

Wednesday, 28th March, 1951



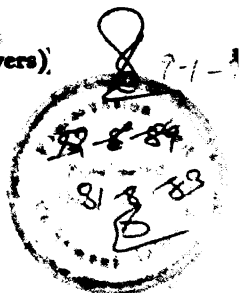
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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part I—Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

VOLUME VI, 1951



(5th February to 31st March, 1951)

Third Session (Second Part)

of the

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1951

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

2619

2620

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Wednesday, 28th March, 1951

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

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

RIVER VALLEY PROJECTS

***2574. Pandit M. B. Bhargava:** (a) Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state the total amount spent in connection with the various river valley projects in hand in India which are being done by the Central Government or under their auspices, and the progress of each so far?

(b) By which time is each of the said projects likely to be completed and what is the estimated amount to be spent thereon up to the stage of completion?

(c) What benefit is each of them likely to confer by way of irrigational facilities and generation of hydro-electric power?

(d) What technical personnel has been imported from outside the country in connection with these projects?

(e) Is such staff on temporary or permanent basis?

(f) What is the amount of annual expenditure incurred on such technical personnel?

The Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) to (f). Four statements giving the required information are placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix XIX, annexure No. 33.]

With your permission, Sir, I should like to add that in Statement IV the last item is left blank just mentioning '2 foremen'. Their names are not given. They are Messrs. E. R. Lebre and G. R. Zorzi. By nationality, the list consists
3 P.S.D.

of 9 Americans, one German, one Hungarian and 2 Italians. At the present moment, there are only 2 Americans, one Hungarian and two Italians with us. The others have all gone back.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: May I know in how many projects the original estimates were revised and what has been the extent of increase in the revised expenditure?

Shri Sri Prakasa: The statement that I have laid on the Table of the House gives as much information as is available at the present moment. I have not got all the revised figures.

Shri Chaliha: May I know if there is any saving in the revised estimates?

Shri Sri Prakasa: Hardly likely. All estimates happen to go up.

Shri Kesava Rao: May I know what are the river valley projects which are under execution now?

Shri Sri Prakasa: The statements contain all the information that the hon. Member wants. It is a long list. If you so direct, Sir, I shall read it.

Mr. Speaker: No.

Shri Sidhva: May I know when the D. V. C. is likely to be started? -

Mr. Speaker: I think these questions about river valley projects have been put and answered so many times.

Shri Sidhva: But this question was never answered.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

SMUGGLING OF GOLD

***2576. Dr. M. M. Das:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) the various routes by which contraband gold has been smuggled into India during the year 1950-51; and

(b) the total number of Indians and foreigners involved and arrested in the smuggling?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) A statement pertaining to the period 1st April 1950 to 31st December 1950 is laid on the Table of the House. [See Appendix XIX, annexure No. 34.]

(b) Information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House when complete.

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know what other punishment in addition to confiscation of the smuggled gold is meted out to the smugglers?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: The import into India of any gold is restricted under Section 8(1) of the Foreign Exchange Regulations Act and under Section 8(3) thereof any importation made in contravention of the provisions of Section 8(1) is regarded as infringing the provisions of Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act, attracting thereby the penal provisions of Section 167(8) of the latter Act. In appropriate cases the Reserve Bank can also launch a prosecution under Section 23 of the Foreign Exchange Regulations Act.

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know whether any separate account is available in the Ministry of the gold which has been smuggled from the French and Portuguese Settlements in India?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: An account can only be maintained of the gold which has been caught while it is being smuggled and has been seized.

Dr. M. M. Das: I also mean the same thing. About undetected gold nobody can say: I know that.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: We do have an account. But I am sorry I do not have it here.

Shri Rathanaswamy: Is it a fact that this art of smuggling gold into India has attracted even foreign diplomats and if so, how many diplomats and ex-diplomats are involved in the smuggling of gold into India?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Dwivedi: Are there some cases of smuggling of gold from Pakistan to India and if so, what is the amount of gold so smuggled?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I am afraid that cannot be answered. If he means gold smuggled and cases detected, I believe there have been a few cases, but they are not very common—and not as common as the smuggling of gold into India from foreign countries.

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know under what head this smuggled gold and its

value are appropriated in the Indian Exchequer?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I think it is included as credits under the head Currency. If it is below standard, then it is sold in the market and the proceeds are credited to Miscellaneous Receipts, but if it is standard or above standard it is sent to the Mint and is part of the receipts under Currency.

CULTURAL RELATIONS COUNCIL

*2577. **Dr. M. M. Das:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state the expenditure incurred upto now for the Cultural Relations Council?

مستتر آف ایجوکیشن (مولانا آزاد):

انتہین کونسل فور کلچرل ریلیشنس کے کاموں پر اس وقت تک ایک لاکھ چوبیس ہزار ایک سو سو ستتر روپیہ خرچہ ہوا ہے۔

[The Minister of Education (Maulana Azad): The expenditure incurred for the Indian Council for Cultural Relations upto now is Rs. 1,24,167.]

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know the amount spent during the current year and the amount for which provision has been made for the next year for this Council?

مولانا آزاد: ان دونوں رقموں کو

انگ کر کے میں ابھی نہیں بتا سکتا۔

[Maulana Azad: I cannot give separate figures for these two items.]

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know the purposes for which this Council was formed and the work done by this Council up to date?

مولانا آزاد: کونسل نے بہت سے

کام اپنے سامنے رکھے ہیں۔ کچھ شروع

کر دئے ہیں، کچھ شروع ہو رہے ہیں۔

ایک کام اس نے یہ کیا ہے باہر کے

جن ممالکوں میں ابھی تک سلسلہ

زبان کی تعلیم کا کوئی انتظام نہیں

ہوا ہے، وہاں کی یونیورسٹیوں میں

سلسلہ کی چیر قائم کرنا اور اسکے لئے

پروگرام بہم پہنچانا۔ چنانچہ تہذیبی

یونیورسٹی میں وہ پچھلے برس ایک پروفیسر بھیج چکی ہے - وہ وہاں کام کر رہا ہے اور اس کا کام عام طور پر پسند کیا گیا ہے - سنسکرت کی ایک لائبریری بھی وہاں کھولی جا رہی ہے اور اس میں بھی کونسل ان کی مدد کر رہی ہے - اس کے علاوہ مثل ایسٹ کے لئے ایک کوارٹری عربی میگزین اور ایک انگلش اور پرشین میگزین نکالا گیا ہے جو ان ملکوں میں بہت مقبول ہوا ہے - اس کے علاوہ کونسل نے خود اپنی ایک لٹریچر بھی قائم کر لی ہے اس کو ترقی دے رہی ہے - کونسل کوشش کر رہی ہے کہ ساؤتھ ایسٹ ایشیا کا سیکشن بھی کھول دیا جائے -

[Maulana Azad: The Council has prepared many schemes, some of them have already been undertaken and some are being undertaken. One of the tasks undertaken by it is to make arrangements for the teaching of Sanskrit in such universities of foreign countries where no arrangements for Sanskrit studies already exist and to send Professors of Sanskrit there. In pursuance of that Scheme last year we sent a professor to Tehran University, who is teaching Sanskrit there, and his work has generally been appreciated. A Sanskrit Library is also being opened there. In this matter too the Council is helping them. Besides this a quarterly magazine in Arabic language and another in Persian and English is being published for the Middle East countries and this has been very much liked in those countries. Apart from this, the Council has set up a Library of its own and is extending it. The Council is also contemplating to start a South East Asia section.]

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know whether an Indian Dance Party was sent to Egypt by this Council on the occasion of the India Festival in Cairo and the whole expense was borne by this Council?

مولانا آزاد: ہاں - پارٹی بھیجی گئی تھی جس کے خرچے کا ایک حصہ

ایجنٹ کی گورنمنٹ نے دیا تھا اور ایک حصہ انڈین کونسل نے -

[Maulana Azad: Yes, such a party was sent. A part of the expenditure was borne by the Government of Egypt and a part by the Council itself.]

श्री के० सी० शर्मा : क्या वजीर साहब यह बतलायेंगे कि इस ने हिन्दुस्तानी तम्मुदुन और तहजीब पर कितनी किताबें लिखी हैं ?

[Shri K. C. Sharma: Will the hon. Minister be pleased to state how many books, the Council has arranged to be written on Indian Culture and Civilization?]

مولانا آزاد: میرے آنریبل دوست کو معلوم ہونا چاہئے کہ اس کونسل کا کام شروع ہوئے ابھی صرف تیس برس ہوا ہے اور تیس برس کے اندر اس سے یہ امید نہیں کی جا سکتی کہ وہ ہر طرح کے کام انجام دیدیگی -

[Maulana Azad: My hon. friend must know that this Council was set up only one and half years ago. The Council cannot be expected to perform every sort of work within this short period of one and half years.]

Shri A. C. Guha: Has this Council established any cultural contacts with the Buddhist countries of South East Asia?

مولانا آزاد: میں نے ابھی کہا کہ کونسل اب بہت جلد ساؤتھ ایسٹ ایشیا کا سیکشن کھولنا چاہتی ہے - اس سیکشن کا مقصد یہ ہوگا کہ ایشیا کے اس حصے کے بودھت ملکوں سے کلچرل تعلقات بڑھائے -

[Maulana Azad: I have just now stated that the Council is contemplating to open a South East Asia Section very soon. The object of this Section would be to develop cultural relations with the Buddhist countries of this part of Asia.]

Shri A. C. Guha: Is it an autonomous body or a Department of the Government?

مولانا آزاد: نہیں یہ گورنمنٹ کا
تعمیرات گننت نہیں ہے۔ یہ ایک انڈیپنڈنٹ
باقی ہے۔ گورنمنٹ اس کو گرانٹ
دیتی ہے۔

[Maulana Azad: No. It is not a Government Department. It is altogether an independent body. The Government gives grant to it.]

Dr. M. M. Das: In relation to the Indian Dance Party sent to Cairo, may I know the amount of expenditure that was incurred?

مولانا آزاد: ٹھیک رقم تو میں
ابھی نہیں بتا سکتا۔ لیکن میرا
خیال ہے کہ دس سے پندرہ ہزار روپیہ
کے اندر خرچ ہوا ہوگا۔

[Maulana Azad: I cannot mention the exact amount at present. But I think the expenditure incurred would be between ten to fifteen thousands of rupees.]

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH ORGANISATION

*2578. Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: (a) Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state what work is being done by the Psychological Research Organisation created by the Ministry of Defence and what does that cost the Government per year?

(b) How many Psychologists are working under this scheme?

(c) Are they all Indians?

(d) How many commissioned officers have been recruited under the advice of these specialists?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Major-General Himatsinhji): (a) (i) The main duty of the Psychological Research Organisation is to review continuously the working of the Selection Boards in order to ensure that the tests applied to the candidates are sound and their interpretation is in accordance with the findings of Psychological Research. It is responsible for the training of personnel employed on the selection work in the three Services. There are various other problems which it can and is, in fact, investigating.

(ii) The cost is roughly Rs. 1½ lakhs per year.

(b) Six.

(c) Yes.

(d) Since this Organisation was set up, 8,137 candidates have been tested by the Selection Boards of whom 2,118 have been finally selected. It is not correct to say that the selection has been made only on the advice of the specialists in the Psychological Research Organisation. The selection of officers is made on the combined results of a written examination conducted by the Union Public Service Commission and the tests applied by the Selection Boards. The Selection Boards, again, consist partly of Psychologists and partly of Service Officers. It is obvious, therefore, that all relevant factors are taken into consideration at the time of selection.

[Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: May I know, Sir, whether there is any arrangement to verify whether the qualities that are assessed at the time of selection are really present in the candidates?]

Major-General Himatsinhji: The Selection Board is there to assess the qualities.

Mr. Speaker: The question is what principle the Selection Boards adopt to find out what they are expected to find out.

Major-General Himatsinhji: May I state the history of the Selection Boards to give the reasons why we adopted this system?

Mr. Speaker: That does not appear to be necessary.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Is there any process by which it is found out afterwards whether the qualities on the basis of which the selection was made are really present in the candidates?

Major-General Himatsinhji: One important test which can be applied in this case is the percentage of rejection of selected candidates during the course of training after selection. By adoption of this method the percentage of wastage has been reduced, as the following will show.

Before the scientific selection procedure was adopted in 1943, the wastage was 39.8 per cent. In the latter part of 1943 (September to December) it was 34.9 per cent. Since we adopted this method, the wastage in respect of Emergency Commissions was 22.3 per cent. in 1944, 14.4 per cent. in 1945 and it was 8.8 per cent. in 1946 (January to September).

As regards Regular Commissions, during the first course in December 1946, the wastage was 11.02 per cent. In 1947 (2nd course) it was 7.96 per cent.

cent.; in 1948—6.47 per cent.; in 1949—6.6 per cent. and in 1950—7.3 per cent. In the latter part of 1950, which is the last result, it was 4.1 per cent.

Pandit Munishwar Dutt Upadhyay: Are these candidates kept under observation, before they are selected, with a view to finding out whether the qualities are present in them?

Major-General Himatsinhji: Yes, Sir. We have a scheme by which the candidates are kept under observation. We also try to keep under observation those candidates who fail to come through the selection, but it is a difficult problem to find out where and how they are employed.

Pandit Munishwar Dutt Upadhyay: Is there any course or training of these selection methods?

Major-General Himatsinhji: Yes, Sir. We have a section—the Psychological Research Section—consisting of Dr. Sonan Lal, who is the Chief Psychologist, and five other qualified officers. They train the officers who are put on the selection boards from time to time and they also check their efficiency to see that they maintain up-to-date standards.

Dr. Deshmukh: May I know, Sir, if there are any cases in which the psychological tests have been found inappropriate or unsatisfactory?

Major-General Himatsinhji: Sir, it would be wrong for us to claim that the Psychological Research Organisation or the Selection Boards do not make occasional mistakes. In fact, no human selection machinery could claim to be infallible. It can, however, be claimed with justification that the number of mistakes likely to be made after the application of the psychological method is less.

Mr. Speaker: I think this question was dealt with by the hon. Home Minister on an earlier occasion.

Dr. Deshmukh: Similar question does not necessarily mean similar supplementaries; there are various aspects to the question.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Pandit Kunzru: Is it a fact, Sir, that the present method, whatever its defects, is regarded, not merely by the military authorities but by the candidates themselves, as fairer than the previous test which was limited to an interview lasting for about ten or fifteen minutes?

Major-General Himatsinhji: Yes, Sir. It is testified to by the figures of wastage I have read out.

SCIENTIFIC MAN-POWER COMMITTEE

*2579. **Pandit Munishwar Dutt Upadhyay:** (a) Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state how many stipends and of what amounts have been provided for in pursuance of the recommendation of the Scientific Man-power Committee?

(b) What institutions have been allotted these stipends?

(c) How many stipendiaries have started working under this scheme and in what establishments and subjects?

مستتر آف ایجوکیشن (مولانا آزاد) :

(اے) - سلہ ۱۹۴۹ سے سلہ ۱۹۵۱ تک

۳۲۵ سینئر اور ۳۰۰ جونیئر اسٹائپنڈنس

دئے گئے - سینئر اسٹائپنڈ پیمنٹ انجینئرنگ

اور تکنالوجی کے گریجویٹس کو پریکٹیکل

ٹرینینگ کے لئے دیا گیا ہے اور جونیئر

اسٹائپنڈ پیمنٹ ڈپلوما رکھنے والوں کو

سپہلو اسٹائپنڈ ۱۵۰ روپیہ ماہوار کا

تھا اور جونیئر ۷۵ روپیہ مہینے کا—دونوں

کے لئے مدت دو برس کی رکھی گئی ہے۔

(بی)۔ ایک اسٹیٹمنٹ ہاؤس کی

ٹیبل پر رکھ دیا گیا ہے۔

[See Appendix XIX, annexure No. 35.]

(سی) ۲۱۰ - ایک اسٹیٹمنٹ

ہاؤس کی ٹیبل پر رکھ دیا گیا ہے

جس سے ساری باتیں معلوم ہو جائیں گی۔

[See Appendix XIX, annexure No. 36.]

[The Minister of Education (Maulana Azad): (a) During the years 1949-51, 425 Senior Stipends of the value of Rs. 150 per mensem have been instituted for the post collegiate practical training of graduates in Engineering and Technology and 300 Junior stipends of the value of Rs. 75 per mensem have been instituted for the Diploma holders. The stipends are tenable for a period of two years.

(b) A statement giving the names of educational institutions and the number of stipends allotted to each of the institutions and utilised by them is laid on the Table of the House. (See Appendix XIX, annexure No. 35.)

(c) 521 Stipendiaries have started training in the various establishments. A statement giving subjects of study of the stipendiaries and the establishments where they are at present undergoing training is placed on the Table of the House. (See Appendix XIX, annexure No. 36).

पंडित मुनीश्वर दत्त उपाध्याय : क्या हमारे विश्व विद्यालयों, युनीवर्सिटीयों में कोई इस का प्रबन्ध है कि इस तरह की ट्रेनिंग दी जाये ?

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Are there any arrangements in our colleges and universities to impart such training?]

मौलाना आज़ाद : प्रोटेक्टिवल ट्रेनिंग का

अन्तगम पुनर्विद्यार्थियों में बहुत कम है -
असि लिये ये मदद दिया जायेगा
कुछ मदद हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी के इंजीनियरिंग
क्लास को इस सम्बन्ध में दी जाती है ?

