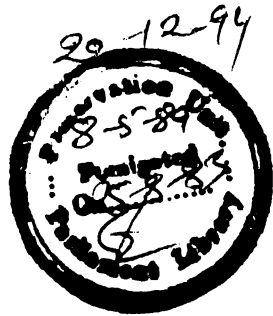




PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(PART I—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

OFFICIAL REPORT



VOLUME II, 1950

(14th March to 17th April, 1950)

FIRST SESSION
OF
PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1950

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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(PART I—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Friday, 17th March, 1950.

The House met at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

BLACK AND WHITE PEPPER

*923. **Shri Sidhva:** (a) Will the Minister of **Agriculture** be pleased to state in what part of the country black and white pepper are produced?

(b) What is the annual production and how much of it is consumed in India and what quantity is exported?

(c) What is the present price of black pepper and what was the price in the years 1946, 1947 and 1948?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Jajramdas Doulatram): (a) Pepper is produced mainly in Madras, Travancore, Cochin, Coorg, Mysore and Bombay.

(b) and (c). Two statements giving the available information are placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix V, annexure No. 23].

I may give to the hon. Member just the main points of the statement.

Production	31·6 thousand tons.
Exports	11·6 —do—

* (Figures relate to the average for three years ending 1948-49).

Price in Bombay	
1946-47	Rs. 74—6—3.
1947-48	74—5—4.
1948-49	144—4—3.
December 1949	322—9—3.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether the increase in price is due to export of large quantities or what is the other reason? Pepper was exported previously from Indonesia. Has the demand increased because of that? I want to know the reason for the increase in demand and also the increase in price.

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: The increase in demand is due to the fact that U. K and America require large quantities of pepper and the price also has risen largely on account of competition between these countries for export from India.

Shri Sidhva: Formerly, that is to say, before 1948, was pepper exported from other countries also?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: Yes. It was being exported from the Straits Settlements, from Java and from some other countries in that area.

Shri Sidhva: On account of the larger demand, may I know if it is proposed to increase the acreage under pepper?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: There is no definite programme for increasing the production of pepper.

Shri M. A. Ayyangar: Are any steps being taken by Government to have pepper sold for home consumption at a cheaper price?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: There is no proposal at present under consideration, but it will require a very heavy subsidy.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know whether any export duty is imposed on pepper and if so, what is the percentage?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: There is a 30 per cent. *ad valorem* export duty on pepper.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May I ask the hon. Minister if he is aware what the prospects for the current crop are?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: The current crop will probably be round about the same figure I have given, namely, 31 thousand tons.

Shri Kamath: Which of these two varieties—black and white—is more pungent and which is more fancied in foreign countries—black or white?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: The black one is more pungent and I think it is more in demand.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या यह सही है कि मध्य प्रदेश में वहां की सरकार ने दो पेपर की मिलें बनाने का निश्चय किया था ।

Seth Govind Das: Is it a fact that the Government of Madhya Pradesh had decided to set up two paper mills in the Province?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member is putting the supplementary under the impression that the question relates to paper. It relates to pepper, not writing paper.

Seth Govind Das: My question also is about paper. It is about a particular variety of paper.

वह पेपर भी वहां पर बनने वाला है । क्या यह बात सही नहीं है कि गवर्नमेंट ने उन पेपर फैक्टरीज में जिनमें कि यह पेपर बनने वाला है

Seth Govind Das: My question also is about paper. It is about a particular variety of paper. That kind of paper is also to be manufactured there. Is it not a fact that as far as these factories, wherein this kind of paper is to be manufactured, are concerned the Government...

Shri Tyagi: Baba, it is *Kala mirch*.

Mr. Speaker: Will he resume his seat? I think he has not understood the position, although I have made it clear.

Seth Govind Das: I am sorry, Sir. I have been mistaken.

Shri Raj Bahadur: May I know the quantity and value of pepper that is exported to hard currency and soft currency countries respectively?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: It is mostly being exported to hard currency areas.

Shri Sidhva: The hon. Minister stated that a 30 per cent. *ad valorem* export duty is being levied. Is it a fact that originally the export duty was levied on the market rate and suddenly, after a week, it was converted into 30 per cent. *ad valorem*? May I know the reason for this?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I am afraid I am not aware of that, because this subject is not being handled by my Ministry.

'GROW MORE FOOD' CAMPAIGN

*924. **Shri Sidhva:** (a) Will the Minister of **Agriculture** be pleased to state whether Lord John Boyd-Orr, former Director-General of the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization was invited to express an opinion and give advice regarding the "Grow More Food Campaign" in India?

(b) If so, what were his recommendations?

(c) What cost have Government incurred in inviting Lord Orr for this purpose?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Jairamdas Doulatram): (a) Yes.

(b) He approved in general the Government's schemes for food production and his main recommendation was to set up an Emergency Branch both at the Centre and at the Provincial and District levels for executing the schemes.

(c) His visit cost the Government Rs. 5,928 on actual travelling expenses.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether Lord Boyd-Orr expressed the opinion that Ministers should maintain contact with the peasants to enable them to see that production is increased? Did he make that recommendation?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: No special recommendation about Ministers contacting the cultivators was made. He made a recommendation that all those who are in charge of food production—largely referring to officials—should be in touch with the cultivators, but I think that Ministers also should be.

Shri Sidhva: Did he also say that if this recommendation that he has made is followed, then, there will be double the production within ten years? If that is so, may I know whether it is being followed?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: We are at present dealing with the immediate programme for the next two years.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Did he make any suggestions which have not already been made in this House in regard to Emergency Boards in the Centre and the Provinces and also in regard to contact between the Department and the peasants? (*Hear, hear.*)

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: His suggestion was a little at variance with the suggestion made here, because he wanted one official at the Centre, one official in the provinces and one official in the districts to be in direct continuous contact.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Arising out of answer to (c), may I know whether, apart from the T. A. expenses of Rs. 5,928 there were no other expenses such as boarding, lodging and various others?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: He was the Prime Minister's guest.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: What was the expenditure? I did not hear.

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: He was the Prime Minister's personal guest.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May I ask the hon. Minister if he would tell the House how far his (Lord Boyd-Orr's) suggestions have been accepted; in what directions they have been rejected; and with what result?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: None of his suggestions have been rejected. His main suggestion was that the plans that had been prepared by us were satisfactory, but with regard to the executive machinery, he made the suggestion which we are carrying out, namely, of having an Emergency Branch at the Centre and appointing special officials in the Provinces and in the districts to deal with food production plans.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May I ask what are the arrangements in the provincial headquarters and district headquarters in the various States to carry out this suggestion?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I can give only a general answer. With regard to the States, at the provincial headquarters a special officer is appointed to deal largely with food production. He is the Food Controller or the Food Commissioner. Then, at the district level, the District Collector is made responsible for food production plans in cooperation with the heads of Agricultural and other connected Departments.

Shri M. A. Ayyangar: May I ask the hon. Minister if he would kindly make that report available to all Members of this House?

An Hon. Member: There is no report.

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: It was not a report. He was very anxious not to call it a 'report', because he felt that during a mere fortnight's stay it was not possible for him to submit what may be called a 'report'. He left certain personal notes for the information of the Prime Minister and some Ministers of the Cabinet and he was very anxious to term them "confidential notes" for their own information.

Shri Kamath: Is it a fact, Sir, that the post of the Commissioner of Food Production was created in pursuance of the recommendations of Lord Boyd-Orr. And if so will that post be now abolished in view of the appointment of the Food Commissioner on the Planning Commission?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: The post was created in accordance with the recommendations of Lord Boyd-Orr. There is no question of abolition of that post.

Shri Kamath: Is the Food Commissioner being appointed on the Planning Commission now?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: Yes, he has been.

Shri Kamath: Will he not have to resign his present post?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: That does not mean that the post will be abolished. The matter is under consideration.

Shri Tyagi: May I know whether Government ever called actual cultivators for consultation with regard to the 'Grow More Food' campaign?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I think nowadays in a number of States the local district officials or Food Commissioners are getting into touch with the cultivators either directly or through co-operatives or similar associations and elicit their suggestions so far as food production is concerned.

Dr. Deshmukh: May I know, Sir, what other Ministries of the Government of India are importing such independent foreign advisers to make them wiser?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Sardar B. S. Man: Have Government at this stage formulated their final plans for growing more food, or are these plans still in a 'formative' or 'advice' stage?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: Our plans have been formulated and their details worked out in the case of some States up to the district level.

Shri A. B. Gurung: May I know whether it was the considered opinion of Lord Boyd-Orr that the people should eat less of rice and more of wheat, because rice-eating makes people communist-minded?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: There was no such suggestion.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether before departing Lord Boyd-Orr stated any proposal to invite him again?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: There was no definite proposal of that nature made by him. He was expected to come in December on account of other engagements; probably those engagements did not come about.

FOOD PROCUREMENT BONUS

*925. **Shri Sidhva:** (a) Will the Minister of Food be pleased to state whether Government of India have been giving food procurement bonus to the States?

(b) If so, what is the total amount given to each State during each of the years 1948 and 1949?

(c) What are the conditions attached to these bonuses?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Jairamdas Doulatram): (a) Yes.

(b) Two statements are laid down on the Table of the House. [See *Appendix V, annexure No. 24*].

Statement I, shows the credit given to the Provinces during the financial year 1948-49. Statement II, shows the claims received so far during the financial year 1949-50 from all States.

(c) The conditions are that the bonus paid should be utilised on schemes for increasing procurement and/or production as approved by the Ministries

of Food and Agriculture. I may give to the hon. Member the total of the bonus which was paid to provinces and administrations during the financial year 1948-49. It came to about Rs. 4,72,00,000. Claims for bonus so far received during the financial year 1949-50 from all the States which are outstanding for adjustment come to Rs. 6,00,20,000.

Shri Sidhva: How much of this bonus amount paid to the States goes to the peasants directly?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I do not think anything goes directly to the peasants, unless a particular State itself has such a plan. Normally it is given to the provinces for their food production and food procurement drives.

Shri Sidhva: To what extent is this bonus paid by the Centre utilised by the State Governments?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: Nowadays under the latest arrangements 75 per cent. of the bonus can be used for food production schemes of the States and the 25 per cent. for the food procurement schemes of the States. This is spent by the State Governments with regard to their various schemes in different parts of the States.

Shri Sidhva: The 75 and 25 per cents. do not form part of the bonus. That is quite separate?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: Out of the bonus which is earned by a State, 75 per cent. might be made available for food production plans and the 25 per cent. for assisting food procurement.

Shri Kesava Rao: May I know, Sir, which is the province showing all the production figures as procurement figures and claiming procurement bonus.

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I am afraid that is not possible. The States have to show how much they have produced. With regard to procurement, it is the tangible quantity that is procured and is in the godowns that is taken into account.

Shri Kesava Rao: Is it not a fact that some of the provinces are showing large procurement figures?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I do not think so, because they have got to account for the procurement. It is audited. It is not a matter which is taken on the basis of reports from the provinces. The whole account has first to be checked by the Accountant-General and the seniormost Accounts Officer of the province and then alone is the payment adjusted.

Shrimati Velayudhan: Which State procures the maximum amount of food-grains?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I think Madras procured the maximum.

Shri Hossain Imam: May I know if the Ministry has received any schemes from the States for the expenditure of Rs. 4 crores granted to them?

Shri Sidhva: Which province procured the least?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I have not got the figures of procurement with me; but I shall supply this information to the hon. Member. I cannot speak from memory, but it is possible that it may be Ajmer or some other small area.

IMPORT AND PRODUCTION OF FERTILISERS

*926. **Seth Govind Das:** Will the Minister of Agriculture be pleased to state the total quantity and value of chemical fertilisers imported into India in 1949-50 and that produced by Indian factories during the same period?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Jairamdas Doulatram): Import of a total quantity of 5,04,175 tons of chemical fertilisers has been arranged for during the fertiliser year ending June, 1950. Of this quantity, 1,38,175 tons have already been received and the balance is scheduled for delivery by the end of June, 1950. The quantity of chemical fertilisers produced by the Indian factories during the period July-December, 1949, is 54,168 tons. The estimated production during the period January-June, 1950, is 68,800 tons. The value of fertilisers imported in 1949-50 will be Rs. 14,65,80,000. This is sold to the provinces and other parties on "no profit no loss" basis.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : किस साल तक यह आशा की जाती है कि इस तरह के फ़र्टलाइज़र्स इस देश में तैयार होने लगेंगे, और बाहर से हमें इम्पोर्ट करने की आवश्यकता नहीं रहेगी ?

Seth Govind Das: By what year is it hoped the country would be producing such fertilizers and we would not be constrained to import them?

श्री जयरामदास दौलतराम : सिन्दरी फ़ैक्टरी बना रही है और सन् ५२ तक उसमें बन सकेंगे ।

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: The factory at Sindri is being erected and by 1952 it will be producing these fertilizers.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या सरकार के पास इस तरह के विशेषज्ञों की रिपोर्ट आई है कि लम्बे दौरान में यह फ़र्टलाइज़र्स ज़मीन के लिये नुकसानदेह होते हैं, इस लिये गोबर और गोमूत्र की खाद यहां पर ज्यादा तैयार करनी चाहिये ?

Seth Govind Das: Have the Government received any such reports from experts that in the long run these fertilizers prove harmful to the soil and so manures from cow-dung and urine should be produced here in greater quantities?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: There are two opinions on that question. We have so far tried to see that the States use the chemical fertilisers after they are mixed with other organic manures.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या सरकार के पास कोई योजना दूसरी प्रकार की कम्पोस्ट खाद बनाने की भी है ?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: We have got a scheme for making compost both

Seth Govind Das: Do the Government have any other scheme for producing compost manure?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: We have got a scheme for making compost both in towns and in villages.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या यह कम्पोस्ट खाद कहीं पर तैयार की जा रही है, या यह केवल एक योजना है ?

Seth Govind Das: Is this compost manure actually being manufactured anywhere or is it only a scheme?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: The compost is not a paper scheme. I think last year about 7 lakh tons were produced.

Shri Goenka: May I know the quantity of sulphate of ammonia imported in the year 1949 and its price?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I have got separate figures for 1948-49. The total quantity of fertilisers imported was 1,85,890 tons and the total value was Rs. 5,68,225.

Shri Goenka: May I know whether it is a fact that an offer was made by the Soviet authorities for the supply of 50 to 100 thousand tons of sulphate of ammonia and the same was rejected?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: We imported a fairly large quantity from Russia. It may be that a particular lot may have been rejected on account of price.

Shri Goenka: Is it a fact that the order was placed for 400,000 tons of sulphate of ammonia with the High Commissioner after rejecting the offer of the Soviet authorities and only 9,000 tons were obtained through the High Commissioner?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: Much more than 9,000 tons have been imported. I think a large part of the quantity which we have received so far is through the High Commissioner. The difficulty was that the parties who negotiated through the High Commissioner were not able to send us the goods in time and later on, after devaluation they wanted higher prices; ultimately we had to break off the contract with those parties.

Shri M. C. Shah: May I know whether the quantity of the unfulfilled contract was purchased from hard currency area or soft currency area?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I am afraid, I have not got the figures separately for hard and soft currency areas, but I will be able to give the information to the hon. Member.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May I ask if the 'Grow More Food' Campaign suffered considerably because sulphate of ammonia was not available in time for the season?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I cannot say it suffered considerably but it must have had some effect, I believe, in Madras.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: With regard to the two opinions just referred to by the hon. Minister, may I know what is the opinion of the cultivators?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: The cultivators also seem to have two opinions because some of them are quite ready to use the other fertilizers also.

Shri M. A. Ayyangar: Has anything been done by his Ministry to increase the output of the Alwaye factory, to its maximum capacity?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I do not see how anything has to be done by the Agriculture or Food Ministry but something has to be done by the Finance Ministry and the Ministry of Industry and Supply. I understand they have been given certain financial facilities.

Shri M. A. Ayyangar: May I know what is its total capacity and what is the quantity that it has produced this year?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: It has produced about 85,000 tons, but I believe most of them are ear-marked for Travancore and Cochin Governments.

Shri M. A. Ayyangar: May I know what is its total capacity?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I am afraid, I have not got the information handy.

Oh. Mukhtiar Singh: What steps have been taken to utilize nitre-earth, a type of artificial manure and which has got 12 per cent. nitrogen and which is available in abundance in this country?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I may inform the hon. Member that steps are being taken to use all the local available fertilizers, but I am prepared to admit that we have got to go a great way yet.

Dr. Pattabhi: I want to know as to what progress has been achieved in the direction of separating the fuel content of cow-dung from the manurial content, on which research was going on in the Agricultural College at Pusa?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: It has not yet reached a stage where it can be commercialized but the research has been done and experiments conducted on both the village and cottage basis.

Dr. Pattabhi: Have the experiments been abandoned?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: They have not been abandoned. It is not intended that they should be abandoned.

CONSTITUTION HOUSE IN NEW DELHI

*927. **Dr. M. M. Das:** Will the Minister of Works, Mines and Power be pleased to state:

(a) the annual income of Constitution House in New Delhi for the years 1948-49 and 1949-50; and

(b) the expenditure incurred on the Constitution House including the salaries of clerks and menial staffs, water and electric charges, repair of the building and furnitures for the years 1948-49 and 1949-50?

The Minister of Works, Mines and Power (Shri Gadgil):

	Rs.
(a) 1948-49	2,18,806
1949-50 (up to 28th February 1950)	1,75,327
(b) 1948-49	1,93,499
1949-50 (up to 28th February 1950)	2,43,922

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know the monthly income from the bar in the Constitution House?

Shri Gadgil: Undoubtedly there must be some, but I require notice for further particulars.

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know, Sir, in view of the fact that large number of foreigners and tourists reside in the Constitution House during their sojourn in New Delhi, whether Government is contemplating to continue the bar in the Constitution House?

Shri Gadgil: Even if the bar at the Constitution House is closed, there is plenty of other bars in the City, where the foreigners can drink to their hearts' content.

Dr. M. M. Das: May I ask whether it is a fact that there is a proposal to reduce the rent of the Constitution House?

Shri Gadgil: There is no such proposal, Sir.

Shri Kamath: Do the records show how much of this income is from M.P.s and how much from non-M.P.s?

Shri Gadgil: It is possible to give that information, provided I am given sufficient time.

Dr. Deshmukh: Is it not a fact that the caterer has complained that he would close down the bar because there are not sufficient patrons in the Constitution House?

Shri Gadgil: Apparently the hon. Member is more in touch with the caterer than myself.

श्री भट्ट : क्या माननीय मंत्री बतलायेंगे कि कान्स्टीट्यूशन हाउस के खर्च के अनुपात में जो आमदनी होती है वह कितने परसेन्ट सालाना होती है ?

Shri Bhatt: Will the hon. Minister be pleased to state as to what is the percentage of income per annum in comparison to the expenditure incurred on the Constitution House?

श्री गैडगिल : यह तो अर्थमेटिक का हिसाब है और साल के साल खर्च के एमाउन्ट और आमदनी के एमाउन्ट बदलते रहते हैं ।

Shri Gadgil: This is an arithmetical question. The amounts of income and expenditure vary from year to year.

Shri Sidhva: May I know, besides the M.P.s and the officials who else are allowed to stay in the Constitution House, and what is the policy?

Shri Gadgil: The policy is that first preference is given to the Members of this hon. House, the second preference is to those who come for official business; the third preference is given to those who come for semi-official business; the fourth preference is given to newspaper people and lastly to the general public, if vacancies are still available.

Mr. Speaker: I think we shall now proceed to the next question.

SONEGAON CIVIL AERODROME (NAGPUR)

***928. Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Sonegaon Civil Aerodrome (Nagpur) is equipped to permit of landing of aeroplanes at night, particularly in foggy weather; and

(b) if not, what action Government propose to take in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Khurshed Lal): (a) The Sonegaon Civil Aerodrome is adequately equipped to ensure the safe landing of aeroplanes at night under conditions of average visibility. If, however, the visibility is poor, as it might sometimes prove to be during the peak of the monsoon season, the aircraft can be diverted to any one of the many alternative aerodromes *en route* where the weather conditions are normally better.

(b) It is proposed to install by the end of this year an additional facility, namely, S.C.S.51—Instrument landing System. This will provide a reliable radio aid to landing and approach under adverse conditions, if the aircraft flying *via* Nagpur are equipped with the corresponding airborne equipment.

Shri Kamath: In view of the night air mail introduced recently, is there any proposal before Government to equip this airport—the Sonagon Civil Aerodrome—as fully as the Santa Cruz airport?

Shri Khurshed Lal: The only additional thing that Santa Cruz Aerodrome has got is S.C.S. 51 and this we are now installing in Nagpur.

Shri Kamath: Is that not in Nagpur at present?

Shri Khurshed Lal: No.

Shri Kamath: When is it going to be equipped?

Shri Khurshed Lal: The hon. Member would have heard it. I said by the end of this year.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Is there any such equipment at the airport at Delhi?

Shri Khurshed Lal: Not yet.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: May I ask when do the Government propose to have this equipment in Delhi, where most planes have to land?

Shri Khurshed Lal: As soon as Government can have funds available.

Shri Sidhva: In view of safety of passengers, may I ask why this instrument in Nagpur is to be fitted in December and not earlier? Is it on account of shortage of money?

Shri Khurshed Lal: We have ordered the instrument and as soon as it comes it will be installed.

Shri Sidhva: Is it not available?

Shri Khurshed Lal: It has to come from abroad.

Shri Kamath: May I ask which are the other airports to which the hon. Minister said the aircraft could be diverted in foggy weather?

Shri Khurshed Lal: They can be diverted to Bhopal, Jubbulpore, Akola, Raipur, Jharsuguda and Hakimpet.

Shri Kamath: What is the distance of these airports from Nagpur?

Shri Khurshed Lal: It is a matter of geography.

Shri Kamath: The hon. Minister has replied that it is a matter of geography. It is unfair.

Mr. Speaker: It is not unfair. The hon. Member can get the information from any book he likes.

Shri Kamath: Unless the landing grounds are fairly close to this airport, there is no point in having alternative landing grounds.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order, he wants to enter into an argument over it.

CONSTRUCTION OF A RAILWAY LINE

*929. **Shri V. K. Reddi:** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state:

(a) whether any investigation was conducted as regards construction of a railway line connecting Nellore and Cuddappah and Cuddappah and Kurnool via Nandyal; and

(b) if so, at what stage the scheme is?

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopaldaswami): (a) The answer is in the negative.

(b) In view of the reply to part (a), the question does not arise.

Shri V. K. Reddi: May I know whether there is any prospect of Government considering this in the near future?

Shri Gopaldaswami: Government do not consider at present that it is such an urgent project that it should be taken up immediately.

Shri M. A. Ayyangar: May I know whether the Minister knows that repeated representations have been made both by the District Boards of Nellore and Cuddappah and also by individual persons that Nellore should be connected with Cuddappah by a railway line?

Shri Gopaldaswami: Unfortunately the Railway Board has no knowledge of any representation to that effect which had been received here.

Shri Rathnaswamy: May I know whether there is any proposal to construct a railway line between Cuddappah and Mysore and, if so, when is it likely to be taken up?

Shri Gopaldaswami: No such line is under contemplation just at present.

Shri V. K. Reddi: Will Government now undertake an investigation of these lines?

Mr. Speaker: That is more or less a request for action.

MAINTENANCE OF GARDENS IN GOVERNMENT BUNGALOWS

*930. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** Will the Minister of Works, Mines and Power be pleased to state the total amount spent by the Government on the maintenance of gardens in the bungalows of officers drawing Rs. 3,000 and above in Delhi during the years 1948 and 1949?

The Minister of Works, Mines and Power (Shri Gadgil): The total expenditure during the financial years 1948-49 and 1949-50 was Rs. 1,42,877 and Rs. 1,54,882 respectively.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know the expenditure per bungalow per month if it is available?

Shri Gadgil: There are altogether 88 bungalows of this type. The monthly expenditure on an average is Rs. 140, and the average acreage is about 2½. The average employment is two *malis* and each *mali* gets about Rs. 60 to 70.

Sardar Hukam Singh: What is the expenditure per bungalow per Member of Parliament?

Shri Gadgil: I require notice of that.

Shrimati Durgabai: May I know how much of this is being recovered from those who are occupying those bungalows?

Shri Gadgil: So far as the Government servants are concerned, the present position is that it is entirely borne by the Government, but the proposal is under consideration under which Government will pay Rs. 80 to the occupant and fix the responsibility for maintaining the garden on the occupant.

Shri Sidhva: May I know since when this policy of the Government bearing the entire cost of maintaining the gardens has been in existence?

Shri Gadgil: Ever since this Government took over all legacies, good and bad, from the old Government.

Shri Sidhva: When even M.P.s who are occupying bungalows are charged the full amount, at times even a greater amount, may I know the reason why for 2½ years Government have not taken this matter up?

Mr. Speaker: This is an argument.

Sardar B. S. Man: May I know the reasons why Government is not converting these flower gardens into vegetable gardens?

Shri Gadgil: In most of these bungalows it is the fact, Sir.

Shri Shiva Rao: May I ask my hon. friend whether it is a fact that the occupants of these bungalows have to pay for their gardens if they grow vegetables but the gardens are maintained by Government, if they grow flowers?

Shri Gadgil: I am not able to answer that question. I require notice.

RAILWAY LINKS

***932. Shri Kanaka Sabai:** (a) Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state whether Government have received representation from the public for connecting (i) Villupuram or Tindivanam stations on the S.I. Railway with Tiruvannamalai *via* Gingee by a new Railway line and (ii) Thirukolur or Vridaachulam stations on the S. I. Railway with Kallakurichi by a new Railway line?

(b) If so, have Government made any survey or considered the proposal and if so, with what effect?

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopalaswami): (a) No representation has been received for connecting Villupuram or Tindivanam stations on the South Indian Railway with Tiruvannamalai, but representations have been received for connecting Tirukoilur with Chinnasalem *via* Kallakurichi.

