas):** (a) to (d). The scheme relating to laying of main/zonal sewers at Delhi Cantonment, which includes the civil areas of Gopi Nath Bazar and Sadar Bazar, at an estimated cost of Rs. 137.97 lakhs is still under the consideration of Government. A sum of Rs. 50,000 has been provided for this project in the New Major Works Programme for 1966-67.

**Broadcast of Tribal Folk Songs by the AIR in Orissa****4331. Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**  
**Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:**

Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the tribal folk songs and other programmes relating to the tribals of Orissa State are not properly broadcast by the All-India Radio, Cuttack, Sambalpur and Jeypore (Orissa); and

(b) if so, the steps taken by Government in the matter?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):** (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

**Radio Station, Jeypore (Orissa)****4332. Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**  
**Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:**

Will the Minister Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Radio Station at Jeypore in Koraput District (Orissa) has very weak transmission equipment and the listeners in the region are not able to hear the programmes clearly; and

(b) if so, the steps taken by Government in this regard?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):** (a) No, Sir. The Station is equipped with a medium power transmitter similar to one at Visakhapatnam, Nagpur, Rampur, Calicut, Varanasi, Dharwar, etc. and gives satisfactory services to a wide areas around Jeypore.

(b) Does not arise.

**AIR Staff Artistes of Jeypore Section****4333. Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:**  
**Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:**

Will the Minister Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) the number of staff artistes and other employees of the All-India Radio Jeypore in Koraput District (Orissa) at present; and

(b) the number of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes among them, separately?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):** (a)

Staff Artistes	1
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Other Employees	37
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(b)	Scheduled Castes	Schedules Tubes
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Staff Artistes	—	—
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Other Employees	6	4
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**National Defence Academy  
Examinations**

**4334. Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:**  
**Shri P. C. Borooah:**  
**Shri P. R. Chakraverti:**  
**Shri Valvi:**  
**Shri Rishang Keishing:**  
**Shri Mohammad Elias:**  
**Shri Indrajit Gupta:**  
**Shri S. M. Banerjee:**

Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 2925 on the 28th March, 1966 regarding National Defence Academy Examinations and state:

(a) whether it is a fact that while the difference was originally 2-1½ years (15 to 17½ years), under the revised proposal it is to be only 2 years (16 to 18 years);

(b) if so, the reasons for reducing it by half a year and whether it will thus reduce in number of chances now available to a candidate;

(c) whether any relaxation in age limits has been allowed in marginal cases to those who have applied for admission to the National Defence Academy Examination to be held in May, 1966 and who represented for such relaxations; and

(d) if so, in how many cases?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas):** (a) to (d). No decision has yet been reached regarding the revision of the age limits for admission to the NDA. The existing age limits will stand till a final decision is taken to revise them. Any decision that may be taken will not apply to the boys who have applied for admission to the NDA Examination to be held in May 1966. Representations were received now and then for relaxation of the higher age limit and the correct position was explained to them. As there was no revision of the rules, no occasion for relaxation of age limits arose. No record has been kept of the number of such representations.

**Demand for Radio Sets**

**4335. Shri R. Barua:** Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether there has been a decline in radio sets per 100 people in India;

(b) if so, whether any assessment is made to find out the causes and evolve remedies; and

(c) how the decline compares with the standard prescribed by the UNESCO?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):** (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) In 1965 the number of radio receivers per 100 persons was 1.11. The UNESCO's minimum average is 5 sets per 100 persons which would mean a target of five times the present number of sets in India. According to a recommendation made at UNESCO's regional meeting held in Bangkok in 1960, the 'desirable target' was one set for 5 persons or approximately one set per family. It would mean an almost twenty times increase in the present number of sets in India. This can be achieved only if there is a proportional increase of manufacturing capacity and reduction in the price of radio receivers so that these are within the purchasing power of each family.

**Territorial Army Personnel (Pensionary Benefits)**

**4346. Shri Krishnapal Singh:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that some of the Territorial Army Officers, Junior Commissioned Officers and other Ranks have got over 15 years service to their credit including service in the Regular Army and State Forces; and

(b) if so, the pensionary benefits or gratuity allowed to the Territorial Army personnel?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas):**  
 (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Gratuity at the rate of half month's pay for each aggregate year of embodied service in the Territorial Army subject to a maximum of 9 months' pay, is admissible, provided an individual has a minimum of 4 years' aggregate embodied service to his credit. Service pension is not admissible for service rendered in the Territorial Army under the existing rules.

Pension or gratuity earned on account of service in the Regular Army remains unaffected by joining the Territorial Army except that in the case of officers pension is held in abeyance during embodiment or when employed on the permanent staff of a Territorial Army Unit.

#### **Territorial Army Officers**

**4337. Shri Krishnapal Singh:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether any of the Territorial Army Officers has been considered for command of Territorial Army Units;

(b) whether they have also been considered for appointments in the Territorial Army Directorate; and

(c) if so, how many and in what ranks?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas):**

(a) Yes, Sir. In the past, four TA officers in the rank of Lt.-Col. commanded TA Units. At present, 3 Majors and 4 Captains are commanding minor TA Units.

(b) Yes, Sir.

(c) One TA Officer in the rank of Major is holding a Grade II staff appointment in the TA Dte. Two officers are holding staff appointments in the rank of Lt.-Col. at HQ Commands and 7 other Majors and one Captain at lower formation HQrs.

#### **Reported Discourtesy to President of Israel**

**4338. Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Will the Minister of External Affairs be pleased to refer to the statement made in reply to Call Attention Notice regarding reported discourtesy to the President of Israel and state:

(a) the number of hostile demonstrators arrested in Calcutta;

(b) whether they are being prosecuted; and

(c) the stage which the prosecution has reached?

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** (a) 11 Arab students were arrested in Calcutta for violating Section 144 and subsequently released on bail.

(b) Yes, Sir.

(c) The next hearing of the case is due this week.

12 hrs.

#### **RE: MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT AND CALLING ATTENTION NOTICES**

**EXPLOSION IN TINSUKIA-NEW JALPAIGURI PASSENGER TRAIN ON 23-4-1966**

**Mr. Speaker:** I have received notice of thirteen adjournment motions and 27 call attention notices on the rail disaster. But I also received intimation that the minister wanted to make a statement. We have the statement first and then take up the adjournment motion.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** We are told that Dr. Ram Subhag Singh is still there. Has he returned or not?

**Mr. Speaker:** Not yet. The hon. Minister.

श्री मौर्य (प्रलीगढ़) : स्टेटमेंट के बाद इस पर बहस होनी चाहिये।

**The Minister of Railways (Shri S. K. Patil):** I regret to have to apprise the House that so soon after the outrage committed on 20 Down Passenger train on the evening of 20th April, 1966 attendant with heavy casualties, a similar incident took place on the evening of 23rd April, 1966.

On this date, Tinsukia-New Jalpaiguri passenger train No. 20 Down arrived at Diphu station (32 KMs from Lumding) at 20.50 hours. Immediately thereafter at 20.57 hours an explosion, similar to the one which occurred on 20th April, 1966 at Lumding station, took place in a third class coach marshalled third from the train engine. As a result of the explosion, 33 persons were killed on the spot and seven more expired subsequently. In addition, eighty persons sustained injuries.

Immediately after the explosion, the injured were attended to by the local doctors. On receipt of information about the accident, medical van accompanied by railway doctors and other medical staff was rushed from Lumding and it reached Diphu at 22.10 hours.

Of the injured, 7 were taken to the Jorhat Military Hospital, 12 to Dimaapur Military Hospital, 21 to Railway Hospital at Lumding and 19 to Diphu Civil Hospital. Twenty-one injured persons were discharged after giving them first aid. Of the 59 injured persons still in the hospitals, injuries of 19 have been classified as grievous.

As a result of the explosion, electricity failed and the whole station area plunged into darkness. Emergency lighting sets were rushed from Lumding. One Naga who was found moving in suspicious circumstances has been detained by Army authorities.

Senior railway, civil, police and army officers are at the site. Ex-

gratia payments are being arranged. All facilities, such as issue of telegrams to the near relatives, free passes etc. are being given.

The Inspector General, Railway Protection Force is at present in the affected area closely liaising with the Inspector General of Police of Assam State with a view to take all possible preventive measures. These two officers arrived at Diphu station within a few hours of the incident.

The Minister of State for Railways, accompanied by a senior Member of the Railway Board is also on the spot making detailed enquiries into these two incidents.

I have just received a communication from my colleague, the Minister of State, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh and I am reading only portions that are important. He says the bombs used were of very high power and perhaps of foreign make and this seems to be a clear case of well-organised sabotage. So far only two arrests each at Lumding and Diphu had been made.

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Ram Sevak Yadav may ask for leave of the House.

श्री राम सेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) : मैं अपने स्थगन प्रस्ताव को रखने के लिए सदन की आज्ञा चाहता हूँ।

**Mr. Speaker:** Those who wish leave to be granted may rise in their places.

There are only 46 in all. I am sorry leave is not granted.

**Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar):** What about the Government? They do not feel anything about the accident. (Interruption).

**Mr. Speaker** Order, order. I also thought that it was important.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur):** You should allow a discussion, Sir,

**The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha):** The Government is prepared to initiate a debate.

[Shri Satya Narayan Sinha]

About the time, you may fix it in consultation with the House, either tomorrow....

**Mr. Speaker:** At 4 O'clock today.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** No, no. I think tomorrow will be better.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let Dr. Ram Suhag Singh also come. (Interruption).

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** We are prepared to have a discussion.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** Those who have given notices should be given a chance to speak.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** It does not matter; if you like, Sir, you can fix some time today, for the discussion. (Interruption).

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath** (Hoshangabad): The Railway Minister said, today.

**Mr. Speaker:** All right; at 4 O'clock we take it up.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** At least those who have given notices, if not everybody, should be given a chance to speak on this.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. That is a different thing. I cannot promise just now.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** Today, at 4 O'clock?

**Mr. Speaker:** At 4 O'clock today.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** What about the Calling Attention Notice about 3 fasting Railwaymen at Pandu.... (Interruption).

**Mr. Speaker:** In this manner, I am not prepared to answer.

**Shri P. K. Deo** (Kalahandi): I had given notice of an Adjournment Motion about the starvation deaths in my constituency....

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no case for any Adjournment Motion. I have not

allowed that. Raja Sahab will kindly resume his seat.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** I request you to reconsider it.

**Mr. Speaker:** Not in this manner.

**श्री मधु लिमये** (मुंगेर): मैंने एक विशेषाधिकार सम्बन्धी ...

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** जब स्टेटमेंट करेंगे तब मैं आपको इजाजत दे दूंगा और आप उठ कर सवाल कर लेना ।

**श्री बागड़ी :** (हिसार) अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी बात भी आप सुन लें । मेरे पास पांच तार आए हैं । अकाल पड़ा हुआ है । लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं । लोक सभा में अगर भूख का सवाल नहीं उठाया जायगा ....

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** इस तरह से नहीं आप उठा सकते हैं ।

**श्री बागड़ी :** मैं आपकी अनुमति मांग रहा हूँ ।

12.07 hrs.

# PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

## NOTIFICATIONS UNEDR CUSTOMS ACT

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance** (Shri L. N. Mishra): On behalf of Shri B. R. Bhagat, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following notifications under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962:—

(i) G.S.R. 486 published in Gazette of India dated the 31st March, 1966.

(ii) G.S.R. 527 published in Gazette of India dated the 9th April, 1966.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-6129 '66].

ANNUAL REPORT OF INDIAN TELEPHONE INDUSTRIES, BANGALORE  
FOR 1964-65

The Minister of State in the Departments of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Jaganatha Rao): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Annual Report of the Indian Telephone Industries Limited, Bangalore, for the year 1964-65 along with Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon, under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6130/66].

GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION re PUNJAB  
BOUNDARY COMMISSION

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and Minister of Defence Supplies in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Hathi): On behalf of Shri Nanda, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of Government resolution No. F. 17/7/66-SR, dated the 23rd April, 1966, constituting the Punjab Boundary Commission. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6131/66].

12.08 hrs.

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

HUNDRED AND FIRST REPORT

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): I beg to present the Hundred and first Report of the Estimates Committee on the Ministry of Education—Aligarh Muslim University.

12.08½ hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC  
UNDERTAKINGS

THIRTY-FIRST REPORT

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): I beg to present the Thirty-first Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings on the Alloy Steel Project and Coal Washeries Project of Hindustan Steel Limited.

12.08½ hrs.

RE: RESOLUTION ON PUNJAB  
BOUNDARY COMMISSION AND  
DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES

Mr. Speaker: I was looking to Shri Madhu Limaye; but he did not rise, though he had given notice about the statement about the Boundary Commission for Punjab, which has been placed on the Table of the House. He wanted to say something.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप कई बार व्यवस्था दे चुके हैं कि जब लोक सभा का सत्र चल रहा हो तो महत्वपूर्ण विषयों पर सबसे पहले निवेदन लोक सभा के सामने किया जाय। अब जो बाउन्ड्री कमिशन की नियुक्ति की गई है इसके बारे में पहले घोषणा लोक सभा में नहीं हुई है। भारत सुरक्षा कानून के बारे में हम लोग प्रत्यसूचना प्रश्न देते हैं लेकिन मंत्री महोदय उनको स्वीकार करने को तैयार नहीं होते हैं। क्या वजह है कि प्रश्नकारों में बराबर खबरें छपती रहती है कि सुरक्षा कानून का प्रयोग सीमावर्ती इलाकों को छोड़ कर अन्यत्र नहीं किया जायेगा। सीमा निर्धारण समिति के बारे में भी घोषणा यहां पहले नहीं हुई है। क्या वजह है कि मंत्री महोदय आपकी व्यवस्था को खत्म कर रहे हैं? अपनी मनमानी चला रहे हैं तो कभी तो आप उनको बांट दीजिए, यह आखिर कब तक चलेगा?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मिनिस्टर साहब इसका जवाब देंगे।

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and Minister of Defence Supplies in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Hathi): So far as the appointment of the Commission is concerned, we have exactly followed what was mentioned in the original statement. This was just an implementation of the decision that has been taken already. There is nothing new.



**Mr. Speaker:** The grievance is a promise was given that as soon as a decision is taken, the House would be informed.

**Shri Hathhi:** It was done on the 23rd and this is the first day after that. So, we are doing it now.

**Mr. Speaker:** They ought to have announced it here first.

**श्री मधु लिमये :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, अब तो 222 के अन्दर विशेषाधिकार का प्रश्न इसको बनाना पड़ेगा क्योंकि आपकी व्यवस्था नहीं मान रहे हैं ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मैंने कई दफा कहा कि यह विशेषाधिकार का प्रश्न नहीं बनता है ।

**श्री मधु लिमये :** मैंने इसीलिए नहीं बनाया और मुझे उम्मीद थी कि आप उनको डांट देंगे । आइन्दा वह ऐसा नहीं करेंगे । . . . (व्यवधान)

**श्री बाजी (इंदौर) :** विशेषाधिकार तो नहीं बनता लेकिन सदन में बार बार यह कहा गया है और आपने भी व्यवस्था दी है तब भी गर्वमेंट ऐसा कर रही है तो आप हमें बताइए किस तरह से हम गर्वमेंट को सेंसर कर सकते हैं ? यह कोई नया सवाल नहीं है । बार बार उठाया जाता है और बार बार ऐसा किया जाता है डेलीबरेटली, ग्रासली और इनकारिजबली ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मेरा ख्याल है अब और मुझे कहने की जरूरत नहीं है । बहुत कुछ कहा गया ।

**श्री कपूर सिंह (लुधियाना) :** डांटने में क्या कठिनाई है ? . . . (व्यवधान)

12.12 hrs.

# RE: CALLING ATTENTION NOTICES

## LIFTING OF EMERGENCY AND RELEASE OF D.I.R. DETENUS

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Sir, you have rejected our calling atten-

tion notice on the Chief Ministers' conference. I have been requesting you every day that some statement should be made on the lifting of the emergency and release of D.I.R. detenus.

**Mr. Speaker:** Every day he is raising it.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Every day people are arrested and being put in jail. Why don't you ask them to make a statement?

**The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha):** He must have a little patience. I assure him that within two or three days government will make some statement about it. (Interruptions).

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** We do not know what is going to be said in that statement. But it is a fact that they have already stated something in the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party's executive committee and got the endorsement. Some sort of policy has also been stated there. This is very bad. . . .

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** He is absolutely wrong. (Interruptions).

**श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बात गलत है ।

**Mr. Speaker:** Order now. Members will please resume their seats.

**श्री बागड़ी :** यह गेटियो से खबर आ चुकी है । अध्यक्ष महोदय, . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब इस तरह से तो नहीं चल सकता . . .

**श्री बागड़ी :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप पहले मुझे तो मेरा बात . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब आप मुझे आर्डर देंगे कि मैं बैठ जाऊँ और आप खड़े हो जायें । (व्यवधान) मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि आप बैठ जाइए ।

**श्री बागड़ी :** मेरी दफा प्रजीव बात होती है। मैं भी आपकी तरह से कुछ कह सकता हूँ। और मैंने लोक सभा की मर्यादा में बात कही है।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब आप बैठ जाइए। जब तक मैं आपको बुलाऊँ नहीं तब तक आप नहीं कह सकते।

**श्री बागड़ी :** लोक सभा को अधिकार है...

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** लोक सभा आप अपने आपको क्यों समझ लेते हैं? लोक सभा का मतलब सारे सदन से है।... (व्यवधान)... ऐसा नहीं कर सकते आप (व्यवधान).....

**श्री बागड़ी :** यह आपकी इजाजत से बोल रहे थे? आप मुझ इजाजत दीजिए।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** नहीं, ठहर जाइए। जब मैं आपको बुलाऊंगा तब खड़े होंइएगा।

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** Our difficulty has already been voiced by Mr. Dwivedy. It is only proper for the ruling party to have its own discussions in a democracy. But they have given publicity to those discussions in advance of the announcement of their policies in this House. Apart from the double publicity which they would get for whatever they want to do, the more important grievance is that this House will appear in the eyes of the public as only a kind of rubber-stamping authority for decisions which have already been taken in their party discussions which are already published in the papers. That would be derogatory to the status of this House. Therefore, what I would suggest is, let them continue to have their discussions, but for God's sake let them abstain from this temptation of going to the Press and giving publicity to this.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Sir, my submission is only this. The purpose for

which the Calling Attention Notice was given was this. That day when I raised that issue...

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not discussing the Calling Attention Notice.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** I would only like to draw your kind attention to this news that has appeared in the *Statesman* dated 24th April, 1966. There it is said:

"Restricted use of DIR likely—Mr. Nanda is understood to have indicated today at a meeting of the executive of the Congress Parliamentary Party that the Government will....".

**An hon. Member:** It is only "understood".

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** I know what is meant by "understood". Then it says:

"...that the Government will shortly take steps to restrict the use of the Defence of India Rules to 'sensitive' border areas."

Apart from that, from today's *Times of India* we have come to know that the Central Government has issued instructions to the States for rescinding the warrants pending against some 30 people in Uttar Pradesh and some other people are also likely to be released. If they want some more time, let them have it. You may not agree to admit Calling Attention Notices or Adjournment Motions. But I only want that let a statement be issued and let the country heave a sigh of relief.

**श्री बागड़ी :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा निवेदन सिर्फ इतना था कि सदन के अन्दर मन्त्रालय और सरकार जब सदन चल रहा हो और ऐसे कोई जरूरी और अहम फैसले करें उस वक़्त अपना एलान सदन को देने के बजाय बाहर दे तो गलतफहमी फैलती है और सदस्यों को तो इसमें नहीं होता कि क्या

## [श्री बागड़ी]

फैसला किया है तो सदन के सदस्यों को अधिकार है कि वह आपकी शरण में जाकर यह सूचना प्राप्त कर सक कि सही फैसला क्या दिया गया है और इसके लिए मैं आपको बताऊं कि अखबार ही नहीं, जब पार्लियामेंट चल रही हो, सदन चल रहा हो, तो यह सरकार रेडियो से और समाचार-पत्रों से पहले प्रचार कर देती है तो फिर उसकी असलियत को जानने के लिए और कोई चारा नहीं रह जाता सदन के मेम्बरों को कि किस तरह से असलियत की जानकारी हासिल की जाये। उसका एक ही तरीका है कि अव्वल तो आपके पास कॉलिग अटेंशन या और किसी तरीके से रखा जाये जो सही सूचना यहां पर मिले और इसीलिए आपके सामने यह रखा गया था कॉलिग अटेंशन। आपने नामजूर कर दिया और सदन की बेइज्जती का सवाल आया, विशेषाधिकार का तो वह बना नहीं तो फिर कौन सा तरीका रह जाता है कि सदन को सही बात की जानकारी हो सके? और सदन को सही जानकारी न हो और उससे देश में गलतफहमी भी हो, यह सदन के साथ बड़ा अन्याय है। हम आपका संरक्षण चाहेंगे कि आप मंत्रियों को बचाने के बजाये सदन के मेम्बरों को बचाने की कृपा करें।

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee** (Calcutta Central): Sir, I am sure we shall be told that the Press has the right to give publicity or make a statement and all that kind of thing. This matter has proceeded so far and it has been happening so frequently. Without authoritative hand-outs from the spokesmen of the Congress Parliamentary Party the Press can never conceivably be in a position to give publicity to the so-called decisions in the way that they have done. This country, and the Parliament trying to represent the country as best as it may, it is trying to get information from the Government. But in the meantime, for purposes of party political propaganda they are getting hand in glove with the Press

to give publicity to matters which should come first of all before the House. You have said repeatedly in this House, and your predecessor also, that policy statements or any information in regard to policy decisions, particularly those about which the country is so much concerned, should be made first of all in this House even before a Press Conference could be made or taken into confidence. This has happened every time. But this is being done every time the spokesmen of the Government party give out hand-outs to the Press and these matters come out in the Press. We want to know this. When Members try to take recourse to parliamentary method by Calling Attention Notices or whatever else it might be, to find information, they are blocked. I do not blame you; perhaps under the Rules you cannot accept some of them, but the fact of the matter remains that all over the country the thing is noised about and the Congress Party tries to take advantage of it.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad** (Bhagalpur): Sir, in the past also in this House this question has been raised and you have given your ruling. It is said that the Congress Party discussed certain matters or situations and this has appeared in the press. Sir, I want to know from you whether we, Congress Members, are not within our rights to discuss the burning problems in our party meeting? Are we not within our rights to ask our Government to take certain decisions?

Hon. Members talk about publicity being given to our deliberations. As a matter of fact, the position is that it is more the members of the opposition who call the press men and give an account of what they have discussed in their party meetings. I think it is a healthy method of working democracy if we discuss burning problems like DIR, emergency, food situation or the Naga situation in our

party meetings. If the hon. Members feel that the Congress Party has got no right to discuss these matters in their party meeting, then ..... (interruptions). Please do not shout. I hope they will give me the same attention as we are giving to them. If they do not, then they should not expect it from us.... (interruptions). It is true that when a policy decision is being announced, it should be made first in Parliament, because Parliament is dear to our heart also..... (interruptions). I know these gentlemen. Let them hear me. I was saying that if a policy decision is being announced when the Parliament is in session, it should be announced in the House.

But every time they try to cast a reflection that Congress Party members are not within their competence or rights to discuss these matters in the executive committee, then I am sorry to say that wisdom has not dawned on them..... (interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** Now the Minister.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya** (Serampore): Sir, may I point out that I raised this question earlier....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. He cannot speak in this manner. I will give him an opportunity afterwards.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** After the Minister has spoken? Then how will my point be answered?

**Mr. Speaker:** Let him resume his seat.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** Sir, I am not divulging any secret when I tell the House, through you, that Government has not taken any final decision in this matter. Even today we have had discussion in the Cabinet and we have not come to any final decision. Merely because something appears in the newspapers, how can hon. Members take it that Government have come to a decision.... (Interruptions).

श्री सत्य नारायण (मुंगेर) : पंजाब की सीमा के बारे में आप का प्रस्ताव प्रकाशित हो चुका है.....

अध्यक्ष महोदय : दूसरा सवाल है ।

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** I tell you here and now that no final decision has been taken. We are still considering and discussing the matter. In the course of that, we have discussed the matter with the Executive Committee members of our party. What is wrong there?

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** Mr. Speaker, only the other day this point was raised. I pointed out then that the election to Public Accounts Committee and Estimates Committee is going to be held on the 27th and those members who are still in detention..

**Mr. Speaker:** Let him confine himself to the first point. That has not yet been decided. What he is saying is a different matter altogether. Let us finish the first point.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** On this matter my view is that all policy decisions and connected issues should be announced first in parliament and then publicity should be given to it.

**Shri Kapur Singh** (Ludhiana): To begin with, I would like to congratulate the hon. Minister and the Leader of the House on the position that he has firmly taken. That is the correct position to take. But while it may be the case that in this country it is not Parliament that rules but only the ruling party, if the ruling party tries to give the impression, as it is insidiously trying to give, that there is one-party rule in this country, it is the most sinister move. It is against this that we on this side of the House are protesting, and not against the deliberations of the party. If the hon. Members of the ruling party are unable to appreciate the point I am making, I pity them. That is the most important point..... (Interruptions).

[Shri Kapur Singh]

Once the ruling party soars to the heights of arrogance to which it has already gone... (*Interruptions*).

**श्री रामसेवक यादव (बागबंकी) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री भागवत झा आजाद और अभी माननीय सत्यनारायण सिंह को सुनने के पश्चात् जो यहां पर एक नुक्ता उठाया गया उस की सफाई नहीं हुई। यहां किसी को एतराज नहीं है कि कांग्रेस एक नहीं हजार चीजें अच्छी, बुरी बकवास की बातें करें, आपस में बहस करे हमें उस में कोई आपत्ति नहीं है...

**Mr. Speaker:** Order. order. What is this?

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** मुझे आप से निवेदन करना है कि जब लोक सभा चल रही हो तो सरकार के नीति सम्बन्धी वक्तव्य यहां पहले आने चाहिए और ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए जैसा कि अभी हो रहा है कि लोक सभा चल रही होती है लेकिन सरकार के नीति सम्बन्धी ब्यान अखबार में आ जाते हैं और आल इंडिया रेडियो जो सरकार का भोंपू है वह उस के बारे में बोलता रहता है ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए। आज लोक सभा को जैसे एन मुद्दा बना दिया गया है।

**Mr. Speaker:** Some hon. Members are determined to degenerate and denigrate this House. They are trying every day to take it to lower and lower depths.

I have earlier given my ruling on this point and that stands today. I stick to it. It is open to the Government to discuss any matter inside their party, but if any statement relating to that matter is to be released to the press, the House should get the information before it is released to the press. That stands even now and that would be the correct position. The Leader of the House has assured us that no decision has yet been taken.. (*Interruption*).

**Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar):** All India Radio has announced it and All India Radio is a Government organ.

**श्री मधु लिमये :** भारत सुरक्षा कानून का अभी फैसला नहीं हुआ है लेकिन सीमा निर्धारण समिति का बाकायदा प्रस्ताव आ गया है।

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** How will Members, who are in detention, cast their votes?

**Mr. Speaker:** They cannot vote.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** Where will democracy be then? Just now you were talking about decorum... (*Interruption*). You also said that day that it were better if they were brought here. What is the harm if Government brought them here? The Supreme Court can bring them here.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. He cannot proceed in this manner.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** Sir, you were pleased to tell us the other day that you would ascertain the practice in certain State Assemblies. My information was—I spoke on the basis of information received—that in the West Bengal Assembly the practice of having postal ballot was there for members who were in detention. You told us that you would ascertain if that was so and if it was practicable for your Secretariat to do so, you would direct accordingly. I would like to know whether you have made that ascertainment.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have come to know that in Bengal it has been allowed. but I have studied the Constitutional position and, I am afraid, I cannot follow that practice here. Here, only if Members are brought here they might vote. So long as they are not here, only votes of Members present and voting are to be recorded.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad):** The Minister of Home Affairs may have no objection.

12.28 hrs.

# DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—Contd.

## MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS— contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now take up further discussion and voting on Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of External Affairs. Shri Ansar Harvani may continue his speech.

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** Could I know about the time table, Sir, because it appears that this cannot be concluded today?

**Mr. Speaker:** At 4 O'clock we are taking up the other thing. He might reply tomorrow.

**Shri Ansar Harvani (Bisauli):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the other day while speaking on the Demands of the Minister of External Affairs I was saying about the committee which has been appointed by the Minister of External Affairs under the chairmanship of Shri Raghavan Pillai, I repeat that this committee was very much needed but..... (Interruption).

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members wishing to leave the House might do it silently. They should not stand in the passages and talk to other Members.

**Shri Ansar Harvani:** As I said earlier, in India we are new to international politics and diplomacy. Our External Affairs Ministry in the last 18 years under the guidance of that dynamic leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, did very well, but the time has come when a high level commission should be appointed to make enquiries and suggestions about the various organisations under the Ministry of External Affairs. We have got a Consular Department; we have got a Protocol Department; we have got a Protocol Department and we have got a Publicity Department. I feel all these Departments need streamlining in view of the developments that have taken place in recent years.

As I said earlier, the Committee which has been appointed under the Chairmanship of Sir Raghavan Pillai has much scope and apart from that Sir Raghavan Pillai is hardly the type of person who can do justice to this sort of work. I want to remind the External Affairs Minister that in this very House there are two senior personalities who have ripe experience of international conferences, of international politics, and their services should be utilised for making suggestions and for making enquiries about the various organisations under the Ministry of External Affairs.

Year after year, I have been saying on the floor of this House and have been appealing to the Ministry of External Affairs to improve its publicity organisation. It has often been argued that, by and large, the publicity organisation of the Ministry of External Affairs is very good. But my opinion is different about it. I know it very well that on Kashmir issue, on Kutch issue and on other issues, our external publicity has failed in many of the countries. I know it very well and I perfectly realise that we do not have those resources which the United States of America has and I realise that we do not have those resources which the Soviet Union has but at the same time, a poor country as we are, we have no dearth of dynamic and dedicated people, we have no dearth of people who can do justice to the publicity organisation of the Ministry of External Affairs. I hope and trust that the hon. Minister will look into this and streamline the publicity organisation.

This morning, during the Question Hour, there was a Question about the Director General of the All India Radio that he is not very competent. The All India Radio should play a very important role in foreign publicity. That media should be fully utilised for publicity in foreign countries. Years have passed, in spite of the promises, in spite of the decisions, to have the powerful transmitters but

[Shri Ansar Harvani]

still we do not have them today. I suggest the hon. Minister of External Affairs to approach the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and strengthen the radio station in Julundur so that it may do publicity work and propaganda work in Pakistan.

Almost every speaker who preceded me has talked about the Tashkent Declaration. I whole-heartedly welcome the Tashkent Declaration though I know very well that Pakistan has not shown the Tashkent spirit. But at the same time, I warn this House that we should not be complacent about the attitude of Pakistan. We should remember that the retreating British imperialists who created Pakistan have left a pistol on the heart of India by forming Pakistan as they created Israel as pistol on the heart of Arab world. Pakistan, by its very nature, by its very character, can never be friendly to India. It is a country which has no common boundary, which has no common language, except the hatred and fear of India. Therefore, it is the task of the Indian people, it is the task of the Indian Government, to fraternise with the progressive forces in Pakistan who are fighting for liberation.

I take this opportunity of sending my greetings to that valiant soldier, world freedom fighter, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who is fighting for the freedom of Pakhtoonistan. I take this opportunity of sending my greetings to workers and peasants in East Bengal who are fighting for the freedom of East Bengal from the domination of Rawalpindi. We should sympathise with these people. As long as Pakistan continues like this under the influence of big powers, she can never be friendly to India. Therefore, it is the duty of the people of India, it is the duty of the Government of India, to sympathise with the freedom-loving people and fraternise with the freedom-loving people in Pakistan.

I regret to say that when we had our trouble with Pakistan, we often talked of Pakhtoonistan and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Today, nobody talks of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. It is an insult to that great man. Do you think that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is going to be the stooge of the Government of India? Those who think like this are living in a delusion. Much has been said about our relations with our ancient masters, the United Kingdom and with our new friends, the USA. I have great admiration for the country which has the mother of the Parliaments. I have great admiration for the country which produced Lincoln, Jefferson, Roosevelt and Kennedy. But I realise at present that Americans think that India's difficulty is Yankee's opportunity. Let us tell them that we need food, but at the same time let us also tell them that the Indian people are prepared to face hunger, starvation, forced marches and death but will not compromise their sovereignty before PL-480 wheat. Let us tell them in so many words that we have our many difficulties and we can tighten our belts, but we shall not surrender the right to be free, before the fertiliser deal. These are the things which should be thoroughly examined by the Ministry of External Affairs so that we do not compromise or surrender our freedom or sovereignty.

As for our relations with the United Kingdom, everybody knows very well what they have been. We have seen the role of the big brother of the Commonwealth when Pakistan had committed aggression on this country. We have seen the role of the Patton tanks also. Therefore, once bitten, twice shy, India should realise what America and the United Kingdom mean towards India.

During the conflict with Pakistan, there was another country which showed hostility towards this country. I refer to the Federal Republic of Germany. They are also behaving in international politics as big brothers

and as rich people; they also think that they can purchase the underdeveloped and poorer countries.

I would appeal to the Minister of External Affairs that he should revise our attitude towards the German Democratic Republic. The German Democratic Republic is offering us the best possible terms for trade, the best possible terms for economic aid and the best possible terms for credit. But I fail to understand why the bureaucrats in the South Block are shy to recognise the Democratic Republic of Germany. After all, do they not realise that the two Germanys have come to co-exist? Or is it that the pressure of the West is over them? Or is it that the relations of the bosses in the South Block with the United Kingdom make them shy to recognise the German Democratic Republic?

I hope and trust that our Prime Minister who has been brought up in a democratic tradition, our Prime Minister in whose veins runs the blood of that man who stood up on the ashes of Barcelona, and who while the Spanish Republic fell, warned against the danger from Hitler, will also realise the new danger from the Federal Republic of West Germany which is being armed to its teeth by the Anglo-Americans who are opposed to socialism and to other progressive forces.

Before I conclude, I once again congratulate the Minister of External Affairs on his achievement. Once again, I congratulate our great Prime Minister on the wonderful trip that she had to the Soviet Union, to the United Kingdom and the USA. But at the same time, I would appeal to her and also to the Minister of External Affairs to be more realistic about our attitude towards the United Kingdom and the USA and to look more and more towards those people who have common ideology, and who have got common bonds of socialism and socialist thinking.

**Shri Frank Anthony** (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): I am sorry that the Prime Minister is not here, because

I would like to pay her a well-deserved tribute for what I feel was a very successful debut on the international stage. Quite frankly, because of the many factors involved, her task was not only difficult but her task was delicate. Quite frankly, I was a little anxious that amid her many engagements, press interviews, having necessarily to make off-the-cuff statements, she might, because she was new to her difficult assignment, say something that might give offence to this country, and to our sense of self-respect, and might give offence to friendly governments. Because of that, I scanned rather anxiously the press reports. Quite frankly, I scrutinised them with the meticulousness of a lawyer looking for loopholes and for chinks. I was very happy when I found that I could find no statement which was really repugnant to our self-respect or which could weaken our position abroad.