मौलाना आज़ाद : ایک اسٹیٹمنٹ ہاؤس

کی ٹیبل پر رکھ دیا گیا ہے - گو انٹریل
ممبر اس کو دیکھنے کی تکلیف کوارا
کریں گے تو ان کو پوری تفصیل نے ساتھ
جواب مل جائیگا -

[Maulana Azad: A Statement has been placed on the Table of the House. If the hon. Member will take the trouble to study it he will know the details in full.]

पंडित मुनीश्वर दत्त उपाध्याय : क्या

कुछ मदद हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी के इंजीनियरिंग
क्लास को इस सम्बन्ध में दी जाती है ?

[Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Is any aid being given to the Engineering Department of the Hindu University for this purpose?]

मौलाना आज़ाद : ये मदद दिया जायेगा

कुछ मदद हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी के इंजीनियरिंग
क्लास को इस सम्बन्ध में दी जाती है ?
असि लिये ये मदद दिया जायेगा
कुछ मदद हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी के इंजीनियरिंग
क्लास को इस सम्बन्ध में दी जाती है ?
असि लिये ये मदद दिया जायेगा
कुछ मदद हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी के इंजीनियरिंग
क्लास को इस सम्बन्ध में दी जाती है ?

[Maulana Azad: In the universities there is meagre arrangement for the practical training. This is why such help has been given to students, so that they may undergo training for two years in such institutions where the arrangements for such technical training exist.]

पंडित मुनीश्वर दत्त उपाध्याय : क्या

इस तरह की ट्रेनिंग का प्रबन्ध केवल
हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर ही है, या बाहर भी
भेजने का प्रबन्ध है ?

[Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Are these arrangements for imparting such training confined to India alone or arrangements have been made to send the trainees abroad also for this purpose?]

मौलाना आज़ाद : नहीं - अभी तो ये

सर्व हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर ही दिया गया
है -

[Maulana Azad: No, Sir, so far the arrangements for imparting such training have been made in India only.]

Dr. Deshmukh: May I know, Sir, what percentage of the personnel who have been listed in the Scientific Man-Power Committee list have been found employment or considered?

[Maulana Azad: This help has been given to the Students and not to the universities. This can be verified from the Statement whether any help has been given to the students of the Hindu University or not.]

पंडित मुनीश्वर दत्त उपाध्याय : मैं केवल

बनारस हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी के सम्बन्ध में
जानना चाहता हूँ ?

[Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: I only want to know about the Hindu University?]

मौलाना आज़ाद : हाँ - हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी

के विद्यार्थियों को भी मदद दी गयी
है -

[Maulana Azad: Yes. Help has been given to the students of the Hindu University also.]

पंडित मुनीश्वर दत्त उपाध्याय : कितनी ?

[Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: How much?]

مولانا آزاد : تعداد میں نہیں بتا
سکتا - استقامت ملت سے آپکو سارا
حال معلوم ہو جائیگا -

[Maulana Azad: I cannot give the figures. You will know every detail from the Statement.]

LAND REQUISITIONED NEAR PANAGARH

*2580. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) the total acreage of land requisitioned at and near about Panagarh in West Bengal;

(b) the terms and conditions of such requisitioning;

(c) how the land is now utilised and whether any portion has been given back to the old tenants; and

(d) whether any portion has been leased to any outsider—i.e. one not amongst the evicted tenants?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Major-General Himatsinhji): (a) to (c). 2677.13 acres of land were requisitioned. 2210.35 acres have been de-requisitioned leaving 466.78 acres still on requisition. A recurring compensation of Rs. 8970 is paid on the area under requisition. The area is used for the purpose of the Panagarh Ordnance and Engineer Stores Depots.

(d) Yes. A portion of the acquired area was leased out by auction for agricultural purposes to the highest bidder.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know what are the terms for requisitioning? Was it a condition that the lands were to be restored to the original tenants within six months after the cessation of war?

Major-General Himatsinhji: Yes, Sir. Originally the land was requisitioned during the war and at that time it was intended to be for the duration of the war and six months thereafter.

Shri A. C. Guha: What are the number of villages and the number of people involved?

Major-General Himatsinhji: I want notice of the question.

Shri A. C. Guha: A portion of the land was leased out to an outsider. Why could it not have been given to the local tenants, those who have been ousted from the land?

Major-General Himatsinhji: Of the surplus area 482 acres have been let out for agricultural purposes by auc-

tion to the highest bidder who is not one of the evicted tenants. It has since been decided to give preference to the bids of the former tenants if they are above the reserve bid.

Shri A. C. Guha: Was there any notice issued in the papers for that auction?

Mr. Speaker: I think we are going too much into the details.

CONTINGENT FUND

*2581. **Seth Govind Das:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state the amounts under different main heads which have been spent from the contingent fund of 15 crores during the year 1950?

वित्त मंत्री (श्री सी० डी० देशमुख): आकस्मिकता निधि से अग्रिम धन अभी तक नहीं दिया गया है, कारण निधि के स्थापन के पश्चात् भारतीय संसद के अधिवेशन अनेक बार हुए व अनूपूरक अनुदानों की बहुतायत से एवं विध आवश्यकता उपस्थित नहीं हुई।

[**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** No advances have so far been made from the Contingency Fund, the reason being that the Session of the Parliament was held several times after the setting up of the Contingency Fund and on account of the adequacy of supplementary grants no legal necessity arose.]

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या मैं अर्थ मंत्री जी से यह जान सकता हूँ कि इस कोश के धन को विभिन्न भागों में व्यय करने के सम्बन्ध में क्या नीति है ? क्या भिन्न भिन्न सचिवालयों की सिफारिश पर विचार किया जायेगा या अर्थ मंत्री और अर्थ मंत्री जी का सचिवालय ही इस सम्बन्ध में निर्णय करेंगे ?

[**Seth Govind Das:** May I know from the Minister of Finance the policy regarding the spending of money out of this Contingency Fund on the various Departments? Will the recommendations of various Ministries be taken into consideration or will the Minister of Finance and his Ministry alone decide this matter?]

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : निधि से सम्बन्ध रखन वाले विषय या ऐसे

विषय जैसे कि निधि का संरक्षण अथवा उस के आय व व्यय के लिए नियमावली संकलित की जा रही है।

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Rules and regulations for matters pertaining to that Fund or other matters relating to it such as the preservation of the Fund and the income and expenditure of the Fund are being framed.]

सेठ गोविन्द दास : जो नियमावली संकलित की जा रही है क्या वह नियमावली भिन्न भिन्न सचिवालयों के पास विचार के लिए भेजी जायेगी। या इस सम्बन्ध को नियमावली को अर्थ सचिवालय ही तै कर देगा, और यह नियमावली कब तक तै हो जायेगी ?

[Seth Govind Das: Will the rules and regulations which are being framed be sent to the various Ministries for their consideration or will the Finance Ministry alone frame these rules and regulations and by what time these will be ready?]

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : अर्थ सचिवालय से ही इस नियमावली पर निर्णय हो जायेगा।

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh: The rules and regulations will be finalized by the Finance Ministry alone.]

सेठ गोविन्द दास : कब तक हो जायेगा ?

[Seth Govind Das: How long will it take to finalize them?]

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : आशा है कि उस में अधिक समय नहीं लगेगा।

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh: It is expected that it will not take much time.]

IRON

*2582. Shri B. R. Bhagat: Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) whether there have been new finds of iron;

(b) if so, at what places and in what quantity; and

(c) what steps are being taken to explore them?

The Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Shri Sri Prakasa): (a) to (c). The Geological Survey of India report that strictly speaking there have been no new finds of iron-ore in the States comprising the Union of India during the last five years.

The occurrences of iron-ore deposits in Rowhat, Bastar District, Madhya Pradesh; Pipalgaon, Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh; and in the former Sandur State, now a part of Bellary District, Madras, which were known already, but vaguely, without any idea of the quality and quantities present, and therefore without any idea of the possible utility of these deposits to industry, have, however, been surveyed and the work done has produced systematic and detailed data which picks out these deposits as deposits of industrial and economic importance.

Shri T. N. Singh: I want to know whether Government have got any rules in regard to the exploitation of these possible iron mines and deposits by private enterprise vis-a-vis efforts made by the Geological Survey itself and State enterprise.

Shri Sri Prakasa: As I have said in answer to similar questions in the past, it is the business of the State Governments to exploit these resources. We only explore them on behalf of the Centre and put such knowledge as we can garner at the disposal of the States.

श्री द्विवेदी : मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार ने कोई अनुसंधान विन्ध्य प्रदेश के बिजावर तहसील में भी किया है या करने का विचार है जहाँ लोहा पाया जाता है ?

[Shri Dwivedi: I want to know whether the Government have made any survey or intends to do so, of the Bijawar Tehsil of Vindhya Pradesh where iron ore is found?]

Mr. Speaker: I think he put that question a few days back.

Shri Dwivedi: Regarding Bijawar I did not.

Mr. Speaker: It is some other thing now. But the question about Vindhya Pradesh was put.

श्री श्री प्रकाश : अभी तक तो उधर अनुसंधान करने का विचार नहीं हुआ है परन्तु यदि माननीय सदस्य उस सम्बन्ध में कुछ जानकारी रखते हैं और अगर वह

मुझे वह पूरी स्थिति बतलावेंगे तो अवश्य उधर भी विचार किया जायेगा।

[**Shri Sri Prakasa:** It has not yet been decided to carry out survey in that region, but if the hon. Member were to give me the full details the matter will certainly be considered.]

Dr. Deshmukh: Looking to the importance of the exploitation of iron-ore, may I know if the hon. Minister knows by what time the mines discovered and found possible in Madhya Pradesh are likely to begin working?

Shri Sri Prakasa: All that I can say is this that I shall send to the Government of Madhya Pradesh a copy of these question and the answer.

Shri Jaipal Singh: May I know what the iron-ore content of these new discoveries is?

Shri Sri Prakasa: In Orissa, in the district of Gangapur, in Bonai, the estimate is 5,775,000 tons. At another place it is 4,620,000 tons. Still at another place it is 67,500,000 tons. In Madhya Pradesh, in Bastar district, in Rowghat we expect 800,000,000 tons. It is a long list.

Mr. Speaker: He is giving the quantities of ore. What the hon. Member wants is the percentage of iron to the ore. That is what he wants.

Shri Sri Prakasa: Sir, I have not got that information ready at hand.

DELEGATIONS SENT ABROAD

*2583. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) the names of Government delegations sent abroad in the year 1949-50;

(b) the expenses incurred on each of these delegations during this period; and

(c) the purposes of these delegations?

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): (a) to (c). A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [See Appendix XIX, annexure No. 37.]

Shri A. C. Guha: Sir, I have only just now received these big eight sheets and it is not possible for me to go through these things before I can put any question. I would like to suggest that these statements may be sent to our houses along with other parliamentary papers.

Mr. Speaker: About this there has been a discussion more than once in the House and it has been settled that

a list of the answers to which statements are being attached will be at the Notice Office, I believe, about half an hour or twenty minutes—whatever it is—before the question hour starts, and any Member tabling a question and caring to know something about the replies should get at a copy of the statement. It is not possible to send it to the houses of Members.

I may suggest one thing. If he has no time to read it now, it is better that he reads it, studies it and digests it and then table any questions rather than put questions now which may not be to the point at all.

Shri A. C. Guha: There are 115 delegations for which they have given the breakup in this statement. May I know the total expenditure incurred?

Shri Tyagi: The total expenditure incurred on these 115 delegations is to the tune of Rs. 11,31,000.

Shri A. C. Guha: One of the items in the list is that one Indian Delegation went to attend the 32nd session of the International Labour Conference held in Geneva and it cost Rs. 1,08,000. Of course, the purpose is obvious, but no special mention is made.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. He is audibly studying the thing. It is no use putting questions.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know whether there are cases where the delegations who went abroad stayed there longer for their own purposes and that expenditure was met by the Exchequer here?

Shri Tyagi: No such case has been brought to the notice of this Ministry yet.

Shri Rathnaswamy: In the selection of the personnel for various delegations sent to foreign countries, what is the principle followed in choosing the personnel for these delegations?

Mr. Speaker: I think this was explained by the Prime Minister some time back.

Dr. Deshmukh: Has the hon. Minister discovered any cases of officers who have stayed longer outside India than inside India out of these delegations?

Shri Tyagi: If the hon. Member has any information, I will take steps.

Shri A. C. Guha: Was the hon. Minister satisfied that the purposes for which these delegations were sent could not have been realized in a fairly satisfactory way by our embassies, legations or trade commissioners in those countries?

Shri Tyagi: My hon. friend has brought to notice one delegation which cost Rs. 1,08,000. That is the highest expenditure on one Delegation. I would invite the attention of my hon. friend to another item where the expenditure was Rs. 85 and which was the lowest.

Mr. Speaker: His point is entirely different. Was it really necessary to send out all these delegations and whether the work could not be done by embassies.

Shri Tyagi: I have given an instance where a delegation cost only Rs. 85. that delegation was not from here but from the embassy.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I would like to add that each case of delegation is considered first by the Finance Ministry and the Finance Minister himself or the Minister of State and then the concurrence of the Prime Minister is required. After that the case goes before the Cabinet. So, if any objection is to be raised or any question is to be asked as to whether this particular purpose can be discharged by personnel outside, I say that it is always very carefully gone into and this result, therefore, represents the result of a very thorough scrutiny of all these proposals.

ADULTERATION IN FLOUR

*2584. **Shri Balmiki:** Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware that adulteration is going on in flour in Delhi and some other States specially big towns and that the flour of white *jowar* is mixed up with that of wheat flour; and

(b) if so, what steps are taken by Government to stop this?

The Minister of Health (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur): (a) and (b). From the information received from the State Governments except Bombay from whom no reply has yet been received it appears that no adulteration in flour is going on in any State except in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh where action against offenders is taken under the existing laws in force.

Shri Dwivedi: May I know if it has come to the notice of hon. Minister for Health that recently in Baroda State some very inferior flour was given in ration and that could not be eaten?

Mr. Speaker: It refers first to adulteration.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: I have had no information about Baroda.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Has the hon. Minister received any

complaints with regard to adulteration in Delhi?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: No. I enquired about whether white *jowar* was being mixed in Delhi and the reply was in the negative. No adulteration is going on here.

Shri Jhunjhunwala: What are the materials which are adulterated with flour in Rajasthan?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: In Rajasthan soap stone powder has been found mixed with flour and also foodgrains which have deteriorated in quality. This is rather serious and they have taken such action as is necessary.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: May I know whether the hon. Minister is aware of the fact that *sooji* is mixed with sugar in the Delhi State?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: I do not think that question arises from this.

PAY GRADES OF TEACHERS

*2585. **Shri Balmiki:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state whether Government are aware that the pay grades of Indian and foreign teachers vary in Lawrence School at Sanawar and if so, what are the reasons therefor?

منسٹر آف ایجوکیشن (مولانا آزاد):
نہیں اس طرح کا کوئی فرق سنارو اسکول
کی تدریسوں میں نہیں رکھا گیا ہے۔

[The Minister of Education (Maulana Azad): No, Sir. There is no discrimination in the prescribed scales of pay of teachers on grounds of nationality in the Lawrence School at Sanawar.]

HINDI (PROPAGATION)

*2586. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Government of India intend to set up an All-India organization for the propagation of Hindi?

منسٹر آف ایجوکیشن (مولانا آزاد):

پارلیامنٹ کی اسٹیبلشمنٹ کمیٹی نے
اپنی مہلتگ میں جو ۲۰ دسمبر ۵۰
میں ہوئی تھی یہ سفارش کی ہے کہ
ہندی کے پرچار کے لئے ایک آل انڈیا
آرگنائزیشن قائم کیا جائے جس کا
دفتر سینٹرل گورنمنٹ کے ہیڈ کوارٹرز

میں ہو - گورنمنٹ اس تجویز پر
غور کر رہی ہے -

[The Minister of Education (Maulana Azad): The Standing Committee of Parliament on Education has in its meeting on the 20th December, 1950 recommended among other things, the establishment of a permanent all-India organisation at the headquarters of the Central Government to organise and supervise work in connection with propagation of Hindi. This recommendation is under consideration.]

ڈا॰ رام سُبھاگ سِنگھ : हिन्दी के प्रचार के के लिए कायम किए जाने वाले उस आल इंडिया आरगेनाइजेशन के कितने सदस्य होंगे और उसका हिन्दी में क्या नाम होगा।

[Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: What is the number of members of the All India Organisation which is to be set up for the propagation of Hindi and what will be its name in Hindi?]

Mr. Speaker: He wants to know what is the number of persons who are to be Members of the Hindi Academy.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: And what will be its name in Hindi?

مولانا آزاد: میں ابھی یہ نہیں
بتا سکتا کہونکہ تجویز پر غور کیا
جا رہا ہے -

[Maulana Azad: I cannot give this information at this time as the proposal is under consideration.]

ڈا॰ رام سُبھاگ سِنگھ : क्या यह सही है कि इस समिति की रचना करने के लिए सरकार हिन्दी से प्रमुख विद्वानों की एक सभा करने जा रही है

[Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Is it a fact that the Government are proposing to convene a meeting of well known scholars of Hindi to set up this Committee?]

مولانا آزاد: آس پر گورنمنٹ غور
کر رہی ہے - اگر گورنمنٹ نے اس کی
ضرورت سمجھی تو وہ ضرور ایسا
کریگی -

[Maulana Azad: The Government are considering this proposal and if they

deem it necessary to do so they will certainly undertake that.]

श्रीमती दुर्गाबाई : क्या मैं गवर्नमेंट से यह जान सकती हूँ कि उनको यह बात मालूम है कि इस देश में बहुत सी ऐसी संस्थायें हैं जिन्होंने हिन्दी प्रचार का काम अपने हाथ में लिया था लेकिन धन के अभाव की वजह से वह उसको पूरा नहीं कर सकीं।

[Shrimati Durgabai: May I know whether the Government is aware of the fact that there are many such organizations in the country that undertook the work of propagating Hindi, but they could not succeed in doing so due to lack of funds?]

