

Friday, 4th August, 1950

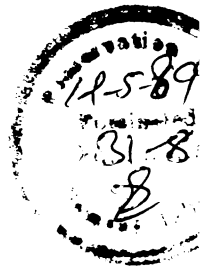


PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(PART I— Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

Volume IV, 1950
(1st August to 14th August, 1950)



Second Session
of
PARLIAMENT OF INDIA
1950

30 P. S. D

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**THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part I—Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT**

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PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Friday, 4th August, 1950

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

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

MEMBERS SWORN

Shri Krishnakant Vyas (Madhya Bharat).

Dr. Devi Singh (Madhya Bharat).

Shri Murlidhar Ghule (Madhya Bharat).

Shri Trimbak Damodar Pustake (Madhya Bharat).

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ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

" PRENTICE " TRAINER AIRCRAFT

*189. **Shri Sidhva:** (a) Will the Minister of **Industry and Supply** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Hindusthan Aircraft Ltd., have constructed the first "Prentice" trainer aircraft?

(b) If so, has that aircraft been successful and what was the cost of constructing it?

(c) What are the future plans of Government for the construction of such aircraft?

The Minister of Industry and Supply (Shri Mahtab): (a) to (c). The Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., have so far assembled 15 and manufactured five "Prentice" trainer aircraft. Out of the 15 assembled aircraft, twelve have undergone production test flight of which nine have been finally accepted by Government Aeronautical Inspection Department. The remaining three are awaiting final acceptance. The manufactured ones have not yet been test flown, as they are to be fitted with modified springs which are expected from U. K. in a few days.

The cost of the assembled aircraft would be actual cost plus $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. profit basis. The actual figures have not been calculated. The cost of the manufactured aircraft will be determined after 15 such aircrafts are manufactured.

The present "Prentice" aircraft programme is to assemble 20 aircraft and manufacture 64 from raw materials within the next two years. Two other types of trainer aircraft are also being developed at Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., and the programme of their production will be finalised after the prototypes have been built and test flown.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether these were only assembled here, or the engines of some aircraft were manufactured in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory?

Shri Mahtab: Engines are not manufactured in India; they are imported from the U. K.

Shri Sidhva: Of these trainer aircrafts how many will be used by the Air Force and how many for civil purposes?

Shri Mahtab: As a matter of fact, the entire order has been placed by the Ministry of Defence.

Shri Gautam: What were the terms of the contract with the Percivals and to what extent have they been implemented?

Shri Mahtab: The terms of contract with the Percivals is that either in the case of assemblage or in the case of manufacture they will supply the component parts, the engines and other materials, for which the Hindustan Aircraft Limited will pay a royalty at the rate of £220 subject to the maximum of £20,000.

Shri Gautam: My question is: what was the time-table so far as the assembly and manufacture of the aircrafts are concerned as fixed by the Percivals. Was it fulfilled or not? If not, why not?

Shri Mahtab: It was fulfilled. The manufacture of aircraft is expected to be completed within the scheduled time.

Shri Gautam: Is it not a fact that according to the terms with the Percivals, fifteen aircrafts were to be assembled and completed last year, but no engines were supplied by the Percivals and within the first year not even one aircraft was completed?

Shri Mahtab: It is not a fact. The target date for the completion of the aircraft was 1950.

Prof. S. L. Saksena: When does the hon. Minister hope that India will be in a position to manufacture engines of aircraft?

Shri Mahtab: As soon as we are ready to set up a plant for that purpose.

Shri Jhunjhunwala: What are the other works which are undertaken by the Hindustan Aircraft Limited, barring the assembly and overhaul of aircraft?

Shri Mahtab: The present programme is to assemble 15 aircraft from imported components, five from details supplied by Percival Aircraft Limited and to manufacture 84 aircraft from raw materials of the Indian Air Force.

Shri Jhunjhunwala: My question is: are there any other works which are undertaken by the Hindustan Aircraft, besides the assembly and overhaul of aircraft?

Shri Mahtab: The Hindustan Aircraft Limited also build coaches for the Indian railways.

Shri Jhunjhunwala: What is the capacity of the factory for the production of coaches and for the assembly of aircraft?

Shri Mahtab: In fact they are two different branches of the institution. The branch which manufactures or assembles aircraft is not used for the manufacture of coaches.

Shri Buragohain: Is it a fact that the Hindustan Aircraft Factory is the only one of its kind in Asia, excepting Japan?

Shri Mahtab: I am sorry I do not know whether there is any other factory in Asia.

Shri T. N. Singh: May I know if the engines that are used in the aircraft assembled in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory are imported as engines as such, or imported as component parts and assembled later on?

Shri Mahtab: They must be imported in parts and assembled here.

Shri Sidhva: May I know when the manufacture of component parts (including engines) will start, if it is in our programme?

Shri Mahtab: In respect of the 84 aircraft to be manufactured from raw materials, the parts for manufacture at Hindustan Aircraft Limited are, entire airframe including wings, fuselage, tailplanes, fins, rudders, elevators, ailerons, tabs, mechanical working parts, such as, control column, rudderbar flying controls, tab controls, certain under-carriage parts, etc. The parts to be imported from the U. K. are engines, propellers, instruments, electric motors, wheels, brakes, tyres and gearboxes.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member's question was that, so far as the parts imported are concerned, is there any programme of having them manufactured in India and if so within what period?

Shri Mahtab: There is no such programme at present.

DISPLACED PERSONS FROM EAST AND WEST BENGAL

*190. **Shri Sidhva:** Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of displaced persons who entered into India from Eastern Pakistan and the number that left West Bengal for East Bengal;

(b) the total number of displaced persons in various camps in West Bengal; and

(c) how much money has been spent on rations for and rehabilitation of these displaced persons?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) 25,21,681 displaced non-Muslims migrated to India from East Pakistan by rail, waterway and air from 1st January to 22nd July, 1950. During the same period 3,23,000 returned to Pakistan.

(b) The total number of new displaced persons in camps in West Bengal, including Ranaghat Transit Centre, is 1,46,205.

(c) During the current year, upto May, 1950, Rs. 21,23,208 have been booked by the Accountant-General on account of Relief and Rs. 11,53,978 for Rehabilitation of displaced persons in West Bengal.

Shri Sidhva: Is it a fact that almost every day while a large number comes from East Bengal, identically almost the same number goes to East Bengal, and if that is so what is the reason for it?

Shri A. P. Jain: It is not always the same number. The numbers vary. Sometimes they are nearer to one another, at other times they differ widely.

Shri Sidhva: But what is the reason for this? Is it a fact that while five thousand come, four thousand go almost every day in all the thirty days? Has the Government found out the reason for it?

Shri A. P. Jain: It depends upon the will of those who desire to come and upon the will of those who desire to go.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether those who go away do not come back or do they come back again? The figures are so puzzling and I want to know whether they go *bona fide* and come back *bona fide* or whether they come for certain purpose.

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): There is some indication about this. Of course, we cannot be absolutely accurate. But on enquiry being made we discovered that something from fifteen to twenty per cent. of the people who went, came back. That is, from 80 to 85 per cent. stayed on.

HOUSES BUILT AT UDAIPUR FOR DISPLACED PERSONS

*191. **Shri Sidhva:** (a) Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state the number of houses built at Udaipur for displaced persons?

(b) How much money has been contributed by the Government of India for the building of these houses?

(c) How many houses have been occupied?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) to (c). Information is being collected and will be placed on the Table of the House in due course.

Shri Sidhva: Is it not a fact that in the last session certain figures were given? May I know what information the hon. Minister is going to collect more than that? I wanted to know how many houses have actually been built and whether some more building construction work is going on.

Shri A. P. Jain: I have got certain figures, but I am not satisfied with their accuracy. Therefore, I have referred them back to the State Government.

Shri Sidhva: Let us have those figures.

Mr. Speaker: What figures does he want? The Minister says that they are not reliable figures.

Shri Sidhva: I want to know how much has been spent by the Government for building the houses so far.

Shri A. P. Jain: I won't like to hazard any figures of which I am not sure.

Shri Sidhva: May I know when the work for building these houses was started and when it was completed?

Shri A. P. Jain: The work has not been fully completed as yet, and as I have said, I would only like to hazard anything about which I am perfectly sure.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether the work has been absolutely suspended by the Society and Government, and if so what is the reason for this delay?

Shri A. P. Jain: To the best of my information the work has not been suspended.

EXPLOSION OF *Indian Enterprise*

*192. **Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of Commerce be pleased to state whether the commercial freighter *Indian Enterprise* which blew up recently in the Red Sea carried any goods for India, and, if so what, and how much?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): Yes. The vessel carried about 8,500 tons of Cargo consisting mainly of Cement, Billets, and Iron Tubes. Some general cargo including 580 tons of Explosives was also on board.

Shri Kamath: To whom did this ship belong?

Shri Sri Prakasa: The ship belonged to the India Steamship Company of Calcutta.

Shri Kamath: Has any enquiry been held into this explosion?

Shri Sri Prakasa: The U. K. Ministry of Transport is making an enquiry.

Shri Sidhva: May I know who were the crew of this ship and whether there were Indian nationals who were killed?

Shri Sri Prakasa: The vessel had a crew of fifteen officers and in addition one Wireless Operator of the Marconi Company. The deck and engine room consisted of 59 seamen.

Shri Sidhva: In the Inquiry said to have been instituted has any one from the Government of India been appointed or requested to be appointed, in view of so many Indian nationals having been killed?

Shri Sri Prakasa: As the vessel was borne on the U. K. register and it met with disaster outside Indian waters, we have agreed that the U.K. Ministry of Transport should carry

on the investigation because they are in a better position to have the necessary evidence at their disposal.

Dr. Deshmukh: What is the damage done as a result of this explosion and what portion of this damage is covered by insurance?

Shri Sri Prakasa: The ship was insured for £200,000 and a further £50,000 covers freight and cargo.

Shri Kamath: To which port was this ship bound, and was all the cargo carried for India?

Shri Sri Prakasa: The ship was bound for Bombay and the cargo was for India.

An Hon. Member: May I know whether the cargo was insured?

Shri Sri Prakasa: I have said it was insured for £50,000.

Shri Raj Bahadur: From whatever information Government may have in their possession, what is the cause of the explosion?

Shri Sri Prakasa: That depends upon the results of the enquiry. Our High Commissioner in London will keep a watch and inform us of developments from time to time.

Shri Raj Bahadur: Do I take it that they have no information so far?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri A. C. Guha: Among the officers and crew of the ship how many were Indian nationals?

Shri Sri Prakasa: As conditions are it is very difficult to distinguish between Indian and Pakistani nationals. Of the fifty-nine seamen who were unfortunately killed some were Indian and some were Pakistani.

Shri T. N. Singh: May I know if any proposal was made by the Government of India to associate somebody from our side with the Enquiry that is being conducted?

Shri Sri Prakasa: As I have already said, we have agreed that the U.K.

Ministry of Transport should carry on the enquiry, and our High Commissioner in London will be there to watch our interests.

Shri Tirumala Rao: Have Government got any information in their possession to suspect that the accident was due to sabotage on account of the presence of ammunition in the ship?

Shri Sri Prakasa: We have no such information. We must wait for the results of the enquiry.

RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL

*103. **Shri Kamath:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether the question of the recognition of Israel is still under the consideration of Government?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): Attention is invited to the reply given to Question No. 522 on the 27th February 1950. Among the factors to be taken into consideration is the present grave international situation.

Shri Kamath: Is it not a fact that this question of Israel has been before Government since August 1948 or thereabout, and what are the reasons for the delay in the way of recognition of Israel?

Dr. Keskar: I think this question was put twice on the floor of the House and the Government has explained sufficiently the reasons for delaying it.

Shri Kamath: Is it not a fact that Israel became an established State long before Communist China which has since been recognized and in spite of the fact that the old Chinese Government has not completely gone off the scene?

Dr. Keskar: The whole question is under the consideration of the Government.

Shri Tyagi: What Government is actually in power in Israel?

Dr. Keskar: The Israel Government.

Shri Kamath: Is Government waiting for a change in the attitude of some other State or States before finalizing India's decision in the matter?

Dr. Keskar: No. Last time we made it clear on the floor of the House that for the formal recognition of the Government of Israel we are waiting for an opportune time to make it. That the State of Israel exists, there is no doubt and only the question of when to recognize it is under the consideration of Government.

Shri Kamath: Am I to understand that India recognizes Israel *de facto* and not *de jure*?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: Is there any likelihood of the Government of India coming to a final decision on this question by the end of this year?

Dr. Keskar: I am unable to indicate any date.

NEGOTIATIONS *re* FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

*194. **Shri Kamath:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether any negotiations with regard to the French settlements in India are in progress;

(b) if so, at what level; and

(c) what stage they have reached?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): (a) to (c). Negotiations have been going on with regard to the French Settlements in India for a considerable time. They are conducted by our Ambassador in Paris. They have not borne much fruit yet. The Government of India have made it clear repeatedly that certain essential conditions must be

fulfilled in order to make the referendum a free and fair one. If these conditions are not fulfilled, then that referendum has no value. Thus far no satisfactory reply has been received by the Government of India. Reports of recent happenings in some of the Southern French Establishments in India have made it all the more important that certain steps should be taken to enable the people to vote freely.

Shri Kamath: Is there any truth in the P.T.I.-Reuter report from Paris dated the 2nd of August to the effect that our Indian Ambassador there said that the Indian Government would not accept any referendum on the future of French Settlements in India unless the French Government gave a satisfactory reply to the Indian protest against the sentences passed on certain people in Mahe, submitted by the Government to the French Foreign Office a month or two ago?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I do not know what the Ambassador said, but what the hon. Member has said represents the Indian Government's position.

Shri Kamath: Are there talks going on at present about the date and the modalities of the referendum?

Dr. Keskar: We are discussing all the conditions which are necessary for ensuring a free and fair referendum.

सेठ गोविंद दास : जनमत के सम्बन्ध में भारत सरकार की जो शर्तें हैं यदि फ्रांसीसी सरकार उनको मंजूर न करे तो इस सम्बन्ध में भारत सरकार आगे क्या कारवाई करने का विचार करती है ?

[**Seth Govind Das:** What further action do the Government propose in case the French Government do not accept their terms for holding a referendum?]

डाक्टर केंसकर : जब तक कि भारत सरकार को यह आखिरी तौर से मालूम न हो कि फ्रांसीसी सरकार ने हमारी शर्तों को नामंजूर कर दिया है तब तक मैं समझता हूँ कि इस पर विचार करने की है।

Dr. Keskar: I think that stage has not yet come. Till such time this Government knows of the final rejection of our terms by the French Government. I think, further consideration of the issue is not called for.]

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या भारत सरकार ने फ्रांसीसी सरकार को कोई समय दिया है कि जिसके अन्दर उनका इस सम्बन्ध में उत्तर आ जाना चाहिये ?

[**Seth Govind Das:** Has a time-limit been given to the French Government within which they should send a reply on the subject?]

डाक्टर केंसकर : कोई समय नहीं दिया गया है। लेकिन हमारी जो भावना है वह उनको अच्छी तरह मालूम करा दी गयी है।

[**Dr. Keskar:** No time-limit has been fixed but they have been fully informed of our feelings in the matter.]

AIRCRAFT REPAIRED AT HINDUSTAN AIRCRAFT LTD., BANGALORE

*195. **Shri Raj Bahadur:** (a) Will the Minister of Industry and Supply be pleased to state the number of aircraft overhauled, repaired or re-conditioned during the year 1949-50 at the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., Bangalore?

(b) How many of these were Indian-owned and how many foreign?

(c) Amongst the Indian-owned how many were Government aircraft?

(d) Is it a fact that the over-hauling charges have been reduced recently?

(e) If so, what is the reason therefor and how do over-hauling charges at Hindustan Aircraft Limited compare with such charges in factories in other countries?

The Minister of Industry and Supply (Shri Mahtab): (a) 97 aircraft and 430 aero-engines.

(b) 85 aircraft and 407 aero-engines were Indian-owned and the rest foreign.

(c) 56 aircraft and 173 aero-engines.

(d) The answer is in the affirmative.

(e) Reduction in price of spares and increase in workload enabled Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., to reduce prices. The overhauling charges at Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., compare favourably with those at factories in other countries.

Shri Raj Bahadur: May I know how many out of the Indian-owned aircraft belong to private companies and how many belong to Tatas?

Shri Mahtab: Separate figures are not available. I have already said how many from among the Indian-owned aircrafts belong to Government.

Shri Raj Bahadur: I want to know how many were owned by the Tatas and how many by the other Companies.

Mr. Speaker: What is the point of enquiry in mentioning one particular firm?

Shri Raj Bahadur: So far as I understand one of the Directors of the Hindustan Aircraft Limited is also one of the Directors of Tatas. So, I want to know what is the percentage of the aircraft . . .

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I do not propose to allow individual questions implying insinuations like this.

Shri Gautam: May I know what kinds of aircraft can be repaired, overhauled and reconditioned in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory?

Shri Mahtab: It is very difficult for me to even pronounce these names. I can read them out. The types of aircraft which have been either overhauled or repaired or reconditioned are: Catalina flying boats, dive bombers, military Dakotas, Heavy Bombers, Medium Bombers, Liberators, Tiger Moths, Tempests, etc.

Shri Gautam: Can it repair the Curtis Commandos or not?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member is going into unnecessary details.

Shri Gautam: It is a very important supplementary because it will lead to a very great exposure of things that are being done in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory.

Shri Tyagi: Is it a fact that Curtis Commandos lying in the Disposals Department were refused to be repaired by this Aircraft factory and they said that they were not capable of doing the repairs?

Shri Mahtab: At one time the Hindustan Aircraft Factory were asked to repair some of these Curtis Commandos and they declined in the beginning. Now the report is that they are willing to repair them.

Shri Raj Bahadur: May I know whether there are any Pakistan-owned aircraft which have come for repairs over here?

Shri Mahtab: The answer is in the negative.

Shri Buragohain: May I know the names of the countries whose aircraft have been repaired or reconditioned in our country?

Shri Mahtab: Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia.

Shri R. L. Malviya: May I know if there is any proposal for extension of this Aircraft factory and if so, what steps have been taken?

Shri Mahtab: There is a proposal to extend the scope of this Aircraft

factory. The proposal is under consideration and all depends on our financial position.

Dr. M. M. Das: May I ask if the Number given in answer to part (a) includes the number of bombers that have been assembled for the Defence Ministry?

Shri Mahtab: No.

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know if commercial aircraft are assembled in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory?

Shri Mahtab: Assembling has not been done so far but an attempt has been made in that direction.

ALLOTMENT OF EVACUEE LAND IN RAJASTHAN TO DISPLACED PERSONS AND MEOS

*196. **Shri Raj Bahadur:** (a) Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state the area of evacuee agricultural land (i) allotted to and (ii) actually under the possession of, displaced persons, Meos and the old local tenants respectively, in Alwar and Bharatpur Districts of Rajasthan?

(b) Have any local tenants been displaced from their holdings on account of such allotment of land to Meos and displaced persons?

(c) If so, have any arrangements been made to provide them with other land?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) to (c). The information is being collected.

Shri Raj Bahadur: May I know the number of local tenants involved by this settlement made to Meos and displaced persons?

Shri A. P. Jain: I have not been able to ascertain the number of local tenants so far and that is one of the reasons why I have said that the information is being collected.

Shri Raj Bahadur: May I know what steps have been taken in this direction?

Shri A. P. Jain: Enquiries have been addressed to the State Governments.

Shri R. L. Malviya: May I know whether any tenants have been displaced in Rajasthan for the settlement of Meos?

Shri A. P. Jain: Not for the settlement of Meos, but for the settlement of displaced persons.

Shri Raj Bahadur: What is the policy of Government with regard to the tenants who were formerly cultivating the lands under Meo landlords?

Shri A. P. Jain: The tenants who were occupying lands owned by Meos are generally going to be resettled on these lands.

IMPORT OF SALT

*197. **Shri Tyagi:** (a) Will the Minister of Industry and Supply be pleased to state whether Government decided last year to import salt upto the end of 1951

(b) Is it a fact that the Salt Advisory Committee resolved last year that "salt being sufficient, its import from foreign countries should be stopped forthwith"?

(c) If so, what is the ultimate decision Government have taken in this matter?

The Minister of Industry and Supply (Shri Mahtab): (a) For 1950, for the first half year, a ceiling of Rs. 58 lakhs to cover the import of 30 lakh maunds of salt was prescribed. For the second half year, similarly a provision of Rs. 58 lakhs was made in the import programme. It was thought that the internal production would not be sufficient for the total requirement.

(b) The answer is in the affirmative.

(c) Since there would not be any need to import any salt during the second half year, the Chief Controller of Imports has been advised not to

issue any licenses. No action has, however, been taken to surrender the position as it is proposed to review the position in September next.

Shri Tyagi: May I know what are the reasons which impelled the Government to import salt after the Salt Advisory Committee had resolved last year that there was sufficient quantity of salt in India?

Shri Mahtab: As a matter of fact, no import licence has been granted after the resolution of the Salt Advisory Committee.

Shri Gautam: Is it a fact that Government was spending lakhs and lakhs of rupees on watch and ward to destroy salt, and at the same time, was importing salt and spending lakhs and lakhs on the other side?

Shri Mahtab: I am sorry the fact is not correct as stated.

Shri Gautam: Will the hon. Minister be pleased to state how much money was spent on watch and ward when salt was being imported, and these watch and ward were not allowing the natural salt to be collected by the people, but were allowing it to be destroyed?

Shri Mahtab: Recently, a Salt Committee was appointed and if this had been a fact, they must have gone into it. From the report of the Salt Committee, I do not find the fact as stated by the hon. Member.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know whether there is a rise in the price because of the decision of Government to stop import of salt?

Shri Mahtab: To my information there has been no rise. If there is any rise, steps will be taken to control it.

Prof. Ranga: What is the latest position about the salt control?

Shri Mahtab: I am sure the hon. Member will not expect me to make any announcement here which would only benefit hoarders and profiteers.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या सरकार को यह बात मालूम है कि हर जगह नमक की कीमत एक सी नहीं है और क्या इस बात की भी शिकायत सरकार के पास आई है कि नमक का आवागमन ठीक न होने के सबब से कई जगह नमक की कमी हो जाती है और वहां कीमत बढ़ जाती है ?

[**Seth Govind Das:** Is the Government aware of the fact that prices of salt at various places? Have they received complaints that due to unsatisfactory transport arrangements, a shortage of salt occurs at places and there the prices shoot up?]

श्री महताब : आपने यह जो यफरमाया वह सही है कि ट्रान्सपोर्ट का ठीक प्रबन्ध न होने के कारण नमक ठीक ठीक नहीं मिल पाता है ।

[**Shri Mahtab:** The hon. Member's statement, that due to unsatisfactory transport arrangements there is no satisfactory distribution of salt, is correct.]

STATEMENT BY INDIAN AMBASSADOR IN U. S. A. re AMERICAN MILITARY AID TO S. E. ASIA AND POINT-4 PROGRAMME

*198. **Shri Tyagi:** (a) Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether he has read the Press Reports of the Radio discussion recently held in New York, wherein our Ambassador, Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit is reported to have said that (i) India did not support President Truman's decision to send military aid to South-East Asia and use the United States' 7th fleet to protect Formosa; and (ii) Point-4 Programme had become really "ridiculous"?

(b) Was the above statement made with the knowledge of the Ministry of External Affairs?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): (a) and (b). The Prime Minister has seen Press Reports of the Radio discussion in the course of which our Ambassador in Washington is reported to have made the remarks referred to in the question. No authentic version has yet been received by the Foreign Ministry of this discussion.

The particular statements were not made after reference to the Ministry of External Affairs. The statement in regard to Formosa is in consonance with the policy of the Government of Point-4 Programme refers to the fact that the amount allotted for a large number of countries in the East is very small.

Shri Tyagi: May I know if it is the intention of Government to give protection to Formosa themselves? Now, the American protection to Formosa has been objected to, I want to know if it is the intention to give protection yourself.

Mr. Speaker: I think it will be a subject matter for the discussion today.

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): If I may say so, it is not the subject matter of any discussion; it is quite clear.

Shri Tyagi: May I know if there are any set instructions sent to our Ambassador in the U.S.A. with regard to our relationship with the Government of the U.S.A.?

Mr. Speaker: I am afraid the question is too general and too vague.

Shri Tyagi: Since U.S.A. is reported to be out with the propaganda ridiculing the programme of the U.S.A., I want to know if any instructions have been sent to the Ambassador to define her attitude in this connection.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Government of India is constantly sending instructions to its Ambassadors. It is a day to day business.

Shri Kamath: With regard to the second part of those remarks, namely that President Truman's Point-4 Programme had become really "ridiculous", has our Ambassador been told by Government that it is hardly diplomatic for her to criticise publicly the policy of the Government of the country to which she is accredited?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir; we have not told her that. We do not, since every word that our Ambassadors say they have to exercise their judgement. All these words drawn out of their context, it is very difficult to judge. If the hon. Member would read the American Press in regard to the reduction of President Truman's Point-4 Programme, he will see that the American Press condemned it in much stronger language than what our Ambassador has said.

Shri Kamath: Is that any justification for our Ambassador to condemn...

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Tyagi: I want to know if our Government are prepared to own these remarks.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what the hon. Member means. Government thinks that President Truman's Point-4 Programme has been reduced to such small dimensions as to make it without any great value.

Shri Kamath: Is not the word "ridiculous" too strong.....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order; no arguments. I am going to the next question.

EXPENDITURE ON REHABILITATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

*199. **Dr. Deshmukh:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state the expenditure incurred on rehabilitation of displaced persons since 1st April, 1950 and what was the provision in the Budget for 1950-51?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): The booked expenditure to the end of May is Rs 37.58 lakhs under all heads. The actual expenditure so far incurred is, however, much larger. The figures of actual expenditure are booked by various Accountants-General all over India and it takes time to collect them. The provision made in the Budget Estimates for 1950-51 was Rs. 20.00 crores.

Dr. Deshmukh: Can the hon. Minister say by what amount this sum is likely to be exceeded in the course of the year?

Shri A. P. Jain: It is not possible for me to give even an approximate idea.

Shri Dwivedi: May I know how much of this amount has been spent in the Centrally Administered Areas?

Shri A. P. Jain: I have not got separate figures.

Shri Chattopadhyay: In view of the fact that a larger number of refugees are coming from East Bengal, does the Government consider that the 20 crores set apart would be sufficient for the purpose?

Shri A. P. Jain: In addition to these 20 crores, a grant of five crores has been given to my Ministry as a result of the recommendations of the High Power Committee. Besides that, another Rs. 5 crores have been allotted to this Ministry. A fresh Budget for the rehabilitation of the larger number of refugees from the East is under consideration.

NEPAL'S RIGHT TO SUPPLY FIGHTING PERSONNEL TO NON-COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES

*200. **Shri Kesava Rao:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether in the treaty with Nepal, there is any provision regarding the supply of fighting personnel, by that country to any non-Commonwealth country?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): No Sir.

Shri Kesava Rao: May I know whether United Kingdom is free to send Nepalese soldiers to help South Korea?

Mr. Speaker: How does it concern the Government of India?

Shri Kesava Rao: After independence, we have given some Gurkha soldiers to the United Kingdom. I want to know whether U.K. can send these soldiers to South Korea to fight against Asians.