Actually, if I may say so, using a popular idiom, the Prime Minister was not guilty of a single gaffe, although we might, because she was making her debut, have forgiven her one or two. I find Shri Ranga is not here, but may I say, with great respect to him, that his criticism of the Prime Minister's statement on her visit abroad was not only unfair, but to me it was rather ungenerous. What Shri Ranga seemed to imply was that the Prime Minister had come back empty-handed. But that is precisely why I would commend the Prime Minister. I feel that her approach and her statements were right. She deliberately did not flaunt the begging bowl; on the other hand, what she sought to do was to remove misunderstandings, to create larger areas of understanding, and in doing that, I believe she enhanced the appreciation of India's foreign policy. If Shri Ranga is thinking in terms only of aid, in the final analysis, because of that enhanced appreciation of our policies, we might perhaps well get much of the assistance that we need in the gigantic tasks that face us.



[Shri Frank Anthony]

I believe that what the Prime Minister did was quite right. She stressed the fact that India's role is a crucial role, that our position is a vital position, and that the very fact that we are seeking to make a success of the largest democracy in the world is a vital contribution to world peace.

May I say this that today when in our political behaviour, there is so much abrasiveness, so much almost—I say that with regret—deliberate crudity, when vulgar language and coarse behaviour seem to be at a premium for certain sections, not of this House, but outside, and inside the legislatures, the fact that the Prime Minister performed her task with grace was a not inconsiderable asset? I believe that because of this grace, her reception was a warm one, not only by the American Government but by the American people.

I was also happy that the Prime Minister showed no tendency to pontificate, to lecture to the American Government as to what their policy should be on South Vietnam, beyond reiterating our hope that we have a vital stake in this vulnerable area, reiterating the hope that there would be a just and peaceful solution. I feel that every right-thinking country—and I deliberately exclude China—is anxious, as we are, that this conflict in South Vietnam should not escalate into a world conflict; at the same time, we cannot, we dare not, run away from the grave implications of South Vietnam being overrun by the Viet Cong, supported as they are by regular North Vietnamese troops and by massive military aid from China.

I am one of those who are unhappy about the political instability in South Vietnam. But that is no argument for saying that because there is instability in a particular country, it should be made the subject of subversion and of aggression. If we accept that thesis, then it will be an open invitation not only to China but to her satellites

assisted by China to overrun not only South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand, but after that perhaps Burma and Malaysia. As I said on a previous occasion, once that process is set in motion it will only be a question of time when the Communist Chinese noose will be drawn tightly and ever more tightly around India's own neck.

Unfortunately, there are no signs of Hanoi being prepared to come to the conference table. And I am convinced that China will do everything that is possible to prevent Hanoi from coming to the conference table. I hope the Minister of External Affairs will take note of it, that India does not play the role that she can play; I feel that India, as the Chairman of the International Control Commission, can play a not negligible role in persuading the Russians to play a role. I feel that in South Vietnam, the Russians can be persuaded to play a decisive role, despite what China may seek to do. I believe that the Russians are as desirous as we are to checkmate Chinese subversion and aggression in Asia. If Russia can be persuaded to use her influence, there can be a conference, provided—I say this advisedly, probably to the chagrin of my hon. friend, Shri Hiren Mukerjee,—there is no insistence on American troops being first withdrawn, because if there is insistence on American troops being first withdrawn, it will be the same as demanding unconditional surrender from the people of South Vietnam. But if there is not that precondition, I have no doubt that the Russians, if they want, and with our persuasion, can bring the parties to the conference table. After that, there can be a withdrawal not only of American troops but also of North Vietnamese regulars; after that, perhaps there can be a cease-fire guaranteed by the UN.

I was also glad that the Prime Minister, while underlining India's intention to observe the Tashkent Agreement, both in the letter and even more in the spirit, said that it

was too late for us to talk of a plebiscite in Kashmir. She said it categorically—and I am glad she said it—that two invasions in Kashmir have completely destroyed any marginal value that former UN resolutions might have had. As I said on a previous occasion, I was one of those who had grave misgivings about the results of the Tashkent Agreement. I said then, and I repeat, that it was not a diplomatic victory. So far as India was concerned, it was a deliberate, calculated risk, a risk that once we vacated large strategic areas, once we vacated strategic passes, Pakistan would go back to her old hate-India policies, as she has done today. As I said on a previous occasion, the ink on the Tashkent Declaration was not dry, when not only the sabre-rattling Bhutto but President Ayub Khan when he got back to Pakistan, immediately wrote a footnote to the Tashkent Declaration, having failed to get what he had originally insisted on, some kind of a self-executing agreement with regard to Kashmir; as soon as he got back, he said that that was the dominant item.

I know that most Members of this House do not study their briefs very closely, including Members on the Treasury Benches. But I have re-studied the Tashkent Declaration, and for anyone, including President Ayub Khan to say that Kashmir is the dominant item of the agreement is to say something which is not only palpably untenable but is also palpably disingenuous.

Let me briefly enumerate what we said so far as Kashmir was concerned. In para I, all that we said was—this was not the agreement, in this para—that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed and each side put its respective position. Then we come to the agreement. In para II what we said was that there would be an agreement. The agreement started from para II of the Tashkent Declaration. It was that there would be a withdrawal of all armed personnel to the positions held before the 5th August.

Para III was an agreement in principle of non-interference in internal affairs. Para IV was the agreement to discourage propaganda by either country against the other. Here I regret to say that as soon as he got back, President Ayub Khan broke this specific item of the agreement by resurrecting the old hate-India campaign. Article VI—I do not think even the External Affairs Minister has underlined it,—is in my respectful view, the heart and core of the Tashkent Agreement.

In para 6 this is what we said. We would consider measures for the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications, cultural exchange. That was para 6. We also said in para 6 that we would take measures to implement the existing agreements. This was, as I say, the heart of the agreement. Both parties bound themselves solemnly by para 6 to explore this large area for increasing goodwill and co-operation between the two countries. And, in fact, India has sought to do that. We have sought to improve trade and economic relations. We have sought to restore rail and air traffic. We have sought to release impounded cargoes and goods. But Pakistan deliberately refuses to implement this.

As I said, I was of the view—I do not think Government agreed—that from the very beginning, in training guerillas, in training Mujahids and sending them into Kashmir, Pakistan was already in concert with China. The fact that the Chinese, during the Indo-Pakistan conflict, gave us an ultimatum further reinforced that view of mine.

I say this, that China has no intention of allowing Pakistan to implement the Tashkent Declaration, for two very good reasons. She will not, if she can help it, allow Russia any sphere of influence in Asia, because it is part of Chinese strategy, despite what the Communists may say, to claim exclusive domination of South-east Asia. Secondly, she will not

[Shri Frank Anthony]

allow India to become stronger if she can help it, because she realises that India is the sole democratic bulwark against Communist domination in Southeast Asia.

I say this with regret, I repeat it. I was a member of the Indo-Pakistan Conciliation Committee. As the leader of a recognised minority, we had more stakes than anyone else in an *entente*, at least a *detente* first between India and Pakistan, and then some kind of *modus vivendi*. But I feel that Pakistan had no intention of implementing the Tashkent agreement. She misled not only India, she misled Russia. I say this also. She gained very much more than she lost; by implementing only para 2, by going back to the 5th August line, she gained much more than she lost, and after that she has no intention, she never had any intention, of implementing the other parts.

May I say this that recently, a little ironically I believe for the Americans, Pakistan has shown without a semblance of any equivocation her concert with China? I do not know how the Americans are reconciling themselves to the fact that here is a country, armed to the teeth presumably to contain communism, which gave pride of place in their recent military parade to Chinese tanks and Chinese planes; and, of course, pride of place in no uncertain terms, because the Chinese planes were led by their Chief of Air Staff.

Recently I was reading a report, presumably authoritative, that the Chinese have trained, or are in the process of training, at least 150 Pakistani pilots, that they have gifted at least 80 tanks to Pakistan. I feel that this latest exhibition has only lifted a corner of the concert, has only exposed a corner of the concert between Pakistan and China, and we cannot, we dare not, be under any illusion.

I see here, I will not name them, that the Communists today are seeking again to revive our illusions with

regard to China, our illusions which were responsible for our being caught so utterly unprepared during their aggression in NEFA. I say this to the Prime Minister that she cannot have the illusion that her father had. We dare not have them, we cannot. I have no doubt that Mr. Wilson will continue to nurse his illusions. I do not know whether they are illusions or prejudices, but I sincerely hope that neither the Americans nor the Russians will nurse any illusions or be so naive as to nurse illusions about the China-Pakistan concert.

May I say just a few words more about this? For us it is not only unfortunate but it is a grim fact, this Sino-Pakistan concert, a fact of which we must take full account in our preparations and in our policies for the future.

I heard the Chinese radio fairly recently. They acclaimed blatantly the violence in West Bengal, because I can understand it, because they knew, as many of us knew, that that violence was organised by a party which owes allegiance to Chinese tactics and to Chinese ideology. Even more recently they acclaimed blatantly the action of the Mizo rebels. And I feel that we can expect Pakistan to go along with China. Already they have given aid and comfort, training and weapons to the Nagas, and I feel they will give it increasingly to the Mizos because they are in a position to do so.

May I say a last word about Rhodesia? I was one of those who said on a previous occasion that we could expect Mr. Harold Wilson to continue to be ambivalent with regard to Rhodesia. I do not want to be personal, but in spite of his Yorkshire accent, I have no doubt that he maintains his double standards, one for the whites and the other for the coloured. Mr. Wilson is as much a dyed-in-the-wool reactionary as the most reactionary Tory Blimp. I am very glad that at the United Nations the Indian

representative joined in the call for the use of force against the White, racist, rebel, minority Government of Rhodesia, because Mr. Wilson, as I say, has shown his kind of pigmentary predilections, he has got his own colour-inspired Immigration Act. And we can be certain that he will continue deliberately to soft-pedal any action against the White, rebel, minority, and I have no doubt that he is not going to do anything with regard to the assistance given by the White Government of South Africa or even by the off-White Government of Portugal, which will enable the Rhodesians to break this blockade. And therefore I hope India will play a decisive role.

I believe that even in the United Nations there are double standards, one for the Whites and the other for the coloureds, and that the only hope of the coloured people of Rhodesia is concerted action first by the independent nations of Africa using every weapon they have, if they can get American help,—I do not know whether America will go along with Britain—but if they cannot, then with whatever help we can give, especially with Russian help, because without that I do not believe the White racist, rebel minority Government is going to be brought down.

**Shri Ravindra Varma (Thiruvella):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I support the Demands of the Ministry of External Affairs. In doing so, I would like to join my hon. friend who has spoken before me, in congratulating our Prime Minister on the considerable measure of success that she has achieved for this country during her recent visit to the United States. There were many in our country who were, as my hon. friend who spoke before me said, rather sceptical, that she was going out for the first time on such an important mission. This scepticism has been scotched for all time because of the consummated skill with which our Prime Minister conducted herself in the United States.

I was, therefore extremely surprised yesterday to listen to the hon.

friend opposite, Mr. Mukerjee, who ridiculed her visit to the United States, suggested that she had issued an open invitation to the United States to come and set up a colony in this country, and said that she was on the verge of betraying this nation's policy of non-alignment.

Sir, this House is very much aware of Mr. Mukerjee's deep devotion to the cause of non-alignment. In fact, sir, if the Prime Minister had gone to the United States, condemned, as Mr. Mukerjee wanted, Herr Lubke, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, as a war criminal, if she had said that the demands of the Viet Cong and China should be accepted, that the only menace to peace in the world was the United States, and if she had taken out her sandals and pounded the desks in the President's room in Washington as Mr. Khrushchev did in the U.N., perhaps Mr. Mukerjee would have said that she had qualified to be considered a devotee of non-alignment.

**13 hrs.**

We have had this debate on non-alignment before in this House. We on this side of the House believe in non-alignment because non-alignment has stood this country in good stead, but that does not mean that we think that all the problems that this country may have to face at any time in history can be solved by a mere repetition of the fact that we believe in non-alignment. It is incumbent on us today when we examine the demands of this ministry to examine what are the conditions under which we are called upon to function and act, what are the circumstances in which the world finds itself today. Can we say today that the world is divided into two warring camps, East and West, one spearheaded by the USSR and the other by the USA, locked in total cold-war, ruled by hatred and suspicion, poised on the brink of a hot war, seeking friends on the periphery to encircle each other, seeking bases to sneak into each other's

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sky and spy, and to blast each other's industrial, economic and military potential?

13.02 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair].

Sir, the fact is that today there are no monolithic camps in the world. The world has witnessed the emergence of new, independent focal centres of thought. In the west, France has emerged as a country which is thinking independently about defence and international relations. In the East the emergence of China is well-known. The emergence of the third world comprising of countries which were under foreign domination, comprising of countries which today constitute the majority of the membership of the UN, comprising of countries which contain the majority of the population of the world is a factor that cannot be ignored when we try to say that the world is divided into black and white. The emergence of nuclear parity or near parity between the US and the USSR, the emergence of the struggle for influence in the third world and technological advances in the realm of weaponry which have made the need for a string of bases superfluous are factors which cannot be ignored. There is a significant outcome of these changes in the world. If we examine this we find, strangely enough, there is a common desire on the part of the USSR and the USA to seek a *modus vivendi*. Can we say today that the US and the USSR are poised against each other, trying to jump at each other's throat? There is much today that is common between them. There is the common interest in avoiding war because of a common realisation of the annihilation that war can cause,—not because either of these countries has, like Asoka abjured war for all time. There is a common interest in nuclear non-proliferation; there is a common fear of China upsetting the balance of hegemony in the world; there is the common fear of Chinese thoughtless and irresponsible bellicosity, Chinese

willingness to touch off conflict in the hope of embarrassing and embroiling the USSR on China's side against the USA; there is the common fear of the diplomatic and military strains of the tactics of limited war; there is the common desire to maintain the UN. Consequently, there is a common desire to contain China which the US shares with the USSR. This is an entirely new factor which no country can ignore except at its peril. Sir, one of these two countries is willing to rely on military, ideological and economic means to contain China, while the other, Russia, is anxious to confine itself to ideological and economic means and not to be compelled or coerced to resort to military means. This is the basic reality of the international situation which we cannot ignore today. Therefore, the policy which was fashioned at the time when the world was divided into east and west, depending primarily on military confrontation to extend ideological frontiers, a policy which was fashioned to meet the exigencies, of the effects and ramifications of such a division has to be thoroughly re-examined today. In the fifties, the two big powers were interested in weaning countries from each other. The US was interested in weaning away countries from Russia and the USSR was interested in weaning away countries from the US. The US was having a string of bases around Russia. At that time the US entered into an alliance with Pakistan and supported Pakistan on the question of Kashmir and the USSR supported the Indian case on Kashmir. What is the situation today? What has happened in the course of the recent Indo-Pakistan conflict? Both the governments are today anxious to befriend other countries, not to wean away the countries from each other, but to wean them away from China. The USSR wants that countries do not get friendly with China; the US wants countries do not get friendly with China. Both of them are quite willing to let the other use her influence in the parts of the world where her influence

works so that countries are weaned away from China. Pakistan is flirting with China; Pakistan is flirting with Washington and Pakistan is flirting with Moscow. Pakistan is proving how the price of easy virtue can be pulled up in this world. Therefore, in the course of the conflict between India and Pakistan the big powers realised that Pakistan had to be weaned from China. How can Pakistan be weaned from China? As far as India is concerned, India is a victim of Chinese aggression and there is very little danger of India becoming friendly with China. If the common objective in the world is to wean away countries from China, it is Pakistan which is to receive special attention. Both the USA and the USSR were therefore keen to wean Pakistan away from China. This they could hope to do only by offering Pakistan the hope that Pakistan would get from them, either of them or both of them together, what she could not get from China. The obsession of Pakistan with India is known. If Pakistan therefore had to be satisfied, Pakistan had to be offered something which naturally would have been at the cost of this country. This is the history of Tashkent. I do not want to enter into a discussion on the Declaration or analyse what happened in Tashkent. In Tashkent it was proved that Russia was the biggest gainer, diplomatic gainer of the India-Pakistan conflict; the USSR proved that she was not an idle spectator; she proved that she was willing to take initiative; she proved that in fact she was the only country among the big powers which could take initiative and get a favourable response from the two countries which were in conflict. She proved that she was willing to offer her good offices, that she was willing to exert diplomatic pressure; she showed to China and the United States that she was the big power that counted most in this part of the world.

Now, Sir, as far as this country is concerned, we have to realise that when Russia offered her good offices,

it certainly meant a departure from her well-established and well-recognised position in the past. It was well known that in the past Russia had always supported the Indian stand on Kashmir. I want India to be friendly with Russia. I know that India has received enormous economic and technical assistance from Russia. I know that at crucial times when we were about to be dragooned or blackmailed by the monopolistic powers of the west, it was Russia which came to our rescue and enabled us to industrialise our country on certain fronts where the west was not willing to help us. I grant all this, but it is not possible for me as an Indian to ignore the fact that there has been a shift in the Soviet attitude on Kashmir. In 1955, when Bulganin and Khrushchev came to this country, speaking in Srinagar they said that Kashmir was an integral part of India and that the Kashmir question had been settled for all time. Time and time again they said this in the UN, and they were quite-willing to use the much-hated veto to see that no other kind of opinion was expressed by the UN. The report of the ministry says that the view of the USSR remains the same on Kashmir. But as far as Yugoslavia is concerned, there is another version in the report. It says that Yugoslavia condemned Pakistani aggression, and gave clear and forthright support to India. Sir, when a country is willing to offer its good offices—two countries which are engaged in combat, it clearly means that that country has served notice that it no longer identifies its position with that of either of the two countries. Nobody can be so naive as to believe you if you say on the one hand "I identify my position with that of one of the two parties to the combat and yet, on the other hand, I want you to believe that I am neutral and I offer my good offices to you". Therefore, when the USSR offered its good offices it became clear that she was serving notice on this country that she was no longer identifying her position with that of India on Kashmir. There has

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therefore been a degree of change. If the original position of the USSR was hundred per cent the same as the Indian position, any change away from the position of India could only be a change towards the position of Pakistan.

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** We must be thankful to the USSR. The US and UK had armed Pakistan to the teeth. (*Interruption*)

**Shri Ravindra Varma:** That does not mean that we are bound down to be slaves. This is the Indian Parliament, and I am discussing the question here from India's point of view. I cannot take the position that because (*Shri Joachim Alva*. But for the massive armed USA assistance to Pakistan, we would not have been in this pass today) the hon. Member will have his say, and he need not now jump into the gun—we have received support or help or assistance from one country,—and certainly, as a self-respecting Indian, I cannot take the position—I am bound down for all time, I cannot throw dust in my own eyes. This country cannot throw dust in its own eyes. I shall not deal with this question at greater length.

Now, Sir, let me turn to the Tashkent agreement and its future. Everyone of us wants peace, and we were happy that the Tashkent agreement to some extent led to some kind of a situation in which there was some hope that there would be some kind of peace. I grant it. But that is quite different from saying as Shri H. N. Mukerjee said yesterday—that “we cannot satisfy ourselves by saying that the Tashkent agreement is there, that would be enough. We have to find out ways of taking further initiatives both in the case of Pakistan and China.” What is the Tashkent agreement? It is admitted that it is not a no-war pact; in fact we wanted a no-war pact. Pakistan was unwilling to accept the offer. It is admitted that the Tashkent Agreement is

not a renunciation of force for all time. It is admitted that it is not even a treaty of friendship. It is a mere reiteration of the obligations of the United Nations charter. We cannot forget the fact that these obligations existed for the last two decades. It was not at Tashkent that we signed the UN charter. These obligations did not prevent Pakistan from mounting aggression on this country, not once but many times, and refusing to vacate the aggression for many years. All that we got out of Tashkent was a reiteration of the obligations of the United Nations charter. I do not want to go into the question of withdrawal of forces to the August 5 line, nor do I want to go into the question as to how, time and time again, after the conclusion of the agreement, subsequent to it, Pakistan made it clear that they did not agree that Kashmir would be regarded as part of the Indian union, and that, on the other hand, they still reserved to themselves the right to aid insurrection and rebellion in Kashmir, etc. The subsequent conduct of Pakistan is one that should open many eyes. The scorched earth policy that she adopted when her forces withdrew the poisoning of drinking water, Pakistani spokesmen denying that the Tashkent agreement referred to non-interference in Kashmir, asserting their right to help the rebellion in Kashmir, and helping and assisting the Nagas and Mizos with weapons, the recent troop movements on our frontiers, and the persistent refusal to discuss matters other than Kashmir,—all these are things which we cannot ignore. Sometimes, therefore, in view of Pakistan's proclivities and the irrefutable evidence supplied by Pakistan, after the Tashkent agreement, one is apt to wonder whether, at Tashkent we were not inveigled into making a series of unilateral concessions in return for a reference to the Old Testament. Whether militarily it was not a voluntary resumption of vulnerability, and diplomatically a return to the era of gullibility. I do hope that the way we formulate our policy in the future

will prove that these are assumptions or fears are unwarranted.

Sir, I want to conclude by referring to the fact that in view of the changed situation, in which joint ventures and moves by interested big powers might create a situation in which we will have to work on an entirely different basis, it is necessary for us to review our foreign policy and to see whether there is sufficient resilience and flexibility in our policy to deal with the new dangers that the new division in the world poses, especially to the programme and the policies of less powerful nations, the danger that the two big powers may, when they choose to act jointly, attempt to close all channels of essential aid and drag on the weaker nations into accepting their views.

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

**Shri Ravindra Varma:** I am concluding. The sovereignty of such countries may very well be in danger in the future. Their territorial integrity may be in danger. This might have happened to India in 1965. But this is a lesson which the smaller nations of the world cannot ignore in future. The real struggle, therefore, is for the assertion of our right to be what we are entitled to be. It is very clear, therefore, that we have to strengthen the base of our economy and our defence.

I wish to conclude, therefore, by referring to what the hon. Member for Jalore said yesterday, the fact that the challenges today have proved that if India is to have an independent, effective foreign policy, she must be able to achieve self-reliant progress, not depending totally, either on the west or on the east. We must be able to build up economic and industrial progress on the basis of national self-reliance. This alone will enable us to have sufficient defence potential and therefore to pursue an independent foreign policy.

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** Besides being statistical, the Ministry's report should give a broad outline of government policy towards the problems that affect us vitally. Although this report is an improvement on its earlier counterparts, I would say that it has a long distance to travel yet. Whatever that may be, on page 31, the Government has enunciated its policy towards the imbroglio in Vietnam on the basis of the replies given by the External Affairs Minister on the floor of this House. There is a disturbing news about it in the *New York Times* in which it is reported that the policy statement as adumbrated in this report is different; that the American Charge d'Affaires in Delhi hurried to the Foreign Minister and to the Foreign Secretary. It is also reported that our Foreign Minister expressed regret and said that the statement that calling for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam "was an unfortunate mistake and that did not reflect the official position on Vietnam." It is also reported that our Foreign Secretary said that this report was drafted by a junior officer in the Ministry who was reprimanded for this policy statement on Vietnam. If the report in the *New York Times* is correct, then, it raises two very significant issues. One is, who is responsible for this report submitted to Parliament; is it the Foreign Minister or the Foreign Secretary or some junior officer in the Ministry; secondly,...

**Shri Swaran Singh:** A clarification can avoid all this. The *New York Times* report is incorrect; I never expressed any regret to him nor, has the Foreign Secretary ever reprimanded any junior officer. All those things that appeared in the press are incorrect. No argument need be built on that.

**Shri Hem Barua:** I am very happy to hear this. But I would like it if the hon. Minister contradicted the report as soon as it was published. It was not contradicted, and even an opportunity was not ceased to contradict that



[Shri Hem Barua]

report here in this House. Whatever that might be, I am interested in knowing another thing also; whether the Government have amended our policy on Vietnam at the American intervention or not. If they have amended our policy on Vietnam, as laid down in this report, then my question is, how could Government do it without referring the matter to Parliament. If the Government have not done it, I would be very happy to hear that.

Somehow or other, our foreign policy does not reflect our national needs. The signal failure of our foreign policy is to define the basic minimum of national interests in international affairs. It is always flexible, elastic and ready to suit other people's interests rather than ours. I am sorry to say that decisions are taken on international matters to suit other people's interests and not ours. May I say, our foreign policy is like instant coffee, which is always ready to suit other people's pleasures, whims and temper. Our national interest, I feel, we have betrayed and butchered at Tashkent under Soviet auspices. If our national interests were not butchered or betrayed in relation to Vietnam under American intervention, as reported in the *New York Times*, I shall be very happy to hear that.

Mr. Shastri, the architect of the Tashkent Declaration, is no more with us today. A great son of India has passed away at a distant land. Did Mr. Shastri die of physical strain? No; Mr. Shastri did not die of physical strain. He died of emotional strain. As a clever and intelligent statesman, he knew that the Tashkent Declaration was going to be a massive fraud perpetrated on India. True it is that Mr. Shastri has sacrificed his life on the altar of peace at Tashkent. That does not mean we should be sentimental and close our eyes ostrich-like to the loopholes and lacunae all too visible in the fabrics of the Tashkent Declaration. I am sorry to say that our government seem to have pinned their

faith too much on that particular clause in the Tashkent Declaration which speaks of non-interference in the internal affairs of a State and they seem to think that that particular clause embraces Kashmir also. My submission is, does Pakistan think in a like manner? The reply is, no. According to Pakistan, Kashmir is a disputed territory. I am sorry to say that by discussing Kashmir not only in the capitals of the world like Washington, Moscow and London, but also in places like Tashkent and Rawalpindi, our government have supplemented to this viewpoint of Pakistan. If Kashmir is an integral part of India, which it is, why do you go about discussing Kashmir in season and out of season, here, there and everywhere? Is it because Pakistan has called it a disputed territory and you are not sure of yourself?

President Ayub Khan also has hailed the Tashkent Declaration as the opening of a door to a dialogue on Kashmir. He has lived up to the promises and assurances he had given to his people.

The Pakistani aggression of September, 1965 has brought another relevant fact into focus. India does not have a single friend in the world. This is what our foreign policy has achieved so far. Not a single nation of the world, not to speak of condemning or accusing Pakistan for committing aggression on India, even objected to Pakistan's commission of aggression on India, whereas nations of the world, big and small besides Indonesia and China turned to the active support of Pakistan against India. We know about Saudi Arabia doing a little bit of gun-running. We know about the acrobatics of Jordan. We know Saudi Arabia has offered a loan of 100 million dollars to Pakistan to buy arms and ammunition. In our case, we did not have any support from any quarter. Even our friend from Britain, Mr. Harold Wilson, came out with an ebullient statement condemning India for allegedly committing aggression on Pakistan, which India did not do. In

spite of what Mr. Harold Wilson's High Commissioner in Delhi, Mr. Freeman, might say, the statement of the British Prime Minister remain, I am afraid, Mr. Harold Wilson is a prisoner of the British past and also a prisoner of the 19th century British imperialistic ego. When Mr. Harold Wilson behaves in this way, I have an apprehension that this Commonwealth, about which people talk so much, might go the way of the holy Roman Empire. What is common about the Commonwealth, except the common conference table? I do not find anything common about it. India must say in a straight forward way that if the senior partner in the Commonwealth Britain behaves in this partisan manner, it will be impossible for India to continue as a member of this. what should I say, luxury club.

Today it is a fact that the Tashkent Declaration is passing through a process of steady erosion and that too because of the Chinese collusion with Pakistan getting more and more intensified. What does China want about Kashmir? China wants Kashmir to be converted into another Vietnam, Pakistan playing the role of North Vietnam. With Pakistan's help, China wants to wage a war by proxy against India. Both these countries, China and Pakistan, find sordid pleasures in India's pains. Both these countries are interested in destroying our political and economic system. Within the brief period of 26 months, 10 regimes have toppled down in Africa, 6 including Ghana in the briefest period of three months. All this makes it imperative for us that we should defend our democracy not only by intensifying our military strength but also by making our foreign policy a dynamo of national interests.

There are people in India, whose reasons are misterious and I do not understand them, who argue that in the spirit of Tashkent there should be a pact of peace with China also. Peace at what cost? With 14,500 square miles of Indian territory under the forcible

occupation of China, peace at that cost? Mr. Nehru said, I remember, that there can be no talks with China unless and until the territory forcibly occupied by China is vacated. But I am sorry to say that his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, announced from the same seat that she is prepared to talk with China. Talk with China on what grounds?

**An hon. Member:** Colombo proposal.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Colombo proposal is dead like dodo. Try to read and understand. She said she is prepared to talk with China. On what conditions, I do not understand. Once she made a memorable statement that the withdrawal from Haji Pir is a small thing. I just want to ask her if she is going to say the same thing about China. With 14,500 square miles of our precious territory under Chinese occupation, for peace, is she going to do the same thing?

It is very often claimed that it is India who taught China the philosophy of co-existence. But I would say China must be a very bad pupil, for she learnt nothing. If at all she learnt anything, she only learnt to co-exist with America in the matter of supplies of arms to Pakistan. In Pakistan, Chinese arms blissfully co-exist with American arms against India. Next time if there is a confrontation with Pakistan, possibly our Indian jawans would have to face both the Chinese and American tanks on the battlefield.

The report says that we are demanding through the UN the restoration of human rights for Tibet. I congratulate the government on this bold statement. But I would want our Government to go a step further and repudiate Chinese suzeranity over Tibet under the changed circumstances. If China can demand self-determination over Kashmir, why can't she say the same thing about Tibet where massacre of the people has almost become a rule of law.

[Shri Hem Barua]

Then, Sir, may I know if our Government have any idea about the Chinese nuclear probabilities or possibilities? If Mr. McNamara is to be believed, then China is going to have medium sized ballistic missiles on an operational stage by 1967 and China is going to have inter-continental missiles by 1975. On the top of that, there is the disturbing news that Pakistan is going to explode her atom bomb in 1968. There might not be any threat of nuclear destruction against us today, but, then, why don't you think of the future, 10 or 15 years hence? By our inapt policy or lack of vision and foresight, have we the right to expose our unborn generations to Chinese nuclear destruction? Mr. Shastri made a suggestion of a nuclear umbrella jointly to be guaranteed by America and Russia. Somehow or other that idea is fading very fast; rather, I would say, that that idea is sinking into the sea of oblivion even without a bubble, and I have an apprehension that even if that nuclear umbrella is jointly guaranteed by America and Russia that umbrella might not open for us when the rains actually set in, yet, then, I would say it that the Chinese nuclear threat to this country is more political than military.

Now, I would say, our foreign policy, if it is to be truly non-aligned, must not suffer from any emotional or psychological bias towards this bloc or that bloc, towards this nation or that nation. Unfortunately, it suffers. The ghastly treatment meted out to the President of Israel is an instance. We have not accorded diplomatic relation to Israel, so have we not accorded diplomatic relations to East Germany. But when a high official delegation or high officers of the Indian Government can go to Palam airport to receive a trade delegation from East Germany, why was this shabby treatment meted out to the head of a State? Do you think the head of a State does not deserve more courtesy than a mere trade delegation? Unfortunately, our foreign po-

licy suffers from double standards. I hope and trust that Shri Swaran Singh, our Minister of External Affairs, who is straight like a pencil, will introduce some of his pencil straightness into our foreign policy and make it a dynamo of strength.

Sir, I want to say certain things about Nagaland also. but since there is no time I would say only this much. The other day the Minister of External Affairs, speaking about the celebration of Republic Day on 22nd March in Kohima, capital of Nagaland, said that 22nd March does not have any special significance for the Nagas. But that was a wrong statement to make. 22nd March has a special significance for the Nagas because it was on this day, 22nd March, 1956, that the Constitution of free Nagaland was adopted and in fact it was on this date that the Federal Government was established. I have a copy of the Press report that was released on 23rd March 1956 with me, which for want of time I am not reading out though I would have liked to read it out.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** Sir, recently, on Easter Monday, Irish Citizens celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Easter Rebellion of Ireland in Delhi's Catholic Cathedral. There was an impressive ceremony in the cathedral here when they commemorated the sacrifices of twenty Irish martyrs who were executed fighting the British. Then an Irish Jesuit orator spoke from the pulpit. I am a practising Christian but I rarely hear all the sermons, perhaps sometimes one goes asleep. But I could not help hearing the remarkable sentence that he uttered. This is what he said. I would like our people outside India to hear this. This is what he said:

"We shall not seek avarice; we Irish-men shall not seek self-interest; we shall make friends everywhere. we shall become *persona grata* where we go."

That should be our motto and that motto is in consonance with our ancient culture and history. Today India has to do everything in her own self-interest. But the moment Indians put their gaze outside their land, the moment they step outside their land, they must become persons *grata*, they must become favourites everywhere, they must not seek avarice and they must not show any self-interest.

A week after that I heard also a sermon by the first Indian Anglican Bishop consecrated in the Delhi Cathedral from where British Viceroy once lorded over India. This is what he said. He said, "people with no vision shall perish". It is time these visions, these ideals come back to our mind in dealing with our friends, in guarding our liberty, in making our country great and also in guarding our security.

Today, on account of the matchless Nehru appeal to the masses of India and also to our friends, the peoples and leaders abroad, our Prime Minister has been able to have a very successful tour. She has been very unusually lucky also. We cannot count the tour in terms of dividends. There may be cases like the Indo-American Foundation which we may not like. But she did make a successful tour of the capitals of the world, without seeking for dividends and only seeking on the grounds of idealism.

We have a Foreign Minister, straight and honest as my hon. friend there said, who has been feeling his feet and aided by the able Minister of State who has risen from the ranks. I would even say that their Ministerial ranks could be strengthened because the foreign lands are so vast and their eyes may be cast abroad.

Now, let us see how we have intensified our friendship. We must inten-

sify our friendships with Asia-Africa continent on the right and left. So that we may become strong. How can we become strong? There are 14 powers among the Arabs and more than five-eighths of the oil of the capitalist world is controlled by four of these Arab powers including Iran though it is not Arab, and the monopolistic powers of the west are worried about that, and all our troubles arise from that.

Now, if tomorrow Kerala becomes completely Communist, are they going to rain bombs on India? Is China going to rain bombs? So also, is America going to rain bombs? In that process, are we going to be jammed between the two? I was the first man to raise my voice on the floor of this House in 1953 condemning Napalm bombing in Indo-China. All Asians are our brothers, of our flesh and blood and we cannot allow any country to be bombed in that fashion.

**Shri Shinkre (Marmagao):** Why worry about others, worry about our own problems (*Interruption*).

**Shri Joachim Alva:** We would like USA and North Viet-nam to go on the conference table. Do you mean to say you are not worried about anybody being bombed? If we say we are not worried about other people being bombed, then we will start our own destruction one day. Moral dividends come very swiftly. When you do not raise your voice against injustice elsewhere, you shall get injustice yourself. The Ramayana says, this, the Mahabharata says this. You have for gotten all that. This is what Lord Rama and Lord Krishna preached in this land. The Viet-namese are the people of Asia, are our friends, our flesh

[Shri Joachim Alva]

and blood. When they are bombed, it is time we said something about it; because a situation may arise when both China and America may seek mastery over this land and bombs may rain on our heads. What shall we do then?

So, we have to make friends from Burma right up to Australia, including Japan. I think our Minister of State had been to South East Asia. It is a good thing that he went round to these countries. We must seek friendship right from Burma and Japan to all the South East Asian countries. If we make friends with these countries, even though we may not get a dividend in gold and silver, our position will become stronger.