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. She is making out a case.

प्रो॰ ऐ॰ ए॰ मिश्र: क्या यह सच है कि इस समिति में माननीय अर्थ मंत्री को अध्यक्ष बनाने की कोशिश हो रही है।

[Prof. S. N. Mishra: Is it a fact that efforts are being made to appoint the hon. Minister of Finance as the Chairman of this Committee?]

Mr. Speaker: Order, order I think I will go to the next question.

OFFICE OF DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL

*2587. Sardar Hukam Singh: (a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state whether a portion of the office of the Deputy Accountant General, under the Indian Audit Department, was shifted to Kapurthala in 1950?

(b) Have suitable and large enough buildings for the office and residences for the staff been made available to the Department?

(c) What has been the total cost of the move of the office including (i) T. A. of the Officers for initial survey both of the P. W. D. and the Audit Department; (ii) repairs of buildings for office and residences purposes; and (iii) other expenses, recurring and non-recurring, in the shape of Bonus, T. A. and additional staff required, as also by way of freight in removing furniture and records?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) A portion of the office of the Deputy Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs shifted to Kapurthala in 1950.

(b) Suitable buildings for the office have been made available to the Department. Residential accommodation for about 70 per cent. of the staff there has also been provided. More houses are under repair for allotment to the rest of the staff.

(c) Rs. 3-36 lakhs.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know what steps have been taken to move the other establishment that is intended to be moved in connection with this office?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I am afraid I cannot answer that question without notice.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know what percentage of the whole establishment has been moved and what percentage still remains to be shifted?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: On that too, I have no information.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether any refugees have been displaced by these offices being shifted to Kapurthala?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: The houses that have been allotted belong as under: 87 evacuee houses; residential accommodation for six superintendents and 10 clerks has been found in the Nithal Palace; some residential accommodation in Baggi Khana, in the Ball Room and Darbar Hall, etc. I do not think any of these belong to the refugees.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Are there any difficulties in moving the remaining establishment to this place?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: My information is that this problem of finding accommodation for the rest is likely to be solved.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: May I know the amounts which will be paid either to the P.E.P.S.U. Government or the Kapurthala Prince by way of rent?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I am sorry I must have notice of this question.

GRANTS TO STATES

*2588. **Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi:**

(a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state the total amount of statutory grants, including *ad hoc* grants and loans that were actually given to the different States for financing their development projects during the years 1949-50 and 1950-51?

(b) Which were the States which received the above grants?

(c) Did the States spend the amounts in full for the purposes for which the grants etc., were given?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) to (c). 3 statements giving the required information are placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix XIX, annexure No. 38].

Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi: Out of the loans granted to the State Governments during 1949, what part has been paid back?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I must have notice of that.

Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi: May I know for what purposes the grant given to the Assam Government in respect of Tribal Areas has been spent?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: If the question is, how the Assam Government has spent this sum, I am afraid, except for general purposes, we are not in a position to answer.

Shri T. N. Singh: May I know whether any analysis has been made by Government that as a result of the stoppage or reduction of these grants or loans, projects in the various States are likely to become a total loss?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: No such cases have been pointedly brought to our notice. It is possible that in some cases some small amount that has been spent will have been lost if the work cannot be continued.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या यह बात सही है कि कुछ प्रदेशों को भारत सरकार ने कर्ज के रूप में और ग्रांट के रूप में हथिया देना स्वीकार किया था और उन प्रदेशों को वह हथिया नहीं मिला जिसके कारण उनके आगे जो होने वाले काम थे वह रुक गये।

[**Seth Govind Das:** Is it a fact that the Government of India had agreed to give financial help to some States by way of loans and grants and those States have not received that amount as a result of which their future plans were held up?]

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : सम्भव है कि ऐसा हुआ हो।

[**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** It is just possible that it might have been so.]

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether any representation has been received from the Government of Bihar for grant of more sums than have been sanctioned this year?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: We have received a great many representations. I cannot say here offhand whether any representation has been received from the Bihar Government. It is very likely.

Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi: May I know whether, before the State Governments obtained the grants or loans, they submitted their post-war development plans to the Central Government and the Central Government concurred in them?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Whenever a loan is asked for, it is asked for for a particular purpose. If the point of the question is whether the whole range of development plans was submitted and approved, and the grant was asked for the completion of such plans, then, the answer is 'No'.

Shri Raj Bahadur: May I know whether it is a fact that both in 1950-51 and 1951-52, no grant or loan has been sanctioned to the Rajasthan State?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I think the information will be in the Budget papers. I cannot, again, give an answer offhand as to whether any grant has been sanctioned to Rajasthan or not.

PUBLIC DEBT

*2589. **Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state whether the U. K. Government shared any part of the public debt of India as it stood on the 15th August, 1947?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): No, Sir.

Shri T. N. Singh: May I know whether in the settlement of accounts between the U.K. and India after the partition, any settlement was arrived at in regard to the dues and arrears of salaries, pensions and such other dues, which may not exactly be loans, but yet which were owing from one country to another?

Mr. Speaker: This question relates to public debt.

Shri Joachim Alva: May I know whether in the settlement of this public debt, the valuable suggestions made in the document drawn up in 1931 by a Committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Bahadurji, were noted or followed?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: This relates to the time when Independence was granted, that is, several years ago. I am afraid I am not in a position to answer that question.

Shri T. N. Singh: My point was, there may be a public debt proper and there are certain things called State liabilities. I am referring . . .

Mr. Speaker: That is going beyond the scope of the present question.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR EUROPEANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS

*2590. **Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state:

(a) the names and locations of schools, colleges and other educational institutions purely meant for Europeans and Anglo-Indians (separately) in the Centrally Administered Areas; and

(b) how many such institutions have been opened to all classes since 1947?

مہسٹر آف ایجوکیشن (مولانا آزاد):

(اے) پارٹ بی اور سی اسٹیٹس میں

اب کوئی اسکول - کالج اور ایجوکیشنل

انسٹیٹیوشن ایسا نہیں ہے جو صرف

یورپیوں، یا اینگلو انڈیوں کے لئے ہو -

(بی) یہ سوال پیدا نہیں ہوتا -

[The Minister of Education (Maulana Azad): (a) There are no schools, colleges or other educational institutions in any Part C or D States which are intended exclusively for Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

(b) Does not arise.]

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether educational facilities to Anglo-Indians and Europeans are given in these areas?

مولانا آزاد - ہاں - کچھ ایسے

انسٹیٹیوشن ہیں جن کو پہلے بھی

کچھ گرانٹ دی جا رہی تھی

اور اب بھی دی جا رہی ہے لیکن

گرانٹ کے جنرل رولز کے مطابق خاص

طور پر یورپین اور اینگلو انڈین

کیونٹی کے لئے نہیں -

[Maulana Azad: Yes. There are certain institutions which were formerly receiving grants according to the general rules for such grants and they are still receiving these grants.]

There is no special provision for European and Anglo-Indian Schools.]

SUPERANNUATED DISPLACED GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

*2591. **Shri Sidhva:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) how many displaced Sind and North West Frontier Province Government employees have superannuated after entering the service of the Central Government;

(b) how many displaced Sind and North West Frontier Province Government employees have died while in the service of the Central Government;

(c) whether pension or gratuity has been granted to such superannuated persons or to the dependents of those who have died while still in service;

(d) if not, why not; and

(e) what are the difficulties in the way of treating them on par with permanent Central Government employees in the matter of gratuity, pension, etc.?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) and (b). The question is about all classes of Government employees. Information is being collected and a statement will be placed on the Table of the House when full particulars are available. Reports in hand up-to-date however, show that 23 such employees superannuated and 33 died after absorption in Central Government service.

(c) and (d). No pension or, in the cases of death, gratuity was admissible in these cases on the basis of the brief service rendered under the Government of India. Superannuated displaced Government servants who had a matured claim to pension from the Pakistan Government, on the basis of the service rendered prior to their arrival in India are eligible for interim relief under the scheme sanctioned recently by the Ministry of Rehabilitation which is placed on the Table. [See Appendix XIX, annexure No. 39].

(e) Pension, gratuity, etc., of displaced persons in respect of their service in the provinces now in Pakistan are payable by the Government of Pakistan. Government of India must await a settlement with the Government of Pakistan on this matter. The question whether any interim relief should be sanctioned also in the case of officers who have not matured claims to pension is under consideration.

Shri Sidhva: Arising out of the answer to parts (c) and (d), that no pension or gratuity was available to those 33 persons who died, because their service was so short, may I know whether their previous service in Pakistan was taken into consideration while considering the question of their gratuity?

Shri Rajagopalachari: The position that the hon. Member should remember is that the Government of India cannot take over a financial responsibility arising in respect of government servants serving in a province, in this case, in a province which has gone over to Pakistan, and therefore the liability of Pakistan cannot be ignored. That is why difficulty arises in these cases. As I have already said in those cases where there had been matured claims, we are giving interim relief; in other cases, we are trying to see whether interim relief could be given even though there is no liability and even though it conflicts with the liability of Pakistan which we cannot afford to allow to lapse.

Shri Sidhva: Sir, my question is about the persons who have died. Will the hon. Minister enquire from the Pakistan Government about the past services of these persons and if those services are of such long duration, as to entitle them to a gratuity, will Government be prepared to consider their case?

Shri Rajagopalachari: The hon. Member does not seem to realise that long service under a Province cannot be taken into consideration for gratuity given by the Government of India.

Shri Sidhva: Arising out of part (e), Sir, the hon. Minister stated that matters regarding gratuity and pension being given permanently are under the consideration of the Pakistan Government. May I know when the last contact or approach was made with the Pakistan Government in this respect and whether any reply is expected or any reminder is likely to expedite the matter?

Shri Rajagopalachari: I am not in a position to give dates about the correspondence with Pakistan. Apart from the hope as to a settlement, the position is such that we cannot say Pakistan has no liability or to lead them to believe that their liability has lapsed. We have to maintain their liability intact and alive. As regards interim reliefs, we are considering their practicability in the several Departments of Government.

GOVERNMENT HOUSING FACTORY, DELHI

*2592. **Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that negotiations are going on for giving the Government Prefabricated Housing Factory, Delhi to some foreign firm on long-term lease;

(b) if so, what is the name of the firm;

(c) at what stage are these negotiations; and

(d) what are the terms of lease offered?

The Minister of Health (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur): (a) No.

(b) to (d). Do not arise.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: If it is not a foreign firm, are there any Indian firms which are being considered for taking it over?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: Not at the moment.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: What steps are Government taking to make use of this factory now?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: As I have already said, the matter is under the consideration of Government.

Shri Kamath: Is the future of this factory, with its unfortunate past, being considered by the Ministry on its own, or with the aid of an expert committee which the Minister promised to this House last month?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: The matter is being considered by Government. The committee has not been appointed so far.

Shri Kamath: Is the committee going to be appointed at all?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: That will depend upon what decision the Government takes.

Shri Kamath: How long will it take for the Government to arrive at a decision on this matter?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: Very shortly, I hope.

Shri Kamath: Very, very.

RECOVERY OF INCOME-TAX IN SAURASHTRA

*2593. **Shri R. Khan:** (a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state the amount of income-tax realised in Saurashtra in the years 1949-50 and 1950-51?

(b) Is there any difference between the income-tax rates in the Centrally Administered Areas and in Saurashtra and if so, what?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) The total income-tax collected in the Saurashtra Union for the period from 1st April, 1950, to the 31st January, 1951, is Rs. 6,57,000. As regards 1949-50, the collections were made by the Government of Saurashtra and not by the Government of India.

(b) Yes. The central rates of income-tax and super-tax are the rates prescribed by the Finance Act, 1950, and are given in the first schedule to that Act. The rates of income-tax applicable to incomes arising or accruing in the Saurashtra Union are given in the Schedule to the Part B States (Taxation Concessions) Order, 1950, a copy of which was placed on the Table of the House on the 5th December, 1950.

PUBLICITY

*2594. **Shri R. Khan:** (a) Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state what steps Government propose to take to increase the volume of Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Marathi and Gujrathi publicity done by the Press Information Bureau?

The Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting (Shri Diwakar): It is not possible at present to take steps to increase the volume of publicity material in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Marathi and Gujrathi owing to lack of funds.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या गवर्नमेन्ट इस पर विचार कर रही है कि जो रुपया अभी इस मामले में अंग्रेजी पर खर्च किया जा रहा है उस का थोड़ा सा हिस्सा हिन्दी पर खर्च किया जाय और उस में से कम कर दिया जाय ?

[**Seth Govind Das:** Are the Government considering the proposal of spending some amount of money on the publicity material in Hindi, out of the amount which is at present spent on English?]

श्री दिवाकर : इसका जवाब मैं ने जो कुछ कहा उस में आ जाता है।

[**Shri Diwakar:** It is covered by the reply given by me earlier.]

सेठ गोविन्द दास : जहाँ माननीय मंत्री जी ने यह कहा कि इस समय रुपया खर्च

करने के लिये नहीं है, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अंगरेजी पर जो रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है क्या उसका एक हिस्सा हिन्दी पर खर्च नहीं किया जा सकता।

[Seth Govind Das: The hon. Minister has stated that there is no money for that. I want to know whether some part of the amount which is being spent for Publicity in English cannot be spent on Hindi?]

श्री दिवाकर : वह हम अभी नहीं कर सकते।

[Shri Diwakar: We are not in a position to do it now.]

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या मैं इसका कारण पूछ सकता हूँ ?

[Seth Govind Das: May I know the reason thereof?]

Mr. Speaker: He is making a suggestion, though it is in the form of a question. He suggests that something may be taken or subtracted from one head and spent on the other.

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS

*2595. Shri Raj Kanwar: Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state whether Public Service Commissions exist in each of the Part "C" States?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): The Constitution does not contemplate the setting up of separate Public Service Commissions for Part 'C' States. Such States are served by the Union Public Service Commission.

Shri Raj Kanwar: Sir, have Government considered any proposal to have a joint Public Service Commission for all the Part 'C' States in spite of the fact that there is no specific provision made for it under the Constitution?

Shri Rajagopalachari: If there is no provision in the Constitution and some arrangement for administrative facility is contemplated, it must differ from State to State. We have not yet considered such a proposal.

Shri Raj Kanwar: Who plays the part of the Public Service Commission in respect of the appointments in the Part 'C' States?

Shri Rajagopalachari: As I have already said, these States are served by the Union Public Service Commission.

Shri Raj Kanwar: Is there any Part 'B' State without a Public Service Commission?

Shri Rajagopalachari: All Part 'B' States except Mysore have Public Service Commissions of their own. A decision has been taken to constitute a Public Service Commission for Mysore also.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Sir, is it a fact that appointments concerning Part 'C' States are made by other States and the officers are only borrowed by the Part 'C' States?

Shri Rajagopalachari: I do not understand the question. The appointment is not made by the other States.

Mr. Speaker: His point is that officers from other States are borrowed and there are no direct recruitments.

Shri Rajagopalachari: It is true that in most cases officers are lent; but the appointment to a Part 'C' State is not made by the lending State.

Shri Dwivedi: Sir, what are the appointments which are made by the Chief Commissioner in a Part 'C' State, in addition to those made by the Service Commission?

Shri Rajagopalachari: As I have already stated, there are no Public Service Commissions in the Part 'C' States and the Union Public Service Commission assists and does the function of a Service Commission for these States. The Commissioner makes certain appointments; but if the full classification of the appointments falling within the authority of the Chief Commissioner is what is required, then I would like to have notice of the question.

Thakur Lal Singh: Sir, is it not a fact that these government servants who are sent from Part 'A' and Part 'B' States to a part 'C' State are generally those who are not wanted in those States?

Mr. Speaker: Let us go to the next question.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Just one question. Is there any separate cadre for the Part 'C' States for any important appointments?

Shri Rajagopalachari: Not yet. In this matter we have to remember that the Part 'C' States are scattered all over India and it is impossible to make a single cadre for them all.

INCOME-TAX APPEALS

***2596. Shri Sanjivayya:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that appeals from assesses for their income-tax for the year 1945-46 are still pending; and

(b) if so, what are the reasons for the delay?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) No record is kept of the assessment year to which appeals relate; the disposal of appeals is watched with reference to the date of institution of appeals. The number of appeals instituted before the Appellate Assistant Commissioners during 1945-46 and still remaining undisposed of is 31.

(b) Most of these appeals are kept pending because

(i) decision in connected cases on references made to High Courts or second appeals filed before the Appellate Tribunal are awaited;

(ii) formal orders for divesting of enemy firms on cessation of hostilities have yet to be passed by appropriate authorities; and

(iii) reports from Income-tax Officers on remand from the Appellate Assistant Commissioners are awaited and so forth.

Every effort is being made to expedite the clearance of old appeals to the extent possible.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY AND MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH

***2597. Shri Sanjivayya:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state whether the names 'The Banaras Hindu University' and 'The Muslim University, Aligarh' are allowed to be continued by Government?

The Minister of Education (Maulana Azad): It has not been considered necessary to change the names of the Banaras Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University.

CO-OPERATIVE BUILDING SOCIETIES

***2598. Shri A. Joseph:** (a) Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state how many Co-operative Building Societies are operating in each of the Part C States and whether any of them belong to Labour population?

(b) What amount have the Government of India contributed for these Societies and what is the capital of the members?

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(c) How many houses were constructed by these Societies in the years 1949-50 and 1950-51 in these areas?