Mr. Speaker: He has replied in the negative; he says, no; there is no such thing in the agreement.

Dr. Keskar: The allocation of Gurkha soldiers is governed not by the treaty with Nepal; there is a tripartite agreement between India, Nepal and United Kingdom with regard to the allocation of Gurkha soldiers who were then in the service of the Government of India. In the agreement there is also provision with regard to future recruitment. I cannot say whether soldiers who have been recruited by the U.K. can be sent to certain theatres of war, because it is for the British Government and also for the Nepal Government to decide.

Shri Kesava Rao: I want to know whether there is any agreement between India and United Kingdom that these Gurkha soldiers will not be sent against any Asian country.

Dr. Keskar: No.

Dr. Deshmukh: What is the quota which is going to be supplied to U.K. from the Nepalese soldiers according to the Agreement?

Dr. Keskar: According to the Agreement, eight battalions were transferred to His Majesty's Government in Great Britain and the rest to India.

Shri Kamath: Has Government's attention been drawn to a recent press report that certain Gurkha soldiers were shipped from Calcutta to

Malaya, and if that be so, were they from Nepal or from India?

Dr. Keskar: They were Gurkhas recruited by British Government.

Dr. Deshmukh: In the last portion of the hon. Minister's reply, he referred to the rest belonging to India. What does that amount to?

Dr. Keskar: Twelve Battalions.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FOR DISPLACED STUDENTS

*201. **Shri Kesava Rao:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state the facilities provided for displaced students desirous of undertaking (i) Engineering Education, (ii) Medical Education and (iii) Agricultural Education?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): Displaced students who are able to secure admission to recognised engineering, medical or agricultural institutions will, under the latest scheme, receive stipends provided their parents/guardians are unable to finance their studies. The earlier scheme of granting loans has now been replaced by a scheme of stipends; but those under the loans scheme who still prefer to draw loans, will be allowed to exercise the option of doing so.

At the suggestion of the Government of India most of the State Governments have agreed not to charge capitation fee from displaced students and to relax the condition relating to domicile and the upper age limit. Some State Governments have also reserved seats for displaced students in Engineering, Medical and Agricultural colleges within their States.

Shri Kesava Rao: Sir, may I know whether any stipends are given to these displaced students for higher studies in foreign countries?

Shri A. P. Jain: Yes.

Shri Kesava Rao: What is the amount spent during last year?

Shri A. P. Jain: The number of students was 93 and a sum of Rs. 6 lakhs was granted.

Shri Kesava Rao: Do Government propose to relax the age limit of certain students who have suffered due to the partition?

Shri A. P. Jain: I have already said that the age limit has been relaxed by certain States.

Khwaja Inait Ullah: Are some seats reserved for these students in some of the colleges in the States?

Shri A. P. Jain: I have already stated that some seats are reserved in some of the States.

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL

***202. Lala Raj Kanwar:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether any proposal has been received regarding the formation of an International Criminal Tribunal under the auspices of the U.N.O.; and

(b) if the reply to part (a) above be in the affirmative, at what stage the matter is pending?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): (a) The Government of India have received no proposal but the General Assembly on 9th December, 1948 requested the International Law Commission to study this question.

(b) The International Law Commission at its session held at Geneva in June 1950, decided that it was desirable to establish an International Judicial organ. The recommendation of the Commission will presumably be considered by the General Assembly.

Lala Raj Kanwar: May I know, Sir, what will be the composition of this Tribunal and whether India will be represented there?

Dr. Keskar: This will come up only after it has been considered by the General Assembly.

IMPORT OF BANNED ARTICLES

***203. Shri Gautam:** (a) Will the Minister of Commerce be pleased to state whether it is a fact that licences for imports of banned articles were given to some persons in 1950?

(b) Is the import of electric fans allowed or banned?

(c) Were any licences for importing electric fans granted and if so, for what amount and from what countries?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) Presuming that the hon. Member means by 'banned articles' such articles for which, according to the general policy in force for the time being, licences are ordinarily not issued, I may say that licences for them are sometimes granted, if the circumstances of the particular case justify it.

(b) The licensing of electric ceiling fans has been banned in this sense since January-June 1948 and no licences have been granted from any source. Electric Table fans have, however, been licensed in some periods and not in others, the position being as follows:

<u>Period</u>	<u>Licensing Policy</u>
January-June 1948	No licences were granted from any source.
July-December 1948.	No licences were granted from any source.
January-June 1949.	Table fans were licensed only from sterling and soft currency countries subject to monetary ceiling.

Period	Licensing Policy
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July-December 1949	No licences were granted from any source.
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January-June 1950	No licences were granted from any source.
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July-December 1950.	Table fans will be licensed only from soft currency countries on a quota of 20 per cent. of half of best year's imports.
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(c) Presuming that the hon. Member requires information for the period January-June 1950, I may say that during that period three licences were granted for import of electric table fans from the U.K. and Italy, valued at Rs. 11,533. The licences were quota licences granted against applications made in January-June, 1949, which could not be issued earlier.

Shri Gautam: Is it a fact that licences were granted only to these firms while some applications were pending before the Department long before?

Shri Sri Prakasa: It is not always possible to satisfy all applicants; and we have to consider each case on its merits. These parties were granted licences. I cannot immediately say why others were not.

Shri Gautam: Arising from the hon. Minister's reply, is it not giving a free hand to the Department to accept or reject any application, and will it.....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Gautam: Sir, I want to know what are the rules, the reasons that led to the rejection of the applications that had already been submitted to the Department and what were the

special reasons for granting licences to these firms?

Shri Sri Prakasa: If the hon. Member desires to know the exact reasons why licences were granted in each of these cases, he must give notice.

Shri Goenka: Sir, may I know from the hon. Minister whether, when a policy is laid down that the import of a particular commodity should not be allowed, is it even then left to the Commerce Department to issue licences for that very commodity?

Shri Sri Prakasa: What happens is this. In some cases applications cannot be dealt with during the particular licensing period to which they relate. These applications are then disposed of in the following licensing period, and it sometimes happens that the relevant licences are actually sanctioned during the period in which ordinarily they would not be issued.

Shri Gautam: Sir, I want to get it verified. The hon. Minister said that licences for Rs. 11,000 were granted. Was it all for U.K. alone?

Mr. Speaker: He wants to know whether they were all for U.K.

Shri Sri Prakasa: There is only one from the U.K. and two are from Italy.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Sir, may I know whether Government in the Commerce Department have considered the suggestion of indigenous manufacturers that import licences for goods manufactured in this country should be granted only after ascertaining whether the manufactured goods of this country are stagnating or finding a market?

Shri Sri Prakasa: It is the constant endeavour of this Ministry to find out exactly what our minimum requirements are in any particular article, find out how much of that article is manufactured in the country and then import only what is absolutely necessary to fill the gap.

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICERS IN EMBASSIES APPOINTED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO U. P. S. C.

*204. **Shri Gautam:** (a) Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state how many persons were recruited by the External Affairs Ministry as Press Attachés or Public Relations Officers in different Embassies without reference to the U.P.S.C. since the 15th August, 1947?

(b) How many of them appeared before the U.P.S.C. or Selection Boards in India and abroad?

(c) How many of them were selected and how many were rejected?

(d) What is the amount of expenditure incurred by the Government in their coming to India and going back?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): (a) 17.

(b) All the 17 candidates were initially selected by the Selection Boards of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry and External Affairs Ministry for appointment on a temporary basis. Subsequently 12 of the above candidates appeared before the Union Public Service Commission.

(c) Seven were approved and five were rejected by the Union Public Service Commission.

(d) Rs. 29,800 approximately.

Shri Gautam: Sir, who formed the first selection board that selected these candidates with the result that after so many years of experience they were rejected by the Public Service Commission?

Mr. Speaker: He cannot bring in these insinuations. The hon. Member can ask for information.

Shri Gautam: Sir, who formed the first selection board?

Dr. Keskar: As I said, they were representatives of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry and the External Affairs Ministry. I cannot give their names off-hand.

Shri Gautam: Is it a fact that the officers of the Department are interchangeable? That is to say, can the Commerce Secretary, for instance be transferred as the Defence Secretary?

Dr. Keskar: No, but if the External Affairs Ministry considers it necessary to have the services of any officer in another Department, then his services are transferred to that Ministry. But officers in this Department are not as easily transferable as in other Departments.

Shri Tyagi: Before sending such persons to foreign countries for service, are their political affinities and political integrity put to some test?

Dr. Keskar: The qualifications for these candidates are prescribed by the various recruitment boards and selection boards. I cannot say off-hand if the particular qualification referred to by my hon. friend was taken into account.

Shri Tyagi: I am anxious to know whether it is only the academic qualifications that are taken into account or whether their political affinities and political integrity are also taken into consideration.

Dr. Keskar: This question should be put rather to the Union Public Service Commission and not to me.

Shri Gautam: Are Government aware that some of these persons in the foreign service belong to the Communist Party?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Kamath: Have any Information Officers been appointed recently, in January or February last, to our Embassies and Missions abroad in spite of their having been rejected by the U.P.S.C.?

Dr. Keskar: The fact of the matter is that all the five candidates who were rejected by the U.P.S.C. were at the time holding posts and were functioning in foreign countries. We went into the question with the U.P.S.C. and placed before them the fact that if these rejected candidates were dispensed with immediately, their various posts will cease to function. The Commission agreed to allow temporarily three of the candidates to continue until the U.P.S.C. are able to select the requisite number of candidates.

Shri Kamath: For what period?

Dr. Keskar: Till the U.P.S.C. is able to choose candidates to replace them.

Prof. Ranga: Who settles the qualifications for these candidates when the advertisement is put in? Is it the Union Public Service Commission or the department concerned?

Dr. Keskar: The Government prescribes the various qualifications necessary.

Dr. Deshmukh: Why was not the same generous consideration extended to the remaining two persons also?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Tirumala Rao: What was the number of people who had been asked to come from foreign countries for this interview and what was the number selected from them and the number rejected and what money has been spent on them by the Government?

Dr. Keskar: We tried to sound the U.P.S.C. whether it was not possible to get this selection done in some way and somewhere where we could do it at less expense. Ultimately they decided how the selection should be made and at what place it should take place.

Shri Tirumala Rao: Sir, he has given the general principle governing the selection but I asked for the exact number of people who came from abroad.

Dr. Keskar: All the twelve candidates came from outside.

RAID NEAR KHEM KARAN BY PAKISTANIS

***205. Sardar Hukam Singh:** (a) Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether there have been any cases of raids by Pakistan Nationals into the Indian territory near Khem Karan border during the months of May, June and July 1950?

(b) If so, what was their number and what were the losses suffered in men, cattle and goods?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): (a) Yes, Sir,

(b) There were three raids during this period, on the 13th, 19th and 22nd June, 1950 respectively. In the first raid some Pakistan Nationals, assisted by their border police, attempted to lift some cattle and in the encounter which followed, they killed two villagers whose dead bodies they removed to Pakistan territory. There was, however, no loss of cattle or goods. In the second raid our police intercepted and drove away the raiders. In the third raid one buffalo was lifted by Pakistan Nationals.

Sardar Hukam Singh: What action has been taken by the Government of India?

Dr. Keskar: We have protested to the Government of Pakistan according to the Indo-Pakistan Agreement now all such questions are discussed between the respective Police chiefs.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Have we received any reply to our protest to Pakistan?

Dr. Keskar: Not yet.

Sardar Hukam Singh: What has been the policy of Government and what have they been doing in cases where protests are lodged or requests made and they remain unanswered or unacknowledged?

Dr. Keskar: We press them for an answer as urgently as possible. Sometimes it is delayed but you do get an answer.

NEGOTIATIONS ON EVACUEE PROPERTY IN PAKISTAN

***206. Sardar Hukam Singh:** (a) Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state whether there have been any further negotiations during the last three months between India and Pakistan as regards the evacuee properties left behind by displaced persons from Western Pakistan?

(b) If so whether any agreement has been reached on this question?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) Yes.

(b) As regards, movable property, certain agreed decisions have been taken. A copy of the agreement reached is placed on the Table of the House. [See *Appendix III, annexure No. 7.*] A point of detail in regard to shares of Joint Stock Companies, which arose after the agreement was signed is still under discussion. Suitable instructions to implement the agreement are being issued.

Sardar Hukam Singh: What is the total number of conferences so far held about evacuee property since 1947?

Shri A. P. Jain: I cannot give the exact number at the moment but the number is quite big may be five or six.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Is the present agreement reached about movable property in any way different from the one which was arrived at on the 1st January, 1949?

Shri A. P. Jain: In many respects it is different from the previous one. The agreement has been placed on the Table of the House and the hon. Member is at liberty to compare the terms of the two.

ARAB-KI-SARAI TECHNICAL TRAINING CENTRE

***207. Sardar Hukam Singh:** (a) Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a few machines in the Arab-ki-Sarai Technical Training Centre have been lying idle for some time?

(b) If so, what are the reasons for this?

(c) What is the number of trainees in this Centre at present?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) and (b). Yes. Machines in the Bamboo Section have been idle for some time because requisite type of bamboo was not available.

(c) 89 on the 1st July, 1950. New admissions are now in progress.

Sardar Hukam Singh: What is the total number of persons trained so far?

Shri A. P. Jain: These 89 constitute the first batch.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Have they been absorbed here or have they found employment elsewhere?

Shri A. P. Jain: They are receiving training.

Sardar Hukam Singh: No candidates have yet been trained so far?

Shri A. P. Jain: No.

Shri J. R. Kapoor: Are the Japanese machines which are used in Arab-ki-Sarai in demand in this country?

Shri A. P. Jain: In fact these machines have so far been used only for demonstration purposes. They have not yet been put to commercial use. We are devising schemes

to put them to commercial use and only then the question of spreading them on commercial scale will arise.

Shri J. B. Kapoor: Do Government propose to import such machinery so that it may be easily available to those who want to purchase it?

Shri A. P. Jain: Certainly when there is demand for them.

Shri Munavalli: How many trainees from Bombay are being trained at this centre?

Shri A. P. Jain: I have not got the figures of the trainees from Bombay.

Shri Dwivedi: Do Government propose to open similar centres in other places?

Shri A. P. Jain: Government are thinking of opening centres for training in Assam, Bihar and Bengal.

Sardar Hukam Singh: How many Japanese experts are still there to train these people?

Shri A. P. Jain: One or two.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Is it a fact that some of the Japanese experts have left and that there is no body to train the people and therefore it is that these machines are lying idle?

Shri A. P. Jain: That is not a fact. Of course, some Japanese experts have left, but the reason for these machines lying idle is quite different: the raw material is not available.

Shri J. B. Kapoor: Have these Japanese experts left India for Japan or have been engaged by some private individuals in this country?

Shri A. P. Jain: A few of them have returned to Japan.

Shri J. B. Kapoor: What about the others?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या इन मशीनों के सम्बन्ध में अभी तक भारतवर्ष के किसी स्थान से भी कोई इन्क्वायरी नहीं आई है, या कुछ इन्क्वायरियां आईं पर यहां से उन का संतोषजनक रीति से उत्तर नहीं पहुंच सका ?

[**Seth Govind Das:** Has not a single enquiry been so far received from any place in India about these machines or have there been some enquiries but with no satisfactory replies from here?]

श्री ए० पी० जैन : इन मशीनों के बारे में तहकीकातें तो कितनी ही जगहों से आईं लेकिन जैसा कि मैं ने अभी बतलाया अभी तक हमारे पास इतने बड़े पैमाने पर मशीनों नहीं हैं कि उनको फँलाया जा सके। इसलिए मशीनों को बाहर बेचने का कोई सवाल पैदा नहीं हुआ।

[**Shri A. P. Jain:** Enquiries were received from many places, but, as I have just stated, we do not possess these machines on a scale as to undertake their expansion. There was, as such, no question of their sale to outside places.]

श्री गोयन्का : क्या जबलपुर से कोई इन्क्वायरी आई थी ?

[**Shri Goenka:** Was there an enquiry from Jubbulpore?]

श्री ए० पी० जैन : इस चीज की इतला तो सेठ गोविन्द दास जी को ही ज्यादा हो सकती है।

[**Shri A. P. Jain:** Hon. Seth Govind Das is definitely in a better position to have this information.]

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO
QUESTIONS

MIGRATION FROM WEST PAKISTAN
TO INDIA AND *vice versa*

*208. { Shri Hanumanthaiya:
Shri Channiah:

Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state in monthly figures the migration of the population from West Pakistan to India and from India to West Pakistan:

(a) from the date of Nehru-Liaquat Ali Khan Agreement up-to-date; and

(b) for six months prior to the date of the said Pact?

The Minister of State for **Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain)**: (a) and (b). A statement giving the available information is laid on the Table of the House. [See *Appendix III, annexure No. 8.*]

MIGRATION FROM EAST PAKISTAN TO
INDIA AND *vice versa*

*209. { Shri Hanumanthaiya:
Shri Channiah:

Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state in monthly figures the migration of population from East Pakistan to India and from India to East Pakistan:

(a) from the date of Nehru-Liaquat Ali Khan Pact up-to-date; and

(b) for six months prior to the date of the said Pact?

[*Answer covered by note on Indo-Pakistan Agreement of the 8th April, 1950 circulated to Members. (See Appendix III, annexure No. 17).*]

BORDER CLASH IN JAMMU BETWEEN
PAKISTAN AND INDIAN TROOPS

*210. { Shri Hanumanthaiya:
Shri Channiah:

(a) Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether a border

clash in Jammu took place on Sunday the 11th June 1950 between the Pakistan troops and an Indian Patrol?

(b) If so, what are the numbers of persons killed and wounded on the Indian side and on the Pakistan side?

(c) What are the steps the Government of India have taken as a result of this incident?

The **Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Kesar)**: (a) A border clash in Jammu Province did take place on Sunday, June 11, 1950, between an Indian Patrol and Pakistan Border Police.

(b) Six persons on our side were killed and five persons wounded. The number of casualties on the Pakistan is not known.

(c) The incident was reported to the U. N. Observers who in accordance with the normal practice made recommendations designed to prevent such clashes in the future. It is hoped that the recommendations will be acted upon and further regrettable incidents of this kind prevented.

EVACUEE LAND IN BIKANER

*211. **Sardar B. S. Man**: (a) Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state how much land fell vacant due to migration of Muslims from Bikaner?

(b) How much of it was declared evacuee property?

(c) How it has been allotted?

The **Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain)**: (a) 2.87 lakhs acres.

(b) The entire land.

(c) 2.13 lakh acres have been allotted to displaced persons in

Ganganagar and Suchetgarh Districts as follows:—

Name of State or Province.	No. of families.	Area allotted acres.
(1) Bahawalpur State.	9,206 families.	1,48,324 acres.
(2) Punjab (P)	3,609 „	47,289 „
(3) Sindh.	1,168 „	15,477 „
(4) N.W.F.P.	147 „	1,910 „
Total	13,530 „	2,13,000 „

The question of allotment of the rest of the evacuee land to displaced persons is being reviewed by a Committee.

LAND RESTORED TO MEOS

*212. **Sardar B. S. Man:** (a) Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state how much land has been restored to Meos in Gurgaon, Bharatpur and Alwar?

(b) How many of them have returned and occupied the lands?

(c) How much remaining land is yet to be allotted?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain):

(a)	
Gurgaon	23,576 acres.
Alwar	61,839 acres.
Bharatpur.	69,179 acres.

(b) 3,525 families in Gurgaon.

39,500 persons in Alwar.

38,927 persons in Bharatpur.

(c) 14,485 acres in Gurgaon District are still to be allotted. Information regarding lands still to be restored in Alwar and Bharatpur is not available as the claims of the 18,000 more Meos demanding restoration are under scrutiny.

SIKH GURDWARAS IN PAKISTAN

*213. **Sardar B. S. Man:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state whether he or any of his officials discussed the question of restoration of Sikh Gurdwaras in Pakistan in any of the conferences held between

India and Pakistan and if so, with what result?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): The question of religious trusts, including Sikh Gurdwaras in West Pakistan has been discussed with the Pakistan Government from time to time, but no final decisions have been reached so far. At the Inter-Dominion Conference held on 10-13th January, 1949 a Joint Trust Property Committee consisting of three representatives of each country, was appointed to go into the question. For various reasons, it has not been possible to hold a joint meeting of this committee so far. The Pakistan Government have now agreed to the convening of an early meeting of the joint committee and they have been requested to intimate the date which would suit them for holding joint discussions. Their reply is awaited.

EAST PAKISTAN DISPLACED PERSONS

*214. **Shri Hossain Imam:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state the number of East Pakistanis who have left camps outside West Bengal for return to their homes in East Bengal?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): 21,127.

TOWNSHIPS FOR EAST BENGAL DISPLACED PERSONS

*215. **Shri S. O. Samanta:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) the number and names of townships built for East Bengal displaced persons; and

(b) how many persons have been rehabilitated thereby?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) Three:—Habra Baigachi, Tengra Arshingri and Kanchrapara.

(b) 37,155.

LABOUR STRIKES

*216. **Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of **Labour** be pleased to state the number of labour strikes in the Indian Union from January, 1950 up-to-date and the causes thereof?

The Minister of Labour (Shri Jagjivan Ram): A statement giving the required information for the period 1st January, 1950, to 31st May, 1950, is placed on the Table. [See *Appendix III, annexure No. 9.*] Statistics for June 1950 are not yet available.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES BOARD

*217. **Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of **Industry and Supply** be pleased to state the progress of the work of the Cottage Industries Board up to June, 1950?

The Minister of Industry and Supply (Shri Mahtab): The Cottage Industries Board was constituted on the 10th August, 1948. The first meeting of the Board was held on the 13th and 14th December, 1948, at Cuttack. The second meeting was held on the 25th and 26th February, 1950, at Jaipur. A copy each of the minutes of the two meetings is laid on the Table of the House. [Placed in the Library, See No. IV. R. 16 (5).]

The Board is an advisory body and action on the various recommendations made by the Board is taken by Government. A statement indicating the progress that has so far been made in this direction is laid on the Table of the House [See *Appendix III, annexure No. 10.*]

U. K. CONTINENTAL SHIPPING CONFERENCES

*218. **Shri Jnani Ram:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce** be pleased to state the number of Shipping Companies operating on the India U.K. Continental trade routes ad-

mitted as full members of the U.K. Continental Shipping Conference?

(b) Have they been given all privileges enjoyed by other members?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) According to information in our possession, 17 Shipping Lines are at present members of the Conference which regulates the India/U.K./Continent trades.

(b) Presumably the hon. Member has in mind the position of the Indian Lines. The two Indian Companies who operate in these trades have recently been admitted as full members of this Conference. They enjoy all the privileges enjoyed by the other members.

URANIUM AND BERYLLIUM

*219. **Shri Jnani Ram:** (a) Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state the places where deposits of Uranium and Beryllium have been discovered?

(b) Has any attempt been made to discover further deposits and if so, in what way?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) Deposits of Uranium have been found in certain places in Rajasthan and Bihar.

New deposits of Beryllium have been found in the districts of Ajmer-Merwara and Udaipur.

(b) Yes. Geological exploration and prospecting for Uranium and Beryllium is being carried out by expert Government officers and a number of parties will shortly go into the field for this work in different parts of India. To stimulate search and production of Uranium and Beryllium in India, Government have announced awards and bonus grants for discovery and mining of these minerals. Copies of the Gazette Notifications issued

on the subject are placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix III, *annexure No. 11.*]

IMPORT OF PENICILLIN

*220. **Shri Jnan Ram:** Will the Minister of Commerce be pleased to state:

(a) the quantity of Penicillin imported since the time it came under control; and

(b) the countries from which Penicillin has been imported?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) It is not clear which control the hon. Member has in mind; the Import Trade Control on the recent Distribution Control imposed by the Bombay Government. The quantity and value of Penicillin imported since the introduction of the drug in India, for it came into use only recently after import control had been in operation for some years is not known as figures of imports of Penicillin are not recorded separately in the Sea Borne Trade Accounts. They are grouped with other drugs and medicines. Some information was collected by the Director, General Health Services, regarding imports of Penicillin in June 1950. The value of imports of the drug at the ports of Madras and Calcutta during that month were Rs. 1 lakh and Rs. 4 lakhs respectively. Figures of imports made at the port of Bombay are not available. The quantity imported is also not known.

(b) Penicillin is mostly imported from the U. K. and the U. S. A.

LABOUR DISPUTES

*220. **Shri Lakshmanan:** Will the Minister of Labour be pleased to state:

(a) the number of labour disputes since 31st March, 1950 till the end of June 1950; and

(b) the number of workers involved in the dispute and the total number of man-days lost as a result of these disputes?

The Minister of Labour (Shri Jagjivan Ram): (a) and (b). The number of labour disputes during the period April-May 1950 was 204. The number of workers involved and the total number of man-days lost were 115,967 and 600,007 respectively. Statistics for June 1950 are not yet available.

TRAINING OF LABOUR OFFICERS

*222. **Shri Lakshmanan:** (a) Will the Minister of Labour be pleased to state whether Government have entered into any arrangement with U.K. for the training of Indian labour officers?

(b) What is the basis for the selection of the trainees?

(c) What is the duration of the training?

The Minister of Labour (Shri Jagjivan Ram): (a) Yes, Sir. Arrangements have been made with the Ministry of Labour and National Service in the United Kingdom for one party of 20 Labour Officers to be trained each year in the various branches of Labour Administration in that country.

(b) The Scheme is primarily intended for Gazetted Officers employed under the Central and State Governments, who are graduates and have had some practical experience of the subjects in which they are to be trained.

It has, however, been agreed that a few candidates (not exceeding 25 per cent. of the total) sponsored by Associations of Employers and Workers may also be included in each batch. Nominations are invited from the various Ministries of the Government of India, State Governments and Leading Associations of Employers and Workers by the

Ministry of Labour and final selections are made on the basis of such nominations. The entire expenditure connected with the training is to be borne by the respective sponsoring authorities.

(c) Six months.

EXPORT OF MANUFACTURED JUTE GOODS

*223. **Shri Jhunjhunwala:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce** be pleased to state whether there is control on export of manufactured jute products?

(b) If the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, what is the principle behind this control, and what advantages are expected to be derived from it?

(c) What are the requisite qualifications of an exporter of manufactured jute goods to enable him to get export licence?

(d) Is there any special machinery set up for supply of manufactured jute goods to exporters?

(e) If the answer to part (d) above be in the affirmative, what is the nature of this machinery, and have any complaints been received regarding its working?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) Yes, except jute carpets and webbing.

(b) The control over jute goods exports is based on the following considerations:

(i) Supplies should, as far as possible, be related to availability,

(ii) distribution among the consuming countries should be on an equitable basis, keeping in view their minimum essential requirements;

(iii) there should be no inflation of Indian costs on account of high prices which might be temporarily obtained.

The advantages resulting from this control are:

(i) Maintenance of our exports and foreign exchange earnings at as high a level as possible.

(ii) Prevention of malpractices and speculative tendencies in the trade.

(iii) Minimising of the threat of use of substitutes as packing materials in our markets abroad.

(iv) Safeguarding of the long-term interests of the Indian industry.

(c) In order to be eligible for an export licence for jute goods for hard currency countries, an exporter should have a valid contract of sale and the requisite letter of credit. In the case of soft currency countries, he must also have past exports of jute or jute goods to his credit. All sales must, in regard to price, conform to the provisions of the Jute Goods (Export Control) Order, 1949.