There are a few knotty problems facing this country. One is the recognition of Israel, GDR and other countries. It is said that the powers of the west do not permit any newly liberated countries of Asia-Africa to become anti-western. The moment you become anti-western, they do away with you. They did away with President Ben Bella. President Nkrumah had also gone away. President Sukarno with all his foibles, weakness and strength, is also on the way out. This is the position which we have to consider. When these countries achieve independence, when they enjoy freedom, the moment they assert themselves in a way which is not to the liking of the west, they manipulate, they manoeuvre, they bring about such a situation where the leader concerned is knocked out of the pedestal.

But for the massive arming of Pakistan by the United States, we would have never had this trouble. Even China thought that we would be falling into their bag and began to get away from us. When the

question of Dalai Lama came, though the Chinese committed aggression, all the time they were thinking that we were on the side of the Americans, that Americans will bomb their cities and they will have to run like mad dogs. That is the position. Let us not ignore the position. Because of the massive arming of Pakistan by America all the trouble started. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru went on protesting and protesting, morally protesting and pointing out to President Eisenhower the dangers implicit in that aid programme. But President Eisenhower said that Pakistan shall never use those arms against us and yet we have come to this pass. So, all the troubles started from the original sin which today they are trying to gloss over. But for the countries of Eastern Europe showing us their sympathy and help, we would have been in a difficult position. The United Kingdom was not interested in us, nor France, nor Holland, nor America. But Russia helped us in the trouble, with their MIGs. So, let us not ignore our friends.

My hon. friend talked of the recognition of Israel. He wanted to clasp to his bosom Rs. 45 lakhs of trade with that country. But what about our Rs. 100 crores of trade with the Arab world, if we are to think in terms of pounds shillings and pence? Apart from that, the UAR has its own troubles. President Nasser is not sitting on a soft bed of roses. There is the rebellion of the Muslim Brotherhood. Its President now has his back to the wall in the battle and I do not know whether he has been shot. They have their own trouble. They are not firmly on the saddle. There is the Islamic Conference where in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan are trying to bring some alignments. So, they have their own troubles in the Arab world. Also, we cannot ignore our friends. We have been friends for years together. Egypt has suffered quite a lot for us from 1950 onwards.

Let us not forget that past and let us not belittle our friendship with UAR.

Israel was born out of blood, was born out of the sword. India protested in 1948 that Palestine shall not be divided. Naturally, we have great regard for the Jews. They have suffered intensely under the Nazi terrorism in the prison camps of Auschwitz in Poland. 5 million people perished there and our sympathy and hearts go to them. We must be sympathetic to them. But you cannot build a State and plant it in the midst of the Arab world with the help of the Marshall Aid and American finance. However, that Israel has become a reality, we should make efforts to bring Israel and the Arab world together. My hon. friend was telling us: recognise Israel, send diplomats, as if that will solve the problem. If it will solve the problem, well and good, but it will not. But let us try to bring Israel and the Arab world together. No one denies my hon. friend the right of championing the cause of Israel which is a friendly country. But let us help all the countries and try to solve the problems of that region.

Coming to GDR, we would very much like GDR to be recognised and it is better to be early than late. But, all the same, there are certain accounts to be settled. If GDR publishes maps showing the position of Kashmir in regard to Pakistan and our position in regard to China in a different way so as to suit others, than perhaps we have to revise our thinking in a different way.

When united, Germany becomes a formidable power, federal Germany today has become a major military power in Europe minus Russia. West Germany today is extremely wealthy. In Germany today the youngsters with some Nazi leanings are coming back again. They have got 10 per cent votes in the new party. These are the new trends. West Germany today say that they are not guilty of war. On the other hand, it was

wonderful for us to hear GDR—their Speaker came here and I heard his voice clearly—saying that the Germans caused the war. This is the starting point, a very important point, for us to judge what the future can hold for us. The new generation of West Germans says: “we did not cause the war, you are partly guilty” and that too in the face of the history behind them: whereas GDR says “we started the last war and created all this trouble.” So, we have to take a dispassionate view of the whole matter and take a decision and it is better to do it early than late in this case.

China today has got the largest navy in Asia. It has got about 40 to 50 submarines. We are far behind. But what do we do? We have not done anything in that direction.

My hon. friend, Shri Hem Barua, found fault with the Prime Minister for saying that she was prepared to talk with China. I would like to recall to him what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said, not once but 50 times, “I do not want my door to be slammed; I want to continue the dialogue even with the worst enemy”. We do not want to keep the door shut on peaceful negotiations. We want to carry on negotiations so that at least after some time there will be peace and prosperity in the world.

Here I would say that I would like the new Prime Minister to have more of dialogues with Pakistan. We should send delegations of Members of Parliament to that country so that the mist of trouble may evaporate. We know what the Tashkent spirit brings. It is true that Pakistan has now spurned the meaning of the Tashkent spirit. But I still believe that if a delegation of Members of Parliament from this country goes to Pakistan and their delegation of Members of Parliament comes here, the kind of iceberg which is strongly entrenched between us and Pakistan will melt, will water down and we

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may at least have more of economic co-operation in the region.

Then I would like to come to another topic. On page 3 of the External Affairs Ministry Report it is mentioned that we had many press delegations from all countries of the world. But we have had no press delegation invited—I am speaking subject to correction—from the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary or Yugoslavia. I would like the hon. Minister to see that the journalists of these countries are also invited to our country along with those of the West. They are anxious to come here, but they are not invited. We must ensure that the journalists of these countries also are invited to our country.

There was a very good question this morning, given notice of by Shri M. L. Dwivedi, Shri P. C. Borooah, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad, Shri Subodh Hansda and Shri S. C. Samanta about the working of Indian Missions abroad. It is a very important question which enquire about "the extent of truth in the allegations against the Indian Ambassadors in foreign countries that they generally become accustomed to a life of luxury, false sense of prestige and slackness in the performance of their diplomatic duties .....". Most of these things are perhaps true. So many Members of Parliament would bear testimony to that. I find that you have appointed an Indian Foreign Service Committee, headed by a very charming, decent and upright man, Shri Pillai. But he never talked in private or in public in an Indian language. How do you ask this head of the Foreign Service Committee, who has worked so much under the British, to train the new boys who are coming. Don't you tell them that they should talk in Hindi? Any communication from our Foreign Office should go in both languages, English and Hindi, to Russia especially and other countries, so that they can read our despatches either in

Hindi or in English. Coming back to this Foreign Service Committee, how do you think these ICS men can decide the future of our young men? How will they lead? Into what channels? We could have had senior Members, respected Members, who handled the Youth Movement and others, on this committee to show what our young men should do and how our young men in the Foreign Service should behave. We should not have the cocktail and drinking and all that kind of thing all the time. These are not a part of our culture. These are very important lessons.

There are many small things in the Report on which I would have liked to say something, but I do not want to say more. Shastriji sent half a dozen delegations of MPs abroad and those delegations did very useful work on our Kashmir issue.

An hon. Member: Question.

Shri Joachim Alva: Our delegation did a very hard job; all of them did. I am sorry for the left-outs, but I can tell them that it was the intention of the then hon. Prime Minister, which I hope the present Ministers would carry on, to send others also and they would have got a chance. It was for the first time that the Prime Minister took it in his head to send so many MPs abroad and they did a very useful work. But their names are not printed in this Report. Would it have needed too much stationery to print their names? The Joint Secretaries names are there but not of the M.Ps. It is only mentioned as MPs Party. Does it mean a cocktail party, dancing party, singing party, pan supari party? Which party is this? I think, the Ministers had no hand in it. But I would ascribe this to people down below them and the Minister should take care about this.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Burdwan): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, frankly I am very much disappointed with

Shri Frank Anthony's speech. I hope, he will at least get the distinction of Padma Vibhushan for the speech. He has told the old line, but let us be realists today; let us face facts and plead for some re-thinking of our foreign policy.

We are today discussing India's foreign policy under the shadow of a grave danger to our freedom. Honestly, even after the Prime Minister's visit to USA, the attitude of the American Government has been most disconcerting. They are deliberately helping, supporting, abetting Pakistan today although Pakistan has entered into a military pact with Peking. After the Peking-Pindi military collaboration the American Government has no longer any hesitation in supporting Pakistan. I would read out to you later Mr. McNamara's statement before the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate which will be an eye-opener.

What is the good of our daily meeting here and thundering over these horrible things which are happening — murders by some rebels, Nagas or somebody else, in Assam or some other place? It is all due to our defective foreign policy and we must put our house in order; otherwise, these things would continue and the sooner it is realised the better. It is not merely the Nagas. There are some people behind them, foreign powers with resources and money and powerful bombs, who are helping these Nagas, Mizos and others.

Therefore, what is this non-alignment? We are not against non-alignment. We are proud of Nehru's policy of non-alignment. We thought, it would give India status and it did. Those who fought for India's freedom also did not want to be involved in power blocs and military blocs. Therefore they stood for that. But today non-alignment is alignment with neo-colonialism, complacency and western imperialism which is going to give us some food and fertilisers. Are you going to sell your freedom for this

gift of food and fertilisers? That is the real question.

**An hon. Member:** No.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee.** The great leaders of India who took a prominent part in the battle for freedom would have been sorry today to see this complacent attitude of our present rulers. We should be very cautious lest our hardwon freedom is handed over to other people. We, in this country, established a record in fighting the Pakistani aggression. Both our jawans and officers behaved magnificently and the country rallied round and stood by them. One of my hon. friends made a pertinent observation. But for the American tanks and American military aid, would Pakistan ever have ventured to attack us? Shri Swaran Singh's report is perfectly right. He says that it is not infiltration into Kashmir; it is a massive planned deliberate attack upon India's sovereignty and Indian territory. That is perfectly right. This infiltration, this attack, this aggression would never have been possible but for American imperialism helping them. Not one word of protest.

I remember, when Pandit Nehru thundered against this Pak-American Military Pact, I had an opportunity of talking to Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit. She told me that the Prime Minister sent her to the American President and the American President said, "I give you the word of honour that these will never be used against India; they are meant against China." That has been deliberately touted, but not one word of protest from the master against the puppet Pakistan. They have done nothing.

Even after the Chinese collaboration, what has McNamara said? McNamara, you know, is the United States Defence Secretary; therefore, it reflects the American Government's thinking. What is the good of saying that our Prime Minister has done a wonderful job? Even after



[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

the Prime Minister's visit to President Johnson, Defence Secretary McNamara appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. I am reading from the *Statesman* and you know, the *Statesman* would not give a garbled version of American news. The *Statesman* says:—

"The U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. McNamara, yesterday advanced before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Pakistan's views of her growing links with China and suggested that these links need not be close if Pakistan's "dispute with India" could be solved."

Not one word of protest against the Peking-Pindi collaboration; on the other hand, a special pleading just to play down the thing. He said that there should be no change in American attitude. Then it says:—

"Senator Morse disagreed with Mr. McNamara and objected to any resumption of military aid to Pakistan".

Mr. McNamara was testifying before the Committee that President Johnson's attitude was perfectly correct and that they should go on giving aid to Pakistan.

We want to know whether this attitude is at all the attitude of a power which wants to kill Communism in Viet Nam and in Asia. They are bombing Viet Nam day in and day out and we are protesting against that. They are saying that they will destroy Communist China. But what is this attitude? They are putting the blame on India. They are saying that because India is not solving the Kashmir problem, Pakistan is justified in getting aid from both China and America.

Some of us were very unhappy about the Tashkent Pact. That had cost India very dear. It has cost India the life of a great statesman

and a great patriot, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister of India. It has cost India a good deal of humiliation because we had to withdraw from our own territory which was re-occupied after sacrificing hundreds of our lives. Precious lives have gone in vain because we got nothing in return.

When I came back from Geneva where I appeared as counsel for India before the Kutch Tribunal, I told Parliament and the Foreign Secretary that I was amazed to find that after Tashkent there was a cordial atmosphere which was noticeable. I cannot give details—that will not be proper—but I might tell you that at Geneva both the Indian and Pakistani delegations met a number of times and solved many difficult problems across the table. I remember when the Pakistan leader came to me and told me, "Mr. Chatterjee, if you are agreeable, why do you not come to our table?", I said "No; the Attorney General is a senior barrister, you are a barrister and you should come to our place". They came over and we discussed and settled many things.

We were hoping that although we have lost a good deal, still we have vindicated ourselves that we can fight and still establish peace when it is necessary. But we were disappointed. After that, Mr. Bhutto and President Ayub Khan are talking in different terms and are talking in a different manner which is to sabotage the whole thing. Mr. Bhutto's remarks have been very very unhelpful, but the greater offender is the Chinese leader who came to Pakistan and egged on Pakistan when he said, "We are trying to help you because your battle is just and fair", for self-determination in Kashmir, Nagaland, Mizo region and everywhere. But my regret is that the greatest offender today is America. Why is America behaving in this way? What is the tangible result of the Prime Minister's visit? They are still helping and they are still going to help

Pakistan militarily knowing full well that they are out to pursue the policy of aggression against India with Chinese help.

14 hrs.

I am sorry to say that we are handing over the cultural leadership to other countries. We are told that the moral or the cultural leadership has been handed over to Indo-American Foundation. The economic leadership is going to the World Bank. What is this World Bank? It is the East India Company of the Nuclear Age with atomic weapons at its command; therefore, they must dictate. The Prime Minister declared herself to be the prime servant of the people and she proved herself as the prime beggar for India. In their anxiety to beg for food, India's leaders should be very careful against destroying or selling our freedom either for food or for fertiliser or for any other help. That is the great danger ahead.

We are told that there shall be no Fourth Five Year Plan unless and until the World Bank approves it. Mr. Asoka Mehta runs to America. Why? As a Cabinet Minister of the Independent Republic of India, he has got to convince Mr. Wood of the World Bank that we are on the right lines. Therefore, the contour of our Five Year Plan will be settled by the World Bank. This is humiliation indeed. And Mr. Wood says, "You have not only to satisfy America but you will have to satisfy Great Britain also." Our former master has come on the scene. The two big imperialists are still building their camp. I remember, at the first Commonwealth Law Conference, I took a different attitude from other Commonwealth countries. When I came back and saw Pandit Nehru, I told him what I did. He said, "You did the right thing. I tell you, Mr. Chatterjee, if they do not accept my plea for admission of some African countries at the next Conference, I will walk out of the Commonwealth." The time has come that there should be a rethinking on this

Commonwealth business. The Commonwealth has let us down badly. They have not done any good and particularly Mr. Wilson's latest speech, latest reply to Mr. Fenner Brockway has been still more disappointing. He has tried to justify the line when he was supporting Pakistan against India and calling India an aggressor in the Indo Pak conflict although we had pointed out that he was wrong. What is happening to our Embassies? What is happening to our foreign policy? What is happening to the costly machinery for foreign propaganda? They have completely failed; they have not done their duty. Mr. Bhutto, a third-class statesman of a second-rate or a third-rate power, succeeds. We have got a big paraphernalia, a big office, in England. What are they doing? Our High Commissioner's office, one of our biggest Embassies, is there. Something is wrong. The Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister should immediately look into this and pull up our machinery and put it in proper order. They succeed in converting people and we fail although our cause is just.

One other thing and I have done. I am sorry to know that there will be a C.I.B. probe against 56 or over 50 professors and lecturers of the Delhi University because they protested against some kind of American domination over our cultural life. McCarthyism is dead in the country of its origin but McCarthyism is coming back in India and rearing its head. I warn this country against it and I say that this is a very very sad evidence of our going back on our own traditions of freedom and culture.

Some friends have been criticising Mrs. Gandhi for saying that she is prepared to talk to China. We know that China had been an aggressor; we know that Chinese are obdurate; we know they have got a persistent habit of sticking to senseless absurdity. But when we can talk to Pakistan, when you can enter into a solemn pact at so much sacrifice and enter

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

into the Tashkent Declaration, why don't you try that? If you fail, China will be exposed. Therefore, I am still thinking that for that thing she should not be condemned. I have little hope in that direction. But still that should not be a peg for hanging an indictment against the Prime Minister.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the most significant event that has taken place in our foreign relations during this year is the visit of our Prime Minister to U.S.A., U.K., France and Soviet Union. On the whole, this visit has been very fruitful and it has built so many bridges of international understanding between our country and the countries she visited.

Reading from the newspapers, I can say that while her visit has added new dimensions to her leadership, it has also made the people of at least those four countries to have a second look at their policies towards our country. But while I do not feel entirely happy about what has happened in U.S.A. and U.K. after her visit, I feel gratified that she built up such a useful understanding with the President De Gaulle of France. Truly speaking, the President De Gaulle is the leader of Europe and he does not believe only in military expenditure or in exporting his political ideas abroad. But he is very much interested in having cultural relations with as many countries of the world as possible. I have doubt that her visit will bring India and France nearer to each other, if not in any other field, at least in the field of culture and I hope that it will be a stepping stone leading to our collaboration with that great country, under that great leader, in many other fields.

So far as U.S.A. is concerned, a great deal has been said.

On the whole, the President Lyndon Johnson means well by this country and wants to do as much for our

country as possible. But, unfortunately, he has two Advisers who do not mean well by our country. One of them is Mr. Dean Rusk whom I think to be a revised version of "Dean" Dulles and who was responsible for making a statement that Pakistan has nothing to do with China because there is no organic relationship between Pakistan and China. I do not know what he means by this organic relationship. Can there be any relationship of that kind between one country and the other. But Mr. Dean Rusk is all the time an apologist for Pakistan and does not miss any occasion to under-rate India's friendship with America or America's friendship with India. Similar is the case with Mr. McNamara. Mr. McNamara sometimes speaks like a leader of his country who is very much interested in the military traditions of any non-democratic country of the world than in the secular, cultural and democratic traditions of his own country. Sometimes when I read the statements made by Mr. McNamara, I ask myself, 'Are not these statements reminiscent of a country of Central Europe which was responsible for the World War?' I do not blame President Johnson. I mean well to him, and I hope that he will mean well to us too, but I do say that he should beware of these two gentlemen, namely Dean Rusk and Mr. McNamara. I would also request him not to look at India through the glasses which the UK provided him. Unfortunately that is what USA has been doing all these years. As for UK, the position has been that UK, for her own historical reasons, for her own historical reasons, for her own reasons of having been liquidated in this country in more senses than one, does not have any softness towards India.

Just a little while ago, my hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee was referring to the statement which Mr. Wilson made in reply to a letter by Mr. Fenner Brockway. Does that statement show any unprejudiced

friendship for India? People say that Mr. Harold Wilson has now become President Harold Wilson and he is going to enjoy unlimited powers such as the President of the U.S.A. I do not grudge him any power, but I want him to have a balanced and unprejudiced view of India and not treat India as a country which was under their rule for some time or for some years. Unfortunately, the USA is making a great mistake in taking the estimate of India from the UK. The more the USA does it, the more the USA will get into trouble everywhere, because the UK had not lost her old imperial traditions and her old imperial yearnings, and that will be leading the USA and other countries along a line which is not very good.

Of course, I think that the Soviet Union has been our friend and will continue to be our friend. But I would request the President of the Soviet Union to remember one or two things about the Tashkent Declaration. I ask Chairman Kosygin who has been a great friend of India whether he knows how the Sikh Pilgrims who went to the Panja Sahib have been treated. These are recent events. I do not want to go into past events. But I want to ask him whether he knows how the Ramakrishna Mission which is a mission of mercy, which is a mission of humanitarianism and a mission of service has been treated in East Pakistan. I want to ask him whether he knows how some of the nationals of India are being treated in that country.

Therefore, I want that Chairman Kosygin should be requested to have a commission consisting of a member from India, a member from Pakistan and a member from the Soviet Union. This commission should be constantly active, and they should take note of whatever breaches of the Tashkent Declaration takes place either in this country or in that country. I think so far as our record goes, it is a clean slate, and nobody can blame us in that regard. But so far as Pakistan is concerned, I have no doubt that Pakis-

tan is observing the Tashkent Declaration more in its breach than in its observance. Therefore, I should say that there should be a commission to exercise vigilance over the working of the Tashkent Declaration.

Of course, there are some friends of mine who say that the Tashkent Declaration had died before it was born. Many persons think like that, and say that it was a kind of abortive birth, and it was a birth which was not very happy. But our country is committed to the Tashkent Declaration, and in order that the Tashkent Declaration may succeed we must do something of that kind. We cannot wait endlessly for the fulfilment of the conditions of the Tashkent Declaration. I believe that at the most we should give a period of three or four months, and if the Tashkent Declaration does not give us such satisfaction as we desire, I have no doubt that we should try to say that we have nothing to do with this Declaration . . .

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** What do we do if it goes?

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** We shall do whatever we have always been doing. We believe in action . . .

**Shri Ranga:** Would we be warring with each other in that case?

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Our policies are basically sound. There is the policy of non-alignment. After reading the report of the Ministry I am happy that it is a very satisfactory report, a much more satisfactory report this year than it had been in the previous years. Reading this report I find that we are trying to implement this policy of non-alignment all along the line.

But I want to urge upon the hon. Minister of External Affairs, who is a very dear friend of mine, and of whom I feel proud sometimes, that non-alignment is like the United Nations. As the UN has followed the principle of universalism, likewise, non-alignment should also follow that principle. Non-alignment does not

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

believe in picking and choosing. It does not believe in stretching the hand of friendship to this country and withholding the hand of friendship from that country. Therefore, I feel that our country should be so generous and so open-minded and so open-hearted as to stretch its hand of friendship to Israel, to the German Democratic Republic and other countries.

**Shri Ranga:** And Taiwan also.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** It is only then that our policy of non-alignment can be effective and can find acceptance all over the world. Otherwise, it does not become a creed which is being practised all along the line.

I send my best wishes to the countrymen of Ethiopia. I am glad that in Ethiopia, they are going to have a Cabinet form of Government, and they are going to have elections, and the Prime Minister will be appointed by the Emperor, and the Prime Minister will appoint the members of his Cabinet. Emperor Haile Selassie who is a great friend of India has built up traditions of democracy in that country during all these years. I am very happy that he is leading the country along that democratic path. I send to the countrymen and the citizens of Ethiopia my best wishes. I visited Ethiopia last year, not as a member of any delegation sent by the Ministry of External Affairs but on my own, and I know how friendly Ethiopia was to our countrymen. But I would ask the hon. Minister that he should try to build up stronger cultural relations with this country.

When I visited the Indian Embassies abroad, I found very few Ambassadors who could come up to my expectations. Mr. B. K. Nehru is one, Mr. Azim Hussain used to be another, and the ambassador who was there at that time, Mr. Atal, is a third. He has built up strong ties of friendship not only with that country but also with

the Indian citizens who are there. Therefore, I believe that our ties with Ethiopia should be strengthened.

A word about external publicity. I must congratulate the External Affairs Ministry on the fact that our external publicity has improved very much. People say that Parliament is only a talking forum. It is a talking forum, but its talk is action-oriented. If anyone wants to find an example of that, he should read the report bearing on the External Affairs Ministry's Demands.

But I want to ask one thing of our External Affairs Minister. How is it that we have not made the concept of our secular democracy more known in some of the countries of the world where we have our embassies than in the position today? I have been to some countries. They have asked me—some Muslims—'are all the dead bodies burnt in your country?' They do not understand the concept of secularism we are practising. I would therefore say that something should be done in that regard.

I am very happy that the Nehru Memorial Exhibition is having a good reception in some of the countries of the world. I want that this exhibition should be put in every capital of every country, because Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi symbolise the India of today and tomorrow much more than any body else.

Here I must say one thing. When this exhibition was being held in the capital of Kenya, the British headmasters of public schools, not one but two or three of them, did not permit their students to go to the exhibition. Everybody else went to see the exhibition. So you can understand how friendly the UK is to us. Even their headmasters who go abroad do not allow their students, African students, to visit this exhibition.

Our emigration policy requires re-thinking, because I find that this mother democracy, UK, which boasts

of so many fine things is still the home of racialism. I want the Minister of External Affairs to look into it.

**Shri N. Dandekar (Gonda):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, having heard a number of speeches today, I almost wondered whether we were dealing with our foreign policy or the foreign policy of the USA, UK, Ethiopia, USSR and so on (*Inter-uptious*). With the exception perhaps of two speakers, Shri Frank Anthony from this side and Shri Ravindra Varma from the other, quite frankly our foreign policy as a subject was not dealt with.

I would therefore, like to take the House back to a consideration of our foreign policy. I do that with one preliminary remark, namely, that the foreign policy of any country, while geared to its self-interest, must always be a matter of working out a long-term strategy based upon the continuing state of facts, and facts change from time to time. I submit that as the matrix of international facts changes, so must the strategy of our foreign policy, just in the same way as defence strategy has to change on taking account of changing facts.

The trouble is that the strategy of our foreign policy, however well conceived it might have been for the situation of 15 years ago, is no longer valid today. The entire matrix of international facts in relation not only to other countries, with which I am not concerned, but in relation to this country, has changed so radically, whatever part of the world you look at. I believe the time has come when we have to rethink our strategy instead of keeping on talking or chanting the old formulae about non-alignment, co-existence and the like.

I would like to illustrate that approach, and from that approach to substantiate my criticism of our existing strategy, by examining, on the one hand, to our policy vis-a-vis Israel and on the other, to our total lack of policy vis-a-vis China.

Israel has been in existence now for very nearly a whole generation. It is a country which has shown remarkable wonders in the matter of its internal development and growth, and even more so, in defence against implacable and continuing external aggression. These are the facts of today, whatever might have been the facts 20 years ago. Israel very much exists as a rapidly developing country which has grown exceedingly well and which has, over the 20 years, defended itself against implacable and continuing external aggression. But this is a country which we virtually continue to ignore. Against this country, we have directed a very positive, though unfortunate, policy, a policy of relentless and remarkable persistence and single-minded determination in which our favourite concepts like peaceful co-existence, non-alignment and the like have been thrown to the winds. We have in fact persistently aligned ourselves against Israel. Instead of the Colombo Plan which we talk so much about, there exists today in the Arab League a "Destory Israel" plan. That is a plan we tacitly support because we have established diplomatic relationship with and recognition of not merely the Arab States as such, but also the League of Arab States, while denying diplomatic recognition to, and relationship with, Israel. The only description of our attitude towards Israel is that we regard it as a 'para'ah' among the international community of nations, and it is not surprising in that kind of context that we are making pathetic attempts to keep on praising the Arab world and take deliberate pride in insulting Israel in a manner which is best described as despicable.

Two years ago we sank so low as to withdraw the permission that had been accorded to the Israel Consul here in India to celebrate the Israeli Independence Day in Delhi. A month ago, we went further. Short of throwing rotten tomatoes in the face of the President of Israel, when he passed through India we showed to him every conceivable discourtesy one can

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think of. For an Indian, my definition of discourtesy is not that when someone abuses someone; my definition of discourtesy is that when one ceases to show the elementary courtesies that are due to a person visiting us, a person of such high rank as the head of a State with which we are not at war.

This country is traditionally hospitable and courteous. The background of the family to which the Prime Minister herself belongs, to which the Minister of State for External Affairs belongs, and of the great community from which our External Affairs Minister comes,—all, these everything, personal as well as national and cultural in the background and tradition of this country, is one of courtesy.

With this kind of background that we should have treated the President of Israel the way we did, I would presently describe the highlights of the way we did it. That we should have treated him in that manner, in my judgment and I submit, in the judgment also of every decent citizen of this country and of every Member of this House, is a deliberately discourteous treatment.

The President of Israel intended visiting this country early in 1965. That visit had to be put off because we were at war with Pakistan, and it was not a propitious moment for such a visit. Later, the visit was again decided upon, and it was pathetic, that for some extraordinary reason we agreed that this President of this pariah country might spend a night in this country anywhere except in Delhi. I do not know what contagious disease the President of Israel was bringing, or would be bringing, to this country, that he could not be allowed to spend one night in Delhi. However, the Israeli Government accepted this because the President had to go to Nepal, and he spent the night at Calcutta.

On his way he had halt at Delhi. There was nobody to extend the most elementary courtesies to him; neither the Chief of Protocol, nor anybody from the External Affairs Ministry, nor anybody from the local administration; nobody at all, except the security police.

Similarly, when he arrived in Calcutta, except the security people, there was no official present to meet him and to say "How do you do, Sir? I hope you are well", or to say that he was welcome to pass through this country and spend the night there. He was taken, he and his party were taken in a fleet of cars to the Grand Hotel. And there was a demonstration there by some Arabs of a pretty bad kind. Next morning they were driven to the Calcutta airport again and they went to Nepal.

The treatment which the President of Israel received in this country was so discourteous that on his way back he decided to cancel the original thought of spending a night in India and proceeding to Israel. Instead of that, he thought it proper to ask the Nepal Government to allow him to stay an extra day in Nepal because he did not wish to spend a night here. The President merely passed through this country on his way back, without spending a night here.

The final bit of courtesy, if I may say so, shown to him was that we sent him a bill for the fleet of cars that took him and his party from Dum Dum airport to the Grand Hotel and back from Grand Hotel to Dum Dum airport. I believe the figure was somewhere around Rs. 400.

Sir, I feel ashamed, and if this is the kind of consequential actions that follow from the kind of chanting of peace and non-alignment and so on, then I say the time has come when we should really change our ways and learn elementary decencies. I hope that the Prime Minister would be good enough to go into the facts of

this matter and that if she is satisfied, as I respectfully am, she will not hesitate to write a letter of regret to the President of the Israeli Republic and also take steps to recognise this country.

And to recognise this country seems, astonishingly, to be a kind of act which our Government thinks would offend the entire Arab world. It is well known that among the leaders of the Arab world, certainly one, the President of one of the Arab States, has bluntly stated that the time has come to change Arab attitude towards Israel. In any event, most of the Arab States are such as have either openly expressed their hostility to India when there was this conflict with Pakistan, or are even now giving military assistance to Pakistan with the specific object that it should replace the military aid presently, perhaps temporarily, being denied by the United States. So, in that context, the facts of the situation are so totally different that I suggest that this kind of policy towards Israel is not becoming a great country, nor indeed in conformity with our best interests.

I will turn now, Sir, to another part of the world and examine the basic facts of our strategy and the need for a change in that strategy. I refer to China.

An admirable section in the External Affairs Ministry's report on China begins with this important sentence:

"Throughout the year under review, the Chinese Government maintained in an intensified form its hostility towards India."

And then the report goes on to describe with great clarity the implacable hostility of China towards India manifest in every direction of its policy: in the Chinese description of India's domestic policies as semi-colonial and an utter failure, in the Chinese bitter criticism of Indian foreign policy as completely re-

actionary, supporting as it did counter-revolution in Tibet and Russian revisionism, British colonialism and American imperialism elsewhere,—these are all greatly fashionable words for the Communist gentlemen who sit here and even for some of those who sit over there, as the best means of abusing these particular countries; in China's widely broadcast and constantly repeated accusations of aggression by India against peaceful neighbours such as China herself and Pakistan; and finally in China's not altogether unsuccessful attempts to isolate India from the Asian and African nations.

While this gives a clear picture of a positive kind as regards Chinese policy vis-a-vis India, there emerges no such picture at all of Indian policy vis-a-vis China, and as I said at the beginning, I am not fundamentally concerned with any other country's foreign policy, I am concerned with the foreign policy of this country. But on reading this section in the Ministry's Report, this admirable section on Chinese hostility, I am unable to find any indication whatever, none whatever, except the chanting of peace, peaceful co-existence, Colombo Plan and a whole lot of things of that kind. There is no indication of a positive Indian policy vis-a-vis China.

In the meanwhile, over the last 15 years, the facts have so changed,—the facts upon which the strategy of foreign policy ought to be based,—in that China is becoming a world power of some consequence, while we remain of little consequence even in Asia's affairs because we go on repeating the old meaningless incantations.

I will conclude by saying that what is needed, and what is totally lacking, is a positive policy vis-a-vis China, a positive policy that will embrace Southeast Asia generally and then specifically vis-a-vis China in particular, and if I have your indulgence, I will take two minutes in trying to expound what I mean by that.



[Shri N. Dandekar]

I do not think the Government of India have realised the cataclysmic events that have changed the whole Asian scene today as compared with that of 1950. By 1950 all that had happened was that the old empires had been liquidated, the Japanese empire, the Dutch empire, the French empire, the British empire, all of them had been liquidated; there was in Southeast Asia a complete power vacuum or economic vacuum, currency vacuum, every kind of vacuum there was in Southeast Asia. At the same time, there emerged on the horizon this great Chinese power, the Chinese communist State, and the express intentions of the Chinese communist State were plain. We do not have to infer them. We get them from the writings of Mao Tse Tung, from their official pronouncements and from the speeches and writings of all their other leaders. Sir, the express policy of China vis-a-vis this particular area, including India, was to acquire hegemony in all respects; to re-conquer territories supposedly Chinese, to establish Chinese communism all over the area and to support "liberation" movements. This policy over the last 15 years has been patent in Korea, in Taiwan or rather against Taiwan in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, in Malaya and Indonesia, against India, and now in the case of South Vietnam, over which I will not take any more time. But the submission I want to make is this, that the necessary conclusions which emerges, from a study of the present factual situation is that the Chinese policy of deliberate and calculated expansion based, on naked use of force and subversion, cannot successfully be countered by mere chanting of the old formulae, however valid they might have been in 1950 or a few years later; but that it is necessary, as an antidote and in our own interests to promote a positive policy of containment of Chinese communism and aggression. You can call that a concord, you can call it developing trade relations, you can call it anything you like. What is

required is a co-operative international effort, a co-operative getting together in which from South Korea all around South-east Asia, the community of nations, including India, could get together and say: there is not just one of us who is going to talk of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence and the like, so far as China is concerned; that we are all together now; that while we mean no harm to China and we wish nothing but prosperity to China and while for that purpose we are prepared even to trade with China, we shall put an end to Chinese expansionism. In other words, we must have a policy of collective security for the containment of China.

To sum up, I would like to say that the strategic facts and therefore strategic requirements of our foreign policy need reassessment. I have sought to prove by two examples that Indian foreign policy needs a radical change; on the one hand we must establish diplomatic relationship with Israel; and on the other, we must work out a policy of containment, a positive policy of containment, against the determined expansionism of China.