The Minister of Health (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur): (a) to (c). A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [See Appendix XIX, annexure No. 40.]

CHEMISTS IN NEW DELHI

***2599. Shri Raj Kanwar:** Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware that some of the chemists doing business in Connaught Circus, Connaught Place etc. charge exorbitant rates for dispensing medicines on prescriptions; and

(b) whether Government have considered or propose to consider the question of fixation of a uniform rate per dose of medicine supplied on prescriptions?

The Minister of Health (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur): (a) No such cases have come to the notice of the Government of India.

(b) No. It is not possible to enforce a uniform rate per dose of medicine supplied on prescriptions as the cost of dispensing a prescription depends on the price and the kind and quality of the ingredients used as well as on the standard of professional service maintained by the dispensing establishment.

SURVEY OF THE JARWAS

***2600. Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state how many times and when did the Department of Anthropology send parties to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to conduct a survey of the Jarwas and other backward tribes living there?

The Minister of Education (Maulana Azad): Three parties were sent to conduct the survey—the first party in February 1948, the second in January 1949 and the third in January 1951.

REFUND OF SALT DUTIES

***2601. Shri Barman:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Collector of Central Excise, Calcutta, issued a Circular Letter dated the 27th December 1950 asking the parties who had pre-partition claims, for refund of salt duties paid, to resubmit their bills for refund; and

(b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, whether Government have already passed orders for payment?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Orders are being passed for payment of refund in individual cases, subject to accounts verification, and provided that the liability for payment rests on the Government of India.

RETRENCHMENT AND RE-EMPLOYMENT OF SECRETARIES

*2602. **Shri Ramaswamy Naidu:** (a) Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Secretaries whose posts were retrenched, have been re-employed by Government as officers on Special Duty?

(b) If so, what is the number of such posts and in what special duties are they employed?

(c) Are these special duties new?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) and (b). Three Secretaries whose posts were abolished have been re-employed temporarily as Officers on Special Duty. They are discharging the functions described below:

(1) Officer on Special Duty, Works, Production and Supply is engaged in the study of scarce raw materials in connection with the setting up of the Commodity Groups by the United States of America, United Kingdom and France. The post is not likely to continue beyond the end of April.

(2) Officer on Special Duty, Food and Agriculture deals with the Five-year Agricultural Plan which is being prepared by the Planning Commission. This post is not likely to last beyond the end of April.

(3) Officer on Special Duty, Food and Agriculture deals with the present food situation.

(c) Items (1) and (2) are new. It is difficult to classify No. (3) as new.

PALI AND SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

*2603. **Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state:

(a) whether attempts have been made at Governmental level to secure the ancient Pali and Sanskrit manuscripts of cultural and religious value from Tibet;

(b) if so, what measure of success has attended those efforts; and

(c) what manuscripts have been brought to India so far?

The Minister of Education (Maulana Azad): (a) and (b). Tibetan manuscripts have been collected from time to time from Western Tibet only. It is extremely difficult to come across Pali or Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet.

(c) A list of some of the manuscripts has been published in A. H. Francke's

"Antiquities of Indian Tibet" Part I, Appendix B. There is also a printed catalogue in French giving the works in the collection called *Kanjur* which have been translated into Tibetan from Sanskrit originals.

CORRUPTION AND BRIBERY

*2604. **Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to refer to the answer to my Supplementary Question on Starred Question No. 1940, asked on the 7th March, 1951 and state:

(a) the number of cases of corruption and bribery in Part "C" States, that were withdrawn after the prosecution had been launched; and

(b) in what circumstances they were withdrawn?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) and (b). Information is being collected in respect of Part 'C' States coming under the control of the Home Ministry and will be laid on the Table of the House in due course. In respect of other Part 'C' States I would advise the hon. member to address a question to hon. Minister of States.

GENERAL ELECTIONS

*2605. **Shri Rathnaswamy:** Will the Minister of Law be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have proceeded with necessary arrangements to have the General Elections in November, 1951;

(b) whether the elections to both the Centre and the States will take place simultaneously;

(c) whether it is a fact that the Madras Government have asked the Government of India to have the General Elections in Madras in December 1951 and if so, for what reasons; and

(d) whether elections to the various Constituencies in the State will be contested simultaneously and if not, why not?

The Minister of Law (Dr. Ambedkar): (a) Yes. Government are proceeding with necessary arrangements for holding the elections in November-December this year.

(b) Yes.

(c) The Government of Madras have proposed that elections in that State may be held during the first three weeks of December, 1951. November, being a rainy month, is considered unsuitable.

(d) It will not be possible to hold elections in all the constituencies in a State at the same time, in view of the limited number of Officers available for

performing the duties of Presiding Officers, Polling Officers, Polling Clerks etc., and the inadequacy of the available police force for maintaining order at the polling booths all over a State on the same day. Polling will have to be spread over three to four weeks in the larger States.

NAVY FORCE

*2606. **Shri Chandrika Ram:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state what steps, if any, Government are taking to attract the youth of the country to take up to Navy Force?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Major-General Himatsinghji): The following steps are taken to attract people to the Navy:

(i) Advertisements in the Press emphasising the special features of a Naval career;

(ii) talks on the Radio;

(iii) exhibition of documentary films;

(iv) setting of temporary Touring Boards for recruitment;

(v) issuing of pamphlets, folders, cinema slides, posters and frequent tours by Recruiting Officers;

(vi) publishing the activities of the Navy through the Public Relations Officers; and

(vii) the observance of the Navy Day.

आयुर्वेदिक तथा यूनानी विद्यापीठ

* २६०७. श्री खापर्डे : क्या स्वास्थ्य मंत्री यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि इस समय सरकार कितने आयुर्वेदिक तथा यूनानी विद्यापीठों को सहायता दे रही है ?

AID TO *Ayurvedic* AND *Unani Vidyapiths*

[*2607. **Shri Khaparde:** Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state how many *Ayurvedic* and *Unani Vidyapiths* are being given aid by Government of India at this time?]

The Minister of Health (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur): No *Ayurvedic* or *Unani Vidyapith* is aided directly by the Government of India. It is being ascertained from the Chief Commissioners of Part 'C' States if there are *Vidyapiths* in their States receiving Government aid. The information when received will be laid on the Table of the House.

BIRI STALL HOLDERS OF CALCUTTA

*2608. **Dr. M. M. Das:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that a licence fee of Rs. 50 per shop has already been imposed and collected from the *Biri* Stall Holders in Calcutta, the last date of payment of this newly imposed licence fee being 10th March, 1951;

(b) whether it is a fact that every *Biri* Shop-keeper has been asked to give a "Security Bond" to Government; and

(c) whether it is a fact that every *Biri* Stall Holder has been asked to provide a separate room, other than the shop, for manufacture and storage of *Biri*?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) I presume that by the expression "*Biri* Stall Holder", the hon. Member is referring to a single individual rolling *biris* and selling them in his stall. Such a holder, whether in Calcutta or elsewhere, is exempted from payment of Central Excise duty (manufacture duty) on the *biris* produced by him, but is required to pay a licence fee of Rs. 37-8-0 for the current year in two convenient instalments, provided that he does not consume more than 15 lbs. of raw tobacco in a month in the manufacture of his *biris*.

No date has been fixed at Calcutta as the last date for payment of any instalment of this licence fee.

(b) I presume again that by the expression "*Biri* Shop-keeper" the hon. Member has in mind the same type of individual referred to in part (a) of his question. Such a shop-keeper is not required to give any "Security Bond" to Government.

(c) No, Sir.

PRE-FABRICATED HOUSING FACTORY

*2609. **Shri Sidhva:** (a) Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state whether a Committee, as suggested during discussion on Supplementary Demands on the Housing Factory, has been appointed in connection with the Pre-fabricated Factory?

(b) If so, what is its composition and terms of reference?

(c) What steps have been taken to see that the factory produces the type of houses for which it was originally meant?

The Minister of Health (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur): (a) to (c). The question

of appointing such a Committee is under consideration.

If and when this Committee is appointed it will naturally be asked to explore all avenues for the most effective use of the Housing Factory.

SCHEDULED CASTES, TRIBES AND BACKWARD CLASSES

***2611. Shri Balwant Sinha Mehta:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state how the money allotted for the welfare and development of Scheduled Castes, Tribes and Backward classes for the year 1951-52 will be distributed to the States?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): A lump sum provision of Rs. one crore has been made for grants-in-aid under the provisos to Article 275 of the Constitution for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled Areas—not for Scheduled Castes or other Backward Scheduled Castes or other Backward classes. The actual allotment will be made after details of development schemes are received from the State Governments and approved by the Government of India.

UNLICENCED LIQUOR SHOPS IN DELHI

***2612. Giani G. S. Musafir:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of raids arranged by the Excise Department for capturing unauthorised dealers of liquor since the introduction of partial prohibition in Delhi; and

(b) the total number of prosecutions and convictions in respect of such unauthorised sale of liquor after the introduction of prohibition in Delhi?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) and (b). The information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House.

INDIAN PRESS LAWS REFORMS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

***2613. Shri Ramaswamy Naidu:** (a) Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state whether the Indian Press Laws Reforms Enquiry Committee has submitted its report?

(b) When was the Committee appointed and on what date did the Committee submit its report?

(c) Have Government considered the Report and passed orders?

(d) What are the main recommendations of the Committee?

(e) What was the cost involved at the Committee stage?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): (a) and (b). The Press Laws Enquiry Committee was appointed in March, 1947 and submitted its Report in May, 1948.

(c) Yes. The necessary legislation will be submitted to Parliament.

(d) The recommendations are contained in the Report, copies of which are available in the Library of the House.

(e) Rs. 32,860.

AIR TRAVEL BY OFFICERS

157. Prof. K. T. Shah: (a) Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state how many planes are maintained for Air Travel by Ministers and officers of the Government of India?

(b) Who are the officers entitled to use such planes?

(c) What was the cost of maintenance of such planes in the years 1948-49 and 1949-50?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Major-General Himatsinhji): (a) No planes are maintained exclusively for the air travel of Ministers or officers of the Government. But six aircraft of the Communication Squadron of the Indian Air Force, Palam, are used for normal Air Force practice flying, communication commitments, and special air lifts and also for the air travel of V.I.Ps.

(b) Those entitled to the use of these aircraft are:

- (1) President,
- (2) The Prime Minister,
- (3) The Defence Minister and
- (4), (5) and (6) The Commanders-in-Chief, Army, Navy and Air Force.

Serving officers of the Armed Forces and senior civilian officers of the Defence Ministry, when travelling on duty, are also permitted to use them.

(c) As the aircraft are not reserved exclusively for the air travel of V.I.Ps. but are used for various communication purposes, separate figures regarding the cost of their maintenance for air travel are not kept.

Wednesday, 28th March, 1951



PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

VOLUME IX, 1951

(5th March, 1951 to 30th March, 1951)

Third Session

of the

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1950-51



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**THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES**

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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5251

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Wednesday, 28th March, 1951

*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.

**GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF
DEMANDS—contd.**

SECOND STAGE

Mr. Speaker: The House will now proceed with the discussion of the Demands for Grants for the Ministry of External Affairs.

DEMAND NO. 18—MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL

AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 50,43,000, be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1952, in respect of 'Ministry of External Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 19—TRIBAL AREAS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,43,78,000, be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1952, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

DEMAND NO. 20—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,47,43,000, be granted to the President to complete the sum
15 P.S.

necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1952, in respect of 'External Affairs'."

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

Prof. S. N. Mishra (Bihar): I think Government deserve to be congratulated for an unbroken series of right decisions which they took in the international sphere during the last year. Admittedly on all showings their achievements in the international sphere have been almost of a brilliant nature and in this connection to begin with, it would not be out of place for me to mention that master stroke of statesmanship in Nepal, for which credit must also be given to our astute Ambassador there. (*Hear, hear.*) I think it is one of the achievements of which we have reasons to be very proud.

I think our Government was right about the happy outcome of the Indo-Pakistan agreement last year, despite deep scepticism in many quarters. Furthermore, events have proved conclusively though their moral may be lost upon those who suffer from wilful blindness, that it was right in its warning about the danger of crossing the 38th Parallel, about the terms for making peace with China and about the representation of China in the U.N.O., as also about a host of other issues. I therefore maintain that last year was indeed a year of great achievements and great decisions by our Foreign Minister in the sphere of international politics.

Having said that I want to come to some of the administrative aspects about which I must frankly confess I do not feel very happy. The first one relates to our India Office in London. Our India Office in London seems to have assumed a sort of autonomy so far as submission of statement of accounts, of income and expenditure, is concerned. It seems as if they enjoy a complete immunity from all established rules in this respect and detailed

[Prof. S. N. Mishra]

accounts in regard to income and expenditure are not made available to us at regular intervals. Since the India Office is in a way a miniature of the Government of India because of its huge set-up and large number of employees, is it the intention of the Government, I want to ask, to permit another republic within the Republic of India and to give it a favoured treatment? We have made enquiries times without number about the details of expenditure incurred by the India Office but we are extremely disappointed that we are not able to elicit any satisfactory details in regard to them.

Shri A. P. Sinha (Bihar): What is the basis of the hon. Member's information about the India Office?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: I am not giving way.

Next I would like to say that our Government seems to have a very misplaced sense of economy in regard to cutting down of expenditure. Although I express myself in complete agreement with regard to cutting down of all unnecessary expenditure I want to caution them against cutting down any expenditure that would vitally affect our important work abroad.

So far as the living conditions and equipment in our missions and embassies are concerned I have come to know that they are simply wretched in most of them. In Burma and even in as important a centre as Washington the living conditions, the equipment and furniture are not of the standard they ought to be. In Burma, I am told, that conditions are far from satisfactory, almost abominable. Our embassy people there are living in a sort of slum conditions and in America, which is an important country, in our embassy at Washington the plaster is falling down, boiler in a state of disorder, lift awfully bad and some of the embassy cars are in such a bad and worn out condition that it would be shameful for anybody to move about in those cars in the city of New York or Washington. Such are the good results of economy in some of the embassies!

An Hon. Member: All incorrect.

Prof. S. N. Mishra: Our country may be very poor but it gives a very bad impression abroad, if we parade our poverty in this way. I would like to caution the Government against any false sense of economy and I would ask them to see that none of our important work or interest abroad is being financially starved because of a misplaced sense of economy.

Now I want to say a few words about our external publicity. If our internal publicity can be called wretched, our external publicity is simply awful. It is pointless, planless and useless. In its present set-up there is absolutely no purpose, drive or utility in our external publicity. And why? It seems that there is no proper selection of the personnel. The persons sent for the purpose do not have the necessary mental equipment or the cultural background. Most of them have absolutely no knowledge of Indian history and culture and I am told that to some of them the Congress which successfully waged the liberation movement in this country is either a binomial theorem or a strange animal. I am told whenever a question is addressed to them about our country's history or culture they look blank and cannot furnish inquisitive foreigners with any details. Obviously therefore, it is primarily because of the wrong selection of personnel that our external publicity is so little useful or successful.

In this connection I would like to address a definite question. Sometime ago we came to learn that Pakistan came out with a pamphlet about our food position as soon as there was a move in U.S.A. for the grant of food-grains to India. The pamphlet at that time, I am told, had a wonderful effect from their point of view. I want to know what did our external publicity do exactly at that moment to counteract the pernicious effects of Pakistan propaganda. It is on these occasions that we should really judge the results of our external publicity. If we want to make our external publicity really effective we must send persons with an adequate journalistic background. Only those who have an adequate background of our culture and long experience of journalism behind them should be selected for the purpose and sent abroad.

There is another way of making it effective, namely, by effecting proper co-ordination between internal and external publicity. At present we are simply told that so many messages were sent abroad in a particular year in the Morse Code. But we do not know the exact quality of the stuff that was sent abroad for foreign propaganda. So it is essential that we bring about a co-ordination between the two wings of publicity to complement and supplement one another.

Now I shall turn to foreign possessions in India. Our Government do not seem to have done anything satisfactory or effective in this connection. How long, I want to ask, shall we go

am nursing the fond hope that these foreign possessions are bound to come to us some day? How long are we going to pass resolutions in the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress saying that these foreign possessions should be ceded to India without any delay? The simple nursing of hope does not carry us anywhere. So, my humble submission is this. India, having taxed her patience for long, is firmly of the opinion that the metropolitan Powers concerned must be confronted with a concrete and firm demand that they must cede these territories of India by a particular date. In the case of French possessions, if France were really disposed to concede and provide for a free and impartial referendum, I would have advised the Government to pin faith in it and stand by it, but now having seen enough of their intrigues I have lost all hope about it and there does not seem to be any possibility of a free and impartial plebiscite in the French possessions. Therefore, Government should now start direct negotiations with France and confront her with the concrete alternative of ceding these territories. As for Goa, it now bids fair to become a very mischievous centre. Ship-loads of Negroes are being sent to Goa and our Government does not seem in any way to be alert about these things. In the case of Goa also, Portugal should be confronted with the same demand. We should give them a sort of an ultimatum, the notice of which should also be sent to the U.N.O., asking that Goa should be ceded to India. In these matters I would like the Government to be somewhat more vigilant and active and not as sleepy and complacent as they have been so far.