(d) No.

(e) Does not arise.

SUBSISTENCE ALLOWANCE TO DISPLACED PERSONS WHO HAVE RETURNED TO EAST OR WEST BENGAL.

-224. **Pandit Tbakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that monthly subsistence allowance by way of relief or rehabilitation has been given to Hindu displaced persons who have returned to East Bengal by the East Bengal Government and if so, what is the number of such persons?

(b) Are such allowances being paid to a large number of Muslim displaced persons who have returned to the Indian Union and if so, what is their number in Assam?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) Government have no information.

(b) Government have authorised the State Governments of West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, Bihar and Orissa, to give a resettlement grant upto Rs. 200 to each family of re-

turning Muslims and relief assistance for a period of two weeks at the rate of Rs. 3 per adult and Rs. 2 per child per week. Information is being collected regarding the number of families who have received such assistance in Assam.

DISPLACED PERSONS WHO RETURNED TO EAST BENGAL AND HAVE AGAIN COME BACK TO INDIA

*225. **Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state how many displaced persons who had returned to East Bengal, have again come back to the Indian Union?

[Answer covered by note on Indo-Pakistan Agreement of the 8th April, 1950 circulated to Members (See Appendix III, annexure No. 17).]

RETURN OF DISPLACED PERSONS FROM PAKISTAN

*226. **Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Will the **Minister of Rehabilitation** be pleased to state how many persons out of the displaced persons who had left for Pakistan from U.P. after 1st January, 1950, have come back?

(b) Have any displaced persons who had left India for Pakistan before 1st January, 1950, also come with them?

(c) How many Muslims have returned to the Indian Union who had migrated to Pakistan after 1st January, 1950?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) to (c). I presume that information is required in respect of Muslims only.

The Government of India have agreed to take back persons who migrated between 1st February and 31st May 1950, and not all persons who migrated after 1st January 1950, as is probably presumed by the hon. Member. In accordance with agreed arrangements a first batch of 5,000 recent migrants from U.P. was to be received and 4,871 persons have

actually returned to India by 28th July, 1950. Whether some persons who had migrated prior to the prescribed dates have found it possible to enter India, will be known after verification of the returning persons has been completed by the U.P. Government.

REHABILITATION EXPENDITURE FOR EAST BENGAL DISPLACED PERSONS

*227. **Shri Iyyunni:** Will the **Minister of Rehabilitation** be pleased to state how much money has been spent for rehabilitation of displaced persons from East Bengal (Pakistan) in Assam, Bihar and West Bengal till the end of May 1950?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): The expenditure for the current year in West Bengal and Assam entered in the books of account upto May is Rs. 35,49,039; but the total expenditure for that period would be much larger as many entries remain to be posted. Figures for Bihar are not yet available.

IMPORT RESTRICTIONS ON PRINTING MATERIALS AND ACCESSORIES

*228. **Shri T. N. Singh:** Will the **Minister of Commerce** be pleased to state the steps taken by Government to relax import restrictions on printing materials and accessories?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): Printing and lithographic material falling under 37(1) and (2) of part V of the Import Trade Control Schedule is already covered by Open General Licence No. XVI and can be imported from soft currency countries without any licence. Highly polished copper sheets and zinc sheets, Stereo Backing Paper, Rubber Blankets for printing presses and stereo flongs required by the newspapers were recently included in Open General Licence, No. XVI under Commerce Ministry Notification No. 13-ITC/50 dated the 14th July, 1950. In

addition instructions have been issued that all materials required by the newspaper industry which includes *inter-alia* newsprint, process chemicals, stitching wire, Gummed Backing Sheet, Newsprinting Ink, Offset Ink, Photogravure Ink, Machine Spare parts for Rotary, certain processing photographic material, certain materials for graph work etc., should be licensed freely and without delay from soft currency countries when required by the newspaper industry. Applications from the industry for Flongs, Newsprinting Ink, Offset Ink, Photogravure Ink from U.S.A. are also dealt with on similar basis.

These materials are also licensed to the trade (as distinct from the actual users) on a quota basis as notified in Commerce Ministry's Public Notice No. 14-ITC (P.N)/50 dated the 15th June 1950.

IMPORT OF MOTOR SPARES AND PARTS

*229. **Shri T. N. Singh:** Will the Minister of Commerce be pleased to lay on the Table of the House a statement giving figures relating to total c.i.f. value of motor spares and parts imported from dollar and sterling areas during the quarterly periods of (i) July—September 1949; (ii) October—December 1949; (iii) January—March 1950, and (iv) April—June 1950?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): The figures of value of imports of "motor spares and parts" are not available as the item is not separately specified in the foreign seaborne import trade returns of India. I, however, place on the Table of the house a statement showing the available figures of value of "Parts of Mechanically propelled vehicles and accessories other than of aircraft (excluding rubber tyres)" imported by sea and air from dollar and sterling areas during the last two quarters of 1949 and the first two quarters of 1950. [See Appendix III, annexure No. 12.]

REFERENDUM IN PONDICHERY

*230. **Dr. V. Subramaniam:** (a) Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the points of difference between the Indian and French Governments over the modalities for the referendum in Pondicherry?

(b) Have the differences been settled and if so, what is the nature of the settlement and when will the referendum take place?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): (a) and (b). Attention of the hon. Member is invited to the answer given to the Starred Question No. 194 today.

RAIDS BY PAKISTAN NATIONALS

*231. **Pandit M. B. Bhargava:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) the extent of damage and loss of property of the Army, Police personnel and the civilians of the villages bordering the Pakistan territory during the raids by Pakistan nationals across the Indian border since 1st April, 1950;

(b) whether Government have lodged any protest and claim with the Pakistan Government in respect of these raids; and

(c) if so, with what results, and if not, why not?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): (a) According to our present information, 23 Indian nationals, including two Police Personnel, were killed, two kidnaped, 30 wounded, and 1016 heads of cattle and property worth about Rs. 32,000 looted, by Pakistan nationals in 57 raids across the border. Further details, which are being collected from the State Governments, are awaited.

(b) and (c). Yes. Protests have been lodged in respect of all important border raids reported to us. Several of these have also been taken up by the Army authorities or State Governments concerned, with their

opposite numbers in Pakistan. No replies have been received in respect of several of these protests, but certain incidents, especially on the Bengal border, are being jointly enquired into by the Police on both sides, in accordance with the Indo-Pakistan Agreement on the subject.

GENERAL ELECTIONS

***232. Pandit M. B. Bhargava:**

Will the Minister of Law be pleased to state:

(a) what progress has been made towards the revision of draft electoral Rolls in the light of the changes made in the qualifying date and period by the Representation of the People Act, 1950, in the various (Parts A, B and C) States of the Indian Union;

(b) by which date the Preliminary Electoral Rolls are likely to be ready for publication;

(c) up to what stage the work of the delimitation of constituencies in the different States of the Indian Union has made progress; and

(d) by which date it is likely to be finalised?

The Minister of Law (Dr. Ambedkar): (a) and (b). Under instructions from the Election Commission, supplementary lists of voters necessitated by the changes made in the qualifying date and qualifying period by the Representation of the People Act, 1950, have been completed in a few States and are under preparation in the others. These lists combined with the provisional electoral rolls previously prepared, will form the Preliminary Electoral Rolls. They are expected to be ready in print in all the States by the end of September. They can however be published under the rules with a notice inviting claims and objections, only when the constituencies have been finally delimited.

(c) Suggestions for delimitation of constituencies from the various State Governments are expected to be received by the Election Commission

by the middle of August. The Commission proposes publishing these suggestions as soon as they are received. Suggestions for modifications, if any, received thereafter from the public and political parties will be considered by the Commission in consultation with the Parliamentary Advisory Committees, before the Commission makes its proposals to the President as required under the Representation of the People Act.

(d) The delimitation of constituencies is expected to be finalised by October next.

EXPENDITURE ON EVACUATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

***233. Pandit M. B. Bhargava:**

Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) the total expenditure incurred by the Government of India up to 15th of July, 1950 in evacuating non-Muslim displaced persons from East Bengal to India; and

(b) the number of displaced persons accommodated in various Relief Centres under the control and management of the Government and the other private agencies?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) The expenditure so far booked by the West Bengal Government on account of Evacuation upto 15th July, 1950, is Rs. 66,000 approximately.

(b) The total number of displaced persons accommodated in Camps run by the States of West Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Bihar and Tripura is 2,24,532. The number of displaced persons sheltered in camps run by private organisations is not available.

RETURNING MIGRANTS RESETTLED IN THEIR HOMES

***234. Shri B. K. Das:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state how many of the returning migrants to India and Pakistan have resettled finally in their respective homes?

RESTORATION OF PROPERTIES TO RETURNING MIGRANTS

*235. **Shri B. K. Das:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) how many families of Hindu migrants after their return to Pakistan and how many families of Muslim migrants after their return to India have been restored their immovable properties in accordance with the provisions of the Indo-Pakistan agreement of the 8th April, 1950;

(b) in how many cases on either side such restoration has not been possible and for what reasons; and

(c) what is the total number of houses restored in India to the returning Muslim migrants?

RECOVERY OF ABDUCTED WOMEN IN EAST BENGAL

*236. **Shri B. K. Das:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) how many abducted women have been recovered in East Bengal after the Indo-Pakistan agreement;

(b) whether any organisation has been set up in East Bengal by the Pakistan Government for the recovery of abducted women; and

(c) if so, what is the result of their activities?

[Answers to Starred Questions Nos. 234, 235 and 236 covered by note on Indo-Pakistan Agreement of the 8th April, 1950, circulated to Members. (See Appendix III, annexure No. 17.)]

MEMBERSHIP OF INDIAN LABOUR FEDERATION

*237. **Shri Satish Chandra:** Will the **Minister of Labour** be pleased to state the total membership on rolls of the Unions affiliated to the Indian Labour Federation as on 31st March, 1950?

The Minister of Labour (Shri Jagjivan Ram): By 'Indian Labour Federation' the hon. Member presumably refers to the Indian Federation of Labour which merged itself in December, 1948, in the newly formed Hind Mazdoor Sabha, jointly organised by the Unions affiliated to the Federation and the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat and some other Unions. The question of its membership figures as on the 31st March, 1950, does not, therefore, arise.

REQUIREMENT AND PRODUCTION OF COTTON

*238. **Shri Jagannath Mishra:** (a) Will the **Minister of Industry and Supply** be pleased to state what is the total requirement of cotton in India?

(b) What was the total production in the years 1947-48, 1948-49 and 1949-50?

The Minister of Industry and Supply (Shri Mahtab): (a) 42 lakh bales.

(b) 1947-48 ... 27.75 lakh bales.
1948-49 ... 20.00 lakh bales.
1949-50 ... 26.00 lakh bales.

CONFERENCE OF SILK PRODUCERS

*239. **Shri Buragohain:** Will the **Minister of Industry and Supply** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware of a Conference of world's silk producers proposed to be held in New York in October this year with a view to discuss a long range programme for the development of the silk industry; and

(b) whether India will be represented in the said Conference?

The Minister of Industry and Supply (Shri Mahtab): (a) The Government of India have not received any official intimation from the U.S.A. direct. They have seen

however a memorandum on "Meetings and Manifestations provided for the Second International Silk Congress New York, October, 1950" received from the India Supply Mission, Washington.

(b) The India Supply Mission, Washington, have been advised by the Secretary of the International Silk Association (U.S.A.) that some representatives of the Silk Industry in India have indicated their intention to be present at the Conference.

TOBACCO EXPORT

*240. **Shri Sanjivayya:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce** be pleased to state the quantity in tons and the value in rupees of tobacco (raw) exported from India during 1949-50?

(b) What percentage does it bear to the total quantity of tobacco produced in India?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) The quantity of raw tobacco exported was 36,885 tons of the value of Rs. 10.49 lakhs.

(b) About 15 per cent.

TOBACCO IMPORTS

*241. **Shri Sanjivayya:** Will the Minister of **Commerce** be pleased to state:

(a) the value of tobacco products imported into India during 1949-50; and

(b) the value of cigarettes imported during 1949-50 separately?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) About Rs. 14 lakhs.

(b) About Rs. 11 lakhs.

MANUFACTURE OF PAINTS

*242. **Shri Sanjivayya:** (a) Will the Minister of **Industry and Supply** be pleased to state the quantity of paints manufactured in India?

(b) What percentage does this bear to the total quantity of paints required for internal consumption in India?

The Minister of Industry and Supply (Shri Mahtab): (a) 1948—35725 tons; 1949—30,929 tons.

(b) Except for small quantities of special varieties not manufactured in India, the entire internal demand is met from indigenous production.

RESOLUTION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RE KOREA

*243. **Prof. K. T. Shah:** (a) Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state what steps have been taken to give concrete shape to India's support to the Resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation in regard to the War in Korea?

(b) How many nations have agreed so far to this Resolution, and have any reservations been made by any nations supporting that Resolution?

(c) How many members of the United Nations Organisation have agreed to render concrete help, by despatching armed forces, or applying economic sanctions, to give definite shape to their support to the Resolution of the Security Council of this United Nations Organisation?

(d) How many nations are content only with moral support by voting in favour of the Resolution?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): (a) The hon. Member's attention is drawn to the documents on Korean Affairs placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 14.]

India has offered to send a Field Ambulance Unit and a small Surgical Unit to Korea.

(b) About 48 nations have so far agreed to this resolution; four nations have replied that they have "noted" it.

(c) So far, nine countries have offered armed assistance, either Naval, Air or Military. Four countries, including three from the nine countries mentioned above, have accepted the principle of applying economic sanctions.

(d) It is not possible for us to say to what extent other countries propose to extend support apart from the voting for the Resolutions of the Security Council.

EAST BENGAL DISPLACED PERSONS REGISTERED IN ASSAM

*244. **Shri J. N. Hazarika:** (a) Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state what is the total number of East Bengal displaced persons who have been registered in Assam upto 20th July, 1950, since the partition?

(b) How many of them have produced border camp certificates before they were registered?

(c) How many of them were rehabilitated in cultivable lands, and how many settled in other business concerns and Government services, either State or Union, giving figures for each separately?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) About 4,83,500.

(b) The information is not available.

(c) About 1,56,000 displaced persons have been rehabilitated in cultivable lands. The numbers who have been resettled in other avocations are not available.

APPLICATIONS FOR IMPORT LICENCES

*245. **Shri Nandkishore Das:** Will the Minister of **Commerce** be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of import-license applications that was received by Government during the period January to March, 1950;

(b) the number of licenses issued for the same period and their valuation;

(c) how many of the licensees to whom import license has been issued were already in the line and how many were new; and

(d) the number of applications still pending disposal and when are these pending applications likely to be disposed of?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) 1,27,284 applications were received in the Import Trade Control Organization under Commerce Ministry during the period January-June 1950.

(b) 30,739 licences valued at about Rs. 1,87 crores have been issued.

(c) 6,529 licences have been issued to New Comers and 24,210 licences to actual users and Established Importers. For the purposes of Import Licensing, New Comers are those who are dealing in the line of goods which they seek to import, but nevertheless do not qualify as Established Importers or Actual Users.

(d) 27,341 applications were pending disposal at the Headquarters and at the port offices on the 31st July, 1950. Every effort is being made to see that all applications relating to January-June 1950 licensing period are disposed of by the 31st August, 1950.

REHABILITATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN STATES

*246. **Shri Nandkishore Das:** Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of East Bengal displaced persons who have been settled in the different States.

of the country—(figure for each State to be given separately) up to the 15th of July, 1950; and

(b) the number of displaced persons in different States who have been rehabilitated permanently or temporarily and the number who are living on doles?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) and (b). It is presumed that the hon. Member wishes to know the total number of displaced persons from East Pakistan rehabilitated in different states. Their numbers are approximately as follows:

	Permanent	Temporary
West Bengal.	4,00,000	3,00,000
Bihar.	2,500	
Orissa.	1,900	225
Tripura	18,500	
Assam.	Information	is being collected.

The number of displaced persons on doles is as follows:

West Bengal.	1,38,156
Bihar.	22,200
Orissa.	12,912
Assam (including Cachar)	15,656
Tripura.	99,777
	<hr/>
	2,88,701
	<hr/>

ABDUCTED WOMEN

*247. **Shri Kshudiram Mahata:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of non-Muslim abducted women and children in recent troubles in East Pakistan before and after the Agreement of 8th April, 1950 till 31st July, 1950:

(b) the number of women and children restored up till now; and

(c) the number of restored women and children who have been returned to their relations?

[Answer covered by note on Indo-Pakistan Agreement of the 8th April, 1950 circulated to Members. (See Appendix III, annexure No. 17.)]

JAPANESE PEACE TREATY

26. Shri Kamath: Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state what steps have so far been taken by India towards the conclusion of the Japanese Peace Treaty?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): India has taken part from time to time in discussions in regard to the Japanese Peace Treaty. The High Commissioners of Commonwealth countries met in London in May 1950 and set up a working party of experts to examine in detail the possible terms of a peace settlement.

The question of a Japanese Peace Treaty, like many other questions, is intimately connected with international issues, which have led to disagreements between the major powers. Till these disagreements are resolved, there is likely to be little progress made.

PREPARATION OF ELECTORAL ROLLS

27. Shri Kamath: Will the Minister of **Law** be pleased to state what progress has been made up to date with regard to the preparation of electoral rolls in each of the Part A, Part B and Part C States?

The Minister of Law (Dr. Ambedkar): 1. *Part A States.*—The original electoral rolls (that is, rolls prepared on the basis of 1st January, 1949, as the qualifying date and the period 1st April, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, as the qualifying period) have been printed, except that part of the rolls which relates to the city of Bombay. Progress as to preparation and printing of supplementary rolls is as follows.

(1). *Assam.*—Except in the **Naga Tribal Area** and the **North East Frontier Tract**, preparation expected

to be complete by end of July. Printing likely to take one month.

(2) *Bihar*.—Preparation completed except in a few sub-divisions where it is in progress. Printing expected to be completed by end of September.

(3) *Bombay*.—Preparation practically complete. Printing expected to be completed by end of August.

(4) *Madhya Pradesh*.—Preparation is in progress and arrangements for printing being made. Printing expected to be completed by end of September.

(5) *Madras*.—Preparation practically complete. Printing expected to be completed by end of August.

(6) *Orissa*.—Preparation expected to be complete by middle of August and printing by middle of September.

(7) *Punjab*.—Preparation begun only recently expected to be complete by end of August, and printing by end of October.

(8) *Uttar Pradesh*.—Preparation is in progress.

(9) *West Bengal*.—Preparation just begun.

II. Part B States.

(1) *Hyderabad*.—Original rolls prepared on the basis of 1st January, 1948, as the qualifying date have been printed. Preparation of supplementary rolls complete in two districts and in rapid progress elsewhere.

(2) *Madhya Bharat*.—Original rolls are ready in manuscript for all 16 districts and printed for 12 districts. Preparation of supplementary rolls practically complete.

(3) *Mysore*.—Original and supplementary rolls ready in manuscript. Arrangements for printing being finalised.

(4) *Pepsu*.—Original rolls have been printed. Preparation of supplementary rolls expected to be complete by end of August.

(5) *Rajasthan*.—Printing of original rolls is nearing completion. Preparation of supplementary rolls is in progress.

(6) *Saurashtra*.—As for Rajasthan.

(7) *Travancore-Cochin*.—As for Rajasthan.

III. Part C States.

(1) *Ajmer*.—Original rolls ready in manuscript. Preparation of supplementary rolls in progress. Arrangements for printing are being made.

(2) *Bhopal*.—Original rolls under printing. Preparation of supplementary rolls practically complete. Printing of both expected to be complete by end of September.

(3) *Bilaspur*.—Original rolls printed. Supplementary rolls under preparation.

(4) *Coorg*.—Original rolls under printing. Preparation of supplementary rolls practically complete.

(5) *Delhi*.—Rolls have been prepared afresh on the basis laid down in the Act, and about one-half has been printed. Printing expected to be complete by middle of August.

(6) *Himachal Pradesh*.—Original rolls, ready in manuscript for 3 out of 4 districts and partly ready for the fourth, are under print. Supplementary rolls under preparation.

(7) *Kutch*.—Original rolls under print.

(8) *Manipur*.—Original rolls printed. Preparation of supplementary rolls not yet complete.

(9) *Tripura*.—As for Manipur.

(10) *Vindhya Pradesh*.—As for Manipur.

DEATHS AMONG DISPLACED PERSONS

28. Prof. K. T. Shah: (a) Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state how many deaths have taken place among the displaced persons who have migrated into

India since the beginning of this year, and from what causes?

(b) What provision is there, by way of medical advice, attendance, and treatment, at the border stations, or ports, where refugee immigrants first arrive?

(c) What allowance is made to them in cash, or kind, per head during the period these Refugee Immigrants have to reside in the Refugee Camps?

(d) What has been, up to date, the cost of such allowances, including the cost of transport to their place of final absorption, settlement, or employment?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) and (b). The information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House in due course.

(c) Rs. 12 per adult and Rs. 8 per child per month.

(d) This information is not available.

EXPLOSION OF *Indian Enterprise*

29. Shri Sidhva: (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce** be pleased to state whether the S.S. *Indian Enterprise* exploded in the Red Sea on the 19th June, 1950?

(b) If so, what was the number of the crew employed and how many were killed?

(c) Who is instituting inquiry regarding this explosion?

(d) Is any nominee of the Government of India associated with the said inquiry?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) Yes.

(b) The vessel had a crew of 74 and in addition one wireless operator of the Marconi Company. All except one were killed.

(c) The United Kingdom Ministry of Transport.

(d) No.

LEGISLATION TO STOP FORCED LABOUR

30. Shri Sidhva: (a) Will the Minister of **Labour** be pleased to state what steps have been taken to bring in a Bill to stop forced labour in the country as promised by Government during the November-December Session of 1949?

(b) What are the reasons for the delay?

The Minister of Labour (Shri Jagjivan Ram): (a) and (b). As the hon. Member is aware, an officer was appointed on special duty to examine what steps are required to eradicate forced labour from the country. He has since submitted his report and it is under consideration. Necessary action to amend sections of a few Acts suggested by the Officer on Special Duty has been taken and the State Governments and Ministries concerned have already been addressed. Certain data regarding existence of forced labour are also being collected by the investigating staff appointed for the All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry which is now in progress all over the country. Further action is under consideration.

HOUSES FOR DISPLACED PERSONS

31. Shri Sidhva: (a) Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state how many displaced persons have been provided with houses from 1st January, 1950 up to date?

(b) How many displaced persons are still without houses?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) Accommodation in newly constructed houses was provided to 1.11 lakh displaced persons in urban areas, during the period 1st January to 30th June, 1950. In addition accommodation

has been provided for all displaced persons settling in rural areas except in some villages of Punjab (I) which were totally or largely destroyed. The exact number of such persons is not known.

(b) At the end of June 1950 there were one lakh persons living in tents. Besides there are those living in improvised shelter of various descriptions whose number is not known.

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

32. Shri Sidhva: Will the Minister of Commerce be pleased to state:

(a) whether India has any trade agreement at present with Yugoslavia, Italy, Egypt, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Holland and Sweden;

(b) if they exist, when the period of agreement with each of the above countries expires; and

(c) whether they have been reviewed?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) to (c). Trade Agreements exist at present only with Austria and Czechoslovakia out of the countries mentioned by the hon. Member. The agreement with Austria will expire on the 30th September, 1950 and that with Czechoslovakia on the 31st March 1951. There is no formal agreement with Sweden but letters have been exchanged regarding promotion of trade between the two countries for the period 1st July, 1950 to 31st December, 1950. There were trade agreements with Yugoslavia and Egypt but these expired on the 31st December 1949 and 5th July 1950 respectively. The trade agreement with Egypt has been reviewed and negotiations for concluding a fresh agreement are being held with the Royal Egyptian Embassy in India. The Trade Agreement with Yugoslavia is also being reviewed and the question of entering into a fresh agreement with that country is

receiving attention. There have been no trade agreements with Italy and Holland.

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE IN LONDON

**33. { Shri Hanumanthaiya:
Shri Channiah:**

(a) Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether a meeting of the Commonwealth Ministers is being held in London in September 1950 in pursuance of the decision taken at the Sydney Conference of Commonwealth representatives?

(b) What are the subjects that will come up for discussion at the Conference?

(c) Who is attending the Conference on behalf of India?

(d) Will the question of Indians in South Africa be taken up for consideration at the Conference?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): (a) Commonwealth representatives are scheduled to meet in London in September 1950 in pursuance of the decisions of the Sydney Conference. It has not been decided that the meeting is to be at ministerial level.

(b) The main purpose of this meeting will be to discuss and examine the report on the six-year development programmes, prepared on the basis of the replies received from South East Asian countries, to the questionnaire sent to them, and to decide what further action should be taken.

(c) It has not yet been decided as to who should attend the conference on behalf of India.

(d) No. The conference deals with South East Asia only and confines itself to economic matters. South Africa has not participated in these discussions.

PLANNING COMMISSION

34. { **Shri Hanumanthaiya:**
Shri Channiah:

Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) what is the relationship between the Planning Commission and the Cabinet of the Government of India; and

(b) what is the work the Planning Commission has done so far?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) The relationship between the Planning Commission and Cabinet is set out in Government of India's Resolution No. 1-P(C)/50 dated March 15, 1950, copies of which have been placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix III, *annexure No. 13*]. The Planning Commission makes recommendations to the Cabinet, but the responsibility for taking and implementing decisions rests with Government.

(b) The Planning Commission has been engaged in making an appraisal of the existing economic situation in the country, in studying problems relating to controls and in reviewing the development programmes of the Central Government and the States. The Commission is drawing up a plan for a period of five years in two stages, the first covering the two years 1951-52 and 1952-53 and the second the subsequent three years. Preliminary work on the preparation of the plan has now reached an advanced stage.

CENTRAL SILK BOARD

35. { **Shri Hanumanthaiya:**
Shri Channiah:

(a) Will the Minister of **Industry and Supply** be pleased to state what are the sources of annual income to the Central Silk Board?

(b) What is the income under each Head?

The Minister of Industry and Supply (Shri Mahtab): (a) and (b). The only source of income is the grant from the Central Government, which amounts to only 6 lacs of Rupees for 1949-50.

WILLOWS FOR MANUFACTURE OF SPORTS GOODS IN PUNJAB

36. **Sardar B. S. Man:** (a) Will the Minister of **Industry and Supply** be pleased to state whether Government are aware of the difficulty of sports goods manufacturers in Punjab in getting willows from Kashmir?

(b) If so, what steps are Government taking to supply the industry with this material?

The Minister of Industry and Supply (Shri Mahtab): (a) Government are not aware of any such difficulty.

(b) Does not arise.

REHABILITATION BENEFITS TO DISPLACED PERSONS

37. **Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state what are the rehabilitation benefits including monthly allowance and rations which are given to displaced persons at Chhapar, Lantisingha and other places in Assam?

(b) How many families are there in Chhapar who are receiving these benefits?

(c) How many of them are Muslim families and how many of them Hindu families?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) to (c) The information has been called for from the Government of Assam.

SETTLEMENT OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN ASSAM TEA GARDENS

38. **Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state how many displaced persons have been or are

proposed to be settled in tea gardens in Assam and what are the terms of such settlement?