**Shri A. K. Sen** (Calcutta North West): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I may say at the outset that I have been very encouraged by the report which has been circulated from the external affairs ministry. It has shown a practical grasp of the problems which we have to tackle, an appreciation of the acuteness of the problems in our external affairs with which we are faced and at the same time it has shown boldness and independence which are commendable. I agree with Mr. Dandekar that our policy must be our policy and not somebody else's policy; our external affairs are our external affairs and we have to determine how we have to fashion our policies and implement them without any pre-conceived notions as to who is right or who is wrong. Every year I have listened to the foreign affairs

debate and I have also listened to the Members of the Opposition. One thing I have noticed as absolute, unfailing and inflexible and that is that there is a sharp dichotomy on the opposite side between those who are convinced that anything western must be shunned at all costs, that we must not touch it with a barge pole, the co-operation or assistance which comes without any conditions whatsoever, so long as it comes from one particular source, and at the same time there are others who show a very great fear in our dealing with the eastern bloc, in matters which are of interest to us, forgetting for the moment that all the parties have year after year endorsed our policy of non-alignment which means equal terms so far as outside world is concerned, without bias or without favour and yet with the right to co-operate with every country so long as our honour and our dignity are not sacrificed in that process. I think it can be said without much exaggeration that the administration of our external affairs has shown realisation of this fundamental fact clearly, namely, that we are ready to work with others, co-operate with others, receive assistance and help from others without jeopardising our integrity and our independence and our fundamental things of life. It is here that year after year the quarrel starts. Whenever something is taken from, let us say, US by way of technical assistance or financial aid, there are people who at once castigate the government for this, arguing *a priori* as if the matter has been proved beyond doubt that the government has sacrificed the interest of the country. It is not argued how it has happened but it is taken for granted. If either wheat or machine is taken from America or military help is taken from America to face communist Chinese threat, they say we must have done so at the expenses of our freedom. I may submit the government can be very well trusted in seeing that anything that happens will never touch even by an inch the question of our national honour and prestige and independence and I must say, having

seen a little of the administration of the external affairs and having gone out last year and visited many countries that it has struck me as the most encouraging fact that the outside world never expects us to compromise our honour or independence. They know that we shall never do so. Even when our relations with the United States were rather at a testing point and I went to America and South America, one thing was made quite clear and though we were anxious for co-operation with all the nations of the world, we shall not accept any co-operation which conflicts with our fundamental policies or our basic concepts of foreign relations. I think it is well understood now that our co-operation can be had only on the basis of our consent and not on the basis of dictation or force and nobody outside our country expects that we can be hustled into any line of action in our external affairs at the point of bayonet. I am sorry that I was not present when the debate opened in the House but when I read the reports I found an accusation that the government has compromised more or less the honour of the country in accepting help either from America or from any other country. It was amazing; this accusation has been based on a complete ignorance. A little study of our relations would have shown the complete futility of such accusations. Reading through the report several things stand out in bold relief that should engage our attention in the coming years. The first thing naturally is the combined threat of China and Pakistan. I call it a combined threat because unluckily for us though we have been seeking the friendship of both these countries all these years—I remember those years when we went out of our way to extend our hand of friendship to the Chinese—the Chinese have set themselves for all times to come to injure us at all costs. With that end they have now brought Pakistan into the alliance. This fact must be borne in mind. We must meet this challenge. I strongly refute any suggestion that this challenge can be met by our exhibiting rather a nervous at-

[Shri A. K. Sen]

titude. I was amazed to hear Prof. Mukerjee suggesting that we must compromise with Pakistan and China. Compromise for what purpose? Because they have chosen to attack us? Because they have committed aggression on our borders?

**Shri Shinkre:** Do not compromise. But what are you doing?

**Shri A. K. Sen:** I know how far we went. Prof. Ranga is there. I remember he pointed his finger at our late Prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru and he said: you have bartered away the honour of this country by accepting the Colombo proposals. Yet he did it. We accepted the suggestion of having a demilitarised zone; we accepted the withdrawal of our troops and we said: very well, we shall have these 20 kilometres free from military adventures. Yet when these Colombo proposals were accepted by us without any reservation, the moment the Ghanaian delegation went to China, China showed a big finger at them scorn for them, and I was surprised that Mr. Fariata, the then Judicial Minister of Ghana, who signed the proposals here—Shri Swaran Singh, I remember, was also here but not in charge of external affairs—said, "I am very sorry that these are the clarifications to which we are partners." Of course, a lot of changes have occurred in Ghana since then, but what is of utmost importance is, though China wanted a settlement on her own terms, she never wanted any settlement.

It is the same thing with Pakistan. Therefore, to talk of compromise with these two countries is, in my humble submission, succumbing to aggression and to threat. I hope our Government will never be a party to such capitulation. It has been the experience of history that aggression can never be met by capitulation. If any proof is needed, the proof of Munich is too fresh in our minds, therefore, the only answers to China and Pakistan is a

strong and united army of India standing behind our solid country and our nation standing solidly together, without any difference of caste, creed or colour, and it will be only then that a proper answer to these aggressive countries could be given and not by talk of capitulation.

I was waiting for Members on the other side to speak about China in more plain terms. It is true that one of the main parties in the Opposition is divided today on this very issue, because a large section of that party refuses to see anything evil in China; whereas the other section sees China in its true perspective and sees that Russia is accused every day as much as India by the Chinese press and radio. We are not the villain of the piece as we are made out to be and that it is possible to co-operate with both Russia and the United States and yet not be a stooge of imperialists. The entire scheme of China is quite plain: Pakistan is taken as a cat's paw, and so she will suffer as others have suffered if she tries to be friends of China also. Whether the Asians will suffer or not by all this is a different matter, but the scheme of China is perfectly plain. The whole of Asia she believes should come under her. She does not believe that in Asia there should be any other form of Government, any other form of society, she wants that there should be no other alternative scheme of things or political arrangement than that of China. It is intolerance in the extreme form, a principle which becomes the hallmark of the Chinese nation. Since its so-called revolution, it cannot tolerate any alternative; it cannot tolerate any hostile scheme of things; either it must be under Chinese or nothing at all. Therefore, their scheme of things is to run its hordes in millions, who have been regimented into a vast army, into the fertile plains of South-east Asia and India so that the whole of Asia becomes Chinese domain and empire and the hegemony of Asia will soon become the hegemony of

China. That is the scheme of things; let us make no mistake about it. And such a nation on our frontiers may be a perpetual hostility. I remember in ancient history when Rome was invaded by Hannibal, who was made to swear in the name of God by the Carthaginians to show eternal hostility to Rome, and in that action of hostility he died. But that is a different thing. But it remains alive in history, and so, I should feel that the entire nation dies before it capitulates to Chinese threat.

It is the same thing with Pakistan. We have done our utmost in order to appease that country. I say "appease" because our late Prime Minister again was accused of capitulating to Pakistan. I remember the canal waters treaty; I remember the many concessions which have been extended to Pakistan year after year and yet, every time she has done only one thing namely, to build up the army against India and to indulge again in violence to harm India. So, that is the only policy of Pakistan, to show hostility against India. Therefore it is that today the Chinese tanks are being paraded in the streets of Pakistan, because China happens to be hostile to us. The Chinese missiles are being installed on the borders of Pakistan.

**An hon. Member:** American tanks.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehradun):** Do not be afraid; they will take over Pakistan.

**Shri A. K. Sen:** Therefore, in my submission, it is my appeal and I have no doubt it will be an appeal to the entire House and to the country that the Government must remain true to its line, that if it thinks of compromising on this issue, either with China or with Pakistan, it will be a compromise with honour and nothing else.

**An hon. Member:** American tanks to Pakistan.

**Shri A. K. Sen:** He is worthy of dealing with it. Why should I come to his help? I do not accept the brief

for everyone. I am not free for engagement for everyone! Now, as I said, so far as the Asian and African world are concerned, it has been a most difficult task, the way we have recovered our position. There was a time, when after the Chinese attack, after the Chinese so-called victory, when their armies marched across the Himalayas, many of the Afro-Asian countries said that here is a mighty Afro-Asian country and India is a paper tiger. In fact, that was a propaganda levelled against us, that we are a paper tiger and the Chinese armies are matchless, and we are nothing compared to them. Under that spell, the entire Afro-Asian world had succumbed to China, and the Chinese cells grew up all over Africa, Tanganyika, Kenya, West Africa, Ghana, everywhere. Today, the Chinese cells have more or less disappeared. Most of the Chinese cells have disappeared from the African continent, and by our constant, patient and understanding policy, we have not done too badly in the African world. (Interruption). This is the way a person speaks when he does not want to exaggerate. Now, a lot of things have yet to be done. We should not become complacent because Pakistan is also quite active.

So far as the African and other Asian countries are concerned, particularly, the Arab world, I would strongly remind the hon. Minister of External Affairs that he must give top priority to this. We must never neglect or we must never allow our efforts to relax. The same thing with regard to South American countries. They have all a fund of goodwill towards us. When I was there, I was amazed to find the amount of goodwill for us there. I am afraid we have not really carried on very faithfully our contacts with that part of the world yet. There was so much of understanding for us, so much of sympathy for us, and the Chinese threat really exposed to the entire South American continent the threat of democracy in Asia. They told me so many times, "How is it that Pakistan does not ap-

[Shri A. K. Sen]

precipitate this fundamental fact that if India succumbs today, tomorrow it will be Pakistan and the day after tomorrow, it will be Thailand and so on, the various other countries." They know that the bastion of democracy in Asia is India, that India is really the guardian of that system of government which thinks of socialism without sacrificing individual freedom and liberty, which is dedicated to the task of bringing social and economic justice to the door of the common man without force, violence, and which is building and establishing a socialist society without sacrificing the most precious achievement of human struggle, namely, liberty of the individual and freedom of conscience, and freedom of worship and the individual. It is these fundamental facts which we have to project to the rest of the world, and in this effort, there will be nothing which will be wasted if more money is really utilised for the purpose of projecting our vision to the rest of the world. That is a task which is as much important as planning within the country.

Last but not the least, is the fact of technical and economic co-operation. There are many countries in Africa and America today, in South America particularly, which are anxious for technical and economic co-operation. In many fields we have achieved excellence which enables us to give technical assistance to others and they are anxious to have it. Yet, I have heard many complaints that months pass before such things are allowed to take place in this country. I know one case. I was told about it in Panama when I was there. I would like to remind the hon. minister about it. There was a gentleman who was anxious to set up an electronics factory in India with his money and everything. He waited for months and months and nothing happened. Ultimately he went to

Hong Kong and established a factory in one month's time. We need electronics so badly.

15 hrs.

[SHRI SHAM LAL SARAF in the Chair]

There is no field of international relationship where human beings can come so close to each other as in the field of economic and technical co-operation, where the endeavour is in the nature of a partnership for a joint purpose, where the results are shared by the partners themselves. It is this fact of partnership in joint ventures which brings nations closer to each other as they never have been in the past.

In my humble submission, though several things have yet to be done completely and more regularly, the record of the External Affairs Ministry under our present Minister has been one of very great encouragement and hope.

Shri Ranga: Question.

Shri Swaran Singh: You will question everything.

Shri A. K. Sen: It has been proved that what is spectacular is not always most dependable and what is dependable need not always be spectacular, and that what is most stable and enduring is what is least spectacular.

Shri D. C. Sharma: The hon. Member never made such a good speech when he was a minister.

Shri A. K. Sen: I protest.

Shri Ranga: I agree with Prof. Sharma.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद)  
सभापति महोदय, मैं विदेश मंत्री जी के इस्तीफे की मांग करता हूँ क्योंकि ताशकंद में प्रधान मंत्री की जान को बचाने के लिए

जो कुछ किया जा सकता था वह नहीं किया गया और सत्य पर परदा डालने की भी कोशिश की गई। एक झूठ तो अब साबित हो चुका है कि प्रधान मंत्री जी की पहुंच में कोई घंटी समेत टेलीफोन नहीं था और दिल का दौरा हो जाने के बाद वह एक कमरे से दूसरे कमरे में जाकर ही अगर कोई टेलीफोन था तो उसका इस्तेमाल कर सकते थे। इसके अलावा एक बात और साबित हुई है। अगर विदेश मंत्री जी का छाखीरी ध्यान सही माना जाय तो प्रधान मंत्री जी मरती हुई हालत में उस कमरे के दरवाजे पर आये जिसमें डाक्टर बग सो रहे थे। लेकिन फिर भी उनके कर्मचारियों ने उन्हें उसी वक्त डाक्टर को न दिखलाकर के वापस अपने कमरे में या तो डोया या ले गए और इधर से डाक्टर को जगाकर के वहां ले गए। अगर यह बात सच है तब तो सब सरकार को इस्तीफा देना चाहिए। अगर झूठ है तो इस पर एक संसदीय जांच बैठानी चाहिए क्योंकि दिल का दौरा हो जाने पर मामूली आदमी भी जानता है कि अगर सड़क पर हो तो सड़क पर ही लिटा देना चाहिए। उसको इधर उधर नहीं घुमाना चाहिए।

ऐसी सूरत में विदेशी नीति पर बोलते हुए सबसे पहले मुझे एक बात कहनी है कि साधन और नीति का संतुलन होना चाहिए। अगर साधन बहुत कमजोर है और नीति बड़ी मजबूत है तो वह पागल नीति हो जाती है और नीति बड़ी नीची है और साधन बहुत ज्यादा है तो वह तारमारप हो जाती है। अब आप स्वयं फैसला कर सकते हैं कि भारत की नीति पिछले 18 वर्षों में कैसी रही है। मैं यहां की किसी विताव का तो उद्धरण दे नहीं सकता, यह प्रोफेसर हंस ज० मागोन व.प्रो जैसे की वितावे हैं दुनिया में और भारत के स्कूलों और कालेजों में पढ़ाई जाती है, उसका केवल एक वाक्य आप सुनिए कि राष्ट्रीय शक्ति, जो कुछ भी उपाय और ताकत भारत के पास रही हों, लेकिन अनाज की रकबा कमी उसको मजबूर कर रही है कि वह

अपनी विदेशी नीति कमजोरी की हालत में चलाये, ताकत की हालत में नहीं। तो जब साधन कमजोर होते हैं तो फिर विदेशी मदद सेना विदेशी नीति का सबसे पहला काम हो जाता करता है और फिर क्या होता है, आप देख ही रहे हो। मैं इतना बता दूँ कि इस विदेशी मदद से अब भारत का पुनर्जीवन होना असंभव है। इसके बदले नतीजे निकलते हैं, छोटा मोटा एक तीसरा और भी लेबिन दो मुरय। एक यह कि ऊपर के जो 50 लाख, 70 लाख मांजून लंग है उनकी खपत प्राधुनिक हो जाती है, आराम और एंजनी की हो जाती है और दूसरा यह कि कारखानों अथवा सरकारों में काम करने वाले कर्मचारियों की तादाद बढ़ती चली जाती है। जहां दो से काम निबल सकता है वहां तीन और चार होते हैं, पिज्जलुर्ची बढ़ती है। वहीं कोई बड़ी छंटी मंटी प्राधुनिकता भी आ जाती हो तो मैं उससे इनकार नहीं करता लेकिन कम से कम 50 सैकड़ा प्राधुनिकता आती है तो 50 सैकड़ा यह दोनों नतीजे आते हैं। इसलिए मैं तो विदेशी मदद को दिलबुल खतरनाक समझता हूँ इस देश के लिए, जब तक कि इस देश के 48 करोड़ इतने मजबूत नहीं हो जाते कि उस विदेशी नीति से देश का प्राधुनिकरण हो और इसलिए सबसे पहले विदेशी नीति को चाहिए कि वह दुनिया के और देश के पास रखने वाले, पहुंच वाले उद्देश्य बनाये और रखे दड़ी हैरत हुई कि जब मैं दुनिया के देशों की तफ देखता हूँ तो एक मामला प्रकट कि दुनिया भर में चर्चा है जो दुनिया में दगादगी के रिश्ते को सबसे ज्यादा इजाजत करता है उसका जिक्र, जहां तक मैं जानता हूँ शायद दो दिन की बात में हुआ तक नहीं। भारत सरकार ने उसके बारे में कुछ किया तक नहीं। मैं कई दफे कोशिश करता रहा कि ध्यान-आकर्षण या अल्प सूचना में वह सवाल उठे कि लेबिन उठा नहीं रहा और वह है रॉडेशिया का सवाल। यहां पर दियतनाम की चर्चा होती है जिसमें मिलजुलता बात है, पता नहीं क्या है क्या नहीं है। लेकिन एक रॉडेशिया का

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

मामला जिनमें दुनियां भर का मन एक तरफ है और दूसरी तरफ है जर्मन। लेकिन उसके ऊपर या सरकार कुछ नहीं कर पाती। उसने ऊपर यद्वा लोक सभा भी नहीं चल पाती। यद्वा विदेशी नीति का लड़ाकू मन साबित करता है। मैं जाना कि सिर्फ इतना ही बताऊँ कि मातृभूत और जोशवाला ये दो जवान लगातार दस पन्द्रह दिन तक विदेशी खबरों के मुख्य आधार रहे। लेकिन यहां खाली एक बात छप जाती है—विस्मय साहब ने कहा था कि हम 6 महीने के अन्दर अन्दर रोडेशिया के मामले को हल कर देंगे। छः महीने तो न जाने कब के बीत रहे हैं।

जब मैं अपने देश के मामले पर आता हूँ पाकिस्तान की बात—राबर्ट मॅगनेमरा साहब अमेरिका की सिनेट कमेट्री के सामने फरमाते हैं कि यह तो सैकड़ों वर्ष का झगड़ा है। सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह साहब उसको 18 वर्ष का झगड़ा मानते हैं या कई वर्ष का? लेकिन अमेरिका के रक्षा मंत्री इस को सैकड़ों वर्ष का झगड़ा मानते हैं और सैकड़ों वर्ष के साथ साथ शायद वह यह भी कहना चाहते हैं कि हिन्दू मुसलमान का झगड़ा है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : यही कहत हैं। यही मतलब है।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अगर हिन्दू मुसलमान का झगड़ा है तो अमेरिका वाले कब समझेंगे कि यहां भारत में 5-6 करोड़ मुसलमान हैं और वहां पाकिस्तान में करीब करीब 1 करोड़ हिन्दू हैं? क्या यह चाहते हैं कि फिर से कत्लेआम हो?

श्री बी० चं० शर्मा : यही चाहते हैं।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : लेकिन कहां यह सरकार इन बातों को समझ पायेगी? यह तो उलझा देती है क्योंकि यह सरकार

जिम्मेदार है भारत के टुकड़े कराने की, माफ़ करियेगा, हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े कराने की, भारत और पाकिस्तान में।

सभापति महोदय : आप का समय दो मिनट है। दो मिनट और मिलेंगे।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैं इस सरकार को कुछ ज्यादा न बह कर खाली इस विरोधी पक्ष का इतना कहना चाहूंगा कि जनतंत्र में विदेशी नीति को ठीक तरीके से चलाने के लिए विरोधी पक्ष को भी अपनी विदेश नीति साफ़ रखनी चाहिए क्योंकि जनतंत्र में वह सरकारी पक्ष हिन्दुस्तान के बंटवारे के साथ जुड़ गया है। वह अपनी नीति नहीं बदल सकता। वह इस बंटवारे के आधार पर ही चल सकता है। अब खाली एक सशक्त विरोधी पक्ष ही भारत और पाकिस्तान के एका करने की नीति को अपना कर पाकिस्तान के मामले में कोई नई नीति चला सकता है।

मैं आप को एक खबर सुनाऊँ। गुलाम मुर्तजा सैयद सिध के बड़े नेता हैं। उन्होंने एक किताब लिखी "नये सिध की जहोजहूद के सोलह साल"। उस में उन्होंने यहां तक कहा है कि अगर इजरायल में दो हजार वर्ष के बाद यहूदी जा सकते हैं तो फिर सिध में हिन्दू वापिस क्यों नहीं आ सकते अभी या आगे चल कर? पाकिस्तान में कौन कौन सी नई तबदीलियां हो रही हैं, उसका इस सरकार को बिलकुल पता नहीं है। यह सरकार नई नीति नहीं चला सकती है। अब इस विरोधी पक्ष के ऊपर बात निर्भर करती है कि क्या इस विरोधी पक्ष के अन्दर ऐसा सशक्त दल बन सकता है जो भारत और पाकिस्तान के एके को लेकर आगे चले। अभी मैं सुन रहा था श्री ए० के० सेन को। मुझे ऐसा लगा कि वह सरकार की तरफ से नहीं बोल रहे हैं बल्कि वह तो हमारी तरफ से पैरवी कर रहे

ये । भारत की सरकार बड़ी चाहियत है चीन के साथ सम्बन्ध कायम किये हुए है । इसे तोड़ताड़ देना चाहिए और एक नये सिरे से चीन की नीति चलानी चाहिये । मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि सम्मानपूर्ण संधि वगैरह की बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती कि बताऊँ कि क्या सम्मानपूर्ण है ? यह बात सदन के सामने आ गई है कि जो पानी के ढलाव की बुनियाद पर भारत और चीन की चर्चा चली है वह पानी का ढलाव कहां है ? वह कैलाश और मानसरोवर के ऊपर है । इस बात को चीनी भी समझते हैं चीनियों के बड़े बड़े मित्र ऐडगर स्नो समझते हैं वह हम को समझना चाहिये । पानी का ढलाव कैलाश, मानसरोवर के पूर्ववाहिनी ब्रह्मपुत्र पर जाता है और अगर सम्मानपूर्वक बातचीत करनी है तो उसको अपने दिमाग में रखना चाहिए । मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सरकार ने जो कुछ भी एक गरीब भिखमंगे मूलक के पाये हो सकते हैं विदेशी नीति के उन को एक एक करके खत्म किया । चीन जो आज इतना बड़ा बना हुआ है इस कारण से उमने रंगीन दुनिया को दिखाया कि संगठन अच्छे तरीके से करके उन्नति कर सकता है । खेती, कारखाने की भारत उन्नति नहीं कर सका । वह पाया टूट गया है । दूसरा पाया हो सकता था । गांधी जी ने सुलह का रास्ता दुनिया के सामने रखा था । यह कलह वाली दुनिया है लेकिन पिछले 18 वर्ष में सुलह की सब बातें खत्म हो गई । अब यह कलह वाला अंग दुनिया का रह गया । फिर आखिर को एक चीज कर सकती थी बराबर । क्या है बराबर इस के ? पिछले 18 वर्ष में कोई दो सौ, तीन सौ राजदूत और हार्ड कमिशनर जगह जगह भेजे गये होंगे । उन में एक भी जहां तक मुझे मालूम है हरिजन या आदिवासी नहीं भेजा गया . . .

**सभापति महोदय :** माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो रहा है ।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** मैं अभी एक, दो मिनट में खत्म किये देता हूँ । मुझे 379 (Ai) LSD—6.

यहां तक कहा गया एक विदेशी राजधानी में कि तुम लोगों ने राजा और रजवाड़े तो खत्म कर डाले अपने देश के अन्दर लेकिन अपने देश के बाहर यह 60-70 रजवाड़े ऐसे बना डाले हैं कि जो अपनी छोटी सी सलतनत के ऊपर न जाने किस जालिम की तरह राज्य करते हैं ? यहां पर वही ठाठ बाट चलाना चाहते हैं । अब अगर आदर्शों की तरफ जायं तो मैं यह मानता हूँ कि आज भारत में कोई ताकत नहीं रह गयी है । वह ताकत उसने खत्म कर दी 18 वर्ष में, सुलह वाली गांधी जी की खास तौर से । उन्नति के लिए संगठन नहीं कर पा रहा लेकिन फिर भी कम से कम दिमाग में तो रहे कि यह दुनिया क्या है कैसी है ? बुनियादी तौर पर वह पांच साम्राज्यशाही के रूप जो ग्रामतौर से किताबों में नहीं आया करते उन को मैं बतला देना चाहता हूँ । एक रूप तो है जमीन की साम्राज्यशाही । रूस, अमरीका और आस्ट्रेलिया में एक वर्ग मील के ऊपर 5, 10, 15 और 20 आदमी रहते हैं जबकि भारत में 350 रहते हैं और कहीं कहीं 400 तक रहते हैं । दूसरा रूप है पैदावार की साम्राज्यशाही । भारत में 350 रुपया प्रति व्यक्ति पैदा होता है साल भर में जबकि अमरीका में 15,000 और 16,000 रुपया होता है । यह साम्राज्यशाही है । मैं जानता हूँ कि कोई अमरीकी कह देगा कि उस से तुम्हारा क्या जाता है ? तुम खुद अपनी पैदावार बड़ा नहीं पाने हो और रोते हो ? कहा तो ठीक कि रोते हैं लेकिन फिर कभी भी यह मत कहना कि सारा मानव समाज एक कुटुम्ब है । अगर एक कुटुम्ब है तो किम तरीके से कहां कहां यह कैसे रहता है यह सवाल अपने आप उठ जा सकता है । फिर . . .

**सभापति महोदय :** माननीय सदस्य खत्म करें ।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** अब समय नहीं है इसलिए और साम्राज्यशाही के रूप छोड़ देने पड़ते हैं । अब मैं जनरल चौधरी का



### [डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

एक जुमला पढ़ कर सुना देना चाहता हूँ । आज वह भारतीय सेना के मुख्य अफसर हैं राष्ट्रपति को छोड़ कर और तब वह थे ब्रिगेडियर और उन्होंने यह जुमला लिखा था फरवरी, 1947 में :—

“मैं सोचता हूँ कि मैं सही हूँ यह कहते हुए कि हर एक सोचने वाला हिन्दुस्तानी या अंग्रेज आशा करता है कि भविष्य में एक फिर से एक किया हुआ हिन्दुस्तान बन जाय” ।

जब उन्होंने यह कहा था तब वह पलटन के ब्रिगेडियर थे आज सर्वसेनापति हैं । उन्होंने यह भी कहा था :—

“भारत की सेना भारत को भविष्य में इस आदर्श को पाने के लिये शायद मदद भी दे सके” ।

मैं नहीं कहता कि उन का मतलब रहा होगा कि पलटन से पाकिस्तान को रौंद डाले । वह तो आखिर करीब करीब एक गैर मुसलमान चीज हुआ करती है लेकिन कभी कभी मौका आ जाता है हालांकि भारत की पलटन और भारत की सरकार तभी यह सब काम कर पायेगी जब यहां कोई ऐसा विरोधी दल निकलेगा जो इस सरकार को गर्दन पकड़ कर हटायेगा क्योंकि यह बंटवारे की जिम्मेदार है और फिर से दोनों देशों को जोड़ने वाला एक सशक्त विरोधी दल पैदा होगा ।

**श्री हेड़ा (निजामाबाद) :** सभापति महोदय, सर्व प्रथम मैं इस बात का उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ जैसा कि बहुत से सदस्यों ने किया है कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने जो यह विदेश भ्रमण किया था वह अत्यन्त सफल रहा । उनका तेजस्वी व्यक्तित्व, उनका मधुर स्वभाव और विदेश नीति के सम्बन्ध में उनका स्पष्ट दृष्टिकोण तथा हमारे क्या उद्देश्य हैं, क्या लक्ष्य हैं इस बारे में उनका बड़ा

सुन्दर ख्याल रहा । यह सारी चीजें ऐसी थीं जिनका कि प्रभाव चारों देशों पर और विशेष कर संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका पर हुए बिना नहीं रहा । यहां यह भी कह देना चाहता हूँ कि उन के इस भ्रमण की कामयाबी आज नहीं नापी जा सकती है हालांकि अभी भी जो कुछ भी परिणाम हमने हासिल किया है वह काफ़ी उत्साहदायक है लेकिन फिर भी उन्होंने काफ़ी प्रभाव डाला है इन सारे राष्ट्रों पर और उन के द्वारा अन्य राष्ट्रों पर भी यह आगे चल कर भविष्य में ही हमें मालूम होगा ।

इसके बाद मैं अपने मित्र श्री अंसार हरबानी की एक बात का उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ । उन्होंने यह कहा कि पूर्व जर्मनी के सम्बन्ध में हम को अपना रवैया बदलना चाहिए । मुश्किल यह है कि कुछ राष्ट्रों के सम्बन्ध में हम ने अपने रवैया बना लिये थे । कुछ वर्षों के पूर्व जब हम ने अपना रवैया बनाया तब उस के लिए काफ़ी सुदृढ़ कारण मौजूद थे । ऐसे देशों के अन्दर पूर्व जर्मनी आता है, इजरायल आता है, तैवान आता है, दोनों कोरिया आते हैं और भी शायद कुछ राष्ट्र आते होंगे । इन राष्ट्रों के सम्बन्ध में जो हम ने रवैया 9 साल के पहले बनाया था अब समय आ गया है कि उन के ऊपर हम फिर से कुछ पुनर्विचार करें । परिस्थितियां इतनी बदल गई हैं, उन में इतना अधिक परिवर्तन हो गया है कि सारी स्थिति पर एक बार फिर से सोचने की आवश्यकता हो गई है । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि हम को एक-दम कोई लम्बी छलांग लगाने की जरूरत है या हम एक-दम उन राष्ट्रों के साथ दूतावास के सम्बन्ध में निर्माण करें, लेकिन मैं यह कहता हूँ कि हमें इस बारे में सोचना चाहिए और अपने हितों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए हम जहां तक आगे बढ़ सकते हैं, उतना बराबर आगे बढ़ना चाहिए । खास तौर पर सांस्कृतिक और आर्थिक क्षेत्रों में हमारे सम्बन्ध

ज्यादा अच्छे हों, हम एक दूसरे के ज्यादा नज़दीक आयें और एक दूसरे की सहायता कर पायें, अब हमें इस प्रकार का रवैय्या अस्त्यार करने की आवश्यकता है ।

अभी जिस बात का जिक्र श्री दांडेकर ने किया और जो बात अन्य मित्रों के दिमागों में भी है, अब मैं उस का भी जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ । आज हमारा सब से बड़ा शत्रु चीन है और इस लिहाज़ से इस बात की ज़रूरत है कि जितने चीन-विरोधी राष्ट्र हैं—उन्होंने उन सब राष्ट्रों के पास खास तौर पर साउथ ईस्ट एशियन राष्ट्रों के, नाम भी लिये—, उन सब राष्ट्रों के साथ हम एक हो कर कोई एक कार्यक्रम क्यों न बनायें, इस प्रकार की भावना और चर्चा काफ़ी जगह चलती है । इस में मन्देह नहीं कि चीन हमारा सब से बड़ा शत्रु है, और हमारा दृष्टिकोण चीन-विरोधी है । परन्तु एक बात को स्पष्ट तौर पर हमें समझ लेना चाहिए कि इस प्रकार का कोई गुट बनाने में न हम भाग ले सकते हैं और न हमारे लिए वह वांछनीय ही है । इसके दो कारण हैं । एक तो यह है कि ऐसे राष्ट्रों का अगर कोई अग्रग्राही हो सकता है, तो वह भारत है या जापान है । लेकिन इन दोनों राष्ट्रों की अपनी अपनी नीतियाँ हैं । जापान खुद चीन के साथ अपने व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध बढ़ाना चाहता है और हमारी एक अलग परिस्थिति है, जिस पर अभी आऊंगा, जिस के कारण हम इस में सीधे भाग नहीं ले सकते ।

दूसरा कारण यह है कि चीन-विरोधी अन्य राष्ट्रों और हमारे देश में एक बहुत बड़ा मौलिक अन्तर है । अन्य चीन-विरोधी राष्ट्र प्रायः केवल अमरीका की ओर देखते हैं । इसके विपरीत जहाँ एक तरफ़ हमारे सम्बन्ध अमरीका के साथ अच्छे हैं, वहाँ दूसरी तरफ़ रशिया के साथ भी अच्छे हैं । इस प्रकार की अच्छी परिस्थिति और राष्ट्रों की नहीं है । इस कारण चाहे हम और वे राष्ट्र एक दृष्टिकोण रखते हों,

चाहें कुछ हद तक हमारे हित एक हों, लेकिन फिर भी हम इस परिस्थिति में नहीं हैं कि हम मिलकर, एक संयुक्त कार्यक्रम बना कर, कुछ करें । लेकिन इन देशों के साथ विचारों का आदान-प्रदान अवश्य होना चाहिए, ताकि आपस में किसी प्रकार की गलतफ़हमी न रहे । उन देशों की ओर से जो काम किये जाते हैं और हमारी तरफ़ से जो कदम उठाये जाते हैं, उन के सम्बन्ध में सहानुभूतिपूर्ण विचारों का निर्माण हो, यह आवश्यक है ।

अब मैं उस बात पर आता हूँ, जिस पर मैंने काफ़ी सोचा है और काफ़ी समय लगाया है । मुझे इस बात का सौभाग्य मिला था कि पिछले दिनों जो संसदीय डेलीगेशन अफ्रीका भेजे गये थे, उन में से एक का मैं नेतृत्व करूँ । इस कारण मैंने वहाँ की परिस्थिति को अपने आँखों से देखा और इस बारे में वहाँ भी और यहाँ भी आने के बाद भी बहुत से मित्रों से विचार-विमर्श किया । मेरा अपना खयाल यह है कि अफ्रीका खंड का एक अत्यन्त महत्व का खंड बन रहा है । इसलिये वहाँ पर अपने दूतावासों में हम ने जिन लोगों को रखना है, उन का एक स्पेशल कैडर बनाने की आवश्यकता है । सारी दुनिया के लिए हमारे पास जो कैडर हैं, ज़रूरत पड़ने पर हम उस में से किसी व्यक्ति को वहाँ भेज दें, यह ठीक नहीं है । यह ग्राम खयाल है—और वह खयाल बड़ा नुकसान पहुंचाना है—कि हम केवल उसी व्यक्ति को राजदूत बना कर अफ्रीका भेजते हैं, जिस को एक प्रकार से काले पानी की सज़ा देनी हो । इसी खयाल की वजह से जब कोई राजदूत वहाँ रखा जाता है, तो पहले दिन से ही उस का यह प्रयत्न होता है कि वह कैसे वहाँ से यूरोप के किसी राष्ट्र या अमरीका में चला जाये । अगर अफ्रीका के लिए एक अलग कैडर बना दिया जाये, तो इस प्रकार की बातें न हों ।

इन अफ्रीकन राष्ट्रों में अंग्रेज़ी के साथ साथ फ्रेंच भाषा का ज्ञान भी अत्यन्त आवश्यक है । फ्रेंच के बिना वहाँ काम नहीं

## [श्री हेडा]

चलता है । इस लिए चाहे डाइवर हो, मामूली क्लर्क हो, फ्रस्ट सैफ्टेरी हो या राजदूत हो, कोई भी आदमी अफ्रीका नहीं भेजा जाना चाहिये, जब तक कि उस को अंग्रेजी और फ्रेंच दोनों भाषायें ठीक तरह से न आती हों । यह बात बहुत मुश्किल नहीं है । हमारा देश इस मामले में बड़ा खुशकिस्मत है कि हम में से बहुत से लोग एक से अधिक भाषा बहुत आसानी से सीख लेते हैं । मैं देश के उन भागों का जिक्र नहीं करना चाहता हूं, जहां अन्य भाषाओं को सीखने की प्रवृत्ति नहीं है । लेकिन आप देखेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत से लोग ऐसे हैं, जो चार पांच भाषायें बड़ी आसानी से सीख लेते हैं । हमारे जो लोग अफ्रीका भेजे जायें, उनको अंग्रेजी और फ्रेंच कोई बहुत ऊंचे स्तर की नहीं, बल्कि काम चलाने के लिए आनी चाहिये । ये दोनों भाषायें बड़ी आसानी से सीखी जा सकती हैं ।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा है, एक तो अफ्रीकी राष्ट्रों में हमारे दूतावासों के लिए हमारा एक अलग कैंडर हो और यह स्पष्ट हो कि उस कैंडर के सदस्यों को कहीं और न भेजा जायेगा और दूसरे, जो लोग वहां भेजे जायें, उन को अंग्रेजी और फ्रेंच का ज्ञान होना चाहिए ।

अफ्रीका के राष्ट्रों को आम तौर पर चार भागों में विभक्त किया जा सकता है । एक तो वे राष्ट्र हैं, जो अपनी राजभाषा अरबी मानते हैं, हालांकि उनका पूरा काम अरबी अरबी में नहीं हो रहा है, लेकिन वह बहुत शीघ्रता से होता जा रहा है । अगर ऐसे राष्ट्रों में पश्चिमी एशिया, मिडल ईस्ट, के राष्ट्रों को भी मिला दें, तो इन राष्ट्रों की गिनती बहुत होती है । अफ्रीका के लिए अंग्रेजी और फ्रेंच जानने वाला हमारा जो अलग कैंडर होगा, अगर उस के सदस्यों में से तीसरे हिस्से के बराबर लोग अरबी भी सीखें, तो हमारा काम काफी आगे बढ़ेगा ।

इस के अलावा पूर्वी अफ्रीका और पश्चिमी अफ्रीका के देश हैं और फिर साउथ अफ्रीका के देश हैं । साउथ अफ्रीका में हमें अभी ज्यादा काम करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है । पूर्वी अफ्रीका के बहुत से राष्ट्रों में अंग्रेजी के साथ स्वाहिली को भी राजभाषा माना गया है । हिन्दुस्तानी स्वाहिली भाषा को बड़ी आसानी से सीख सकते हैं क्योंकि उस में गुजराती और उर्दू के काफी शब्द शायद हमारे ही सम्बन्धों के कारण आ गए हैं ।

वहां जो भारतीय बसे हुए हैं उनकी मदद ले कर हम वहां पर भारतीय संस्कृति, विचार और आचार-व्यवहार का बड़ा अच्छा प्रदर्शन कर सकते हैं । एक बड़े आश्चर्य की बात यह आप देखें कि इन सारे राष्ट्रों में भारतीय फ़िल्में बहुत प्रचलित और पापुलर हैं । उन को माध्यम बना कर हम काफी आगे बढ़ सकते हैं । परन्तु खेद इस बात का है कि इस सम्बन्ध में हमारे पास कोई निश्चित योजना नहीं है । ऐसी योजना बड़ी आसानी से बनाई जा सकती है । ऐसी योजना में पैसा खर्च नहीं होगा, उल्टे आमदनी हो सकती है । भारतीय फ़िल्मों के साथ साथ डकुमेंटरीज भी दिखाई जा सकती हैं और इस प्रकार उस क्षेत्र में हमारे देश की एक उत्कृष्ट कल्पना और चित्र रखा जा सकता है ।

जैसा कि श्री अशोक सेन ने कहा है, उस क्षेत्र में हमारे देश के प्रति बहुत आस्था और सद्भाव है । इस लिए उन राष्ट्रों में ये सारे काम बड़ी आसानी से हो सकते हैं ।

मैं प्रधान मंत्री महोदय और विदेश मंत्री महोदय से यह प्रार्थन करूंगा कि वह मेरे इन सुझावों पर गौर करें और इस ओर ध्यान दें । कि अफ्रीका और लेटिन अमरीका में हमारे देश का चित्र कैसे विकसित हो, उज्ज्वल हो और इस सम्बन्ध में वे एक कार्यक्रम बनाने का प्रयत्न करें ।

**Shri Manoharan** (Madras South):  
 Mr. Chairman, I hope I will get a  
 minimum of fifteen minutes.

**Mr. Chairman:** His allotted time is  
 9 minutes. He can take a minute or  
 two more.

**Shri Manoharan:** At the outset,  
 though it might be bitter, I would  
 like to say that the performance of  
 our External Affairs Ministry is not  
 only, sluggish but conservative, dull  
 and lethargic. This impression I have  
 after having visited certain African  
 countries. Very recently, a delega-  
 tion of Members of Parliament visited  
 some African countries as a good-  
 will mission and we met certain  
 leaders of African countries.