I must, however, congratulate the Government for having based their foreign policy upon the wishes and aspirations of the people, the mass of the people, as against particular sections and classes who have been time and again exerting their pulls on the foreign policy to deflect it in disastrous directions. This is indeed a great thing for which the Government highly deserves our gratitude and support. I want to commend particularly this aspect of our foreign policy—a policy based upon the wishes of the common people. This foreign policy puts heart and hope in millions all over the world. Therefore we must stand by this foreign policy and not yield to some of the pulls that are being exerted by sectional and class interests from time to time. A question that is generally being asked is whether our foreign policy is based on altruism or it has adequate consideration for the self-

interests that sustain and pulsate a nation. Our foreign policy is not altruistic. Most people have been criticising us on the quixotic ground that our foreign policy is based on altruism and not on self-interests. Let me remind the House in this connection of what our Prime Minister said during a debate in the Constituent Assembly. He said:

“They might talk of international good will and mean what they said. They might talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what they said, but in the ultimate analysis a Government functioned for the good of the country it governed. The Foreign Minister of a country, whether it was imperialist, socialist or communist, thought primarily of the interests of his country.”

I think this does not leave any room for doubt that our foreign policy is not entirely based upon a religious quantity like peace or upon some abstract moral quest. It is clear that it is based upon self-interest of which our Prime Minister is never oblivious. But when I speak of peace about which so much is being said in the context of our foreign policy, I want to say that for us, for a backward country like India, peace is not only a high objective but it is also a grim economic necessity. If India wants to achieve adequate development in the economic sphere, she must have peace. This is a truth which applies to all underdeveloped countries. So when we pursue peace we pursue it in a cold-blooded and realistic manner as an economic necessity. Let me say that the terrible inflation that obtains in our country is already economically breaking the backbone of our people. If a war breaks out shall we be able to maintain ourselves at a higher pitch of runaway inflation which war conditions are bound to generate? So, in this view of the matter it is obvious that peace is an economic necessity. Not only that, it is also a political necessity for us. As a matter of fact for the stabilisation of democracy, not only in India but in every other country in Asia, peace is a political necessity. Peace is essential for democracy in its infant stage. Therefore, I consider that the policy of peace that India has been pursuing is motivated by economic and political considerations rather than by a religious enthusiasm or moral fervour.

12 NOON

Another criticism that is levelled against our foreign policy is that it is unrealistic as it is not in keeping

[Prof. S. N. Mishra]

with our domestic policy. It is indeed a pertinent question that the critics have been addressing to us, but I ask: have we examined carefully whether critics are right in thinking like that? Although it is extremely desirable that there should be the completest unison between the domestic policy and the foreign policy, and that this state of having one foot on the rocket and another on the donkey must cease as early as possible, the assumption with which these critics start is wrong. Do they start with the assumption that the domestic policy is sound and the foreign policy is unsound? I think the case is the other way round. It is the foreign policy which is sound, and it is the domestic policy which is unsound and which must be geared up to the foreign policy. It is a wrong argument that the critics have been advancing. My submission is that proceeding from a wrong assumption they should not conclude that our foreign policy is unrealistic. Personally speaking, I not only think that our foreign policy is sound, but I think it is solvent also. Where our home policy sometimes tends to create gulfs and fissures, it is our foreign policy which unifies, harmonises, and binds the nation together, and if anything is done to tamper with that foreign policy, let me warn, it will be done only at the cost of the solidarity which we are having at the present moment under the lead of our Prime Minister. So, from this standpoint it will be readily found that our foreign policy is also solvent. I think I can, on behalf of the people, confidently give the assurance that they will risk their lives, honour, fortune and everything to support the foreign policy which the Prime Minister has been pursuing.

A few words about Indo-American relations about which critics have been making much during recent times. Of late their criticism has been constituting a threat of such major dimensions that we must take note of it. Some interested groups of people here and in the United States of America particularly want to precipitate differences where very cordial relations exist between the two countries, and they want to make political capital out of the honest differences of opinion arising on the different issues in the international sphere. I want to ask them and particularly America, whether honest differences of opinion are not consistent with the democratic ideals which both of us in common are pursuing? If England can afford to have differences on the recognition of China, on Palestine and on many other issues, cannot another member of the

Commonwealth have similar honest differences of opinion on other issues? Sometimes when we examine why this sort of feeling is being engendered by some people we are constrained to conclude that they want to serve their interests, individual and sectional and not the interest of the country as a whole. If America thinks both of us are pledged to the same ideals of democracy, to the same principles of collective security and loyalty to the United Nations Organisation, our mutual friendship cannot be shaken in any way. But if on the other hand she thinks that in place of loyalty to the principles of collective security, to the United Nations, and to the ideal of peace, we should substitute loyalty to a particular nation, we must honourably differ. We can at best be honest co-operators in a noble cause and not sycophantic friends or servile allies.

With these words, I again congratulate our Prime Minister for his very successful foreign policy.

सेठ गोविन्द बास : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय,

में भी सब से पहले माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी को उन की वैदेशिक नीति पर बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। हमारा देश बहुत पुराना होने पर भी अभी हाल ही में आजाद हुआ है। हमारे पास बहुत बड़ा जनबल है, हमारे पास बड़े बड़े नैसर्गिक साधन हैं, इतने पर भी यह मानना होगा कि हम अभी भी निर्धन हैं, निर्बल हैं। लेकिन इतने पर भी, हमारी नयी स्वतन्त्रता के रहते हुए भी, हमारी निर्धनता और निर्बलता के रहते हुए भी, हम ने अपनी वैदेशिक नीति से संसार को काफ़ी प्रभावित किया है। जो दुनियाँ का यह भौषण युद्ध रुक रहा है उस के लिए यदि सम्पूर्ण नहीं तो आंशिक श्रेय हमारी वैदेशिक नीति को भी है।

भविष्य के कार्यों के सम्बन्ध में निर्णय करने के पहले हमें सदा भूत को देखना पड़ता है, और उस दृष्टि से अगर हम अपनी वैदेशिक नीति को देखें तो हमें पहले यह सोचना होगा कि किन किन बातों में हम सफल हुए हैं।

इस समय संसार की सब से बड़ी घटना कोरिया का युद्ध है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि उस को हम निबट्टा नहीं सके, परन्तु इस में भी सन्देह नहीं कि उस सम्बन्ध में हम ने जो बातें कहीं थीं अगर उन बातों पर चला गया होता तो आज की परिस्थिति इस से भिन्न होती। हम ने कहा था कि चीन को यू० एन० ओ० (U.N.O.) में ले लिया जाये। हम ने कहा था कि अड़तीसवीं अक्षांस रेखा को पार न किया जाय। अभी मैं न्यूजीलैंड की कामनवेलथ पार्लियामेन्टरी एसोसियेशन की कानफ्रेंस (Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference) में गया था वहाँ पर जो २९ देशों के करीब ७९ प्रतिनिधि सम्मिलित हुए थे, उन सब की यह राय थी,—शायद दो चार की न हो पर अधिकांश की यह राय थी,—कि अगर हमारी बात को माना गया होता तो आज संसार के सामने यह परिस्थिति न होती कि जो हमें दिखाई दे रही है।

दूर की बातें देखने के बाद हमें कुछ नजदीक की बातों को भी देखना चाहिए। नेपाल में जो समझौता हुआ है उस का जो सारा श्रेय हम को है। तिब्बत के मामले पर यदि हमारी नैतिक दृष्टि का प्रभाव न पड़ा होता तो तिब्बत की परिस्थिति आज जैसी है वह उस से कहीं खराब हो गई होती। अब एक नजदीकी दूसरा देश जो पाकिस्तान है उस के सम्बन्ध में भी हम आँखें नहीं मूंद सकते। पाकिस्तान से अभी हमारा व्यापारिक समझौता हुआ है। परन्तु अभी भी कई बातें पाकिस्तान की ऐसी हैं जो हम निबट्टा नहीं सके, मसलन नहरों के पानी का सवाल है, पाकिस्तान से जो जोग

हिन्दुस्तान को आये उन की जायदादों का सवाल है, और तीसरा काश्मीर का सवाल है। इन तीनों सवालों में काश्मीर का सवाल सब से महान है, इस में सन्देह नहीं हो सकता। अभी हाल ही में इस प्रश्न पर सुरक्षा परिषद ने एक प्रस्ताव रखा है। परन्तु मैं इस विषय में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन प्रस्तावों के ऊपर विचार करने से पहले हमें यह देखना होगा कि जिस समय हम काश्मीर के सवाल को सुरक्षा परिषद के सामने ले गये उस वक्त क्या स्थिति थी। वैधानिक रूप से काश्मीर हमारे देश का एक हिस्सा था और वैधानिक रूप से वह हमारे देश में शामिल हुआ था। जब वहाँ कुछ उपद्रव हुए और हमें विश्वास हो गया कि उन उपद्रवों में पाकिस्तान का हाथ है, तब उन उपद्रवों के मामले में हम काश्मीर के प्रश्न को सुरक्षा परिषद के मामले ले गये। इस समय काश्मीर के मामले को उस दृष्टि से देखा जा रहा है जिस को अंग्रेजी में नो मैनस लैंड (No man's land) कहते हैं, अर्थात् ऐसा भूभाग जिस का कोई घनी घोंरी नहीं होता। काश्मीर के प्रश्न को इस दृष्टि से देखा ही नहीं जा सकता। पहले यह मानना होगा, और स्पष्ट रूप से मानना होगा, कि वैधानिक रूप से काश्मीर हमारे देश का एक हिस्सा है और उस के बाद अगर कोई प्रस्ताव सुरक्षा परिषद का हो तो उस पर विचार किया जा सकता है। काश्मीर को नो मैनस लैंड मान कर यदि कोई प्रस्ताव सुरक्षा परिषद रखेगी तो उस पर विचार नहीं किया जा सकता।

तो इस प्रकार यदि हम देखें तो हमें मालूम होगा कि दूर की दृष्टि से और नजदीक की दृष्टि से, दोनों ही दृष्टियों से, हमारी वैदेशिक नीति बहुत दूर तक

[सैठ गोविन्द दास]

सफल हुई है। और यदि हम सफल हुए हूँ तो उस का कारण क्या है। हमारी बौद्धिक नीति भारत देश की जो पुरानी परम्परा है, भारत देश ने जो सदा शान्ति चाही थी, वह शान्ति की जो परम्परा है, उस का पोषण करती है। उसी परम्परा को गांधी जी का समर्थन प्राप्त हुआ और उसी परम्परा के कारण हमारी यह नीति सफल हुई है। हम संसार के समस्त देशों से मंत्री का सम्बन्ध स्थापित रखना चाहते हैं; हम किसी से झगड़ा नहीं करना चाहते।

इस तरह नैतिक दृष्टि से हमारी बौद्धिक नीति किन कारणों से सफल हुई है इस का थोड़ा सा दिग्दर्शन मैं ने आप के सामने कराया। अब पार्थिव क्षेत्र में भी इस का उपयोग हो सके इस पर ध्यान देना है, और वह केवल अपने स्वार्थ की दृष्टि से नहीं लेकिन पारस्परिक लाभ की दृष्टि से। एशिया के देशों की सारी समस्याएँ एक सी हैं। सब देशों में गरीबी है, और उस गरीबी का मुख्य कारण उत्पादन की कमी है, इन देशों में जनबल और प्राकृतिक साधना का पूरा उपयोग नहीं होता है। एशिया के सब देश बहुत दूर तक अशिक्षित हैं। वहाँ बिशेषज्ञों की कमी है, धन की कमी है। इस सब का यह फल है कि पार्थिव दृष्टि से एशिया के देशों में सब से निम्न कोटि का जीवन है। इस ओर भी कुछ हुआ है इस से इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता। जो कोलम्बो प्लान (Colombo Plan) है वह इस विषय में बहुत कुछ करने को कहता है। यदि कोलम्बो प्लान, कोलम्बो योजना, पूर्ण रूप से कार्य रूप में परिणत हो सके तो पार्थिव हम केवल अपना ही नहीं बल्कि

एशिया के समस्त देशों का उत्थान कर सकते हैं। इस के लिए सब से प्रथम आवश्यकता एक दूसरे को समझ कर सहानुभूति के साथ पारस्परिक समस्याओं पर विचार करना और उन्हें हल करना है। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में एक ही दृष्टान्त देता हूँ। यदि हम समस्त देशों की आबादी देखें तो हमें कुछ ऐसे देश मिलते हैं जहाँ बहुत अधिक आबादी है और कुछ ऐसे देश मिलते हैं जहाँ बहुत कम आबादी है। मसलन भारत और पाकिस्तान में एक वर्ग मील पीछे ३४१ आदमी रहते हैं, जापान में ४०८, यूनाइटेड किंगडम में ५३७। इस के विपरीत आस्ट्रेलिया में मैं ने जा कर देखा कि वहाँ पर वर्ग मील के पीछे केवल चार आदमी रहते हैं, कनाडा में भी केवल चार और न्यूजीलैंड में केवल आठ। आस्ट्रेलिया और न्यूजीलैंड वाले यह समझते हैं कि यह प्रश्न भारत का प्रश्न है, कि भारत की आबादी बढ़ती है। मुझ से कई लोगों ने कहा कि आप के यहाँ पर जब इतनी अधिक कठिनाइयाँ हैं तो इतनी आबादी क्यों बढ़ा रहे हैं। परन्तु वे इस प्रश्न को अपना प्रश्न नहीं मानते। जहाँ हम को अपनी आबादी को दूसरी जगह भेजने की आवश्यकता है वहाँ उन देशों को अधिक आबादी की आवश्यकता है। मैं तो कहूँगा कि उन को अधिक आबादी की चिन्ता हमसे अधिक है। इस विषय में कनाडा के सेनेटर रुबक ने एक स्थान में कहा था :

"History has shown that if you neglect to use territory which is yours to cultivate and to occupy and in consequence you are unable to defend the territory, which has been assigned to you in due season some one else will use it and occupy it."

मि० कैंसी ने जो हमारे बंगाल के कुछ समय तक गवर्नर थे आस्ट्रेलिया के लिये कहा था :

"If we fail to populate Australia quickly enough we run the risk of losing our country."

तो अब आप देखिये कि एक ओर अधिक आबादी के देश हैं, दूसरी ओर ऐसे देश हैं जिन को अधिक आबादी की आवश्यकता है। यदि हम सब बैठ कर सहानुभूतिपूर्वक इस विषय पर विचार करें तो यह विषय बहुत जल्दी हल हो सकता है और जिन देशों की आबादी कम है जैसे आस्ट्रेलिया, कनाडा, न्यूजीलैंड, दक्षिणी और पूर्वीय अफ्रिका, इन देशों को अधिक आबादी वाले देशों की आबादी भेजी जा सकती है। इस के लिये और इसी प्रकार की दूसरी समस्याओं के लिए एक दूसरे को सहानुभूतिपूर्वक समझने के कई उपाय हैं। उन सब उपायों को मैं एक वाक्य में कहूंगा और वह वाक्य यह है कि आपसी सम्पर्क वृद्धि। इस आपसी सम्पर्क वृद्धि के लिये हमें कुछ काम करना है। जैसे शिक्षा विभाग के विद्यार्थियों और शिक्षकों का आदान प्रदान, सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में विद्वानों और कलाकारों का आदान प्रदान, वैज्ञानिक क्षेत्र में, कृषि उद्योग, चिकित्सा और विज्ञान सम्बन्धी सभी क्षेत्रों के विशेषज्ञों का आदान प्रदान और वाणिज्य तथा व्यापार में पारस्परिक लाभ के लिये आयात निर्यात आदि में वृद्धि का प्रयत्न। इस प्रकार की और भी कई बातें हो सकती हैं जिन से कि हम इन प्रश्नों को हल कर सकते हैं।

संसार के आधे आदमी आज कष्ट में हैं और आधे आनन्द में हैं। संसार की यह परिस्थिति सदा ही नहीं रह सकती। जो लोग आज आनन्द भोग रहे हैं, एक दिन ऐसा आयेगा जब जो लोग आज कष्ट भोग रहे हैं वह उन्हें आनन्द में न देख सकेंगे। हमारे सारे युद्धों, विप्लवों और

संघर्षों का सच्चा कारण यदि देखा जाय तो यही है। क्या हम यह मान लें कि जितनी जमीन है और जितने नैसर्गिक साधन हैं उन सब का उपयोग हो चुका? मैं यह नहीं मानता। मैं ने आस्ट्रेलिया में देखा, न्यूजीलैंड में देखा कि आज भी न जाने कितनी जमीन पड़ी है। आज भी न जाने कितने नैसर्गिक साधन पड़े हुए हैं, यदि हम सब मिल कर, सारे संसार के देश और जातियाँ मिल कर सहानुभूतिपूर्वक एक दूसरे की समस्याओं पर विचार करें और इस सारी भूमि और सारे नैसर्गिक साधनों को काम में लावें तो सारी समस्यायें हल हो सकती हैं। तभी यह संघर्ष, युद्ध और विप्लव रुक सकता है।

मुझे एक और विषय में कुछ कहना है और वह है दूतावासों के विषय में। मैं ने कुछ दूतावासों को देखा है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक हमारे दूतावासों अर्थात् एम्बेसीज (embassies) का सम्बन्ध है कम से कम जितने देशों में मैं ने देखा है, आस्ट्रेलिया, न्यूजीलैंड, फ्रीजी, सभी में कि उन का काम बहुत अच्छा हो रहा है। कुछ लोग समझते हैं कि उन पर बहुत खर्चा खर्च हो रहा है, मैं नहीं जानता कि अन्य स्थानों का क्या हाल है, परन्तु जिन दूतावासों को मैं ने देखा है उन के सम्बन्ध में मैं कह सकता हूँ कि उन में जितना खर्चा किया जाता है वह बहुत कम है और उन्हें अधिक आर्थिक सहायता की आवश्यकता है। इस विषय पर मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि हमारा शरीर देश बहुत से दूतावास नहीं रख सकता तो हम उन्हें घटा सकते हैं परन्तु जहाँ जहाँ यह दूतावास हों वहाँ, मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ, यह भावना न जानी चाहिये कि यह दूतावास भूखमरो या दरिद्रों के दूतावास हैं।

[सेठ गोविन्द दास]

अंत में मैं एक बात और कह दूँ और यह है हमारे भारतीय जो विदेशों में बसे हुए हैं उन की निस्वतः। भारत स्वतंत्र होने के पहले यह समस्या एक दूसरी दृष्टि से देखी जाती थी। उस समय यह सब कालोनीय (colonies), यह सब उपनिवेश ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के अधीन थे। हमारा देश भी ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य का एक विभाग था। परन्तु अब परिस्थिति बदल गई है। आज हमारा स्वतंत्र देश है और आज जो भिन्न भिन्न देशों में बसे हुए हमारे भारतीय हैं उन की समस्या को हम उस प्रकार नहीं देख सकते जिस प्रकार उस समय देखा करते थे। आज हमें इसे दूसरी दृष्टि से देखना होगा। यह समस्याएँ भी वैसे ही हैं जैसी संसार के दूसरे देशों की समस्याएँ हैं जिन के सम्बन्ध में भारत के लोगों को सारी परिस्थिति समझ कर-पारस्परिक सहयोग, सहानुभूति और विचार पूर्वक उन को हल करने का प्रयत्न करना होगा।

अन्त में मैं फिर प्रधान मंत्री जी की उन की वैदेशिक नीति पर बधाई देता हूँ और कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह देश और हम सब उसका पूरे हृदय से समर्थन करते हैं।

(English Translation of the above speech)

Both Govind Das (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, first of all I also want to congratulate the hon. Prime Minister on his foreign policy. Although, our country is an ancient one but we have attained our freedom very recently. In spite of our having abundant manpower and great natural resources we have to admit that we are still a poor and weak nation. But, even in spite of our attaining freedom very recently, in spite of our being a poor and weak nation, we have considerably influenced the other nations by our foreign policy. To some extent our foreign policy also has the credit of preventing the outbreak of the expected war.