(b) No survey has yet been made. The project to connect Chinnasalem with Chingleput *via* Kallakurichi and Tirukoilur was, however, recently considered by the Central Board of Transport and it was decided that the project should be held over for the present.

ELECTRIC TRAIN SERVICE ON SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY

***933. Shri Kanaka Sabai:** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state when the proposal to electrify the railway line from Tambaram on the S.I. Railway to Chingleput and then to Villupuram will be given effect to and if not, why not?

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopalaswami): Investigations are in hand for the extension of electric traction from Tambaram to Chingleput. The Government are not in a position to say at present when this scheme will be taken up.

The question of further extension to Villupuram will be examined in due course as a second phase of extension.

Shri Rathnaswamy: May I know whether there is any scheme under contemplation to electrify the railway line between Madras and Avadi?

Shri Gopalaswami: No, not at present, but the question will be examined in connection with the general scheme of electrification in urban areas.

Shri Rathnaswamy: Is it a fact that a representation was made to the Central Government that this line between Madras and Avadi should be electrified?

Shri Gopalaswami: Perhaps it has been made, but I am unable to say when it was made.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May I ask what stands in the way of the Government considering the scheme of electrifying the line between Tambaram and Chingleput?

Shri Gopalaswami: Nothing except that we have fairly finalised the scheme for that purpose from the South Indian Railway, and the General Manager has been asked to get into touch with our Consulting Engineers as regards the details of the scheme and as soon as we have the scheme okayed by the Consulting Engineers, we will take it up.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May I know when it is likely to be finalised and when work will begin?

Shri Gopalaswami: I think the General Manager must be in communication with the Consulting Engineers now. We should be able to get their reply within two or three months and then we will see what should be done to implement it.

Prof. Ranga: How much is that expected to cost? Capital outlay.

Shri Gopalaswami: I am afraid I have not got the figure here, but I should be glad to give it to the hon. Member if he is interested in it.

Prof. Ranga: Thank you. : f

Shri Gautam: Which other sections will have electric trains?

Shri Gopalaswami: We have got proposals for the electrification of various railway systems, but at present we are not able to take up any of the larger schemes of electrification because we have not got the funds and they are not in a stage when we can straightaway go forward with them.

ELECTRIFICATION OF RAILWAY STATIONS

*934. **Shri Kanaka Sabai:** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state whether Government have any scheme to electrify such Railway stations where the towns are electrified, if so, what is it and if none, why?

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopalaswami): Electrification of stations is receiving the special attention of the Government and within the available resources it is being carried out on a programme basis. Power is obtained from local distributors provided continuous supply is assured and charges are reasonable.

In pursuance of this policy 37 stations were electrified during 1948-49, another 74 stations will have been electrified by the end of the current financial year, and it is proposed to provide this amenity at yet another 126 stations during 1950-51.

Shri Rathnaswamy: May I know whether there is any proposal to electrify the railway station at Cuddappah?

Shri Gopalaswami: Yes, Cuddappah is in the programme for 1950-51.

Shri Kanaka Sabai: Does the Government know that wiring has been completed in some stations but connections have not been given?

Shri Gopalaswami: If the hon. Member will bring to my notice any specific cases, I will enquire into them.

Shri Venkataraman: Will Railway Workers' quarters also be electrified?

Shri Gopalaswami: The present policy is to electrify them.

Shri Raj Bahadur: May I know the number and names of stations on the Delhi-Bandikui Chord which are going to be electrified, with special reference to Alwar?

Shri Gopalaswami: Quite a number of stations on the B.B. and C.I. will be electrified. Some of them have been electrified, some are being electrified and some will be electrified in the near future.

Seth Govind Das: What is the total number of stations which are not electrified so far though the towns near them are electrified?

Shri Gopalaswami: I have already given that information. I said 87 stations have been electrified and 74 will have been electrified by 31st March and another 126 stations will be electrified in 1950-51.

Dr. V. Subramaniam: How many stations are electrified?

Shri Gopalaswami: That is a mere matter of arithmetic.

Dr. V. Subramaniam: Will the third class waiting rooms be fitted with fans?

Shri Gopalaswami: As the hon. Member knows the provision of fans in third class waiting halls has a fairly high priority amongst amenities for passengers.

RAILWAY PLOTS FOR 'GROW MORE FOOD'

*935. **Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government requested the Railway Board to prepare a list of such plots as are lying useless in their possession;

(b) whether the Government has in mind to utilise those plots for 'Grow More Food'; and

(c) if so, how far have they progressed in the matter?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Jairamdas Doulatram): (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) Lists of surplus cultivable land have already been received by certain State Governments from the Railways concerned. Some other States have instructed their district officials to undertake immediately a survey of spare lands and to enter into direct negotiations with the Railway authorities. The Ministry of Railways, who were approached on behalf of the State Governments have also agreed to relax, wherever possible, the terms and conditions for leasing of Railway lands so as to make the offer more attractive to the actual cultivators.

Shri S. O. Samanta: Is Government aware that there are vast marshy places lying by the side of the railway lines where fish and especially money crops may be cultivated?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I do not know to which area the Member is referring. If he is referring to the narrow strips of land along the railway line, they are considered by the State Governments to be uneconomical for use for the purpose of food crops.

Shri Audikesavalu Naicker: Is it the intention of Government to auction the lease of these lands?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: The lands available are being leased to the State Governments and they in turn lease them to the Cultivators.

Prof. Ranga: Sir, is it left to the State Governments whether or not to lease these lands or whether the local Railway authorities are free to lease them out to such cultivators who may require them?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: There are two types of land. First of all there is the narrow strip of land along the railway line, and the Railway authorities find it inconvenient to lease those lands. The State Governments also feel that for lack of irrigational and other facilities, it will not be economical to use them for food crops. The second type comprises of large blocks which are now being negotiated for between the State Governments and the Railway authorities with our help and cooperation and some of the Provincial Governments have started sending us the figures relating to acreage which they have been able to secure from the Railway authorities. The first instalment shows the following figures:—

Bombay	428	acres
Madras	134	..
U.P.	1900	..
Madhya Pradesh	108	..
Hyderabad	380	..
Delhi	95	..

We expect to get figures of further land being made available.

Shri J. N. Hazarika: May I know whether the Government of India have requested the Government of Assam to hand over some forests lying in the Sadiya frontier tracts for Grow More Food programme?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I will require notice of that. I am not aware of any particular request of that nature.

Shri S. O. Samanta: Is Government aware that some of those plots are leased out every year at a nominal amount by the Railways?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: That may be so. I am not aware of the terms or the prices at which the Railway authorities lease out directly.

Dr. Deshmukh: Has any suggestion with regard to cultivation of trees especially timber along the railway lines been made by State Governments?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I am not aware of any request of State Governments to grow trees along the railway lines.

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS GUIDE BOOKS

*936. **Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state:

(a) the cost of printing each edition of Post and Telegraph Guide; and

(b) the total number of copies of each edition of Post and Telegraph Guide printed for sale and for official purposes?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Khurshed Lal): (a) The cost of printing the July, 1948, edition is Rs. 1,76,948/8/-.

(b)	(i)	{	Sale copies =	26,800	
			Official copies =	15,700	
			Total	42,500	
(ii)	{	{	Sale copies =	17,600	(under print)
			Official copies =	20,100	
			Total	37,700	

Shri S. C. Samanta: Is the hon. Minister aware that the printing of the Post and Telegraph Guide and other forms is so bad that it can be read only with great difficulty? If so, what do Government propose to improve the printing?

Shri Khurshed Lal: We will try our best to improve the printing.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know the names of the printing presses which are entrusted with the work of printing these guides, forms etc?

Shri Khurshed Lal: Most of the printing is done by the Controller of Printing and Stationery at Aligarh.

श्री भट्ट : क्या यह गाइड सिर्फ अंग्रेजी में ही छापी जाती है या दूसरी भाषाओं में भी छापी जाती है ?

Shri Bhatt: Is this Guide printed in English only or in other languages also?

श्री खुरशीद लाल : अभी तक तो अंग्रेजी में ही छापी जाती है ।

Shri Khurshed Lal: As yet it is printed in English only.

श्री भट्ट : क्या सरकार के सामने यह योजना है कि वह हिन्दी में भी छापी जाय ?

Shri Bhatt: Have the Government any proposal to print it in Hindi also?

श्री खुरशीद लाल : इस पर जरूर गौर किया जायगा ।

Shri Khurshed Lal: This matter shall be taken into consideration.

Shri S. C. Samanta: How many copies of the Posts and Telegraphs Guide are actually sold every year?

Shri Khurshed Lal: I require notice.

श्री भट्ट : मंत्री महाशय ने फरमाया है कि गौर किया जायगा । क्या यह लाजिमी नहीं है कि यह हिन्दी में छापी जाय ?

Shri Bhatt: The hon. Minister has said that the matter would be taken into consideration. Is it not essential that it may be printed in Hindi?

Mr. Speaker: That does not arise.

Shri S. C. Samanta: Is Government aware that the shortage of forms causes great inconvenience to the public?

Shri Khurshed Lal: I thought this related to the P. and T. guides.

PUBLIC HOLIDAYS FOR C. P. W. D. PERSONNEL

*937. **Shri Dwivedi:** Will the Minister of Works, Mines and Power be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that unlike other similar cases the Central P.W.D. personnel including labour and technicians are entitled to only eight days as public holidays as compared to 21 days in other cases; and

(b) if this is a fact the cause of such discrimination?

The Minister of Works, Mines and Power (Shri Gadgil): (a) and (b). According to existing orders, work-charged employees of the Central Public Works Department are allowed only eight days in a year with pay. At present there is no uniformity in the matter of holidays granted in such establishments, and Government are considering the question of adopting a uniform basis for the purpose.

Shri Dwivedi: Is it a fact that on the occasion of the inauguration of the Republic when 26th and 27th of January were declared holidays, two days were deducted out of the eight days' leave of such persons?

Shri Gadgil: The reply is that it has been decided to add these two days to the number of eight.

Dr. Deshmukh: Does the Minister know that the Australian Government allows only 18 holidays in a year?

Shri Gadgil: I am prepared to take this information from the hon. Member.

RAILWAY LINE BETWEEN CHAMPA AND KORBA

*938. **Shri Zangre:** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state whether it is a fact that there is a proposal for the construction of a branch line from Champa to Korba in Bilaspur district of B. N. Railway?

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopaldaswami): The proposal to construct a line between Champa and Korba is under consideration.

Shri Zangre: Has the Government made any survey of these proposed lines?

Shri Gopaldaswami: Survey has been made, the project has been sanctioned and it was given a fairly high priority but it has been held up because the development in that area which the State Government contemplated could not go forward in the coming year as they could not obtain the necessary loan for the purpose. So this has been held up for the time being.

Shri Zangre: What is the estimated expenditure for constructing this line?

Shri Gopalaswami: On the basis of the survey report of the whole programme, the rough cost of construction of the line upto Korba will be about Rs. 75 lakhs.

SCHOOL FOR CHILDREN OF RAILWAY STAFF AT BHARATPUR

***939. Shri Raj Bahadur:** (a) Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state whether any school is being run for the children of the railway staff at Bharatpur junction?

(b) If so, what is the number of students at present in the school and what is the annual expenditure incurred on the school?

(c) What is the amount of the aid granted to the school by the Railway Department and the Rajasthan Government respectively?

(d) Is it a fact that the Railway Department has refused to grant adequate aid to the school and the school is about to be closed on account of paucity of funds?

(e) What is the distance between the Railway colony and the nearest similar school in the city?

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopalaswami): (a) Yes, a school is being run by the staff of the Railway themselves.

(b) The number of students in the school at present is 118. Government are informed that the annual expenditure of the school for 1948-49 was approximately Rs. 6850 and that for the current year is estimated at Rs. 7400.

(c) A grant of Rs. 1800 was made from the Staff Benefit Fund of the B. B. and C. I. Railway in the year 1948-49 and for the current year the grant will be approximately Rs. 630. No grant is made to the school directly from Railway revenues. A sum of Rs. 420 was received by the school from the Bharatpur State in 1948-49, and the amount of aid for the current year is not yet known.

(d) The hon. Member is presumably referring to the reduction in grant from the Staff Benefit Fund of the B. B. and C. I. Railway. This has been necessitated by the need for economy in the Staff Benefit Fund expenditure as a result of the reduction in the *per capita* contribution from Railway revenues to the Staff Benefit Fund, which was temporarily increased during the last war. Government have no information that the school is about to be closed down on account of paucity of funds.

(e) About 2½ miles.

Shri Raj Bahadur: May I know whether any proposal to place the school on a strong footing is under the consideration of the Government?

Shri Gopalaswami: We have heard from the authorities in charge of the School that there is some negotiation going on between them and the Rajasthan Government for the latter to take over the school.

Shri Raj Bahadur: May I know whether Government propose to extend any substantial aid in order to make matters smooth for the school?

Shri Gopalaswami: The Railways will consider the question of making some grant and give some assistance.

Shrimati Durgabai: What are the conditions attached to these grants, and also may I know whether it is incumbent on the State Government to make up a similar amount?

Shri Gopalaswami: I do not know what the hon. Member is driving at.

Shrimati Durgabai: My question is, what are the conditions attached to these grants? Is it necessary for the particular State Government which wants to get the grant, to make up a similar amount?

Shri Gopalaswami: There is no such question. The idea is that the primary responsibility for educational institutions of this sort is on the State Government. If the State Government takes over this school, as it will cater mainly to the children of the employees of the Railway, the Railways are prepared to consider the giving of some assistance.

GRAM AND GRAINS FOR RATION AREA IN AJMER

***940. Pandit M. B. Bhargava:** (a) Will the Minister of Food be pleased to state the rate at and proportion in which wheat and gram and other coarse food grains are being supplied at the ration shop in the statutory ration area in the state of Ajmer?

(b) What are the rates at which barley, *Jowar* and gram are being sold in the famine-stricken rural area of Ajmer and Beawar sub-division of Ajmer?

(c) Are Government aware that the supply of coarse foodgrains in the rural area at higher prices than that in the urban area is causing discontent amongst the rural population of the State?

(d) Is it a fact that the gram and barley supplied in the State of Ajmer is bore-bitten and of a very bad quality?

(e) What is the quantity of foodgrain supplied per adult to a manual labourer in the Ajmer City and what is the quantity of foodgrain that is supplied per adult agriculturist in rural area and what are the reasons for the disparity?

(f) Is it a fact that the foodgrain supplied in the rural area for weeks in the month of January was only gram and that of a very bad quality?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Jairamdas Doulatram): (a) and (b). Two statements are laid on the Table of the House. [See *Appendix V, annexure No. 25.*]

(c) It is understood that there is a demand from the rural areas to subsidise the coarse grains, *i.e.*, *jowar*, gram and barley. It has not been possible to meet this demand as these are indigenous grains which are not subsidised.

(d) Certain consignments of barley and gram supplied to Ajmer were from previous year's crop and were weevilled but the grains were supplied only after inspection by the Ajmer Administration and proper cleaning where necessary.

(e) The quantity of grains supplied per adult per day to a heavy manual labourer in towns under statutory rationing is eight chhataks. The quantity of grain supplied per adult in the areas under informal rationing is six chhataks because foodgrains are also available in the open market and there is no ban on sale.

(f) During the month of January 1950 the labourers working on the test works were supplied gram and barley but others in the rural areas were given gram and *jowar* since stocks of barley in Government godowns were inadequate.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: May I know whether the rate at which wheat is being supplied in the urban areas is lower than the rate at which barley and gram are being supplied in the rural areas?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: There is no difference in the price at which these grains are given from the government godowns. But because the transport charges to the rural areas have to be added, therefore the price at which these grains are being sold at the ration shops in the urban areas is less than the price at which they are being sold in the rural areas.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: Sir, my point is, whether the wheat that is being supplied in the urban areas is much cheaper than the barley and gram that are being supplied in the rural areas.

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: We supply imported wheat, and on imported wheat there is a subsidy. Therefore the imported wheat is being sold at a reduced price in Ajmer, whereas in the rural areas the barley and *jowar* are being sold at issue prices at Ajmer, plus the transport charge on those grains. Wheat will be cheaper at Ajmer than *jowar* and barley in the rural areas, because the wheat is being subsidised.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: Is this peculiar state with regard to Ajmer only, or is it common throughout the country?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: In Ajmer and Delhi the subsidy is higher. I do not think in other Provinces the wheat will be as cheap as in Ajmer and Delhi.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: May I know whether it is a fact that the barley supplied to Ajmer was the barley rejected by Delhi and Saurashtra, as regards its quality?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: Not rejected. It was surrendered by Saurashtra because it was not necessary for them as they had more of local grain available and the Ajmer administration was asked to accept it only if it was found satisfactory.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: Is it a fact that the barley was forced upon the Ajmer administration notwithstanding the fact that it was pointed out that it was of a very bad quality?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I am not aware of that. I am prepared to go into the matter.

Oh. Ranbir Singh: May I know the reasons why the rate for wheat is cheap in Delhi as compared with other places?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: As I said, imported grain is subsidised before it is sold out to the local people. Therefore it is cheaper than other grains.

Shri Satish Chandra: Sir, is it not a fact that such unnatural pricing policy results in increased consumption of wheat and discourages consumption of coarse foodgrains?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. That will be a matter of argument.

Prof. Ranga: What steps have been taken by the Government to help the people of Ajmer and the neighbourhood to purchase gram from East Punjab and import it into their own places?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: This gram was from the Punjab States.

Prof. Ranga: Gram is selling at a much lower price in East Punjab. Why are not the people in Ajmer allowed to bring it on their own accord and consume it?

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: If Ajmer wants to purchase gram from PEPSU there is no ban. As a matter of fact Ajmer is buying it from PEPSU.

ARRAH-SASARAM LIGHT RAILWAY AND DEHRI-ROHTAS RAILWAY IN BIHAR

***941. Dr. R. S. Singh:** (a) Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state whether the Government of India have any control over the management of Arrah-Sasaram Light Railway and Dehri-Rohtas Railway of the Shahabad district of Bihar?

(b) If not, do Government propose to take over those railways under their own management?

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopaldaswami): (a) No.

(b) No, as the power to acquire these lines vests in the District Board of Shahabad and not in the Government of India.

Dr. R. S. Singh: Is it a fact that the matter of taking over a similar railway line running between Bukhtiarpur and Rajgir is being considered?

Shri Gopaldaswami: What is the question, please?

Mr. Speaker: The question is whether the line between Bukhtiarpur and Rajgir is being considered by the Government of India.

Shri Gopaldaswami: Not that I know of.

DISCHARGE OF RAILWAY WORKERS

***943. Shri Joachim Alva:** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of railway workers or officers whose services have been dispensed with in 1949-50 for alleged activities prejudicial to the safety of the State; and

(b) the total number of railway workers or officers whose services have been dispensed with in 1949-50 for corruption?

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopaldaswami): (a) 274.

(b) 123.

Shri Joachim Alva: Sir, may I know whether these officers and men working in the Railways were given a chance to explain their innocence or prove their guilt?

Shri Gopaldaswami: Of course, when they are accused of certain things, they are given a chance to defend themselves before orders are passed.

Shri Joachim Alva: Was the charge against them the commission of any overt acts or only the holding of any political opinions?

Shri Gopaldaswami: It depends upon the particular case. There are certain cases where they are connected with organisations whose political opinions or programmes are directed to the unsettling of the State here. In such cases we had to take action against them and perhaps the procedure followed in those cases is not as full as it is in ordinary cases.

Shri Joachim Alva: Under category (b)—railway workers or officers whose services have been dispensed with is their number greater in 1950 than in the previous year, or is it less than in the previous year?

Shri Gopaldaswami: I am afraid there I am beaten, I require notice.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

FOOD, COTTON, JUTE AND OIL-SEEDS (REQUIREMENTS)

*931. **Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi:** (a) Will the Minister of Agriculture be pleased to state the total annual demand in India for (i) staple food; (ii) Cotton; (iii) Jute; and (iv) Oil-seeds?

(b) What acreages of land in the case of each of the above items are necessary to produce yields adequate to our demand?

(c) What are the acreages under cultivation at present?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Jairamdas Doulatram): (a) The annual demands for staple food, cotton, jute and oil-seeds are not static, but vary from year to year. In case of foodgrains, in a free economy, the requirements would depend, *inter alia*, upon the level of prices and the method of distribution. If control is maintained, demand will depend upon the scale of rations. It will also be affected to some extent by the availability of supplementary foods, such as pulses etc. In respect of cotton, jute and oil-seeds, the requirements would not only be conditioned by the internal economy but also by the demand for exports. It is, therefore, difficult to give precise figures of demands for these commodities. However, in order to give a rough indication, a statement on actual consumption of these commodities based on the average of the last three years is laid on the Table of the House [See Appendix V, annexure No. 26.]

Due allowance should be made for normal increase in population.

(b) A statement of acreage of land required to produce the average quantity of each of the commodities during the last three years is placed on the Table of the House [See Appendix V, annexure No. 27.]

These figures are based on the existing yields per acre. Every effort is being made to increase the productivity of each acre of land.

(c) A statement is laid on the Table of the House [See Appendix V, annexure No. 28.]

NATIONAL HIGHWAYS

*942. **Shri S. N. Das:** (a) Will the Minister of Transport be pleased to lay on the Table of the House a list of Highways so far declared by or under law made by Parliament to be national highways?

(b) What is the recurring annual expenditure for their maintenance?

The Minister of State for Transport and Railways (Shri Santhanam): (a) No highway has yet been declared to be a National Highway by or under law made by Parliament under Item 28 in List I of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution. Pending the enactment of such a Law, which will take time, Article 282 of the Constitution enables the continuance of the arrangements which existed before the Constitution came into force. Under these arrangements, the Central Government will continue to provide funds, as far as Central finances will permit, for approved development and maintenance of roads provisionally classed as National Highways.

A List of the roads which have been provisionally classed as National Highways is laid on the Table of the House [See Appendix V, annexure No. 29.]

(b) The reported expenditure on maintenance last year was Rs. 229.26 lakhs in round figures. The Maintenance expenditure varies from year to year on account of repairs of flood damages and other causes.

WIRELESS COMMUNICATION LINK WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

***944. Shri Satish Chandra:** (a) Will the Minister of **Communications** be pleased to state the name of countries having direct wireless communication link with India?

(b) Have the negotiations to reopen the link with Japan which was suspended during the war been completed with the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers?

(c) If so, what will be the amount necessary to establish and operate the link?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Khurshed Lal): (a) Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, China, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

(b) Yes, with the exception of the question of rates which is still under correspondence.

(c) No additional capital expenditure is involved in the establishment of the wireless circuit as it is proposed to work it with the existing equipment, but operational expenses estimated at Rs. 2,500 per mensem will be involved.

A RAILWAY STATION AT PACHCHAKUPPAM

***945. Shri Obaidullah:** Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is a proposal to open a Railway Station at Pachchakuppam in the Katpadi-Jalarpet section of the M. and S. M. Railway;

(b) whether the station, signals etc., have been constructed in pursuance of the proposals;

(c) whether the station has been opened for traffic; and

(d) if not, why not?

The Minister of State for Transport and Railways (Shri Santhanam): (a) to (c). Pachchakuppam is a crossing station provided with signals, etc. for purposes of crossing trains only. It is not open for the booking of traffic, nor is this contemplated.

(d) A proposal to open this crossing station for the booking of passengers was investigated, but it was found that the earnings would not justify this.

AIR-CONDITIONED COACHES

***946. Shri Narayana Deo:** Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state whether Government are aware of the public demand for air-conditioned coaches in trains on the Madras-Calcutta line?

The Minister of State for Transport and Railways (Shri Santhanam): The Government are not aware of any public demand in this respect. The matter will, however, be considered on its merits.

TRAIN ATTACKS ON ASSAM RAILWAYS

***947. Shri J. N. Hazarika:** Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state:

(a) how many train attacks on Assam Railways have been committed during the year ending 28th February, 1950;

- (b) how many persons were killed and injured in such attacks;
- (c) what amount of loss and damages resulted from such attacks;
- (d) the amounts, if any, claimed and paid, as compensation for loss of life and property; and
- (e) what was the nature of the attacks and who committed them?

The Minister of State for Transport and Railways (Shri Santhanam): (a) four.

(b) Two persons, both railway employees, were killed, and 15 persons were injured, including three railway employees.

(c) Railway cash amounting to Rs. 62,253/9/- was stolen in two of the cases mentioned in the reply under (a). No other public loss or damage was involved in these cases. In the two other cases, certain belongings of passengers were looted by mobs attacking the trains, but the extent of loss or damage is not known, the cases being still under Police investigation.

(d) Nothing has been claimed or paid so far.

(e) Two were cases of dacoities involving railway cash; one a case of two Class III passengers being robbed of their belongings by miscreants; and the last an attack by a mob of about a hundred on a train which was stopped by pulling the alarm chain. All remain under Police investigation.

EXPORT OF *gur* FROM UTTAR PRADESH

*948. **Shri Barman:** (a) Will the Minister of **Agriculture** be pleased to state what quantity of *gur* is normally exported from Uttar Pradesh to West Bengal?

(b) Are Government aware that the people in the rural areas mostly depend upon *gur*, as sugar is scarcely distributed in those areas?

(c) If so, what arrangement Government propose to make for those rural areas in West Bengal, since export of *gur* out of U.P. has been banned by the Government of India?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Jairamdas Doulatram): (a) Separate statistics of the movement of *gur* as distinguished from some other products, of cane are not maintained by the railway.

(b) Yes.

(c) The ban on export of *gur* from Uttar Pradesh is temporary.

RECLASSIFICATION OF RAILWAY COMPARTMENTS

*949. **Shri D. S. Seth:** Will the Minister of **Railways** be pleased to state:

(a) the percentage of the Class II compartments in each railway turned into Second Class Special after the reclassification into three classes;

(b) whether it is a fact that on almost each railway and in each train the number of Class II Special is far greater than the Class II ordinary and that a number of the former remain vacant, and the latter are mostly overcrowded; and

(c) whether Government propose to increase the number of Class II ordinary compartments on all the railways?