We had to face certain propaganda  
 that has been mischievously and  
 mendaciously created by Pakistan.  
 In those countries the propaganda of  
 Pakistan was like this. There were  
 three major propagandas. One was  
 that though India claims to be a de-  
 mocratic country, India is fundamen-  
 tally opposed to self-determination,  
 which is neither a political sin nor a  
 crime. Secondly, much against jus-  
 tice and correct understanding of the  
 situations that have arisen, Pakistan  
 was successfully able to create an  
 impression in the minds of the Afri-  
 can countries, especially the leaders  
 of African countries....

**Mr. Chairman:** Will he resume his  
 seat for a second?

15.30 hrs.

**MOTION RE: SITUATION ARISING  
 OUT OF RECENT EXPLOSIONS AT  
 LUMDING AND DIPHU STATIONS**

**Mr. Chairman:** I have to announce  
 before the House that under rule 185  
 of the Rules of Procedure and Con-  
 duct of Business in the Lok Sabha,  
 the Railway Minister has given notice  
 of his intention to move the follow-

ing motion in the current session of  
 Lok Sabha:—

“That the situation arising out  
 of the recent explosions at Lum-  
 ding and Diphu stations on the  
 North East Frontier Railway on the  
 20th and 23rd April, 1966,  
 respectively resulting in deaths  
 of and injuries to a large num-  
 ber of persons and considerable  
 damage to property, be taken  
 into consideration.”

This will be taken up at 4 o'clock.

15.31 hrs.

**DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.**

**MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS—contd.**

**Mr. Chairman:** Shri Manoharan  
 may resume his speech.

**Shri Manoharan:** The next propa-  
 ganda of Pakistan was that India  
 aggressed and not Pakistan aggressed  
 against India. The simple reason  
 stated by Pakistan was that India,  
 a country having 46 crores of people  
 would be in a position to commit  
 aggression, not Pakistan with a popu-  
 lation of 10 crores of people, because  
 Pakistan was not in a position to do  
 so or even think of it.

The third one was that Islam in  
 India was in danger. We had to face  
 these three propagandas. While we  
 were explaining to the leaders of  
 African countries that Pakistan com-  
 mitted aggression and that Pakistan  
 was fundamentally opposing demo-  
 cratic canons and spirit, the imme-  
 diate reply that came automatically  
 from the leaders of African countries  
 was: How could it be possible for  
 Pakistan, a small, tiny country, to  
 aggress on India? The second thing  
 they told us was that Islam in India  
 was in danger. The leaders of Afri-  
 can countries were not at all inform-  
 ed that India is the third biggest  
 Muslim populated country in the  
 world.

[Shri Manoharan]

While we explained that, they expressed their astonishment. Subsequently, we explained to the leaders that immediately after China aggressed, in order to please the Chinese, Pakistan handed over 2,050 square miles of territory to China. While we were explaining this to the President of Tunisia, Mr. Bourgiba, Mr. Bourgiba expressed his astonishment and asked, "Is it a fact that Pakistan has handed over 2,050 square miles to China?" We said, "Yes" and then he said, "Of course, I am sorry; I was not informed by anybody". Subsequently, we asked our Ambassador, "How is it that these people were not informed about it?" Shamelessly, I tell you, Mr. Chairman, our Ambassador told us that he did not know that fact even. That is why I want to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the External Affairs Ministry is sluggish, conservative, lethargic and dull in its performance.

When we had a talk with the Moroccan leaders, they were expressing their anxiety to see that India and Pakistan should come together somehow, should sit around the table and iron out their differences. While we were explaining the difficulties that we encountered, they said, "Somehow or other you should come to terms." Then they were talking much about the plebiscite and we explained that the whole context of a plebiscite has been changed. They wanted to know how. We explained to these people that after the Chinese aggression after Pakistan handed over 2,050 square miles of territory to China, a third element in the politics of Kashmir has been introduced by Pakistan; therefore, the whole context has been changed. Immediately the leaders of African countries expressed equally their astonishment. Finally, the Moroccan Foreign Affairs Minister said one thing that was startling to me. He said that there was a talk all over that the people of Kashmir wanted self-determination. Their fundamen-

tal query was, "Why should you not accept this fundamental proposition? A plebiscite is purely democratic; your late lamented Prime Minister had been an inspiration for us for the past so many years and he had committed himself to the people of Kashmir." Of course, naturally, we said that the Prime Minister did commit—no doubt—but if at all there was any commitment, it was a commitment between the people of Kashmir and the Government of India; Pakistan had nothing to do with that. Of course, they had their own doubts.

Subsequently he was explaining that while Morocco was clamouring for independence, our Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, had been their inspiration. He said, "We got everything from him; leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were our guides, this and that." When Mauritania was clamouring for independence from Morocco, at the instance of the French Administration according to the leaders of Morocco, these people went to the United Nations in 1954 and wanted to meet our Prime Minister, late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. They met him and told him, "Mauritania had no right at all to clamour for self-determination because Mauritania is an integral part of Morocco." They wanted to impress this upon our late lamented Prime Minister Nehru and suddenly our Prime Minister, according to his characteristic or idiosyncrasy, said, "When the people of Mauritania stand for self-determination, I think, that is the only way out; that should be conceded to." That also created something in the minds of the leaders of the African people. Even then the Moroccan leaders said, "We are for India and Pakistan; it is a family quarrel between India and Pakistan and somehow or other you should come around the table and iron out your differences."

**Shri M. R. Krishna (Peddapalli):**  
What about the Tunisian President?

**Shri Manoharan:** Shri M. R. Krishna was one of the members of the delegation; so, he wanted me to remind of his membership.

**Mr. Chairman:** He is doubtful whether he can speak today; that is why he did it.

**Shri Manoharan:** The Tunisian President was equally emphatic in saying, "Self-determination is an accepted principle; why should you not follow it?" But, unfortunately, so far as we are concerned—I am not accusing our ambassadors—those poor people were not properly informed and briefed by the External Affairs Ministry which is noted for its lethargical attitude.

When Mauritania was clamouring for independence and got it....

**Shri M. R. Krishna:** He cannot forget Mauritania.

**Shri Manoharan:** That is the most important aspect. Mauritania was not immediately recognised by the Government of India. I think, if Government of India had taken one year to recognise Mauritania, probably the Government of India might have thought that it would antagonise the feelings of the people of Morocco. But, after that, we recognised Mauritania and our ambassador in Morocco, Shri Puri, was not at all informed about our recognition. Shri Puri had to depend for information on the Moroccan Government itself. Nowhere in the world could you find this.

**An hon. Member:** Who is this Puri?

**Shri Manoharan:** He is an ambassador, not something to eat.

I have got my own admiration towards our External Affairs Minister, Shri Swaran Singh, and our young, energetic dashing Minister, Shri Dinesh Singh. After our African visit these people wafted and made the status quo. I hope proper attention will be given so that the Exter-

nal Affairs Ministry functions properly.

I want to say something about Indonesia and Indonesia's action against Indian nationals. Here is the Report of the Ministry of External Affairs. On p. 28, it says:

"Several demonstrations were held before the Indian Embassy in Djakarta culminating in a violent attack on the Chancery on 9 September, 1965 causing extensive damage....

**Mr. Chairman:** Everybody has read that. You have only 1 minute more. Please conclude.

**Shri Manoharan:** I am concluding in a minute.

"Similar violent demonstrations were held in front of the Indian Consulate in Medan. On 16 September, it was announced that Indian properties had been brought under the supervision of the Indonesian Government. It was explained that though the Indians continued to own their properties, they would not be free to sell or transfer them to others."

That is the information given in this Report. I want to know, after that Government was toppled down and a new regime came into being, what action the Government of India has taken so far to have the relation with the present regime and thereby the property which comes under the Government of Indonesia be once again transferred to the Indian nations.

In conclusion, I request the hon. External Affairs Minister to see that our Embassies are functioning properly abroad and our Ambassadors are briefed properly and that the points, the facts and everything should be supplied in time so that they could be able to explain the position of our country properly to the leaders of other countries in a way that is expected of from the External Affairs Ministry.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad (Gaya):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, who controls off-shore Asia controls South-East Asia. American hegemony prevails over off-shore Asia. Chinese hegemony can never be established over South-East Asia. The withdrawal of the United States of America from South-East Asia is a geo-political impossibility.

The problems of international politics pertaining to the international system of the balance of power were not solved within the framework of the international system of the balance of power. The emergence of the existing loose bipolar world led to the solution of all the international problems of the international system of the balance of power. The international problems of the existing loose bipolar world, the problems of Korea, Vietnam, Kashmir, Israel and Germany, cannot be solved within the framework of the existing loose bipolar world.

The transformation of the existing loose bipolar world either into a tight bipolar world or into a multi-polar world will lead to the solution of all the international problems of the existing loose bipolar world.

15.44 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

If India withdraws from the Commonwealth, all the Afro-Asian Member States will withdraw from it. If all the Afro-Asian Member States withdraw from the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth will be liquidated. If the Commonwealth is liquidated the gravitational pull of the European Economic Market will become stronger than that of the Anglo-American tie over the United Kingdom. If the United Kingdom joins the European Common Market, it will be transformed in due course of time into the United States of Western Europe. If the United States of Western Europe is established, its gravitational pull will become stronger than that of Russia over Eastern Europe. The gravitational pull of Tur-

key, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and China will become stronger than that of Russia over the Heartland, if the gravitational pull of the United States of Western Europe becomes stronger than that of Russia over Eastern Europe. If Russia is subjected to pressure on both these fronts, the result will be the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from both Eastern Europe and the Heartland.

Afro-Asia in general and India and the Heartland in particular will be divided into two spheres of influence, Chinese and Pan-Islamic if the Soviet Union, withdraws from the Heartland. The Commonwealth, the Anglo-American tie, Russian hegemony over Eastern Europe and American hegemony over Western Europe and the New world are the four pillars of the existing loose bipolar world. If anyone of these four pillars is dismantled, not to speak of the other three pillars, but the entire super-structure of the existing loose bipolar world will collapse like a palace of cards.

**Shri Manoharan:** Logic par excellence.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** Thank you.

The assumption behind the concept of co-existence is either that the existing loose bipolar world is the last stage in the cycle of political evolution or that the transformation of the existing loose bipolar world either into a tight bipolar world or into a multi-polar world either will be achieved by peaceful methods or will not jeopardise the vital interests of any State.

The concepts of the multi-polar world and world disarmament are antithetical concepts. India, Russia and America are geopolitical friends of one another. The States on the borders of Heartland and Eastern Europe are the geopolitical friends of one another and the geopolitical foes of India, Russia and America. The gravitational pull of Western Europe is stronger than that of Russia over Eastern Europe. The gravitational pull of Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakis-

tan is stronger than that of Russia over the Caucasus and over Soviet Central Asia. The vast majority of the inhabitants of the Caucasus and Soviet Central Asia are Turkish and Iranian Muslims. The Arabs, the Iranians and the Turks have ruled over Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus for a thousand years. What Eastern Europe is to Russia in Europe, probably that or more are the States on the borders of the Heartland to Russia in Asia.

The common aim of the foreign policies of all the States on the borders of the Heartland and Eastern Europe is to drive out Russia from Eastern Europe and the Heartland and to drive out the United States of America from the Old world. The gravitational pull of China is stronger than that of Russia over Siberia. China cannot provide means of livelihood to its expanding population. Siberia is the only region where the surplus population of China can be settled. The Chinese are basically landmen and not seamen. Siberia is two and a half times the size of India. It is the richest mineral region on earth. Only two crores of people, mostly akin to the Chinese, live in Siberia. The resources of Siberia have not been fully explored as yet.

**Shri Daji (Indore):** Why is my hon. friend instigating the Chinese against Russia?

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** I have stated the background.

Now, I come to policy. The forging of the pact...

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member should wind up his speech now.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** I have taken only five minutes, I think.

**Mr. Speaker:** He started at about 3.40 P.M.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** I started after 3.40 P.M.

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, he may leave the background and come to the front.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** I wish to remind you of two things.

Shri K. C. Pant was allowed to speak for 20 minutes. I have been asked to speak after seven months, in spite of the fact that I tried to speak at least four times before...

**Mr. Speaker:** Instead of discussing that, he might go on with his speech.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** The forging of the Pact of Asian Defence with Japan in the North and India in the South or a political settlement between India and America, or a political settlement either on a federal or functional basis between India and Pakistan, if Pakistan is an ally of the USA, or a political settlement between India and China, if such a settlement tilts the balance of power in favour of Russia, or the withdrawal of China from Viet Nam, or the expulsion of China from Tibet by the USA or the emergence of India as a nuclear power, if it tilts the balance of power in favour of the USA, will lead to the resurrection of the Sino-Soviet Pact. Russian hegemony will be established over Europe and the new world and Afro-Asia and the heartland in general and the USA and India in particular will be divided into two spheres of influence, Chinese and Russian, if the resurrection of the Sino-Soviet Pact leads to the liquidation of the U.S.A.

A political settlement either on a federal or a functional basis between India and Pakistan, if Pakistan is an ally of Russia, or a political settlement between India and China, if such a settlement tilts the balance of power in favour of Russia, or a political settlement between India and Russia or a political settlement between China and America on the question of Viet Nam, or the expulsion of China from Tibet by Russia or the emergence of India as a nuclear power, if it tilts the balance of power in favour of Russia, will lead to the forging of the Sino-American alliance. American hegemony will be established over Europe extending from Great Britain to the Ural mountains; and Afro-Asia in general, and India and the Heartland in particular will be



[Shri Brajeshwar Prasad]

divided into two spheres of influence, Chinese and American, if the forging of the Sino-American alliance leads to the liquidation of the Soviet Union. (Laughter). He laughs best who laughs last.

I am reminded of one line of Urdu poetry with which I used to dabble in my younger days:

घातिश की यह जमी है जल जायेंगे  
जबानें ।

घाहूँ न चर सकेंगे इस शेरनर के बन में ।

Afro-Asia in general and India and the Heartland in particular will be divided into two spheres of influence, Chinese and Pan-Islamic, the new world in general and the USA in particular will be divided into two spheres of influence, Chinese and European, and Western European hegemony will be established over Russia within the framework of the United States of Europe encompassing within its bosom all the States extending from Great Britain to the Ural Mountains, either if India withdraws from the Commonwealth, or if the proliferation of thermo-nuclear weapons in Afro-Asia leads to the withdrawal of Russia and America from Afro-Asia, or if a political settlement either between India and China or between India and Pakistan, if Pakistan is an ally of China and China is not an ally of either Russia or America leads to the withdrawal of Russia and America from Afro-Asia.....

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

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** Five minutes more and I have done.

**Mr. Speaker:** Does not the hon. Member think that what he has said already is too much to be digested?

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** It is after seven or eight months that I have been allowed to speak.

**Shri Daji:** I think we should arrange for a full-fledged lecture by the hon. Member.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** ... or if the emergence of China as a thermo-nuclear power of the stature of Russia and America, a stature which it is bound to acquire latest by the first decade of the next century, leads to the establishment of a thermo-nuclear Pan-Islamic State of the stature of England and France on the borders of Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus.

The outbreak of a war either between India and China or between India on the one side and China and Pakistan on the other on the question of Kashmir or between China and America on the question of Viet Nam or between Russia and China on the question of the territorial disputes covering an area of 7 lakhs sq. k.m. of Russian territory in the Heartland will lead to the establishment of Russian hegemony over Africa, Western Asia, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tibet, Sinkiang, Mongolia, Manchuria and North China, and of American hegemony over South China, South-East Asia and Off-shore Asia. Afro-Asia in general and China and the Indian sub-continent in particular will be divided into two spheres of influence Russian and American, either if Russia and America combine to prevent the proliferation of thermo-nuclear weapons in Afro-Asia, or if a political settlement either between India and Pakistan or between India and China, if Pakistan is an ally of China and China is not an ally of either Russia or America, tends to undermine Russo-American position in Afro-Asia.

Afro-Asia in general and India in particular will be divided into three spheres of influence Russian, Chinese and American, either if the resurrection of the Sino-Soviet Pact does not lead to the liquidation of America or if the forging of the Sino-American alliance does not lead to the liquidation of Russia, or if the emergence of

India as a thermo-nuclear power compels Russia and America to join hands with China to prevent the proliferation of thermo-nuclear weapons in Afro-Asia or if the emergence of China as a thermo-nuclear power of the stature of Russia and America does not lead to the establishment of a thermo-nuclear Pan-Islamic State.

Now, I shall conclude. I wanted to speak on the Tashkent agreement. I wanted to speak on Israel. I wanted to speak on external publicity. I shall take five minutes more if I have to speak on these things.

**Mr. Speaker:** No. I cannot give him five minutes.

Now, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri. He might begin his speech now.

I had intended to give time to Shri Prakash Vir Shastri and Shri Krishna Menon today. But now, I shall have to continue this tomorrow, and at least these two Members would be accommodated before the hon. Minister replies.

**Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma (Khanimam):** I have not spoken on the Demands of any Ministry so far.

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam (Banda):** You yourself had promised to give me time, . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** I am sorry; I cannot do anything now. Now, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri might start his speech.

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:** I hope at least tomorrow you will give me some time.

**Mr. Speaker:** There will be no time. Already, we are short of time.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) :  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत की राष्ट्रीय और  
अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं की एक बहुत बड़ी

कड़ी काश्मीर है। काश्मीर की स्थिति बाहर हम ज्यों ज्यों स्पष्ट करना चाहते हैं दुर्भाग्य से काश्मीर की भ्रान्तरिक समस्याएँ उतनी ही कठिन होती जा रही हैं। साम्यवादी पार्टी की नीति काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में अब से 6 महीने पहले जो थी, उस में पर्याप्त परिवर्तन आ चुका है। अब से पहले साम्यवादी पार्टी का कहना यह था कि काश्मीर की एक एक इंच धरती भारत की है लेकिन आज भारत की साम्यवादी पार्टी इस बात से सहमत है कि और स्थान स्थान पर उसने अपना मत व्यक्त किया है कि युद्ध विराम रेखा को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय रेखा मान लिया जाय। इसी प्रकार चीन के सम्बन्ध में भी साम्यवादी पार्टी की नीति में परिवर्तन आया है। यह परिवर्तन केवल साम्यवादी पार्टी की नीति में आकस्मिक है इस बात को सामान्य मानकर न छोड़ा जाय बल्कि हवा का रुख किस तरह बदल रहा है, उसकी तह में पहुँचने का प्रयास करना चाहिए। दूसरी बात काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में भ्रान्तरिक स्थिति का परिचय देते हुए मैं विदेश मंत्री महोदय से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कुछ दिन पहले जब भारत का पाकिस्तान के साथ संघर्ष चल रहा था तो हमारे देश का वह भाग काश्मीर का जिस में रजौरी के पास का बुदल और दरहाल का क्षेत्र आ जाता है उस क्षेत्र के एम० एल० सी० और एम० एल० एज० दोनों पाकिस्तान के क्षेत्र में चले गये। वहाँ जाकर उन्होंने उसी आधार पर कुछ कार्य भी किया। अब वह क्षेत्र हमारे हाथ में आने के बाद फिर वे राज्य विधान सभा के सदस्य और राज्य विधान परिषद् के सदस्य

**Mr. Speaker:** He might continue tomorrow. We will take up the motion re: the explosions on the N. F. Railway.

16.00 hrs.

**MOTION RE: SITUATION ARISING  
OUT OF RECENT EXPLOSIONS  
AT LUMDING AND DIPHU  
RAILWAY STATIONS**

**The Minister of Railways (Shri S. K. Patil):** Under rule 185 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Lok Sabha, I move the following motion, notice of which I had given:

"That the situation arising out of the recent explosions at Lumding and Diphu stations on the North-East Frontier Railway on the 20th and 23rd April 1966, respectively, resulting in deaths of and injuries to a large number of persons and considerable damage to property be taken into consideration".

I can quite understand the anxiety of the House and people outside this House when day after day incidents of this nature occur and many people die. In these two incidents, about hundred people have died and possibly 100-200 have been injured, and there is no knowing that there would not be a recurrence of these incidents. Therefore, it has assumed a proportion which is very alarming indeed and hence the House is entitled to know as to what is being done; also we shall have the benefit of their advice as to what is to be done in circumstances of this nature.

I shall at the very outset say that these incidents are not a part of regular railway operations, because never before in the 113 years that the railways have been running in this country have we been faced with a situation of this description. It has nothing to do with the operation of the railways. It is purely a matter endangering the security of this land, the work of people who are interested in doing something so that they can spread fear and many other things. That is why we find these things happening again and again.

Now I shall deal with some of the

measures that we intend to take and are just now taking; but I am not satisfied with that, because they are not measures by which you can really give a proper type of retaliation which will put these things to a stop. I am worried because these things are taken as if these are occasional incidents; even if they were occurring once in six months or a year, that is bad. I do not say that they should occur like that. But even then there seems to be a plan that periodically these things should happen. These two incidents have happened within 72 hours of each other.

Now, something must be known about what is known as the North East Frontier Railway, popularly called NF railway.

This House knows very well that this particular zone of railways was made very recently. It was in 1958. It is the latest zone apart from the new zone that we are now making at Secunderabad. The total track kilometerage of this zone is 4,571 k.m. Part of it is a double track, therefore if you want the lengthwise figure, it covers 3,207 k.m. I am giving these particulars because when suggestions are made that the luggage, the trunks and other things should be examined, the Members should have an idea as to what they are talking about and what they are suggesting.

There are 444 stations, but I shall give you an exact idea as to how many of them are in the so-called danger zone where we have got to guard. All the 444 stations do not come within the danger zone. The danger zone we have worked out very carefully. There are 34 stations in the Lumding-Simulguri section—that is the one which is the most dangerous—on the border of Nagaland, a section of 231 k.m.; and 14 stations in the Lumding-Damchera section which is 155 k.m. That means there are 48 stations which are vulnerable. They have to be protected. Protection has got to be given. Whatever you might do, you have got to do in these 48 stations.

The terrain, as the House knows very well, is thick jungle, marshy and hilly. There has been a demand that the jungle should be cleared, but you cannot go on clearing the whole jungle. You can clear a part of it which is on the Nagaland side. A decision has been taken that 500 yards, about 1,500 feet, on the Nagaland border should be cleared, but the rain here is so heavy that even if you clear the jungle, within six months the jungle can grow again. Therefore, it has got to be a continuous process, but that continuous process is also being undertaken.

Then I come to the number of trains that run here. There are three Up and three Down on the Lumding-Simulguri section, which is more vulnerable on the north or east side; two Up and two Down on the Lumding-Damcherra section; therefore, ten trains are running continuously.

If we get the full load of passengers it may be somewhere about 5,500 passengers every day. Even if we do not get 100 per cent, we do get anything between three to four thousand passengers going up and down.

When we found the difficulty, and when we knew that this was not the regular business of the railways, because we are not equipped and under the Railway Act we are not supposed to carry on these activities, this had to be handed over to the army, and the army assumed control in January, 1957. Therefore, during the last nine years, the situation is under the overall charge of the army.

I shall now indicate the measures that we have undertaken, and what further measures we propose to take. All passenger, express and mail trains on these sections are piloted by searchlight specials and are provided with armed escorts. I should make it clear at the very outset that these things are done in order that the track should be protected, in order to stop sniping etc. This has nothing to do with bombs and these are useless where the planting of a bomb is there. There-

fore, these measures, although they are very elaborate and cost us quite a lot, surely do not assume the planting or the depositing of bombs the type of bombs that were kept there on the 20th and 23rd.

Detachments of armed police battalions are posted at all the strategic points in both these sections, and they provide protection to the railway stations, track and bridges. Adjacent jungle areas are also being patrolled by the army and armed police contingents, detachments of which are posted at various strategic points along the Nagaland border with Assam.

Engineering staff of the Northeast Frontier Railway—this is a special thing that the railway has been doing at a very terrific cost, because it does not produce anything except the satisfaction that our bridges are guarded—have been posted at the various bridges and tunnels to keep a watch and pass on information to the nearest railway station in case of sabotage to prevent accidents to trains. There are 37 tunnels and 34 bridges which are guarded in this manner.

Services of Village Defence parties are also being utilised for the protection of track, bridges etc. Day and night all these tunnels and bridges are being guarded.

All the passenger, express and mail trains are escorted by armed escorts of the Railway Protection Force working under the operational control of the Sector Commander of the Army. All goods trains in these sections are also provided with armed escorts of the Railway Protection Force Armed Wing of the Northeast Frontier Railway.

We have put two battalions of the railways with all the fighting equipment under the control of the Army. The general control is with the Army. In front of the train and at the back of the train, there are, not whole battalions, but about ten armed Rakshaks of R. P. F. are placed there. I am told that the Army also was putting

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in a few of their people in the middle section but that has been removed after the Mizo trouble because some Army personnel must have been deployed elsewhere.

The railway track runs almost parallel to the north and northwest boundary of the Nagaland with Assam. Approximate distance between the Railway track and Nagaland in these areas varies from 2 Kms to 15 Kms. That means it is very near and if anybody wants to do anything, he can. Manipur Road station and Rangapahar Crossing are actually in Nagaland.

The railway passes through thick jungles and marshy lands in the various places in the two sections, particularly between Lumding-Manipur Road and Manipur Road and Salupahar, which form the most vulnerable area in the Lumding-Simulguri section. The monsoon is very heavy in this area and as already indicated by me jungle clearance is a continuous process as due to the heavy monsoons, the growth of jungles is fast.

The incidents of 16th February, that is, 2 months back 20th April and the recent one of 23rd April are all of similar nature in that powerful explosives fitted with time fuses appear to have been kept in railway compartments by miscreants and these exploded causing death and injuries to many persons. This has posed a new problem and it is not possible to distinguish between *bona fide* passengers and passenger carrying these explosives in trunks and boxes unless extensive searching of passengers and their luggage is carried out. What is being done at present is, because this is a very recent occurrence, just 72 hours back as I said, as soon as it was noticed, we tried the experiment of examining the luggage, trunks, etc. although as I said it is a process in which it is almost impossible to detect anything because there are so many passengers and so many stations and to sneak in a box or trunk is the easiest possible thing; it is not difficult.

We have started because something has got to be done. One of the precautions, which has been taken on these sections to reduce the risk to which passengers are exposed, is that the running of passenger trains between Lumding and Mariani is prohibited between 22.00 hrs. in the night and 04.00 hrs. in the morning. Similarly, on Lumding-Damohara section running of passenger trains is not permitted between 19.00 hrs. in the night and 05.00 hrs. in the morning.

Steps are being taken to clear jungles to a distance of 1500 fts. on the Nagaland side, and 300 on the Assam side and also to construct a road parallel to the Rly. track in the vulnerable sections. This work is in progress. These are some of the details that I have given. But the difficulty is this, that whatever we may do, these are precautions that might stop sniping and perhaps there will be no sniping. People have been put into operation to protect the track, tunnels and bridges; that is the normal routine work of the railway protection force. Their work is not to go in for fighting as in a war or to fire; they could not go even outside the track because they are limited by the Act and therefore, they do not go in order to pursue somebody. These are the difficulties inherent in the situation. What exactly has to be done, it is not for me to say because it is a matter which is really for the whole country, not only the government but even the opposition's co-operation must be made available for this business. As far as I could see, the only practical way against this type of thing is to permit effective retaliation wherever it might be. We are not going to deal with these miscreants by the kid-glove method. Because this is a new thing that has come upon us. We have got to see what can be done. It is very surprising. While we are having talks and negotiations, etc., we do expect that at least a reasonable thing—I do not think any thing unreasonable to be done—should be done. That, they are not

prepared to say—that what they want is within the orbit of our Constitution, etc. It is a different matter. They may say it tomorrow. Our persuasion might hold. But it stands to reason that while these talks are going on, it is expected that these things should not be done.

Sometimes, an argument is made, "Oh, they are not Nagas. These are other Nagas who are doing it." I do not know how many types of Nagas are there in this land. Either the Nagas with whom we are carrying on talks and negotiations, deliver the goods—they should deliver the goods—or they do not. If there are other Nagas, apart from these Nagas, that means that these Nagas are not representatives of the Nagas with whom we are talking. I do not know what exactly is happening. I am merely saying so, because we do not expect such things to happen.

Now, these are not the only two accidents that have occurred; there is a constant fear that a repetition of these things may occur. I do not know how such bombs can be planted there. They are not normal bombs. They do not seem to have been manufactured within this country, or in Pakistan. They seem to be some bombs which have been imported; how many they have, I do not know. If one single bomb can cause this much loss, not only in this particular case, but even when the track has gone, part of the track has gone, and even the building has been affected, apart from the compartment, and sometimes, the pieces have been carried away to 150 or 200 feet—then, it is something, some kind of a big explosive; it had an explosive character. It constitutes a grave danger indeed.

It is for this House to find out. I am not saving this merely to get out of it. It is a common responsibility which has got to be faced. About the defensive action, the action of examining the trunks and everything in the first place, it will take perhaps 10 to

12 hours. There are five to six trains—one train on one side and five on another side—and the passengers are held up for hours and hours together. That would become necessary because it takes such a long time to examine every piece of the luggage.

This can be done by anybody—keeping such a bomb inside. I am told that one man who has been arrested has made some kind of statement, showing that he was paid something in order to plan something. He did not know that it was a bomb. It was not seen by him. Just for money, he did it there.

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** That man was blind; he was a beggar.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** So he could not see what he was carrying.

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur):** How does he know that he was blind?

**Shri S. K. Patil:** Because he was a man with sight, he could spot the blind man! My point is, so far as the railways are concerned, I do not know; I am at a dead-end as to what to do. Is it anything wrong about our operation? Is there anything wrong in the engineering skill? Is there anything wrong in the RPF, or that has not been put into operation. I can claim that all measures that have been put into operation during the last one year and more have borne fruit, because all these snipings and other features have not occurred. They have taken to something else. I do not know of any ready-made remedy by which these things could be stopped.

Further, I do not find any man—those who talk in the name of peace—having come out with any statement that these are reprehensible activities and they must not be indulged in. I do not know why; I do not understand what it is and what we are doing. I am not merely critical, because this is something that really boils the blood: one does not understand this kind of activity which can kill hundreds of

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people together, by planting a bomb, and it kills innocent people who have nothing do with all this; they are people who are not fighting the hostile Nagas. This is something to strike terror in them, just to show that some are capable of doing these things. This should not be allowed to happen. If this is going to be the precursor of things to come, then surely it is time that we took a very serious note of it and did something.

I have nothing to add on this occasion. I can assure the House that so far as the railway and the RPF are concerned, we shall do everything in our power to protect the life of the passengers, because that life is sacred to us; they travel in our trains and they are entitled to the protection which the railways can give them.

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That the situation arising out of the recent explosions at Lumding and Diphu Stations of the North-East Frontier Railway on the 20th and 23rd April, 1966, respectively, resulting in deaths of and injuries to a large number of persons and considerable damage to property be taken into consideration."

I have received some substitute motions also. Mr. Banerjee is not there.

**श्री रामनवक यादव (बाराबंकी) :**

मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि :—

"हाल ही में पूर्वोत्तर सीमा रेलवे के लुमडिंग और डीफू रेलवे स्टेशनों पर क्रमशः 20 अप्रैल, और 23 अप्रैल, 1966 को हुए विस्फोटों में, जिन के फलस्वरूप बहुत से व्यक्ति मरे और घायल हुए एवं सम्पत्ति को भारी क्षति पहुंची, उत्पन्न स्थिति पर विचार करने के पश्चात् इस सभा की राय है कि सरकार रेल यात्रियों की जान व माल की रक्षा करने में पूर्णतया असफल रही है ।" (2)

**Shri Madhu Limaye (Monghyr):** I beg to move:

"That for the original motion . .

**श्री मधु लिमये (कलकत्ता उत्तर पश्चिम):** हिन्दी में ।

**श्री मधु लिमये :** यह प्रस्ताव अंग्रेजी में दिया है, इसलिये मजबूर हो कर अंग्रेजी में देना पड़ा वरना आपको तकलीफ होती ।

I beg to move:

"That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the situation arising out of the recent explosions at Lumding and Diphu Stations of the North-East Frontier Railway on the 20th and 23rd April, 1966, respectively, resulting in deaths of and injuries to a large number of persons and considerable damage to property is of the opinion that the Government have completely failed to deal effectively with the Naga rebellion fanned continually by the foreign missionaries, planters and Pakistan and have oscillated alternately between ferocity and appeasement much to the nation's detriment and therefore recommends a through revision of the Government policy in this regard." (3)

**Mr. Speaker:** These two substitution motions and the original motion are before the House. We have to fix a time-limit because there would be a large number of speakers who would like to speak. So, I would recommend 10 minutes for each member.