In formulating policies for the future we have to take into consideration the past as well, and if we look towards

our foreign policy from that point of view, we shall have first to consider the various things in which we have been successful.

The most important event of the present day is the Korean War. I admit that we have not been able to settle it, but there is no doubt about the fact that if other nations had paid heed to what we had suggested then the present situation would have been quite different from what it is today. We had suggested that China should be admitted to U.N.O. We had also said that the 38th Parallel should not be crossed. Recently, I attended the Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in New Zealand in which about seventy-nine representatives from twenty-nine countries participated, probably all of them, barring a few, were of the opinion that had our suggestions been accepted then the world would not had to face a situation like the present one.

Let us examine some of those things which are near to us after looking at the distant ones. I would rather say that we have all the credit for settling the Nepal problem. Had we not approached the Tibetan problem in the moral way in which we did, the situation in Tibet might have deteriorated than what it is at present. We cannot keep ourselves aloof in regard to the activities in another of our neighbouring country like Pakistan. We have just entered into a trade agreement with Pakistan. But, still there are certain things which we have not been able to settle with Pakistan, e.g., canal water dispute, the problem of properties left behind by the persons who have migrated from Pakistan to India and thirdly the question of Kashmir. There is no doubt about this fact that the Kashmir problem is the most important of all the three. The Security Council has just placed a resolution regarding this problem. But in this connection, I want to say that before considering this question we shall have to look into the circumstances which were present at the time when we had put our case before the Security Council. Constitutionally, Kashmir was a part of our country and had legally acceded to our country. When some disturbances broke out there and we were convinced that Pakistan had a hand in those disturbances, then in the light of those events we placed the question of Kashmir before the Security Council. At present, the Kashmir problem is being looked from the point of view of 'No Man's Land'. The problem cannot be approached from that point of view. First it shall have to be accepted and accepted plainly that constitutionally

Kashmir is a part of our country and then only if there is any proposal of the Security Council, we can consider it. We cannot consider any proposal which is placed before us by the Security Council on the basis that Kashmir is a 'No Man's Land'.

Thus, if we consider our foreign policy, both from the far and near points of view, we find that we have succeeded to a greater extent in both of them. And, if we have succeeded, what is the cause of our success? Our foreign policy is based on the ancient traditions of peace of our country. That tradition was blessed by Gandhiji and due to that very tradition we have been successful in our foreign policy. We want to have cordial relations with all the countries of the world; we do not want to quarrel with any country.

I have just stated how we have been successful in our foreign policy judged from the moral point of view. Now we have to see whether we can implement it from the material point of view as well, and it should not be inspired by the selfish motives but by the spirit of mutual co-operation. Probably, all the nations of Asia are faced with the same problem. All the nations are suffering from poverty and the main reason of it is lack of production. Man-power and natural resources are not exploited to the full by these nations. Asian people are mostly uneducated, there is dearth of experts, and funds are lacking. The result of all this is that from the material point of view Asiatic nations are leading the poorest standard of life. Nobody can deny the fact that something has been done in this direction. There are great expectations from the Colombo Plan. If the Colombo Plan could be implemented in full then from the material point of view we can bring prosperity not only to our nation but to all the nations of Asia. In this connection, the primary thing is that we should try to understand each other and should consider and tackle our mutual problems in a co-operative spirit. I only quote one example in this connection. If we take into consideration the population of the various countries we will find that there are some countries which are over populated while others have very thin population. For example, there live 341 persons per square mile in India and Pakistan, 408 in Japan and 537 in United Kingdom. As compared to this, I found that in Australia and Canada there are only four persons living per square mile and in New Zealand there are eight persons per square mile. The people of Australia

and New Zealand think that the increase of population in India is a problem of India alone. A number of them asked me as to why we were increasing our population when we had so many economic difficulties. But they do not consider the question of increase of population to be a problem for themselves. While we need transfer of our population to some other places they need more people to live there. Indeed, they are more worried about the problem of population than we. In this connection Senator Rubeck of Canada once said:

"History has shown that if you neglect to use territory which is yours to cultivate and to occupy and in consequence you are unable to defend the territory, which has been assigned to you in due season some one else will use it and occupy it."

Mr. Casey who was Governor of Bengal for some time had declared about Australia:

"If we fail to populate Australia quickly enough we run the risk of losing our country."

Thus we see that while on one side there are countries which are over populated, on the other side there are countries that require a larger population. I believe that this problem can easily be solved if we all consider over it in a cordial spirit. The population of the over-populated countries can be transferred to the under-populated countries like Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and East Africa. For the solution of this and other problems there are several ways and means for coming to some understanding. I would put them in a few words—growth of mutual contact. We have to do something towards this growth of mutual contact. For example, exchange of students and teachers in the field of education, exchange of scholars and artists in the cultural field, exchange of experts in the field of agriculture, industry, medicine and other sciences and attempt to increase trade and commerce and imports and exports for mutual benefit. There can be many other things also which can help us to solve these problems.

Half of the world's population is misery-ridden and only half is happy. This situation of the world cannot remain as such for ever. A day will come when the people who are in misery would no more tolerate the prosperity of the rest. Seen in the right perspective, this is the true reason of all our wars and revolutions

[Seth Govind Das]

and conflicts. Are we to assume that all the land and the natural resources have been utilized? I am not prepared to accept that. I saw in Australia and in New Zealand vast tracts of land lying unworked. There are so many untapped natural resources today that if all the nations of the world consider over mutual problems in a cordial spirit and utilize all the land and natural resources, all problems can be solved. Only then these conflicts and wars and revolutions could be won over. I also want to say something in regard to the Embassies. I have seen some Embassies. I want to say that so far our Embassies are concerned, at least in the countries where I have seen them, in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and other places, they are doing very well. Some people think that huge amount of money is being spent over our Embassies. I do not know about other places, but the Embassies that I have visited are actually in need of finances and the amount spent over them is rather meagre. I would like to add in this connection that if our poor country cannot afford to maintain many Embassies, we may reduce their number, but I would submit to the Prime Minister wherever they are retained they should be so kept that an impression may not be created that they are the Embassies belonging to a poverty-stricken and starving nation.

In the end, I would wish to say something about the Indians who have settled abroad. Before the country's freedom this problem was viewed from another angle. Then, all these colonies were under the British. Our country too was a part of the British Empire. But circumstances are changed now. Our country is free today and we can no more afford to look to the problem in the old way. We will have to develop a different point of view. These problems are akin to the problems of the many other countries of the world, and the people of India, after understanding the whole situation will have to solve them in a spirit of mutual co-operation and cordially and thoughtfully. I congratulate the hon. Prime Minister on his foreign policy and reiterate that the country and all of us fully support it.

Dr. R. U. Singh (Uttar Pradesh): I propose to confine my remarks to certain questions of major policy. With a few inconsistencies here and there and with certain acts of omission, on the whole, it may be said that the foreign policy of the Government of India is a proper one.

Geographically we are so situated that we cannot afford to antagonise

either of the two blocs and therefore this policy of non-alignment with either of the two blocs must be said to be the only policy that in fact can be followed by us. But a policy of non-alignment requires adequate strength—adequate strength internally; defence potential must be adequate and further diplomacy must be suited to the requirements of the situation. I will say nothing with regard to one and two. Internally we are not quite sound. Our defence potential also is inadequate. But so far as our diplomacy goes, I think a great deal can be said.

One of the things that I think need not be emphasised is that foreign policy must be integrated to strategy. There is a very old dictum of Bismarck that in order that a person may be master in his own house he must be able to sweep the door-steps. Now, on account of modern technical developments the meaning of the word "door-steps" may be wide, but the truth is that as long as the present system of international order continues the system of security zone will have to be considered.

So far as India is concerned, I feel that if one draws a circle with one point of the compasses at Delhi and the other at Singapore or Suez, the area within this will roughly cover the entire zone of security. Our defence frontiers will thus extend to the Himalayan countries in the north, the Middle-East, Pakistan and Afghanistan and East Africa on the West and Burma, Malaya and Indonesia on the East,—of course the Indian Ocean is included in our defence frontier. This may appear to be surprising, but the lessons of the last war have demonstrated to us that this is not so. It may be remembered that the moment Nazis were threatening to enter the Middle-East the security of India was felt to be in danger and when from the East Japan entered Malaya and Burma the frontiers of India were exposed to danger. We may now examine our foreign policy with reference to this question of zonal security.

We have been able to enter into a treaty of friendship with Persia. We have also got very friendly relations with Afghanistan. But so far as the rest of the zonal security region goes I am afraid the Indian Government have not done very much in this regard. We need to be on the closest terms with the Middle East countries. I have been anxious to see what has been done by the Government of India in this regard and I feel sorry to say that the Government have not been able to establish close relations with

the Middle-East countries which I think is extremely necessary, considering our geographical situation. I do not know whether I should speak on this matter with frankness, but certain remarks I must make. We may not be able to avoid war in the world. The Prime Minister has done his very best to avoid it so far. It may be that he may be able to go a further length in doing so. But one thing I am sure about, that is, to a great extent the Prime Minister can succeed in seeing that India is not involved in war. And this, I say with respect, necessitates our considering certain other questions also.

One of the questions about which I have a great feeling is the question of the air bases. The nearer a country's air bases are established, the nearer is war brought home. I will not dwell further on this point, but I do feel strongly about the matter and I do hope Government have made up their mind as to the steps they will take here and there to see whether and to what extent they can prevent the establishment of air bases nearer our own country.

I would say a few words about Pakistan. Considered from this point of view of security it is hardly necessary for me to say that a person believing in this thing must necessarily believe in good relations with Pakistan. And from this point of view I must emphasize that those relations must be put on a very friendly basis now. I do realize that there are many difficulties. But just the same I believe something can be done. I was not very happy when the Indo-Pakistan Trade Pact was entered into recently, but I welcomed it because I thought it was a step in that direction. On the one side I had a feeling that it was a national humiliation. On the other side I said to myself that it is a step in Indo-Pakistan collaboration and any further step is a welcome step.

This brings me to the Kashmir question. It is very unsatisfactory that the question should continue to remain unsolved to the great detriment of Indo-Pakistan relations. I hope some way will be found. But I think the Government might make up their mind as to how they propose to solve it. A long time has now elapsed. We approached the Security Council, we approached the U.N.O. in the hope that something will be done. The accession of Kashmir was a legal one. We wanted Pakistan to be declared an aggressor. I need not dilate on this question. The House is well aware that we are very nearly in the position of

'aggressors'—that is the impression that the world has got. I must say frankly that so far as the handling of the Kashmir question is concerned, my faith in the U.N.O. is very greatly shaken. I do hope that the Government will have something to say on this matter as to how long they wish to pursue this matter so far as the U.N.O. is concerned and how they propose to solve this dispute with reference to Kashmir.

Coming to Tibet I must say that I am not very happy at the way the Tibetan question has been handled. Tibet stands as a bastion, a very natural bastion. It is for modern technicians to say to what extent this bastion is helpful to us or can be utilised against us. But this much is certain that India so far has required no regular garrison along the route of this long frontier of about two thousand miles. The company of troops stationed at Gyntse and Yatung is merely ornamental. The question before us is, could this state of affairs continue if Tibet came into the hands of a foreign power? I have no doubt that Government have given their very best thought to the question, and maybe it is out of a sense of frustration we are not able to take any forward steps. But I do feel that in this connection the Government have not proceeded properly. Almost in the very first communication that the Government passed on to the Peking Government they admitted the suzerainty of China over Tibet. As a student of history I regret to say that it is not possible for me to accept this as a settled historical fact. If a number of arguments could be given on one side, namely, that Chinese suzerainty over Tibet is a fact, I could give a very large number of arguments on the other side also. For example, when in 1904 the Young-husband mission went to Tibet, Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was a mere shadow. The Government deemed it necessary to settle the question by military means. In 1911 Tibetans expelled the Chinese. Tibet had had any number of relations with foreign powers. I see no reason why the Government should have been in such a hurry to admit Chinese suzerainty and get a rebuff so far as their own points of view were concerned. The so-called 'liberation' of Tibet has not been given up. There is only a temporary halt to it, and may be if negotiations failed the more effective method of military conquest of Tibet may be tried. But my hope is that the negotiations between Tibet and China will succeed because one of the parties to the negotiations is so weak. Here also—

[Dr. R. U. Singh]

the danger is no less. Negotiation between China and Tibet is as bad as the military conquest of Tibet by China. I will explain my point. I believe the House has come into possession of certain items of news here and there as regards the terms on which the Tibetan question is going to be discussed. One of these terms appears to be like this: China would help Tibet in building up her army into a powerful defence force against any external aggression. The House is aware that the term 'external aggression' is capable of a very wide meaning indeed, and one of the parties to this dispute is, as is well known, capable of interpreting it. The result will be that the little contact that we have so far with Tibet may not be permitted. I do want to warn the Government of India, are you prepared to write off your interests in Tibet? If you are not, then I do say, do adopt a more positive attitude for ensuring continued Tibetan autonomy. If Tibet comes under the Chinese domination, I need not emphasize what the consequences will be. The minimum that we will have to do will be to garrison our border which stretches to about 2,000 miles.

In the matter of Nepal, the Government certainly do deserve all the praise that could be conferred on them. They have handled the question admirably well. Of course, there are certain defects in the reform scheme that has been introduced. The principle of collective security, as introduced, means that the Prime Minister will continue to be very powerful and unless the Government is such, it is hardly likely that there will be an improvement. I also greatly regret that the terms of agreement did not provide for the establishment of a proper High Court. I could give any number of instances, but there is no time for it. I think that one thing that deserves alteration is the system of administration of justice in that country, particularly the High Court, where there is not a qualified judge sitting in Nepal.

I have no time and I shall make a reference only to the Indian Ocean region and I shall confine my remarks to Ceylon. The relations on the hypothesis, which I have got before me, the estrangement between India and Ceylon on the question of the status of Indians must be deemed to be extremely unsatisfactory. Ways and means must be found to resolve this deadlock. I will go so far as to suggest that we should evolve a common Defence plan so far Ceylon is con-

cerned, because in the event of war, if Ceylon is cut off, we will be the only people who can be in a position to defend Ceylon.

A word about the question of policy which I raised on August 10, when the Iranian Treaty was under discussion. I raised the point that the Government must make up their mind with regard to treaties. Will they take the House into their confidence and if so, to what extent? I wrote certain letters also to important men in the Ministry of External Affairs. No statement of Government policy has come so far. The Government might adopt the normal procedure of taking the House into confidence on every treaty and getting their approval or they might adopt the British practice of laying the treaty on the table of the House for 21 days or a month and then fix a time for discussion of the treaty and then the discussion might take place. Under democratic constitutions there is no justification for treaties being made in the manner in which they have been made by Government. The House must be associated with treaties. On this point I had a great many things to say, but I have no time. This House must be associated with treaties. In fact the Constitution provides that Parliament has got the powers to legislate. It has not legislated so far but practically the same result can be achieved by a Government statement of policy as to the extent to which they propose to associate the legislature with the making of treaties.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (West Bengal): We have during the last one year faced many problems affecting not only the welfare of our country but also of the world at large. I think it will be admitted on all hands, even by critics of the policy pursued by Government that the efforts which were made by Government, especially by the Prime Minister to avert war and to maintain peace, have been a noteworthy contribution of this country towards human progress. It has been a very difficult process. I realize it is easy for many to be critical after the event; mistakes have been committed, but still the ideal for which the Prime Minister stood, namely, that war must be averted, is one which may be claimed by India as India's own. I would also like to join in the tribute which has been paid regarding the solution of Nepal troubles. This also had given us a considerable headache, because it affected not only the position of Nepal, but also our own country. We can only hope that what has been done will soon be stabilized and the system of dvarchy which has been

established in Nepal—we had a very poor and unfortunate experience of the working of dyarchy in this country—will work well in Nepal for the good of the people of that country.