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopaldaswami): (a) The percentage of the Class II compartments in each railway turned into Class II Special after the reclassification into four classes is given below:

(1) Assam	..	..	..	15 per cent.
(2) B. N.	..	..	..	75 per cent.
(3) B. B. and C. I.	..	..	..	B. G. 24 per cent. M. G. 48·5 per cent.
(4) E. I.	..	..	..	39 per cent.
(5) G. I. P.	..	..	..	68 per cent.
(6) M. and S. M.	..	..	..	B. G. 31·3 per cent. M. G. 25·0 per cent.
(7) O. T.	..	..	..	12·5 per cent.
(8) S. I.	..	..	..	B. G. 17 per cent. M. G. 20·0 per cent.
(9) E. P.	..	..	..	17 per cent.

(b) The figures given above do not warrant any such conclusion.

(c) Class II compartments shall be increased according to need and resources available.

SCHEDULED CASTES EMPLOYEES

107. Prof. Yashwant Rai: Will the Minister of Communications be pleased to state:

(a) the number of scheduled castes members employed in the Ministry in each of the categories of Gazetted officers, Superintendents, Assistants, clerks and stenographers;

(b) whether the number is as reserved for scheduled castes; and

(c) what special steps Government propose to take to fill in the reserved quota in the spirit of Article No. 335 of the New Constitution?

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Khurshed Lal):

(a)

(i) Gazetted officers (including superintendents)	Nil
(ii) Assistants	One
(iii) Clerks	Six
(iv) Stenographers	Nil

(b) The communal orders apply only in the case of direct recruitment and not to posts filled by promotion. The representation of the Scheduled castes in the grade of clerks is according to the communal orders but in the case of posts of Assistant filled by direct recruitment it falls short of the required quota. There is no person of a Scheduled caste in the grade of Stenographers.

(c) Article 335 does not prescribe any reservation of posts; it provides that the claims of Scheduled Castes shall be taken into consideration consistently with the maintenance of administration in making appointments to services and posts. Under the existing orders certain reservations of vacancies have been made, and also concessions given in the matter of age and examination or selection fee.

CHIEF ENGINEER OF THE C. W. I. N. C.

108. Shri Sidhva: (a) Will the Minister of **Works, Mines and Power** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Chief Engineer of the Central Water Power, Irrigation and Navigation Commission had been to United States of America for the Hirakud River Valley Project?

(b) Did he place any contract with any firm and if so, what are the details and the amounts involved in such contracts?

The Minister of Works, Mines and Power (Shri Gadgil): (a) Yes; the Chief Designs Engineer of the Central Waterpower, Irrigation and Navigation Commission was sent to the United States of America, in connection with the designs of the Hirakud Dam Project and trial load analysis of Kosi Dam.

(b) No contract was placed by him.

Friday, 17th March, 1950



PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

VOLUME I, 1950

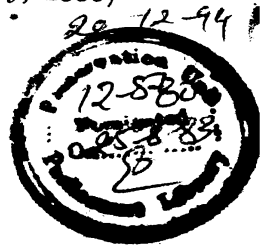
(28th January, 1950 to 23rd February, 1950)

First Session

of the

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1950



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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(PART II-PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Friday, 17th March, 1950

The House met at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-45 A.M.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE FROM THE HOUSE

Mr. Speaker: Before the House proceeds to any other business, I would like to inform hon. Members that Shri Abdul Halim Ghuznavi has requested for leave of absence under article 101, clause 4 on account of illness. He is likely to be absent for sixty days. Is it the pleasure of the House to grant him leave?

Hon. Members: Yes.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

REPORT OF INDIAN DELEGATION TO TECHNICAL MEETING ON CO-OPERATIVES IN ASIA

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Jairamdas Doulatram): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Report and Appendices I and III thereto of the Indian Delegation to the Technical Meeting on Co-operatives in Asia and the Far East convened by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations held in Lucknow in 1949. [*Placed in the Library; See No. IV, L. 1(116).*]

Shri Shiva Rao (Madras): On a point of information, may I ask the hon. Minister of Agriculture whether any attempt was made by him to include in the Indian Delegation one or more persons with direct knowledge of co-operative farming.

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram: I think the non-official members included persons who had knowledge of co-operative farming.

GENERAL BUDGET--LIST OF DEMANDS--contd.

SECOND STAGE--contd.

DEMAND NO. 17--MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 51,68,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Ministry of External Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 37--TRIBAL AREAS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,20,41,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

DEMAND NO. 88—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,39,99,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'External Affairs'."

I would like to know if any Member wants to move any Out Motion.

Shri Frank Anthony (Madhya Pradesh): I would like to move my Cut Motion.

Mr. Speaker: It is not necessary to move it if he wants to discuss the general policy. He can take part in the general discussion of the Demand.

Shri Frank Anthony: I am not insisting on moving my Cut Motion.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): In presenting these Demands, perhaps it will suit the convenience of the House if I make some kind of general statement in regard to the work we are doing and the policy we are attempting to pursue in regard to our foreign affairs.

I shall not endeavour to go into the intricate mass of what is happening all over the world, although, situated as we are and being an independent country of substance and importance, it is quite impossible for us to keep apart from the many things that happen in various parts of the world. Ever since India became an independent entity in foreign affairs we were interested in these various happenings all over the world. Indeed we were interested in foreign affairs even before that. But the first thing that we kept in view was to build our own country on solid foundations and not to get entangled in matters which did not directly affect us—not that we are not interested in those matters, but the burden of these entanglements would be too great and the problems we had to face in our own country were big enough for any country to face, as the House knows.

So, our general approach has been not to interfere in other matters and not to take part in the various conflicts in other parts of the world in so far as we can help it. Of course as a Member-Nation of the United Nations, we have to take part when debates take place and we have to express our opinion. In many other subsidiary organs of the United Nations dealing with many other matters we had to express our opinion, in particular in relation to Asiatic countries with which India is particularly connected. We have followed this policy with greater or less success as the House may judge. When the world is full of tension and possible conflicts and people's passions are excited, it is a little difficult to look on with equanimity at a country which tries at any rate not to be entangled in this way and not to allow momentary passions to govern its actions. So it happens that other countries look with a certain amount of disapproval at a policy which perhaps they consider either an unwise policy or a weak policy or a policy of inaction or some kind of neutrality.

While I have spoken on some occasions in this House on this subject and have ventured to point out that whatever policy we were pursuing was not just merely neutral or passive or negative, but that it was a policy which flowed from our past history, from our recent past and from our National Movement and from the various ideals that we have proclaimed from any point of view, whether long-term or short-term that you may apply to the circumstances existing today. If the House goes back a little and thinks of other countries and other situations, completely different of course, but nevertheless comparable, it would see that in a country like India, which has recently become independent and which has to guard its independence and which

has also to solve many problems that have accumulated in the past, it becomes an inevitable policy not only to try to the best of its ability to help in the maintenance of world peace, but also not to get entangled in so far as it can in world conflicts. Whether that is possible or not is another question. How far our influence can make a difference to world forces is also another question. I do not pretend to say that India as she is can make a vital difference to world affairs. So long as we have not solved many of our problems, our voice cannot carry the weight that it normally will and should. Nevertheless every little thing counts in a crisis and we want our voice and our weight to be felt in certain directions which were for the avoidance of world conflict.

We wanted to follow a policy, not a negative or merely neutral policy, but a positive policy naturally helping those forces that we consider right and naturally disapproving of the things that we do not like, but fundamentally keeping apart from other countries and other alignments of powers which normally lead to major conflicts. That does not mean that we do not, in our economic life or other life incline this way or that in respect of many matters. But it does mean, in the jargon of the day, that we do not line-up with this set of forces or that and try to maintain a certain friendliness and spirit of co-operation with the other great and small countries of the world.

The House knows what we are up against today. For some years past we have talked about the atom bomb. Now the atom bomb is supposed to be a back number with the coming of the hydrogen bomb. What the hydrogen bomb is few people know except the high experts I suppose. But from what little information we can gather, it seems to be something which may well destroy the world or a great part of it if it is used in any numbers.

Now we have come to the stage when for the solution of problems or for the solution of crises some people think even in terms of large scale destruction of the world itself. Logically it seems an odd way of solving a problem. It is the way of ridding an individual of his disease by killing him or trying to cure a headache by cutting off the head of the person concerned. Nevertheless it is significant and indicative of what the world is thinking today, that people should even think of the use of such weapons of uttermost destruction as the Hydrogen Bomb. So far as we are concerned we may express pious opinions about it. We do it. Anyhow, we have neither got the Hydrogen Bomb nor are we likely to have it. But it is important for us to consider this tendency in world affairs to think of destruction on a large scale, which is unimaginable at least for us.

So I shall not speak about this larger world policy except to say that nothing has happened in recent months to make us change the policy we have been pursuing in regard to its essentials. Obviously minor shifts or minor directions may be given to that policy but in its major aspects, major essentials or major directions I think the policy we have been pursuing is a correct policy and indeed it is the only policy that a country situated like India can pursue.

May I just refer to a period of history when a very great nation of the modern world, the United States of America, attained her freedom. It seems a long time ago and we perhaps imagine that the conflicts of today are more vital and more serious than the conflicts of a hundred and fifty—years ago. In some ways that may be true but if you look back one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty years ago you will see a Western world breaking up and all kinds of revolutionary or imperial wars. The United States of America had come into being as an independent country, having broken off from the British Empire of the day and the policy that the United States of America of that day pursued, deliberately pursued was one

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of not being entangled in those great wars and upheavals that were taking place in Europe and which affected them of course. No doubt they had their sympathies but they kept away because that was a natural thing for a nation in that particular state of affairs to do. Now that analogy may not be a particularly good analogy in the circumstances of today; yet it has a bearing and I wish to point out to this House, apart from the very special reasons we may have, that that is the natural policy for a country newly freed and newly become independent to pursue.

I referred to the United States of America, because as the House knows a few months ago I visited that great country, when I had the honour and privilege of meeting not only the great ones of that country and being accorded a most cordial and friendly welcome but receiving that welcome from the other people, the so called common people, the ordinary people of the land—which showed what an abundance of friendship and goodwill existed there for our country. I value that very much and I was greatly impressed by it and I was impressed also by the great achievements of the United States of America, from which we can learn so much. Naturally I do not wish my country merely to copy any other country, because in whichever direction we may grow we have to grow out of the roots from which our nation finds sustenance: we have to follow the genius of our people. It is true also that one cannot remain in the roots all the time but one has to grow branches, green **12 NOON** leaves and beautiful flowers and therefore one has to adapt oneself and learn from other countries a great deal. I feel that we can learn a great deal from the U.S.A. as well as from other countries of the West and we should take every advantage of that learning. But the main thing is that if India is to grow and prosper, we cannot do so either by imagining that we can isolate ourselves from the world and stick only to our roots or imagining that we can do so relying too much on ourselves or keeping too much away from the outside world. We have to have both and we have to strike a balance between the two and then only can we make good.

In whatever field of activity we might function, and more especially in the field of foreign policy, if India is to have any weight, she must function according to the way of her own thinking and the methods she can adopt herself. That way of thinking may be affected by other people—in fact it should be affected—because it is not an isolated thinking regardless of reality; but nevertheless the resultant must be her own way of thinking. If she chooses it to be her own way, if it is not derived from her own experience, desires, objectives and ideals, then it becomes a feeble imitation of some other way and it all becomes ineffectual and ineffective. It may be that some countries are so situated, they are so small in size, or in economic or other aspects of importance, that they cannot resist and inevitably they are swept by great forces and by the policies of great powers. India today, whatever else she may be, is neither small in extent nor in importance, nor in potential resources, nor in the tremendous background of thought and action behind her. She may fail or succeed but whether she fails or succeeds, she does so because of her own strength or weakness, not because of other people sweeping her away.

We have today a new Asia. The biggest problem of the modern world is the resurgence of Asia. It is a tremendous event: there is a great deal of good in it and a great deal that we do not like also, as always happens when these major transformations take place. What is happening in Asia is the biggest thing of this century, I think. It affects us, because we are in Asia: it affects us because we are in a strategic part of Asia, set in the centre of the Indian Ocean, with intimate connections of the past and of the present, with Western

Asia, with South East Asia and with Far Eastern Asia. We could not ignore it, even if we would and we do not want to ignore it. Now that the British rule has passed off from India, from Burma and from other parts and the greater part of Asia is free of the colonialism of the past, inevitably our minds go back to old days, to old relationships with other countries, whether of Western Asia or the East or the South East. To some extent our mind skips over this period of colonial history and we try to pick up old threads again. Old threads, yes; but pick them up in a new way, because new conditions have arisen. So India is intimately connected by force of circumstances and by geography with all those countries who are our neighbours in Asia. The House knows how much active and friendly interest we took and what we did in regard to the Indonesian Republic, which is now the United States of Indonesia. And the House will also remember that we had the honour and privilege of welcoming here the President of the United States of Indonesia, Mr. Soekarno, a short while ago. He came here not only as the head of this great new independent State but as a gallant fighter for freedom and a fighter who had achieved his objective and had succeeded in spite of very great difficulties. It was a pleasure to meet him here, to confer with him and to find how much in common we had in our outlooks—in our national outlooks, in our individual outlooks. So we become more and more intimately connected, not by formal treaties and alliances and pacts but by bonds which are much more secure, much more binding—the bonds of mutual understanding and interest, and, if I may say so, to some extent even of mutual affection.

So also other countries round about us. There is Burma which has seen a great deal of trouble—internal trouble—in the course of the last two or three years and has faced these enormous difficulties. Naturally, our Government and our people have been interested in the future of Burma, and in the present of Burma. It is not our purpose, and it is not right for us, to interfere in any way in other countries. But inevitably, we are greatly interested, and where possible we give such help as we can to our friends. And we have ventured to do so in regard to Burma too, without any element of interference.

Among the other countries round about us, obviously the nearest of our neighbours which is affecting our present life is Pakistan. I shall refer to our relations with Pakistan at some greater length at a later stage. Among the other countries there is Nepal, almost geographically a part of India, though an independent nation. Recently we had a visit of the Prime Minister of Nepal here in India. We welcomed this distinguished person and we conferred with him, and it was clear that so far as certain important matters were concerned, so far as certain developments in Asia were concerned, the interests of Nepal and India were identical. We are interested of course in the development of freedom in all countries, more especially in Asian countries. We are interested in the abstract and we are interested in that as a practical and necessary step today in the context of Asia, because if it does not come it creates and encourages those very forces which ultimately may disrupt freedom itself. So freedom becomes essential, and we have advised in all earnestness the Government of Nepal—in so far as a friendly power can advise an independent nation we have advised them in all earnestness—that in the inner context of Nepal it is desirable to pay attention to the forces that are moving in the world—the democratic forces, the forces of freedom—and to put oneself in line with them, because not to do so is not only wrong according to modern ideas but unwise according to what is happening in the world today. It is clear, as I said, that in regard to certain important matters, the interests of Nepal and India are inevitably joined up. For instance, if I may mention it, it is not possible for any Indian Government to tolerate any invasion of Nepal from anywhere. It is not necessary for us to have a military alliance with Nepal. We do not go about having military alliances with any country. We

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have none. But apart from any pact or alliance, the fact remains that we cannot tolerate any foreign invasion, from any foreign country, of any part of this Indian sub-continent or whatever you may like to call it. And any possible invasion of Nepal would inevitably involve the safety of India. May I add that I have not the slightest apprehension of any invasion of Nepal? I am merely stating a fact. I do not think any such invasion of Nepal is easily possible, nor do I think it is at all likely. But I wish to make this clear to the House and to others what our policy in such matters is bound to be.

Among our other neighbour nations there is Afghanistan with whom recently we had a treaty of friendship. We have been friendly with Afghanistan not today only, but for a long period of history. That history shows conflicts with Afghanistan and shows periods of long standing friendship. It shows the cultural contacts between the two. We have affected their culture, they have affected ours. So, it has been a great satisfaction to us that these old contacts have not only been renewed between independent India and Afghanistan but have actually progressed. And we are therefore on the friendliest terms with Afghanistan. May I say in this connection that because of great tension between Pakistan and Afghanistan over various matters we are continually being charged with having secret intrigues with Afghanistan and trying to make Afghanistan adopt a certain policy in regard to Pakistan which, possibly, apart from us Afghanistan might not. That, of course, I regret to say, is one of the numerous things without foundation which emerge from Pakistan. We are friendly to Afghanistan, and we propose to continue to be very friendly to Afghanistan. We are also, if I may say so, interested in the future of many of those areas and peoples who inhabit the Frontier. We are interested, whatever the political or the international aspect may be, because we have had close bonds with them in the past and no political change can put an end to our memories and those old links that we had. I have hesitated in the past to refer to many things that were happening in the Frontier Provinces because it was not our policy to criticise internal happenings in Pakistan. But sometimes I have been compelled by circumstances to make some brief reference to the fate of our colleagues there, friends who have played a more important part than most of us—in fact more important than almost many of us, barring a few—in the struggle for India's freedom. It would be false of me and somewhat inhuman of me to say, or for any one to imagine, that we can forget those people who stood side by side with us for a whole generation in the fight for India's freedom. So we are intimately interested, and it is an abiding regret to us that we can only be interested from a distance and cannot help in the solution of this problem.

Among the other countries of Asia, I should like to mention briefly Indo-China which has come to the front recently because of internal conflicts there. The policy we have pursued in regard to Indo-China has been one of not interfering at all. It may be that some hon. Members have their sympathies with one group or the other there, but it is manifest that we cannot interfere with any advantage to ourselves or, I think, to world peace. Our interference in any event could only be some kind of a theoretical one. I do not think a theoretical interference or any other interference in a country struggling for freedom in various ways can do any good because one of the major factors of the situation in countries which have been under colonial domination is this: they resent foreign interference. Their nationalism does not like it and if interference comes, it often becomes a kind of weapon in the hands of those opposed to nationalism because they seek out that this nationalism is not a free, independent nationalism but that it is controlled by others. There is that difficulty always, even when that interference is with the best motives.

That is why we have sought deliberately to keep away from any interference in any country and in regard to Indo-China we have not interfered in any way and we intend keeping apart.

Then I come to that great country, China. Very great changes, revolutionary changes, have taken place in that country and some people may approve of them and some may not. It is not a question of approving or disapproving; it is a question of recognising a major event in history and of appreciating it and dealing with it. Because of this, nearly three months ago or less, when it was quite clear that the new Chinese Government was in possession of practically the entire mainland of China, when it was quite clear that this Government was a stable Government and that there was no force which was likely to supplant it or to push it away, we offered recognition to this new Government and suggested that we might exchange diplomatic missions. Since then events have progressed rather slowly. Partly, it may be due to the fact that certain important members of that Government were away from their own country. In any event, the present position is this, that there is a general agreement about such an exchange and a representative of ours who used to be a Secretary to our Embassy in Nanking has proceeded to Peking to discuss certain matters of detail with the Peking Government. I hope that before long Ambassadors will be exchanged and then we can deal with each other properly through those Ambassadors.

In regard to the other countries of Asia, our relations are friendly and satisfactory with Iran, with Egypt which is not in Asia, of course, but associated with Asia, and with the other countries of the Middle East as it is called.

To go to another part of the world, we have recently had many new diplomatic missions established here from South America. Now, South America is very far away and apparently there is not much knowledge of South America in India, but there is a great deal common, I think, between India and South America in so many ways; and I have little doubt that in the future the nations of South America will play an important and ever-growing part and so I welcome these new contacts with the countries of South America.

Then there is the great Continent of Africa which is still more or less a colonial Continent. The House knows that we have recently sent a Minister to Ethiopia, one of the independent parts of Africa. Also, we have played some part in the United Nations in determining the future of Northern Africa and we hope that in the course of a few years independent nations will be built up there. But, in the main, when one talks about the African problem, what I have in view is that great mass of people, the Africans, the Negroes if you like, who live in that great Continent. It is clear that mighty forces are moving in that Continent; how long they will take to develop I do not know, but they are moving and in the course of this generation great changes are likely to take place in Africa. If those changes take place peacefully and by co-operation well and good, if not, I fear that perhaps some of the biggest conflagrations might take place there because, any kind of a conflict between nations is bad enough, but when that conflict takes a racial shape and becomes a racial war then it is infinitely worse. Naturally, we in India have sympathised with the Africans and we have repeatedly—not only as a Government but, before we became a Government, as a National Party—assured them and told them that we do not want any Indian vested interest to grow up in Africa at the expense of the African people. I am glad to say that a realisation of this fact is helping in the development of friendly relations between Indians and Africans in East Africa especially, and in some other parts also.

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In South Africa we have had the problem of Indians there, that is to say, the problem of South Africans who are of Indian descent but who are South African nationals. Recently, a kind of a conference was held there and one of the distinguished Members of this House represented us at this Conference. This conference was really a preparatory conference to the holding of a full round table conference. In so far as the preparatory conference could succeed, it has succeeded. Of course, it has not solved the problem and the whole problem remains. It is a difficult problem but nevertheless it is something that we have gone one step forward in it.

Coming back to India, there is Ceylon, another independent country which has had the most intimate contacts with India for ages past and which is, in many ways, culturally very closely associated with us. I had occasion to visit Ceylon some months ago in connection with the Dominion Foreign Ministers' Conference, and it was a great pleasure to me to go there and to find that, even though we argue a great deal on the governmental level and sometimes we cannot find agreement, yet the friendliness of the Ceylonese people to us remains the same. I am sorry that the problem of Indians in Ceylon is still not wholly solved. We have done our best to put our point of view and to some extent it was accepted and to some extent it was not. I hope that some way out will be found, because in regard to Ceylon and India I refuse to think in terms of any kind of conflict.

May I now come to our relations with Pakistan, which have completely overshadowed not only much of our domestic life but, to some extent, our foreign policy also ever since we became independent. We agreed to the constitution of Pakistan by the partition of India because of a variety of things that had happened previously. We accepted it as a fact and we hoped that that would at least solve some of the problems that had troubled us in the past. We did not accept it at any time on the basis of a two-nation theory. (*Hear, hear*) but on the basis of some kind of territorial self-determination. It so happened, of course, that certain territories had a majority population of one community or the other, but in whatever way you could have divided India, it was perfectly clear that it was quite impossible to divide it on the basis of separating religious groups on one side or the other. They overlapped. So it was clearly understood that those communities which became the minority communities on this side or that must have the fullest protection and fullest security for their lives; otherwise, the whole structure which we had built up collapsed; the whole basis of it went.

Unfortunately, immediately after the partition, upheavals took place in North India and Pakistan—upheavals of a magnitude and inhuman nature which none of us could have imagined in his wildest moments. I am not going into that, except to say that those upheavals resulted in certain large scale migrations, and tremendous burdens—not on us as a Government; of course, the burdens were there but they were infinitely small compared to the burdens on the millions who had been uprooted and who find it so difficult to find their roots again. All that happened, and we were overwhelmed by it and it came like a flood. It is all very well for people to tell us "Why did you not think about it and prepare for it?" I do not know how any human being could have thought of it and prepared for it in that way. Anyhow, that occurred, and we made a great effort to stop it, to try to draw a line beyond which it should not go and again to find some kind of an equilibrium. In those initial days and months which were so full of tragedy, we had the great advantage of the presence of Mahatma Gandhi here and I do not know what would have happened had he not been present here in those days. But he left us, almost—I might perhaps say—as a consequence of those happenings and the passions that they had unleashed. So we sought for an equilibrium

and sometimes we thought we were moving towards an equilibrium and sometimes not. We had thus far dealt with, you will remember, in a sense the West Punjab and the Frontier Province on the one side and the East Punjab and a bit of Delhi and certain areas on this side. In the Province of Sind and the Province of East Bengal or West Bengal nothing had happened, to begin with and we hoped that nothing much would happen.

But, gradually, we found that in the Province of Sind, conditions were such as to make it a little difficult for the minority community to continue there, and there was almost a ceaseless stream from Sind—not so many major incidents—sometimes there were incidents,—but there was a ceaseless stream from Sind pouring into Northern India till at last Sind became almost bereft of any minority community except for certain scheduled classes who remained there perforce, because they could not easily come away. Now, this gradual sweeping away or pushing out of the minority community from Sind made us very unhappy. It made us unhappy not only because of the fact that many people were upset and uprooted, but rather because we began to see that those forces,—which we had fought in the past and which we had sought to neutralise and sought to overcome by all kinds of things including the partition and its consequences,—that those forces were still at play and so it suddenly dawned upon us that we had paid a very heavy price but what we had hoped to gain we had not gained, i.e., peace and equilibrium. And so this happened.

Meanwhile, on the other side, from East Bengal also the stream continued. Again, there were no major incidents in East Bengal or West Bengal, but the stream continued. Sometimes, it came almost in a flood; sometimes, it reduced itself to a trickle. In the course of the last two years or so, about 16 lakhs of people—a million and six hundred thousand, mind you—came over from East Bengal. Some people went from West Bengal to East Bengal also during that period. I have no figures, but I think their numbers were considerably less. May I tell the House that during the last year and a half or two years, a possibility that has always frightened us has been any evil development of the situation as between East Bengal and West Bengal. It has frightened us because the numbers involved were so great, and the possible suffering involved might be so great. We discouraged in every possible way the migration of large numbers from one Bengal to the other. Unfortunately, in spite of our discouragement, many came over in hundreds of thousands. Still, at one period it seemed to us that we had probably stopped that migration—it went down to a trickle almost. Then recent events happened in the last two months or so and brought that problem, which had been a kind of bogey—right in front of us and we have to face it and face it today.

Now, I shall deal with this Bengal problem slightly later. I will go back to some other problems as between Pakistan and us. There is the Kashmir problem. You will have seen that in regard to Kashmir, a certain resolution has been passed by the Security Council a few days ago. You will have noted what was said on behalf of India in regard to this Resolution. We have accepted the basic part of this Resolution. I would like you to read if you can find the time, the speeches of our Representative, Mr. B. N. Rau—he has made two statements both of which refer back to that speech. Having accepted that basic thing, he has made it perfectly clear that certain implications of MacNaughton's formula were not accepted by us—certain matters relating to the so-called Azad Kashmir forces and the northern areas about which we have made it perfectly clear at every stage that we could not accept any other position than the one we have put forward. They have again

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been emphasised. Also, we have emphasised in our reply to the Security Council the basic moral and legal factors which we think govern the situation and to which, especially the moral factor, we attach great importance. So we have accepted the Resolution, making this position of ours quite clear. And if a Mediator comes he will naturally be a mediator and we shall help him in every way and explain to him what our position is.