**Some hon. Members:** It is not enough.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have no objection if 15 minutes is put as the limit provided the number is less. I will request hon. members to confine themselves to the time-limit.

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** Sir, I am sure I am voicing the feelings of all sections of this House in expressing our sorrow and horror at this tragedy that has taken place. I also hope every one would agree with me in sending our condolences to the bereaved families.

As the hon. Minister said, this is a terrible tragedy that has overtaken this country not only in the annals of the railways, but also in the annals of our democracy, that on two occasions more than 100 innocent people, who had not raised a finger against anyone in the world, should have become the victims of such acts of sabotage perpetrated by people who must have gone completely mad and who must have forgotten their sense of responsibility towards the humanity and the country. It is proper for my friend, the Railway Minister to have taken the House into his confidence. But it would have been more proper for the Ministers who are directly connected with and who are directly responsible for maintaining the security in that unfortunate part of our country to take the House into their confidence and tell us what they propose to do and why they have failed so shabbily. This is not the first or second time, but I think the ninth time this sabotage had come to be perpetrated. We cannot blame the army, because the army has already been placed in position there and has been given the responsibility of protecting the passengers to the extent possible. Yet, not enough has been done. Whom else can we hold responsible except the government? My hon. friend Shri Patil was wondering why nobody has expressed his horror at these terrible tragedies. Everyone has felt it

**Shri Ranga:** In regard to the Nagas too, till now the opposition as well as the Government have been one in allowing the continuation of these peace talks with the Naga rebels. Therefore, it is not proper for us, of the Opposition, to try and find fault with the Government so far as that goes. But, yet the Naga rebels have not played fair with India, with themselves, with Assam and the tribal people themselves in the whole of this country. While carrying on their parleys with our Prime Minister, with the Government, some of their people had made themselves responsible for these horrible deeds. As my hon. friend, Shri Patil, has said, we cannot go on making any distinction between one set of Nagas and another set and then exonerate one set and find fault with the other.

There are only two sets of Nagas we know of those who have been loyal to mother India all this time, who have manned the Government there in that self-governing State and speaking for us, and those who have chosen the path of revolt and rebellion and therefore have formed themselves into Rebel Nagas. These are the only two sections. The patriotic Nagas who have been with us till now cannot be blamed. The rebel Nagas are there. Are they to be blamed or not? It is yet too early for us to come to a judgment. But one thing is clear, that while they were carrying on these peace negotiations, while the Peace Mission was still in being, while their chosen and trusted friend Rev. Michael Scott, was being given one month more time to keep counsel with those people, these horrible things have come to be perpetrated. Therefore, I consider them to own their responsibility, not for these horrible acts but for their failure to hold their followers in sufficient discipline and control and prevent them from allowing such things happening.

**Some hon. Members:** No, no; he was referring to the Nagas.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** Who is to prevent whom?



**Shri Ranga:** Whoever takes upon himself the right to revolt against the lawfully established Government must be prepared, as Mahatma Gandhi had taken the responsibility also during those disturbances, whenever such disturbances have taken place. They must hold themselves responsible for the activities of such people. We do not want them here and now to lay down their lives in penance, but we want them to give the assurance to the people of this country as well as the Government that they will leave no stone unturned, that they will bend all their energies in order to strengthen the Government of India as well as the Government of the Nagaland and see that such things are not allowed and such things do not come to happen in our country and in that area.

Having said that, let us also express our admiration for the railway staff and also for the passengers, for the general public, for their continuing to have so much faith in the ability of this Government to maintain law and order in this country, that even after tragedy after tragedy they are prepared to travel by our railways there. And so far as the railway staff are concerned, my hon. friend has not told us whether they are being given some kind of privileges and training and also the equipments necessary for self-defence as was being given in those days of war, and also during the recent defensive struggle against Pakistan when some kind of protective armoury, assistance, training in discipline and other things were being given to them. In addition to that, their salaries, allowances and all those things have also got to be improved. I do not know whether it has been done.

Then, how are we going to deal with this? Suppose we have dealt with certain Naga problem very satisfactorily, and the Mizo problem very satisfactorily for the time being, which is not the case, which is not likely to be the case for some time to come, most unfortunately for us, how are we going to deal with the whole of this

area? Are we going to leave it as a special responsibility of the Assam Government alone? I am not in favour of it. Let the poor Assam Government, heroic as it is, let it be made responsible only for the Brahmaputra valley and nothing more. So far as the tribal people and tribal areas are concerned, in the same way as the British administration was prepared to have so many States to junction in Saurashtra, let us deal with the local autonomous areas, responsible to the Union Government, and let us place squarely the responsibility on the Union Government itself for maintaining a series of cantonments, for the stationing of our armies and see that sufficient armed forces are kept on the whole of the periphery and the border areas between ourselves and Burma, China on the other side and Pakistan on this side, so that all the frontiers are covered. Let us consider this problem in a comprehensive manner and see that the whole of that area is properly defended. Let us make up our mind as to what we do. I should say that we should station our armies on this side and that side where we face the other frontiers. In between, let these people live. Let them have their own self-governing institutions. By all means, let them have all the paraphernalia of a Governor, Ministry and Legislature as Manipur and Tripura are having. But so far as the maintenance of law and order is concerned and the national security is concerned, it has got to be treated not merely as Assam's responsibility or Assam's need or the small tribal areas' needs, but they should be considered as the responsibility as well as the need of the whole of India. The whole of India has to make its presence felt on every square inch of our border. Then alone would it be possible for us to assure the safety for our railway passengers and safety for our people in that area. If we do not, if we are not going to look at it that way, then it is going to be very dangerous not only for that small area but for the whole of India.

The hon. Minister has made an appeal to the members of the Opposition. I do not know what other members of the opposition feel about it, but I feel one thing. We cannot very well tackle this problem as a merely security problem, but also as a law and order problem, also as a social development of the people of the tribal area. They have got to be treated as our honoured, respected and beloved citizens, because they have been neglected for a very long time. Therefore, let us put weightage on social welfare expenditure that we are going to incur and help them in every possible manner so that they will continue to feel proud of Indian citizenship.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee** (Calcutta Central): Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is all over the country and in all sections of the House a sense of distress and sorrow that such incidents, as the Minister has explained to us in some detail, could happen in our country at the present time. And I am sure nobody in this House, to whichever side he might belong, would like to make a party issue of this calamity which has taken place. At the same time, however, I must say that since it is a man-made calamity, by whom we do not know, since it is calamity which has taken place because of failure somewhere or other, we have to foist responsibility and, from that point of view, it is the Government of this country which must come forward to assume responsibility for whatever has happened and also responsibility and the obligation by pursuing policies which would prevent this kind of calamity recurring in the future.

The Minister of Railways was correct in saying that it is not a matter merely of the failure of the railways. On the contrary, my hon. friend, Professor Ranga, has pointed out that the railway workers have shown their mettle and surely they deserve some special recognition for the meritorious way in which they are per-

forming their duties in the most difficult conditions.

But in a deeper sense, as Shri Ranga also emphasized, there has been failure on the part of Government. What has taken place is the symptom of a disease in our body politic which has got to be rooted out, not with hot iron, as some words which fell from the lips of the Minister I seem to suspect suggested, but by a process of treatment which would be understanding, human and sympathetic.

Whatever happened, the calamities and incidents have happened in a sensitive and difficult area. It is an area contiguous to territories where the Nagas are insurgent for such a long time, where the Mizo uprising took place and is still simmering below the surface and where there is general disaffection among the Hill people. The other day our colleague and friend, Dr. Swell, held a press conference after his return from the Mizo Hills when he pointed out how among different sections our fellow citizens in the Hill areas of the north eastern parts of India there is a deep sense of grievance that things are not being done in the way they should be done. Therefore the prevailing discontent in that region is a matter of which Government has got to take note and Government has got to formulate policies which would really and truly meet the urgency of the situation.

These problems mount from day to day and there is no lack in our tormented world of foreign interests in particular fishing in the troubled waters. Wherever India is in trouble they try to take advantage. When some of us Members of Parliament were in Nagaland some 15 months ago, we were told about the United States mark weapons which were supplied perhaps by our neighbour country to the Naga hostiles. This morning we were told about French made rockets having been used by the miscreants in this area. We know also how through the instrumentality

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

of such worthy gentlemen, divines like the Reverend Michael Scott, the British—the rulers of Britain, I should rather say—take an interest in Naga separatism. Only recently I got from the External Affairs Ministry some documents, a selection of comments made on Indian affairs by the foreign press. The *London Times* published with great prominence a letter from Phizo in which things were said which any one innocent of real conditions in India would find extremely distressing and his blood would boil against India when he got to read the kind of things which Phizo said through the instrumentality of the *Times*.

We know the game of these people. They want to keep India on tenterhooks and in trouble. They want from Kashmir to Nagaland a chain of regions which they wish they could detach from India and use as their own playthings in international tactics. That kind of thing would be a godsend to neo-colonialism.

There is also our other neighbour, China, which possibly is interested in weaning away these Tribal populations on our frontier and we have to pursue policies which would really and truly keep these fellow citizens of ours in that so long neglected Tribal area as devoted citizens of this country, equal in every sense of the term with the rest of us.

I understand that anger with the Naga hostiles, as they are called and against whom there might be a presumption of suspicion—it is not unnatural in the circumstances—is inevitable to a certain extent, but that is no reason why the Railway Minister, who is a member of a Cabinet with joint responsibility, who I hope shares decisions made at Cabinet level, took up the kind of attitude which draws applause in this House. I know, it is easy to draw applause in this House by making a certain kind of statement. It might also draw

applause in the country outside this House, but I do not quite like it and I would like some clarification in regard to this matter from either the Minister himself or from his superior, his appointer, the Prime Minister. He said, "No kid-glove methods with miscreants". He equated the miscreants with those people with whom the Government of India are having some confabulations with a view to a settlement.

**Some hon. Members:** No, no.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** If it comes to be proved that the miscreants were Naga hostiles, surely, you have to tackle the matter, you have to deal with them as the law requires, as the case requires. But let us not make a presumption of suspicion against certain people, a kind of proof, so that on the basis of that proof we proceed in order to stress our case.

**Shri A. P. Sharma (Buxar):** Sympathy for whom? Wrong-doers? (Interruption)

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order; not in this manner. That can be corrected afterwards.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** I have noticed in this House over and over again publication on our part which seems to me somewhat of a determination to punish 'X' and 'Y' and 'Z', whether it is the Mizos or the Nagas or the Khasias or the Hill people of Assam, to subjugate Pakistan, to do something about Tibet, to take back Aksai Chin and a lot of other things. They might be wonderful expectations, they might be very legitimate desires, but to talk in that kind of term, when we have not got the wherewithal, is so pathetic that it is better we stop making that kind of statements. Therefore, I say, let the Government take up an attitude which would produce results, which would be in conformity with the demands of humanity and decency and our own Indian ways of statesmanship in regard to this area. Do we adopt the method of pacification

by force or do we adopt the other method, ways of friendship, ways of economic improvement, ways of maximisation of autonomy. We do not make up our mind. I do not see why the Government, for instance, does not meet the representatives of the Hill people in the North East Frontier of India, a demand which was voiced by Dr. Swell in his press conference. The Government should meet the representatives of all the Hill people and even those who are recalcitrant and intransigent at this particular moment.

The Government should do something about the Pataskar Report which was handed over to them. We do not know the contents of that Report. But we hear sometimes about some of the aspects of it. Perhaps, some practical implementation of the recommendations of the Pataskar Report would produce results. Maximisation of autonomy for whichever the area might be, Nagaland or Mizo Land or whatever it may be, is a matter to which thought has to be given. If necessary, we might even amend our Constitution in order to be able to absorb these people happily inside the Indian community. That is the idea which I press. That is why I say, let not our country appear before the world in a helpless guise, let not the Prime Minister appear before the world outside and sometimes inside the country like a damsel in distress who is having a lot of trouble but does not know what to do about it. It is very important that Government comes forward with policies which would be determinedly pursued in regard to the north-east frontier of our country where so many of our tribal populations live, people who have lived in the shade, not in the sun, so to speak, for so long, who want their place in the sun. In regard to them, let us not follow a punitive policy. Let us not talk the language of vindictiveness even though we share the horror and distress of the deepest sort in regard to the kind of incident which has taken place. That

kind of incident should not be allowed to recur but we can make sure of that only by pursuing policies of humanity and statesmanship which do not appear to be forthcoming from the Government side. That is our grouse. That is why we want to posit responsibility on the Government of the day and not merely allow the Government to get away by saying that it is a railway matter, but that the railway people have no responsibility in the matter, they could not have possibly prevented it and so on. That is not the way of tackling the present problem. Statesmanship is called for.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Sir, I may be allowed to move my Substitute Motion.

**Mr. Speaker:** All right.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** I move:

"That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the situation arising out of the recent explosions at Lumding and Diphu Stations of the North-East Frontier Railway on the 20th and 23rd April, 1966, respectively, resulting in deaths of and injuries to a large number of persons and considerable damage to property, is of the opinion that there is a complete failure on the part of the Government to protect the lives of the passengers and Railway property." (1)

**Mr. Speaker:** This substitute motion is also before the House.

बी रघुनाथसिंह (वाराणसी) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री हीरेन्द्र मुखर्जी का मैं ध्यान आवांशित कराना चाहता हूँ, कुछ इतिहास के पन्ने जरा आप उलटिए, बर्मा में करेन लोगों ने विद्रोह किया। सन् 1948 में बर्मा ने आजादी प्राप्त की। जैसे कि नागा नाग राज विद्रोह कर रहे हैं, इसी प्रकार करेन लोगों ने विद्रोह आरम्भ किया। बर्मा की सरकार ने

[श्री रघुनाथ मिह]

इसी प्रकार शांति की वार्ता को। थाकिन नू 14 वर्ष तक शांति की वार्ता करते रहे। लेकिन केरेन लोग शांति नहीं हुए। रंगून से लेकर मांडले तक जाने वाली रेलवे लाइन, जो कि बर्मा और हिन्दुस्तान के अलग होने के पहले मीटर गेज की सबसे तेज चलने वाली लाइन थी, 14 वर्ष तक वह रेलवे लाइन प्रायः बन्द रही। केरेन लोगों ने चलने नहीं दिया। उसका फल क्या हुआ? डेमोक्रेसी बर्मा में छतम हो गई और बर्मा में तानाशाही कायम हुई और सैनिक शासन कायम हुआ और सैनिक शासन कायम होने के बाद आज दो वर्ष से केरेन लोगों के विद्रोह का नाम मुनाई नहीं पड़ रहा है। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग मारे गए हैं, उनका क्या अपराध है? आप संस्कृत के विद्वान हैं। दंडनीति में और प्रतिहिंसा में आप कोई अन्तर मानते हैं या नहीं? आपने कहा कि पाटिल साहब को प्रतिहिंसावादी नहीं होना चाहिए। लेकिन चाणक्य ने कहा है कि राज नीति का नाम है दण्डनीति और जिस देश में दण्ड का अभाव रहता है उस देश में अराजकता फैलती है और चूँकि नागालैंड में दंडनीति का अभाव था इसलिए वहां पर अराजकता फैली है।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है। हमारी सरकार उन शांति के महादूतों की तरफ जरा आंख उठाकर देखे। न तो माइकेल स्काट साहब, न तो चालिहा साहब और न नागालैंड के चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब, किसी ने जो दोनों रेल की दुर्घटनाएं हुई हैं किसी ने उनके ऊपर कोई अफसोस जाहिर नहीं किया है, एक शब्द नहीं कहा है। मैं हिन्दुस्तान की जनता से कहना चाहता हूँ, सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिनको हम शांति का दूत मानते हैं, उनके सामने ऐसे-ऐसे आदमी मरते हैं जो सोये हुए थे, जिनका कोई अपराध नहीं था, गरीब आदमी जो ट्रेन में चले जा रहे थे, आज वह उड़ाये जाते हैं, मारे जाते हैं लेकिन इन

शांति के दूतों के कान पर जूँ तक नहीं रेंगती। अभी तक वह महानिद्रा में, कुम्भकर्ण की निद्रा में सो रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि समय आ गया है और समय रहते हुए आपको चेतना चाहिए कि अब इन शांति के दूतों को नमस्कार किया जाये, उनको प्रणाम किया जाय कि आपके साथ 18 वर्ष तक हिन्दुस्तान ने शांति शांति शांति की बात की, आपने नागालैंड की डिमांड की, इस पालियामेंट ने नागालैंड की डिमांड को भी माना, आपने कहा कि नागालैंड की कोसिल मानी जाये, वह भी माना, आपने कहा कि यह नहीं, अब एक शांति मिशन होना चाहिए, सरकार ने उसको भी माना सरकार दबती गई, दबती गई। अब सरकार के दबने का अन्तिम चरण आ गया है। अगर इससे ज्यादा अब सरकार दबना चाहती है तो सरकार को याद रखना चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान में डेमोक्रेसी है और कहीं ऐसा न हो कि बर्मा के अध्याय की पुनरावृत्ति हिन्दुस्तान में भी हो क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता कोई भी हिन्दुस्तान का एक नागरिक कहीं मारा जाता है तो हिन्दुस्तान की 45 करोड़ जनता उसके वास्ते जिम्मेदार है, हम पालियामेंट के लोग उसके वास्ते जिम्मेदार हैं। अगर एक भी आदमी कभी किसी रेलवे ट्रेन में आतताइयों के द्वारा मारा जाता है तो यह पालियामेंट जिम्मेदार है। सारे देश की जनता जिम्मेदार है। एक नागरिक आपसे पूछ सकता है कि हमने चुनकर आपको पालियामेंट में भेजा है, आप हमारी सुरक्षा का क्या प्रबन्ध करते हैं? इस वास्ते मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि समय आ गया है कि सरकार अपनी नीति में आमूल परिवर्तन करे। यह केवल रेलवे का सवाल नहीं है हीरेन्द्र मुखर्जी साहब, यह किस दिन से आततायीपन आरम्भ हुआ? जिस दिन सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह ने इस पालियामेंट में, अब से कुछ दिन पहले इस बात की घोषणा की कि एक महीने तक का समय माइकेल स्काट को दिया गया है करीब उसके सात दिन

के बाद से यह घटना आरम्भ हुई है और नागालैंड यह दिखाना चाहता है, माइकेल स्काट दिखाना चाहते हैं कि वे अवश्यम्भावी हैं। अगर हम नहीं रहेंगे तो इस प्रकार की घटनाएं होंगी और क्योंकि सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह माहब ने इस बात का उद्घोष किया कि एक महीने के अन्दर उनको जाना है तो वह साबित करना चाहते हैं कि नहीं, हम रहेंगे, हम शांति के दूत बने रहेंगे। मैं कहता हूँ कि अब समय आ गया है कि जितने भी विदेशी चाहे मिशनरी के रूप में हों, चाहे हास्पिटल के डाक्टर के रूप में हों, चाहे किसी भी रूप में हों, जिनके ऊपर हमारा मन्देह है उनको आज नमस्कार करना चाहिए और उनको वहां से हटाना चाहिए.....

एक माननीय सदस्य : नमस्कार क्यों करें ?

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : नमस्कार से मतलब मुड़ बाई से है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब समय आ गया है कि नीति में आमूल परिवर्तन हो और बड़ी कड़ाई के साथ, सख्ती के साथ वहां पर काम किया जाये। अगर सख्ती के साथ काम आप नहीं लेंगे तो आज तो एक जगह चिनगारी जली है, यह चिनगारी फैलने लगेगी। मीजो हिल्स में फैलेगी, लुशाए हिल्स में फैलेगी और असम में फैलेगी। फैलते फैलते ऐसा न हो कि आज जो यह चिनगारी है का एक महा ज्वाला के रूप में हिन्दुस्तान की सीमा पर भभक उठे। इस चिनगारी के ज्वाला बन कर भभकने से पहले इस के ऊपर पानी डालिये। अगर आप इस के ऊपर पानी डाल कर इन ज्वाला को शांत नहीं करेंगे तो यह ज्वाला हम को भी खा सकती है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि शीघ्र से शीघ्र इस चिनगारी को समाप्त किया जाये और बुझा दिया जाये।

नागा लोगों के पास आखिरकार हथियार आये कहां से ? एक स्टेटमेंट में कहा है कि फ्रांस के थे और फ्रांस के पास से हथियार आये। फिर कहा जाता है कि विदेशों से हथियार

आये। पाकिस्तान में इन की ट्रेनिंग होती है। पाकिस्तान में यह चले आते हैं बर्मा में जब चाहें तब चले जाते हैं जैसे मालूम पड़ता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के अंग नहीं हैं, हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा नहीं हैं। नागा लोगों से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप भारतीय नागरिक हैं, आप हमारे भाई हैं। अगर आप के ऊपर कोई अत्याचार होता है तो उस के वास्ते हम को बड़ा दुःख होता है। लेकिन आप भी भारतीय नागरिक बनने का उत्तरदायित्व स्वीकार कीजिये। यदि आप भारतीय नागरिक हैं तो आप हम से अपेक्षा कर सकते हैं कि हम आप के साथ हैं। लेकिन एक तरफ आप भारतीय नागरिक नहीं होना चाहते एक तरफ आप कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान हमारा देश नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान के साथ हम विद्रोह करेंगे इस सरकार को उलटेंगे तो मैं चाणक्य के शब्दों में कहना चाहता हूँ कि दण्ड नीति का आश्रय लेना श्रेयस्कर होगा। अतएव न सरकार से यह निवेदन अन्त में करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने उन को बड़ी लम्बी डोर दी है। इंडिपेंडेंस डे मना लीजिए। आप हिन्दुस्तान के नागरिक हैं, इंडिपेंडेंस डे 26 जनवरी का नहीं, 15 अगस्त का नहीं अपना इंडिपेंडेंस मना लीजिये, अपना झंडा आप टांग लीजिये मेरा कहना है कि इस प्रकार की निबल नीति से काम नहीं चलेगा। इस कमजोर नीति का हमको परित्याग करना होगा नहीं तो आप समझ लीजिये कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता आज बहुत जागरूक है और वह इस तरह की कमजोर और दब्यूपन की नीति को कभी चलने नहीं देगी।

श्री प्र० प्र० शर्मा : अध्यक्ष महोदय,...

श्री प्रिय गुप्त ( कटिहार : ) अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं लेबर क्लाम को रिप्रिजेंट करता हूँ और मैंने सुबह चांस देने के लिए आप से प्रार्थना भी की थी.....

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कौन-कौन साहब बोलेंगे ? इसका पहले फैसला कर लेना चाहिए था।

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** He had made a request to you in the morning that he may be given at least some time. You have restricted the time to 10 minutes. Shri Hem Barua is speaking on behalf of our party. You may give him five minutes.

**श्री प्र० प्र० शर्मा :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले यह जो दुखद घटनाएँ हुई हैं और उन में जो लोग मरे उन के प्रति और संतप्त परिवार के प्रति समवेदना प्रकट करते हुए मैं सरकार को इस बात के ऊपर बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि विरोधियों के कार्य-स्थगन प्रस्ताव के नामजूर होने के बाद भी सरकार अपनी तरफ से यह प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने लाई। उन दुखदपूर्ण घटनाओं पर बहस करने के लिए सरकार यह प्रस्ताव इस सदन में लाई है। इस का मतलब यह है कि आज जो देश के अन्दर खासतौर से उस हिस्से में जो हो रहा है उस से सरकार के ऊपर किस हद तक असर है यह इस बात को साबित करता है। मैं इस के साथ ही साथ यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सवाल को सरकार कोई पार्टी का सवाल या केवल सरकार का सवाल न समझ कर सारे सदन के लोगों के विचार को लेकर उस सवाल का हल निकालना चाहती है और यह सरकार की तरफ से जो मोशन आया है प्रस्ताव आया है उससे साबित हो जाता है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस मौके पर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक इन घटनाओं का संबंध है यह बहुत मार्क की बात है कि जब जब हमारे देश के अन्दर नागा विद्रोहियों के नेताओं से या पीस मिशन के जो लोग हैं उन की वार्ता जब यहाँ हमारे देश में चलती है उस के बाद, उसके कुछ दिन बाद या उस के पहले या इस समय इस तरीके की घटनाएँ हुआ करती हैं इस से दो बातें साबित होती हैं। एक तो यह कि जो नागा विद्रोही हैं जो पीस मिशन बना है उसके नेता ऐसा काम करते हैं कि उन में वह विश्वास नहीं करते हैं। उन के विचार कुछ दूसरे हैं या वह शांति के

रास्ते में विश्वास नहीं करते हैं और वह अशान्ति के रास्ते से अपनी समस्या का समाधान करना चाहते हैं या दूसरी बात यह है कि इस तरीके की एक साजिश है कि उनके कुछ लोग उधर बातचीत करते रह और कुछ लोग इस तरीके की विध्वंसक नीति को अपना कर के सरकार के ऊपर दबाव डालें कि जो कुछ वह चाहते हैं वह उस को प्राप्त कर सकें।

इस संबंध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह बात ठीक है तो ऐसी हालत में जो वहाँ पर रेलवे के चलाने की सुरक्षा की बात है, रेलवे की सम्पत्ति की सुरक्षा की बात है या देश के उस हिस्से की सुरक्षा की जो बात है उस के संबंध में आज तक जो कुछ भी व्यवस्थाएँ हुई हैं यह साफ इस से मालूम होता है कि आज एक नये तरीके की इस तरीके की घटनाएँ अब हो रही हैं जैसे गाड़ी के अंदर बम्ब रखकर, गाड़ी के अंदर विस्फोट करना या लाइन को उखाड़ देना और इस तरीके से आगे जो पुल इत्यादि हैं वह तोड़गे तो इस तरह की जो घटनाएँ हो रही हैं उन के संबंध में हमें बहुत गहराई से सोचना चाहिए और हमें रेलगाड़ियों, रेल सम्पत्ति आदि की सुरक्षा के लिए माकूल व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए। हम उस एरिया के अन्दर फौज की भी मदद ले सकते हैं। हमने रेलवे प्रॉटक्शन फोर्स भी लगाई है। जैसा कि रेलवे के मंत्री जी ने कहा कि हमने रेलवे के कर्मचारियों को भी लाइन और पुल वगैरह की देखभाल के लिए लगाया है हालांकि उस के बावजूद भी जो यह घटनाएँ हो रही हैं तो उससे एक बात साबित हो जाती है कि आज जो भी व्यवस्था है उससे कुछ और अधिक व्यवस्था करनी होगी।

रेलवे मंत्री महोदय ने यह बतलाया कि अगर हम इन 34 या 40 स्टेशनो के ऊपर लोगों की तलाशी लेगे जहाँ कि सैकड़ों और हजारों लोग जाते हैं तो वह सम्भव नहीं हो सकता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह सम्भव नहीं है अगर इस से

दिवक्त है तो कुछ और तरीका सोचा जाए। मैं समझता हूँ कि जबकि ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हुई है तो बाबर न ही तो फिलहाल इस तरह का कुछ न कुछ तरीका अपनाना चाहिए जिससे कि यह विस्फोट की बीजों लेकर कोई भी व्यक्ति रेल के डिब्बे में या स्टेशन के ऐरिया में दाखिल न हो सके। इस के संबंध में विचार करके कुछ रूकावट पैदा करनी चाहिए।

आखिर में अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं दो बातें और कहना चाहता हूँ। एक बात तो यह कि इस संबंध में बात करते हुए प्रोफेसर हीरेन मुकर्जी ने हमदर्दी की बात की।

जो लोग या जिनके द्वारा यह घटनाएं होती हैं मैं ने यही समझा कि जो लोग इस घटना में शामिल हैं या जो उस के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं उसके प्रति जैसे रेलवे मंत्री ने कहा या जैसा श्री गधुनाथ सिंह ने कहा कि हमें सख्त कदम उठाने चाहिए। जो लोग इस तरह की हरकतों में शामिल हैं चाहे वह कोई हों, नागा विद्रोही हों या कोई भी हों वह हमारे देश के दुश्मन हैं उन के प्रति कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही हमें करनी चाहिए इस बात में कोई दो राय नहीं हो सकती। मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ कि जहां उन को यह कहना चाहिए था वहां वह इस तरह के लोगों के प्रति हमदर्दी की बातें करते हैं। जहां तक मैं समझता हूँ श्री मुकर्जी जैसा नेता राजनीति में जिस नीति को काम में लाते हैं और मैं उसका खूब अच्छे तरीके से समझ सकता हूँ कि जहां भी कोई गड़बड़ करता है अगर कोई गड़बड़ी पैदा होती है तो उनकी हमदर्दी जो लोग उससे परेशान होते हैं या जो उनके बचाव के लिए जाते हैं उनके प्रति नहीं होती है बल्कि जो गड़बड़ी करते हैं और उनके प्रति जब सख्त कार्यवाही होती है तो उन पराजक और शरायती तत्वों के प्रति उनकी हमदर्दी होती है। इस बात को अच्छे तरीके से समझ लेना चाहिए और मैं आगाह कर देना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की जो विध्वंसक नीति देश में

चलाई जाती है, चाहे चलाने वाला कोई भी हो उस से किसी का फायदा नहीं हो सकता है और प्रोफेसर मुकर्जी का भी फायदा नहीं हो सकता है।

इसके साथ साथ अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने सरकार के फ्लयोर की बात की। उन्होंने ये कहा कि रेलवे मंत्रालय या रेलवे के लोगों ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया। एक तरफ तो उन्होंने रेलवे की बड़ी तारीफ की। यह भी एक नीति है क्या रेलवेज भारत सरकार का हिस्सा नहीं है। रेलवे में जो काम करने वाले लोग हैं वह सरकार का हिस्सा हैं। उन्होंने ज्वाइंट रिसर्पौसबिल्टी की बात की। रेलवे भारत सरकार का एक अंग है। हो सकता है कि रेलवे ने कुछ अच्छा काम किया है, दूसर मुहकमे में कुछ कमी हुई है। जहां तक मैं समझता हूँ कि इस में कोई कमी नहीं हुई है। एक नई तरीके की घटना हुई है जिसका कि मुकाबला हमको करना है। उन्होंने रेलवे की तारीफ की जोकि सरकार का दूसरा महकमा है। ज्वाइंट रिसर्पौसबिल्टी की बात करते हुए सरकार की उन्होंने निन्दा की और आलोचना की और उन्होंने ख़ास तौर से प्रधान मंत्री की आलोचना की और कहा कि वह कमजोर नीति अपनाती है। श्री मुकर्जी को मैं कहूंगा कि जहां तक मेरी सरकार का मवाल है और कांग्रेस पार्टी का मवाल है मैं यह साफ शब्दों में कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरीके के जो मवाल हमारे सामने आते हैं या आयेगे उस मोके पर प्रोफेसर मुकर्जी या कोई भी हों इस देश के अन्दर इस बात को अच्छी तरीके से समझने लें कि चाह वह भले ही अपने मन में उन्हें कमजोर नेता समझें लेकिन जहां भी इस प्रकार का मोका आयेगा और आवश्यकता महसूस होगी हम सख्त नीति बनेंगे और जो भी इस तरह की पराजक और तोड़फोड़ व विध्वंसक कार्यवाही करने वाला होगा उस के प्रति कठिन से कठिन कार्यवाही करना अपना कर्तव्य समझेंगे।



[श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा]

17 hrs.

आखिर में मैं सरकार से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज समय आ गया है कि इस बात पर विचार किया जाये कि नागा विद्रोहियों के नेताओं के साथ कितने दिन तक इस तरह से हमारा वार्तालाप चलता रहेगा और देश में इस प्रकार की घटनाएँ होती रहेंगी। इस पर विचार कर के हमें कोई ठोस कदम उठाना होगा, ताकि हम वहाँ की जनता और अपनी सम्पत्ति की सुरक्षा कर सकें और वहाँ पर भी लोग उसी तरह आजादी के साथ और शान्तिपूर्वक, बिना डर और भय के रह सकें, जिस तरह भारत के किसी दूसरे हिस्से में रह सकते हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आप को समय देने के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

**Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians):** Mr. Speaker, I did not like, with great respect, the undertones of my hon. friend Mr. Raghunath Singh's speech. I think it is a good thing that I am speaking because of that; there should be not the remotest suggestion that what is said in this House is inspired by any sense of communal chauvinism.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** I have never suggested anything communal.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Please understand me. There should not be the remotest suggestion. I think I can claim that whenever there was violence or terrorism whether by the communists or by the Hindu communalists, I have condemned it. And today I am condemning this terrorism and this violence because I am assuming that it is by the Nagas, a large number of whom happen to be Christians. The development is most unfortunate and I say this to the government: the position is not easy; it is going to be a little agonising. But in the final analysis any government

in the face of this kind of cold blooded calculated murder of defenceless men, women and children owes a duty to itself and to the country not to abdicate its authority in this matter. I do not know what my friend Mr. Hiren Mukerjee was thinking of. I am not one of those who would indulge in recrimination. Some people have said that the government had dragged its feet and that the Naga problem was the making of the government because if Nagaland had been conceded earlier than it was there would have been no Naga problem. I think there is no point in traversing this kind of recriminatory ground. I would say this with great respect to my Naga friends. I know the Nagas, some of them. I have a great regard for them. They are a very fine people; upstanding, simple and courageous. They are simple; they are naive and therefore as easily misled as they are led. I remember when I was having a meeting with late Jawaharlal Nehru and we were talking about this Naga problem with some others. I do not know why he used the word, unfortunately; I rather resented that. He said fortunately or unfortunately, the only administrative officers that the Nagas trust are the Anglo-Indians, he said and unfortunately we have not enough Anglo-Indian administrative officers. But I would say today that Nagaland is a fact. The Nagas have complete autonomy; they are the arbiters of their own destiny and they can work it out politically, economically and culturally and they have this tremendous advantage that with autonomy, as it is a non-viable state, they can in working out their salvation politically, economically and culturally depend upon the resources of this great country. Because we were dealing with our own people, I refrained from talking on the Naga problem. I said: let us show patience, patience to the utmost extent. I join issue with Mr. Mukerjee when he talked about the need of humanity and statesmanship. I think the Government has shown

the maximum of humanity and statesmanship in this matter, and should continue to do so. Even when it was dealing with underground Nagas, some of us had misgivings but we would not express them. But let us show the utmost patience to these people because they are our own people. I had some misgivings. I will tell you what my misgivings were. I felt, for instance, that the attitude of the Government in its negotiations towards the Shilu Ao government was a little ham-handed, that whether they intended it or not, Shilu Ao was put on the side-lines. And I have good reasons to believe that because of the way in which Mr. Shilu Ao and his government have been treated, there has been a progressive undermining of the strength of the Shilu Ao government and the loyal Nagas.