(b) What will be the cost of such settlement per family to the State?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) Arrangements have so far been made for the settlement of 17,500 displaced persons. A statement regarding the terms is laid on the Table. [See Appendix III, annexure No. 14.]

(b) About Rs. 500.

RELIEF CAMPS FOR EAST BENGAL DISPLACED PERSONS

39. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:

(a) Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state whether it is a fact that there is no relief camp at Sealdah station?

(b) Is it a fact that the relief camps nearabout Calcutta are overcrowded and that at Ranaghat relief camp in Q type mat kitchen huts five families occupy a single hut of about 15 x 6 ft.?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) Yes.

(b) All the camps nearabout Calcutta are full. At Ranaghat Transit Centre on an average 14 heads i.e. about 3 families are living in each 'Q' type huts, which measures 36' x 6'.

MORTALITY IN RANAGHAT RELIEF CAMPS

40. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:

(a) Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the rate of mortality is very high in Ranaghat relief camps?

(b) What is the rate of mortality in that camp during the last three months?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) No.

(b) April .07 per 1000 per day; May .06 per 1000 per day and June 22 per 1000 per day.

FACILITIES FOR DISPLACED PERSONS FOR RETURNING TO THEIR ORIGINAL HOMES

41. Pandit M. B. Bhargava: (a)

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state what facilities were provided by both the Governments to the displaced persons who originally migrated and now are returning as a result of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact for rehabilitating themselves in their houses and properties?

(b) Have the Government of India received any complaints from those non-Muslim displaced persons who after the conclusion of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact left for their original homes regarding the treatment meted out to them by the Pakistan Government on return?

(c) If so, what is the nature of such complaints and what steps were taken by the Government of India to get the same redressed and with what results?

[Answer covered by note on Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 8th April, 1950 circulated to Members (See Appendix III, annexure No. 17).]

PERSONS DETAINED IN AMOR CAMP

42. Sardar Hukam Singh: (a)

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the number of persons detained in Amor camp of Muzaffarabad in the raider-held area of Kashmir?

(b) Are any efforts being made to get them liberated and repatriated to India?

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopalswami): (a) According to information received by us the number of persons in Amor camp near Muzaffarabad was in June 1950 believed to be about 1,500.

(b) The question of getting out these persons not merely in Amor camp but elsewhere also in Pakistan and in 'Azad' territory, has repeatedly been pressed on the Pakistan Government and the arrangement so far arrived at is that all unattached women and children will be transferred to India. The machinery set up for the recovery of unattached women and children between the two Punjabs will apply to Kashmiri women and children also. The Districts of Punjab which have hitherto been closed will now be open to social workers for helping recovery of women and children, and all persons, whether male or female whose homes are in India-held territory, will be transferred. Several hundred persons have already been transferred under these arrangements. There is regular communication between us and the Pakistan Ministry for Kashmir Affairs regarding individual cases and we have been assured that the fullest effort will be made by the Government of Pakistan to expedite the completest recovery and transfer of unattached women and children.

As regards persons who do not come under the category of unattached women and children and whose homes are in 'Azad' held territory, the Pakistan Government have informed us that they are attempting to rehabilitate them and the question of their transfer to India will be taken up after about six weeks.

EAST BENGAL DISPLACED PERSONS GIVEN EMPLOYMENT

43. Shri B. K. Das: Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of East Bengal displaced persons who have been employed in Government service through Employment Exchanges or otherwise;

(b) the total number of displaced persons registered in the Employment Exchanges for service; and

(c) the total number of teachers employed in schools and colleges through the Education Department of West Bengal?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) 3,006, during May and June, 1950. The number of those who were employed through sources other than the Employment Exchange, is not known.

(b) 23,419.

(c) The information is not available and will be laid on the Table of the House as soon as available.

TRAINING CENTRES FOR EAST BENGAL DISPLACED PERSONS

44. Shri B. K. Das: Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of training centres opened for East Bengal displaced persons and the nature of training given in them;

(b) the number of trainees in the training centres and the number of trainees who have so far come out after training; and

(c) further arrangements being made for training these displaced persons?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) West Bengal 35; Tripura 1 and Assam 2.

A statement is laid on the Table regarding the nature of training given in the different centres [See *Appendix III, annexure No. 15.*]

(b) The number of trainees in training centres in West Bengal is 3,228. The number of trainees who have completed their training is 1650.

Regarding Assam and Tripura, information is being collected.

(c) A statement is laid on the Table [See *Appendix III, annexure No. 16*]

INDO-PAKISTAN TRADE AGREEMENTS

45. **Shri B. K. Das:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce** be pleased to state what are the trade agreements concluded between India and Pakistan during the last four months?

(b) Are these agreements being implemented according to the terms settled?

(c) What are the reasons of the non-fulfilment of the contracts, if there are such cases?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) The Indo-Pakistan Trade Agreement of 21st April, 1950,

is the only trade agreement concluded between India and Pakistan during the last four months. A copy of this Agreement is already in the library of the House.

(b) and (c). The progress in the implementation of the Agreement has not been entirely satisfactory in regard to deliveries of jute which have not been according to the original schedule fixed thereunder. As regards the reasons for these deliveries being behind the original schedule the attention of the hon. Member is invited to the reply given to part (a) of the Starred Question No. 16 by Shri Deshbandhu Gupta on the 1st August, 1950.

Friday, 14th August, 1950



PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

VOLUME V, 1950

(31st July, 1950 to 14th August, 1950)

Second Session

of the

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1950



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THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)
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PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Friday, 4th August, 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.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Speaker: I have to inform the House that I have received the following message from the President:

“I have received with great satisfaction the expression of thanks by the Members of Parliament for the address I delivered to them on the 31st July, 1950.”

—
COOCH-BEHAR (ASSIMILATION OF LAWS) BILL

The Minister of Law (Dr. Ambedkar): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to assimilate certain laws in force in Cooch-Bihar to the laws in force in the rest of West Bengal.

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Mr. Speaker: The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to assimilate certain laws in force in Cooch-Bihar to the laws in force in the rest of West Bengal.”

The motion was adopted.

Dr. Ambedkar: I introduce the Bill.

—
DENTISTS (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Dentists Act, 1948.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the Dentists Act, 1948.”

The motion was adopted.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: I introduce the Bill

—
NAVAL FORCES (MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS) BILL

The Minister of Defence (Sardar Baldev Singh): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to make certain additional provisions respecting the naval forces of the Union so as to ensure the proper discharge of

[Sardar Baldev Singh]
their duties and the maintenance of discipline among them.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to make certain additional provisions respecting the naval forces of the Union so as to ensure the proper discharge of their duties and the maintenance of discipline among them."

The motion was adopted.

Sardar Baldev Singh: I introduce the Bill.

MOTION RE KOREAN
SITUATION—Concl'd.

Mr. Speaker: We will now proceed with the further consideration of the following Motion moved yesterday by the hon. the Leader of the House:

"This House approves the policy of the Government of India in regard to the Korean situation as stated in the announcement, dated the 29th June, 1950, and the action taken thereafter."

We shall also consider the amendments.

Khawaja Inait Ullah (Bihar): When we are given copies of such Bills which seek to amend certain Acts, we request that copies of those Acts which are to be amended must also be given to us.

Mr. Speaker: We will consider that.

Shri Masani (Bombay): I rise to give wholehearted support to the announcement of policy made by the Government of India on July 29, and also to express appreciation of the step taken by the Government of India in offering to send a medical unit to the United Nations forces fighting against aggression in Korea. That is a step in line with our tradition because, many years ago, this country sent a medical mission to China then fighting under the

National Government against Japanese aggression. I don't think that our Government could have done less than it has done without impairing the honour of this country. The kernel of the matter has been stated in the President's Address to this Parliament when he said:

"It has been India's policy not to submit to aggression, for submission to aggression, in any part of the world, is to invite its repetition in other parts and thus to imperil peace and freedom."

When the history of this time comes to be written, I am confident, that the decision of the U.N. Security Council to go to the aid of that small Republic of Asia, and the decision of the United States President, in spite of military difficulties, to lend troops to the United Nations and to go to the succour of the victim of aggression, will stand out as a historic development and may be the beginning of a World Government because this, in an improvised way, is the beginning of an international police force which the United Nations have been obstructed from setting up during the last three years.

This was an attack not on a member of the United Nations but on a child of the United Nations, a Republic created with the blessings and support of the whole world and to which all of us in the United Nations acted the midwife, and therefore, it was an attack on the United Nations itself even more than on a particular country. In this context all talk of "war" or "neutrality," appears to me to become obsolete, because this is for the first time in history an international police action. Objectivity does not call for a refusal to exercise moral judgment and, speaking in this country of Gandhi, we should not be proud of ourselves if we allow a mechanical conception of neutrality to make us neutral between good and evil, between defence and aggression, between victim and criminal. A moral decision is involved and that moral decision has been taken by the United

Nations with our wholehearted support. But I would also point to the necessity of such a decision, not only by India but by all the nations of the world, from the point of view of enlightened self-interest. Because, as our President in his Address pointed out, aggression unresisted involves aggression elsewhere, and there is no country in this world which is free from that threat.

There were many arguments put forward yesterday, mostly of a technical and legalistic nature, and there is an answer to all of them. If time had permitted, I would have been glad to endeavour an answer to them. But I think it is more important to understand what is behind the mentality that goes in for hair-splitting and petty fogging on an occasion of such moment. We find in our Press many examples of quibbles, as to whether this or that is right. As Mr. B. N. Rau put it only two days ago, even rules of procedure sometimes have to take second place to moral and vital issues. Therefore, unless public opinion in this country is educated and made aware of these issues, and unless public opinion in this country ceases to be as confused as it has shown to be in the past few weeks, we are bound to have a lot of confusion on the subject. I find that the basic assumption behind much of the talk of neutrality in such a context, such as took place yesterday in the House and takes place outside in the country is the assumption that (a) this is a civil war between two parts of one country, or (b) it is a big conflict between two Powers acting through their satellites and "In any event, whether it is (a) or (b), how does it concern us? So long as we keep away from this dispute we are safe". That is an isolationist concept. If it were well-founded, in fact, maybe there may be something to be said for it, but I make bold to say that anyone who thinks that India's remaining neutral from political or military conflict has thus assured us against aggression is making a very big mistake.

Yesterday, the Prime Minister took the liberty of criticising certain friendly countries. He pointed out how the Powers of the West were short-sighted in not attaching greater importance to the voice of Asia, how they were lacking in subtlety in their methods, how their lack of understanding of our psychology was bound to lead to the failure of policies in which they do not carry Asia with them. I hope I may take the similar liberty of criticising other countries with which we are on friendly terms without causing any offence, as against the lack of understanding that has been shown by the West—I respectfully agree with much of what the Prime Minister said—I also agree that there is no question of saying ditto to anyone. In fact, I doubt if any of the Western Democracies have expected us to say ditto to anything they have done. But while all this is true, I think we must also realise that we are not functioning in a vacuum and support for Government's policy on Korea can only be forthcoming in ample measure if we understand the implications of what neutrality might mean in this context.

I am prepared to challenge the assumption that we are in a situation where, by remaining neutral, our own frontier and our own security can be assured. What are the facts? Do they show that our neutrality will be respected? I would put against the picture that the Prime Minister put yesterday the picture of what we may expect from the other quarter. In what way have the free countries of Asia been recognised and welcomed in the comity of free nations by the Soviet Union? What has been their attitude to the Governments of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia? Let us examine that for a moment. In the case of Burma, our friend and ally the Prime Minister of Burma has been fighting for the past two years an armed insurrection led by the Communist Party. In Indonesia, the Indonesia leaders had to face a similar insurrection and till very recently, till about two or three

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months ago, President Soekarno and Prime Minister Hatta were being attacked as "agents of Anglo-American imperialism." The Prime Minister of Pakistan has not escaped notice. The entry of Ceylon, our neighbour in the Commonwealth, has been barred, by the veto of the Soviet Union, from the United Nations.

Then we come to our own country. In what way has the Soviet regime responded to our friendliness during the past three years—the friendliness we showed to them along with the rest of the world? I have taken the trouble of studying the Moscow Press over a period of time and those who have studied the Moscow Press and the Moscow Radio know that the free Government of this country has consistently been described as a Fascist, reactionary, imperialist Government. I shall take the opportunity of reading a few extracts from certain papers just to give an illustration of the kind of sentiment that we have faced. This can be duplicated over and over again, but the time does not permit of it. For instance, they deny that India is independent. They insist on considering us a colony of Britain. Here is one extract. Olga Chechetkina (author of *India without Marvels*) writes in Communist Youth League *Pravda* of February 1949.

"In the streets and bazaars of Indian towns the snake-charmer making a cobra dance to the tune of a fife is a familiar sight. The present situation in India reminds one of this scene: the British playing on the fife and the local rulers dancing."

That is what we are: the Congress regime is the cobra; it dances to the tune of the British imperialists. That is their conception of our freedom. What do they think of India's ruling party, the Indian National Congress? *The New Times* dated January 12, 1949, in an article by Dyakov, reputed to be a 'specialist' in Indian affairs, on "The Work of the Indian National Congress" says:

"The Jaipur session shows that the Indian National Congress has been transformed into a party of the reactionary bloc of Indian capitalists, landowners and princes . . . The Congress leaders have made a deal with Anglo-American imperialism and Indian reactionaries to fight its own people. Now the struggle for real independence of India for the interests of the labouring masses is continuing outside the Congress and against it."

So India is not a liberated country. It is a slave State and it has to be liberated from those who at present rule it and are oppressing it. This is one example of the fundamental attitude of Moscow. One could quote articles deriding the very fine and successful Conference on Indonesia called by our Prime Minister, which helped the Indonesian people to achieve success. That was considered a fake, lacking in sincerity for Indonesian independence and just a kind of dodge to prevent real Indonesian independence. This is the kind of friendship which we have been shown from the other bloc. But much more than words, there is action.

I want to ask if it is a friendly act for one Government to maintain a Fifth Column in another country to overthrow its Government. The Prime Minister quite rightly in referring to friendship with Communist China, said that it was not for us to criticise them and not for them to criticise us in our internal affairs, but Moscow does not stop with criticism. It has maintained in India a Fifth Column to carry out its work of disrupting this country's freedom. In February 1948, a Conference of international Cominform agents was held in Calcutta through facilities very kindly but misguidedly given by our own Government. Russians 12 Noon and others were present in that Conference. Their general line in that Conference was one of insurrection and civil war in the countries of Asia; and immediately after that what happened?

There was a rising in Burma in April; in Malaya in June; in Indonesia in September. Communist risings were started everywhere in order to destroy the respective Nationalist Governments.

Our own country was attended to by a Conference of the Communist Party a few days later in February, also in Calcutta, and they drew up a programme of overthrowing the Nehru Government, of organising strikes and committing sabotage, and a campaign of bombs, derailments and murder. Sardar Patel two days ago drew our attention to the nature of their campaign. Now we are told that Moscow has asked them to be good boys and good democrats. Is that so? Let us read just a few sentences from the Cominform Journal issued from Bucharest in Rumania. It is entitled "For a lasting peace, for a people's Democracy" and dated 27th January 1950. I shall read a few extracts:

"... A sham independence was bestowed on India. But the interests of British imperialism remain 'sacred and inviolable'. The Mountbattens have departed but British imperialism remains, and octopus-like, grips India in its bloody tentacles.

* * * *

"... Analysing the conditions of the victory of the Chinese people's liberation revolution, Liu Shao-chi, Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in his speech to the Peking Trade Union Conference of the countries of Asia and Oceania said: 'The path taken by the Chinese people... is the path that should be taken by the people of many colonial and dependent countries in their struggle for national independence and people's democracy.

* * * *

"... A decisive condition for the victorious outcome of the national-liberation struggle is the formation, when the necessary internal conditions allow for it, of people's

liberation armies under the leadership of the Communist Party."

I believe that in the last few days Moscow Radio has added Telugu broadcasts directed to Telangana areas in South India for saving the people of Andhra from this Fascist Government and this Fascist Parliament. That is the friendliness that we encounter on the other side as against a certain lack of understanding on the part of the United States. My friend the hon. Mr. K. M. Munshi, addressing the Institute of Pacific Relations in America on May 2, 1950, suggested that the United Nations redefine 'war' and 'aggression' and he continued:

"Does war necessarily mean the marching of armies or does it include a nation advising nationals of another nation to overturn its Government?"

If a free Nation placed propaganda agencies and arms at the disposal of subversive elements in order to overthrow the Government in the interest of the country supplying the arms, then it amounts to war as much as if men with guns had marched into the territory of the offended nation."

I cannot improve on the language which my hon. friend has used. I think what he has said is exactly the point. I do maintain that we should maintain correct diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union as with other countries of the world, but if we think of one evil, let us think of bigger evils also that threaten our very existence. Lenin had laid down this programme many years ago in the course of a letter which he wrote:

"The road from Moscow to Paris lies through Peking, Shanghai and Calcutta."

Please note the reference to Calcutta. I therefore make bold to say that if we choose to live in a vacuum and ask for the withdrawal of all western forces from the countries of South East Asia, then sure enough, if Indo-China, Thailand and Burma fall, we shall be next on the

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Russian menu just as surely as chicken follows fish. Therefore, when we talk of neutrality, we must consider whether neutrality will give us freedom from such a catastrophe. What is the experience? Do they want friendship? Do they understand neutrality? Did they understand President Benes and Dr. Masaryk? Dr. Masaryk had to throw himself from a window in order to kill himself and President Benes died a prisoner. What has happened to Marshal Tito, a communist of communists. Because he was not willing to say 'Yes' to Soviet imperialism he also had to go and his country today is facing the pressure of armed forces all around. That is what neutrality and friendship are understood to be. I do not blame the Russians, because they have a conception that whoever is not with them is against them. But we have tried for three years to have friendship. We have got only bitter invective, abuse and hostility and, in the light of that, what does neutrality mean?

The Prime Minister has rightly discounted the formation of a Third Camp of Asia, because a Third Camp of Asia does not today possess the means with which to defend the territory which it would be called upon to defend, nor have the countries of Asia enough resources as between them to repel aggression from whatever quarter it may come. The combined strength of these countries of Asia is completely inadequate even to defend one country, leave aside all the territories involved.

Korea has given us a warning. It has shown that a democratic constitution, national sentiment and noble intentions are no guarantee of defence against tanks and artillery. Tanks and guns can only be met by tanks and guns. We do not have them. Is it wrong then for a democracy of the East to join hands with the Democracies of the West in a measure of collective security?

I may in this connection refer to a past pronouncement of our own Prime Minister made in a very

similar situation when another world Dictator was rampant. In his speech at a Conference in Paris, organised by the National Peace Campaign, on July 24, 1938, he said:

"Freedom, like peace and war, is today indivisible . . . Evil unchecked grows, evil tolerated poisons the whole system . . . I wish to dissociate India from this policy of encouraging the evil-doer and aggressor and to see that the people of India will be no party to it and will resist it whenever they have a chance to do so . . . Surrender to violence and aggression was no basis for peace, for the aggression and blackmail grew by every surrender and brought world war ever nearer."

This is a sentiment to which I would respectfully defer. We in our country upheld the spirit of this pronouncement when we supported the United Nations resolutions. In regard to this policy, we have shown consistency over a period that extends before the World War II. In the years before that war, at the instance of our present Prime Minister, the Congress passed resolution after resolution saying that the democratic countries of the world had to get together to repel totalitarian aggression. To those who have talked of neutrality and who talk of it today, I cannot give any better answer than that given by our Prime Minister.

There is another danger in our following a policy of isolationism; there may be a revival of it at the other end. It is not so many years ago that isolationism was defeated in America by President Roosevelt. Today there is no danger of isolationism as regards Western Europe. But I have been following the American Press for the past few days and I have read articles questioning the wisdom of the United States helping the countries of Asia when they cannot guard Western Europe. "With our present arms we cannot fight a war on two fronts. Let us conserve our resources and fight for those who

are nearer to us." That is a dangerous line of thought. Our main complaint against America is that they think Asia is not as important as Europe. Our Prime Minister pointed out that Asia takes second place in the affairs of the United Nations. We shall be only helping that process by talking in the way that some of our members did yesterday and driving America to a policy of isolationism in so far as Asia is concerned. Then we shall be creating a vacuum which will be filled up as it has been filled up in China and South Korea.

I cannot do better in conclusion than quote the words of that great British parliamentarian, Edmund Burke who said: "When bad men combine, the good must associate, lest they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle."

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (West Bengal): The Prime Minister yesterday in a lucid address placed before us certain important factors which have led to the present situation which may affect us both with regard to our national affairs as also with regard to our international position. There would be no one in this House or outside who is anxious for the welfare of this country who would support any action to be taken by our Government which may lead to world conflagration. In fact, the steps which our Prime Minister had taken for the purpose of securing a peaceful understanding have found an echo in the hearts of many people throughout the world. At the same time, there are certain aspects to the attitude which has been taken up by the Government of India on which I should like to speak freely and frankly.

I can well understand the attitude of my hon. friend Mr. Masani who has spoken, if I may say so, with considerable force and ability. So far as I could gather from his speech, he wants India to make up her mind. He wants India to choose between the two titanic blocs—

the Russian bloc and the American bloc—and he gave very cogent reasons why we should identify ourselves more with the good men represented by the American bloc rather than the bad men represented by the former bloc. He has sounded a note of warning the value of which is indeed great. He has indicated that there had been attempts made by certain forces in Soviet Russia to interfere with our national affairs. Undoubtedly, if there is any such information at the disposal of Government, action will be taken so as to avert what may amount to a calamity.

No doubt India must be strong enough to resist any interference, whether it comes from the Soviet group or any other group which may lead to chaos or disaster in the national affairs of our country. But, as I said, Mr. Masani's point of view, if accepted by the Government of India, will virtually mean a considerable revision of the foreign policy of the Government. Whether it should be made or not, is a point which I am not discussing today, because as the Prime Minister pointed out yesterday, those bigger issues were not before us today. When the time comes, no doubt, the entire matter will have to be reviewed and re-examined as Mr. Masani rightly puts it, first, in our enlightened self-interest and no doubt simultaneously in the interest of world peace and progress.

But let me come back to Korea. What exactly is the situation that is confronting us in Korea? India has supported the two resolutions passed by the Security Council and I would ask the House especially to examine what exactly are the implications of that support. It has been said that there has been aggression. It has been said that directives were issued by the Security Council which were not followed by North Korea and therefore the Security Council decided that armed

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 resistance should be resorted to. It is pertinent to enquire, whether the policy of the Security Council does really indicate a change—to my mind it would be a gigantic change—in its attitude towards world problems. Does it really mean that the Security Council and the great powers supporting the United Nations have made up their minds to establish an International Police system? Naturally, our minds go back to recent instances where similar aggression took place, where similar violation of the directions given by the Security Council took place. We are tempted to enquire what exactly were the motives which stood against the Big Powers from taking the right action in those cases and what exactly are the motives why they are taking action today. What happened in the case of Palestine? Was there not direction given by the Security Council that there should be a cessation of hostilities? Was that direction carried into effect by some of the Great Powers which sit on the Security Council? What happened with regard to Indonesia? Was not a clear direction given by the Security Council and when Holland came and attacked, did the Great Powers who today are anxious to establish a police system, move an inch forward for preserving the independence and the legitimate rights of the people of Indonesia? And last but not the least, what is happening with regard to our own Kashmir? Has not an aggression taken place in that country? Was it not with the best of motives that our Prime Minister went to the United Nations and asked for the recognition of what was nothing but a simple truth? It has taken more than two and a half years for these Great Powers who are today anxious to do something right and proper in Korea even to recognise that there has been aggression in Kashmir! Even today that aggression is continuing. There is wrongful and un-

lawful occupation of our sacred territory. Why was not even a portion of that International Police system sent to Kashmir to carry into effect what is attempted to be carried into effect in Korea.

These are significant questions which are today being asked by individuals, by the common man in the street, in our great country.

Does it really indicate a change of heart on the part of the United Nations when they stand up for the rights of the oppressed people?

With regard to Korea my submission would be that we should examine this problem essentially from the point of view of Korea itself. There are two aspects from which we can examine the matter. One is the interest of Korea and the second is the possibility of a world conflagration. If we look at the point of view of Korea itself, the Prime Minister gave a lucid explanation of Korean history. It was a lengthy but a necessary one because it mentioned facts which might not have been known to many Members of this House and outside. What is the reason for the suffering of the Korean people today? What is the fundamental reason? The fundamental reason is that Korea was divided, that Korea was dis-united. That was the chief reason why the people of Korea are suffering today. And may I ask was it not the duty of India—India, which has suffered so much on account of the same partition brought about by the conspiracy of forces, alien to India, was it not the duty of India, if India really wanted to have an independent policy of her own, to demand that a solution of the Korean problem lay in one and only one direction, and that is the re-union of Korea? Was it not the duty of India to have taken up this attitude and called upon the other nations: "Hands off Korea; you take off your hands and let us ask representatives both of South Korea and of North Korea, let us get the repre-

sentatives of Soviet Russia, and sit round the table and discuss on what basis Korea can be re-united?" That was the only honourable, independent stand that India could have taken. But what did India do? India supported these two Resolutions. What is the implication of these Resolutions? The implication of the second Resolution clearly is that we have agreed to offer all possible assistance to those who are now fighting in South Korea. Does the rendering of every possible assistance mean sending a few bottles of medicine, perhaps imported from America herself? That is not the sort of assistance that the Security Council thought of. If we are really sincere, we have to go the whole hog. We have to stand by the Resolution. If we say we have no armies, no arms, no aeroplanes, that may represent the reason why you are unable to offer any assistance. But the fact remains that we are a partisan and we have agreed to give the fullest possible support to South Korea in the struggle that is going on there.

The Prime Minister yesterday in his statement mentioned in one place that there may be persons who may describe it as a civil war. I wish he had developed that point a little more. It is indeed a civil war. It is nothing but a civil war. In fact it is a civil war which was envisaged in the Report of the Commission itself. The United Nations Commission had indicated and stated very clearly, and it had warned that a civil war was inevitable; it was bound to come and it would be the bloodiest civil war that one could have ever foreseen. How did this partition come? I need not go into the details of it because the Prime Minister gave them yesterday. But there are one or two aspects of the matter which I might emphasize. What was this 38th Parallel? It is an entirely arbitrary line drawn up not by agreement, not by reason of

the welfare of the people of Korea. The great forces—the Russian forces and the American forces—entered into Korea for the purpose of turning out the Japanese. That was the reason why they entered into that land, but then eventually they continued to be in occupation of their respective zones. The two armies stood face to face with each other and neither was prepared to vacate its zone.

I shall read just a few lines as regards the political aspects of this division, taken from an American writer who wrote this about a couple of years ago, not knowing at that time that the war was coming. This American writer after touring the different parts of Asia was putting it thus succinctly:

"Politically, the division was no less injurious. It sanctioned and deepened a traditional sectionalism of long-standing in the country. But far beyond that, it created two opposite polar attractions for the new political currents that began to flow when Japan's rule ended. In the South the American military command became the gravitating centre for the most conservative and reactionary political elements."

I would ask the Prime Minister to pay his attention to this expression of opinion—the vested interests which have been supported in South Korea by America during the last few years.

"In the north the Russians distributed power to Communists or pseudo-Communists. In the south the Americans contrived chaos with an air of benevolent good intentions. In the north the Russians dispensed with the benevolent air."