Basically, of course, whether it is India or whether it is Pakistan, quite apart from law, ultimately the future of Kashmir must necessarily depend upon the wishes of the people of Kashmir. We went to Kashmir, in the first instance, because of the invitation that came to us not so much from the Maharaja's Government—that came of course and that was a formal and legal invitation from the constituted authority of the day—but what impressed us much more and what induced us to go was the invitation from the representatives of the people there and we have remained there all this time because of that. So, that is where the Kashmir matter stands and I want to make it perfectly clear to this House and to others that in regard to this matter the basic position that was taken up by our Representative in the Security Council on this occasion is the final position for us from which there can be no moving.

There are other matters as between Pakistan and us—important matters. There is the question of canal waters,—evacuee property and the other question with which my hon. colleague the Finance Minister is so much concerned, devaluation. Well, so far as devaluation is concerned that is my hon. colleague's subject and he has dealt with it on many occasions. The other matters, evacuee property and canal waters, are essentially questions which when they arise between two Governments should be considered on expert level—if you like on the judicial level, if you like on the arbitral level. Such questions are normally dealt with like that and however important they may be they should never give rise to any major conflict between two countries. So far as canal waters are concerned, we have repeatedly suggested a Technical Commission where engineers or both sides can determine how best to use the waters that are there, how best to add to their utility and if ultimately there is some lack of water—which our engineers think there will not be—well, then, there are more sources that can be tapped. The way of approach should not be for either country to starve the other, but to make the best use of the available water by both.

Now, it is a fact that in the old allocation of canals, etc., the old Punjab Government as a matter of priority, if you like, because they could not spread themselves out all over, started first with what is now more or less, the Western Punjab. East Punjab was slightly neglected; East Punjab was second on the list to be provided for later. Now, when the partition came the result is that much of the water goes to the West Punjab and East Punjab does not get much of it; nor does she get a fair share of the canals. If you build the canals, as we must, a fair allocation has to take place and therefore some kind of an agreement was arrived at on the 4th or 5th of May 1948. Quite apart from legal claims, both the parties tried their best to adjust themselves, so that East Punjab might have more water, though not at the cost of any other place, and that time should be given so that adjustments can be made in a few years. So that it is eminently a question which can be decided without passion to the advantage of both countries and the first thing about it is a technical examination by both. If there are any matters which cannot be decided after the technical examination, we are perfectly prepared for an adjudication or a judicial decision. The Pakistan Government has been going on saying that you must agree here and now to this matter being referred to the Hague Court of International Law. Now, I have no objection to refer the matter to the Hague Court

or any other court. But I do not think personally that the Hague Court is probably a suitable tribunal for this, because it will involve us in enormous and lengthy processes of litigation far away from us about canal waters here and decisions may be delayed and all kinds of difficulties might arise. The first thing I say is: before you talk about referring this matter to anybody, let us have this technical examination. It does not bind you; it does not bind me. We may agree 100 per cent.; we may agree 80 per cent. Then only 20 per cent. remains for us to talk about or to refer to. Anyhow we are perfectly prepared, as I said, to submit this matter to adjudication or arbitration. But whether it is a judicial authority or arbitral authority which may itself be judicial, it should be something which can produce results fairly rapidly and not prolong the agony.

About evacuee property too, it is a matter eminently for judicial expert decision. Whatever the final decision might be, governmental or otherwise, there should be a proper enquiry and investigations. We should make enquiries so as to enable Government to consider them. If necessary I am prepared to submit this also to impartial arbitration or impartial judicial authority, as the case may be. But we must devise some means of doing it which could produce results within an appreciable time and does not take a long time to decide.

Now, I must go back finally to the situation, the new situation.....

Shri Tyagi (Uttar Pradesh): But what is their attitude with regard to canal water and evacuee property?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I thought I just told you about canal water. I said that there is some agreement about a technical mission.

The Minister of Works, Mines and Power (Shri N. V. Gadgil): A Joint Technical Mission.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: But they have been insisting that we should agree now, before the result of the Technical Mission's enquiry is known, to refer this matter to the Hague Court. Of course, provided there is lack of agreement.....

Shri Tyagi: Both put together, or one independent of the other?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot go into that in any detail. I have merely given a background to you.

About the evacuee property problem, there have been so many questions and answers and hon. Members must be aware as to where the matter stands.

Now, before I go back to this new situation that has arisen in Bengal, may I remind the House that some time ago I made an offer to the Pakistan Government that we should both subscribe to a 'no-war' declaration on behalf of our Governments. The draft that we proposed was published in the Press and the House is no doubt aware of it. It was a very simple draft. The answer of the Pakistan Government was rather complicated, they said: "Before we do this, we must devise means for settling every other problem that we have, whether it is Kashmir, whether it is devaluation, for all these matters something should be devised." I pointed out to them that it would be a very good thing if we could solve all our problems and that if we were to solve them, the first step should be taken. What I wanted was to create an atmosphere which would help in the solution of those problems. So we went on arguing and the last thing that has happened is the reply that came from the Prime Minister of Pakistan, making various proposals about the other problems also, how they should be tackled or what procedure should be laid down. Now, while this was happening, this eruption took place in East Bengal and West Bengal and I felt a certain element of unreality in my talking about these vague declarations, when we could

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not control the existing situation and when all these things were happening. So we dealt or we tried to deal with this particular situation and we are dealing with it now.

May I in this connection inform the House, because I am coming back freshly from Calcutta and West Bengal, that in so far as any major incidents are concerned, there have been no major incidents in West or East Bengal during the last 2 or 2½ weeks. I say so, because the impression is created by some of our newspapers reciting old incidents, an impression is created that they are new incidents. In fact there have been no major incidents in either West or East Bengal during these 2½ weeks.

There were great many difficulties in the way of people coming away from East Bengal to West Bengal and most of those difficulties have been removed; some certificates were required of domicile or income-tax; they are not necessary now. Some other difficulties arose at the Customs at one time and to some extent even now, the difficulties may be there. They had to pass through four barriers. The Customs barrier was legitimate; again a police barrier; then the Ansar barrier and then a barrier of common folk who called themselves 'Janagana' that is people who gathered together. To some extent the people passed through these four barriers and lost some of their belongings at each barrier. However, I think this is lessening greatly now. I visited day before yesterday a big camp at Ranaghat where these people are arriving daily—some arrived the day before yesterday and some earlier and they all arrived roughly about 10 or 12 days ago—and I had found that many of them have been able to bring a fair quantity of luggage with them, pots, pans, utensils, beddings and in some cases trunks. Obviously there had been a relaxation in people bringing goods, because I saw this luggage with them. What they were deprived of was mostly, I think, hard cash, which was taken away or which went in the shape of some kind of bribe given to the various people who stopped them, so that they might bring other goods with them.

Pandit Maitra (West Bengal): So much of jewellery and ornaments?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I did see some women wearing gold bangles in the camps. Of course, I cannot say whether others, probably, were taken away; they may have been, but, at any rate, some wore gold bangles; I saw one or two with necklaces in their necks in the last few days because the people were coming home in the last ten days or so.

Shri Raj Bahadur (Rajasthan): What is the average rate of daily arrivals at present?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not give you the exact number, but I will tell you fairly approximately. In all, I should imagine since 13th of February about 150,000 persons have come from East Bengal, that is, Hindus from East Bengal to Calcutta and from the 13th of February about 100,000 Muslims have left Calcutta for East Bengal and daily this process is continuing. It is, therefore, not exactly a one-sided traffic; it is a two-sided thing, entirely voluntary, of course voluntary in the sense that there is a process of circumstance; people are not pushed out except by circumstance.

Now, I refer to East and West Bengal. As the House knows, early this month, roundabout the Holi period, there were disturbances and incidents in certain towns of U. P.; a little later some incidents of this type in Bombay which I greatly deplore. A major disturbance took place in the Goalpara and Barpeta parts of Assam roundabout two weeks ago or a little less, that is, about the 6th or 7th of March, where for two or three days there was an upheaval

largely of the tribal folk there, who swept down and committed a good deal of arson and drove away a fairly large number of Muslim inhabitants of those areas into either Pakistan or the State of Cooch-Bihar nearby.

Prof. Ranga (Madras): How many they might possibly be?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say. So far as I know, there was very little killing there but there was arson on a large scale. I cannot say how many were driven away, because figures vary from 80,000 to double or more than that number.

These problems obviously raise very important questions for us to answer. Some people talk excitedly about war, some people talk vaguely about exchange of populations and all that and we have to consider every possible aspect of this problem. Now, exchange of populations is something which we have opposed all along. It is something which I consider completely, not only undesirable, but not feasible. It is a question of arithmetic, apart from anything else. If we wanted an exchange of population between East and West Bengal and if we did it with the complete co-operation of both the Governments on expert level and with every facility given, it is calculated that it would take 5½ years, that is to say, if no untoward event happened.

Of course many untoward events will happen; of course there will not be such magnificent co-operation between the two Governments; and all kinds of upheavals will take place during that period, so that one cannot think of it in terms of reality. Then again, where do we draw the line? It goes on. At the same time there is no doubt that the present position is that so far as the Hindu population of East Bengal is concerned, one might say that generally speaking the entire population is frightened, is full of fear and apprehension about the future and, given the opportunity, would like to come away from East Bengal. Now, that is the picture. I do not know, of course, if, given an opportunity, all will ultimately come. That is their present feeling. All may not come. May be some people will stick to their lands and other things later. That will depend on the developing situation, whether they have security, etc. or not. Now, we thought that, quite apart from the larger considerations of the problem, immediately people should be allowed to come anyhow, especially people who are in danger, and that the door should be kept open for them to travel from one part of Bengal to the other. When we relieve the tension, that itself will result in lessening panic and giving a sense of little more security and they will be coming over with fair ease anyway. The limitation is really that there is no more transport available. Anything between 5,000 and 8,000 people come over daily. Sometimes 10,000 people a day. And between 5,000 and 6,000 Muslims have been going from Calcutta daily. On one day there were 14,000 Hindus coming in and 10,000 Muslims going out. So, the number varies. They come chiefly by train; some come by steamer and about five hundred people a day either way by air too.

Now, in this connection it was suggested that some kind of joint statement might be made by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and myself to meet the immediate situation of panic and danger, to prevent incidents from happening and to allow those who wanted, to come away. Now, we do not want and I do not wish to encourage mass migration, partly because we just physically could not organise it, and partly because it would mean for some period people suffering all kinds of hardship without being able to come, but nevertheless we felt it quite important that full facilities under adequate protection should be given to them to come, and so it is proposed for that limited purpose that a kind of joint statement should be made which, to begin with, naturally would lay down that each Government was fully responsible for giving security and protection to its minorities; secondly, that the guilty should be punished; thirdly, that those who have

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suffered must be helped in every way, rehabilitated and compensated; fourthly, that an intensified search should be made for looted property and that those persons found in possession of it and who have not voluntarily returned it would be considered guilty of having looted it and punished accordingly. Then there is a reference to the abduction of women and to forced conversions; that forced conversions will not be recognised and that every attempt will be made to recover women who might have been abducted. And finally there is to be a reference to the punishing of people who spread wild rumours and false stories which add to this tension, and this relates to newspapers also.

Shri Gautam (Uttar Pradesh): What about *Dawn*? Would it be punished by Pakistan?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: *Dawn* is a paper which is published in Karachi and Lahore!

tinue after Lunch.

Mr. Speaker: If the hon. Prime Minister is likely to take long, he may con-

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I will finish in another ten minutes.

I am taking the House into my confidence as to certain things that we have discussed—Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and I. Now, there is also a suggestion about some kind of a Committee of Enquiry in each place to go into all these things, presided over by a High Court Judge and also with a representative of the minorities. Now, obviously, this statement, if it was to be made, would have no great bearing on the major problem. The major problem remains. This is something to meet the immediate situation and to allow people to come away under proper protection, to relieve tension and to prevent big accidents from happening. As a matter of fact, most of the things contained in that statement have been declared separately by the parties concerned.

My hon. friend over there referred to *Dawn* and other papers. Well, it is not for me to say that, but what the Pakistan newspapers contain is something amazing; it is astonishing the way they publish libellous things. May I add, however, in this connection that on the last occasion when I referred to this matter in this House, I congratulated the Indian press, but I am unable to congratulate it again today on its restraint, because it has not shown any restraint in the last few days, or a week or two. I recognise the provocation and all that, but the fact is that it has not shown any restraint.

Pandit Maitra: What has the Indian press done?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It has not shown restraint.

Shrimati Renuka Ray (West Bengal): Is it anything comparable to the Pakistan press?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I agree. I am really astonished at the way the Pakistan press is behaving.

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh): Which papers is the Prime Minister alluding to?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I would not like to go into this question. I can quite understand the provocation and all that. I am merely saying.....

Pandit Maitra: Does the Prime Minister seriously mean this reference to the Indian press?

Mr. Speaker: Let him not be interrupted.

Pandit Maitra: Sir, the Prime Minister has made a reference to the Indian press which the House considers unfair.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I made this reference in all solemnity and seriousness, because I have been watching them and I have seen what passions have been aroused because of what the press has written. I am quite prepared to admit and one can understand that there has been provocation, but I am stating this as a fact. I am not comparing the Pakistan press with the Indian press, but the fact is that the Press has contained headlines, banner headlines, etc., which have excited people. I am not saying that facts should not be published, but it is a question of how the facts have been published. I may refer to one of the best newspapers in India, *The Hindu*, and the same facts had been published in *The Hindu* as in some other papers, but it is all a question of the manner of doing it.

Prof. Ranga: *The Hindu* does not publish even a small paragraph.

Pandit Maitra: The Hindu is concerned only with South India, where there is no such problem.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I also suggest to you that it is a fantastic proposition for a newspaper to have a Gallup poll on war. It is a fantastic thing to go about doing that. It is an incitement. We may have war or we may not have war, but if newspapers take the formulation of high policy in their hands in this way, then we might be led to all manner of things.

Shrimati Durgabai (Madras): Sir, we are anxious to know whether the terms which were discussed between our Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Pakistan were agreed to or not. Will any statement be made on that and if so, when?

An Hon. Member: Will it be carried out?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The main point is this. As the hon. Member said, 'Will it be carried out or not?' We discussed these and you will find that some are stated by the Governor-General of Pakistan and by others. If you read their statements, they declare all those things, I cannot guarantee as to how far anything will be carried out; but we did not think of it in terms of something that we could be assured that it will be carried out because, in the nature of things, this was thought of in terms of meeting an immediate situation, not of solving the main problem. The problem is too difficult and vital for us and it cannot be solved by a declaration like this. You must not mix up these two things. It was meant particularly to open the door for people to come and go and a certain toning down of the fear and apprehension that existed and then face this problem in its entirety.

Now the real problem, if I may come back, is a very vital one. I was telling you that we were discussing the 'no-war' declaration with Pakistan when all these things occurred and it seemed to me fantastic to talk about 'no-war' when something that seemed to me worse than war was occurring. It became rather farcical. So we have to consider it in all its aspects. I shall put it to you quite frankly. Whatever policy we have to pursue in the future must depend necessarily, largely on what happens in Pakistan, partly of course on what happens in India because essentially it cannot be formulated in theory apart from events and facts that are happening. If there is a grave danger to the minorities in Pakistan, it is quite impossible for us to remain calm and look on. There is that potential danger today. One does not know what might happen at any time. There have been no incidents but there is that potential danger and one has to take such steps as are possible to prevent anything happening. Ultimately, after all, protection in Pakistan can only be given obviously by Pakistan. We cannot give protection in Pakistan. One country can give protection to its nationals only within its territory. The only other alternative is to

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take the other country into its possession if it wants to give protection in the other country. So there are so many factors and it is quite clear that no position can be tolerated in the future where minorities have not got adequate and sufficient protection and security. While we make this position clear to Pakistan, we have to make this clear for ourselves too. For on us falls the greater responsibility in a sense than on Pakistan. So far as Pakistan is concerned, it is a policy you might say, which was agreed to as the basis of partition which is natural, which is human, which is understood but which does not necessarily follow from the policy of the State that they have, that is the policy of an Islamic State. Protection might follow but equal treatment does not follow. So far as we are concerned, our very theory of State, our old practice or background compels us to follow a humanitarian policy, apart from other reasons so that on us the burden is in a sense greater because we have to put an end to everything we have stood for in the past if we slide in the slightest degree from that position. I myself am not prepared to move an iota from the position we have held in the past.

Shri M. A. Ayyangar (Madras): Is it part of the agreement with them that theirs should be an Islamic State?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is unfortunately a fact that they are such a state. It is not for us to interfere in what kind of State any other country has. But we cannot help being affected by events and by people living in Pakistan with whom we have been intimately connected in the past, and with whom we are still connected today. So we have to recognize that. People who are living in Pakistan and the people who are living in India are intimately connected not only by bonds of history, not only by economic bonds but also family relationship and the rest and it is quite impossible for anybody to say legally or internationally it is a new State, etc. Then apart from that you have the effects of that. What happens in Pakistan affects India and we cannot help it. Therefore this problem cannot be solved as between two States and these facts will have to be considered, and we have arrived at a position when we cannot possibly tolerate for practical reasons, apart from sentimental and other reasons a continuation of any suppression of minorities or lack of security of minorities. We allow the minorities to come and go and we have an open door policy even facilitating their coming and going but it is obvious that this does not solve the problem because this may go on for the next ten years and still not exhaust the problem. We are not going to wait for that. A solution must come soon. If anything comes in the way of solution, it has to be removed. Naturally I cannot go into any further details about this particular matter at this stage. It is a highly difficult matter but I should like to make two or three points clear. First of all, the minorities in East Bengal are certainly our concern to the extent that they have security and if they do not have security, measures will have to be devised to give them security. We do not want a mass exodus or an exchange of population but we are going to keep the door open for those who want to come or travel in either way and give them facilities and we will give them as much help as possible. This is the basic position and for the rest we have to be prepared for all contingencies and developments and take such action as necessity compels us to.

Sir, the House has been exceedingly indulgent to me for all this time and I am deeply grateful to you for overstepping the time that is fixed.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now re-assemble at 2-45 instead of at 2-30.

Shri Kamath: Sir, in view of the Prime Minister's speech which has been necessarily long because comprehensive, will you be so good as to extend the time of discussion?

Mr. Speaker: That we shall see when we re-assemble.

The House then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter to Three of the Clock.

The House re-assembled after Lunch at a Quarter to Three of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

सेठ गोविन्द दास : हम लोग अपने प्रधान-मंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल जी के अनुग्रहीत हैं कि उन्होंने एक विस्तृत भाषण में वैदेशिक नीति का खुलासा किया है। पंडित जी के नेतृत्व में हमारे देश की संसार में जो प्रतिष्ठा बढ़ी है उस पर भी हम को गर्व है और हमारा उन पर पूरा-पूरा भरोसा है। हमारी वैदेशिक नीति संसार में शान्ति रहे यह नीति है और इस नीति के अनुसरण में भी मेरा कोई मतभेद नहीं है। इस समय संसार की जो स्थिति है और हमारी स्वाधीनता के पश्चात् हम पर जो उत्तरदायित्व आ गया है, जिसका विस्तार से पंडित जी ने अपने भाषण में उल्लेख किया है, उस को भी मैं स्वीकार करता हूँ। आज की सब से बड़ी और सब से कठिन समस्या हर देश के सामने अपनी वैदेशिक नीति का निर्धारण है, यह भी मैं जानता हूँ। इतने पर भी मुझे आज कुछ बातें, केन्द्रीय सरकार का और अपने प्रान्त में प्रान्तीय सरकार का, दोनों का सबसे बड़ा समर्थक रहते हुए भी अवश्य निवेदन करनी हैं और यह बातें मैं उसी भावना से प्रेरित हो कर कर रहा हूँ जिस भावना से मैं सरकार का समर्थन करता हूँ।

वैदेशिक नीति का सारे संसार से सम्बन्ध रहते हुए भी मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि उसका सब से बड़ा सम्बन्ध होता है अपने पड़ोसी देशों से। जिस प्रकार समुद्र बहुत बड़ा होता है, फिर भी उसमें जो लहरें उठती हैं वह लहरें अधिकतर उसके किनारों से सम्बन्ध रखती हैं, समूचे समुद्र से नहीं, इसी प्रकार वैदेशिक नीति का भी सब से निकट सम्बन्ध होता है उसके किनारे जो देश होते हैं उनसे। देश के विभाजन के पश्चात् जब हम यह देखते हैं कि हमारे पड़ोसी देशों से हमारे कैसे सम्बन्ध हैं, तो हमें यह कहना पड़ता है कि उस सम्बन्ध में कोई उन्नति नहीं हुई। पाकिस्तान से जो हमारा कटु सम्बन्ध है उसके लिये हम उत्तरदायी नहीं हैं, हम यह स्वीकार करते हैं परन्तु यहाँ प्रश्न यह उठता है कि हमारा उत्तरदायित्व न होते हुए भी आज संसार में और हमारे पड़ोसी देशों में कितने देश पाकिस्तान के समर्थक हैं और कितने देश हमारे समर्थक हैं। वैदेशिक नीति की सफलता इसी बात पर अवलम्बित है कि हम अपने अधिक मित्र बना सकें। मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि आज यह जो दो पावर ब्लाक्स (Power blocs) हैं, एक आंग्ल अमरीकी और दूसरा रूसी, इन दोनों ब्लाकों से हमारा कोई बुरा सम्बन्ध न रहते हुए भी आज यदि उनके यहाँ पर जो प्रचार

[सेठ गोविन्द दास]

हो रहा है, और झूठा प्रचार हो रहा है, उसको हम देखें तो हमको मालूम होता है कि पाकिस्तान का वहाँ समर्थन है और हमारा वहाँ विरोध है। हमारा समर्थन हमारे ही देश के पत्र कर रहे हैं, और कहीं हमारा समर्थन हमें प्राप्त नहीं है। अतः मैं अत्यन्त नम्रता के साथ पंडित जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज उनका जो आक्षेप हमारे पत्रों पर हुआ वह उचित आक्षेप नहीं है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि हमारे कोई पत्र दोषी नहीं है, कुछ पत्र दोषी होंगे और यदि ऐसे कोई पत्र दोषी हैं तो उनका नाम लेकर उन पर आक्षेप किया जाना चाहिये था न कि यह कि सारे पत्रों पर इस प्रकार का आक्षेप किया जाय। पत्रों की जो स्थिति पहिले थी वह आज नहीं है और आज उनमें भी अनर्गल समाचार छपते हैं। तो मैं आज पंडित जी के भाषण में सब से अधिक जिस बात से क्षुब्ध हुआ हूँ वह उनकी पत्रों के विषय में बात थी क्योंकि वही पत्र आज हमारा सब से अधिक समर्थन कर रहे हैं।

फिर हम को यह बात और देखनी है कि संसार भर से अत्यधिक मंत्री का सम्बन्ध रहते हुए भी हम अपने निवासियों का कितना भला करते हैं जो निवासी हमारे पाकिस्तान में रहते हैं उन का भी और जो निवासी हमारे अन्य देशों में रहते हैं उन का भी। मुझे एक साहित्यिक कथा का स्मरण हो आता है जो हमारे प्रसिद्ध हिन्दी साहित्यकार प्रेमचन्द जी ने लिखी है। कथा यह है कि एक गांव में एक आदमी रहता था। वह आदमी गांव भर के जितने बच्चे थे उन को मिठाई बांटा करता था, वह तो सब के सब उस से बहुत प्रसन्न थे परन्तु जहां तक उस के घर के बच्चों का सम्बन्ध था उन में से एक को भी कोई मिठाई नहीं मिलती थी। हमारा हाल करीब-करीब ऐसा ही हो गया है।

बैदेशिक नीति को तीन विभागों में बांटा जा सकता है। एक का सम्बन्ध पाकिस्तान से है, दूसरे का सम्बन्ध है अन्य देशों से और तीसरे का सम्बन्ध है उन देशों से जहां पर हमारे भारतीय अधिक संख्या में निवास करते हैं। आज सबसे कठिन समस्या पाकिस्तान की है और अभी हमारे प्रधान-मंत्री जी ने भी कहा कि जो कुछ हो रहा है वह समस्या का स्थायी हल नहीं है। उन्होंने ने आबादी के तबादले के विषय में कहा कि यह उचित बात नहीं है। लड़ाई के सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने कुछ नहीं कहा। लड़ाई का मैं भी घोर विरोधी हूँ और यह जो आबादी का तबादला है यह भी कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है, इसे भी मैं

स्वीकार करता हूँ। परन्तु जिस प्रकार द्विराष्ट्र सिद्धान्त न मानते हुए भी हमें अन्त में देश का विभाजन स्वीकार करना पड़ा, उसी प्रकार मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रश्न के हल दो ही हो सकते हैं। अन्त में या तो लड़ाई होगी और लड़ाई न होगी तो एक और जहर का घूँट हमें पीकर, चाहे उसमें कितना समय क्यों न लगे, कितनी भी अड़चन क्यों न हों, द्विराष्ट्र सिद्धान्त को न मानते हुए भी हमें पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुरतान की जो आबादियाँ हैं उन का तबादला करना पड़ेगा। मुझे कम से कम इन दो बातों के सिवाय अन्य कोई हल दिखाई नहीं देता।

नैपाल पर कोई आक्रमण न हो, हमारे प्रधान-मंत्री जी ने कहा, बिल्कुल ठीक है। पर प्रश्न यह है कि नैपाल के सदृश्य हमारे दूसरे पड़ोसी देश भी हैं, हमारे भाई भी हैं जो अन्य देशों में रहते हैं। तो वैदेशिक नीति का जो पहला विभाग है वह पाकिस्तान से सम्बन्ध रखता है। दूसरा विभाग अन्य देशों से सम्बन्ध रखता है। उन से हमारा मंत्री सम्बन्ध रहना चाहिये इसके में बिल्कुल पक्ष में हूँ, परन्तु वह निष्क्रिय मंत्री न हो, वह सच्ची मंत्री हो। हम उन का समर्थन करते हैं और वह भी हमारा समर्थन करें।