I shall have no time to deal with the various topics which come under the External Affairs Ministry, but I would like to refer to Indo-Pakistan relations, specially in relation to Kashmir. I do not wish to take the time of the House in discussing the effects of the Indo-Pak agreement of April, 1950. I might have an opportunity of saying something on this question later on. I do not personally think that the main object of the agreement was somehow to stop people coming out from East Bengal to India or somehow to make a number of people who had come away from East Bengal to go back to that country. The Prime Minister is a great admirer of statistics and the figures which he has supplied to us go to show that ten or 15 lakhs of people have gone back to East Bengal. But that is an erroneous approach to the basic problem. The circumstances under which they have been forced to go back and the circumstances under which Hindus are even today living in East Bengal are a very sad commentary on the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. People get tired of committing murders or loot or arson and satiety comes at some stage or other. The object behind all those tragic happenings which took place early in 1950 has been more or less achieved by Pakistan. There is no honourable place for a Hindu in East Bengal and those who have gone back—I can say from my personal knowledge—have returned disillusioned, disappointed and dejected. When the next blow comes—I do not know when it will come and what shape it will take—you will witness the tragic spectacle of lakhs of Hindus deliberately, voluntarily forsaking their religion and embracing Islam for the purpose of self-protection. Only the day before yesterday the Chief Minister of Assam in his Budget speech in Shillong said that there were at least eight lakhs of Hindus who had come away from East Bengal to Assam, who have not found it possible to go back, because conditions existing in East Bengal did not permit them to do so. The peace that exists is the peace of the dead and not of the living. I shall not deal with this point in further detail, but I shall come to Kashmir.

What is going to happen with regard to Kashmir and how are our relations with Pakistan going to be determined with reference to the future of Kashmir? I have never appreciated this policy of inconsistency in respect of our attitude towards Pakistan. If

you like, you can call it an instance of dynamic inconsistency which the Prime Minister is indulging in. He wants to have a pact with Pakistan with regard to a number of matters, especially matters which will help Pakistan, which will give Pakistan their life blood, strength and vitality, which will make it possible for Pakistan to fight with India. At the same time, he will say with great vehemence that Pakistan has been the aggressor on the soil of Kashmir, that is India, and for that purpose, he is prepared to go to any length for vindicating the rights of India in Kashmir. We feel humiliated at this extraordinary spectacle of a self-respecting country being at war with another country and at the same time hugging that country to its bosom when the people of that country are sharpening their sword-blades and preparing to wage war at the other. We went to the U.N.O. with the best of intentions. We thought that a quick and speedy decision would be reached, and that the patent fact that Pakistan was an aggressor in respect of Kashmir would be recognised, and the other natural consequences will follow. Three and a half years have elapsed since then. I do not know what is the total amount that we have spent on Kashmir, in carrying on this war. I believe it will be somewhere near 100 crores. It is not money alone; but the blood, the toil, the strife, the preparations which were made, and also the other responsibilities which normally came upon India for the purpose of carrying on this war were no negligible factors. What is the result? A stalemate, mostly of our creation. It is really amazing that although India's case is so just and fair, yet, we do not get the response that we deserve from many of those powers who are now adorning the U.N.O.; especially, the so-called big powers. What is wrong with us? Has there been anything defective in the matter of our publicity, or in the presentation of our case? Have we been out-witted by Pakistan in respect of matters which certainly are in our favour and are within the domain of truth? What is it that has happened? As the Prime Minister said, he is getting curiouseer and curiouseer like Alice in Wonderland when he comes to think of Kashmir. But does he himself realise where we are being led to?

I say that the time has come for India to declare emphatically that India does not want the intervention of the U.N.O. with regard to the settlement of Kashmir. We have had enough of this nonsense. If we are not going to get a fair deal from those who talk always of fairness and justice when

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they deal with problems affecting their own self-interest, well, let us remain alone and if necessary, let us be prepared to suffer for it. I know the Prime Minister has a soft corner for Kashmir, he has not concealed it, because that is his motherland. Very often I have envied Kashmir. If Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had come from East Bengal, perhaps, he might have seen a different picture of that area. But, that is neither here nor there. In any case, I do hope that the Prime Minister will now stand up for the dignity and prestige of India including Kashmir. Kashmir is Indian territory. A plebiscite was offered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru not because that was a right to which Pakistan could put forward any claim, but because he thought that was a democratic approach to the solution of a problem which was creating extraordinary difficulties. But this has been interpreted as a sign of weakness on India's part. You cannot have a plebiscite and a war at one and the same time. Pakistan wanted war. If even now they want war, let them have a taste of that war. But, they cannot say that they will have a plebiscite up to the point that it helps them to have a plebiscite, and carry on other types of conspiracy and activity for the purpose of infringing upon our legitimate rights. Therefore, the Kashmir case should be withdrawn from the U.N.O. and there should be no further question of plebiscite either. The Prime Minister said the other day at the Press Conference that if Pakistan proceeds an inch further, then he will regard it as a war on India. Why should he be so generous and charitable? Has not Pakistan already proceeded, not one inch, but many miles into the sacred territory of Kashmir which is India? Is it not today in occupation of the soil of Kashmir which India claims to be her own territory? Is that not sufficient justification for the Prime Minister to say: "Unless you vacate the territory which you have occupied, we will interpret it to be an act of war on India herself"? Let the Prime Minister make up his mind. He will not get any assistance from the U.N.O. I am not attacking the U.N.O. It is far from my intention to do so. But I have never understood their logic. There is aggression in Korea and therefore the whole world must come on the field of Korea to defend Korea from this aggression. China enters into North Korea and her aggression is quickly declared. Here actually Pakistan has entered into the soil of another country and yet, there are all sorts of legal quibbles and discussions as to whether

aggression has taken place or not. By a strange legal process, it is even sought to be shown that India is the aggressor and not Pakistan.

What is it you are doing? You are allowing Pakistan to get stronger and readier everyday. The Prime Minister himself referred to some of the speeches on *jehad*, abominable articles and utterances which are now being published day after day not only in Western Pakistan, but also in Eastern Pakistan regarding Kashmir. At the same time, by entering into trade agreement with Pakistan, you have given them their life blood for the purpose of carrying on war against you. If I am not mistaken, every day about 250 wagons are moving from India to West Pakistan carrying coal. West Pakistan is anxious that this coal should reach her territory quickly and so does not want it to come by sea. We have been so obliging as to send this coal to Pakistan. What for? Not merely to enable Pakistan to carry on her industries or other useful occupations, but also to get ready to attack Kashmir or to carry on its nefarious policy in respect of Kashmir should such an occasion arise. Does any country follow such a suicidal line of action? Let us make up our mind. If the Prime Minister or the Government says: "Well, no; we are afraid; we cannot fight for our rights; we want to have peace at any price", then make a present of Kashmir to Pakistan. If you want to say that having once got into the tangle of dividing India on communal lines, Kashmir also has to be divided, then, have the courage to say so, so that that portion of Kashmir where the Muslims predominate will go to Pakistan and the rest will come to India. That is not my personal opinion. My personal opinion is a clear and straightforward one. Kashmir has acceded to India. It is Indian territory. Any one who comes into that territory is an intruder, an enemy, and has to be kicked out of that country. There can be no other interpretation. If however you want this matter to be settled on some other basis, for heaven's sake, do not make strong speeches at Press Conferences and then behave in a weak and cowardly fashion towards the end. That has been our bitter experience in the past. Make up your mind as to what it is that you want in regard to Kashmir, because people are getting confused. They do not know what exactly is the policy of India. You cannot follow the policy of Dr. Jekvill and Mr. Hyde in respect of your relations with another country. You have got to stand up as one personality, one organic whole and deal

with your neighbour in a way which will be dictated by the honour and self-interest of your country itself.

I shall leave the problem of Kashmir there, and proceed to a few other points which I may just touch before I close. Reference was made by a number of speakers to bad foreign publicity. This is a matter which is really painful. Our external publicity is halting, is weak and even sometimes hypocritical. It has betrayed the country's cause. It has nothing to do with regard to facts about which a challenge is thrown at India. Prof. Mishra referred to that open campaign which was carried on by Pakistan with regard to the food asked for by India. I do not know what reply we issued to this campaign of calumny by Pakistan. I have received a number of leaflets and pamphlets circulated from Pakistan embassies abroad—even after the Delhi Pact—where India had been traduced and abused and villified and it is amazing that India is seldom ready to give a fitting reply to them. I met some foreigners who visited Calcutta in recent times and one of them very pertinently pointed out to me, after we had discussed some matters of which I had personal knowledge and on which I could give him satisfaction,—he said, "It is amazing how your country always sits on the defensive". That is the position. Pakistan comes or some other country comes and flings an open and direct attack upon us, but we lack the courage, or the resources or the materials or the will to give an effective reply. In our anxiety to pose a fair attitude, we bungle and betray. We often say: "You call me 100 per cent. rogue. No, I am not a 100 per cent. rogue, I am 25 per cent. rogue and the rest 75 per cent. I am an honest man." There seems to be something wrong either with the personnel you have selected or something wrong with the directive policy from the top. It seems to be a hesitant policy, a weak policy, a vacillating policy—do not go and hit your enemy, because we do not know what the result will be. That seems to be the attitude. But you cannot achieve much by this attitude. If you follow this line, you will ruin the country. It is not a question of personal whim or prestige. It is the prestige and the honour of the country that are at stake.

With regard to the general foreign policy that has been pursued, we follow, as has been pointed out, an independent policy. This has also been misinterpreted and misunderstood in many quarters. I entirely agree with the Prime Minister that we need not be in a hurry to go and declare our-

selves as the allies of one particular ideology or of another. We living in India do feel that the world is big enough for all of us to live in. It is madness to think that we can or should build this world on one pattern and one pattern alone. That is not possible nor desirable. Each country must have the right and the liberty to develop its own affairs according to its own ideology. And if some people desire to be communists, we need not go mad about it—we may wish them good luck. If some people wish to follow some other line or philosophy of thought, let them do so. Let not the communists go mad about it. The only condition that we impose is this. For heaven's sake, you keep your activities confined to your own territory. You do not attempt either to exploit or economically dominate over any other country or carry on an expansionist policy by means, open or subtle. So long as the activities are confined within one's country, it is all right. But even then there is one vital principle which you will have to bear in mind. What does India ultimately stand for? We have made up our mind about this. We have embodied it in our Constitution. We believe in democracy. We believe in the rule of law. We believe in the supremacy and the sovereignty of the people. That is India's philosophy and that is the accepted creed of India. But whether we like it or not, supposing a crisis comes, a clash comes and there is a terrific conflict between two ideologies, what will India do? What will be India's position? Can India remain quiet? Some friends say that even if war comes—not of India's seeking—India must remain neutral. But will it be left to India to remain quiet? Can she come to such a momentous decision? You may be thrown into the midst of the conflict, in spite of yourself. You should be able to stand for a certain ideology which you will be able to uphold and justify before the whole civilised world. If I suggest any modification in the Prime Minister's policy which he has very often declared, it will be only on the lines that India should make it clearly understood that we as a country, do not believe in dictatorship, in totalitarianism. We do not believe in suppression of opinion, of thought or freedom of association. We believe in democracy and in the rule of law, and if a conflict comes, then India must stand for the upholding and uplifting of democracy.

Lastly, with regard to the embassies, the suggestion was made by one of my friends that some sort of special enquiry should be made with regard to the working of the High Commis-

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sioner's Office in London. Now here, from the figures supplied by the Prime Minister, it appears that this office alone costs Rs. 48 lakhs which is almost equivalent to the entire cost of the External Affairs Ministry—the biggest establishment abroad. I do not want to cast any personal reflection on anybody; but certain facts have been placed before the House and while I was Minister I also knew about certain incidents and events, which do call for an enquiry into the working of this organisation by some people who will command the confidence of all concerned.

With regard to these embassies no doubt, economies have to be effected. But it is a grand work which has been done during the last three and a half years. Practically we have spread ourselves throughout the world. But I would appeal to the Prime Minister, quite apart from the political or economic activities of our embassies, let our embassies also stand as representatives of India's thought, culture and civilisation. This is a point of view which has been pressed upon me by people, both foreigners and Indians. Our embassies even today, more or less represent Anglicised India. I would like them to represent Indian India, and that can be done by proper instructions being issued and by the acceptance of a programme of activities which will make those places—big or small—spread throughout the civilised world, clearly represent what India stood for in the past and stands for today.

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. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (Bihar): Today I have only two things to say about the External Affairs Ministry. I have something to say in praise of the general policy of the External Affairs Ministry and secondly I have something to say about the utility of withdrawing our Kashmir case from the Anglo-American dominated Security Council.

Last year I was rather critical of the foreign policy but today I shall support the general policy of the External Affairs Ministry, subject only to my disapproval of the continued recognition of the Vatican, which I believe is against the conception of the secular form of our State, if we mean it seriously

The recent international developments have justified the stand taken by our Prime Minister and constitute a major victory for his foreign policy, whose cardinal points are racial equality, freedom from foreign yoke and world peace. When we succeeded in 1947 to British India's rights and obligations in foreign capitals we inherited a tradition and policy which was formulated by the White Hall and conducted in the interest of the British people. It was no joke to change that, tradition and bring about a real change in that century-old policy. But our Prime Minister succeeded in doing so and today we see that our chancelleries all over the world reflect the urge and wishes of the people of India as expressed by the External Affairs Ministry and are conducted in their best interest. I may add that the Foreign Ministry has been all along very firm and vigorous in implementing its foreign policy ideals of racial equality, freedom from foreign domination and world peace.

On the question of racial equality in the face of opposition from Britain and America and their likes in the U.N.O., indomitable courage was shown by our External Affairs Ministry in exposing the White tyranny over the coloured peoples of South Africa. Although the problem has not yet been solved our Prime Minister has succeeded in showing to the world how many Governments which pose themselves as democrats, not totalitarians, and guarantors of individual freedom, stand for effective implementation of those very ideals.

In regard to giving effect to the second point of his policy, namely freedom from foreign yoke, our Prime Minister had lent India's full weight to make the nations of Asia and Africa free from the stranglehold of colonial imperialism. The first fruit of this policy is the independence of Indonesia and the founding of a republican form of Government over there. Because of that people all over Asia and Africa and in other parts of the world are looking towards India for championing their cause.

The third point of our foreign policy is all the more important, and at the same time puzzling to powers who desire India to be on their side. But our Prime Minister has thought it wise not to align India with either of the power blocs—Anglo-American or Soviet—whose growing antagonism against one another is endangering world peace. India has done its bit to ease that growing tension. In the U.N.O., India has always supported the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes by mediation, conciliation, or arbitration; and not by resort to war

Since the outbreak of the Korean war our foreign policy has been geared towards averting world war. When the North Koreans crossed the 38th Parallel on June 25, 1950, India did not hesitate in calling the North Koreans as aggressors. At the same time it asked the great powers who count to localise that war and admit the New China, even at that late hour, in the U.N.O. But unfortunately, India's counsel fell on deaf ears and went unheeded; and the nations of the Anglo-American bloc rushed their forces to Korea. They did succeed in chasing the North Koreans up to the Yalu's banks despite India's next friendly suggestion of not crossing the 38th Parallel. But later under heavy pressure from the Chinese fighters they hastened to retreat. The Chinese might not have done so had China been admitted to the U.N.O., and the U.N. forces remained South of the 38th Parallel. I believe it would be worthwhile even now if the 38th Parallel is not crossed by either side, whether it be the U.N.O. or the North Koreans, and a peaceful solution for founding a free Government for the whole of Korea is arrived at, which are so anxiously desired by the Nehru Government.

India has carefully and conscientiously followed her foreign policy ideals even in places where her own interests are at stake such as in Nepal, Tibet, and Kashmir, and avoided to do anything which may prove detrimental to world peace. Pandit Nehru has splendidly succeeded in solving Nepalese tangle. The Tibetan tension, too, seems a bit eased down, not much to China's credit but to the fair and frank policy of Pandit Nehru who has more than once been branded as "Anglo-American Stooze" by the Chinese provocateurs.

I come now to my second point, namely, the utility of withdrawing our Kashmir case from the Security Council. The Kashmir case has been before the Security Council for over three years and under vigorous signalling from the interested powers, Britain and America, the Security Council has been dillydallying that issue, fearing that its decision on merits might offend Pakistan, which the interested powers are hardly in a position to afford. Why they are doing so, only they can tell. But I believe Pandit Nehru was perfectly justified in saying that the British and U.S. representatives either do not understand the Kashmir problem or knowingly misrepresent it.

We all know what has been the policy of Britain since the 19th century. We also know what the British diplo-

macy has been about since its heydays of the 19th century. Russia and China have always been anathema to Britain. The possibility of danger from Russia and China has always been kept in view by His Majesty's Government in formulating India's foreign dealings. That fear has not yet been allayed. Though India has now gone out of their hands, the British people are still having great interests in this part of the world. However, they fear. And their fear might be minimized by keeping a man of their choice, say a meeky mice, in Kashmir. Because in Britain's eyes an independent India is hardly dependable for Britain.

The same holds true for the U.S.A., too, specially in these postwar years when Russia and China have emerged as two great challenging powers. It is an open secret that Britain is the measuring rod for America's foreign policy so far at least this Indian sub-continent is concerned. America has been almost dittoing from the very beginning what Britain does about Kashmir. And this is the tragedy of the situation that a great nation like America is unable to grasp what should justifiably be done about Kashmir.