Now, that describes, not in my language, not in the language of an outsider, but in the language of an American observer as to how exact-

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ly the affairs of Korea were being dealt with and how the fate of that country was being torn to pieces on account of the obstructive and reactionary attitude taken by the two powerful blocs who came there to give protection to the people but stayed to take away their birth-right, their freedom.

It is not the political aspect alone. Economically what is the position of Korea today? For that also you refer to the latest American reports published shortly before the war. Of course not much information can come from North Korea; the Iron Curtain is there. That is obvious. But at the same time historically the facts are there which you cannot deny. Economically, North Korea has two-thirds of the coal resources of the whole country. The entire resources of the hydro-electric power are in North Korea. The chemical and iron and steel plants are almost hundred per cent. in North Korea. The great mining and timber industries are concentrated in North Korea. South Korea contains rice, that is the big rice growing area and the smaller machine-tool and ship-building industries and certain light industries as also aeroplane and automobile assembling centres. In this way economically the country has been divided. Just as we have experienced in different parts of India and Pakistan how an artificial division of undivided India has resulted in enormous economic difficulties for both, what has been the consequence of this artificial partition of Korea? So far as South Korea is concerned, you look at the latest reports published by the American representatives themselves. Rise in prices is abnormal; inflation is on the increase; millions and millions of pounds represent the deficit of that country. On account of black-marketing, corruption and maladministration the people of that

country are suffering, and the reports which have been sent from U. S. A. to South Korea have served as a grave warning to the representatives of the country as to how their interests were being jeopardised. As the Prime Minister said yesterday, culturally and politically it was one nation. Economically also it was one. That country was divided because of force of circumstances, because at one given point of time the two big countries could not make up their minds to withdraw. And if today the people in both areas are struggling to unite, why should we go and declare ourselves immediately that we support South Korea, or that we regard it as an aggression, or that we shall send two dozen bottles of medicine from India as a token of our sincere appreciation of what the Security Council has done? What is the justification? If you look at it merely from the Korean standpoint, what justification can you give? I am not coming to the big possibility of international development. So far as America is concerned, I can understand America has taken up a consistent attitude because America feels that if she gives up this particular zone, she loses an area of strategic importance, that if she allows this zone to come under the control of Soviet Russia, that may create difficulties with regard to Japan and with regard to other interests as well. America has not recognised China as yet. America is not prepared to admit that this sort of intrusion indirectly made by Soviet Russia should be allowed to be recognised in international dealings. One may or may not agree with that attitude but we can appreciate that there is consistency. But we want to support China because it is a *fait accompli*. When Chiang-Kai-Shek was the head of China, when there was another force coming into the same China, may be under the influence of Soviet Russia, help no doubt went to Chiang-Kai-Shek but with no effect. But then we say that the people of China have decided

that China should be governed according to one economic or social pattern and we should not disregard their decision. That has been the standpoint which India has taken and that has a lot of force in it. What right have we to dictate that the whole world should be governed by one pattern? We have no right to demand that different patterns of economy must not develop in different parts of the world and that people following those different patterns should not be able to live together as friends. Is not the world big enough for all patterns to live together and not run at one another's throat? That has been India's standpoint. There is a good deal of force in that.

Here you have put your foot into the muddle; you have said that you are supporting South Korea. If you say that you are supporting South Korea, at the same time how can you make it a condition that you want to support China; and unless Russia is allowed to bring China, this Korean problem cannot be settled? What is the consistency about it? What has China got to do with the consideration of the Korean issue? Let us not try to please everybody and in that way we shall please none. That has been the experience of every well meaning gentleman even in private affairs. We have got to stand on certain ideologies and certain principles and if we say that we have an independent policy then that independent policy must be consistent with moral and political rights. The only call which India could have given was that the U.S.A. and Russia should come together for the purpose of laying the foundation for United Korea. The demand for United Korea has been made not by outsiders but by the people of Korea themselves. I was reading the other day an extract from a speech which was made by the present President Syngman Rhee soon after he entered into Korea. After the election took place, at that time, he entered there and said very clearly "we do not accept

a divided Korea'. He said so categorically: "Liberation is not complete and let the Allies take note of this that we shall not rest contented until and unless Korea is re-united again." He said that not only soon after the election but he said that even recently. This was reported in the newspapers a few days ago and this was reported in an American paper with a little more detail, where he explains his position very clearly. The following is from the *Times* dated 24th July 1950 where the representative of *Times* met the President and the President Rhee expressed himself clearly and categorically. This is how the representative describes the position there:

"South from Taejon last week fled a group of disreputable-looking Koreans in cast off clothes, armed with pocket pistols and .258 in shoulder holsters. They were cabinet members of the Republic of Korea on their way to join President Syngman Rhee in his hideout 'White House' somewhere in Korea's far south...

South Korea's leaders, harassed and driven from pillar to post, were still not talking or acting like representatives of a beaten people. Rhee sees the war as a step in re-uniting Korea--under Rhee. Said the benign, white-haired President to a *Times* correspondent last week. The Kremlin leaders destroyed the 38th parallel by invasion. Now it is gone. There is no reason now why we should observe the 38th parallel and no reason why the U.S. and U.N. should observe it."

This is contrary to the resolution passed by the Security Council to the effect that the 38th parallel must be accepted by all.

So far as the election was concerned, the Prime Minister said yesterday that the United Nations decided to hold this election in the American zone. Now on going through the papers it is interesting to find that the Chairman on this Commission was our distinguished

[Dr. S. P. Mookerjee] civil servant, Mr. K. P. S. Menon who is our Foreign Secretary. His recommendation and that of the Commission were that it will be futile and dangerous to hold the election only in the American zone. The recommendation which the Commission made was that we should not create more difficulties by trying to hold an election in a portion of Korea and try to divide Korea which would be certainly to court disaster. Of course the recommendation of that Commission was not accepted and it was ordered that election should take place only in the American zone. In whose interest, may I ask, was that ordered? For this reason if we look at it purely from the point of the Koreans themselves and as the Prime Minister has said it will be for the Korean people and the Korean people alone to decide what is going to be their fate and what will be the structure of their economy, we should demand as a nation which has an independent foreign policy that the re-unity of Korea is the only way by which the problem can be solved. Let it be done through peaceful means. Let America accept it and send for representatives of North Korea and South Korea. Then the question that troubles Mr. Masani arises: Who will control the United Korea? Neither Mr. Syngman Rhee nor anybody else can help. Both the big countries have had their chance. Soviet Russia kept North Korea and the U.S.A. kept South Korea and both took charge of the two areas. So far as South Korea is concerned it consists of nearly two thirds of the total population and something is wrong with that country and with the two thirds of the total population of Korea if it is not able to stand together. Only a month before the war started the American Press announced after an examination of the military conditions in South Korea that South Korea could boast of the strongest army in the whole of Asia. Look at

the fate of the strongest army in the whole of Asia today! With the help of the U.S.A. it has not been able to withstand North Korea. Therefore the problem has got to be settled. If we want peace we have got to tell these big powers that each country has got to settle its own affairs and so long as it is not allowed to go outside, we cannot go and interfere with the help of forces from America or Soviet Russia and compel a country to accept a particular economy. The main result is that the people are suffering. The only commodity which North Korea exported was the refugees, as Pakistan is doing here. My friend Mr. Tyagi reminds me of it. So far as the North Korea is concerned, we do not know how North Korea is being administered now but apparently full advantage was taken by Japan in Korea. Japanese took hold of 90 per cent. of the properties and other big interests, and they ruled over the people of Korea with an iron hand. When Japan withdrew there was created a vacuum and what followed was poverty and hunger. That is the root cause. We are talking of China and we are talking of Korea and we talk of India also sometimes where people are suffering through economic discontent for lack of food and clothing. If a certain economy comes into existence which makes it possible for people to get the things which they are daily in need of naturally they do not think of other economies. If we want to save India, I would tell my friend Mr. Masani that it will not merely do to join hands with the U.S.A. unconditionally for the purpose of having the fun of fighting Soviet Russia, but for creating conditions in this country so that communism may not thrive. That is the responsibility of the Government. What is the use of our talking in international terms if our nation is about to disappear? If there is so much discontent that you can only think of holding on to power by the exercise of arbitrary authority, what is the use of our talking that we are

developing our country in such a way that we shall be able to fight in the international field. Let us look inwards. Let us try to create conditions in this country so that want, poverty and privation may disappear. We do not want Soviet influence in this country. We do not want American influence also to come into this country. Help from any quarter we are prepared to accept. That should be our motto: enlightened self-interest, as Mr. Masani put it, very rightly and correctly.

Lastly, so far as the bigger issue is concerned, I entirely agree with the Prime Minister that this is not the occasion when the bigger issue is under consideration. We are not declaring in any way whatsoever that we are favouring this bloc against the other. Let there be no misunderstanding in the American mind as well. We are anxious to evolve a policy of our own which we consider to be just and fair in our own interests, in the interests of those who are suffering, and in the interests of world peace. Naturally, our capacity to get such a point of view accepted by the rest of the world will depend upon our own strength. I would have wished the Prime Minister—it was rather unusual on his part—not to have been so diffident or apologetic yesterday. We may not have great military prowess and military strength today. But, there is something in the moral strength and the moral stamina of India. Physical strength and military strength will come if 35 crores of people could be unified under one banner with one slogan. It is not a negligible number. We have our own technique of putting forward our ideology before the world. If the occasion comes we shall put forward that ideology. I therefore entirely agree with him that this is not the occasion when we should mix up the bigger issue. We are not advocating the goodness or badness of one bloc or the other. But, I do submit that so far as the Korean stand is concerned, it would have been better in the interests of

India, if, having got this opportunity for the first-time after the attainment of independence, when an apparent conflict was going on between the two blocs and as a result, the Korean people were today being crumbled to dust, even though we could not have delivered the goods, India could have stood up and said, we stand for the rights and liberties of the oppressed people and our slogan is United Korea; let all come and support us in carrying this forward peacefully if possible, otherwise by force, if necessary.

Shri Alladi K. Aiyar (Madras):

In according my wholehearted support to the motion of the hon. the Prime Minister both in regard to the Korean problem and the allied subject of recognition of Chinese Independence by the Security Council, I should like to say a few words.

It is easy enough to expatiate on the merits of a United Korea, with deep national sentiment surging in the Korean people and their long and glorious history. But, you cannot ignore certain hard facts in dealing with the problem. The question is not whether it is desirable that you should have a United Korean Government, democratic from every point of view, but, whether in the circumstances of the case, the United Nations or the Russian bloc was in a position to achieve this object.

I should like to recount very briefly the events which have led up to the present position in the Korean history. In the first place, as was pointed out by my respected friend Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, it was merely an accident that North Korea was in the occupation of Russia and South Korea in the occupation of America at the close of the war. But, both were keen on maintaining their position in the North as well as in the South. At first, with the best of intentions, I hope, the idea was to establish a

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 democratic Government in Korea under the auspices both of Soviet Russia and of the United States. Both were expected to confabulate, come to an agreement, and enable the Koreans to achieve their wish for independence.

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

But, they were never able to meet. The Russians and the Americans began to differ the moment the war was over. They were only keen on preserving, the one Northern portion of Korea and the other the Southern portion of Korea. We know something about what happened in the South; we know very little in regard to what happened in the North because it is a sealed book so far as we are concerned.

Under these circumstances, the attempt having failed, the question was necessarily taken up by the United Nations Assembly and the United Nations Assembly wanted to devise some method by which this object could be achieved. What could they do? They appointed a Commission and India was represented on that Commission. India accepted a place on the Commission willy-nilly, more as a matter of duty than as a matter of pride. They wanted to help Korea in achieving her object. They could not contact the Northern Soviet bloc because of the Soviet attitude. In the earlier stages, Russia took the view that this was a matter for peaceful settlement after the war, between America and Russia and that the United Nations had no concern whatever with it. The view which the Russians took in the earlier stages was that they could not collaborate with any Commission appointed under the auspices of the United Nations Assembly, and therefore, very little help was forthcoming. The first Committee pre-

sided over by an Indian made an interim report: that is the report to which my hon. friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has referred. They referred to the ideal which was actuating the Korean people, to their long history, the passionate desire of the South Koreans to achieve independence and to achieve unity. Each looked at this from its own point of view: that is, the South Korean representative looked at the problem of independence and unity from the South Korean point of view and the North Korean looked at the problem of unity from the North Korean point of view. That was the hard fact of the situation. It is as well to compare the later report of this very Commission with the interim report. While they had glowing hopes in the earlier stages, in the later stages they frankly confessed—this is the gist of what is stated in the report of the Korean Commission published on 29th October 1948 at Paris and Lake Success—that attempt at unification of Korea was not possible, and the elections were confined to South Korea, that a National Government for the whole of Korea could not therefore be established, that, at the same time there is no use of delaying a democratic Government in South Korea until the time comes when the two extreme blocs are in a position to come to a settlement. We can only go by the report of the Commission. They said that a majority of the people were in South Korea. At that stage, the matter was taken up by the United Nations Assembly.

It is as well to remember what exactly transpired in the United Nations Assembly. While our representative expressed a keen desire to see that the ideal of a united Korea was achieved, in the circumstances of the case, he voted in favour of the resolution establishing an independent Government in South Korea. That is a fact which should be understood. Therefore, we have two

facts to go by, the report submitted by the Commission of which an Indian was the Chairman, and secondly the U. N. Resolution under which it was resolved, five or six countries dissenting, that there should be an independent government established in South Korea. That was the position of affairs when the U. N. passed its Resolution. Meanwhile, as we are all aware, elections took place in South Korea and a government was established there and that Government was given recognition by all the powers who wanted to act in pursuance of the U.N. Resolution. India has not formally accorded recognition, but the other nations who took part in the United Nations Assembly accorded their recognition to the Government of South Korea. That hard fact is there. Here is a government which has been established under the aegis of and with the support of the United Nations. Here is a government which has been recognised by the U. N. in a general resolution of the U. N. Here is a government which has been recognised to be sovereign within its own sphere. They realised the limitations, because our representative made it quite clear that their jurisdiction cannot extend beyond those limits. But so far as the hegemony, the control over South Korea is concerned, that control was undisputed. Therefore you have all these facts. You have a government which is functioning under the aegis of the United Nations, and which is democratic from all points of view. It may have its defects, every new State is being criticised for its defects but we need not go into the defects. We know this central fact. Here is a democratic government, ostensibly democratic government, established under the aegis of the United Nations and recognised by the United Nations. That is the position as regards South Korea. But as far as North Korea is concerned, we know very little about it. As the House is aware, at a particular point of time both the United States forces and the Soviet

forces withdrew from their respective areas. What other preparations for war were being made in North Korea we know very little. But after this withdrawal, the next point we have to deal with is this attack by North Korea on South Korea. Now the reports are received. These are not faked up reports. If India is a party to the recognising of South Korea as an independent State, functioning within its sphere up to that particular line—whether it is an artificial line or not is another matter—quite apart from that, is it or is it not the duty of the Indian Government which has been a party to the various reports, to the resolution of the U.N., is it not its duty to say that they stand in support of the independence of South Korea being recognised? This does not depend upon the extent of territory. It does not depend upon the aspirations of the Korean people, though India has always evinced interest in the unity of Korea and Korea achieving its desired ideal. But under the circumstances I have mentioned, when there is an attack, a premeditated attack, what is the obvious duty of the United Nations? I am not here defending all the acts of omission of the Security Council within the brief span of its history. Sometimes it has taken inconsistent positions. Sometimes it is for the independence of small nations, and sometimes it has denied it, due to indirect motives and so on. But so far as we are concerned, our country has never allied itself to the power groups. Under these circumstances, having been a party to the earlier report, and realising that some kind of representative government was functioning in South Korea, when that government had been recognised by the U.N. what exactly was our duty? Can any small State be attacked by any other State? That is the point. The Russian view is that it is some kind of a civil war. But the idea of civil war is unthinkable, because so long as that particular zone is under the jurisdiction of the South Korean Government, it is not correct to

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 speak of a civil war in which the people are struggling for their emancipation and for self-government, for a government to suit their condition and method of life. But here you find the two points of view brought forward, one in the Security Council proceedings and the other in the reply of Russia. Russia wants to bring out that it is a type of civil war, and the United Nations state that there is an administration in the North and under the aegis of that administration there is a planned invasion. And so far as South Korea is concerned it is an independent, sovereign State recognised by the United Nations. Under these circumstances, having regard to the premeditated nature of the planned attack, the only duty of India, having taken part in the voting in the U.N. Assembly was to stand by it. The question is.....

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh): Then may I know why Government in their Press Note of 29th June, 1950 have referred to it as civil war?

Shri Alladi K. Aiyar: I am not holding a brief for the Government. I am only taking the situation as presented by the documents and by the proceedings of the United Nations.

Shri Kamath: I am referring to the Government Communique.

Shri Alladi K. Aiyar: The hon. Member may refer to the Journal of the United Nations and it would bear out my statement that India was a party to the Resolution in which South Korea was recognised as an independent government by the U.N. I am quite clear about it. My friend may verify it if he likes. That is the position so far as intervention in the Korean question is concerned.

As the Prime Minister has stated, though technically the Chinese problem and the Korean problem are in one sense distinct, there is no use forgetting that there is interconnection between the several aspects of the foreign policy of a country. Now, there is absolutely no justification for

the Security Council or for the United States by some kind of gerrymandering in regard to procedure, to deny to China the status which it has won. Here is an interesting case. Here is a government which is in possession of the entire territory. All the subjects in China owe allegiance to that government. It has been recognised by the United Kingdom. It has been recognised by India. I cannot understand the American point of view. It is impossible for me to understand their point of view in regard to the recognition of China unless it be that it is merely a case of voting on one side or the other to secure a temporary or special advantage. You may consult any international writer, you will find that recognition is a matter of duty on the part of a State. It is not a privilege which is conferred on one State by another. According to the accepted principle of international law, and according to the leading text writers, it is the duty, the paramount duty, of any government to accord recognition to a State which has won its independence and which has complete administration over the country. It takes one's breath away to read the proceedings of the Security Council or the special plea that is put forward by the United States in this connection.

Some procedural points are raised. I thought that they were confined to petty-fogging lawyers in an ordinary District Munsiff's court. It need not extend to the Security Council. I mean this procedure or method of approaching a big political problem. Day in and day out what do you find in the Security Council? People seem to specialise in taking up immaterial, meticulous petty points and forget the more important points which ought to weigh with them. Under the circumstances, I submit, it is impossible to understand their attitude.

The other day I came across a judgment in the Hongkong court, in which it is expressly stated that

having recognised the Chinese Government in one part of the world it is their duty to recognise it in other parts of the world. Is it merely confined to other parts of the world or is it also extended to the Security Council? Under those circumstances it reduces the proceedings of the Security Council almost to a farce.

Here is a country which is able to exercise its dominion over its own territory. The Security Council was founded in order to ensure the safety of other nations. They are supposed to be the guardian angels of the freedom of other people. They were supposed to be good boys when the Security Council was constituted and they were in a position to exercise their great influence in preserving the peace of the world. The Chinese National Government, at any rate, is not able to keep order, exercise any control over its own citizens within the limits of China but for our sake it will make decisions which will be binding upon other nations of the world. It will be a travesty of all principles of international law, fair-play and justice to deny to China its rightful place in the Security Council and I think we have to congratulate our Prime Minister for the very bold stand that he has taken and the verdict of history will be in our favour. It is not possible either for the Security Council or any other body to ignore hard facts. China cannot be retaken by Formosa even with the help of U.S.A. How then is it possible to understand the attitude of Great Britain in regard to the recognition of China? It makes sorry reading to note the attitude of Great Britain which is supposed to stand for the principles, fair play, democracy and right-mindedness and act according to the principles of international law. Under the circumstances I fail to see how exactly the attitude of Great Britain can be reconciled with accepted notions. There is no use saying "Let us finish Korea first and then take up the question of China." All these problems in a way are inter-connected. You cannot main-

tain the peace of the world by merely confining your attention to one part of the globe. If you eliminate China, if you eliminate Germany, if you eliminate Japan or Russia later on by reason of circumstances what would be the Security Council worth? All the satellite countries of the world would join one side or another. The Security Council would then not be worth the name and it will share the same fate as the League of Nations.

Therefore the problem before the world is, as has been rightly put by our Prime Minister, that if the United Nations is going to function properly, guarantee the independence of nations and maintain its prestige and reputation, the only way is to recognise the independence of China. That is my submission to the House.

There is only one other point and I have done. That is with regard to Formosa, though that question does not directly arise. The U. S. Secretary of State has stated in a press conference, before the present dispute, that it is idle to say that Formosa continues to be a part of Japan. The theory was recently trotted out by England that it is part of Japan which is under the control of the Allied Powers. I thought that we lawyers in such cases are much better than these representatives of powerful nations, when these questions come up.

With this, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the motion moved by the hon. Prime Minister.

The House then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The House re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shri M. A. Ayyangar (Madras): Before going into the question as to whether our participation in the Korean war is right or wrong on merits, and whether it serves the best interests of India, or not, I would

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like to go into some of the fundamental issues to which I would like this Parliament to address itself. We are all—I mean both Members of Parliament and the Government—new to such a situation and for a long, long time we have not been accustomed to or faced with an issue where we had to decide whether we are going to enter into a war or not. Others decided for us. For over 150 years we were under an alien rule and before that the Moghul emperors and others decided our fate. But for the first time in our annals an opportunity has come to us—the people of India, gathered in Parliament like this through their chosen representatives,—to decide what attitude we should take in a war of this kind. Therefore, I would like a convention to be established that except in cases where there is no time to consult the Parliament, that is in cases where the integrity of the territory of India is in danger and where an enemy force is actually on the soil or threatens to invade it, in all other cases Parliament's opinion must be taken before we enter into any war of this kind. I don't want that Government, however good it might be and whosoever might lead it, should take the first step and then come to us to place the matter before us as a *fait accompli* and ask us whether we vote with them or not. That is very inconvenient. We cannot state our opinions here; we ought to support our popular Government. For instance, in the Korean conflict this thing might have been avoided. What I am going to say is that in future at least, if this should unfortunately develop into a global war, no action should be taken without the consent, the active consent of this Parliament. I want to ask the hon. Prime Minister not to take any such action without the approval of Parliament in advance. I want to say it is not at all strange. In World War II when Great Britain entered into war it asked every one of the Dominions

and their Parliaments to consider whether those Dominions could be committed to one side or the other. In the Parliament of South Africa that suggestion was practically thrown out when on the personal influence of General Smuts, by a narrow majority of eight, South Africa got into the war. Likewise, the other Parliaments of Australia and Canada also were allowed to decide. Unfortunately, we were slaves under the British Government, and without consulting us they dragged us into the war on account of which action we started the individual *satyagraha* movement and ultimately the "Quit India" movement.

Therefore, let us remember it. Whether it is our own Government or a foreign Government, I don't like that over the heads of the people and without their consent and approval given in advance, any such action should be taken. This is not a small matter from which we could recede easily nor is it a small matter which affects only one section of the people.

Then I have another point to place before the House. I would like it to be followed as a principle in our foreign policy that we must exhaust all means of persuasion and settlement by peaceful means before we enter into a war or conflict where violence will be used. In this case, as regards the very attitude that was taken by the Prime Minister now of trying to intervene between the two contending parties, I feel that if he had thought that recognition of new China by the U.N.O. would solve this problem easily and would have averted the catastrophe, then he should have acted earlier before the General Assembly. He must have insisted upon the U.N.O. recognising the new China before he cast his vote in favour of the Security Council Resolution. The matter might have been held up for some time, but it didn't matter. Anyhow, so far as our vote was concerned, if all these issues ultimately depended upon the recognition of the new China in place of the old

China as one of the members of the Security Council, that must have been thought of earlier. That could have been easily done, and if we had insisted upon it we would have known where we stood. If new China was there, there might have been the possibility of the whole war being averted. It might have been easy for us. On the same issue Mr. Rau said in the Security Council that after all rules are means to an end and we ought not to be slaves of the rules but masters of them. Therefore, he supported M. Malik when he ruled that old China has no place there and that new China ought to get it. Our representative, Mr. B. N. Rau, supported it though it is normally the right and privilege of the Credentials Committee to accept or reject any particular member as competent to be there. He argued that it was a matter of substance and not one of form and therefore it ought not to be held up by any delaying tactics. But this could have been easy when Mr. Rau was presiding over the Security Council; he could have easily said, "I am not going to recognise the representative of old China." With one stroke he could have done it and seen to it that only that Government which represents the people was there on the Council. That was another way in which we could have, with a little more forethought, tried to avoid the violent conflict that has arisen now.

As regards the recognition itself, I am not very happy over the manner in which the U. N. O.—both the general body and the Security Council—worked. It ought not to be left to the individual discretion of any one State to recognise any other State. The greatest culprit in this direction was America itself. She acted single-handedly, without placing the matter before the Security Council, in the case of the recognition of Israel. If we recognise China, are we at fault? Is it the peculiar right or privilege of U. S. A. alone to recognise States over the heads of others? Did they consult us? Therefore, if the U.N.O.

really is to work in the interests of peace and is to continue and not dissolve itself like the old League of Nations, it should adopt this course. No State shall hereafter be recognised individually by any particular country unless it came through the formality of the United Nations Organisation. Let the majority accept it or not accept it. In such a case this conflict would not have arisen. That is another way in which we can make the U.N.O. more and more effective.