तीसरे विभाग के विषय में जो बातें मुझ कहनी हैं वह उपनिवेशों में बसे हुए हमारे बन्धुओं से संबंध रखती है। यही मेरा प्रधान विषय भी है क्योंकि गत २७ वर्षों से मैं इसी में थोड़ा बहुत अनुराग लेता रहा हूँ। जहाँ तक इन बन्धुओं का संबंध है हमारी स्वतंत्रता के बाद इन की स्थिति अधिक खराब हो गई है। इन की संख्या कम नहीं है। चालीस लाख भारतीय विदेशों में निवास करते हैं। दक्षिण अफ्रीका; पूर्वी अफ्रीका के चारों देश केनिया, युगांडा, टेंगेनिका, जंजीबार, मलाया, बर्मा, सिलोन, डच गाइना, ब्रिटिश गाइना और फ़िजी यह वह देश हैं जिनमें हमारे भारतीय अधिक संख्या में निवास करते हैं। इन की आज वैसी ही स्थिति है जैसी कि पहली थी, बल्कि और खराब है। इन देशों की समस्याएँ भी प्रायः एक सी हैं। वे तीन समस्याएँ हैं। पहली समस्या यह है कि नये भारतीय वहाँ जा नहीं सकते चाहे वह उपनिवेश हमारे कितने ही सन्निकट क्यों न हों। दूसरी समस्या यह है कि जो वहाँ रहते हैं उन को नागरिकता के अधिकार नहीं दिये जाते। तीसरी समस्या यह है कि कुछ जगह जैसे दक्षिण अफ्रीका में वर्ष भेद इतना बढ़ गया है, इतनी निकृष्ट अवस्था को पहुँच गया है कि संसार में कोई भी सभ्य देश एक क्षण के लिये भी इसे सहन नहीं कर सकता। इन के कुछ उपाय भी हैं। वहाँ के जो मूल निवासी हैं हम को उनके अधिकारों के साथ अपने अधिकारों का मिश्रण करके एक संयुक्त मोर्चा स्थापित करना चाहिये। नैतिक समर्थन के सिवाय हम को ग्रेट ब्रिटेन (Great Britain) को विवश

[सेठ गोविन्द दास]

करना चाहिए कि वह कम से कम उन देशों की समस्याओं को सुलझाने के लिये आगे आवे जो देश कामनवैल्थ (Commonwealth) में हैं। हमारा देश भी उसी कामनवैल्थ में है, और ऐसा होते हुए भी भारतीयों के साथ यदि दुर्व्यवहार हो तो यह अनचित बात है। मुझे इस बात का विश्वास है कि अगर ग्रेट ब्रिटेन आगे आवेगा तो यह समस्या सुलझ जायेगी। एक समय जब जंजीबार में लोंग के व्यापार के संबंध में झगड़ा था तो मैं वहां गया था। उस समय उस समस्या का हल भी ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के द्वारा हुआ था। मुझे इस बात का विश्वास है कि यदि ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट चाहे तो इन कामनवैल्थ के देशों में यह जो समस्याएँ हैं उन का हल करा सकता है।

इन देशों में सब से बड़ा प्रश्न इस समय दक्षिण अफ्रीका का है। मैं माननीय पंडित हृदयनाथ कुंजरू को उन्होंने ने जो काम वहां पर जा कर किया उस के लिये बधाई देता हूँ, पर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रश्न का हल सरल नहीं है। गोल मेज़ परिषद् होने पर भी हम कहां होंगे यह अभी अनुमान नहीं किया जा सकता। दक्षिण अफ्रीका के मामले में पाकिस्तान ने हमारी पीठ में छुरा भोंका है और हमें धोखा दिया है। हमारी ओर से जो व्यापारिक प्रतिबन्ध लगे हुए थे उन के न हटने पर भी उसने अपने प्रतिबन्धों को हटा दिया। मैं एक बात स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहां तक इस गोल मेज़ परिषद् का संबंध है वहां तक हम को पाकिस्तान से इस विषय में कोई समझौता नहीं करना है और जब हम परिषद् में बैठें तो पाकिस्तान किधर जाता है और हम से उस की राय मिलती है या नहीं इस पर कोई ध्यान नहीं देना है। खुद गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया (Government of India) ने इस विषय में जो एक विज्ञप्ति प्रकाशित की थी वह में आप को पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ :

"The Government of India's decision to maintain the ban on trade with South Africa was taken after full consideration of all the relevant factors. The ban was imposed as a protest against the treatment of those who at the time of imposition were all Indians and now include Pakistanis. So long as the discrimination and disabilities, against which this protest was directed, remain, there can be no justification in the opinion of the Government of India for removing the present trade restrictions, and the Government of India do not intend to remove them."

और इसी के साथ उस में यह भी कहा है :

"It is a matter of profound regret to the Government of India that in the treatment of a problem which affects equally the interests, the rights and the honour of Pakistanis and Indians, the Government of Pakistan should have decided to abandon the unity of understanding and approach which the matter requires."

तो मुझे इस बात का विश्वास है कि इस विज्ञप्ति के बाद पाकिस्तान इस सम्बन्ध में क्या करता है और क्या नहीं इस पर हमारा कभी ध्यान नहीं रहेगा और जो हम ने इस विषय में किया है उस पर हम दृढ़ रहेंगे ।

वैदेशिक नीति के सम्बन्ध में मैं अन्त में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अपनी सरकार का हम को पूरा समर्थन करना है । पंडित नेहरू के नेतृत्व में विदेशों में हमारा बहुत प्रभाव बढ़ा है और संसार में हमारा मस्तक बहुत ऊंचा हुआ है । परन्तु मैं इतना अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति निष्क्रिय न होकर सक्रिय होनी चाहिये ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Seth Govind Das (Madhya Pradesh): All of us are highly thankful to our Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru that he in a very comprehensive speech has very clearly enunciated his foreign policy. We are also proud of the added prestige and honour that our country has acquired in the eyes of the world under his leadership and we have full confidence in him. Our foreign policy is that of world peace and I am not in the least opposed to the pursuance of this policy. I am also fully conversant with the present world situation and the responsibility that has fallen upon our shoulders after the independence and of which Panditji made a reference in his speech. I also know this that the biggest and the most difficult problem before each and every country of the world today is the formulation of the foreign policy. In spite of all this and being the staunchest supporter of our Government, both Central and Provincial, yet still I have to submit a few things and I am submitting these things inspired with the same feelings with which I support the Government.

Though the foreign policy relates to all the countries of the world yet still it strongly bears upon the relations with the neighbouring countries. As for example an ocean is a vast expanse of water, yet the waves that rise therein mostly bear an affinity with the coast and not with that vast expanse of water. Likewise the foreign policy also bears the closest possible affinity with the neighbouring countries. After the partition of our country when we make a study of our relations with the neighbouring countries then we have to say that the relations have not at all become closer or more cordial. For the unpleasant relations that we have with Pakistan we are not at all responsible, we acknowledge this fact. But the question is that in spite of our not being responsible for these bad relations how many countries of the world and specially these neighbouring our country are siding with Pakistan and how many are with us. The success of the foreign policy depends upon the number of friends that we can make. I have to submit that these days the world is divided into two power-blocs, the Anglo-American and the Russian, and in spite of the fact that we are not on bad terms with either of them yet if we were to see the propaganda, mostly false, that is being made there then we would come to know that Pakistan is being supported there and we are being opposed. The Press of our country only is supporting the Government and we are not getting any support, whatsoever, from anywhere. I very humbly beg to submit to Panditji that the adverse criticism that he made today of the Indian Press is not at all right and proper. I do not want to allude that our Press in general is not at

[Seth Govind Das]

all at fault, some newspapers may have been at fault, and if any newspapers are really at fault then they ought to have been named instead of making a sweeping remark against the Press *in toto*. The position and status of the Press in India today is not what it had been in the past and irresponsible news-items and comments do appear therein even today. So the thing that has pained me most in Panditji's speech is his sweeping remarks about the Press, in general, because only the Press is affording the Government the greatest possible support.

Besides this we have to see one more thing also. After maintaining most cordial relations with the entire world how far we have been able to benefit the people of our own country and those of our people who are in Pakistan and other countries of the world. I remember a story written by our famous Hindi author Shri Premchandra. The story is that in some certain village lived a man. He used to distribute sweets to all the children of the village. All the children were highly attached to him but so far as the children of his own household were concerned none of them ever got any sweets. The same such thing is happening with us also these days.

The foreign policy can be divided into three parts. One relates to Pakistan, the second relates to the other countries of the world and the third relates to those foreign countries where our countrymen have settled in very large numbers. The biggest problem today is that of Pakistan and our Prime Minister has just now given out that whatever is happening today is not at all a permanent solution of this problem. As regards the problem of the exchange of population, he has just said that this step is not at all wise. He did not say anything about the war. I am also deadly against war and I acknowledge that this exchange of population also is not a good thing. But as we had to accept the partition of the country in spite of our not contributing to the Two-Nation Theory ideology, in the same way I beg to submit that there can be only two solutions of this question. In the end either there would be a war or in case there is no war then we, after pocketing insults after insults, will have to agree to this exchange of population between India and Pakistan, may this thing take a lot of time or may we have to come across any number of difficulties and obstacles, but this will have to be done. To me at least there do not appear any other solutions except these two. Our Prime Minister has just said that there should not be any invasion on Nepal, it is perfectly right. But the question is that like Nepal we have other neighbouring countries also. There is also the question of those of our countrymen who have settled in other countries. Then the first part of the foreign policy pertains to Pakistan and the second pertains to the other countries of the world. I am perfectly in favour of keeping cordial relations with them, but these cordial relations must not be of a merely neutral or negative nature, the friendship must be true. We support their cause and *vice versa* they must support us.

Whatever I have to submit about the third part relates to those of our countrymen who have settled in the various colonies. This also happens to be my favourite subject because for the last 27 years I have been taking a keen interest in this matter. As far as these colonial brothers of ours are concerned I beg to submit that their condition has gone from bad to worse since our attaining independence. Their number also is not less. Four million Indians live in the foreign countries. South Africa; the four countries of East Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar; Malaya; Burma; Ceylon; Dutch Guiana; British Guiana and Fiji are those countries wherein our countrymen have settled down in large numbers. Their condition is still the same as before. It has deteriorated somewhat. The problems in all these countries are

practically the same. They have three problems. The first is that no new Indian settlers can go and settle there however near that colony may be. The second problem is that the Indians who have permanently settled there are not being given citizenship rights. The third problem is that in some countries like South Africa the colour prejudice has so much increased and the conditions have so much deteriorated that no civilized country of the world can, for even one moment, tolerate this state of affairs. There are some way-outs also. By merging our rights with those of the aboriginal population, we should try to organise a united front. Besides giving moral support to our cause we must compel Great Britain to come forward to resolve the problems that are found in those countries that are in the Commonwealth. Our country also is a member of that very Commonwealth; and if even in spite of this fact the Indians there are meted out shabby and inhuman treatment then it is highly improper. I fully believe that if Great Britain would intervene and try to resolve this problem it would be resolved. I had gone there once when we had some dispute about the cloves trade with Zanzibar. At that time this problem was somewhat resolved at the intervention of the British Government. I fully believe that if the British Government would care to intervene then she can perforce get all such problems, that are found in the Commonwealth countries, resolved.

The most important question at this time is of South Africa. I congratulate hon. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru for the splendid work that he did there. But
 3 P. M. I like to submit that this problem is not easy to resolve. Even after a Round Table Conference what our position would be, cannot be imagined. As far as the question of South Africa is concerned Pakistan has stabbed us in the back and has proved false to us. She has waived all trade restrictions and bans against South Africa in spite of the fact that we have not waived any. I wish to submit and in as many words that as far as this Round Table Conference is concerned we have not to enter into any agreement with Pakistan on this subject, and when we actually sit at the Conference then we should not in the least care what Pakistan does or whether she casts her lot with us or not. The Government of India herself had issued a White Paper on this subject. I wish to read out to you a few extracts from the same:

"The Government of India's decision to maintain the ban on trade with South Africa was taken after full consideration of all the relevant factors. The ban was imposed as a protest against the treatment of those who at the time of imposition were all Indians and now include Pakistanis. So long as the discrimination and disabilities, against which this protest was directed, remain, there can be no justification in the opinion of the Government of India for removing the present trade restrictions, and the Government of India do not intend to remove them."

Besides this it has also been mentioned in the said White Paper:

"It is a matter of profound regret to the Government of India that in the treatment of a problem which affects equally the interests, the rights and the honour of Pakistanis and Indians, the Government of Pakistan should have decided to abandon the unity of understanding and approach which the matter requires."

So after the issuing of this White Paper I believe that in future we would never, in the least, care about the attitude of Pakistan in this matter and we would remain firm on our decisions.

About the foreign policy I wish to submit only so much that we have to support our Government *in toto*. Under the leadership of Pandit Nehru our importance in the foreign countries has highly increased and our prestige and honour have also increased in the eyes of the world. But I wish to submit so much at least that our foreign policy instead of being merely neutral and negative should be active and bold.

Shri Karmarkar (Bombay): The situation that confronts us all in one sector of our external affairs is so serious and so fraught with potential dangers and difficulties, that I am tempted to think for a moment that any elucidation today of the principles underlying our foreign policy or any other subject connected with our external affairs may look rather academic. But this situation has been with us during the last two or three years, the dangers facing us and we facing them. Thus we are taking also a long view of affairs and guiding our conduct in the light of our judgment. It is from that point of view that I am addressing you this afternoon on one or two particular considerations in general and, if I am allowed the full fifteen minutes, during the last seven minutes I shall take the liberty of placing one or two considerations for the consideration of the External Affairs Ministry.

Doubts have been expressed in certain quarters regarding the effectiveness of what has been termed our 'passive' or 'neutral' policy. It was made clear to us this morning by the hon. the Prime Minister. The policy that the Government of India have been pursuing during the last two or three years, ever since the attainment of freedom, is not really negative in its character. It was necessarily vague in the beginning, as it could not have been explicit. The foreign policy of a country is the result of a continually evolving process. As the Prime Minister observed once: It is definitely limited by the environments through which the country is passing. Our foreign policy is bound to be largely influenced by the way in which events took their course after the achievement of our freedom. But, during the last two or three years that policy has undergone a definite evolution and we are today in a position to tell ourselves precisely what that foreign policy means. I have had a look at the various statements authoritatively made on this subject, but I have not been able to find a clearer and more lucid statement of the present nature of our foreign policy than in the very remarkable speech which the Prime Minister made in his address to the Columbia University in New York. I take the liberty of quoting that, because to my mind it lays down in very clear terms the precise content of our foreign policy. This is what he said:

"Thus she (India) has tried to combine idealism with national interest. The main objectives of that policy are: the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject peoples; the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population."

This is a very clear statement of the objectives of our foreign policy and, naturally enough, in our national activities and in the international spheres, we have been guided by the principles stated as underlying our foreign policy.

There is another aspect of this question and it is this: It does not exactly matter so much what a nation's foreign policy is as the importance which that particular country holds in international opinion. We all know what the foreign policy of independent China was four years back. But today if our previous ally General Chiang-kai-Shek makes a statement about his foreign policy, he would not be taken as seriously as he might have been taken four years ago. Two and a half years ago when the Prime Minister spoke of our foreign policy we were passing through rivers of blood. Naturally, the world's papers were full of that story and a year later, five or six million of our countrymen crossed from one border to the other. There was a huge refugee problem and pictures in foreign journals showed refugees wearily moving along. A little later international opinion recognising slowly but surely that Independent India was integrating herself and that the 500 and odd States were being welded into one harmonious whole, there came a further recognition of the seriousness of the problems and the methods by which India had been trying to solve them. Now has come a very slow but sure recognition in the world

that when all is said and done those who are in charge of the destinies of India during the last two and a half years have acquitted themselves well.

I have had occasion to glance through what might be called a cross-section of public opinion as expressed in the journals. It naturally varies from country to country. There is the English press which is still preponderatingly reactionary and conservative. Then there is the press in France which due to its association with British Imperialism till yesterday still continues to be unfavourable in its comments on India. I thought it worthwhile to have a cross section of public opinion in the U.S.A. which might be said to be non-imperialistic in its intentions, at any rate for the present. I will not tire the House with long quotations. I thought best not to quote an idealist who believed in the ideals in which we believe but to pick up a hard-headed businessman, because hardly is it the case that businessmen ever do not consider what they say. They are given to realities and we might attach substantial value to what they say in respect of any particular subject of public importance. In an article by a responsible American, Mildred Hughes, who is Executive Vice President, Far East American Council of Commerce and Industry, one of the principal commercial organisations of America, this is what he has said about India today:

"Taking every thing together she (India) has achieved a remarkable stability. In the two years since her complete independence she has emerged as the primary power in non-Communist Asia. The new Government's record of consolidating more than 560 independent states into a solid political unit is substantial in size and effective in character. The leadership of dynamic, resourceful Pandit Nehru is responsible in no small measure for the achievement of these spectacular gains in such a short period."

Judging on the whole we have reasons to believe that we are entitled to take not a pessimistic view of the position which India occupies in the international sphere. That was what might be expected of India. Though India has been new to freedom so far as this century is concerned, India has not been new to the world so far as national reputation is concerned. In the international world there has been a great deal of appreciation of our culture, great respect to Mahatma Gandhi and considerable respect to those who are in charge of the destiny of our country and by and large a very deep and continuing respect for the ideals which have been inspiring the general thought of our country. On top of it we have the world's sympathy in some measure with regard to the troubles and tribulations through which we have been passing. So in my humble opinion we need not be disturbed in the least by what view the Security Council for the moment takes or what the *Daily Telegraph* says in London. We have to develop a certain amount of self-confidence, faith in our own selves so as once for all to abandon the idea or the habit of judging ourselves by what others say about us.

Prof. Ranga: That is what we are doing.

Shri Karmakar: I am sorry I have not got the time to reply to the interruptions.

The second point which I was trying to make was that consistently with the importance which India was bound to achieve, she has been slowly but steadily achieving a position of importance in international Councils. The report here makes it clear that India has been a member in all the important organs of the United Nations and one happy feature of the last session, the Fourth General Assembly of the United Nations, was that for the first time during the past three years India really stepped out of what was her own sphere and made a substantial contribution to the solution of some of the world's problems. The Government of India representative's attempt at finding a solution regarding Atomic Energy, the part which our representative took in the solution of the Italian Colonies problem and other problems were a noteworthy feature. For

[Shri Karmarkar]

the first time we landed ourselves outside our own sphere and I am very happy to say that what has been termed wrongly as a neutral policy but what we might correctly call the constructive peaceful policy, has largely helped India in getting a very good hearing and a great deal of attention for whatever she has been saying. I am divulging no secret when I say that in spite of the best efforts on behalf of our present opponents India was able to secure 57 out of the 58 votes at the time of the election to the Security Council. In that way we are making a slow and steady progress.

Now I come to the points to which I should like to draw the attention of the hon. Prime Minister and his Ministry,—points relating to actual working.

As events have it, we have naturally come to attach a very great importance to the political aspect in international questions and therefore I should say we have fared fairly well in that sphere. There is another aspect to which also we have attached a great deal of importance but which we have not been able to follow up as efficiently as we might have. I refer to the increasingly important economic affairs section of the U.N.O. We have been a member of the Economic and Social Council, we have been a member of the Economic Commission which works under the Social Council and we have taken a fairly active interest in the question of the undeveloped and under-developed countries, since it was first mooted. In fact India is looked up to for guidance by most of the undeveloped countries in several matters.

I regret to say that our representation in economic matters has not been as consistent as it might otherwise have been. In all other delegations there is some economist or other continuously attached to the delegation. In the economic field if there is one man who is working continuously, he knows exactly what is happening. As at present one of the problems is that each man that has been sent out on a particular mission has to study all the previous literature because he might not have been present at the earlier sessions. I would therefore urge on the Ministry to consider the advisability of having a very very strong representation on the economic side, in the United Nations for the particular reason that just at the moment the united Nations have been evolving what they term the "Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance." There is much that we can gain by way of technical assistance from outside. This scheme envisages the collection of Rs. 10 crores to be spent during one year and the idea is to enable each under-developed country to invite technical assistance to it in the same way as it is invited to contribute such assistance as it might be possible. I visualise under the scheme that it is just possible that India will have to bear the brunt and be the pivot for the execution of the technical assistance programme of the United Nations, in Asia. From that point of view I should very respectfully request the Prime Minister to give sufficient importance to this aspect of the question.

The last point is regarding the advisability of developing contacts with, firstly, the universities in foreign countries which are the hub of national and cultural life. Secondly, we should keep ourselves closely in contact with all those institutions which all along have taken a deep interest in oriental studies. Thirdly, I should invite the attention of the Ministry to the advisability of getting into closer touch than is done now with all those friends of India who have been following and helping our progress towards freedom during the past twenty years and invite them here. Finally, I would invite the attention of the Ministry to the urgent need of keeping ourselves in touch with the students who number about 2,000 in the U.S.A. and more than 2,000 in the U. K. and arrange matters in such a way that they might each in his own humble way become an unofficial ambassador of India, wherever he might be studying.

Mr. Speaker: In view of the large number of speakers I would set a time limit of ten minutes which might be extended a little in special cases. If every one avails himself of the extension some of the speakers will have to be dropped. I understand that about half an hour might be required for the Minister's reply and I will call upon him to reply at 5-30 P.M. The House will sit till 6 P.M. today.

Shri Frank Anthony: In discussing foreign policy under present world conditions I realise that the subject is both a difficult and delicate one and the views of Members, if not expressed responsibly may be embarrassing to Government. It is inevitable on a subject like this where the Members of the House cannot be in possession of the facts and the information which are available to the hon. Prime Minister and to his Ministry. Because of this there may be a tendency, which may be excused, on the part of some of us to indulge in rather sweeping generalisation or in facile assumption. But in spite of these difficulties I wish to seek elucidation on certain vital aspects of our foreign policy and also to comment on them.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that our Prime Minister as our Foreign Minister has earned not only the appreciation but the gratitude of the nation for what I regard as his deft and statesmanlike handling of the difficult and delicate subject of foreign policy. I believe that it is his statesmanship alone which prevented India from following the unhappy example of Burma, which prevented her in the first frenzy of her newly found independence from cutting herself adrift from her old moorings before she forged new moorings. I believe it was no easy task for him, in face of the upsurge of Asian sentiment against all colonialism, both past and present, to persuade India to retain her old friendships. And I believe that it is entirely to his credit that India has not forsaken her old friendships.

The other aspect of our foreign policy is that while we have adhered to our old friendships we are not to make, gratuitously, new enemies. I believe that the path which the Prime Minister has struck out for our foreign policy is a straight and narrow path. But biblical history shows that it is not always possible for people with the best of motives and the strongest of characters to adhere to that path because of the many temptations that may surround it and because of the presence of powerful sinners. But what disturbs me even more is that in respect of those who have chosen in the past to follow a straight and narrow path, international history is strewn with the skeletons of the people who have followed or sought to follow this path. My own fear is while we are seeking, quite rightly, to follow a straight and narrow path in international relations, that events—international events—are moving at such a tempo and at such an increasing tempo that they may overtake and even overwhelm us. I know that it is impossible, and the Prime Minister has emphasized the fact that international conditions today represent a veritable maze and it is not possible for any one to simplify the issue.

I know here that I am treading on difficult and delicate ground. But from an immediate and more especially from a fairly long-term point of view, I believe that our foreign policy is faced with a certain stark issue. The problem of Pakistan is a very real problem, it is a vital problem, it is an explosive problem, it is an immediate problem. And to that extent our vision tends to be preoccupied and even our judgments clouded. But I believe in the final analysis the issue which faces us in our foreign policy is the issue between democracy, as we know it, on the one side and Communism on the other. I believe that it is not only self-delusion, but it will be dangerous self-delusion, either to hope or to believe however exemplary our motives in the international plane, however genuine our desire for neutrality, however genuine our desire for friendship with all nations, that Communism will in the final analysis respect our neutrality and our loftiness of motives.

[Shri Frank Anthony]

I cannot forget that the main avid plank of the Cominform was to communise the world. It was as a sop to Allied sentiment suspended during the war, but since then it has been renewed with renewed vigour. I feel that that objective stands very much in the forefront with Communist activity. I also feel that today, Communism contained in Europe by Marshall Aid, by the Brussels Pact, by the North Atlantic Treaty, by Tito's defection—the Communist tide contained in Europe—is seeking outlets in non-resisting and largely non-resistant Asia. As I have said, for democratic India I believe the issue is a stark one: it is a plain issue of survival. I do not believe that when we face this issue, if we face it realistically—we can be accused of aligning ourselves with this or that bloc. In facing this issue India cannot stand still; India dare not stand still. While India's policy is an avowed policy of active neutrality, I do not believe any of us should interpret that active neutrality into meaning that it should so petrify our foreign policy that it should make us passive or hesitant when our frontiers are likely to be affected, or that it should prevent us from pursuing it more directly and more closely. It was conventional to say that for the purpose of security the frontiers of France were on the Rhine. I do not think my analogy is misconstrued or that I am indulging in a hyperbole when I say that I feel, in this ideological war which is being waged at an increasing tempo, that the frontiers of India are Indo-China on the one side and Tibet on the other. The hon. the Prime Minister referred to Indo-China this morning. I feel today that Indo-China is literally the gateway to South East Asia. If Indo-China is assimilated to Communism, then I think it will be only a matter of time before Malaya, Burma and perhaps even Indonesia fall before the advancing Communist tide.