Another misgiving that I had was this. That there should never have been this obvious blunder of associating a foreigner in the first place. What is the good of abusing this gentleman? We are taking too much notice of him. Anyhow, you bring him in, in a matter between Indians inter se, and bring in a foreigner. The whole thing was such an obvious blunder. I always suspect clerics who stray into politics. I believe that clerics who stray into politics are more publicity-hungry and perhaps a little more opportunist than even the professional politician. Let us cut our losses and let him go. I have met many of the Nagas. I have talked to them, and I am able to communicate with them, because fortunately like them, milk is not my staple drink. (*Interruption*). Let me say this, I have it on reasonably good authority, that for these simple people this foreign gentleman, has constituted himself into some kind of would be historian for the Nagas. I hope it is not true, but he is alleged to be digging up so-called history to affirm the Nagas in their intransigence and to make them believe that they were always independent of the British. That is there. As I said, we should not pay undue attention to

his; probably he will be a thorn in our flesh. It was a mistake. The sooner we cut our losses and not prolong the mistake, the better.

Another misgiving I had was this. During these peace negotiations, the underground Nagas were definitely strengthening their resources in men and money. And then, with great respect to the Government, I must say that a major blunder they made—I do not know under whose persuasion—was to extend the cease-fire to Manipur. There was no Naga trouble in Manipur. By extending it, it has been an open invitation to underground Nagas to terrorise the good Nagas there, to extort money from them. Now, the obvious Naga strategy is this: it is to come through Manipur, join hands with the Mizos and have easy access to Pakistan.

In passing I would say this. So far as these Mizos are concerned—I do not want to give any offence to my Assamese friends—but with great respect, I say this: I know how the minorities feel. The minorities feel, for some reason or the other, that the Assamese have made themselves unacceptable to all the minorities—the Bengalis, the Nagas and the Mizos. I say this with great respect: whatever parochial susceptibilities of the Assamese may be, do not let events overtake the Government, as they did overtake the Government in Nagaland.

I have reason to believe that the Pataskar Commission recommended that the Mizo area should be a Centrally administered area. Militarily the Assam Government cannot do anything. Economically, they will not be able to do anything. But let me say this: in the final analysis, the minority groups have faith in the Central Government, which by and large, they have not in most State administrations.

Finally, I would say this, sincerely. After all, the Nagas are our own people. They have today their destiny in

[Shri Frank Anthony]

their own hands. But, God forbid—if this kind of thing does not cease—I do not know what Mr. Mukerjee was thinking of—how is the Government going to face up to this kind of terrorism, this kind of violence? It will have to be dealt with. But when will they deal with it? God forbid—if we have to take a decision, I feel that the Naga underground must be told that "we are prepared to meet you half-way, we are prepared to meet you nine-tenths of the way, provided it is within the framework of the Indian Union. Let us know categorically whether you are prepared to discuss matters with us, within the framework of the Indian Union." If they say no, the Government will have to take a decision, and as I say, it will be an agonising decision; it will have to be a firm, stern decision. I say this with a heavy heart. This time the government will not be able to tie the hand of the army behind its back. I am in close touch with the military. I know they have resented the fact that they were not allowed a free hand. It was a pseudo-military operation. This time—God forbid—if the Naga undergrounds, because of their intransigence and because they are misled do something, the army will have to be given a completely free hand in this matter. There is going to be suffering and bloodshed. But Government will have to do it and I feel that this may be the only way ultimately in which we will have to solve this problem.

**श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय (गुना) :** अध्यक्ष जी, उत्तर पूर्वी सीमाओं पर चार दिन में जो घटनाएँ हुई, जिनमें लगभग 100 व्यक्ति मारे गये और बड़े व्यक्ति जो टिकट खरीद कर एक निदिष्ट स्थान पर पहुँचने की कल्पना के साथ रेल में बैठे, उन्हें इस बात की कल्पना नहीं थी कि किसी घटना का शिकार भी उन्हें होना पड़ेगा कि उनकी जीवन-नीला ही समाप्त हो जायगी। 100 व्यक्ति मरे और इन 100 व्यक्तियों की पृष्ठ-भूमि में

एक बहुत बड़े षडयन्त्र, विद्रोह की कहानी इस से उत्पन्न होती है। मैं आपका ध्यान अभी उस दिन प्रधान मंत्री के उस बयान की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ, जब उन्होंने कहा था कि नेताओं की शान्ति वार्ता के सन्दर्भ में कोई ऐसी बात न की जाये, जो वार्ता को घूमिल कर दे और आशाओं को कुण्टित कर दे। कदाचित् उनकी कल्पना यह थी कि जब हम नाजुक दौर से गुजर रहे हैं, कोई बात सदन में ऐसी न की जाये, जिससे गत्यारोध पैदा हो। इस वार्ता और शान्ति की कल्पना में उसकी बेटी पर 100 प्राणों की आहुतियाँ हम दे चके हैं इन चार दिनों में।

इस विद्रोह के पीछे नागा विद्रोहियों की क्या भावना है, वे हमारे देश के साथ क्यों नहीं रहना चाहते, इस के पीछे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कौन कौन देश हैं, कौन कौन व्यक्ति हैं, इसकी पूरी खोज हमको करनी पड़ेगी, पूर्वी सीमाओं पर ऐसा षडयन्त्र क्यों है? यदि हम कभी इस तत्व को न समझे तो जैसा भाई रघुनाथसिंह ने कहा, यह चिंगारी, यह षडयन्त्र विद्रोह के रूप में ज्वाला बन सकती है। यदि इस में अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय देशों का हाथ है, विदेशी माइकल स्कॉट जैसे लोगों का हाथ है तो जमा रघुनाथ सिंह जी ने कहा, उन से नम कार करना चाहिये। मैं नमस्कार करने की बात से महमत नहीं हूँ, उन्हें माफ कह देना चाहिये कि इस भारत धरती को खाली कर के हमेशा हमेशा के लिये चले जाइये। कोई वार्ता उन से नहीं करनी चाहिये।

यह एक छोटा सा प्रदेश है, सुन्दर प्रदेश है और जैसा हमारे एंग्गनी साहब ने कहा, नागा लोग अच्छे लोग हैं। मैं उनकी इस बात से सहमत हूँ। पाँच लाख की आबादी में हजार, दो हजार, चार हजार विद्रोही नागा हो सकते हैं, लेकिन बाकी विद्रोही हो सकते हैं—विश्राम करने का कोई कारण नहीं है। उनकी संस्कृति, सामाजिक और राजनीतिक अवस्थाओं पर हम गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार

करने को आज भी तैयार हैं और हम चाहते हैं कि वे हमारी साबंभौम सत्ता के अन्तर्गत, भारतीय संविधान के अन्तर्गत सम्मान के साथ रहें। वे हमारे भाई हैं, हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी पूर्वी सीमाओं के प्रहरी की तरह उनका स्थान हो। यदि बाहर से आक्रमण हो तो हमारे साथ रह कर उनका मुकाबला करें और इस प्रकार हमारे सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक जीवन के वे प्रहरी रहें। हम उनका आदर करना चाहते हैं और जैसा हमारी प्रधान मन्त्री महोदया ने कहा कि हम उनसे वार्ता करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन इन सब भावनाओं के पीछे यदि विद्रोही तोड़-तोड़, विध्वंस और इस प्रकार सरे-आम विद्रोह का प्रदर्शन करते हैं, तो यह एक चैलेंज है, चुनौती है, यह एक ललकार है प्रजातन्त्र के विरुद्ध। दुनिया के लोग देखते हैं कि जिस शान्ति और व्यवस्था और प्रजातन्त्र की प्रणाली के अन्तर्गत हम अपने संविधान की जड़ों को मजबूत करना चाहते हैं, सब को अधिकार देना चाहते हैं कि मतभेद प्रकट करें तो शान्ति से प्रकट करें और यही कारण है कि इसी के सन्दर्भ में जब नागा नेताओं ने यह कहा कि हम असम से पृथक् हो जाना चाहते हैं, भारत माता के साथ उनके स्वतन्त्र अधिकार हों, तो उसको स्वीकार किया। स्वर्गीय प्रधान मन्त्री श्री नेहरू ने कहा कि यदि संविधान के अन्तर्गत नागालैण्ड असम से पृथक् हो कर रह सकता है, शान्ति से रह सकता है, पूर्वी सीमा के प्रहरी का काम कर सकता है, तो उनकी इस इच्छा को पूरा किया जाय। उनका विश्वास यह था कि प्रजातन्त्र में यदि कहीं से ऐसी ध्वनि आती है जहां संविधान का कोई विरोध नहीं है, प्रतिक्रिया नहीं है और देश की सीमाओं के अन्दर रहना चाहते हैं, उसको स्वीकार किया जाय, जैसे अभी हमने पंजाबी सूबा और हरियाणा सूबा को स्वीकार किया। हम जन-मानस का आदर करना चाहते हैं, उनकी भावनाओं का आदर करना चाहते और यदि संविधान के अन्तर्गत वे शान्ति और सहिष्णुता के साथ रहना चाहते हैं तो हम वार्ता के लिये

तैयार हैं, लेकिन जिस प्रकार से आज की घटनायें हुई हैं, दुनिया के लोग क्या कहेंगे, भारत में इसकी क्या प्रतिक्रिया होगी। एक प्रतिक्रिया तो यह होगी कि सरकार इतनी दुर्बल हो गई है कि विद्रोहियों का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकती, दो-तीन हजार विद्रोहियों का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकती। दूसरा विचार यह हो सकता है, जैसा इस सदन में कई बार कहा गया है कि यह नागालैण्ड का प्रश्न विदेश मन्त्रालय का है या किस मिनिस्ट्री का है। आज एक निर्णय तो कम से कम कर लीजिये कि जहां तक शान्ति और सुरक्षा का प्रश्न है, ला एण्ड ग्राइंडर का प्रश्न है, इसका सम्बन्ध होम मिनिस्ट्री से है, जहां तक रेलवे और आर्थिक प्रश्नों का सम्बन्ध है, मिनिस्ट्री कन्सर्ड से उसका सम्बन्ध है। अभी स्थिति यह है कि जितनी भी नागा समस्याएँ हैं उनका सम्बन्ध विदेश मन्त्रालय से है, उसका विकेन्द्रीकरण कर देना चाहिये और जिस तरह से डिफेन्स मिनिस्ट्री आज उत्तरदायी है देश के डिफेन्स के मामलों में, उसी तरह से तमाम मिनिस्ट्रियों के अन्तर्गत इस प्रश्न को लाया जाय तथा ला एण्ड ग्राइंडर के प्रश्न का सम्बन्ध होम मिनिस्ट्री से है, अतः इसे उसके अन्तर्गत लाया जाय।

श्रीमन्, अब मैं माइकल स्काट के सम्बन्ध में दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। माइकल स्काट ने एक ऐसा प्रयत्न किया कि कुछ समझौता हो जाय और जब समझौते की वार्ता यहां बार बार हुई तो उन्होंने नेतृत्व किया, लेकिन जब यूनाइटेड नेशनल्स के प्रधान सचिव से उन्होंने इस प्रश्न को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न बनाने का अनुरोध किया और बर्मा के प्रधान को विरोध पत्र लिखा, इससे उनकी डम प्रतिक्रिया के दर्शन हुए कि ये तो इस घड़यन्त्र में बहुत बड़े भागीदार हैं। जिन नागाओं की तरफ से वह आकर शान्ति वार्ता करना चाहते थे और शान्ति मिशन के एक सदस्य के नाते जब वे उन विद्रोही नागाओं की पार्टी बन गये हैं, तथा वे विद्रोही नागा आज स्वतन्त्र

[श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय]

राष्ट्र की मांग करते हैं, इससे ज्यादा अन्तराष्ट्रीय षड्यन्त्र और कोई नहीं हो सकता। आपने एक महीने के लिये उनको क्यों अधिकार दिया कि वे यहां रहें, एक महीने में आठ रोज के अन्दर तो यह हुआ, अभी 22 रोज और बाकी हैं, इस प्रवास में न जाने और क्या करेंगे। विद्रोहियों को और ज्यादा भड़का सकते हैं, और न जाने क्या कह सकते हैं। इस लिये आप आज निर्णय कीजिये—चाहे स्वर्ण सिंह कहें, चाहे प्रधान मन्त्री जी कहें, आज हमारे सदन का यह निर्णय है कि माइकल स्काट को कह दें कि आप यहां से जाइये। अगर उनके पास पैसा न हो तो टिकट कटा दीजिये, एयर इण्डिया से कहिये कि उनको ले जाये। कोई भी विदेशी, जैसा हमारे एन्धनी साहब ने कहा, किसी भी विदेशी को हमारे यहां किसी वर्ग विशेष के बीच में बैठ कर हमारी सार्वभौम सत्ता के विरुद्ध षड्यन्त्र का अधिकार नहीं दिया जाना चाहिये।

जहां तक शान्ति मिशन का सम्बन्ध है—जय प्रकाश बाबू ने अपना हाथ खींच लिया। उनको बार बार निमन्त्रण दिया जा रहा है लेकिन वे इस तत्व को समझ गये हैं कि उनको इस काम में नहीं पड़ना चाहिये। आज यह निर्णय कीजिये कि शान्ति मिशन हम भंग करते हैं, शान्ति मिशन की ओर से वार्ता का माध्यम स्वीकार नहीं। क्या जाना चाहिये, लेकिन एक बात जरूर कहना चाहता हूं कि प्रधान मन्त्री को यदि विश्वास हो और वे आश्वासन दें, अपने कर्म से, वचन से और भावना से अगर वह पश्चाताप करें कि इस विद्रोह में हमारा हाथ था, तब उनसे वार्ता कीजिये। यदि इस प्रकार का प्रायश्चित्त न करे, इस प्रकार से आकर अपनी गलती को न माने, इसको कनफेस न करे, यह न कहे कि इसके पीछे विद्रोहियों का हाथ है तो आप वार्ता के दरवाजे बन्द कर दीजिये और सख्ती से काम जिलीये, मजबूती से काम लीजिये।

हमारे रघुनाथ सिंह जी ने कहा है कि राजनीति और दण्ड नीति में विभेद है। चाणक्य ने भी यही कहा था। प्रजातन्त्र के कुछ उमूल भी हैं, कुछ बुनियादें भी हैं और हम भी बहुत सीमा तक आगे जाना चाहते हैं और हमें जाना भी चाहिये जहां तक शान्ति का सम्बन्ध है, प्रजातन्त्रीय प्रणाली का सम्बन्ध है, उनमें भाई चारे के सम्बन्ध रखने का सम्बन्ध है, बातचीत का सम्बन्ध है लेकिन जब एक खुला विद्रोह होता हो, जब लोगों की जानें ली जाती हों, जब मासूम लोग, इन्फैंसट लोग मारे जा रहे हों और जब एक प्रकार से प्रजातन्त्र को ललकारा जा रहा हो, उस समय हमें सचेत हो जाना चाहिये और सचेत होने के साथ साथ बड़ी कठोरता के साथ दण्ड नीति से काम लेकर उसको दबा देना चाहिये।

नागाओं से हमें बड़ा प्यार है। नागाओं से जहां तक शान्ति वार्ता का सम्बन्ध है, जहां तक शान्ति की बात का सम्बन्ध है, संविधान के उद्देश्यों का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है, भाई भाई की तरह रहने की प्रक्रिया का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है, हम बहुत दूर तक जा सकते हैं। वे हमारे भाई हैं। हम उनकी सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, तमाम जो महत्वाकांक्षायें हैं, उनको पूरा करने का आश्वासन भी दे सकते हैं। अगर वे कहे कि उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक नहीं है, उनकी सांस्कृतिक स्थिति ठीक नहीं, उनकी सामाजिक अवस्थाएँ ठीक नहीं हैं तो हम कहेंगे कि सरकार अधिक से अधिक सुविधायें उन्हें प्रदान करने का प्रबन्ध करे। हम भूखे भी रह लेंगे लेकिन उनको भूखा रहने नहीं देंगे। यह प्रजातन्त्र की देन हो सकती है। लेकिन अगर भारतीय प्रभुसत्ता को वे चुनौती देते हैं विदेशी षड्यन्त्रकारियों के प्रभाव में आकर या भड़काव में पड़ कर और स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र की मांग पर अड़े रहते हैं तो हमें स्पष्ट शब्दों में कह देना चाहिये कि अब वार्ता के दरवाजे सदैव के लिए बन्द कर दिये गये हैं।

आजकल रेलवे प्रापर्टी ऐसी प्रापर्टी मान ली गई है, ऐसी सम्पत्ति मान ली गई है कि जिस को देखो, अपना भुरसा प्रकट करने के लिए वह इस को तोड़ रहा है। गुस्सा प्रकट करने के लिये वह कहता है कि तोड़ो इसको, तोड़ो रेलवे लाइन को। चाहे बंगाल का बन्द हो, चाहे विद्रोहियों का प्रदर्शन हो जहां कहीं भी भारत में किसी भी तबके को देखो, किसी भी दल को देखो, चाहे वह छोटा हो या बड़ा हो, वह जब बन्द का नारा देता है तो देखा यही जाता है कि रेलवे प्रापर्टी को, रेलवे सम्पत्ति को तोड़ा जाता है। वहीं सिगनल तोड़े जाते हैं, कहीं दूसरी सम्पत्ति को नुकसान पहुंचाया जाता है। इस तोड़ फोड़ की कार्रवाई में न जाने क्या दुर्भाग्य है इस रेलवे की सम्पत्ति का कि जिस को देखो वही कहता है तोड़ो इसको। कोई इस बात तक का ध्यान नहीं रखता है कि इस में सोते जागते यात्री यात्रा कर रहे हैं, छोटे छोटे बच्चे यात्रा कर रहे हैं, हमारी मातायें और बहनें यात्रा कर रही हैं और वे भी इसका शिकार होती हैं। यह एक विवेक की बात है। पता नहीं इस विवेक की बात को क्यों नहीं स्वीकार किया जाता है। रेलवे सम्पत्ति ने आखिर उनका क्या बिगाड़ा होता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर इस प्रकार का विद्रोह होता है तो उसके दमन के लिए, उसके शमन के लिए बड़ी सख्ती से आप को कदम उठाना पड़ेगा। वरना यह प्रजातन्त्र जो हमारा है, इसकी नींव ही डगमगा जाएगी। इसको आप डगमगाने न दें। सार्वभौम सत्ता के लिए हमने बड़ी कुर्बानियां दी हैं। इन सौ आदमियों ने जो कुर्बानी दी इसको हम भूल नहीं सकते हैं। इनके प्रति हम अपनी श्रद्धांजलि भेंट करते हैं और प्रार्थना करते हैं कि आप विद्रोहियों को पराजित करें।

श्री रामसेवक ठाडव (बाराबंकी) : पाटिल साहब के भाषण को मैं बड़े गौर से सुन रहा था। उन्होंने एक बात सौ फीसदी सही कही कि यह रेल मन्त्रालय का काम नहीं है, उसका मामला नहीं है। जब वह बोल रहे

थे तो प्रधान मन्त्री की तरफ वह ताक रहे थे और वह यह बतलाना चाहते थे कि भारत सरकार का इसके पीछे हाथ है। अपनी दुल-मुल नीति के कारण इस तरह की घट नये वह खुद करवा रही हैं। यह मामला जब वह कहते हैं कि रेल मन्त्रालय का नहीं है, तो यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह मामला विदेश मन्त्रालय का है या कहा जा सकता है कि गृह मन्त्रालय का है और या फिर यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह समूचा मामला भारत सरकार का है और नागा नीति के सम्बन्धित है, उसके साथ साथ यह भी कहा जा सकता है कि नागा नीति जब तक ठीक नहीं की जाती है तब तक मैं समझता हूं कि इस समस्या का समाधान भी ठीक से नहीं हो सकेगा।

नीति में कहीं दोष है। अगर दोष न होता तो फिजो जो एक बार अ.जा. हिन्द फौज में था वह आज विद्रोही न बन गया होता। इसी तरह ने नागा नीति जो है वह कोई नीति रही ही नहीं। यह नीति तृप्तीकरण की और दमन की नीति रही है। कभी दमन और कभी तृप्ति की। अग्नि की दिशा में बराबर सरकार चलती रही है। मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। 1950 और 1951 में स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू और बर्मा के प्रधान मंत्री की कोहिमा में एक मिली-जुली सभा हुई। उसमें नागा विद्रोही आए और वे चाहते थे कि एक आवेदन पत्र प्रधान मंत्री को दें लेकिन अधिकारियों ने अपने तीखे रुख और घमंड के कारण उनको वह आवेदनपत्र प्रधान मंत्री को नहीं देने दिया। नतीजा यह हुआ कि वह आवेदनपत्र प्रधान मंत्री को नहीं दिया जा सका। फल इसका यह हुआ कि जब तक बर्मा के प्रधान मंत्री बोलते रहे तब तक तो वे मुनते रहे लेकिन जैसे ही भारत के प्रधान मंत्री बोलने के लिए खड़े हुए वे उठ कर चले गये और वहीं से सरकार ने दमन की नीति अपनायी शुरू कर दी। इस दमन की नीति की एक मिसाल मैं देना चाहता हूं। इसी सदन के दो माननीय सदस्य श्री रिशंग किशिंग

[श्री रामसेवक यादव]

जो आज कल कांग्रेस में हैं और माननीय डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया उस समय मनीपुर जेल में थे। वहां पर जब नागा विद्रोहियों से बातचीत हुई तो उन्होंने बताया कि किस तरह से वहां पर अधिकारियों की ओर से महिलाओं के साथ बलात्कार हो रहा है। इसका कारण यह था कि रूख में परिवर्तन आया था। एक तो यह दिशा थी। उसके बाद दूसरी दिशा बदलती है। उसमें क्या होता है? मार्च, 1966 में जब नागा विद्रोही जीप में हथियार और विस्फोटक पदार्थ लेकर जाते हैं तो बजाय इसके कि उनको रोका जाए, असम के मुख्य मंत्री उनको आजादी से डे जाने देते हैं, उनके खिलाफ कोई मामला दर्ज नहीं किया जाता है। एक तरफ दमन और दूसरी तरफ तुष्टि। व्यावहारिक और उचित नीति जो नागाओं के प्रति बरती जानी चाहिये उसको आज सरकार नहीं बरत रही है और उसका परिणाम हमारे सामने आ रहा है।

इसी तरह से जब विदेश मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री विद्रोही नागाओं से बात करते हैं तो ऐसा लगता है कि ये लोग स्वप्न की दुनिया में टहल रहे हैं, स्वप्न की दुनिया में रह रहे हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि नागा लोग कहते कुछ हैं और ये सुनते कुछ और ही हैं। माइकल स्काट कहते हैं कि मैंने माफी नहीं मांगी और प्रधान मंत्री सुनती हैं कि माफी मांग ली है। कहा जाता है कि शान्ति कायम हो रही है, शान्ति की तरफ हम बढ़ रहे हैं लेकिन घटनायें यह साबित करती हैं कि कोई शान्ति नहीं होती है। एक तरह से अव्यावहारिक जगत में, स्वप्नों की दुनिया में यह सरकार बराबर चलती जा रही है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस चीज पर सांच विचार करे।

इस घटना को आप लें। पिछले चार दिन के अन्दर दो बड़ी घटनायें घटी हैं, भयंकर घटनायें घटी हैं। अभी पाटिल साहब ने

कहा है कि ये जो विस्फोटक पदार्थ थे, वे विदेशी थे यहां के नहीं थे। बड़ी गम्भीरता से, बड़ी तेजी से इसी सदन में 21 तारीख को माननीय गम सुभग सिंह जी ने कहा था कि ये विस्फोटक पदार्थ कहीं बाहर से आये होंगे। मैं आपको पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ जो उन्होंने कहा था। उन्होंने साफ साफ कहा :

“ये जो इतने ताकतवर विस्फोटक पदार्थ आते हैं ये कहीं न कहीं से तो आते ही होंगे, बाहर से आते ही होंगे और इसमें ऐसे लोगों का जाल है जिसको साधारण जाल नहीं कहा जा सकता है, कोई बड़ा जाल मालूम होता है।”

अब आप देखें कि इसके ठीक उल्टा गृह मंत्री श्री नन्दा जी ने कहा था। उन्होंने कहा था :

“These explosives can be made here also”.

उन्होंने कहा कि ये यह भी बन सकते हैं। क्या दो प्रकार के मंत्रीमंडल यहां हैं? एक मंत्री कहता है कि बाहर के बने हुए हैं और दूसरा कहता है कि नहीं, यहां बन सकते हैं एवं स्थिति को गम्भीर बतलाते हैं। सही मानों में स्थिति गम्भीर है लेकिन दूसरे मंत्री उस स्थिति को उस रूप में देखने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं, उस रूप में उस पर गौर करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं।

श्री नन्दा ने 21 अप्रैल को दो तरह के बयान दिये और परस्पर विरोधी बयान दिये। एक तो उन्होंने कहा कि 1963 में इस तरह की दो घटनायें घटीं और 1964 में उनकी संख्या बढ़ गई। फिर कहते हैं कि 1966 में जो शान्ति की बातचीत चली उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि इस तरह की घटनाओं में कमी आई है। लेकिन यह

कमी भाई प्रतीत नहीं होती है। या तो उनका यह कथन सही है कि इनमें कमी बाका हुई है या यह बात सही है कि जब नागाओं से बातचीत करते हैं तो उसमें तारतम्य नहीं होता है, कोई रिश्ता नहीं होता है और वे भूल जाया करते हैं कि स्थिति 1963 से से बराबर बिगड़ी जा रही है, बराबर इस प्रकार की घटनाएँ बढ़ती जा रही हैं और सरकार लोगों की जान माल की रक्षा करने में असफल हुई है। शान्ति वार्ता जब चलती है उस से यह साफ जाहिर होता है कि यह सरकार दो दो दिमागों से काम ले रही है, एक दिमाग तो यह कहता है कि आज जो शान्ति वार्ता चल रही है वह शान्ति वार्ता ठीक नहीं है और दूसरा यह समझता है कि नहीं, यह शान्ति वार्ता ठीक है, और इस पूरी समस्या पर अच्छी तरह सोच विचार करना आवश्यक है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार अपनी नीतियों में बदलाव करे और नागा समस्या के बारे में नुप्टीकरण और दमन की जो नीति चल रही है, उससे काम चलने वाला नहीं है और जो घटनाएँ घटी हैं, उससे सरकार की साफ साफ असफलता प्रकट हो जाती है।

आज भारत सरकार कहती है कि भारत रक्षा कानून का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है वह सीमावर्ती प्रदेशों से हटने वाला नहीं। दूसरे भारत रक्षा कानून के तहत सरकार की सीधी जिम्मेदारी हो जाया करती है खास तौर से नागालैण्ड के बारे में जहाँ एक प्रकार से केन्द्र की भी जिम्मेदारी आती है। गृह मंत्री नन्दा जी कहते हैं कि ये सारी घटनाएँ जो घट रही हैं जहाँ तक नागालैण्ड का सम्बन्ध है, उनके प्रति भारत सरकार की विशेष जिम्मेदारी है और मैं समझता हूँ कि भारत सरकार अपनी नीति में और अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करने में पूर्णतया असफल रही है

**Shri Basumatari (Goalpara):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, this question is a very grave one. I have been listening to the speeches of different hon. Members. What I have been able to follow from their speeches is that they have not been able to understand the proper aspects of this problem.

Somebody said that it was done only by the Nagas and somebody said that it was done by the Mizo tribals. But it is not only confined to the Mizo and the Naga tribals. It is clear from the statement of the Railway Minister that there is the hand of foreigners in this. How to solve the problem is the question before us. If you want to solve the problem by the disintegration of the whole State of Assam, I do not think there will be end in it. That is not the solution.

Some Members referred to the recommendations of the Pataskar Report. There, he has recommended about the whole of the tribal area. On the top of it, he had written a letter to the Prime Minister and also to the Home Minister suggesting for creating a Centrally-administered area for the Mizo Hills. By this, we are not going to solve the problem. It will only get out of control and will do more harm than good. If this is the way of administration, I do not know how we will solve the problem.

Many of my friends, specially hon. Mr. Anthony and Prof. Ranga said that minority has no faith in the Assam Government. It is a dangerous statement. I have heard some of the hon. Members saying the other day that the NEFA people have also no faith in us and somebody said that the Naga people have no faith in us. This way of expressing an opinion by the hon. Members, including responsible Members like Prof. Ranga and Mr. Anthony who are important



[Shri Basumatari]

Members, is very unfortunate, to create a discontent and hatred towards Assam which will later on lead to a discontent and hatred towards India also.

Now, coming to the Hill people, the hon. Member, Mr. Swell.... (*Interruption*). I do not know why you call him as Dr. Swell—he is not a Doctor . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** In future, I will address Mr. Basumatari also as Doctor.

**Shri Basumatari:** Anyhow, he is my good friend and he raised that matter.

Now, I have gone through the gist of the Pataskar Report—I have not gone through the whole Report as it is not yet available—and there it is clearly stated about the situations. If you go District by District, this is the position. About the North Cachar District, it is entirely Congress and the people there are against the movement of a separate Hill State. Similarly, about the Mikir District, it is entirely Congress. They do not believe in the movement of a separate Hill State. Coming to the Garo District, there also you will find that only 20 per cent are under the missionary influence who are only supporting the movement of a separate Hill State. Others are not supporting it. (*Interruption*). Please, don't interrupt me. I do not like to refer to religion because I have faith in every religion. There also, out of four Members in the Assembly, one is a Congress, one is an Independent and only two Members support the movement.

Sir, we have to consider all the aspects of the problem. We have the tribals in the hills as also in the

plains in the State of Assam. If you do not strengthen the hands of the Assam Government, I do not think the Centre can do anything. This question should be looked into. The other day I was very sorry to hear a remark made here that the Peace Mission had been brought to the level of talking to the Prime Minister. I would say that it is good, and it is a success of our Chief Minister Shri Chaliha. But I cannot support the role played by Mr. Scott. It is reported that some important representations from Manipur and the Chief Minister of Nagaland were not properly received in Delhi. We do not understand why the cease-fire has been extended to Manipur, where there has been no trouble at all. I happened to meet some of the friends from Manipur, and they have given me to understand that they have not been given a chance to speak to our Prime Minister in a heart to heart manner, but only those people who came with the idea of seceding from India were given such a chance. My point is that you do not give a chance to those who embrace you, but you are giving a chance to those people who come with dagger and sword. These are the facts to be considered. We should consider where the defect lies. I would request our leaders to consider and discuss this point not only with the members of the cabinet but also with the people from this area; after all, they are also the important persons who represent this area. But our Government are not doing this.

The other day, I had said somewhere that from the very beginning, Government had been misled by the officer there. By 'officer' I mean the ICS officers who were against our Independent movement. I know one such officer. He was a D.C. there, It was Mr Calver Hoe; He was a Anglo-Jew. I know him very well I know how he had misled the Government. He was the D.C. of my

district, Kamrup, and after some time he was transferred to the Naga Hills. He was the man who misled the Government of India, and he was the man who misled Government with the help of some hostile Nagas there.

At the time when Mr. Phizo wanted to speak to Prime Minister Nehru personally and he said that he believed in non-violence, and he said also that he was a good disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, but that man was not allowed to see great leader Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. A similar thing happened for a second time also when the leader of the AICC was there. The people had collected there; I was also there at that time. All the Nagas had collected; they took us about sixteen miles away into the interior, and they gave us good food and all that. They wanted to see Mr. Dhebar and talk to him, but the surprising thing was that the people whom we had collected were not allowed to see him. That was what happened.

Mr. Dhebar went from the Congress organisation, on the request of Mr. Phizo. When Mr. Phizo was told that he could not see the Prime Minister, he said that he would like to see at least the head of the Congress organisation. So, it was on his request that we had requested the president of the Congress to see him. So, a large number of people had collected there, whom we now term as Naga hostiles. But ultimately what happened was that they were not allowed to see him, and the people had to disperse. In fact, I was about to be killed on the charge that I was just a liar; they said to me, "you told us that we could meet the head of the Congress organisation, but we are not allowed to meet him. What is all this?". Only the officer with his petty clerks who had been taught like parrots to say what DC wanted them to say had come to see the President of the Congress, Mr. Dhebar. This is the way in which things have deteriorated. These are the mistakes done by the Centre, and not by the State.

There was also a time when there was propaganda here against the State Government and it is the propaganda against the State Government which is at the root of all the troubles that we are facing now. I do not believe that there was any strong movement of hill tribes before. The idea of hill tribes was a forgotten thing. The hill tribes movement was a forgotten thing. But after Nagaland has been allowed to spring up, these people also are girding up their loins and asking for this. This is a mischievous thing. This is the most amazing thing. Government do not understand where the mistake lies.

I am sorry to say also that the papers are also not helping India; they are not national at all. What do we see in the papers? If a non-hostile Naga says something, makes a statement, they give little or no publicity to it. But if a hostile Naga says something, columns are filled with it. This is the way the press is discharging its duty. This is the way they are promoting national feeling. This is the whole mistake.

I therefore appeal to our Prime Minister to look into the gravity of the situation. She should not believe in dealing only with Nagas who have weapons in their hands who threaten violence, ignoring those who are peaceful, who are national, who believe in national unity and integration. This policy must change. Then only we can solve this problem.

**Shri Hem Barua:** The tragedy enacted at Lumding and Diphu stations positively by the Naga hostiles is something that is very sad. At the same time, it is something that more than meets the eye.

Explosives were there. Human bodies were separated into bits and pieces. Some of the limbs were thrown to some 200—500 feet away. It was a ghastly sight. A dead body was blown off onto the roof of the

[Shri Hem Barua]

railway station. There were charred bodies lying by the side of the rail track. These are the things that are happening under the auspices of the revolutionary Nagas.

Now I have a complaint to make against the railway authorities at Lumding also. What happened when there was no light and everything was dark due to this explosion? The entire railway platform was covered by the smoke of the explosion for full one hour. Even the district officer of the particular station—Lumding is the district headquarters of that particular district—took one hour to appear on the scene. Even when he appeared, he did not make any arrangement for lighting the place.

What happened? No ambulance was provided to carry the people who were groaning under acute pain in the platform to the hospital. As a matter of fact, the district hospital had ambulance cars. These should have been provided to carry these injured people groaning under acute pain on the platform. I must congratulate those young men from the Lumding bazar who came to the spot and carried the injured people to the hospital; some of them carried them on their backs; some of the injured were carried in stretchers. In the process of carrying them, I know as many as 7 persons died.

As a matter of fact, as soon as an accident of this sort takes place at a particular station, the railway authorities should blow the siren, put it on the air. But the siren at Lumding did not go in the air. It was silent all the time.

Secondly, what happened? The district medical officer or the assistant medical officer did not attend to the injured. In the veranda, the injured people were dumped. Two junior doctors attended to more than 150 injured who were dumped in the

veranda. The district medical officer and assistant medical officer did not appear on the scene. These are very tragic things. Therefore, I point out these things.

Then what happened? During the night, no search was made for dead bodies, the victims of this tragedy. It was only in the next morning that a search was made for the dead bodies of these persons. Some people who were hit might have been alive during the night, but because they were neglected, they possibly died. I would say it is a callous disregard to human life on the part of Government.

What happened that day on the floor of the House? The Minister of State told us—it was on the 21st—that he was rushing down to Gauhati and Lumding and all that. But what actually happened? He went to Bihar, toured some places and then reached Gauhati only yesterday, after the second explosion at Diphu station had taken place.

I would say that these tragic incidents are not isolated events. They are part of a grand strategy on the part of the Naga hostiles to disrupt and paralyse the arteries of communications in the Brahmaputra valley of Assam. There are people who have expressed doubts that the Naga hostiles might not be there. I have conclusive proof to establish that the Naga hostiles have masterminded these incidents.