Now I will come to the main point at issue—whether we ought to have participated in this war or not. Having personally looked into the entire correspondence, the entire of course, of events in their chronological order, I have absolutely no hesitation or compunction in saying that the attitude taken by our Prime Minister is correct. I would whole-heartedly support it. We have become members of the United Nations Organisation. I don't know if we are divided over this issue, but it is only such an organisation—not merely an advisory body, but an organisation clothed with power—that can ultimately become the Government of a Federal Union of the whole world. Only such an organisation can save this world. Therefore, nothing should be done to derogate from its authority or to weaken its power and prestige in the world. Now, all the members of that organisation joined together. For what purpose? To give collective security, maintain the integrity of any particular country or Government, or to repel an aggressor: The question is whether North Korea was or was not an aggressor. I am really sorry that some friends who took part in the debate said that the war in Korea is a civil war. I think it was through a mistake that the Government statement of 29th June contained reference to a civil war. It is not a civil war. It is a war by North Korea against South Korea whose Government was recognised. There was in the beginning of

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1948 a convention held at Cairo by all the three Great Powers where it was decided that Korea should be made independent as early as possible. Then they confirmed it at Potsdam. Then they met at Potsdam, and lastly at Moscow. It was definitely agreed at these three places from 1948 to 1945 that Korea should be made independent—not a portion of Korea but the whole of Korea—by the joint efforts of all, and a democratic form of Government set up. At the time when Japan was about to surrender, some portion of Korea in the north was in the hands of the U.S.S.R. and some portion of Korea in the south was in the hands of the U.S.A. It was by sheer accident, and they agreed—the Japanese Generals and others—that they must hand over the territories in the North to U.S.S.R. and the territories in the South to U.S.A. It was understood then that ultimately a democratic form of Government must be set up for the whole country. Was it done? I do not think in this case U.S.A. is to blame. She moved quickly and asked the U.N.O. to set up a Commission, but that Commission was boycotted by Russia. North and South Korea are not the contending parties in this case. The real contending parties are Russia on the one side and the U.S.A. or the United Nations or the United Nations Security Council on the other side. As early as 1945, Russia boycotted this Commission and it did nothing till 1947. On the other hand, Russia went on developing North Korea, making every man a soldier, giving North Korea tanks, arms and ammunition, and ultimately North Korea with only a population of eight million people has been able to launch an invasion on South Korea which has a population of 20 million people. In this Korean Commission, one of our own Foreign Office men, Shri Menon, was made the Chairman. The Commission

tried their best to have a plebiscite taken and a formal Government established on adult franchise for the whole of Korea. But Russia would not even allow this Commission to set its foot in North Korea. Now, some of our friends have unfortunately formed themselves into A group or B group and some of them are in a neutral group here. We are so much in ecstasy without going into the facts and figures as to whether the U.S.S.R. could be so intransigent as this. It refused to co-operate. It was a party to the Resolutions on Korea in Potsdam, in Moscow and Yalta. Moscow is very hard. It refused to carry out the resolution, which had been so solemnly entered into, that a democratic form of Government would be set up in Korea. On the other hand, it wanted to establish a dictatorship of the North Koreans consisting of eight millions over the rest of Korea consisting of 20 millions, and still I fail to understand how we can be in ecstasy over what Russia does. Is it right? Why did Russia boycott the Korean Commission? My friends read one line from the Korean Commission's report. The Commission suggested that even now, at the time of election, the Russians might co-operate and join hands with them, but Russians said that it was impossible. They refused to cooperate. What is the meaning of again and again approaching them and falling at their feet? If you and I were a member of the Security Council, we would have certainly rejected this kind of suggestion on the part of the Commission as useless and ineffective and inoperative. The only thing that was done was that an election took place in the whole of South Korea and installed a Government there, by the free voice of the people. It may be said it was a capitalist adventure. Everywhere there are capitalists, but where are not capitalists, I want to know. Some Europeans there are who, among bro-

thers, understand each other. One supports one country; another brother supports another country. Both the belligerent countries fight with each other and ultimately one succeeds. So far as the Europeans are concerned, they divide themselves. One joins on one side and one on the other side, but ultimately the result is the same. If South Korea wins even then it is the European who benefits; if North Korea wins, even then it is the European who benefits. In either case, the person who gets destroyed and on whose head the atom bombs are thrown is the dark fellow. Therefore, I am not carried away by these books and pamphlets written by white people. To them, our blood—whether it is yellow blood, brown blood or dark blood—is all one blood which can be destroyed and thrown into the sea. You will please excuse me if I am a little too strong in this matter. We are all carried away by this or that. Pakistan on one side and India on the other side were fighting with each other and if we both fight, these people enjoy the sight and celebrate a feast that night.

So far as Korea is concerned, North Korea is the aggressor. You will pardon me for saying furthermore that Russia is the aggressor in this case. Its hand is hidden. It is not seen. Do you think that without the help of U.S.S.R. North Korea would have been cheeky enough to invade South Korea? Absolutely not.

Dr. Deshmukh (Madhya Pradesh): Remember that we are now voting with U. S. S. R.

Shri M. A. Ayyangar: We are voting with various persons from time to time. Now, so far it was suggested that if China had been allowed to have a seat over the head of Chiang-Kai-Shek, then this Korean conflict would not have arisen, but we are apt to forget dates. When did China become the New China under Mao-Tse-Tung? When did he establish himself as the Government of the Communist China? When did this

Korean issue arise? The Korean Commission was appointed in 1947. At that time, the New China was not in existence at all. So what is the good of pushing back the question of New China? At that time, there was no China in the bargain. Why did not Russia join the Korean Commission and help in establishing a democratic Government? I am also a socialist myself, but there is no meaning in joining hands with Russia in establishing a form of political dictatorship. If there is one abhorrent thing in the world which I detest most it is this kind of domination of one man over another man and of one country over another country. I will never tolerate dictatorship in any form. Therefore, we have legitimately found that North Korea is the aggressor and whatever could be done is being done. Of course, so far as we are concerned, we have got into the war. Even if Parliament had been sitting, so far as my personal vote is concerned, my moral sympathy at least would have gone to South Korea. In international matters, so far as we are concerned, if we are true to the preachings of the Father of the Nation, we should never allow any single country, whether big or small, to be an aggressor over other countries, and it is only by a plebiscite, a referendum on adult franchise, that the destinies of people should be decided. This Korean war is not a civil war. It is a war of a few handful of people who have been encouraged in the attempt by U. S. S. R. to drown the rest of the world. If supposing there is a hut in a village amidst so many other huts and that single hut goes on fire, should we argue: let us keep quiet; it is only that hut that will be destroyed. A gust of wind may spread the fire and the other huts too may be destroyed. Therefore, the earlier we enter into the conflict the better, but situated as we are, we are not able to send any troops, arms or ammunition. Of course, our moral sympathy is there. We

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shall give whatever little can be given. To the extent that we can, we shall support. Whether we buy any medicines from Africa, America or anywhere else and give, it matters not. If we do not have foreign imported medicines, at least our Ayurvedic water we shall give. To that extent, we shall support. I do want to stand by the United Nations. Let me ask: what is the further step? So far as that is concerned, if this Korean business develops into a global war, I wish to tell the Government: please take us into confidence. Personally, I would not like to get into a global war. I would exhaust every remedy that lies in us to avoid a global war. The hon. the Prime Minister must be supported in his contention that the U. N. O. must be strengthened at any cost. I am at one with him there, but unfortunately since the formation of the U. N. O. you will have to see who are the culprits who try to destroy its efficiency. If U. N. O. is there, I take it America should consult it. Why did America start the Atlantic Pact when the U. N. O. is there? Has anyone asked that question? The Atlantic Pact is a pact of a group of people only. It is not the collective wisdom of all the nations of the world. If America has got the liberty or privilege of starting an Atlantic Pact, why should we quarrel if Russia joins hands with China? You started the game and the other man follows. In between the two, I have found that it does not pay for the man who is actually involved in the conflict. In domestic politics as well as international politics, this kind of attitude has come to stay. If you are not my man, you are my enemy. If you are a good man deciding issues on merits from the time to time and are not prepared to walk into the parlour of any one particular party either domestically or internationally, the same difficulty arises. This man is said to be neutral and absolutely in-

effeminate. But I wish to say this to the whole world: Our neutrality is not the neutrality of the weak; our is the neutrality of the strong. We must choose between the right and the wrong and our choice will always be in favour of the right. And we shall not hesitate to proclaim.

We shall have the courage to say: 'This is my man; that is my stranger'. That is the attitude of a man, who—may be he is small—but who is honest and upright. To a man of our culture, the whole universe is one nation. I shall never let down a weak man, because he is a weak man. I will stand by the U.N.O. Our Government, thanks to the leadership of our Prime Minister, even at the point of sacrifice has entered the U.N.O. Which other country in the world, just at the point of effective and dangerous aggression by Pakistan in Kashmir, would be surrendering its right of repelling the enemy and placing the matter in the hands of the U.N.O.? My Government has already shown its *bona fides* by saying in regard to the Kashmir question that whatever may be the consequences, whatever may be the advantageous position that we may have enjoyed, still they would be prepared to abide by the decision of the U.N.O. We entrusted the matter in the hands of these people, but they have not behaved properly at all. They have given us up. Was it proper for them to do so? Why did not they step in straightaway in the Indonesian struggle? India has got clean hands. We shall continue our support to the U.N. God is with us. It might appear that our neutrality will not pay because neither the one nor the other helps us. Some of our friends asked: why did you not get into the pockets of the American bloc? I ask you: did America help Korea? The U.S.S.R. trained eight million people and made them even strong enough to beat America herself, but what did America do? What did America do with the 20 million population of South Korea? She had as much time as Russia. Why did they not

train the Koreans of the South, instead of wobbling as she is doing now? So I do not believe in external aid. We must be self-reliant; we must stand on our own legs. Neither America nor Russia is going to help us. Mr. Masani this morning described Russia as a dangerous friend and America as a useless friend. I went to ECAFE as an Adviser to the Indian Delegation. We naturally expected much from Dr. Grady, but he openly declared: "You must help yourself; we cannot help you." I do not agree with Mr. Masani when he says that in anticipation of their help we should go into the pockets of America. Unless there is a change over the whole world, regarding the economic life that we lead, wars will continue for ever and ever. The rich man wants an absolute form of *laissez-faire*, so that the poor people may subscribe to his pocket. So far as the poor are concerned they are more interested in an economic democracy. Why does the USSR ideology of Communism appeal to the Asian countries? It is because they are so poor. Whereas American democracy can be appreciated only by the richer section. In America there is political democracy and economic dictatorship, whereas in Russia there is economic democracy and political dictatorship. The only thing that can save India and the rest of the world is political and economic democracy. Unless this is accepted nothing will save us; we can only be tinkering with the problem. I, therefore, support the attitude taken by our Government. If, however, there were to a global war, I am sure our leader will consult us in regard to the attitude we should take.

I am a peaceful man. *Om shanti, shanti, shanti!*

Shri Shiva Rao (Madras): My main purpose in intervening in this debate is to invite the attention of the House to what seems to me to be the significant parts of the speech with which the Prime Minister opened the debate yesterday. I am doing so because listening to the speeches yesterday

afternoon and at least one notable speech of this morning, of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, I felt that the lead given by the Prime Minister has been overlooked on many important points.

At the outset I should like to say this. Listening to the speeches in the afternoon yesterday and of Dr. Mookerjee today, a visitor might easily go away with the impression that a fairly substantial section of the House is critical of the policy followed by our Government in regard to international affairs. But I make bold to say that an overwhelming section of the House and public opinion are whole-heartedly behind the Prime Minister in the policy that he has adopted.

I was particularly interested in the speech delivered by Dr. Mookerjee this morning. I am sorry that he is not at his place at the present moment. I felt, as he elaborated his points, that he seemed to forget two things, which if he had remembered much of what he had said, would probably have been left unsaid or at any rate said differently.

In the first place, he seemed to assume that India has a very decisive voice in directing the course of international events. He seemed to forget that we are still in the international world a young and struggling nation and that while we may plead and argue, and sometimes succeed, we cannot dictate the course of events.

Secondly, his remark—rather cynically made about the proposed Medical Mission to Korea—that we were sending a dozen medicine bottles imported from America, seemed to be singularly unfair against a Government of which he was a member until the other day. The Deputy-Speaker is the Chairman of the Estimates Committee of which I happen to be a member. During the last few weeks in examining the administration of the Ministry of Industry and Supply we came across a good many scandals which took place which Dr. Mookerjee was in charge. And when he spoke

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of a dozen bottles of medicine being sent to Korea it struck me perhaps that if greater care had been exercised in regard to the vast quantity of drugs which were in his care as Minister of Industry and Supply, the dozen bottles might have been greatly increased.

On the limited issue of the Korean debate, I feel it is somewhat difficult to speak, because many factors are changing somewhat rapidly both on the battle front in Korea and in the Security Council. But our Government and our Permanent Representative at Lake Success have consistently made certain points clear. We have from the beginning taken a very definite stand on the validity of the claims of Communist China to admission not only to the United Nations but to the various subordinate organs under its authority and in this respect our view happens to coincide with that of the U.S.S.R. Secondly, as the Prime Minister pointed out, we have unconditionally and unequivocally condemned aggression by the forces of North Korea beyond the 38th Parallel—well-planned and large scale aggression as the Prime Minister described it yesterday—and we have supported the demand made through the Security Council for a withdrawal of the North Korean forces at any rate back to the 38th Parallel. But we have made it clear that so far as India is concerned, these two issues, the withdrawal of North Korean forces and the admission of Communist China into the United Nations are two distinct and separate issues. We have not linked them up. And again we have said that we would like to see emerging out of the present chaos and suffering a unified Korea, a Korea not only unified, but under a progressive and democratic administration and not looking to any outside power for inspiration and support.

I am glad that the Prime Minister yesterday so strongly pointed out the aggression from the north and in fact in the closing passages of his speech

gave it first place amongst his Government's first objectives. It is no answer to say, as Dr. Mookerjee tried to argue this morning, that because the Security Council failed to recognise aggression in other parts of the world,—he mentioned Israel, Kashmir and Indonesia—it should not have taken the stand it has done in respect of aggression by North Korea. It is a very strange argument that because the Security Council condoned failure in other cases therefore it should not have taken a right stand in respect of Korea.

I welcome the Prime Minister's reference to this as the first amongst his objectives, for another reason. There is a tendency which is becoming noticeable on the part of the U.S.S.R. to claim that she is only following our Prime Minister's 3 p. m. lead in this and in other matters. That tendency is becoming accentuated in all the speeches and the moves made by Moscow, and I have no doubt that in the coming weeks as often as possible it will be the endeavour of the Soviet spokesmen and propagandists to claim India's support. Shrewd tacticians as they always are, the representatives of the Soviet Union in the Security Council will conveniently ignore the fact that while India has supported the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, she has with equal vigour demanded the withdrawal of North Korean forces back to the 38th Parallel. And I think it is only right that our Permanent Representative emphasized this point again yesterday when he asked for the inclusion of all three items on the agenda of the Security Council. However much we may deplore it, it is quite clear that the United States and some other Powers who are Members of the Security Council will not agree to the admission of Communist China into the United Nations or into the Security Council, at any rate until the withdrawal has taken place of the forces of aggression back to the 38th Parallel. Until that with-

drawal takes place, either voluntarily or by the force of arms, there seems to be little prospect at the present juncture of the deadlock in the Security Council being resolved. May I remind the House in this connection, since we are talking so much about the admission of Communist China into the United Nations, that there have been other cases in the recent past when member States eligible in every way for admission into the United Nations have been kept out by the veto of the Soviet Union?

Earlier I had pointed out that the withdrawal of the North Korean forces could either be voluntary or will be brought about by the force of arms. However unpromising the military situation may be at the present moment, it seems to me inconceivable that the armed forces of the United States, Britain and the other countries which have promised support in Korea can for all time accept the present position as a final verdict, however well-trained and well-armed the North Korean forces may be. It would therefore be the part of wisdom as well as of prudence for the Soviet Union to advise the North Korean forces to draw back, because voluntary withdrawal at this stage will not only spare Korea much suffering and blood-shed but bring about, conceivably, a change for the better in the atmosphere of the Security Council.

I will now pass on to another point which was made by the Prime Minister in his speech. He warned the House that the issue of war or peace hangs at the present moment by a thread. But he did not suggest, as far as I understood him, that a third World War was inevitable. On the other hand, he said every possible effort should be made to prevent such a disaster. And it seems to me that the House would have been far more usefully occupied on this debate in concentrating its attention on that aspect of the situation rather than accept the outbreak of a third World War as being inevitable. Our imme-

diately anxiety therefore should be to see whether anything is possible at the present moment, however remote the prospects may be of preventing such a catastrophe. I was present in this very Chamber about a month ago when the Prime Minister held a press conference soon after his return from Indonesia, and in reply to a question from a correspondent he said—and I think I am quoting almost his very words—“Jawaharlal would not hesitate to go to the ends of the earth in search of world peace”. I do not suggest to the Prime Minister that he should go as far as that, but I do suggest that he should seriously consider the question of leading the next Indian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. That, many Foreign Ministers do, at any rate for the first week or two of the General Assembly. He will have there many opportunities of making first-hand contacts and of conferring with other Foreign Ministers, and not alone but in a joint mediatory effort, to resolve the Korean crisis. So far it seems to me that India has waited for events to shape themselves in the international world. But the time has now come to take the initiative into our own hands. The United Nations General Assembly does not meet until the third week of September. If unfortunately the Korean crisis should deepen and there is an imminent threat of another World War, I would even suggest to the Prime Minister in all humility that he should undertake a trip to Lake Success almost immediately. There is no issue comparable to the threat of a World War at the present moment. And no one in this country. I would go so far as to say no one in Asia, can put forward the plea for world peace with the authority and the influence which the Prime Minister commands throughout the world. I am confident that he may achieve a certain measure of success. At any rate he will have an opportunity, so far as he is personally concerned, of removing many of the misunderstandings which have grown in the United

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States and in other countries about one of his recent moves. Whether success or failure meets his mission, he will be in a position when he returns to India to formulate his subsequent foreign policy with the knowledge of friends in most countries of the world who are Members of the United Nations. And that, I consider, would be an enormous advantage for the future.

While the Korean crisis remains unresolved it may seem premature to think of other things. But the Prime Minister referred yesterday in the course of his observations to the general awakening in Asia and to the impatience with which colonial peoples in many parts of the world demand emancipation and quicker social and economic progress. I would like to say that Soviet Russia's might at the present moment does not consist only of her many divisions, of her large air force and her heavy tanks which Mr. Churchill described as "irresistible". Soviet Russia has other arms which she is using most effectively in the world and especially since the end of the second World War from the platform of the United Nations or wherever she gets an opportunity, she has been an ardent champion of colonial peoples and of dependent races and in this respect she has an enormous advantage over the colonial powers. That has been Soviet Russia's technique for promoting Communist ideology in many parts of the world. In contrast to that technique colonial powers have been extremely reluctant to give up their imperialist hold on territories in different parts of the world and as long as colonial peoples can look up to Soviet Russia as their champion—and I find that colonial powers fight rear-guard actions inside the United Nations to slow down the progress of the colonial peoples—there can be no enduring peace either in Asia or in Africa. That is a point of view which the Prime Minister has frequently urged on the floor of this House and it is a point of view which he could put

forward from the platform of the United Nations and this would carry far greater weight than it would from any one else.

On this subject I would like to say a word with special reference to the foreign policy of the United States. Many sharp things were said yesterday in criticism of American foreign policy but as a sober fact without any comment of my own, I am bound to say this that during the last two or three years the United States delegation has taken a consistently progressive view and forced it on the colonial powers in the United Nations and much of the progress that has been made may be inadequate from our point of view. Nevertheless such progress as has been made within recent years is almost entirely due to the efforts of the United States. Let me give the House one or two instances to illustrate the point I had just made. Last year when the question of South West Africa came before the General Assembly it was the United States delegation which took the initiative in compelling South Africa to refer that case to the International Court of Justice for its advisory opinion.

Finally I would like to make one suggestion for the serious consideration of the Prime Minister and his colleagues in the Cabinet. It is quite true as the Deputy-Speaker pointed out that at the present moment the United Nations with all the high principles that have been enshrined in the Charter is a very weak instrument to carry out the purposes of the Charter. Sometimes it reminds me of one of the pre-fabricated stalls on the Queensway of which Mr. Kamath has been speaking to us, cracking under the touch of adverse realism and if you want the United Nations not only to survive the present crisis, to be strong and vigorous and competent to deal with even bigger crises in the future something must be done to overhaul not only the machinery but the manner of its functioning and I think the time has come for Member

of the United Nations to draw a blue print for a radical revision of the Charter so as to do away with the many anomalies and the defects which handicap it at the present moment. That will be a patient task requiring much discussion through diplomatic channels in the various capitals of the world and also at Lake Success. But it seems to me that not only the Members of the United Nations but hundreds of millions of people who are genuine lovers of peace would welcome such a move at the present moment and I have no doubt that there is no fitter person at the present moment in the world than the Prime Minister to undertake such a task.

The Minister Without Portfolio (Shri Rajagopalachari): I am somewhat new to the atmosphere to which I have been transplanted at this moment. All the same we are discussing such a serious matter that I am sure I shall command some attention. Our policies have been discussed and a preliminary point has been taken by some Members that the Prime Minister was not right in taking action with consulting the House beforehand. I am not aware that in any country it is always possible for a democracy sitting in Parliament to be consulted on all occasions when important steps have to be taken by the chosen leader of such democracies.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar): Now it was possible.

Shri Rajagopalachari: In this country of ours we sit quite a long time in Parliament, and we seem to love it, and yet sometimes it happens that very urgent matters calling for immediate action come up for decision just when the House is not sitting. It is for this reason we chose a leader who can be trusted to act in accordance with our wishes and with our general policies on such occasions. I have no doubt the House will approve of my statement if I say that our Prime Minister is a little more demo-

cratic than he need be sometimes. On this particular occasion he had to act at once, and I think he acted as he did because he knew that he could get the approval of the House and because also there is a provision in the Constitution that if the House would not give that approval it would be at liberty to alter the policy and at the same time to change its Prime Minister also. I do not, therefore, think that any great point arises out of the fact that when he had to meet the demands of the situation, when the Korea aggression took place, he had not the time to consult the House. He has immediately taken steps to call the House to a special session in order that he may be sure of his ground. I do not think, therefore, that there is any great point in this objection that was repeated by more than one including, I think, even the Deputy-Speaker of the House. I think it was not very important for one of the Deputy-Speaker's position to raise—I would not have minded if other speakers who have fundamental objections to the policy had made it. If one who has no objection to the policy, raises it, it looks somewhat odd and might even confuse the issue. I do not think that the people of this country who are still new to democracy should be led to believe that in matters of such urgent importance in foreign matters, unless the whole Parliament is asked to come and decide, the Prime Minister is not entitled to act. I think, as in England, our people should be educated to the fact that very often we entrust the whole matter to the leader in whom we have confidence.

Then, the issue has been somewhat clouded by the form which amendments have taken. I see in the revised list of amendments as it stands, amendments 1, 2 and 3 are really opposition and not amendments. It is convenient perhaps that you may dispose of them in the form of amendments. I just wish to explain that in substance, amendments 1, 2 and 3 are really opposite to what the motion comes to and that therefore, these

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amendments should be rejected totally in case the House approves of the policy which the Government has pursued. Regarding the other amendments, amendment No. 4 and amendment No. 5 really are of no great importance by way of debate. Amendment No. 4 wants that we should make an appeal to all people to support the policy which the Prime Minister has pursued. Amendment No. 5 wants to reinforce the Army in India, which might be brought up on a suitable occasion in quite a different way; but it is not now very relevant. The last amendment is really a true amendment. It suggests that a token army should be sent to oppose the aggression in Korea in pursuance of the policy that we have adopted.

The first thing to be settled is, what is our attitude in regard to the United Nations. I make bold to say, though I am new to this Parliament, that the whole House would approve of the position taken in this regard, namely, that India stands for the conservation and strengthening of the machinery of the United Nations. It definitely stands for the conservation of that organisation and for the strengthening of that organisation. If this is settled, then, the issue before us gets clarified. If we merely discuss it on the basis of Asiatic progress or Asiatic nationality or the unity of some parts of Asia and so on, we get somewhat confused over the issue. The present question is, are we to support and strengthen the United Nations, or do we stand for a policy of overlooking this point whenever any particular issue arises. I have no doubt in my mind as to what we should do. There is no hope for any nation in Asia unless we strengthen the forces that stand for peace and order in the world. If we encourage anything that disturbs the peace of the world, there is no hope for any nation in Asia as there is no hope for any nation in other parts of the world. So far as we are concerned, progress either of democracy or progress in the nature of prosperity for any nation in Asia depends entire-

ly on peace being maintained in the world. That is why whenever any issue comes up, the Prime Minister, naturally, sees along with that the linked issue of maintenance of peace in the world. Issues are not linked or dislinked by mere legalistic arguments. Issues are linked on account of the linkage created by human affairs. In Asia, just now, looked at from the point of view of human affairs, the peace of the world is linked with every issue that comes up for decision before the citizens of Asia to whatever nation they may belong. If any people believe that introducing a certain economic order or a new Government to take charge of affairs by force, which may lead to a conflagration throughout the world, would help, I must say emphatically that they are foolish and that they are taking a suicidal line of action.

Now, therefore, the issue is clear before us. Let us by all means sympathise with the aspirations of Korea. Let us by all means sympathise with those who stand for the unification of the nations of Asia and against any artificial barriers being raised dividing them, for the sake of peace between other nations of the world. The 38th Parallel is one such thing. The 38 Parallel was simply an artificial arrangement by which the armies of the USSR on the one hand and the armies of America on the other were asked to stop at a particular geometrical point or rather a straight line in order that there may be no further confusion in the affairs of the world. But, that has divided Korea as a matter of fact, just now, into two administrations. The issue now is whether an aggressive expedition in order to remove this barrier will produce world conflagration or not, and if it is likely to produce a world conflagration, what is India's attitude in that respect. This is the approach which I should like the House to make so that it may judge the policy which the Government has followed. If India stands for statesmanly action in the United Nations Security Council, and for the con-

servation and strengthening of the authority of the United Nations, without unduly attempting to strangle the individual sovereignty of the nations that compose the United Nations, then, we can see the logic behind the Prime Minister's policy and the action taken by him after the announcement made by him as to policy.

If we examine the criticisms—the House was very critical as Mr. Shiva Rao pointed out—whatever might be the impression of a casual visitor, the fact remains that the House is going to give overwhelming support and approval to the policy that has been pursued by the Government, which has been announced by the Prime Minister and followed by action on his part. But, there has been some criticism. We should not object to criticism. Nobody is going to be misled by criticism. I do not think the nations of the world are so stupid as to get away with the impression that because several speeches are made here, the confidence which the country is reposing in the Prime Minister has become a matter of doubt. The nations of the world are alive and vigilant and they are not going to commit any such mistake. Let us not be too nervous about expression of opinion. Let us be frank and understand one another. We have not much opposition in our House. Let us not try to discourage criticism.

What is this criticism? This criticism takes one or other of three lines as far as I can see. One is that the Government of India should have kept rigorously aloof. The word 'neutrality' has been used in a somewhat loose style. There is no war for us to decide whether we should be neutral or not. The only question is what should be our attitude in regard to this matter. Some have said that the Government of India should have kept entirely and rigorously aloof. The other line which some Members have taken is that the Prime Minister should have done a little less than what he did or he should have done something else. The third line of

criticism is that he should have gone much farther than what he has done just now. Let us examine these three positions.

The first position that the Government of India should have kept entirely aloof, I think, is an impossible position. It is impossible even if it were consistent with our national dignity and national interest. How can we ignore the position that somehow we have reached in the world? Can India say, we have no opinion in this matter? That is the simple question. To keep aloof would mean that India is of the opinion that she cannot say anything on this subject. Surely, this is impossible. Neither in my personal capacity, nor as representative of my country, do I wish that we should be arrogant or proud or be conceited. Our power is very little; but our importance is not as little as our power. There is a great difference between the power that we now possess and the importance which without our seeking has been thrust upon India. We could not possibly remain silent in this connection. Keeping aloof is an impossibility.

Then, could we have done anything else than what the Prime Minister has done? If we did anything else than what he has done, it would mean practically encouragement of the very aggression which he seeks to resist and check, very rightly. If India seeks to resist and check violent aggression anywhere, in order that we people in Asia may have a chance of progress in all directions, the Prime Minister of India could not possibly have done less than what he has done; nor could he have kept aloof as I have already said. I imagine that by analysing the history of Korea and by attributing motives, conjecturally and otherwise to the various nations of the world, and by letting ourselves morbidly to fear every powerful nation in the world, we would be acting contrary to what Gandhiji told us to do. He said, "Shed your fears. Why are you afraid? Strength is not the only means to power. Spiritual strength

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is as good as physical strength. Do not, therefore, be afraid of anybody." If you follow that advice, I do not think that either Prof. K. T. Shah or any other Member would express such dreadful fear of America, rightly or wrongly, on all occasions. Of course, America is very strong and very powerful too; but why should we be afraid of her? This suspicion, in my humble opinion, is somewhat morbid and we should shed this suspicion.