I do not propose to attempt to analyse the merits of the position in Indo-China. I admit the fact that French colonialism with the reluctance of French imperialism to release their grip over Indo-China have definitely aggravated the position there. As regards Ho Chi-Minh, the suspicion and the avowedly expressed Communist support both from Soviet Russia and Communist China and Soviet satellite States have exposed where his sympathies lie. As regards Bao Dai it is contended that he is a puppet of the French administration. But what I wish to underline is this. The Prime Minister has said that the utmost that we can go is only to give theoretical support to those people. Whatever the real position, to those who in fact represent the last remnants of defence against Communism in those Asian outposts, I believe even India's theoretical support is of very considerable help. India today is regarded as the nerve centre of democracy in Asia. I feel that even India's moral support can and will help any one of those Asian outposts in their struggle against Communism. To the extent that India, for reasons which are quite substantial and acceptable, may deny these remnants struggling against Communism that help, to that extent I believe she may tend to weaken these people and these outposts in their struggle against Communism.

One matter on which I wish to seek a little elucidation is India's attitude towards Tibet. Here also the position is not without difficulty. It is overlaid with a certain amount of confusion as to Tibet's political status. But I believe that as far back as 1920 or 1921 Tibet did definitely assert her independence. There may be a tendency for militant Chinese Communism to reassert the vestiges of Chinese suzerainty which at one time was recognized. Here again, I feel that India should elucidate her position. The Prime Minister would be pleased to let us know whether here again with regard to this Asian outpost which I regard as an outside frontier of India, we will stand up and see it being overrun by this Communist tide. I am fully aware of the difficulties which must

confront our Prune Minister. He has to respect national sentiment, and national sentiment will repudiate any open alignment on his part on behalf of the country with either of the two power blocs. He has to respect national sentiment; although in this particular respect it is inclined to be over-suspicious, he has to respect it by not entering into any undue friendships with even the Western Democracies. Because there is this tendency to undue suspicion in the country—let us recognise it—any kind of friendship, however wholesome and salutary, with the Western Democracies, with the Western countries, is bound to be misconstrued into subservience to European hegemony. Then there is this great tradition of non-violence which also tends to misconstrue policies as aggressive which are, in fact, only defensive and precautionary.

Thus, I believe, that because of the careful, the necessarily careful, policy which the Prime Minister has pursued, not so much the Anglo American bloc but perhaps the Americans misunderstand India's position. They probably regard India's position as that of a passive and a hesitant onlooker. I may be mistaken, but I feel that Americans—some of them—tend to feel that India is not a safe bet in the international field. May I say that I would regard this as a perfectly worthwhile risk, that I would risk even being denied help, when we need it, from the Anglo-American bloc if there was some reasonable certainty that our policies, inspired as they are by the highest motives, would guarantee respect for Indian neutrality? But it is my opinion—people may not agree with me, but it is my opinion—that in the final analysis India's neutrality will not be guaranteed, it will not be respected. I know that in saying this I perhaps am treading difficult ground, but unlike democracy communism knows what it wants, and I feel that one of communism's wants is India, that sooner or later communist policy will be directed to the absorption of India. Communist technique which today has assumed the precision of a science, however, maintains an unchanging and a constant pattern. To my mind, communist technique falls into two stages. The first is a covert stage of finding adherents in a particular country, of giving them all possible underground support while they are burrowing into the vitals and the foundations of the State. The second stage is when the communists feel that the occasion is opportune and they precipitate a headon clash and shamelessly give all possible support to an overt movement. I believe that in India we are witnessing the first of these two stages of communist technique. It is not something which is peculiar to India, it is a fault peculiar to democracy—democracy is always a late starter. It is said that democracy only begins to act when it is overtaken by sudden calamity. To that extent it is weaker than dictatorship. I feel that in spite of the great achievements of our Prime Minister and his Ministry, perhaps today there is a greater urgency to this problem from a short-term, and more especially from a fairly long-term, point of view. I believe that India's best interests will be served if notice is given of the fact that India has been alerted, that India for the sake of her survival will not only maintain the attitude of a neutral observer but where necessary India will take positive and positively decisive action.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair.]

Shri Hossain Imam (Bihar): We are all proud of the manner in which the affairs of India have been managed in the international field. The Prime Minister has increased the stature of India in the councils of the world and the position which India has gained today is one of which every citizen has reason to be proud of. I wish to confine my remarks at the moment to only one aspect of our policy. I refer to the question of the troubles in East Bengal. It is well-known to the House that in the beginning India made proposals to the Pakistan Government for a joint enquiry and for a joint tour of the two

[Shri Hossain Imam]

Premiers. An unexceptionable proposal was made, but we do not know the reasons or the grounds on which the Pakistan Government rejected it. To us it seems there could have been nothing more fair, more just and more honest than this suggestion of ours that we should make an enquiry and that the two Premiers should tour together. It is well-known that prevention is always better than cure and if any efforts made by the two countries are fruitful in bringing security to the minorities, then that is a thing which should have the support of every thinking citizen of India and of Pakistan. It is only those who have suffered the difficulties of migration that can know full well what are the implications of it.

It is very easy to talk of exchanging populations or of accommodating people, but they are not like bricks which you can stack. They are human beings, they have their requirements, they have their needs, they have their stations and they have their connections and all these things are uprooted when a mass movement takes place. The world has never known a movement of the nature that we had in the dark days of August, September and October, 1947. No one can with a light heart talk of anything which would result in a mass movement of that nature. We feel that India has been doing everything in its power to give an assurance to the minorities that they will be safe. It is necessary that Pakistan should also not only say things but actually, by action, make the minorities contented, for it is in the interests of the Muslims of India that I say that the minorities in Pakistan should be contented. No Government in power can give us security in India—it is impossible—if the minorities are not well looked after in East Bengal.

Personally I feel that it is not by bellicose talks or irresponsible utterances or exaggerated publication of news that we can bring about the well-being of those in whom we are interested. It is, as the hon. Prime Minister very wisely remarked, by restraint and restraint alone that you can have the well-being of the people in whom you are interested. What happened when *The Dawn* published that news of ten thousand having been killed in Calcutta? Did it advance the cause of the Muslims of India or did it bring about more trouble to them? I believe that it has done more harm to us than any act that others might have done. Similarly, exaggerated accounts published in India about the casualties or atrocities in Pakistan do not benefit those who are there. Such accounts create a sense of insecurity, they make them nervous. Newspapers are so widely read today that news spreads like wild fire.

I, therefore, feel that it is in the best interests of the two countries to have restraint, even in spite of provocation, whenever there is provocation. Not that anyone denies the existence of provocations, but what is the most wise action which we can take? Is it wise for us to behave in the same brutal manner in which animals behave? We cannot copy the methods of animals, but I feel also that India owes a duty to its own position in the world to uphold its character in spite of whatever may happen in the other country. Our position is not the same as that of the other countries. You have in Europe countries like Germany, England and also Luxembourg. Is there any comparison between them? Similarly, whatever those who are in charge of the destinies of Pakistan may do, we must always remain sober and wise.

Shri Tirumala Rao (Madras): It is not by mere accident that you are in charge of this portfolio. "Foreign affairs" has been a favourite subject with you even long before we achieved our freedom.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not in charge!

Shri Tirumala Rao: I am sorry. Even though by my inadvertence I have said so, I am sure the Deputy-Speaker will not appropriate the compliments to himself, because he knows too well whom I meant—I meant the Prime Minister.

Our Prime Minister had a prevision of what India's future was going to be. We all appreciated it when he returned from the Brussels Conference of Non-self-governing Peoples in 1927 and started organising the Foreign Affairs Department of the A.I.C.C. Since then he has prepared himself and he has been the maker of policy for the Congress, which he is now implementing as the Prime Minister of Free India. We have been committed—this nation has been committed—to non-alignment in regard to foreign policy. We have decided that we will not align ourselves with anybody who is an imperialist and a war-monger. We are always against imperialists who are enslaving people. We have decided that we will chalk out a policy that would suit the best interests of India and it would be based on high principles of morality and ethical conduct. It is given to our Prime Minister to implement that policy. Within eighteen months of assuming charge, he was welcomed in the United Nations in Paris in 1948 by all the highest statesmen in the world as a personality much above them in the field of international politics. It is the fundamental correctness of our attitude that has been well laid down in our idealism that is responsible for India assuming her rightful place in the polity of nations. Our Prime Minister has always championed the cause of the oppressed people. Within hardly two years of our attaining freedom, Indonesia has been the first friend of ours who has reaped the benefits of our policy. Whatever may be the armaments, whatever may be the power, behind these imperialists,—whether it be the French, the British, the Dutch or any other—the moral power of India could not be resisted. Our Prime Minister stood firmly by the side of Indonesia and has got its emancipation by championing its cause and by convening a Conference last year. No body expected that that Conference would bear fruit in the course of one year. But it is due to the correctness of the stand taken by our Prime Minister with regard to other fellow-Asiatic nations, India is on the threshold of great changes. India is situated in a key position between the East and the West. We have to look to our neighbours. Our neighbours have to be strengthened. Volcanic changes are taking place round about us. Leave alone Pakistan. China has become completely Communist, but on that account India is not scared. India is not afraid of either Communism or imperialism or American dollar imperialism.

Shri B. Das (Orissa): Well said.

Shri Tirumala Rao: We have chalked out a course which is suited to the best interests of not only India but other peoples in the world. From that point of view, we have got a duty to discharge and it is not mere armaments alone that count in this world.

When I see what is happening around us, at times, I wonder whether we are right in aligning ourselves with the British Commonwealth. There are now three Power blocs: the Americans, the Russians and the British Empire bloc. All of them are struggling for power and one can see that the aligning of British foreign policy has always been cunning, intelligent, keeping two Powers fighting and trying to maintain its supreme position in the world. America does not desire territorial expansion. It wants investment; it wants its goods to spread all over the world; it wants markets, and by the peculiar economic position which it has come to occupy in the world, it has established its monetary supremacy in every part of the world. Whatever you may say, American imperialism has got all the purse-strings of the world in its hands. It has got the World Monetary Fund in America. It has started the World Bank

[Shri Tirumala Rao]

in America. It has started lend/lease, the Marshall Plan and the Plan for development of under-developed countries. It always wants to see that its victims do not become economically weak but are maintained at a certain subsistence level, so that its goods can be consumed all over the world. Now, Great Britain, though it has lost its Empire by losing India, is still trying to maintain what it has got by keeping all the seven seas open to it. All the machinations of Great Britain are visible in the Middle East, where she is, by one method or other—by one device or other—keeping up a dominant position. Russia is, for its own purposes, trying to dominate the world by spreading its ideology all over the globe. It is a very difficult proposition for any Minister in charge of the Foreign Affairs portfolio in India not to align his policy to one or other of the warring groups without treading on the toes of one or the other of them. If we are consistently to work out our destiny, we should be chary of these Powers. There is so much of distrust among these Great Powers. I just want to show to the House the kind of propaganda stuff that is being broadcast by America in regard to Russia. They say:

"A short time ago a high-ranking Soviet personage attending a celebration staged by a Communist satellite Government was induced by another guest to talk. This is what he said. 'If only we could hold these gentlemen of Washington and London at the card table for, say, another 24 months, we could then call it a day by inviting them to hand over their wallets without much ado and telling them to get going-home.'"

Shri B. Das: Why do you read such trash?

Shri Tirumala Rao: I would not like to call it trash. I value this information because information published in this *Intelligence Digest* six months ago has come true in many respects. Therefore, there is some truth in what is being published here. Now, America is proud about the atom bomb; but Russia has evolved the hydrogen bomb. Russia is conscious of her ability to produce many more deadly weapons, that will teach a lesson to America. Therefore, I want the House to consider how much of mutual suspicion and antagonism exists among these big nations. We cannot choose between them. We cannot make a choice and say that one is better than the other. Under the circumstances, it is a difficult job for any Foreign Minister to make his policy clear. Nonetheless, we have shown extraordinary courage of conviction and wisdom which will be appreciated in the long run. Wherever our Prime Minister has gone, he has been feted. When he was treated as the great guest of the U.S. Government, he refused to be drawn into the spider's web of aligning himself with American policy.

Shri Kamath: Where is the spider?

Shri Tirumala Rao: You will understand me when you read my speech. I cannot annotate my speech side by side. I have no time.

Therefore, what I say is that we have not aligned ourselves firmly either with America or Russia or even Great Britain.

At times I feel so angry at the petty and I would almost say 'mean' behaviour of the representatives of Great Britain in the United Nations. They profess friendship here. They talk nicely to us, and then they go and pull strings behind our backs against us in the U.N.O. on the Kashmir question. The consistent attitude adopted by Sir Hartley Shawcross, the British Attorney-General, an astute lawyer and a seasoned politician, towards India on the Kashmir issue in the United Nations Organisation, does not speak of the goodwill or the good faith of the British Government towards India. The MacNaughton formula is another piece of political manipulation by the Big Powers to impose a decision on India, in spite of the fact that Pakistan was exposed despite her constant disclaimers and persistent tissue of lies that she has never entered Kashmir. We know that morality is not the basis, right

conduct is not the basis in international courts and chancelleries and in those chancelleries it is a difficult time for us to maintain a correct attitude. We have tried our best to maintain that attitude and that is largely due to the stand taken by our Prime Minister with regard to our foreign policy.

Now, coming nearer home I want to say a few words about our relations with Pakistan. However much you may try to placate our friends of Pakistan, they are absolutely short-sighted. They have been short-sighted in first asking for a partition of this country: then they have been very short-sighted in telling the world that theirs is a theocratic State, a State based on religion. They sent their emissaries to the Middle-East countries thinking that they could exploit the religious feelings of the people of those countries with a view to form an Islamistan, but they found that it was not possible. After all a weak man aligning himself with a weaker man becomes a weak combination which will never get any strength.

These people now want to create a sort of anti-Hindu mania in Pakistan and it is part of that plan we see manifesting in the riots in East Bengal. Therefore, what I want to suggest is that I was slightly dispirited at the statement made by the Prime Minister with regard to the happenings in East Pakistan. The Muslims who are going out of West Bengal are going out without any fear of violence or atrocities committed on them, while everybody who is coming from the Eastern side is visited with murder, rape and every sort of indignity. Therefore, let it not be understood that the people who are going out of India to Pakistan are being driven out. It is the natural fear engendered in them on account of the mischievous policies of Pakistan that is inducing them to get out of India to Eastern Pakistan.

One thing our Government must make plain—they should not mince words about it. When our Prime Minister made a statement that he would have to take recourse to other methods for settling this question the Prime Minister of Pakistan again brandished the usual tactics of intimidation by telling the world that our Prime Minister meant war. We must make it clear that if it is to be a question of war, if this country is driven to that desperate position of war, India will not lag behind to teach a lesson to Pakistan. If they want war they will get it in their neck with a vengeance. We on our part do not think in terms of it. They are the culprits, they are the aggressors who are precipitating a situation by having recourse to periodical mass murders. Therefore, there is no harm if our Prime Minister tells the world the real state of affairs. World opinion is such a nebulous gullible thing that it believes what it wants to believe. That is what we have been seeing with regard to world opinion, particularly in these big countries. If a correspondent of the *London Times* comes here and sends out a story of lies, care is taken to publish it against India. What is that world opinion—I want to know. They may create an opinion for the time being; but they cannot deceive the public for all time to come. Therefore, in our attitude, in our policies, it is better always for us to be absolutely firm with regard to these recalcitrant neighbours who want to create trouble and exploit it for their own ends.

I do not want to take much of the time, but want to say a word with regard to the External Affairs Department in this country. We have established Embassies all over the world, I am glad of that. We are eager to know as to what is happening in the rest of the world as the world is coming closer together. But our Prime Minister has to draw upon entirely his official personnel who are accustomed to a sort of a routine at the desk. Having got into the habit of governmental routine they are not accustomed to shape political policies. They must be guided by seasoned politicians and seasoned politicians must be sent abroad to represent our country if you are to establish proper contacts with the outside world and give a proper impression of our country.

Pandit Mahtta: I am afraid I cannot participate in this debate in the same spirit as has been done by the speaker immediately before me. It is one of those occasions when one feels that he should not stand on ceremonies but speak out what he feels himself and knows others to feel on the question.

We have had from the hon. the Prime Minister today an elaborate statement of his foreign policy. He has traversed all regions of earth and also dealt with all political doctrines and political trends as they obtain today. I wish that he had avoided all reference to Pakistan—particularly to Eastern Bengal. I wish much of what he said had been left unsaid. I want to tell the Prime Minister frankly that I received his speech, particularly the last part of it which dealt with Eastern Pakistan, with the rudest possible shock of painful surprise. When I say that I do not mean it metaphorically or rhetorically; literally I have not been able to overcome the shock that has been caused by it.

Sir, you will pardon me if I confine the observations that I propose to make within the few minutes at my disposal to the territory that is close to my doors. The hon. the Prime Minister has given his own impressions of what he has seen in Calcutta of the miseries and sufferings of the refugees from Eastern Pakistan. He has given a version of the number of people who have migrated from West Bengal to Eastern Pakistan and *vice versa*. He has given his own experience of the refugees that he happened to contact at Ranaghat and other places. I am sure they are valuable experiences and I do not deny their value so far as he is concerned. But I do maintain that the hon. the Prime Minister of India has completely failed to appreciate the situation.

Shri Sidhva (Madhya Pradesh): Question.

Pandit Mahtta: Yes, the hon. Member may question. He may question snugly nestled within the Assembly Chamber. It is all very well for him to question those who feel it, know it, deal with it and every day receive shoals of letters and representations from the afflicted people.

It is one thing to show or evince intellectual sympathy but it is another thing to heal the wounds of those who have suffered so grievously.

The hon. Prime Minister said that while visiting Ranaghat, he found refugees able to carry luggage, beddings, etc. I do not challenge that. During the last few days when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Bengal, Pakistan became cautious. They knew quite well that the Prime Minister of India was sitting in Calcutta—was coming from Delhi to Calcutta off and on during the last eleven days and they took jolly good care to see that some people at least from some points were allowed to come over to India with some of their belongings. But there are numerous other points from which the people are simply trekking into the Indian territory from Pakistan and the versions that these people are giving us are that not only they are deprived of everything at every stage but their women-folk are taken away or dishonoured. Today I saw in the papers that women-folk were subjected to such atrocities; they were taken to secluded places where their relations were not allowed to go and they were subjected to all manner of indignities on the pretext of searching their persons. Letters are pouring in which describe these tales, which I have never known happening in the history of any country in the world; nowhere has there been such a large-scale dis-honour of women, large-scale abduction of women, mass-rape and other indignities on womanhood. I do not know if the hon. Prime Minister enquired about that. My hon. friend

the Prime Minister of India said that 150,000 people had crossed from Eastern Pakistan to India and about 100,000 had migrated from Calcutta to East Bengal. It is quite possible. But may I ask him did he try to ascertain whether the Muslims who have been leaving this place were subjected to persecution, whether their women-folk were subjected to dishonour and indignities which our Hindu brethren were subjected to while coming from Eastern Pakistan? Did he ascertain as to within the Indian territory out of this one lakh of Muslims how many were marooned and how many were not allowed safe passage? Every day I have been receiving heaps of letters depicting the terrible tales of how thousands of refugees found their way to the Indian front, how they had been marooned in different places, and how they were harassed in all manner of ways.

It is quite possible and I have no reason to challenge the statement of the hon. Prime Minister that he saw some bits of ornaments on some of the women that have come to India. I say, when the whole country is so much perturbed over the happenings in Eastern Pakistan that kind of statement which the hon. Prime Minister has made will not remove the great uneasiness or assuage the feelings. He has gone out of the way to attack the Press in not observing restraint. You very well know that Pakistan had put up a curtain over that territory. No news comes in and any little news that reaches is being strictly censored. The Indian Press has always been in a restrained mood and would not allow anything to be published. It was only recently when the Government of India—the Information Department, I believe—started doling out certain items of news that the Press started publishing them but even then there has been no exaggeration or comment but only factual statements. I can understand the hon. Prime Minister saying that nothing should be said which might inflame passions; but does he mean that nothing should be published in this country,—no news of what is happening in East Bengal—, nothing of the terrible happenings there should be allowed to see the light of day? Is that his contention? I wonder?

He was referring to some sort of a statement which he and perhaps the Prime Minister of Pakistan would make to ease the immediate tension. I do not know what he really means. Does he really believe that any agreement, any undertaking or any covenant with India that may be entered into by Pakistan, would be respected by it? Day after day questions have been raised on the floor of the House about the violation by Pakistan of this or that agreement with India. It is absolutely clear that every single pact that Pakistan makes with India will be more honoured by it in the breach than in the observance. Yesterday I asked a question of Dr. Keskar whether they had by now a section in the Secretariat to deal with protests against Pakistan. Does he really believe that when all the offers that he made recently to Pakistan with a view to fact-finding with regard to disturbances in East Bengal were turned down, that any agreement if entered into now, would be respected by Pakistan? He suggested that the Prime Ministers of both the Countries should jointly tour over the affected areas in both but Pakistan said 'No'. Two commissions from the two sides should visit the respective areas—'No'. The Red Cross Society people would go and tour over the affected areas—'No'. Whatever the Prime Minister of India proposed to Pakistan has been turned down by it. I ask how does he honestly feel that if this joint declaration or statement that is contemplated by him is made, it will be implemented by Pakistan? This will only give it an opportunity to wriggle out of the present difficult position. I have not the least doubt that by doing this the Prime Minister instead of doing service to my province, service to the afflicted people, would be doing positive disservice. It is quite unintentional but all the same I feel it will be in effect a positive harm. High hopes have been raised by his going to Calcutta twice in the course of the last 11 days; people have been anxiously expecting that

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something would be done very soon by Government to end their sufferings. Now instead of applying the healing balm to those lacerated hearts this statement of his, as he has made today will be like a saline water douche to them.

I am talking quite frankly; I have been studying this matter for the last 2½ years; I have given this House warning after warning because after all Pakistan is a professedly theocratic Islamic State. How on earth can you rely on their sense of justice to protect the non-Muslim minorities? We know if such an undertaking for protection of minorities is given by either side, we will carry it out all right and we will do it with a vengeance. But I know very well—and any honest man in this hon. House knows in his heart of hearts that whatever undertakings are given by Pakistan Government will not be implemented by it. I much wish that instead of giving false hopes, let us stand up and honestly say like Pakistan: Pakistan is a foreign territory and if its nationals are molested, it is no concern of ours in India. This would be infinitely more honest. Let us for God's sake not raise high hopes any longer. That is a danger and this will have very disastrous repercussions on the whole country. I want to assure the hon. Prime Minister that we have done our level best to keep the passions of the people in check. A few days ago, while I was in Bengal, I spent my whole time with my people to ensure peaceful conditions in order that the minorities in India, the Muslims may be completely protected.

I can assure him that in all our districts we have taken the utmost precaution to see that no untoward incidents happen. Naturally, as has been pointed out by the Prime Minister himself, by reason of the compulsion of events, many Muslims think that it may not be safe for them now to continue here and that it may not be possible for the Government to keep the peace, and so they are seeking safety by temporarily fleeing into Pakistan. It is quite possible. It is only a matter of sheer psychology, but it is not the case that there has been any large-scale disturbance in West Bengal. There is no doubt about the security which the Muslims enjoy in West Bengal. If it is said there is no security for Muslims in West Bengal, it is entirely wrong. I therefore feel that this Joint statement which he proposes to make will, instead of helping the situation, create exasperation in the country, and it will make the task of those who are maintaining peace and order in the country extremely difficult. I again repeat that instead of raising any false hope, let him frankly say that the Government of India cannot do anything in the matter. That would be infinitely better than this kind of vague and indefinite thing.

I want to be fair to the hon. the Prime Minister. I know he has taken infinite pains. I have unqualified admiration for him, but I detest flattery. If I think he is wrong, as I feel he is, I will say that to his face.

Shrimati Durgabai: May I know what is the constructive suggestion my hon. friend can make?

Pandit Maitra: Let me tell him that the whole province of West Bengal is deeply beholden to him for having taken the trouble to go there and study the situation himself. I know that a good deal of sympathy for these unfortunate people has been aroused. A good deal of goodwill is there in favour of the Prime Minister. Even yesterday when he was leaving Calcutta, I read reports that he was wildly cheered throughout his 11-mile long route. That is because of the feeling that something is going to be done when the Prime Minister is back here. No doubt they will get some relief. Relief is necessary, and they will

be grateful for whatever relief is given. But the most important thing to note is that there are thousands and thousands of people who are marooned in different parts of East Bengal and are anxious to come away to India, but there are no facilities. If any untoward incident happens in the Indian Union its repercussions will be that these unfortunate people who now lie stranded in different parts of East Bengal would be butchered.

May I say in the end that I like our Prime Minister. I like him, I respect him and if occasionally I admonish him, I hope he will not mind it and will take my criticism in the spirit in which it is offered.

Shri Hanumanthaya (Mysore): This morning the hon. the Prime Minister surveyed the foreign policy of India. First, he enunciated what he has been following all along, the policy of non-alignment so far as international politics is concerned. That is a policy which is sound and which commands the unstinted support of all of us. On another occasion, he put it in excellent phraseology, i.e., positive pursuit of peace. It is not neutrality, it is not indifference to what is happening in the rest of the world, but it is pursuing the path of peace without aligning ourselves with anyone of the big powers.

I will come to the next topic that he touched upon, viz., the attitude of India to the situation in Asia. Here, by and large his is a policy which should be supported, for it is sound. There are some suggestions I would like to make. I was very happy to hear some Members congratulate him on his convening the Conference of Asiatic countries to back up the independence of Indonesia. I very much wish that he had followed the same policy in regard to the rest of Asia. He was telling us that he could not intervene in the dispute that is going on in Indo-China. I very much wish that he had taken up this matter also with as much zeal and earnestness as he took up the cause of Indonesia. Now that independence has been granted to Indonesia, every country thinks that India in a way has assumed the leadership of Asia and that Pandit Nehru is the spearhead of that policy. For him to keep quiet over what is going on in Indo-China is to confess abandonment of that policy to that extent. I, therefore, urge him to convene a conference of Asian countries so that not only the question of Indo-China but other questions too relating to colonialism in the East could be discussed. It is the accepted policy of the Government of India that colonialism should completely disappear in Asia. After being successful in getting independence to Indonesia, what have we done with regard to the rest of imperialism in Asia? There is Korea; there is Indo-China; there is Malaya; and there are other bits of territories in the British Empire as of old. It should be our policy to see that there is no vestige of colonialism left in Asia, whether it is under the British or under the French or under the Portuguese.