I made a pointed reference to the incident of 7th March when a jeep bearing the nameplate of the Nagaland Government—it was Jeep No. 12—was intercepted at Jorhat. In the jeep there was the self-styled Minister for Food and Agriculture of the so-called Naga Federal Government, the Home Minister of the so-called Federal Government was there, the Home Secretary of the so-called Federal Government was there, and a brigadier was there, and certain docu-

ments and papers were seized from these people. I still maintain these people, the so-called Ministers of the Naga Federal Government, were released by the police at Jorhat at the intervention of Mr. Chaliha, on whom, unfortunately, Gandhism has descended too heavily.

These papers give a very clear picture of the grand strategy, the entire strategy, how they want to disrupt and paralyse the arteries of communications in the valley.

There is a report also—these papers are with the police, I know—an eye witness account, the account of a man who was himself involved, who was in charge of carrying out that programme at Furkating on the 17th February. Here he gives a vivid account of how that programme was carried out, and how people were killed. I know our Railway Minister has said that 53 persons or 56 persons were killed on that occasion, but if you read the report that was captured, intercepted, by our police at Jorhat from these Naga leaders, the so-called Ministers, these papers will conclusively prove one thing, that they were not only implicated or involved in it, but also another thing, that according to the report not less than 250 people were killed at Furkating on 17th February. I have great doubts about your number also. Excuse me for saying like that.

When this was computed for Lumding, for instance—originally it was 55—did you take into account the limbs that were blown off and were hanging on the cables, the wires, did you take into account the heads that were blown off, did you take into account the intestines that were blown off, and try to establish the number? You did not do that. Only those human bodies that were whole, with the loss of a limb possibly, were counted, and the rest was not counted.

I would say that our intelligence has also failed. Even after the discovery of the grand strategy of the Naga hostiles to create a sort of tragic

situation in the Assam valley, our intelligence department men could not connect the two incidents that took place at Lumding and at Diphu.

There are doubts in the minds of some people that possibly there is no foreign power encouraging these Naga hostiles. As I disclosed this morning, during the visit of these Chinese leaders to Dacca, capital of East Pakistan, Liu Shao Chi and Marshal Chen Yi, two strong delegations, one of the Naga hostiles and another of the Mizo hostiles, saw Marshal Chen Yi and Mr. Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, about which, unfortunately, our Government do not have any information till now. That shows that they are also involved and encouraging these people.

Another thing I want to say. There are some people who think that these Mizo hostiles and Naga hostiles are against the State of Assam, but do not forget one significant thing. The Mizo and Naga hostiles want to go out of India as a whole. Their grouse is against the whole of India, not the particular State of Assam. Do not forget that.

Then, the problem that is posed by the Mizo hostiles and the Naga hostiles is different from the problem posed by the other hill tribes about who Mr. Pataskar has made recommendations.

He has made certain recommendations because they are nationalists and they want to function within the Indian Union whereas these people are basing their argument on the old theory, the Peking theory as I would say, Mao Tse Tung has propounded a theory; he says that a state should be composed of people of the same ethnic quality, ethnic affinity. It is on this Peking theory that these Mizo rebels and the Naga rebels are working. If we forget this, we forget this only at our peril. I have certain things to say about these fruitless parleys that are being conducted by the so-called, self-styled federal gov-

[Shri Hem Barua]

ernment at Delhi. These are fruitless parleys in a sense. It was on 20th December 1964 that the Nagaland peace mission came out with certain proposals. Till now the Naga hostiles have not accepted these proposals and have not communicated their reaction to these proposals. What happens? They have not communicated their reaction to the proposals. On the other hand they are stabilising themselves as a rebel government and this rebel government, the so-called Naga federal government was established on 22nd March 1956. During this period of so-called peace, the Naga hostiles have extended their administration to the Ukhrul sub-division of Manipur. I tell you one thing: the Indian civil administration does not exist in Ukhrul sub-division of Manipur. That is the nature of things that we are having. The Naga leaders say: we are ready to talk. I do not understand when some people say that this might be the militant section of the Naga hostiles who are responsible for these incidents at the railway stations. May I ask you: have the Naga hostile leaders, self-styled ministers, any of them, said that this is the handiwork of militant section of their people? They have not said like that; they have not disowned their responsibility in that way. It is only our people, our government spokesmen who say that it must be the militant wing. If it is the militant wing, I say: why should you have discussions and talks and negotiations with these leaders of the Naga federal government who cannot deliver the goods because they could not control these militant people; they do not come out with a statement condemning these outrageous incidents. I am finishing in a minute. It is high time for our government to tell the Naga underground leaders: you must condemn or acknowledge responsibility for these incidents perpetrated at Lumding, Diphu and Furkating where hundreds of innocent Indians, men, women and children are massacred. If you do not say like that, we are not going

to talk with them even for an inch of time; we are going to ask our armed forces to take the necessary steps because this sort of thing cannot be allowed to be perpetrated. It is in the interest of national integrity I am saying this. The unity of the Indian Union should be preserved and anybody, whoever he might be, who questions the integrity of the Indian Union and who goes against the interest of the Indian nation should be very sternly dealt with.

**Shri P. C. Borooah:** Sir, I associate myself with the sentiments of sorrow expressed by the hon. Members who have preceded me and I also pray for the early recovery of the injured ones. I also sympathise with our Railway Minister who has unfortunately been dragged into this debate although it is not his fault or the fault of his Ministry or the fault of the railways. He has been dragged in for the action of others. I do not know what he will have to say in his reply; he may place the matter before the House and say: this is how my responsibility has been attracted.

Now, let us go into a bit of history. It is about a decade since these Naga hostiles started their underground activities, with the arms and ammunition left behind by the Americans after the second world war. That was a time when we were friendly with the Chinese. We were playing the game of Hindi-Chini Bhai-bhai. The streets of the two capitals, Delhi and Peking, saw the jubilations. Then, our other neighbour, Pakistan, which was born out of the two-nation theory, out of hatred to the majority community of this country, was engrossed with its own problems, and it could not give time for others. That was a time when it could have been more easy to deal with the hostile Nagas trouble, but we missed the bus. Since then, the Chinese and the Pakistanis were also getting aggressive towards us and we are now almost at war with them. This is the posi-

tion, and we have definite reports that the hostiles are getting arms and ammunition from these two countries. The Naga hostiles have become stronger today, and that is why they are getting more and more adamant in their demand for going out of India. They are definitely becoming more and more aggressive, ending for the moment, with incidents taking place at Lumding, Diphu and Furkating railway stations involving innumerable loss of innocent lives and maiming many others.

After this, the Mizos are following suit. The Mizo rebels are following the technique of the Naga rebels and a section of Mizo hostiles are also going to Pakisan and having training there and so on and so forth. The leaders of the Hill people are also gradually raising their heads. Not only this. Even the plains people, if these things are allowed to continue, will not stay silently, because they have strong resentment against the Government, that they have been very badly neglected by the Centre. Taking all these things into consideration, it can very well be said that the situation in that part of our country is highly explosive.

My hon. friend Shri Frank Anthony said something about the Assamese. I am very sorry to say that this is not the occasion to refer to such things. The Assamese and the Bengalis fought; yes; they fought as brothers and they are living as brothers today. There the matter ends. Why should we draw this distinction again and again here only to pollute the atmosphere?

So far as the Mizos are concerned, there is absolutely nothing for them to be entangled with the Assamese as such. They are far away from the Assamese. About the Nagas, I can say that the Constitution framed by the Nagas themselves proves the amity between the Assamese and the Nagas. They have adopted three languages: one is the Naga language, the other is

Assamese and then English. Where is then the trouble with the Assamese? Why should anyone get up in this House and say such things on this occasion? I appeal to hon. Members not to bring in any such matters here.

Coming to the subject, the question is what should we do now. I request the Government to give top priority to the question of Assam and Nagaland problems; solution of them brooks no delay and on the manner in which they are solved depends the future of the area, because the Chinese and the Pakistanis will not remain silent, and they will try to take advantage of the wide-spread discontentment among the people of that area.

So far as my own suggestions are concerned, I may say that the Naga leaders should be told that they themselves should come out and take steps to see that such things do not happen. Secondly, they must give up their idea that they are going out of this country, out of the framework of the Indian Union. These are the two things that the Naga leaders should be told. Suppose they do not listen. Then they should be treated as anti-nationals and agents of enemy countries and they should be dealt with accordingly. If it is found that military action is the only alternative, we should take that step in time. We won the battle against Pakistan because military action was taken in time. Similarly, if we are to take any action here also, we must not delay it, because delay will make India to fight the Chinese and Pakistanis on the soil of Nagaland—not alone the Naga hostiles—and it will then be converted into a second Vietnam. I hope that state of things will not come and government will be able to deal with the situation very well, if it could discard a lot of imaginary fears and appeasement.

18-00 hrs.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Swell.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद) :**  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक व्यवस्था . . . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब उसको नहीं लिया जा सकता है, आपकी आध घण्टे की डिसकशन को अब नहीं लिया जा सकता है। कल परसों जब आप कहें रख लेते हैं।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** बहुत मेहरबानी है आपकी। मैं खाली यह कह दूँ कि यह पहली दफा है कि लोक-सभा एक शास्त्र और खास तौर पर इतिहास शास्त्र पर बहस करेगी, इसलिए . . . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मैं इन्कार नहीं करता हूँ।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** और सदस्य भी जान लेते कि क्या चीज यह है . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मैं अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि किसी और दिन रख लेते हैं।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** कल आप इसे ऐसे वक्त पर ले लें . . . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** वक्त तो पहले नहीं हो सकता है। वक्त तो बही होगा।

**श्री कपूर सिंह (लुधियाना) :** विषय बता दिया जाए ताकि हम सदस्य भी तैयारी करके आयें।

**श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) :** यह जो चर्चा चल रही है यह आध घंटे में खत्म होने वाली बड़ी है। इसको कल जारी आप रख सकते

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** कल नहीं रह सकती है।

**Shri Swell (Assam—Autonomous Districts):** Sir, I share entirely with the Railway Minister and the members from every section of this House the sense of outrage, grief and indignation at the two explosions that

occurred in Assam recently. As a hillman and a tribal, I say this that I condemn any of those people who might have been responsible for these outrages. But I think the situation has more meaning than a sense of outrage at all that has happened and I would request the government and this House to approach this question with a sense of dignity and responsibility.

The Railway Minister has started off by saying that the outrage might have been perpetrated by the Naga hostiles and that seemed to be the theme of every speaker who has taken part in this discussion. But can we really say at this stage before the investigations are completed that it was the Naga hostiles who are responsible for this? I would draw your attention to the statement of the Chief Minister of Assam, Mr. Chaliha, yesterday to certain pressmen. He said, I quote—

“He cautioned the people against anti-national elements who had, of late, become active.”

Sir, they say that human memory is short, and I am afraid the memory of this House is not very long. I would invite the Members of this House to come with me to that area where these outrages have taken place. They would see for themselves that that is a little Pakistan in Assam, and when I went to that area I had always that feeling that that was a bit of Pakistan in Assam. I would remind this House that in 1962 when the Chinese committed aggression on this country it was reported, and this Government has not repudiated that, that it was round about that area that the flag of Pakistan was hoisted.

**An hon. Member:** No, no; it was near Tezpur.

**Shri Swell:** My friends from Assam who have been responsible for this influx of Pakistani emigrants into the plains of Assam are now the cham-

pions to shield, to give protection to these people. What I want to submit is this, that it might as well have been that by "anti-national elements", Mr. Chaliha, who is believed to know these things a little better than any of us because he is the man on the spot, might have meant certain Pakistani nationals who are busy in that area. He said: "anti-national elements that had of late become active". The Naga question was there for the last 15 years. The Nagas have been active from that time. It is not the question of being active of late.

Therefore, I would request you, the Prime Minister and the members of this Government, to behave and to approach the question in a more responsible manner and not to lose their heads. I would request them that they should not make any categorical statement. They should not give any impression in this country that would make the situation even worse than what it is, by pinpointing at a particular community or class of people that they are responsible for it, unless and until they are sure that it is these people who have done it, because if they are not sure they will unnecessarily give more offence to the Nagas.

If the Nagas are responsible for this, punish them by all means; I am with you. But if the Nagas are not responsible for this, you are unnecessarily prejudicing certain processes which have been set in motion and you are ignoring the danger from the other side. You are not serving the interest of the nation in that way.

The Railway Minister spoke with emotion. I appreciate that and I understand that. But I wish that he had also spoken with a little circumspection and a little more responsibility. He speaks of retaliation. I agree that is the language that an enemy will understand. But what retaliation and against whom? You might say it is the Nagas. You might say that the leaders of the underground Nagas have not expressed a word of sympathy or regret for all

that is happening. You might as well say that Shilu Ao's Government which is a limb of your Government, has also not expressed a word of regret and sympathy that I know of. Therefore, when you speak of the Nagas as responsible for this, you paint the whole community with that same brush. If you speak in terms of retaliation, it would mean only one thing, a war of retaliation against the Naga people as a whole. I ask this Government this question. Are you, on the flimsy evidence that you have got at the moment, prepared to go all-out against all the Nagas, even the loyal Nagas, those who are making sincere efforts to come to an understanding, to come to a settlement with you? You have done that in the case of the Mizo hills.

Shri Anthony, when he spoke, mentioned about the Government not giving the military a free hand in dealing with the Nagas. May I tell him that, as far as the Mizo hills are concerned, Government have given the military a free hand in that area? I have come back from the Mizo Hills. I have brought facts and figures which, to me, are inconceivable from here. I have drawn the attention of the Prime Minister, Home Minister and certain responsible members of this Government to them and I told them, for God's sake, in the interests of this country, in the interests of the sovereignty and national integrity of this country, do something about them. Until today I have not seen any sign of response for any settlement. On the other hand, there are irresponsible talks in the highest quarters of this Government, irresponsible talks among people who are supposed to be in the highest counsels of the Prime Minister.

Well, I was in the Mizo hills when some people came and told me that somebody from the Government of India had brought the news that India was not interested in the Mizos there, India was interested in that area, the geographical area, for the defence of



[Shri Swell]

the country and that it was immaterial whether the Mizos were exterminated or they went out of the country . . . (Interruptions). I immediately repudiated it and debunked those kinds of talks and told them that no responsible Government would ever indulge in this kind of language. I did not believe in it myself when my friends told me . . . (Interruptions). They need not get excited. I said that I did not believe it. I only mentioned certain things which I have heard. And if you do not want to hear what is happening in the country, you have no right to be here.

In today's *Patriot* there is a news item which only would go to make the situation in that explosive part of the country even worse. I will read out what is written in *Patriot*. This is from the *UNI* and supposed to have been written from Hansi in Punjab. This paper reports about certain statements made by a responsible Minister of this Government. I will not name him, but if you want to get the name, I can give the name. I quote: "He said that no efforts should be spared to restore peace in the violence-ridden hilly areas. Firstly, he suggested, there should be more administrative units, that is, more sub-divisions in Assam to tighten up law and order. Secondly, ex-servicemen should be encouraged to settle in the areas. They can take to the plough in times of peace and to the rifle in times of trouble." I suggest that if there is one thing that troubles the tribal people, whether the Nagas or the Mizos, it is the question of autonomy and safeguarding the lands and customs. Today, right in the wake of all that has happened if a responsible Minister of the Government goes about saying that we shall go and settle ex-servicemen of this country in that part of the country, it will go only to infuriate those people and nothing else . . . (Interruptions).

I am prepared to sit down with the Prime Minister and the Government

to find a solution to this problem. But I would say this. Before we come to that stage, I would request the Government to speak with a little sense of responsibility.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Prime Minister.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** You promised to give me two minutes.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Prime Minister is intervening. After that I will see if I can.

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा (कोटा) :  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे बिल्कुल टाइम नहीं  
दीजियेगा ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मुझे आपका खयाल  
है, मुझे सुन लेने दीजिए ।

**Shri Priya Gupta:** Is the Prime Minister going away after this intervention? This is an important affair and she should remain here.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):** Sir, I wish to express the deepest sympathy for the families of the innocent people who have lost their lives in these explosions. I can well understand the concern, the anxiety and the indignation which has been expressed by hon. Members. I can also understand the slightly different feelings expressed by the hon. Member, Shri Swell. I want to assure him straightway that we do have the deepest concern also for the people of the Hill areas. It was because of this concern that we want to establish peace in these areas. Much has to be done in these areas and it is only through peace that we can go ahead with works of development and so on. I shall always be ready to discuss this and other matters with him or anybody else who has suggestions to make.

The point which I really wanted to make has already been made by Shri Swell which is that the matter is still under investigation. I have been in telephonic conversation with

both the Governments of Assam and of Nagaland. We are sending a very senior official from the Home Ministry to help in these investigations and to try to come to a conclusion quickly.

I have also been trying to contact some of the so-called underground Nagas through the Government of Nagaland to express our great distress over these acts of violence so that our views might be conveyed to them, but I was told that it would take at least two or three days even to contact them.

Some mention was made here of the Rev. Michael Scott. We have already expressed our views on this. I have nothing new to say except that at this moment he is lying ill in a hospital in Shillong... (*In eruption*). I do not know what illness he has. This is the information given to me.

What I really wanted to assure the House was that Government would take the sternest measures against those who were found responsible for these acts of violence and incidents as soon as something is reliably established. Also, if it is proved that those with whom we are having talks are concerned or are responsible, obviously the whole approach will have to be reviewed. But I would beg of the House not to jump to conclusions in a hurry.

I should once more like to assure the House that the Government views these outrages with the greatest concern and will take every step to ensure the security and life of our people and the integrity of the country.

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Onkar Lal Berwa. Now hon. Members would be very brief, only five minutes each. लोहिया साहब का आफ एन आवर डिस्कशन कल के लिए रख दिया है ।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** बहुत मेहरबानी है ।

**श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले मैं उन मरे हुए लोगों के लिए खेद और दुख प्रकट करता हूँ और उनके परिवारों के प्रति समवेदना की भावनाएँ प्रकट करता हूँ ।

पहली बात मैंने यह कही है कि हमारी सरकार ने यः ताशकन्द समझौता जो किया है उसने गोरखों का रूप धारण कर लिया है क्योंकि ताशकन्द समझौता होने के बाद में हमारी सरकार ने इस एरिया की तरफ जाकर देखा तक नहीं और ऐसी दो ही घटनाएँ नहीं हुई हैं, ताशकन्द घोषणा के बाद में ऐसी सात घटनाएँ हो चुकी हैं । कई एक्सप्लोजन्स हुए, डिपो में आग लगाई गई, कितनी गाड़ियों में दुर्घटना हुई । यः सात आठ दुर्घटनायें ताशकन्द समझौते के बाद में हुई हैं । लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने एक बड़बड़े मेडिको का कह लिया कि नागालैण्ड ने सब कुछ किया । क्या सरकार को यह पता नहीं है कि आठ-दस लाख पाकिस्तानी अवैध रूप से बाहर रहे हैं क्या उनके द्वारा यह घटनाएँ नहीं हो सकती ? क्या हमारी सरकार को यः पता नहीं है कि वहाँ वाम-पंथियों का जाज बिछा हुआ है ? क्या हमारी सरकार इस बात का भूल गई है ? हमारी सरकार ने तो उन भेड़ियों को छोड़ कर एक बड़बड़ा भेड़िया पकड़ लिया है । जो भी करता है नागालैण्ड के बारे में कहता है, स्काट के बारे में करता है । ठीक है, उसने भी किया होगा, लेकिन इसमें पाकिस्तान का गुण बहुत ज्यादा है । अभी कुछ दिन पहले एक ठोकर नागा विद्रोही ट्रेनिंग लेकर पाकिस्तान से आए हैं । उनको जो प्रश्रय मिले है, वे सब पाकिस्तान और फ्रांस से मिले हैं । क्या सरकार इस बात को धिक्कृत नहीं जानती है ? सरकार इस बात को भूल बैठो है कि जमान भेड़िया तो भाग फिफता है और उतने बड़े भेड़िये की दुम को पकड़ जिन है । आज वह इन घटनाओं के लिए नागा विद्रोहियों को दोषो ठहरा रही है । यः ठीक है कि नागा विद्रोही इस तरह

[श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा ]

के सब काम कर सकते हैं, लेकिन हमारी सरकार अपनी दब्रू नीति के कारण पाकिस्तान और चीन के खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही करने को तैयार नहीं है। क्या वजह है कि वह इन दोनों दुश्मनों को छोड़ बैठी है ?

आसाम में जो पाकिस्तानी अवैध रूप से रह रहे हैं, क्या सरकार ने उनको निकाल दिया है ? इसमें वह असमर्थ रही है। सब से पहले सरकार को उन पाकिस्तानियों को देश से बाहर निकालना चाहिए। इसके अतिरिक्त सरकार इन घटनाओं के बावजूद वामपंथी कम्युनिस्टों को गिरा करने जा रही है। क्या ये लोग इस प्रकार के काम नहीं कर सकते हैं ? मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आसाम और देश के पूर्वी भाग में इस प्रकार की जो घटनाएँ हो रही हैं, वे पाकिस्तान, चीन और नागाओं आदि, इन तीन भेड़ियों के कारण हो रही हैं। सरकार अपनी दब्रू नीति के कारण समझौते पर समझौते करती रही है, लेकिन देशद्रोही लोगों तथा जासूसों का जोर बढ़ता जा रहा है। चीन, पाकिस्तान, नागा विद्रोही और वामपंथी कम्युनिस्ट ये सब काम करवा रहे हैं, लेकिन सरकार के हाथ में जो कोई आया, उसको उसने पकड़ लिया और सारा दोष उसके सिर पर मढ़ दिया।

प्रोफ़ेसर स्वील ने इस दुर्घटना की जांच के बारे में कहा है। वह ठीक बात है। सरकार को चाहिए कि वह इसकी जांच करे और इसका पूरा पता लगाए। लेकिन मेरे दिल की भावना यह है कि यह जाल नागा विद्रोहियों का बिछाया हुआ नहीं है, बल्कि यह जाल पाकिस्तानियों और वामपंथियों का हो सकता है। इस समय आसाम में आठ दस लाख के लगभग पाकिस्तानी अवैध रूप से रह रहे हैं। सरकार उनको निकालने में असमर्थ है। वह वामपंथियों के खिलाफ भी हाथ नहीं उठाना चाहती है। ये दक्षिणपंथी और वामपंथी कम्युनिस्ट सरकार को एक दोतरफ़ा

नीति में क़सा कर उसको धोखा दे रहे हैं। मैं सरकार से कहूँगा कि वह उन लोगों पर कड़ी निगाह रखे।

इन घटनाओं में जिन हथियारों का उपयोग किया गया है और जिन बमों का विस्फोट किया गया है, वे पाकिस्तान द्वारा ही अपने जासूसों को दिये गए हैं। नागा विद्रोहियों के पास भी हथियार हो सकते हैं, लेकिन वे हथियार भी पाकिस्तान द्वारा ही दिये गए होंगे या फ़्रांस से लिये गए होंगे। ताशकन्द समझौते के बाद पाकिस्तानियों, वामपंथियों और नागाओं आदि ने इस देश को धोखा देने के लिए एक त्रिमूर्ती कार्यक्रम बनाया है, जिम्मे को चलाया जा रहा है। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि उन लोगों पर कड़ी से कड़ी निगाह रखी जानी चाहिए। माइकल स्काट के साथ समझौते की कोई बात नहीं करनी चाहिए और उसे देशवद्र कराना चाहिए। सरकार को इस सारे मामले की पूरी जांच करनी चाहिए और दोषी लोगों के खिलाफ कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए।

Mr. Speaker: Shri Priya Gupta.

An hon. Member: How long are we sitting?

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Priya Gupta will take a few minutes and then I will call Mr. Madhu Limaye who will also take a few minutes. Then, I will call the Minister. How much time will he take?

Shri S. K. Patil: About 10 minutes.

Shri Priya Gupta: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very grateful to you for giving me a few minutes to speak on this Motion. I have got to submit one very important thing. The Railway Minister, while initiating the discussion, started with the sense of helplessness, frustration and inability to give security to the travelling passengers. Of course, as he is a very good juggler in oratory, he finished by saying

that he must take serious action against them. But he started with the sense of frustration and helplessness.

Sir, we are living in a country where men like Mr. Nanda, who is the Home Minister of this country do not seem to have seen these vulnerable places. The other day, he said that there are some of our check posts all over these vulnerable points within a very short distance. I challenged him and asked him whether he had seen those check posts. He replied, "I have seen them on the map." This is the condition of our country where the Railway Minister and the Home Minister could not find time to visit those important vulnerable points stretching over a few miles on the border of Assam and Nagaland. I do not know where our country is going to.

Mr. Patil gave a series of items to be done, jungles to be cleared and everything to be done. This is a thing which is continuing since 1956. I know jungles grow every year in a place like Assam where there is very heavy rain. But I can tell him that jungles have never been cleared as promised. I am coming from the Assam Railway section where I have passed about 20 years and I have visited those areas. I know what has been done over there.

Then, there is the question of the railwaymen's security. Of course, the security of the travelling passengers is there. The hon. Minister says that it is none of the railways' business, but I say that it is the business of the railways also; when he sells the ticket to the public, he must also guarantee security to the travelling public. He cannot just shirk his responsibility and throw it on somebody else's head.

Regarding the security of the railwaymen, I would point out that since 1956 onwards, when Shri Shahnawaz Khan was the Deputy Minister of Railways, situations had arisen of Naga attacks on the trains, as a result of which the railwaymen had demand-

ed an officer to come and investigate and ensure the safety of the drivers and guards. They requested an officer to accompany each train. But nothing happened, and for five or six or seven days the trains were cancelled. But finally the authority had to go there and investigate the thing on the spot. Then, an assurance was given that they would be given some frontier allowance and also that if a railwayman died, his next generation would be given something like an insurance amount and so on. Those things have been discontinued now. They are thinking very much of the economy only in all these things.

I would also point out that the Railway Minister is the *malik* of about 12 lakhs of people in the greatest public undertaking in the country, but not a single word of sympathy for the poor railwaymen has come to his lips. I am very sorry to find this. I thought that at least some sweet words would come from his lips regarding the risks taken by Railwaymen in keeping trains running against all odds. For this an extra amount of money be given to them by way of border allowance and frontier allowance.

Lastly, I would submit that different points and different suggestions have been made by hon. Members here. Government must, first of all, ascertain whether it is the Naga hostiles who have been doing this or whether it is Pakistan which has been doing it, and only after ascertaining this, the proper course of action should be taken.

Of course, Government may say that it is a political action. If they say that it is a political action and it will be dealt with politically, then I would submit that in the meantime many more such incidents may happen by which feelings may be roused....

**Mr. Speaker:** He should conclude now.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** I shall conclude with just one more sentence. The Home Ministry has got a set of informers, and every informer is after one trade union worker there. They say that they send information but Government do not care for the information. Similar is the case with the military informers there. I hope Government will investigate into these complaints.

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, Shri Madhu Limaye.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur):** I hope you will permit some of us also to say a few words. On the analogy of Shri Priya Gupta who has been given an opportunity to speak, I hope you will permit me also to say a few words.

**Mr. Speaker:** I had allowed him because he is from the railways.

**श्री मधु लिमये :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक ही विषय की ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। श्री रघुनाथ सिंह ने विद्रोह की चर्चा की, लेकिन मुझे खेद है कि विद्रोह के जो दो प्रकार होते हैं, उन्होंने उनमें कोई रुक नहीं किया। केन्द्रीय सरकार की उपेक्षा तथा नौकरशाही की क्रूरता की प्रतिक्रिया के रूप में सभी आदिवासी इलाकों में, जैसे बस्तर में और गुजरात के आदिवासी इलाके में, विद्रोह फैल रहा है। लेकिन आसाम के विद्रोह में और बस्तर तथा गुजरात के विद्रोह में इसलिये रुक है कि आसाम में जो विदेशी पादरी हैं, चाय के बगीचों के विदेशी मालिक हैं और जहाजों की कम्पनियों के विदेशी मालिक हैं, वे इस विद्रोह को भारतीय एकता और संविधान के खिलाफ विद्रोह का रूप देने जा रहे हैं और दे रहे हैं।

यह विद्रोह की प्रवृत्ति इसलिए फैल रही है कि हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास तथा हिन्दुस्तान की एकता के बारे में विदेशियों ने एक घर से से कई जहरीले सिद्धान्त यहां पर प्रचलित कर रहे हैं और खेद की बात है कि हमारे

बच्चों को भी पाठ्यपुस्तकों के द्वारा सरकार ये जहरीले सिद्धान्त दिन-रात पढ़ाया करती है और इस प्रकार हिन्दुस्तान की एकता को खत्म कर रही है। आर्य, अनार्य, मंगोल, द्रविड़ का एक पाखण्ड इन विदेशी इतिहासकारों ने हमारे देश में फैलाया है, जिसको ले कर आज चीन आदि तत्व भी इसका फायदा उठा रहे हैं और नागाओं और मिजो लोगों को हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ उकसाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। मुझे आशा थी कि प्रधान मंत्री जी सीमावर्ती इलाकों, आदिवासी इलाकों, नागाओं, मिजो आदि के बारे में एक नई नीति का एलान करेंगी, लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि शान्ति होनी चाहिए, शान्ति के बिना विकास नहीं होता है। तो इस तरह की बात करना जबकि एक नीति की आवश्यकता है, मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत गलत है। इसलिए मैं सदन से निवेदन करूंगा आपकी मारफ़त और खास कर रघुनाथ सिंह जी जैसे लोगों से कि मेरा जो स्थानापन्न प्रस्ताव है, उसी के समर्थन में वे बोले हैं, और पाटिल साहब भी बोले हैं ऐसा मानता हूँ तो मैं आशा करता हूँ कि मेरे स्थानापन्न प्रस्ताव को मंत्री महोदय भी और सदन भी स्वीकार करेगा और एक नई नीति का सूत्रपात नागाओं और मिजो के बारे में किया जायेगा।

**Shri S. K. Patil:** I will take only a few minutes in reply. Prof. Ranga has made some suggestions and I think they are very good suggestions. He paid a tribute, perhaps the House will also pay a tribute, to the brave railwaymen who, in spite of all these difficulties, are sticking to their jobs. It has been a constant anxiety to us, how in the teeth of this, really any man could go and work in the manner that these railwaymen have been doing. I am very glad that they have received the appreciation which they very richly deserve.

It was asked as to what they get. I was trying to know. I thought they must get something because it is a most difficult duty they are perform-

ing. And I do not know for how long they will have to perform that duty under these conditions. I was told that as soon as they are transferred to the Assam area, they get compensatory allowance, while gazetted officers below I. A. grade transferred to the N. F. Railway from another Railway zone get advance increments. But that is only normal. It is not adequate considering the difficult character of their work. Then they also get some kind of allowance to work in a difficult area. I do not know the quantum of that allowance.

**Shri A. P. Sharma:** Very negligible.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** But I have come to the conclusion, looking to the work they are doing, that they deserve something more. I shall do something because they are highly qualified for it. Something must immediately be done for that, to inspire confidence in those workers who have got to work there.

I do not know wherefrom my hon. friend, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee—unfortunately he is not here—got the idea which he expressed in his speech. When I talked of retaliatory action it was against the miscreants. Only one thing was in my mind, prompt and effective retaliatory action against them. From that, weaving a kind of thing of his own, he said that I was advocating something different from the policy that Government are pursuing. I never hinted at any such thing. I know that it is the correct policy that Government are pursuing. Therefore, I have nothing to do with that. But this divine idea that when anybody quietly comes and puts a bomb which explodes and kills hundreds of people, I should do nothing, I should be very kind to him and be very merciful to him, is something I cannot understand. I am not Christ; I am only Railway Minister. When I think of this I have in view what may happen tomorrow and the day after. These two incidents have happened within 72 hours. I spoke of the preven-

tive measures we have to take, searching trunks, luggage and so on. In spite of doing all these things, I cannot see the possibility of putting an end to this, then something very hard has got to be done. I merely said that these miscreants have to be handled in a way which they will understand. That was exactly the reference. From that my hon. friend should not come to the conclusion that I want something which our Government is not already wedded to.

Shri Frank Anthony really made a very useful and helpful speech to explain the position. Surely, I agree with him in most of the things he has said. Dr. Swell talked about the Nagas. I do not know whether it is the Nagas or anything, but the facts, historical and geographical, are there. I do not know if they indicate anything.

All these border areas which are vulnerable, all the 48 stations to which I made a reference, border Nagaland. The distance is from 2 to 15 k.m. I talked about lakhs of rupees, it may even come to crores, we have been spending this during the last seven years. This is the first thing of its kind. It is a culmination of a chain of events that happened. They were interfering with the track, sniping etc., which I may call terrorist activity, but this is not even terrorist activity, this is the most cowardly activity that anybody can indulge in, to get some innocent man to plant this, because there are stories, I do not know how far they are true, that he is not even told that it is a bomb, as otherwise the man would not take it. He just takes the money and puts it there. I can understand a brave man depositing it, not that I agree, but this is not even of that type.

So, during all these seven or eight years, these precautions have been taken, and that is costing the Government lakhs of rupees. In season and out of season, every year we have been.

[Shri Hem Barua]

doing it. There is nobody there except the Nagas. Whether these things are connected with the Nagas I do not know, and I cannot understand how an enquiry can be started. Whom should we call as witnesses? But the presumption is, as I said, that this is a culmination of a chain of events during the last 8 or 9 years, and that it has now taken a different form. They could not interfere with the bridges and culverts because our engineers are guarding them; they could not do anything with the track because there are soldiers in front and behind, and sometimes even the military was assisting us by having their people. Having failed in sniping and other activities, they have now resorted to this. If they were not Nagas from the beginning, they are not Nagas. I am not taking any credit or discredit for having suggested it. Therefore, we should not run away with the idea that we are wanting to discredit the Nagas, and therefore we have brought in their name. If we have not discredited them during the last 7 or 8 years, I have not discredited them by any fresh attempt on my part.

Shri Hem Barua took us to task because there was not enough doctors. I can quite grant that. He asks: what about the limbs and heads that were blown off? If they were differently counted, then possibly the number would be large, I do not know, there is a possibility, but after all, I rely on the figures that come from there.

My colleague is already on the spot, and he is having talks with the Government, and I have seen some kind of communication just now, a joint statement by him and the Assam Government, and it is all about how the trunks should be examined. That is good, I do not say it should not be

done, but this is defensive activity, and we do not come to grips with the problem. We take so many precautions and those precautions will cost us money; it causes so much inconvenience to the passengers, and I do not know if it will stop the planting or depositing of the bombs.

If any inconvenience has been caused at Lumding I am sorry but nobody expected this thing to happen, and therefore sufficient number of doctors were not present and arrangements could not be made. I am really sorry.

**Shri Hem Barua:** You should have put the siren on the air.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** That is true. Frankly speaking, I heard for the first time that there was some siren that should be put on the air. Nobody expected such things would happen. These doctors had to be rushed in. We are now alive to these facts. The Assam Government is co-operating with us fully. The army is always with us. Therefore, there is no difference so far as the agencies are concerned. We shall act as one Government to meet this challenge.

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Banerjee is not here. Shri Yadav is not here. I put substitute motion No. 1 and No. 2 to the House.

*The motions Nos. 1 and 2 were put and negatived.*

**Mr. Speaker:** I will put Mr. Madhu Limaye's substitute motion No. 3 to the vote of the House.

*The motion was put and negatived.*

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, April 26, 1966/Vaisakha 6, 1888 (Saka).*