What is the real issue? Do we or do we not want to check violent aggression in any part of the world in the present state of things? I do not talk total pacifist logic. Let no one make that mistake. But violent jingo logic is as labyrinthine as pacifist logic, and the contrary is also true. I am not talking to you of mere pacifist logic. But in the present state of the world, can we allow violent aggression? On the one side America is interested in her own interests for peace, and on the other the U.S.S.R. is interested in her own interests for peace. Now, when these two powers are so near to a seat of disturbance, can India possibly look calmly and disinterestedly on a match being thrown near a powder magazine of this kind? I want you to allow me to put a hypothetical case before the House. I am confident that if America had not taken this step of rushing her forces into Korea, and if this violent aggression of North Korea had been permitted to strangle and capture the whole of Korea, every Member of this House would have risen in protest and said that at that time America failed in her duty. Everyone of us would have shouted: "She was so near in Japan. She had all her forces there, and yet she kept looking on. Is this the way a Member of the United Nations should behave on a critical occasion like this?" Everyone would have severely, and I say rightly criticised the American Government for not having done its duty by the United Nations at that juncture. Now, if we follow up this picture, we can settle the present question of right

and wrong easily. If we would have blamed a certain nation for not doing a particular thing, can we blame them for doing the thing? I submit that it is wrong to blame them and that is why the Prime Minister of India had no doubt in his mind what to do. Aggression has to be checked, he said, and we offer our moral support to that checking. We are a member of the United Nations and we support the resolutions of the Security Council. India fully supports the policy of checking aggression.

As to what a particular nation should do in order to contribute to the checking of aggression, it is a matter depending on so many things, to be taken together. Its capacity, geographical propinquity and several other matters have to be taken into account in order to decide what particular assistance should be given in order to check aggression. If we are therefore clear in our minds that we ought to check aggression wherever it takes place and whenever it takes place in a dangerous area—apart from any question of pacifism,—where there is likely to be a start for world conflagration when such aggression takes place, our first duty irrespective of the merits of the issue is to stop that aggression and to nip violence in the bud, so to say. If we do that there is hope for peace, and it is on that basis that the Prime Minister, on behalf of India, gave full support to the resolutions of the Security Council in regard to this matter. It does not matter how the 38 Parallel came to exist. It does not matter how America came to be independent. It does not matter how Bulgaria came to be independent. If a nation is there, or a government is there and armed aggression is going to disturb its existence, then those who are interested in the peace of the world should prevent this beginning of the conflagration in that area.

Now, if that is settled, then the question that arises is, could we do more? Is the criticism that the Prime Minister should have done more than he did, right criticism? If we think it out, the House will see

that if anything more were done by India, instead of checking aggression it might lead to the very conflagration which we wish to prevent. If country after country rushed to Korea with its armies, what can follow, except world conflagration? That was the great problem which our Prime Minister had to face. He had to see where the line should be drawn. He had to see how far he could go and where further progress would have been dangerous. Now here it is that statesmanship comes to play. In attempting to check aggression we should not do anything to accelerate that very conflagration which we fear might be produced and for which we wish to check that aggression. People say that I always try to explain things by means of analogies. Let me indulge in an instance here. Suppose there is a patient who requires a warm fire, or who requires a meal to be cooked by a fire. Can we light that fire if there is a powder magazine nearby? It is true that we should uphold Korea. It is true that we should check aggression, but we should not do it in a manner which would lead to a world conflagration. It is a simple issue. It is difficult to solve, but simple in enunciation. The Prime Minister had no doubt in his mind that we ought not to indulge in any armed movements in the Pacific or in the Indian Ocean or send armies out in ships or make, so to say, any gesture which might be quite enough to light a conflagration in the whole world. That is my answer to the amendment, that the action already taken to implement the policy of the Government is not enough, and that Government should send a token army. It may be that some time or other we may have to do a thing like that. That is the meaning of the Prime Minister's policy of independence in foreign affairs. What the Prime Minister has been repeatedly urging is not that we are bound to pacifism, or that we are bound to neutrality, as it is called. What he has been urging is that India should not previously commit itself to be an ally of any bloc whose decisions

it is bound to contribute to in implementation. What he has been saying is that we should keep ourselves independent in our foreign policy and we should decide from time to time as occasions arise as to what we should do in any matter.

There has been criticism that the action taken is likely to lead to a breach of the neutrality we were pledged to. Assuming various things that do not exist, criticisms are offered. But what has India stood for? It has stood for its own independence and for freedom from bloc alliances. Now that has not been broken in any manner by the Prime Minister's action or the announcement of the Government. In fact he has gone almost to the dangerous limit, so to say, of being misunderstood, in order to maintain that independence, by refusing to send any regiment to Korea. It is very easy for people to misunderstand his attitude and imagine that India does not stand for checking aggression and that she is silently, secretly sympathising with the aggressors. He has preferred to risk being misunderstood in that manner, because any other step would have been encouragement to world conflagration, to a world war.

It is true that there are some people—Dr. Syama Prasad gave expression to something of that kind—who think that if peace can be preserved it can only be by force being met by stronger force, that if there is aggression it must be met by stronger force and that is the only way and all other talk is moonshine. If this logic were carried to its end it will certainly lead to a world war sooner than later. It is true, as we all know, that generally force can be met only by force. But it is not so in the present case. Why did we build the United Nations Organisation and why do we wish to conserve it? Because we feel that aggression can be checked by the strength of the opinion of the world expressed in such an organi-

[Shri Rajagopalachari]

sation and that open discussion and postponement of aggressive activities finally lead to checking aggression. That is the principle on which the United Nations Organisation has been formed.

There are some people who think that unless we have a complete World Federation all talk of regulating the force of nations in the U.N.O. is moonshine. Academically it may be a correct position that unless we have a world government and a world army and we are able to oppose that army against every rebel nation, we cannot succeed cent. per cent. While that is academically right we do hope in this world that without strangling individual nationality we can build up slowly, steadily and surely a world organisation to prevent world wars. It has become a passion with the Prime Minister and that is why he as well as the country which he represents, our mother land, have risen in the opinion of the world at the present juncture. The steadiness with which he has pursued that aim has raised him and India in the eyes of the world more than we realise ordinarily. It is acknowledged that we are in no way a military power but yet our importance has risen, because of the courage with which we pursue this policy.

Everyone in the world wants peace but they do not know how to get it and maintain it. But India seems to be on the right track and that is why this phenomenal popularity of our Prime Minister throughout the world. We must strengthen his arms. We must give more grease to his elbow, as it is said. We must enable him to help the world to maintain peace.

If we understand these difficulties and those views which I have attempted to explain, the very imperfections that have been pointed out in the policy and the action taken by our Prime Minister will be seen to be their best features. The

seeming imperfections, inconsistencies and halting character of the action that is now the subject of our debate are its very virtues and its essential virtues. We have to balance what is necessary to check aggression and also avoid and discourage a world conflagration. It is a delicate balancing and that is the virtue of the attitude that the Government of India has taken.

The Prime Minister has taken what action he thought proper and has been almost ploughing a lone furrow. His courage I might say is great in this matter and should be appreciated. He has been ploughing this lone furrow boldly and without any doubt in his own mind and we should appreciate it. That is why he has gone much more into the hearts of the peoples of the world than he might himself have expected at the outset, considering the position which India occupies at the present day. That is why also the same people who criticise him and who are somewhat annoyed by his lukewarmness so far as partisanship is concerned, appreciate his action and welcome it. As a matter of fact they hope that he will, in spite of their own annoyance, carry on in this manner and bring about the confirmation of peace in the world. At any rate, I make bold to say that on account of South Korea there will be no world war. What has been done so far and what has not been done so far taken together make it quite clear to my mind that there will be no world war now. On this very important thing we may rest assured and if any merchant is hoarding his stock to sell them at a higher price, I warn him that he will lose and will make no profit. Prices will begin to go down everywhere hereafter and will not go up. That much for my friend Mr. Munshi.

The line which our Prime Minister has been pursuing has for the moment failed. But there is nothing to be ashamed of; there is nothing to feel discouraged on account of the fact that it has failed. Things ap-

pear to fail but they came out all right later on. It will grow because it has found root in the hearts of people. Only we have to wait for a time and you will see that his peace programme will be taken up.

There are two issues before the United Nations which cannot be ignored. The checking of aggression we support. Let us not be discouraged by the first phase of the fight. Aggression will be checked and Russia knows it very well. That is why I take it that she has come back to take her seat in the Security Council. The other issue is, what then? That is the main and great issue which has been troubling the mind of our Prime Minister. He is continually asking the question "Aggression has to be checked." I am for that. But what then? Are you going to garrison Korea for all time and keep off the enemy at the point of the bayonet. No: it is impossible. Therefore something should be done in order to relieve the tension. What can be done? The things to do and he has suggested them are, get Russia and the real China into the Security Council and let us discuss it together and find a solution for Korea. Without finding a solution for Korea, simply depending on the 38th Parallel, which is merely an astronomer's straight line, as a sacrosanct frontier, is of no use. Independently of checking aggression, let us get all the nations together around a common table and decide. That is why we want China to be recognised. Whether the new China is to be recognised or not, the new China is a fact and sooner or later the United Nations have to recognise not only China but every properly established government in the world. Otherwise there is no strengthening of the United Nations and gradually the United Nations Organisation will deteriorate into a bloc combining to work out their own programme rather than the programme of the world. That is why our Prime Minister is so eager that all opponents should be brought together. Even in this House do we keep out

people who may advocate even the most extreme opposition to the Government? They are allowed to find a place here and the Speaker rightly gives them far more time than to the supporters of the Government. And that is what should be done in the United Nations. Let us burn the gun powder at a common discussion table. The gun powder will exhaust itself at the table, because ultimately gun powder is the anger of mind and that anger, if given an outlet at the table, will finish itself. Even in this very House does not an hon. Member after he has lashed out, come outside with a blossoming smile? When the talk is over we are all friends. It is the same principle. Human nature is one in all such matters and I am certain that if the policy of India is accepted by the United Nations, it is bound to be, in course of time, the beginning of peace. We shall then be able to solve the problems of Asia. Otherwise there is confusion, confusion between the forces of nationalism and the forces of Communism and of anti-Communism. All these are mixed up. One does not know what is going on in any particular place. Are they opposing Communism or the foreigner? Are they supporting nationalism or property and vested rights? All the confusions will be cleared if people would gather together and discuss matters.

I wish to apologise for any irrelevance and I hope in a maiden speech it will be tolerated.

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal): Sir, may I make a submission? I have tabled an amendment which is kindly described as the only substantial amendment. I have listened to replies without being able to put in my arguments to which the replies should have come. Perhaps by an oversight I have been omitted. If I am given an opportunity I may put in a few words just by way of support to what I wanted to say in my amendment.

Mr. Speaker: I was going to suggest that in view of the anxiety of a large number of Members to express themselves, Members could make their remarks in very short statements or speeches. In fact, the hon. Member's amendment having been so influentially backed up, he need not make a long speech at all, but it is open to him to make any speech.

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad: My amendment has not been backed up, but rather criticised!

Mr. Speaker: He may go on.

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is always a great disadvantage to be forced to speak after so many eloquent and weighty speeches which have been delivered in the House. It is very remarkable that on admitted facts—facts which admit of no doubt—hon. Members have differed so widely in their conclusions. The reason seems to me to be very simple. It is that some aspects of International Law which are so unlike, so against, our common experience have not been fully appreciated in the House. In our ordinary experience we are inclined to think from long experience that if we remain neutral in a quarrel in which 'A' and 'B' fight, nobody will trouble us. That is a correct attitude but it is due to a set of circumstances which do not apply to International Law. They are the existence of the police, the executives and the courts which give us ample protection. If there is a wrong-doer he can be brought to book in a court of law and the court will adjudicate and punish him or award compensation or other reliefs against him; and there is the adequate sanction of the entire Government behind the court's decision to enforce it. The great attribute of law is that there is an arbitrator who can give an impartial decision which can be enforced by the authority of the State. But in International Law it ceases to be law

because there is no authority to enforce a decision which may be arrived at in common friendly debate or by something like an International Judiciary. I submit that this aspect of the matter has been lost sight of in this House which has led to the expression of so many divergent views. Our attitude of non-interference is due to this.

In International Law the only kind of 'right' which is capable of being exercised is measured in terms of 'might'. If one country has a grievance against another, it need not, if it is strong, wait for a judicial authority to decide it because here there is no judicial authority which is capable of enforcing its decision; the aggrieved country, if it feels strong, takes the law into its own hands and declares war. From that point of view, it has long been pointed out by great jurists that International Law is the vanishing point of jurisprudence; it ceases to be law, and therefore, to call it any law at all is a misnomer. It is for these reasons and it is because we have not paid sufficient regard to this difference between the domestic field and the international field and to this lacuna in International Law that we have talked of peace, of neutrality, of sitting on the fence and the like, and solving a military emergency by mere resolutions!

I submit, that it is unnecessary for me to point out or to emphasise the fact that North Korea is clearly the aggressor. The Government in this respect has a cast-iron case which is absolutely unassailable, and I depend entirely for my proposition on the inherent strength and logic of the Government case. There was a U.N. Korean Commission which was entrusted with the task of holding elections on the basis of adult franchise, on the percentage of population basis. This was what was just and fair.

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

But North Korea absolutely refused to give the Commission any access

into their area. Then the Commission reported to the U.N.O. and the latter said they must hold the elections in such areas as are accessible to them. It is under these circumstances that the elections were held in South Korea alone. But South Korea made it absolutely clear that they would leave some seats—about one-third—vacant to be filled up by Northern representatives, and they left those seats vacant. Under these circumstances, if there has been a partition it was not due to the South Koreans nor to the Americans nor to anybody else, but entirely due to the Communist Government which was in authority in Northern Korea or which was behind it.

Shri B. Das (Orissa): Question.

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad: This is the Government case which you were supporting! In these circumstances, the entire responsibility for partition being on the North Koreans or those behind them, we must take facts as they are. If a re-union to be effected, it can be done but war must be stopped. I cannot possibly agree with those hon. Members who have characterised the present struggle as a civil war. Some loose expressions here and there have been taken advantage of in describing this as a civil war, but I submit it is mere quibble to call it a civil war. The Government of South Korea is an accomplished fact; it was duly constituted by an election and has been recognised by the U.N.O. North Koreans also have formed themselves into a Government; though it has not been recognised by the U.N.O., it is also a kind of settled Government. (*An Hon. Member:* Puppet Government). I quite agree that it is a puppet Government but in form and substance it is a Government, though obviously led by the nose from behind by interested parties. So the North Korean Government is a Government in form and substance though led by the nose, and the South Korean Government is also a Government in form and substance. They are entirely distinct Governments and a fight

between two distinct Governments, regular or irregular, recognised or not, is in international law a regular war and not a civil war. Supposing Pakistan invades India or India invades Pakistan, would anybody be justified in calling it a civil war? It is really a regular war. All these quibbles about it being a civil war justifying total non-interference on our part is therefore not only wrong on principle but mischievous from other points of view. The Korean situation is alarming, and that is realised by all serious Members of the House. A war of this kind has a tendency to spread. As the hon. the Prime Minister has justly remarked, the issue of a world war is just hanging on to a thread and the chances are fifty-fifty.

4 P.M. That shows that we are on the brink of a world war and we must act strongly. The U.N. Security Council has passed two resolutions characterising the act of the North Koreans as an act of aggression and a breach of peace and asked them to move to the 38th Parallel. Considerable amount of ingenuity has been spent in ridiculing the 38th Parallel, but it is a recognised fact. Whether this 38th Parallel as an ideal line or should remain as a lasting boundary is a different matter and is totally irrelevant to the present discussion. I therefore submit that once having accepted the line, however temporary that line may be, having admitted the act of aggression of the North Koreans beyond the 38th Parallel, the United Nations have justly decided that the aggression should be repelled by force. To this decision India has been a party and our distinguished permanent representative, Shri B. N. Rau, was the Chairman when the first resolution was passed and when the second one came up he did not vote as he had not obtained instructions or authority from the Government of India, but later on in the Press Communique which was issued on the 29th of June (which has been circulated to us) it is clearly admitted that India has accepted the second resolution also. So we are in this position: that we are

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committed to the opinion—and a just opinion—that an act of aggression has taken place and that the aggression must stop, and in case it does not stop the free nations should take such steps as may be necessary to repel the aggression by adequate or proper means. India having accepted these two resolutions, it seems to me absolutely clear that we cannot stand where we are, but we must move a step further.

Very able arguments have been advanced in support of the hon. the Prime Minister's resolution. These arguments, I submit, are arguments really in support of my amendment which merely urges a logical step flowing from what has already been done by India. The U.N. resolution on the first occasion said that:

"There has been an armed attack on the Republic of South Korea from the North, and it constitutes a breach of the peace and the United Nations calls upon the aggressive party to cease hostilities at once and asks the aggressors to withdraw forthwith beyond the 38th Parallel."

In the second resolution it is said:

"The United Nations Commission having reported that the authorities of North Korea have neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed forces to the 38th Parallel, and that urgent military measures are necessary and required to restore international peace and security, and having noted the appeal of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations for immediate and effective steps to secure peace and security, it is recommended that the members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in that area."

The Government of India have not stopped at that. We have it in the President's speech an embodiment of

the policy of the Government of India when he says:

"India supported the first two resolutions of the Security Council on this subject, since . . . the aggression of North Korea had been established by the weight and proven preparedness of its onslaught. The course of events has confirmed this conclusion."

I now respectfully draw the attention of the House to what follows:

"It has been India's policy not to submit to aggression, for to submit to aggression in any part of the world is to invite its repetition in other parts and thus to imperil peace and freedom."

Having been a party to these resolutions and having thus committed the Government through the President's speech which has again been accepted by the House, I think the only logical course for us now is to do something tangible to repel the aggression. I ask respectfully: to repel aggression, is it enough to pass resolutions and express pious wishes? Is it enough merely to say that aggression is a bad thing and must stop? I must not be misunderstood in my attitude to the hon. the Prime Minister's appeal to the contending parties. It was undoubtedly a right move and it has created the right atmosphere and probably something may come out of it, but is not military help called for? Supposing two men are fighting and one is trying to kill the other. Is it enough for us to say: "The use of force is a bad thing. Force must stop; but beyond this I am not prepared to do anything?" This way of dealing with military aggression, I submit, is the highest form of simplicity. Something tangible is necessary in order to deter a military aggressor from aggression. The military aggressor knows that what he is doing is morally and internationally wrong: he has that knowledge. He thinks that he has the means of effectively perpetrating the wrong and setting at naught the authority of International Law.

In this case, there is no absence of knowledge on the aggressor's part as to the wrong which he is doing. I therefore ask: Is it enough to express mere pious wishes and do nothing? As the President has said, aggression in any part of the world (including, of course, South Korea,) has a tendency to invite aggression or a repetition of aggression in other parts.

This means that we may be in danger: India is in the danger zone. Under these circumstances, what should we do to stop this aggression? Are we merely to wait for an invasion of India and then strengthen our army and then fight the invader? I think that will be too late and the third World War will be on. It is admitted that our forces are not strong enough to repel an invasion by a powerful and modern army. From this point of view, our permanent delegate in the United Nations has tried, I respectfully submit, to split hairs. He has said that we would have sent an army but our army is not trained to fight a war outside India. Fighting inside India and fighting outside India are both or must be both equally dangerous and involve the same risks. I think it is a remarkably weak admission to make to say that our army is fit to fight only inside India and not outside. At least, that should not have been the ground on which India's refusal to send troops was sought to be justified.

I therefore submit that intervention of a military character is the logical outcome of our actions taken so far, and the passing of pious resolutions will not serve any purpose. I think the Government has proceeded boldly, courageously and heroically up to a limit, but has stopped all of a sudden. We have behaved just like the gallant race horse who after running with other horses covering almost the entire course, jumping over many hurdles, just stopped in the last lap before the last hurdle and refused to win the race. The purpose of sending an army, a token army though it may be, is this—that we express not

merely our moral sympathy, but we are prepared to supplement our moral sympathy by military support. It may be a token army of five hundred or one thousand men—I don't mind its size.

The other logical course would have been for us to have stated at the beginning that we have no concern with the affairs of Korea and that we have nothing to do with it. We could have said that we have no sympathy with either side. We could have confined our attention to our internal affairs, our legislative programme or the next elections! That would have been a perfectly logical course to follow. But having proceeded so far, having accepted the resolutions of the United Nations, we would be subject to just criticism by future historians if we were to stop at this crucial stage. They will say that India proceeded logically and forcefully up to a limit but failed at the crucial moment. It is by acts and not by pious wishes that we can create an impression in a military emergency.

For these reasons I submit that it would have been better to send a token army and nip the trouble in the bud rather than invite a greater world conflagration. Refusal to act in a collective manner has been the cause of the two previous world wars. Weak nations who had failed to act boldly in the preparatory stages of the wars were by force of circumstances compelled to enter the arena. Every nation tried to follow a policy of appeasement with Germany. The result was that one by one they went down before totalitarian Germany until at last one small country—Poland—was attacked when all combined against them and ultimately defeated them. I do not blame ourselves in our vacillations as many countries vacillated before the two world wars. America herself tried to follow this policy of neutrality until at last she was forced by circumstances to enter the two wars. This time they are the first to accept the challenge. It is because of their bitter

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experience of the past. A world war would be fraught with serious consequences to America—it will upset their industries and dislocate their economic and social life. To prevent these consequences America has entered the war at the earliest stage. Some hon. Members have cast aspersions on America that they are self-interested and so forth. I for one should think that it is very fortunate that a powerful country like the U.S.A. has taken up the challenge against aggression. I have not the slightest doubt that though she may face some initial set-backs, the ultimate victory will be hers and of the United Nations on whose behalf she has entered the war.

With these few words I submit that my amendment really strengthens and reinforces the action taken by the Government so far and should on principle be accepted.

✓ **Shri Syamnandan Sahaya** (Bihar):

Before I proceed to make a few suggestions with regard to the subject under discussion, I would like, with your permission, to convey my thanks to Mr. Kamath for drawing the timely and pointed attention of the authorities to enable us to have this discussion in this House.

It is a tragedy, a grim tragedy, that while the wounds of the last war are not yet healed, while the horrors perpetrated in the last war are fresh in the minds of the people who have seen them, that we are faced with a situation which looks as ominous as it ever was either in 1914 or in 1939. The tragedy of the situation is increased by the fact that even after a struggle of two or three weeks the defensive forces have not been able to make any headway. However, the Korean war for us is at once a warning and a lesson—a warning in the sense that unprepared nations however strong numerically are, when faced with aggression, not able to stand up and a lesson that a nation, however small numerically, if get themselves prepared can stand up against mighty nations, nations whose power and military power is

perhaps next to none in the world. These are two things which Indians must remember in regard to this Korean fight.

While, therefore, we approve of the action of the Government that they have so far taken, we have a feeling that there is not that same consciousness, there is not that same awareness, there is not that desire for being prepared in this country as the impending trouble demands. We are aware of the resolutions of the Security Council both of the 25th and the 27th June. We are also aware of the statement of the Government of India, dated the 29th of June. In my view, as I have no doubt in the view of a large section of this House, there could be no two opinions in regard to the decision arrived at by the Government of India at that moment. But, even more important than the decision taken by the Government of India to associate itself with the recommendations of the United Nations was the effort made by our Prime Minister to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict. I prayerfully wish that his efforts may succeed. I would submit that he must carry on, and persistently carry on, his peace efforts. But where I differ with him and his Government is that he probably is not prepared at this stage to think 'What is the Government of India to do, what are the people of this country to do in case the peace negotiations do not succeed?' It is here I suggest in my amendment to remain prepared for any eventuality into which this country may have to be thrown, perhaps against its will. I will like you to see if there is any justification for my demand that we should be more conscious of affairs going on outside and that we should be more prepared than we are at present. And in order to do so I shall draw your attention to a statement made by the Commander-in-Chief of the Communist Chinese forces which was published only yesterday in the papers. It said that their liberation policy will not

be complete until Formosa and Tibet are liberated. I submit that an unprepared India might tempt the Communists to 'liberate' India also once again! This may perhaps be objected to by some friends as being either panicky or pessimistic. But if we go over the conditions obtaining in East Asia and in Europe I hope I shall not require too many arguments to convince anybody that the policy of infiltration, the policy of nerve warfare, and the policy of pressure tactics has been going on in all directions. Therefore, although this Korean affair may appear to be an isolated instance for the present, the fact remains that it is only one of the moves of, in my opinion, a well-planned and concerted action.

There has been confusion in the minds of many that the decision of the Government of India first to support the Resolution of the Security Council and next to make a suggestion that Communist China should be taken in, do not indicate a consistent policy. The matter has in my opinion been explained very satisfactorily, although attempts are being made in different directions to twist the meaning of it. For instance the other day the present President of the Security Council, M. Malik, said that the bringing in of the representative of Communist China on the Security Council must be a condition precedent to a settlement of the Korean dispute. I submit that perhaps was not the intention. It could not possibly have been. Because, the Korean dispute cannot be made a bargaining counter for effecting any particular action in the Security Council. That has to be considered on its merits, and the idea suggests to one that with Communist China, and Russia back to the United Nations perhaps a settlement could be easier. Whatever it may be—I do not subscribe to the view that it represents two different policies—if really there was a desire to support one and at the same time humour another, then I will submit that such a policy is not likely to lead us anywhere. In deciding upon

a foreign policy every nation has to consider the foreign policies and the foreign relations of sister and neighbouring countries. In doing so at the present moment I feel we cannot ignore the policy that is being followed by the sister nations of India. And I am afraid if we vacillate in our policy, if we do not stick to what we really decided in the beginning namely that the aggressor must be condemned and resisted—a view which the hon. the Prime Minister pronounced even yesterday—then I am afraid that the democracies may be persuaded to decide on a policy of neutralising India and utilising Pakistan. It is sometimes questioned, and I heard a few Members in this House also remarking, as to what is possible for India except supporting the Resolutions in the Security Council because we are so ill-equipped. I submit that that in my opinion is not the correct view to take. I have said in the beginning that the Korean situation is for us a lesson from which we can learn many things. Then again I have no doubt that our politicians are not unaware of the position of Turkey in the last war. The manner in which that country's statesmen carried on their foreign policy led to the conclusion that ultimately after the second World War Turkey emerged as perhaps one of the most potential forces in those parts of the world. I shall at present say no more about it.