To come nearer home, I think the hon. Prime Minister committed a little error when he conceded the right of referendum to the French and Portuguese settlements in India. I do not know exactly what he has done in regard to the Portuguese settlements but I am told that negotiations are going on. Therefore, it will be appropriate for me now to sound a note of warning. The policy that we pursued in regard to the British has to be logically followed in regard to the French and the Portuguese as well. If we adopted the policy of "Quit India" in regard to the British, what is it that prevents us from following the same policy in regard to these tiny bits of French and Portuguese possessions in India? The policy of hesitancy that the Prime Minister is following in the case of France and Portugal is not finding acceptance either in this House or outside. Take for example the plebiscite in Chandernagore.

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On account of various alleged legal difficulties, nothing is being done to transfer it to India and the matter is being postponed without time limit. When we attained independence in 1947, the people of these territories were up in arms and wanted to liberate themselves. We did not go to their rescue. We pointed out certain legal and political difficulties as an excuse and wanted them to wait. They are waiting and many of the patriots who worked for that cause are still in jails or in banishment.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is a lot of noise in the House and nobody is able to hear the speaker. I wish hon. Members attend to the speech.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Therefore, I would urge the Prime Minister to brush aside these legal niceties and enunciate the policy of "Quit India" in regard to these tiny bits of French and Portuguese possessions in India.

Then, there is another problem in Asia. If Communism is the greatest problem in South East Asia, "communalism" is the problem on the other side, i.e., in the Middle East. It has been stated many times on the floor of this House that Pakistan is propagating the idea of pan-Islamism in the Middle East Countries. It is fanaticism. They want to build up an Islamic State in the East.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keekar): It cannot be called communalism.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: We are accustomed to call it so in India, at any rate. They want to build, as they say, a Theocratic State and they want to draw in all the Muslim countries of the Far East into the picture. If that is the policy that is going to be pursued by them, we have to be careful about it. I would urge on the Government of India to consider the question of according recognition to Israel straightaway. Even an Islamic country like Iran has of late accorded *de facto* recognition to Israel.

Dr. Keekar: It has not accorded recognition.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: It has recognized. I am not suggesting any manoeuvring. If the Middle East countries want to build up a Theocratic State with the help of Pakistan or with the instigation of Pakistan, the State of Israel is an antidote to the menace of pan-Islamism.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is so much noise in the House. I would ask Members to listen to the speaker.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Besides, the people of Israel, the Jews, are a very ancient people with great culture and history. If we accord them recognition, it would be in consonance with natural justice as well. Both from the point of view of making this Theocratic State behave as well as from the point of view of humanity, I would urge on the hon. Minister for External Affairs to straightaway accord legal and due recognition to the State of Israel.

Now, the thing uppermost in the minds of all of us is the question of Pakistan. We listened with great respect to the enunciation of policy by the Prime Minister. However much we may scrutinize the statement—no doubt there are noble notions in it,—I find complete lack of any solution to the problem. He may not want exchange of population. As he said many a time in the speech, we are being overwhelmed by facts. That happened after Partition in 1947. In spite of our policy to the contrary, exchange of population took place. According to the Prime Minister himself, exchange of population is going on even today but he does not want to bless it officially. He says exchange of population cannot be thought of. In the next sentence he gives us figures of people coming to India from Pakistan and *vice versa*.

Shri Bharati (Madras): That is not exchange of population.

Shri Hanumanthaya: Rather migration of population. Exchange of population is taking place of its own accord. It is therefore that we have to take it up on official level and frame our policy accordingly. I have been urging on the Prime Minister one hard unpleasant task. After all the overwhelming majority of the Muslims were members of the Muslim League. They were the people who backed up the Muslim League and brought about ultimately the partition of the country and all that followed. Poetic justice must be allowed to pursue them. I do not say that everyone of them must be victimised. For every man driven away from Pakistan, we must send one from here to Pakistan. That is the only solution possible and effective. You are not able to prevent Muslims from running away to Pakistan nor have you been able to prevent Hindus from fleeing to India from Pakistan. You are being overwhelmed by facts—as the Prime Minister says. I do not want any of those people to suffer in the ways that are being described to us day in and day out. I want peaceful transfer of population. So long as there is peace in Pakistan I would not suggest exchange of population. If by any chance Pakistan forces the minorities out of Pakistan, I would urge upon the Government of India to take that question on the very same plane and do it more humanly. This idea may look ludicrous but that is the only solution. We must not hesitate to send those Muslim League people to Pakistan who were responsible for its establishment and consequent disorders and sufferings. Sure they will be more at home there. If the hon. Prime Minister wants to stand in the way of poetic justice being done, I want to tell him that the elemental forces are far greater than any forces that he or the Deputy Prime Minister may by their policies generate. Even Mahatma Gandhi was not able to succeed in preventing the mass migration from Pakistan to India and from India to Pakistan. Where Mahatma Gandhi failed if others claim to succeed, I can only say 'I will wait and see.' Therefore, if Pakistan periodically follows a policy of ousting the minorities from Pakistan and that is their planned policy so that ultimately it may be a complete Islamic State, we cannot afford to keep quiet. To plead that there is no solution is bankruptcy of statesmanship. This vacillation is costing us too dearly. Some concrete step has to be taken in order to allay the fears that have taken hold of the people of India.

Prof. S. N. Mishra (Bihar): It is very difficult for me as one who has studied these problems in a rather theoretical vacuum to pronounce any judgment upon the subject which is not only delicate but messy sometimes. I shall in my own limited way, first of all place before the House the fundamentals of the foreign policy which both the Congress and the Government have been laying down from time to time, and I shall try to examine the execution of our foreign policy, its pragmatic results in the light of these fundamentals.

I shall, therefore try to come to the Jaipur resolution of the Congress which lays down as the first principle the promotion of world peace. Coming to this subject, I must admit that India has probably done more positive things for the promotion of world peace than any other country has done. I feel India has unreservedly and completely pledged herself to the charter and the principles of the United Nations. Despite the gravest provocations on the Kashmir issue, India is sticking to those principles with the greatest possible sincerity; and it is therefore that I say that India has faithfully adhered to the principle of the promotion of world peace. But at the same time I feel that enough has not been done in this respect, and there is a great deal that challenges us, on our very frontier. I want to refer to Indo-China. I think Indo-China is going to be the cockpit of a global conflict and I am apprehensive that unless we are going to prevent a conflagration on our border we may be sucked up in the swirl of that war. I feel on the issue of Indonesia we have got every right to congratulate

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ourselves, and the independence of Indonesia will go down in history as one of the greatest and most immortal achievements of any statesman of the world. We have to do something in the matter of Indo-China also, and when I want to invite the attention of the hon. Prime Minister to Indo-China I want to invite the attention of the House to the principle laid down at Jaipur Congress that the Congress is for the extirpation of colonialism and imperialism. May I ask what has been done in this respect—for the extirpation of colonial rule in Indo-China? Shall we simply say that we shall follow a policy of non-interference in the conflict in Indo-China? If we do so, I do not think we shall be faithful to the principle that we have already laid down. Therefore, I feel that India should, as one of the major members of the family of Asian nations, call a conference just as she did in the case of Indonesia, which might consider the case of Indo-China and say to foreign powers "Hands off from there". The Colonial rule, vestiges of which still persist in that territory must go. If these are removed, then we can settle down and ourselves decide very amicably the domestic questions that exist there. I say if India wants to contribute to this aspect of world peace, she must do this in respect of Indo-China.

Then the other thing to which the Jaipur Congress invited our attention is the fostering of bonds of fellowship and cooperative efforts within All Asian nations and I think something was tentatively done at the conference on Indonesia. But I do not know whether anything has since been done to pick up the threads from there. Our Prime Minister said at that time that Asia had to play her part in world affairs and she intended fully doing so. But I do not know whether anything has been done for the emergence of an Asian union or a continuing machinery envisaged at that time. And so this is another matter to which the attention of the House must be drawn and it is one of the principles which we have already laid down. But I find that the lead is being taken by another nation, and perhaps a non-Asian nation in this respect. From the Quirino-Chiang plan to the Spender plan there seems to be a very long story, and I feel that the Pacific plan where the lead is being taken by Australia may completely isolate us. It is, however, clear that we do not want to go into any military or cultural pacts which may have strings attached to the world powers which create dissensions in the world to-day. But at the same time we cannot afford to keep ourselves from the world events, from the things going on in the world round about us. This closer tie or bond which was sought to be created between members of the Asian union has not materialised and we have not taken any steps to crystallise or put it in any shape or form.

Then there is another aspect of our foreign policy, and that is neutrality. This thing has been over-emphasised by several Honourable Members and I do not intend to take up more of the time on this subject. I only want to draw the attention of the House to one picture sketch presented in an American magazine in which our Prime Minister is likened to a lotus which draws its sustenance from the mud and water beneath, but keeps itself above and free from these things under it. I think that our policy of neutrality draws its sustenance not only from our traditions which found culmination in the principles of Mahatma Gandhi, but also from the personality of the Prime Minister. At the same time I feel that the symbolic lotus of the personality which was depicted in that American magazine lacked some of the fragrance which could make it infectious for the other nations also. If we do not help in creating a chain of neutral nations, it becomes difficult for a neutral nation to exist in the world in a sort of vacuum. It is impossible to have it that way. Therefore I feel that a chain of neutral nations has to be created. This point has been emphasised by Walter Lippmann an American who is one of the greatest experts International affairs at the present time. This neutrality, I think has to be enriched

with certain cultural and humanitarian values like the Swiss Neutrality. Otherwise it becomes a negative thing. Moreover, if you want to be strictly neutral, you have got to adopt an economy in your own affairs which is neutral in character, I feel that that economy must strike a mean between the economy of the U.S.A. and the economy of the U.S.S.R. in the transitional period. Diplomacy in international affairs is simply a projection of the home affairs. Leask says that the foreign policy of a nation cannot directly contradict the home policy of that nation, and I fully concur with him. If you say that you are going to be fully neutral in international spheres, then you have to be so in the home affairs also. Otherwise that will not be backed by the sap and vitality at home. Therefore, in this respect I infer from the Budget of which this forms a part, that we cannot think that the economy that we want to create in the country is going to be of a neutral character. There seems to be a tilt. We feel that the balance has been tilted on one side, and therefore I am apprehensive we cannot afford to remain strictly neutral in the international spheres also. This is an important aspect which I wanted to emphasise.

The other point which was raised by some Members of the House is the communist bogey. I feel this communist bogey has been made too much of, possibly by one of the power blocs. I feel communism can be combated only by superior communism and nothing short of it. If we say that communism is going to be combated by one of these power blocs, and by the strategy and machinations of one of them we will be working in a sort of delusion. I feel India can play a very magnificent part, can give a magnificent lead to the world if she wanted to do something in that direction. I feel that some social pattern on the Gandhian principles which envisage nothing short of communism minus totalitarianism, is wanted for the world. I think a very good lead could have been given to the world by India. It is only by this that we can combat the totalitarian communism of the Soviet. After all, what is that we are afraid of? What we find to-day in the world is that a clear, systematic philosophy on one side is warring with muddle-headed confusion on the other side. If you think that the muddle-headed philosophy will triumph over the clear philosophy on the other side, you are certainly very much mistaken. Therefore, I submit that India could do something for the emergence of that social pattern on Gandhian principles which are truly communist and nothing else.

Then I come to another topic, but for want of time I feel I cannot deal with it at length. With regard to Nepal we have to be satisfied with what the hon. the Prime Minister said this morning. The Maharaja and the Prime Minister of that country visited our country only a couple of weeks back and on his departure he gave a message which is very significant and important. He is reported to have said that the defence of India and Nepal was common. We are very thankful to him for that. I feel that the treaty which is on the anvil should be of the kind which exists between Ceylon and the United Kingdom. If it be something in that shape and on almost the same principle, it will be good both for India and for Nepal and that frontier of ours will be safe.

Then I want to put one question with reference to Kashmir. We learn that Yugoslavia has been interesting herself in an independent existence for Kashmir. We want to be sure whether Kashmir wants to be an independent State. We want to know what the interest of Yugoslavia is in this connection. We have to be very apprehensive about this.

As regards Sikkim also we have to be very careful. As it is a border State we have to see that the conditions there do not give us trouble. We have been hearing disturbing news from there. If Sikkim gets stabilised and if we find that it accedes to the Indian Union some sort of autonomy may be found

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to be commensurate with it. In some respects it would be very good for that State also. It is also in these respects that we have to judge our foreign policy.

Time being over, I may sum up that our foreign policy has been immensely successful because we have tried to combine both the idealism and realism of the Prime Minister. He has proved to be a philosopher statesman, if I may use the term, in the manner of Plato's Philosopher-King.

Shri Borooah (Assam): The previous speakers have discussed the policy of the External Affairs Department in relation to the wide world. My attempt will be more modest. I shall try to discuss the success or otherwise of the Department in an area nearer home. Although the Tribal area in eastern India is technically within the Indian Union, virtually it is the meeting ground of three independent countries, if you exclude Tibet. It is the area where China, Burma and India meet and it is only meet and proper that this area should be under the charge of the External Affairs Department. This area which covers about 25,000 square miles and has a population of 51 lakhs is a world in itself. There live the Tibetan-speaking Monbas who are ruled by their monasteries. There live also the democratic Abors where every man decides for himself what he should do. That area is again the home of the Naga head-hunters as well as those who indulge in human sacrifices and who are ruled by holy chiefs called Angs who are emperors and Popes rolled into one. This is the area about which nobody knows anything with any amount of precision. You are aware, that the border between India and Tibet on the one hand and the border between Burma and India on the other are in a very nebulous state. The MacMahon line which was drawn up at a Conference in Simla in 1914 is a very vague boundary. The line is more or less an imaginary one and that is the reason why our statesmanship in this particular area will be put to great test in the years to come. This area has many problems, the most important of them being the administrative problem. This area was left untouched by the Britishers and a policy of muddling through was followed. That is why there are many loose ends of administration in this part. The tribes there are most of them ferocious and warlike and the differences between the units of these tribes are as great as between nations. They speak different languages and follow different practices. Their likes and dislikes are also different. The problem of administration, as I said, is therefore difficult. It has been rendered more difficult now by the change in China. The new relationship between China and Tibet may render the administration of this area very complicated. In this area there is a large slice of what may be called Tibetan-speaking people who owe ecclesiastical allegiance to Tibet. These people are ruled by monks from a monastery at Tawang and their officers are monks appointed by Tibet. I have nothing but sympathy for Tibet I have great respect for their philosophy and way of life. I believe there is more between them and we Indians than we are aware of. Therefore I hope I shall not be mistaken when I say that I do not want that there should be any loose-ends in our relations with them.

It may be news to many of us here that the Government of India pays Rs. 5,000 as tribute to the Tawang Monastery. Out of this sum Rs. 4,500 is sent directly to Lhasa and only Rs. 500 is retained by them. It is called tribute in the Treaty of which I have a copy but it is neither here nor there, whether it is called a tribute or a gift. What I say is that till now Tibet being a closed and hermit country there was no fear of any political complications; but with the success of the Reds in China and also the likelihood of Tibet being swallowed up, there is great danger and apprehension of complications arising in the near future. Therefore I would suggest humbly and respectfully that something has to be done to straighten up our relationship with the Tibetan authorities in that area.

Yesterday I put a question to the hon. Deputy Minister as to whether there were certain Tibetan officials stationed in that part of India. He gave me a clear 'No' and I felt very happy. But I came across certain Government reports published as late as 1942 and I also made enquiries last year from people who came from the Tawang area. They were Tibetan traders and I was told that the Tibetan officers still spend their winter in the Tawang Monastery.

I will quote from a letter written by the Governor of Assam in 1938:

"The Tibetan Government should be requested to withdraw their officials from this area. The absolute necessity of this needs, His Excellency feels, no further emphasis."

I will also quote from another report of the Government of India:

"The Monks north of the Sals, are under the administration of the Tsongjog Jongpens, one of whom is a monk, the other a layman appointed by the authorities at Lhasa. In the summer these two officials live at Sonajong in Tibet proper, in the winter time they live at Tawang. All the revenues collected by the Tsong Jongpens are sent direct to Lhasa."

I am glad there has been a change. As a matter of fact it is very important that our relationship with Tibet should be straightened up, not because we are afraid of Tibetan intervention or any animosity on the part of the present Tibetan Government but because technically Tibet is part of China and on the mainland of China today Communism reigns supreme. Also in that part we have common frontiers with China and this might bring about complications and help the infiltration of undesirable persons from that part and thus put us into difficulties.

I want to draw attention to the fact that in this particular area within the last two years the Government of India in the External Affairs Department have done splendid work. I will only read out a few sentences from a Government report:

"These areas had only six to seven schools when the Indian Union Government took over the responsibility. Up to the end of 1948-49, as many as 140 primary schools had been opened, besides 9 secondary schools and three special schools. In the next three years, it is proposed to open 115 additional primary schools and ten secondary schools."

In regard to education a good deal has been done, as also regarding improvement of communications in these areas and the improvement of the economic condition of the people.

I notice that 121 lakhs and another sum of Rs. 5 lakhs have been budgeted for that area; but out of this, 1 crore has been allotted for the Assam Rifles, which is under the Central Government. I would like to know whether the defence of that part of the country is not a charge on the Defence Budget. If a larger part of this amount were spent on the welfare of the tribes rather than on the maintenance of law and order it would have brought us better dividends. Sir, let me congratulate the department and the Deputy Minister as also the Governor of Assam who have done very good and solid work in this area.

Shri Shiva Rao (Madras): Before the debate proceeds further may I make a suggestion for your consideration, Sir. In view of the importance of the Prime Minister's statement this morning and the fact that there are still many Members who are anxious to take part in the debate, would it be possible to postpone the Prime Minister's reply till tomorrow? We have no question hour tomorrow which can be utilised for Government's reply and the debate today can go on till 6 o'clock.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I certainly would not like this debate to be limited in any way and I am perfectly prepared to go on till 7 or 8 p.m. if the House so desires. I cannot say anything about tomorrow morning without consulting my colleagues as to the programme for tomorrow. I do not know what has been fixed and I do not wish to say anything without reference to them.

Shri Shiva Rao: I was only suggesting that since there is no question-hour tomorrow, that hour might be utilised for the purpose of continuing this debate.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Both the Prime Minister and Deputy Minister will take half an hour or forty minutes.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am entirely in the hands of the House as regards tomorrow. But I should like with your permission to have ten minutes this evening.

Shri Kamath: This is the first time the debate on foreign policy is being held since the proclamation of India as a Sovereign Democratic Republic within the Royal Commonwealth of Nations—a new concept in international relations, a concept though full of pitfalls and dangers, is yet fraught with great possibilities for the unification of the world.

Though there is no declared war in progress on the face of the earth there is over vast areas of the globe strife, struggle and conflict, rumours of war, sabre-rattling and preparation for war: and in a sense more trenchant than Karl Marx and Frederick Engels meant when they issued the Communist manifesto a hundred years ago, the spectre of Communism faces not merely Europe but the whole world today. The Prime Minister and the Indian people have, true to our genius, been trying to increase the stock of goodwill among men and nations. He has been sending not merely goodwill missions, delegations, ambassadors and ministers abroad but also, lately, our surplus elephants as ambassadors or at least as tokens of our goodwill. This is symbolic of the highest tenet of our philosophy that life is one, creation is one, the universe is one, and when we can send men and women abroad we can send our animals too abroad as tokens of goodwill. It is a welcome development in the practical implementation of our philosophy.

During the last year we have had two notable achievements to our credit—I mean to the credit of the External Affairs Ministry. The first is the victory of the Indonesian people over the Dutch imperialists in which we played a notable part, and, secondly, the election of India on the Security Council of the United Nations. But on the debit side we have got some happenings for which we are all sorry. The Kashmir problem is still unsolved, Pakistan is still not behaving itself, and the Commonwealth which we have joined as a free and equal member is not reforming itself as we would like it to.

Touching the last first, that is the Royal Commonwealth of which we as a Republic are a member, the latest episode of Seretse Khama of Bechuanaland in Africa must open our eyes to the fact that racial prejudice in the Commonwealth is as rampant as before. I would like to know from the Prime Minister in the course of his reply to the debate whether the Government of the U.K. consulted or informed our Government, in the course of that episode, the steps that they proposed to take against Seretse Khama, or, at least, if that was not done, whether we as a member of the Commonwealth of Nations have lodged a protest against the treatment of a member of the coloured races within the Commonwealth. If we have not done that it is high time we did, and lodged a protest or made our view quite clear and obvious to the British Government.

As regards Pakistan I would not like to say much on that because it has already been touched by my predecessors here. I would only refer to the remarks made by the Prime Minister this morning about the part played by the Indian press in this affair. In my humble judgment these remarks were, to say the least, unfortunate. In the first place I am given to understand that whatever was recently published in the Indian papers was handed out to those papers by one of the Departments here, perhaps the Information Bureau of the Government or some such official agency. As regards the display of that news

in various papers, it is, as we know, the editorial policy which is responsible for that. *The Hindu* has never splashed banner or streamer headlines over anything at all. Even when World War II came to an end, I remember there was only a two-column headline. But some papers we have got in our country which splash headlines—seven column headlines—over not very significant news: I remember one paper which published a seven-column head-

5 P.M. line, it was an important event no doubt in the history of our country but not so important as to deserve a seven-column headline; I do not remember which paper it was, but it was one of the important papers here—“Prime Minister reaches U.S.A.” It was an important event, but compared to many other events that have happened I do not think it needed a seven-column headline.

I think that what is at the root of the evil here with regard to Pakistan is the conflict; if I may so put it, between secular idealism and stark realism. It is all very well and we are proud of our secular idealism, but it comes into conflict with what I might call stark realism of a State which is bent upon creating a theocratic State by the elimination of minorities, or at least by the relegation of minorities to the background. In this respect, to counteract the activities of Pakistan, especially as regards propaganda abroad, I am afraid our External Publicity Section has not done much of which we can be justly proud. Neither in the Middle East, nor in England nor America have we been able to effectively counteract the propaganda that Pakistan agents have been carrying on against India in this regard. And it is high time our External Publicity Section bent its energies, its attention and its mind to this important task of countering the harmful and poisonous propaganda carried on by Pakistan against India in the outside world.

Then, as regards the necessity for the recognition of Israel, it has been referred to by my friend Mr. Hanumanthaiya. The impression has gained ground in this matter that we have been influenced in this matter by certain factors which should not have motivated us to that extent. I am sure that if Israel is granted *de jure* and *de facto* recognition by us, among the other friendly countries in that region we will have one more country which will work for the good of India and with whom our relations will be very cordial and our trade and commerce will also find a very good outlet.

As regards the question of Malaya, it is a sad affair. The External Affairs Ministry Report for the past year refers to Malaya. Many Indians have been arrested, and about 270 have been kept in detention under the Emergency Regulation on suspicion of having directly or indirectly aided the terrorists or their agents. And the Agent of our Government in Malaya has been divested of certain powers. As regards Indonesia we were able to effectively fight the Dutch imperialists and ultimately they were forced to relinquish their hold on Indonesia. But as regards Malaya I am sorry to say that though it is within the British empire, and though we are in the Commonwealth we have not been able to do much in the way of satisfaction of the nationalist aspirations of the Malayan people. May I here refer to the speech made by my friend Mr. Mishra as regards the necessity for a Pacific Pact? So long as Indo-China and Malaya are retained by French and British imperialists I do not think we should be a party to any such pact in that region. It is only when those countries are free and their national aspirations fulfilled that we can consider the necessity or desirability of any Pacific Pact.

While I am on this subject, may I say that communism, if it has to be fought, must be fought not merely by means of arms, not merely by suppression and repression but also by more positive measures, positive means. Mahatma Gandhi used to say that God comes to the poor in the shape of bread. Lord Boyd-Orr in his latest utterance has said that if we have to escape the communist maelstrom we have to cure hunger, we have to find a remedy for hunger and

[Shri Kamath]

poverty, that hunger is the greatest of all politicians and if we do not attempt and if we do not succeed in curing hunger, poverty and unemployment, no attempt on our part, no pact, no armaments, no repression and no suppression will be able to stem the tide that would overwhelm not merely Asia but the world. It is necessary that we should take up these positive measures.

One more thing and I have done. The theme recurs again and again about the economy that should be effected, that could be effected, as regards our Embassies and Missions abroad, and I find from the figures supplied to us in the Supplement to Demands for Grants that there is scope for economy in more places than one, and actually economy has been effected where there was a will to effect such economy. May I refer to the figures of expenditure for the years 1948-49 and 1949-50 at pages 206 and 208? I find that for our Embassy in the U.S.S.R. the actuals, under one of the heads, for 1948-49 were about eight lakhs and odd rupees. The Budget estimate for 1949-50 was six lakhs and odd; the actual expenditure for 1949-50 was just six lakhs. The estimate was about seven lakhs but the actual expenditure incurred was just six lakhs. But I find here with regard to our Embassy in the U.S.A. that under the same head the Budget estimate for 1949-50 was Rs. 4,66,000 but the actual expenditure, that is to say the revised estimate, is exactly double that amount—Rs. 9,22,000, almost double the amount budgeted for. The major item I find is as regards travelling and other allowances. I think our Prime Minister and the External Affairs Ministry should exercise greater watch over the expenditure incurred in these Embassies abroad. The Embassy in Russia has shown how such economy can be effected.

In passing, I may note that it is a happy augury for the future that our Ambassador in the U.S.S.R. has been able to meet Marshal Stalin and has discussed matters with him in a cordial manner; he issued a statement which has reassured many of us here. In this connection, in pursuance of the neutral, or the dynamically neutral policy that we are pursuing in foreign affairs, I would suggest that just as we are negotiating a treaty of friendship with the U.S.A., it is high time, if we really want to keep out of war, or out of this communist maelstrom, that we concluded a treaty of friendship—with the U.S.S.R.

Shri B. Das: I agree.

Shri Kamath: I am glad you agree. I hope that the Government will take early steps in that direction and will see that our treaties of friendship extend to all the great nations of the world.

In the end, may I suggest that what is agitating the minds of the Indian people today is also the question of French and Portuguese possessions in India. These little pimples continue to mar the fair face of India. We have heard in the papers that some action has been taken—only yesterday's papers brought out the news that some statement or some sort of *demarche* has been made with regard to Portugal and I would certainly hope that our efforts in that direction will succeed. As regards the French Settlements, I hope that if at all a referendum is to be held, we will have neutral observers,—either our own observers or neutral observers,—right from the time of preparing the electoral rolls and not merely when the referendum is held. There have been all sorts of allegations against the Authorities in the French Settlements and I hope care will be taken to see that the electoral rolls are prepared correctly and in the presence of neutral observers whom we can trust.

Shri B. Das: In view of the lateness of the hour, I shall confine my remarks to two or three topics on which I shall offer very brief observations.

In listening to the debate after the Prime Minister's speech this morning, it seemed to me that some of those who participated in the debate seemed on the one side to underrate the formidable character of the problem of colonialism throughout the world, and on the other they seemed to have a rather exaggerated notion of India's capacity to tackle that problem singlehanded. I had given notice of cut motions on two topics: one was this particular aspect of the work of the Indian delegations in the United Nations, and the other was on external publicity. So far as the first one is concerned, as the Prime Minister indicated briefly this morning, I think successive Indian delegations have faithfully attempted to carry out in practice his principles in regard to the emancipation of colonial areas and dependent races throughout the world. As he pointed out, at the last session of the General Assembly it was a solution which was offered by the leader of the Indian delegation of the very complex and almost baffling problem of the future of Italian Colonies that ultimately led to the adoption of a scheme more or less acceptable to the United Nations. And speaking generally, I think one may justly claim that there is a good deal to the credit of India in hastening the all-round progress of colonial peoples throughout the world.

On this point, having regard to the lateness of the hour, I would advance three general propositions without elaborating them. My first proposition is that the United States has now adopted a policy of supporting colonial progress despite the vigorous protests of the Western European Powers like Britain, France, Belgium and Holland. There is noticeable, so far as America's foreign policy is concerned, a definite shift—not considerable but nevertheless definite—which in view of America's position in the world of today is of great significance and of immense value for colonial peoples throughout the world.

My second proposition is this: that the colonial Powers of Western Europe are now evolving common policies for the joint exploitation of the economic resources of their vast colonial empires in Africa. Colonialism is probably disappearing from most parts of Asia at the present moment. But judging from present tendencies, it seems to me that it is entrenching itself formidably—even powerfully—in Africa: not colonialism of the type that we have been familiar with in Asia, namely, single Power administration of colonial territories, but a new type, namely, a kind of multi-colonial imperialism. It seems to me that this trend will gain in strength and in momentum as events in Europe compel the Imperial Powers to draw closer together. This development in Africa has had a somewhat curious but striking repercussion in particular in South America. South American Republics like Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador and Venezuela have awakened to the threat which is developing to their international market if vast areas in Africa are to be exploited through cheap labour and the application of the latest results of modern science and commodities are produced at prices which would oust countries like Brazil from the international market. I mention this not only because it is a relevant factor in the solution of the problems of colonialism but because it has a lesson for the Government of India, particularly for the Ministries of Agriculture and Commerce, in evolving their long-term projects. These South American Republics are primarily concerned—they do not conceal the fact—with self-interest and for that reason they are taking active interest in hastening the emancipation of colonial peoples. Thus, so far as the general problem of colonialism is concerned, there seems to be at the present moment a three-pronged or rather a three-sided point of view: (i) a plainly idealistic and humanitarian outlook like that of India; (ii) one prompted by economic self-interest like that of the South American Republics; and (iii) another ideological but very powerful and far-reaching in its consequences, like that of the Soviet Union and the countries which go with the Soviet Union.

[Shri Shiva Rao]

I shall now pass on to the other topic, namely, external publicity. I am afraid I must share the view of those speakers who said that it has so far not been effective. In fact, it has been ineffective and dull. For the reason which I have just explained, namely, the fact that in the liquidation of colonialism throughout the world India has consistently taken an active interest, for that reason, colonial powers are much more receptive to propaganda from Pakistan than to propaganda from India. All over the world, colonial powers have a bias—a natural bias—in favour of Pakistan for this reason. Let us not overlook another fact. You have retired British I.C.S. officers who have found important posts in the British colonial empire throughout the world. They have not completely forgotten the fact that they were compelled to take to premature retirement because of India's success in the freedom movement. That is a great disadvantage of which we are not always conscious, but one comes across it in the British Press most of which, with one or two exceptions, is unfriendly to India at the present moment. It is true also of certain sections of the American, French and Belgium Presses. Even so it seems to me that our external publicity machinery can do much more—even on the negative side—to prevent misrepresentation of India's point of view.

To take one instance, only recently it was brought to the notice of this House that no less than 37 correspondents working for the P.T.I. were prevented from functioning in Eastern Pakistan. I would like to know from the Deputy Minister when he replies whether that fact has been made widely known in other parts of the world; or the other fact has been made widely known that in spite of this action by the authorities of Eastern Pakistan, there are at the present moment—and I have ascertained the position—more than 50 correspondents who are sending despatches from India to Pakistan. I hope that, for the sake of fundamental freedoms including freedom of information, we will not descend to the standards of Pakistan and will never place any obstacles in the way of correspondents who want to send despatches to Pakistan unless they are of such a character as to threaten the security of the State. I mention this one instance to point out how we are not taking advantage of our opportunities to make known to the outside world that there is an iron curtain at present functioning very strictly in Eastern Pakistan.

I do not want to take more of the time of the House. I have, however, a few suggestions to make to the External Affairs Ministry which, in my opinion, would strengthen our external publicity section. It seems to me that there should be an active and full-fledged Information Service in New York under the control of the Indian delegate to the U.N. Secondly, there should be arrangements made for the prompt supply and sale of books on India, because there is a growing demand for Indian literature in the United States, especially after the visit of the Prime Minister last autumn. Thirdly, we have not exploited to the full the opportunities that exist for lectures and articles on India, which would be paid for, and therefore there would be no question of going to the Finance Minister for dollars. If necessary, in view of the financial stringency, I would suggest that we may close down our Information Service in comparatively less important parts of the world and concentrate on countries like the U.S.A. Lastly, I would suggest that we should not ignore cultural activities. I think it was only this morning we read in the papers about the reception that had been given to Uday Shankar in New York. I would add that the British Government tried an experiment a few months ago of sending a troupe of ballet dancers to New York.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair.]

This troupe after a successful session in New York returned to England with a net profit of 75,000 dollars. I would therefore, suggest that in reorganising

the External Publicity Section of the External Affairs Ministry, we should broaden it so as to include cultural activities too and not rely just on lectures and books and literature.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am loath to take up more time of the House, but I feel I owe it to the House and to myself to say a few words, more or less in elucidation of what I said, more especially because an hon. Member of this House, Mr. Lakshmi Kanta Maitra, spoke in terms of high emotion and excitement and righteous indignation about what I had said. Now, right at the beginning, may I make it perfectly clear that I have no complaint against Mr. Lakshmi Kanta Maitra? Secondly, being myself occasionally liable to high emotion and righteous indignation, I appreciate it in others. Nevertheless, I feel that he applied his indignation and emotion in a wrong direction, if I may say so, today. Or, perhaps, I was not fortunate enough to explain my point of view sufficiently clearly, because I was not dealing, and I could not deal with the many varieties or aspects of the East Bengal situation that has been dealt with previously and that will be dealt with subsequently, in my wider survey I had to deal with Pakistan. It was important, because the fact of the matter is that both in our domestic politics and in our international politics Pakistan, or our relations or absence of relations with Pakistan play an important part, and in dealing with Pakistan I had to deal with some other matters like Kashmir and more especially towards the end with the Bengal situation.

Mr. Lakshmi Kanta Maitra spoke with emotion about what had happened in East Bengal and of the numerous letters and other messages he had received about the sufferings and the indignities that people had suffered there. Now, I may not have access to all the sources of knowledge of Mr. Lakshmi Kanta Maitra, but I have sufficient access to many sources to know of the horrors that had happened there and because of that and because of the reaction they produce in my mind I have to be very careful. I happen to hold a responsible position and any decisions of mine are not merely expressions of opinion but they may be translated into action. Therefore, because I am liable to emotion, excitement and indignation I see to it that at this moment I am not led away by emotion, excitement or indignation. Though normally I would not lighten the rein, I would allow myself to go, I dare not, because the responsibility and the consequences are too grave. That does not mean that I am not aware of what has happened; it is because of the very nature of the crisis, the depth of it and the far-reaching consequences that flow from it in any direction that I hesitate to speak in language which is not restrained.

Now, the whole line of my argument, if I may say so, was this. I pointed out that in recent months there has been a certain flow of refugees. I referred to a certain declaration, whether it will be made or not, I do not know, it depends upon other factors. The other party has been repeating what we have been saying—whether they put it into practice or not is another matter. In fact to some extent it had been given effect to now. That is my point. What Mr. Lakshmi Kanta Maitra said was perfectly true and yet what I said was also perfectly true. That is to say all those things have happened, but for the present things are not happening. Whether they will happen tomorrow or not is another matter. Now, in passing I tried to put before you what the present position was.

Secondly, I referred, and I should like to make that clear, to newspapers. What I said was—if I may remind the House—that I cannot congratulate the newspapers as I did previously. First of all I was obviously referring to a few—I am coming from Calcutta and I was referring to a few—papers in Calcutta, which I would rather not mention now. I also said that I can understand their excitement and perhaps their lack of restraint. But, nevertheless, the occasion demands restraint whatever the provocation.

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

Now the main burden of my argument was this: that in the whole course of the last two and a half years' history, and I mentioned if you will remember what happened in Sind after the Punjab occurrences and what happened in East Bengal during the last two years or more, there was a certain process of, shall we call it squeezing out which occurs and has occurred. Some people say it is deliberate, planned, etc. Some people say it is not deliberate at the top but is so somewhere in the bottom or the middle. Whatever that may be, the main thing as it appears to me is this that in the very conception of the State the Pakistan Government has given a certain inferior status to those who do not fit in, who do not belong to the majority community and as a consequence of other happenings and past history it gives them all the time a certain sense of insecurity, quite apart from special happenings. And when there is this widespread sense of insecurity and any special occurrence takes place, then immediately it becomes much greater insecurity and danger, because they live in a certain atmosphere of suppression and it is because of this that it is transformed into a dangerous situation which otherwise it would not be—otherwise it would be a local incident. Now that is the problem.

The second thing which I ventured to say to the House in sufficiently clear language, I think, was this, that whatever the normal responsibilities of a State might be to other States or people in other States, there is a peculiar relationship between the people in India and the people in Pakistan. I mentioned in this connection our own old colleagues in the Frontier Province. I mentioned very specially in this connection those who are in Eastern Bengal and I said we could not rid ourselves of the feeling we have for them or the ultimate responsibility. Therefore it came to this. The problem before us is this. We owe it to those people in East Bengal who may be in danger, we owe it to them, to give them protection, to give them protection in our own territory or to give them protection in their territory, if there is no other way, if circumstances demand it. Now it is patent that the kind of protection that they can get in their territory can only come to them in the existing state of affairs through the Government that controls that territory. There is no other way. Whether you like it or not, trust its word or not, that Government functions according to its own wishes plus also according to the circumstances in which it is placed and by other events, whatever they may be. It may be friendly pressure; it may be more than friendly pressure from us or whatever it may be. It functions; you have to function through that Government. Suppose we make a declaration. You may be right in saying "How can you trust in one's word?" In the final analysis the word of countries is only trusted to the extent that it no longer makes them change that word or the consequences of breaking that word are not liked, that is the ultimate sanction behind trusting the word of a country in major matters; in any event whether you trust it or not, so long as there is a Government dealing with a situation, you have to deal through that Government. You cannot ignore it. If that word is given, you may trust it or not, it has a certain value again of two kinds. One is a positive value because whether you trust it or not, it has an effect on its own people and other people. Secondly, it becomes a first step to the second step that may be necessary or a third step. It is not good enough as my hon. friend Mr. Hanumanthaiya talked about an exchange of population and with all deference to him, I may say if he had given more thought to the problem, he would not have spoken as he has done. It is an approach completely lacking in intelligent thought. I was amazed that any one should talk such utter nonsense as he did, in this matter, and I am sorry to use these words, but it is too serious a matter for people to talk nonsense about.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: May I say, Sir, with all respect to the hon. Prime Minister that I do not resent his words, because he is entitled to all respect. But I say the very failure of his to produce any solution justifies the suggestion I make. I challenge him to show an alternative solution.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Now the position before us is that any solution like what was suggested is not a solution because in the best of circumstances, it takes half a generation or a quarter of a generation. Anything that takes ten years or eight years is no solution of the immediate problem. We have to deal, it is true, with basic problems. That cannot be challenged and it is not imaginary. The solution simply keeps you at the boiling point for years and we cannot survive and no country can survive at boiling point year after year. Therefore, it is not a solution. It may be, of course, that we have kept the door open and people come and people go; let them come and it is up to us to arrange for them, but even so, however fast they come, the fact remains that large numbers remain behind and those who remain behind are to have a sense of responsibility and we will not tolerate any danger coming to them, whether they are there or on the other side. That is the only possible way if I may say so and how to do it, when to do it and in what manner to do it is quite another matter. It is not an easy matter to decide. But merely to say get them over and spend the next ten years over the process is not correct. During these ten years all kinds of disasters will happen and dangers will happen because the moment you decide this quite apart from completing overhauling and changing your past policy and your principles; the curious thing is that from that moment that danger increases, they are aliens and they have no rights; they are just waiting year after year to go over to the other side and they have no other right except bare protection and nothing else. Having created the aliens with rights of living for a few years till transport is arranged for this is not a very happy solution of the problem. Ultimately then I can honestly confess to you if it was such an easy matter we would go ahead but we have to watch step by step and in so doing we have to keep our heads and emotions and howsoever we may feel this is a serious matter affecting not only our kith and kin today but generations and may be the whole future of India. It is a terrible responsibility.

I spoke this morning about the hydrogen bomb and I said there is something which will destroy mankind and it amazes one that people should talk over it. I have felt for some time that the hydrogen bomb, very bad as it is, is preferable to the kind of things we have seen and heard of in recent months and weeks. It is preferable. It destroys utterly if the world is not found to be decent. Let it be destroyed but let us not continue living as brute beasts, sinking to lower levels than that of brute beasts. That is a challenge to the generation, a challenge to this House and to this Government. Are you going to fight the spread of beastliness and lack of civilization and barbarism that is coming over and if it spreads we have to fight it and you cannot avoid it. You cannot fight evil by evil; you cannot fight barbarism by barbarism. You have to take up a civilized position and fight it with all your might.

Therefore, I venture to put to this House that in feeling strongly as we must and in realising our responsibility, to the people of East Bengal, we must always try to find ways and means which are civilized, which adhere to the ideals we have held because otherwise they lose their value and even from the purely opportunist point of view, we go to pieces. It is from that point of view I ventured to say something.

I am exceedingly sorry and I wish to express my regret that any words of mine should have hurt Pandit Maitra.

Shri Raj Bahadur: I know I shall be taxing the patience of the House if I continue to speak at very great length on this vast subject and therefore I would confine myself and come straight to the point that I want to make. Much has been said today about publicity, and of the failure of our publicity in foreign countries, and this failure has been attributed to the Ministry concerned. It has been alleged that the failure is entirely due to lack of organization. (*Interruption*). I was saying that the blame for the failure of publicity cannot be laid entirely at the doors of the External Affairs Ministry. As a matter of fact it arises from a particular attitude, a particular line of policy that is being persistently followed by the Anglo-American Bloc and I respectfully submit that the time has come when we should seriously think of giving a new orientation to our policy and our attitude towards those countries. The type of literature, the propaganda and the matter that is being purveyed to the entire world from the Anglo-American Press and platform, on the screen and from the radio is definitely not friendly to our country. I do not know, how and why, in spite of the fact that we stand on the highest of morals, and moral basis, our stand is not appreciated in that part of the world. I would simply refer to a few instances and illustrations which I have succeeded in culling from the various journals and periodicals of these countries and I believe that they can be multiplied. *The Daily Telegraph*, *the Spectator*, *the Manchester Guardian* and other are all full of the vilest propaganda against us. In November last *The Daily Telegraph* went to the length of saying that it was the Hindus who have failed to come to honourable terms with the Indian Muslims. Take *The Spectator* again. It asked us to withdraw our troops from Kashmir, in spite of the fact that the barbarous hordes of the Frontier tribes committed a shameless act of aggression against the beautiful peace loving valley of Kashmir. This kind of thing is not restricted to the English Press alone. I would invite the attention of the House to an American journal—*Foreign Affairs*—an American Quarterly Review of January 1950. I would just read from it one or two passages to show how we suffer, from misrepresentation of facts. It says:

".....but finally, at a critical stage, Pakistan sent in her regular troops and checked the Indian forces. Thereupon Nehru appealed to the United Nations and a commission was sent to investigate."

Again it is said further on:

"Pandit Nehru's attitude has been ambiguous. On several occasions in public speeches he has declared that Kashmir is part and parcel of India and will never be given up, though he has also said that if the people vote against Indian citizenship he will accept their verdict."

Again it goes on to say:

"In the end the Commission proposed that the questions at issue be settled by arbitration. Pakistan agreed, but India refused."

Further on it says that when President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee offered to intervene, Pakistan welcomed the intervention but Pandit Nehru disregarded it as something uncalled for. The paper further goes on to say:

"They (the Muslims) have never accepted Dogra-Hindu rule and now their detestation of Sikhs and Hindus has been raised to fever heat by the atrocities committed on their people and the wholesale expulsion of Moslems from the Jammu province. On the other hand, the majority of the Moslems of the Valley of Kashmir are a listless, apathetic lot, submissive to a heavy-handed bureaucracy. Even so, Pakistanis are quite convinced that, left to themselves, most of them would vote for Pakistan."

This is the type of propaganda that is going on.

Then there is another journal published by the American Institute of Pacific Relations, entitled *Indo-American Cultural Relations*. This shows that things about India are not correctly represented in America. It says:

"It is almost impossible to assess scientifically the status of the American public's information about and opinions on India with the resources available at present. Inquiries addressed to public opinion research organisations drew negative replies."

Then the journal speaks of a study made by one, Emory S. Bogardus, about public opinion in the U. S. A. about India.

"Bogardus secured the reactions of 1,725 native-born Americans, representing all geographical sections of the United States Bogardus's findings place Indians at the very bottom of the list."

So, I would submit, that there is something essentially wrong about the attitude of the Anglo-American people towards us. It is not that Pakistan's propaganda is more efficient. It seems to be a psychological problem—a problem of bias and prejudice. I refuse to believe that Pakistan's propaganda machinery is so efficient that it would succeed in deceiving the clever Anglo-American people. The whole point is that these Anglo-American people have got an attitude which at present is definitely hostile to us, and it is time that we tell them that unless and until they behave well with us, we shall have to shift our sympathies and inclinations towards the other side. In this connection, I would also submit that reasons of imperative necessity point out that we should establish contacts with our neighbours the Chinese people and other people of South East Asia. It is desirable that as soon as conditions settle down in China, we should exchange goodwill missions with that country. We should see that we preserve our independent attitude and do not bow down to the Anglo-American people in any way.

With these few words, I would submit that it is time that we reorientate our policy.

Sardar B. S. Man (Punjab): If I offer my criticism today on External Affairs, I am quite conscious of the fact that the Department is presided over by no less a personality than our Prime Minister, with whom we associate efficiency, an analytical bent of mind and a scientific approach to things, but I have got a duty to place before the House today a viewpoint which otherwise has got very little chance of being placed before the House.

While discussing external affairs one cannot help saying that in certain spheres they are good, they are *par excellence* in certain others, fall below standard in some, fail to give us satisfaction in few and thoroughly weak in certain other spheres. I do not grudge credit wherever it is due. So far as the European sphere is concerned and also so far as the Anglo-American sphere is concerned, I think the Prime Minister has made a good impression, but I consider that this impression was more because he is a hero or a patriot of a recently liberated country. It is true he was given a cordial invitation to America and was also given a tremendous ovation there. I think this was because he is a reputed author, the successor of Mahatmaji, and to certain extent also because he is the Prime Minister of a very great and grand country with potential strength. But may I ask him how far he has utilised his advantages? We were happy that while in America, he refused to be swayed this way or that way and put forward his case without in any way being overwhelmed by his tremendous reception, but the fact remains, that in all major issues, both America and the United Kingdom have always opposed us. May be it is due to our defective presentation of our case. Here I cannot help referring to our defective publicity. It often happens that Pakistan attacks us first and states her case and then only we start explaining our stand as if we are accused people in the dock. Even in presenting factual statements, we are always late. I do not say, that we

[Sardar B. S. Man]

can change the attitude of some people by mere publicity abroad. We certainly cannot change the outlook of certain people who have got certain prejudices against us. They have certain prejudices and we have not been able to remove those prejudices and we cannot remove them. But may I know why till this very moment in the India Office in London certain Britishers who were recruited long ago under the imperialist regime to do propaganda against us are still being retained by us?

Shri Tyagi: Where are they?

Sardar B. S. Man: In the India Office, London. I do not know their exact number, but it is a very embarrassing position to retain these people.

An hon. Member: Have you made enquiries about it?

Shri B. Das: There are 850 Englishmen in the High Commissioner's Office.

Shri Gautam: Are you including Chaprasis?

Sardar B. S. Man: At any rate the Deputy Minister will be able to give the exact number of Englishmen employed in London and the positions occupied by them.

It is really presumptuous on our part, situated as we are now, to talk about peace in the world as our major contribution. It is only an exaggerated notion of our own capacities at this moment when we ourselves cannot solve many of our own domestic problems.

I will now turn to the problem of Pakistan. We were anxiously looking forward today that after the recent visits of the Prime Minister there, he will be really coming back to us and giving us a first hand solution for which we are very anxious. I frankly admit that the situation that was existing has not changed and the statement and the clarification that he has later on given have not in any way contributed to any clearing away of the misgivings in our minds and in fact the statement he made was very disappointing. He said that one lakh of Muslims have left Calcutta. I know his sources are much better but in the absence of any permit system I do not know if this figure is not exaggerated. Besides, we should not forget that because of the secular character in India, because of our open-door policy, many workers from Eastern Bengal come over to Calcutta to earn their livelihood and many of the people who have gone back must be the workers in the Bata Shoe Company and the Dunlop Company. These people periodically come and go back. Their number will be a few thousands. It may also include many undesirable immigrants for whom we passed a law the other day. Because we ourselves have been told that in Calcutta the trouble was not widespread and there were in fact very few killings and that the police action was very prompt. Therefore when the trouble is localized, I fail to understand where was the necessity for one lakh of Muslims to go back. The two facts belie each other. Indeed a very wrong impression will be created. I consider that the impression of the Prime Minister—no doubt he is a lover of truth—that he saw the ladies with bangles on and a few ladies with necklaces will be construed by Pakistan, to show that there was no looting at all. I wonder whether he has made any enquiries about those ladies who were not wearing bangles and necklaces and whose ornaments were taken away in Pakistan. This gives an absolutely wrong impression.

The Prime Minister has given us a hope about a declaration which will be made. I have not much faith in such declarations. He has been making these long before with the same Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali

Khan. The declaration is there so far as East Punjab and West Punjab is concerned that the refugee's property will be respected. The declaration is there that abducted women will be returned, the declaration is there that safe passage will be given to refugees. In spite of all these solemn declarations, none was ever respected by Pakistan. Joint declarations of no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi himself and the late Mr. Jinnah were never respected. On the other hand instead of feeling very happy over this declaration, I become very apprehensive because it creates a false sense of security as it did once in Punjab and we were victims of that simply because repeated assurances were given to us that we should stick to our homes. Why not admit candidly that we cannot do anything, and that, as the Prime Minister admitted, it is the duty of Pakistan Government to protect the minorities but to create a false sense of security is not fair.

Newspaper headlines had been objected to but I think that the two statements made by the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, in the trends themselves, are not very different from the headlines in papers. If the headlines are objected to, it is perhaps because the headlines stare and cry out for a solution and it makes the Prime Minister nervous when he has no solution. I know it is not objectionable to tell the truth. Nevertheless I think it was more the inability to offer a solution that has made him nervous and so he objects to the headlines.

So far as Pakistan's tactics are concerned, it is clearly demonstrated now that the idea is to squeeze out the minorities in batches, to send out in waves one after another and wait and see whether we swallow. They give some interval during which we make protests and then ultimately we convince ourselves about their good nature then there is some peace! After some time they send again another wave. That is their well laid policy. I must also refer to the peace offers made repeatedly, and to the joint declaration that there

will be no war. I consider that all this is just repeating the old history
6 P. M. again. We used to go to meet Mr. Jinnah and try to persuade him to come to some agreement and invariably it was considered as weakness on our part. Similarly, I consider that this peace offer will be construed as a sign of weakness and it will only make Pakistan more arrogant and intransigent towards our just demands. I want that there should be a specific and concrete solution. It has been considered barbaric on our part to send Muslims to Pakistan and I do not want to send any of my Muslim friends who were better patriots than most of us to Pakistan but it is a cry of frustration by people when they find the Government unable to bring forward any solution. If you want that these barbaric methods should be stopped and if you want the triumph of secularism in India, kindly give us some concrete, specific and surer methods to stop all these unfortunate happenings in Pakistan.

Mr. Chairman: Dr. Keskar will reply to-morrow and the House is now adjourned till to-morrow 10-45 A.M.

The House then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 18th March, 1950.