Coming to the Korean situation itself, it has been conceded by everybody in this House that a small section of that country did try to use force in order to bring the others under its control. I was surprised and, if I may say so, shocked to hear Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee suggesting that our sole purpose must be the unification of Korea. If he had read only a few more lines of the statement from which he was reading he would have found that all attempts were made to unify Korea. And if he had tried to appreciate the true situation he would have come to the conclusion that the barrier to the unification was not

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from South Korea but from North Korea, as you yourself said in your speech. It was not possible for the Commission, of which the Chairman was an Indian, even to go to the North Korean area. Under the circumstances I do not see what else the Commission could have done, and they decided that the elections should take place in South Korea. I submit in this matter of the Korean affair there is no doubt that there has been a definite aggression, and an aggression guided by someone else, by some other nation behind the North Koreans—and they are admittedly the U.S.S.R. In this matter of the Korean dispute, as I have said, on several occasions Indians had been associated in one way or the other. I suppose I need not repeat them. There were two such occasions. The Chairman of the Commission itself was an Indian. And the Chairman of the Security Council which passed the First Resolution was an Indian—our Representative at Lake Success. The hon. the Prime Minister himself has on more than one occasion stated that we cannot tolerate aggression and it has to be condemned and resisted. It is therefore significant in this connection to consider whether we are to remain satisfied by stating what we have done, or whether it is not possible for us to think out other ways and take other measures. We have heard during the last two days about neutrality and also about neutrality not meaning inaction and neutrality not meaning isolation. Truly speaking, I have not been able to follow the real significance of neutrality in this new setting of neither inaction nor isolation. I feel that in the situation in which the world is at present neutrality is only possible if the conflict is localised between one or two countries and once it assumes the shape of a global war or a global conflagration, I submit, neutrality will be a misnomer even for a short time. This country has therefore to decide upon the course of action. I have no

doubt that the decisions will lie in the hands of those who are quite competent to come to decision, but even so as we have had this opportunity of discussing matters, I would like to weigh as to what would be more advantageous and what would be in the "enlightened interest" of this country. I have believed, and from what I have seen during the last few years of our dealings with the different countries, to secure a position of equality and even of superiority in an association of democracies what is largely needed is the skill of carrying out negotiations cleverly and the efficiency by which you can carry on your grow more and your produce more efforts. But, I have a feeling that with the Communist world whatever your capacity whether you are a friend or otherwise, you have to go under. That has been the fate of all those who have been associated with that particular type of "ism." We know what is happening to Tito. We also know for six weeks the Chinese Communist Leader had to struggle in order to be able to secure treaty terms and after he got them, we know how hard the bargain was struck. Now, there is another difficulty facing us. The difficulty is what we heard from the hon. the Home Minister two days ago with regard to Communist trouble in this country. I am asking, is it possible to suppress Communists at home and to be friendly with those outside? I submit it will be living in a paradise which certainly does not belong to wisemen. The question, therefore, is such which in my opinion deserves serious and immediate consideration. I would go no further than this and leave it in the hands of those who, I know, will be able to tackle this problem cleverly. Our foreign Minister though not a Machiavellian in any sense has been able to achieve a stature in the international field which I have no doubt will stand well in the interests of the country.

Before I conclude my speech I would like to remind this House of

the very well-established fact that during the last two great wars the neutrality of the strong is an asset and that of the weak and unprepared a liability and that is my contention for India to get prepared and quickly too.

Shri Goenka (Madras): May I request the hon. the Prime Minister to answer a query, which has arisen out of the speech of the hon. Minister Without Portfolio. He said that it was in pursuance of the policy adopted by the Government of India that troops have not been sent to Korea, whereas Shri B. N. Rau had stated in the Security Council that we were not in a position to do so and this was also hinted at times by the hon. the Prime Minister. This is a question to which I would like the hon. the Prime Minister to reply.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I may perhaps deal with my hon. friend's query first of all. What we have been stating has been that our whole defence organization has been built up and is looked upon as a defence organization and not from the point of view of service in distant theatres of war. Therefore, if any considerable use is made of it, it would completely upset that organization and it would not be of any particular use distantly, but obviously that does not prevent us if we so chose to send token forces if that will not come in the way of any particular organization. We can always send token forces, without making any military difference. We did not, however, send any token forces on this occasion because of a variety of reasons, because we are not quite sure how this war may develop and because of other matters of war connected with Korea and all these things. As I said it made no difference actually. It was only a gesture and it would have been a gesture which might have embarrassed us and other parties in case of other developments in particular directions.

A great deal has been said in the course of the last few days on this

subject. With your permission, I shall only refer to two or three points, taking them by themselves. First of all there has been a great deal of insistence laid on this partition of Korea. My hon. friend Dr. Mookerjee spoke eloquently about it a great deal and said that we must insist on the Union of Korea and, I believe, he finally said that our policy should be: "We have got to tell these powers this and that and our slogan should be a United Korea". To begin with nobody that I am aware of has ever proposed anything but a United Korea. In fact if I may read out to you how this so-called partition was looked upon in the beginning, it was completely artificial. So artificial, indeed, you will be surprised to know that this 38 parallel not only cuts across provinces, districts but even cuts across towns in the middle of it. It is just an imaginary theoretical line; this is a line between two armies. It was ultimately so that even towns and villages were cut into two bits. It was not a reality except the reality of military necessity. The two armies were marching and they wanted some line which would indicate where to stop so that there should be no conflict. Here is what in March 1947 the Assistant Secretary of the United States said:

"The line of demarkation was intended to be temporary and only to fix responsibility between the United States and the U.S.S.R. for carrying out the Japanese surrender. Nevertheless now nearly 18 months later this artificial and temporary line still stands like a stone-wall against the unification of Korea."

That is to say nobody has tried to partition Korea. It has been nobody's policy to do it, certainly not the Korean, not the United States policy and presumably not the U.S.S.R.'s policy but owing to various set of circumstances, which really have little to do with Korea, but which have to do with the wider interests and conflicts of great

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 powers, they came into touch at a certain point, for spheres of influence etc., that line became a dividing line for the time being. It has nothing to do with dividing Korea as such. It was an unhappy and, as was thought, a temporary consequence. Even now, it is nobody's policy that Korea should be divided. But, then, it is Korea's misfortune that it has come in the way of other interests and other powers and therefore Korea's interests suffer because of that. Not that anybody wants that Korea's interests should suffer; but it is only unfortunate.

Dr. Mookerjee advised us to have a straight policy and to tell these big powers to get out and to have a united Korea. That sounds very fine and very brave like many other things that are said in this country, often repeatedly, whether in regard to Bengal or other parts of India. But, fine and brave as it sounds, it is mostly sound with little reality in it. What is the point, I ask this honourable House, in India going about telling other great powers of the world to do this and do that, as if we are in command, and as if we can control the destinies of the world and destinies of other people. It is, if I may say so, not a strong man's attitude, but a weak man's attitude, who can do nothing at all but talk. We are a responsible Government. What we say, I imagine, we intend to work up to. Therefore we do not say much. Therefore, yesterday, in this House, I said as little as I possibly could. I do not wish to advise these people, much less to issue directions to these great powers. I am not strong enough in any sense. I am not for the moment even talking about material strength. It is desirable if I had it. That would add weight to my advice. But, I am sorry to say that I am not strong enough even morally to put forward that claim and advise the world. We have in India advised others sufficiently; but we forget that we have to advise ourselves also occasionally and act up to that advice. I have not the moral stature yet to do that. If I

have any moral stature, it is not due to me, or, with all respect, to this honourable House; but it is due to those who have departed, who have left their moral stature for us. So, what is the good of our talking in this way, advising the world and issuing directions just as sometimes I find my enthusiastic friends, some Students Congress or Youth League and others passing resolutions advising the world what it should be like, advising this country to do something or that country to do something else. That kind of thing is good enough for a Students debating society. It is not good enough for a responsible Chamber dealing with realities at a very dangerous moment in the world's history. This kind of ordering about has no reality about it. We have to advance warily, step by step, and avoiding, if I may say so, casting blame on other countries. I ventured to point out that it is easy to make a list of the errors and omissions and commissions of other countries just as it is easy or easier to make a longer list of the errors and sins of our country or Government. But, even though it might be easy to make that list, it does not help to point out the errors of other nations. It may produce some self-complacency in us, some sense of self-righteousness which is not justified. It is a dangerous thing. It leads us to think not of what we have to do; but we begin to think of what others should do all the time. That, if I may say so, with all humility is one of the great weaknesses of our people that we are always advising our neighbour what he should do, not doing our duty ourselves. Each person advises his neighbour; the neighbour advises his neighbour. We as a country advise other countries. What we are to do in our country, whether it is the food situation or any other situation, we advise each other as to what should be done. It does matter much if we do it in regard to the domestic problems. But, it matters still more if in this international context we set about advising other countries what they should do and telling them that they have sinned

here and sinned there. No doubt, they have sinned. But, still how does it help, except to create ill-will and irritation at a moment of excitement and passion, to close their minds to what we say and to close our minds as to what they say?

There has been some talk about Dollar imperialism and the like. Again, I felt that it is easy to talk about these matters at length here. But, it would be easier and perhaps more profitable to talk of the great services, of the great achievements of the other nations and to learn something from them so that we might make ourselves great, rather than point out something else which we consider bad or not so good. Take the United States of America. Of course, the Dollar is a great force there. It is the Almighty Dollar as it is called. Of course, they have tremendous financial and economic resources. They have an expending economy; they are bursting out like youthful people, exercising their power in right ways and wrong ways: anyhow, youthful ways. It is easy to find fault with them. Look at the other picture of a nation which has tremendous achievements to its credit. It has built itself up. We did not help them to build themselves up. Nor can you say that any wide exploitation has helped the United States of America to grow up. You might say that of the colonial countries of Europe. The Industrial Revolution in England was helped tremendously by the original, if I may say so, loot from India. True. Nevertheless, if the British people went ahead, it was due to their great genius, hard work, organisation and discipline and a hundred fine qualities. We do not talk about those qualities; but we talk of the fact that because of our weaknesses, they came and conquered India, controlled India and profited by their stay in India. Then, we blame them for it while the blame is ours for our failures, stupidity, factions, disruptions in our country. I was talking about America. Look at their tre-

mendous achievements. Their achievement is amazing. It is a great country. It is very easy for you to find constructive peace forces at play in that country. It is also easy to find other forces. It is a mighty country with all kinds of living currents, currents for war, currents for peace. You can pick and choose what you like. You remember that a certain lady came to India many years ago and wrote a book, which was largely true, largely untrue, which Mahatma Gandhi described as a drain Inspector's report. It is not so much a question of truth of that particular report. I think it was largely untrue. Certainly it gave a wrong picture. But, this business of our trying to find fault with other countries and thereby justifying ourselves, as if we are more virtuous than others, seems to me not only bad, but dangerous: dangerous because it prevents us from looking at our faults. I have not the least fear of any Dollar imperialism of the United States of America. I say, there are in that country all kinds of forces including forces of Dollar imperialism. I do not deny that. There are also other forces, constructive forces, beneficent forces to the world and all these things. I am not afraid of Dollar imperialism; certainly not of the United Kingdom or any other country. What I am afraid of is our sitting complacently in our house, doing nothing and expecting things to happen for us. I think it is lacking in charity—if I may say so, it is in bad form—apart from lacking in truth, because if you lay too much stress on one particular aspect of something and not on the rest of the picture, you produce a distorted picture. It is lacking in charity.

Here, we talk about the Korean affair and the decisions of the United Nations in regard to Korea, and North Korean aggression. The Americans have sent their young men to fight and die there. These young men are not a party to the Dollar diplomacy or any other intrigue of high policy. They are fighting, I have no doubt, for what they imagine to be in further-

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ance of the U.N.'s or their own country's efforts in the right direction. Whether it is right or wrong, you may argue. But just for us sitting comfortably at home, either to criticise them or their country, or for the matter of that, the opposite party, I say, it is not just good enough. It does not become a responsible assembly to do that. It is a very important and a difficult problem. I make bold to say that there are very few people anywhere in the world, in the United States or in the U.S.S.R., very few people who want war. I am quite certain that there is hardly a soul in Western Europe who thinks of war except with extreme horror because the results in Western Europe of a world war would be too terrible to contemplate. It is not a matter for speechifying. It affects each individual home there, whether that home will survive or not. And we talk lightly of war because as a matter of fact we have had no experience of it, except regarding in newspapers, mostly. In the United States or anywhere else, I have no doubt that there is hardly a handful of people who might like war for war's sake. But the vast majority of the people want peace. They hate the idea of war, because war means ultimately their sons or husbands or brothers going to war and possibly being killed in war. So also in the U.S.S.R. But owing to certain facts, certain developments, may be the follies of statesmen or if you like the follies of those who control these financial imperialisms, call them what you like, we get into a more and more panicky state; we get into a tangle and become helpless to get out of it. Here we are in this tangle. The future historian can sit down over this matter and say this lead to this and that lead to the other. But for the moment it is not of much use. Though everyone wants peace, men get frightened, they come into conflict, they kill each other and destroy the world. It is an extraordinary state and presents a tremendous problem. On the one side there is the passionate desire for

peace and there is no doubt about that. But there are people who have the belief that something might happen to destroy what they stand for and so they are full of fear, and say, let us arm ourselves, let us prepare ourselves, and let us fight to prevent that very thing from happening. And so in spite of the passionate desire for peace, we function for war, go to war and destroy peace. Now, that is an extraordinary contradiction, and I do not know how it is possible to get out of that vicious circle. And India cannot by herself do much, no country can do much, except possibly, if she is fortunate enough to just touch some kind of live wire, if you like, which sets various currents in men's minds and thus divert people's attention; their minds are ready to receive it, because they want peace. They may look in a slightly different direction and themselves move in that direction. We cannot push them in any direction. We can only perhaps do something which makes them think occasionally. That is all we can do. And I do submit that was the purpose of the recent action of our Government in making a personal appeal to Marshal Stalin and Mr. Dean Acheson, that was the whole purpose of it. If it had succeeded in inducing those governments to take some action that would have been a wonderful thing, not wonderful for us, but rather wonderful for the world. But even if it did not succeed in doing that, I do submit that it was a good thing to do and the result is good, not bad. It is good because in a mounting war fever, when people's minds were becoming embittered all over the world, suddenly they were made to think, they were made to stop for a moment and think of something else. It is possible that some of them became rather angry at India. But I do not mind that anger. I can understand it and I do not mind it in the least. But we wanted them to think; that takes time; and when they think there is the slight possibility of the minds of people turning in a particular direction that might influence state policies. It may not

be a big chance, but we cannot wait for big chances. We have to take every little chance that comes our way.

One thing more I may say in this connection. The word "appeasement" has been bandied about a great deal with regard to this question, that we were out to appease the Soviet, or China or somebody else and therefore we had taken this step. In a foreign newspaper I read that some kind of a secret deal had been arrived at between us and the U.S.S.R. to the effect that the U.S.S.R. had promised its support to our claim for a permanent seat in the Security Council and therefore we had done this. Well, the bait was not very big, but anyhow, there is nothing in it. So far as we are concerned, we are not very anxious to have a permanent seat or any seat in the Security Council. It is a troublesome business. It gives us no joy, to sit in the Security Council. It brings only responsibility, and grave responsibility. But talking about appeasement, we may be right or we may be wrong in regard to a particular policy. Obviously that is a matter of judgment. But for any person to think that we have the frame of mind that is usually associated with appeasement, shows a strange lack of knowledge of our past background. I say this because for the last over thirty years we have been functioning in a peculiar set up in India. It was a set up where we were continuously in conflict with a great imperial power, and we developed or tried to develop under our great Leader, a mixture of two rather contradictory qualities. He had them, they were not contradictory in him, to us they appeared to be so. One was always to be willing to compromise with the enemy, always to have your hand outstretched, but at the same time always to stand firm for what we stood for, never to move from the basic principle. Do not haggle about small matters, find out what your basic thing is and stand for it to the bitter end; but stand for it smilingly and with hand outstretched. If year after year, we

stood by that decision, then it is hardly likely that in the afternoon of our lives we are likely to change now, and more especially in matters which are of enormous importance to the world.

This talk of appeasement does not show a very clear understanding of how our minds work. When we take up a certain policy, it may be right or wrong, other people should try at least to understand the motive that lies behind that policy. Try to convince us that it is wrong, but to tell us that we are appeasers makes not the slightest difference to anybody.

May I also mention another thing. I saw in a newspaper today—I think it was message of a news agency from the U.S.A.—something to the effect that I was making another effort at 5 P.M. mediation. May I deny that completely. There has been no such question. As I said, at no time did I consider this matter of mediation as such, or this business of being a mediator or offering mediation. What we have suggested, at first diplomatically and later in the personal appeal, was not mediation. We have suggested a step for which we had been asking for months and months. We have suggested that because we thought that it would ease the situation.

There is a certain confusion in people's minds. Our proposal that the people's government of China should be accepted and taken into the United Nations was something which is entirely apart from the Korean question. We have been trying for that for the last eight months. So it stood by itself and if we propose it we propose it on its own merits. Certainly and in that sense it is unconnected with the Korean situation.

In another sense it is connected as every thing else is connected, which is happening contemporaneously. Whatever step one takes has a reaction on something else. Undoubtedly we thought that if China goes there a new atmosphere will be created in the Security Council and the United

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Nations Organisation for the discussion of all outstanding problems and for the consideration of the Korean problem.

So far as the Korean problem is concerned our views have been stated in our acceptance of the United Nations resolution that there has been aggression and it should be met and resisted. Obviously if our proposal in regard to China had been accepted by other powers the next step for us, in so far as it lay in us, was to see that the United Nations resolution is given effect to still further and in a better way. So that, while those matters were apart, that is the recognition of China and the Korean question, yet one affects the other and naturally they had to be seen in the context of each other. It was not that the question of China was raised by us as a set off against anything or in a spirit of bargaining. It was an independent proposition to create a better atmosphere to deal with these questions.

There is a great deal of talk about neutrality. Now I do submit that the way this word is used is completely beside the point. We are accused of having left the path we have followed thus far, because we have ceased to be neutral. I want to make it perfectly clear that at no time have we been neutral and at no time do we propose to be neutral. What does this business of neutrality mean? As I said, normally speaking, neutrality is a word that has been used in war time. Those countries that are not belligerents are neutral. The word is not used in peace time except when in people's minds peace and war become one and they become so confused that they talk in military terms even in peace time. Perhaps it has happened now for sometime past because military terms are used as if there was a war going on.

Therefore, normally the question of neutrality would arise only when there is a conflict between two parties. It may be said, of course, that there has been what is called a 'cold

war', a conflict of ideologies or power blocs, whatever you like to call it. True, and it is said "You did not take sides in that and therefore you were neutral." You may say that. But even in regard to that when you say you are neutral that is a policy of not doing anything. Our policy was, as I stated, not committing ourselves to follow a certain line beforehand. Suppose there are two power blocs; if I am neutral that itself is a commitment, that I will not do this or that. I refuse to bind myself. The whole essence of our policy is independence of action, that is to say at any moment we decide for ourselves what is best in our interests and in the interests of world peace, whatever our ideals or objectives may be. We do not say from now that in the future we will not do this or that and make a long list of "NOTS", as might be the case if said that we are permanently neutral. It has no meaning except a permanent retirement from public affairs, a kind of national *Sanyasa*. No country can do that and certainly we have no desire to retire from the world or public affairs. To some extent we have tried to the best of our ability to keep ourselves out of entanglements, because our capacity is limited, because of our own problems. In spite of that we get more and more entangled, because, as Shri Rajagopalachari said, we cannot get rid of the fact of the inherent position of India. Inherently, historically, geographically and in the political context of the world today, in Asia and elsewhere we have to shoulder that burden in foreign affairs and international matters. So that neutrality, so far as we are concerned, means an independent policy without alignment with any particular line adopted by other powers, which means ultimately your carrying out what others say to you in future. That we do not propose to do. But in future if circumstances do warrant we shall support this policy or that as the country may choose. So I should like to make this point clear to this House and the country about our neutrality, because there is so much

confusion and vagueness about it and it surprises me when I am told that you have left your policy of neutrality. I have never had it, much less have I left it.

There is one rather curious argument raised. Some one said that because we have not recognised either North or South Korea, therefore apparently the consequence followed that they do not exist for us. Hence no aggression has taken place and nothing is happening there. If so, why this debate and why have hon. Members spoken. We are reaching into the upper regions of metaphysics. But the fact that one does not recognise a country in the political sense does not mean that the country does not exist. It is there, very much so, and it does not mean that aggression cannot take place, if we do not recognise North and South Korea. The question of recognising either North or South Korea does not arise.

Normally, we ought to have recognised South Korea in the sense that it was a kind of a child of the United Nations. We did not recognise it because we felt that all this business was petrifying the division of Korea. And the more recognition was given to it the more South Korea became petrified and North Korea became petrified and we felt this arrangement cannot and should not endure. Therefore we did not recognise it. Again, our not recognising it probably did not make any basic difference to the situation. It was a gesture that we were looking forward to the unification of Korea. As a matter of fact, the United Nations Commission on Korea was sitting at Seoul and one of our men was a member of it.

So the fact is undoubted that aggression took place and once we admit aggression, whatever the justification—and I may say there might be justification—but once you admit aggression, immediately you get out of that body of law called international law which is so fragile that it breaks up, it tumbles over at a step almost. We have to deal with what

are called sovereign nations, recognising no law but their own good will. Gradually, some body of international law, international convention grows up. The United Nations grows up, and we criticise it because it is not strong enough. Mr. Shiva Rao compared it to the leaky huts of the refugees here somewhere in Delhi. It is all very well to say so, but we are trying to build that up gradually. Every strain breaks up that fragile structure of international law. And if aggression takes place and we permit it and we talk in big terms either about its initial justification or about dollar imperialism and red imperialism and all that, trying to cover up a simple fact of aggression of one State over another—or call it anything you like, civil war if you like,—the simple fact is that one present existing—if you like, temporary—State committed aggression over another State, (you can look up in the dictionary and see whether that is the correct definition or not), if you try to cover it up it is a dangerous thing because then that evil leads to another evil. Today it may be a small State, tomorrow it may be a big State and then it is much more difficult, of course, to deal with big States. Therefore, you must recognise aggression, therefore we must give our vote against it, therefore we must resist it. Resist it, yes. In resisting it there is always this difficulty of over-resisting it or resisting it in the wrong way thereby producing a complication, the simple issue being complicated. And what I am troubled about is this, that instead of the United Nations and the great countries of the world talking about this Korean matter in its Korean context, they are always talking in a much wider context, firstly, taking a rather fatalistic view of a world war which I think is not justified, and, secondly, always thinking of it in terms of world conflict. I myself mentioned yesterday that when we think of this Korean war we forget Korea entirely and we rather see the shadows lying upon it of other giants. That is perfectly true, but

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If we emphasise those shadows all the time, if we talk about them, we create that very atmosphere which brings about that world war. We may be very logical, we may be very intelligent and intellectual and analytical and all that, but that does not help. If you are run over by a car while you are walking, all the logic in the world showing that you were on the right side of the road would not be of help. And we want to prevent the world being run over at the present moment by, if I may say so with extreme respect, a large number of people, well, whose sanity is not what it should be and who are behaving not as sane human beings. Vast numbers of people, because of this passion that moves them lose all sense of perspective and therefore tend to act wrongly. So, it is no good to be logical and analytical and all that. You have to be clear as to what your objective is and then you have to think what are the best means of achieving that objective or at any rate in helping others to achieve that objective because we cannot achieve it ourselves. If our objective is avoidance of a world war, then let us remember that, let us for the moment forget all the other talk that we have been indulging in.

At the present moment the basic urge for war is, I suppose, fear. It is an extraordinary thing how fear has gripped people great nations. And the bigger the nation the more afraid it is and the more it thinks in terms of somehow being encircled by some other nations, till we come to this that no nation can live safely in the world unless that nation includes the world because otherwise it might be encircled by some other nation. That is, ultimately you must have a world State, whatever the internal character of that State, because otherwise there is always fear of encirclement. An extraordinary situation!

This House certainly knows what our general attitude is towards these prevailing ideologies. We call ourselves a democratic country, a democratic Parliament, a democratic Constitution etc. We have expressed ourselves against non-democratic methods against authoritarian methods of Government against what I would call the monolithic State, and so on and so forth. I don't like to go about criticising other countries, and I don't wish to say anything about them, but it is clear that so far as we are concerned we don't approve of these tendencies which lead to complete imperialism and a form of government which is certainly not political democracy whatever else it might be. We don't want it, we don't like it. Oddly enough, many people who talk in terms of civil liberty and demand it from us in this country, often admire conditions existing in other countries which have no relation to civil liberty at all. It is those people who clamour most for civil liberty. I don't mind their asking for civil liberty, and I am all in favour of it, and it pains me excessively that civil liberty should be limited in this country. What I was pointing out was that we are not admirers of certain systems of government in other countries and we made that perfectly clear. But that does not mean that we should go about criticising other countries even though, if I may say so they criticise us. An hon. Member read out some press extracts to that effect. I know that. Nevertheless, we have refrained from replying in kind, because it does no good. Similarly, take the United States of America. I referred to their very great achievements, and I think we can learn a very great deal from them. It was a great adventure for me to go there last year and to find the hospitality and warm regard and the generous nature of the people there. I found also things—to be quite frank with you which I did not like: tendencies—things. But surely you do not expect a great country like that to be fashioned

according to your wishes or my wishes. It is a vital country, growing in many directions. I did not like very many things in America, but there it is. I liked many things—very many things—there and I should like our contacts to grow. I am just putting it to you that we try not to approach these problems in the spirit of white and black—I am not talking about the colour of peoples' skins. There is a feeling that there is something white and therefore that thing is absolutely right and there is something that is black and therefore that thing is absolutely wrong. The world is neither black nor white. Neither are we. We are all rather grey, with various shades, and this simple reduction to black and white does not help in understanding a problem or in solving it. It may be that it takes away from the firm conviction which grows from faith in blackness and whiteness. Possibly it does. Anyhow, in our political policy and in political affairs, we try to frame our policy in so far as we understand things, judging each event and considering it from the point of view of general peace and prosperity of mankind. We completely realise that there are grave dangers in Asia and elsewhere of countries losing their liberty in many ways—whether it is the economic liberty or whether it is the political liberty—under the guise of freedom. We realise that. We are not blind to this fact. But what we do submit is that the way often adopted by some countries to meet those dangers is a way which ultimately encourages those very dangers. So we differ in the method of approach. It is, I think, our great Poet Rabindranath Tagore who once said that you do not open a lock with a hammer; you open it with a key devised for the lock, and certainly you do not open the lock of man's hearts with hammers. There is an idea abroad that you can solve problems with hammers, bayonets and bombs and all that. I am more convinced of this than anything else that in the ultimate analysis no problem is solved by the bomb and the bayonet and tanks.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I shall now put the amendments to the vote of the House.

The question is:

“That in the motion—

(i) for the words ‘This House approves’ the words ‘In the opinion of this House’ be substituted; and

(ii) the following be added at the end:

‘are not in conformity with our often repeated professions of neutrality and non-alignment with any power bloc’.”

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is:

“That in the motion—

(i) for the word ‘approves’ the words ‘considers that’ be substituted; and

(ii) the following be added at the end:

‘has committed the country to a policy which would inevitably involve the country into far-reaching entanglements with conflicting imperialisms’.”

The motion was negatived.

Prof. S. L. Saksena (Uttar Pradesh): I beg to withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.

Shri T. Husain (Bihar): I also beg to withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.

✓ **Shri Syamnandan Sahaya:** I beg to withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad: I would like my amendment to be put to the vote of the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

“That in the motion for the words ‘action taken thereafter’, the following be substituted:

‘action already taken thereafter and is of opinion that to implement their policy, the Government should send a token army to oppose the aggression in Korea.’”

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I now put

the original motion moved by the hon. the Prime Minister. The question is:

“This House approves the policy of the Government of India in regard to the Korean situation as stated in the announcement dated the 29th June, 1950, and the action taken thereafter.”

The motion was adopted.

The House then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Monday the 7th August 1950.