I would like to say that I admire the Americans' curiosity to learn and their zeal for justice. But here in case of Kashmir I find myself at pains to see them lacking terribly in both,

The situation being so, there is hardly any hope of justice being done in case of Kashmir in this Anglo-American dominated Security Council. I therefore urge that the Kashmir case should be immediately withdrawn from this Security Council, whatever may be the consequences.

Shri Mirza (Hyderabad): I thank you for giving me this opportunity. I will say at the outset that it is possible to pick holes here and there in the foreign policy of our country, like the question of foreign settlements and so on. But we must remember that the foreign policy of any country has to deal with the whole world, and unless you take the world in one great sweep and view it with that perspective in mind you are likely to go wrong, and you are not likely to come to correct conclusions. Therefore, keeping that in mind we have to see the direction in which the foreign policy of a country flows and whether that direction is in the best interests of the country.

There has been a great deal of criticism both in this country and abroad, about our foreign policy. The neutrality of India has been looked upon with suspicion and has even been in-

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terpreted as hostility. I submit this is not fair to this country because those who criticise on this issue would like India to join one or the other of the two blocs and the reason for their advice is based on their ideological bias. The foreign policy of no country in the world is determined by ideological considerations. I am keeping in view the history of the world from the crusades down to the present day. Take the case of Russia which believes in ideology intensely and fanatically and would go as far as to stage a world revolution for that purpose. But you know the policy she pursued during the last war, the alliances she made and the ideologies that these countries represented with which she allied herself. Or even take the policy of Russia today and compare it with the policy of Czarist Russia. I personally do not see much difference between the two. It is the same pressure towards the Mediterranean, the same desire to penetrate towards Iran, the same policy in pursuit of a hold, direct or indirect, over Manchuria, the same eagerness to penetrate to the warm water of the Pacific, and the same desire to prefer the occupation of China to the 'open-door' policy. Therefore, ideology has never been the basis in Russia's foreign policy. The same is true of the Allied countries. They fought the war to crush fascism in the world, but are they not now presenting a Nelson's eye towards the fascist Spain? And take the case of Indonesia and Morocco. Did they go and appeal to any Muslim country? Did they not come to India for aid? I ask you, Sir, where are the ideologies that these gentlemen are so insistent upon? It is necessary to make our position quite clear in this matter because we have heard what Dr. Mookerjee told us in the morning. Dr. Mookerjee made the proposition that we should declare that we believe in democracy and things like that, and that if anybody attacks us, if any dictator takes a step forward, then we will go forward and participate in the fight for democracy. That is nothing but alignment. He talked a great deal about courage—spine is the greatest part of the human anatomy for him—but still I do not see how the policy he advocates differs from alignment which some of these people advocate. The position of India today is this. On the land frontier she is faced with the biggest land Power in the world, on her sea frontier she is faced with the combination of the biggest naval Powers of the world. Once you align you are doing nothing but translating, on global terms, the old balance of power policy once pursued in Europe, which led to

bigger and bigger wars. Naturally, once you align with any of the two blocs—it does not matter which—the other bloc will seem danger and it will not be right or wise for it to allow time to pass in which India's huge man-power is mobilised and her industrial potential is put on a war footing, because in that would lie the extinction of the other bloc. And therefore it would be in the interest of the other bloc to instigate border incidents or to declare open war so that that country may not be in a more disadvantageous position later on.

Therefore, this policy of neutrality, let it be known to the embassies of the world, is pursued chiefly and only because of the intense desire of India for world peace, and I submit this is also the only policy which is in the best interests not only of this country but of the whole world.

Coming to specific questions, the foreign policy of India has been extremely successful. The foresight that India has shown and the advice that she gave, which was not heeded at the time but later admitted to be correct, is I think a very surprising thing indeed and is a thing of which we can be really proud. About China; India advised to admit China into the U. N. O. Quite a number of countries opposed that idea, but it is now recognised by political thinkers that had China been a member of the United Nations most of the complications that the world is faced with today would have disappeared. Again, as regards China there is a confusion in people's minds. China, just because she is a communist state, is treated differently than she would have been had her Government been of another type. And Europe, I submit, is making the same mistake which it did with Russia twenty-five years ago when Russia was considered an outcaste and the whole world combined to keep her at bay. Then it was the nationalism of Russia that stood face to face with difficulties and it was nationalism that triumphed, but it was communism that capitalised the success. Today also we are exciting the nationalism of China, a country with nearly 500 million people, and the feeling of pride of their race; the feeling of pride in their country, will make the Chinese stand up. If you keep them away you will find that they will become invincible. There will be hardship, there will be suffering, but that is not the way to meet communism.

As regards the questions of Tibet and Nepal, I think it was the great capacity shown by this country to see other people's point of view—not only

see other people's point of view but see it with sympathy—that made it possible for the armies marching into Tibet to be stopped without firing a single shot. And I think that it is because of the good will that India has created in China, and because of India's desire for peace and her real faith in peace, that she has made other countries realise her aim. The question of Nepal involved a question of progressive ideas and we all sympathise with any progressive movement. It was also a question of a border country and thus involved the question of security. It was a very delicate problem and within a few months India managed to settle it with very little loss of life and property. The present statesmanship in Nepal will, I hope, take advantage of this and see that the position is consolidated.

Now, I will come to our little neighbour Pakistan. (*An Hon. Member: Why little?*) I am one of those who feel that partition is one of the saddest episodes in the history of our country. I need not repeat what Pakistan has been doing. My friend Dr. Mookerjee has been saying it again and again. Only a few months ago, lakhs of people were coming with their property lost, their kith and kin killed. They were coming with tears in their eyes; they were coming with bleeding hearts. At that time my friend advised—and probably he might advise the same thing today—exchange of population. War was also mentioned. I will not deal with war, because war is not really suggested very seriously. But what does exchange of population imply? It implies an admission on the part of India of the two-nation theory against which we have been fighting so long. It means a renunciation of that which India has stood for in the ages. Apart from all the miseries and the economic chaos and ruin that a transference of people from one place to another in crores implies, it is the ideological consideration that is important. India has always stood for harmony amongst groups of people. She has always stood for a synthesis of cultures and religions. She must always be true to the philosophy which declares, "Even those who worship other Gods worship also me, oh! son of Kunti!" If India is not true to this philosophy, then very respectfully I submit to the House that while this remedy might heal the body of India it would inflict a lasting wound in the soul of this country. Our Prime Minister in the teeth of opposition came to an agreement: he had the strength not to be carried away by frenzy or momentary passion. Now we all realise that

that peaceful process is the correct one. There has been a lot of criticism of the Delhi Pact, but I submit that the conditions as described by my friend Dr. Mookerjee are not true to facts. Although they are not still satisfactory, they are not what they were before April last year. Things are moving in the right direction and the Government of India has tried to heal the sore and the sore is healing.

There is only one pin-point and that is Kashmir. About that, my fight is not with Pakistan; Pakistan will work in her own interest. My fight is with the United Nations Organisation and the Security Council. It took only a few hours for those bodies to declare aggression in Korea. But although three years are over, the United Nations Organisation has not the strength or the conviction to face the facts and declare to the world what is the correct position. As long as the U.N.O. is a mere Assembly of Big Powers and does not convert itself into an Assembly of the People; as long as it shirks the issue and does not try and see the position in its true aspect and unhesitatingly declares what is the correct fact, so long will there be no hope for the United Nations.

In conclusion, I would only say that looking at the picture as it was before and as it is today, we are left in no doubt as to whether our foreign policy is justified or not. If our foreign policy is correct, then I would request the House not to grudge any expenditure on our Embassies, because they are the eyes and ears through which we see the world and they must be well looked after. England spends on her Washington Embassy in pay alone £1½ million and on publicity £1¼ million. Our needs are just the same, but our expenditure is very little compared to England's. I would therefore request the House not to insist on economy in regard to our Embassies.

I have come to the end of my story. Only a year ago, there was trouble in Nepal. Armies were marching into Tibet. Refugees were pouring into India in lakhs from Pakistan. There was a possibility of war with China; at one time, war was only a question of days. Today, Nepal problem has been peacefully settled. The Tibetan Delegation is going to China to arrive at a peaceful settlement. The Pakistan refugee question has been solved a great deal. The prospects of war are also receding. For all this, the one reason is that we had one who is in our hearts, who has taught us to shed fear. It is only when the world sheds fear and develops the capacity to see the other man's point of view

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that peace is possible. In that direction, India is making a great contribution.

• The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I am grateful to you, Sir, for this opportunity given to me to intervene in this debate at this stage to say some things on behalf of Government. Those hon. Members who have already spoken have been so exceedingly kind and gentle in regard to our foreign policy that there is really very little that I need say in defence of it. Something has been said about various matters—some relatively secondary and some smaller matters—connected with it. The main thing is after all the objectives and trends of our foreign policy and as far as I have been able to make out there is a very great deal of agreement in this House in regard to those objectives and trends. So, I must express my gratitude to this House for its kind reception of this subject.

It is not an easy matter for me, or anyone else, to speak about a subject which is as broad as the world and which involves so many varied and difficult problems. I confess that although I have given a great deal of attention for a large number of years to these matters and am constantly in touch with developments in the world, I have not grasped this sorry scheme of things entirely. I try to do so as much as I can and take counsel with my colleagues and advisers, but in the nature of things the world and the foreign policy that goes with it become more and more complicated.

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An hon. Member, speaking this morning, quoted a dictum of Bismarck and laid down that we should consider our frontiers to be somewhere in East Africa, Malaya, Burma and various other distant places. Now, that observation of his and his quotation from Bismarck for a moment transported me to some other century. And I am sure that my hon. friend who said this himself mostly spends his time in some other century. If he were to refer to Bismarck and his dicta in this connection, he will find that not only is Bismarck long dead, but his policies are 'deader' than Bismarck. And if any person or any country seeks to follow that policy, he is bound to fail. If we think in terms of our frontiers thousands of miles away from India, then others will think of their frontiers in India—it is obvious—and immediately clashes are bound to arise. The fact of the matter

is that this nineteenth century outlook of the world, which the hon. Member represents in this House, is an outlook of a few European powers, a few European imperialist expansionist powers who were trying to spread out all over the world,—in Africa, in Asia, etc.—sometimes coming into conflict in these distant continents, sometimes overlapping, sometimes coming to war with each other, trying to grasp the world and dividing it amongst themselves. There is no part of the world left now for any imperialist power to divide or to seize hold of. They may, of course, try to do so and may even for a moment take possession of some territory here and there. There is no doubt also that there are still very strong expansionist powers, whatever their other policy may be. So that, let us forget the nineteenth century and even the early part of the twentieth century and think of this rather critical, rather tragic, moment of the middle of the twentieth century that we live in. Let us also not imagine that foreign policy is now a kind of game of chess played by superior statesmen sitting in their chancelleries. It is much more complicated and it is a thing involving the passions of hundreds of millions of people, involving economic urges brought about by a variety of factors, involving the consequences of the tremendous technological developments that have taken place, involving war on a scale which is wholly unimaginable even to us here, today, though we read about it. So, it is a completely different thing. It is not a question as in the old days of siding with one power against another and trying to get something out of it, gambling for some possession and advantage and so on and so forth. Therefore, it is not an easy matter to deal with this position except by trying to understand some basic causes underlying it, except by having some kind of objectives for which one strives, except by having some kind of a yardstick by which one can measure one's own activities or policies.

Normally, when people talk about alignment and the like, it is, to say the least of it, a tremendous oversimplification of the issues. One can understand alignment in times of war—everyone is forced to do that: one sides with one power in a war. But I confess that I have completely failed to understand why this war-time psychology should be imported in times of relative peace and people should try to compel this country or that to line up with this group or that. I am not concerned for a moment with the policies of this group or that. But my simple policy—and it is not a negative policy, it

is not a passive policy—is first of all, as far as possible, doing our utmost for the avoidance of world war, or any war; secondly, of judging issues on the merits and acting accordingly.

What does this word 'alignment' mean? It simply means doing something which you think is not right, but because some others think it is right for you to do it. It means nothing else. It means that on the merits you may have one opinion, but because you are tied up to somebody else you have to surrender your opinion, you have to give up the policy you would normally pursue, because somebody else wants you to pursue some other policy. That is what alignment means. I do not think from our own point of view that would be a right policy to adopt, more especially with all our background, not of today, but of a quarter of a century's background. It would be completely wrong and we would fall between two stools. We will neither follow the policy based upon our inherent past ideals and our present needs, nor can we easily fit in with the new policy. Therefore, our present policy is an automatic and normal development of what we have thought and said and it so happens that it is of some help towards the maintenance of peace, or the avoidance of war.

I am not a prophet and I cannot say what troubles the future will bring in, because we seem today, looking at the world picture, to be continually talking and discussing navigation when the ship happens to be going down.

Now I shall refer first of all to some of the subjects mentioned in the course of the debate. They are rather minor ones and I would prefer not to deal with minor subjects. My colleague the Deputy Minister will deal with some of these matters. But one or two points I would like to refer to.

There was a reference, repeated reference, to external publicity. Now I am completely free to confess that I am not satisfied with our external publicity. I am not satisfied with it for a variety of reasons, among them being, first of all that it is inadequate because of financial and such like reasons and secondly, taking it all in all, the personnel is not quite so trained or satisfactory as we would want to have it. Hon. Members who referred to this said two things which are slightly self-contradictory. On the one side they said that they want persons in charge of our external publicity to be experts in India's background history, culture, etc. I agree. We

certainly would like to have those persons. They also said that they should be trained journalists. Now, normally these two qualities are not to be found in one person. In addition to that, of course, there are obviously some other qualities required, not only general qualities but special and specific qualities relating to the particular country they may serve in. A person may be a great success, say, in the United States of America and may be a complete failure, say, in China or in some European country. It is a very difficult thing—just as in the choice of diplomatic personnel—the choice of our officers engaged in external publicity. But apart from this I should like the House to consider that external publicity can be done in a way as the United States of America or the United Kingdom, that is great countries with great resources indulge in. The amount of money they spend on it is enormous and completely beyond our resources. Personally, even if I had that money I would not spend if that way. I would much rather use that money for our own development in the country than spend such vast sums in the way such sums are spent by some of the big countries. If you do not spend those sums you have to function in a different way. You cannot compete with them in this way, and we do not want to compete with them. Our ways are different. Our background is different. The fact of the matter is that external publicity can be helped or can be hindered by the capacity or lack of capacity of your representatives, but ultimately it is governed much more by what happens in your country and not what we say about it there. It is governed by your general policy.

And what is the test of external publicity or, in fact, of a foreign policy? The ultimate test is whether your country rises, generally speaking, in status in the councils of the world or in international affairs. That is the general test, apart from any particular subject that may come up. Today, if I may venture to say so, India may be heavily criticized—and India is criticized, because of her general policy, by those countries who do not approve of that policy—nevertheless, at no time previously was the importance and status of India greater than today. I do not wish to exaggerate this point and it may have no great relevance because ultimately it is what we are here in India that counts, not any right or wrong reputation that we may have elsewhere. But the fact remains that progressively our status in world affairs has gone up, our voice counts—whether it is liked or disliked. And it

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makes a difference, not because our external publicity is good or bad, but because of other factors. In regard to certain other matters where public opinion in the world or in some countries may be against us, or may appear to be against us, that is governed far more by extraneous considerations than by what our representatives may or may not do. I think you expect too much from our representative abroad if you think that he can influence a whole country by some, shall we say, pamphlets, sheets or talks that he may give. He can only emphasize what our general policy is, bring it to the notice of other countries. He cannot convince them if they do not want to be convinced. He has to function within the orbit of our general policy. If that general policy for some reason or other is not approved of by the other Government or by public opinion in the other country, then it is not his fault. The responsibility is with us. Unfortunately today there is a great deal of adverse criticism in some countries against our policy and sometimes that criticism takes rather a personal shape too. Well, I do not think we should, much as we regret it, pay too much attention to this, or at any rate we should not either allow our minds to be filled with resentment against such criticism or allow it to deflect us from any policy which we consider right.

About foreign possessions in India some hon. Members wanted us to issue some kind of an ultimatum. It is extraordinary how far some hon. Members go on what they call a 'strong line'. They want us to issue an ultimatum to the United Nations Security Council, to the various countries, to various possessions in India, to anybody who according to them does not function in the way they think, he or it ought to function. That is not the right way. Apart from that it is not a very realistic way of looking at things. One does not go about, in this complicated world, issuing ultimatums, unless one follows the Bismarckian policy that the hon. Member referred to, and has the strength of Bismarck behind and has the corresponding weakness on the other side. So that, our policy in regard to the foreign possessions has been this. First of all, it is perfectly clear that India cannot tolerate any footholds of foreign powers in this country. Further, that in so far as those peoples are concerned we want to get them an opportunity to live their own life, to have autonomy to decide their own internal fate, if I may say so, because they have also a background of two, three or four hundred years of history of a certain varied type of culture. We do

not wish to interfere with it. That is not our Government's policy even though some individuals might talk about it. That being decided, how are we to bring this about? Obviously, there are only two ways of bringing this about, either by war or by diplomatic means. So far as war is concerned we do not wish to have war and we rule out war for anybody unless we are forced into it by another party. That is for the House and for the country to decide. If they want to go in for war at any pretext, we do not—whatever country it may be. But the world being what it is we have to be prepared for war and we keep an army and navy as efficiently as possible. So that, the only alternative left to us is the diplomatic method, and we pursue it. Remember also the present state of the world. Progressively it becomes more and more of a powder magazine and it is dangerous anywhere, whether it is outside India or in any part of India—or if I may casually say, in Kashmir—for any step to be taken which apart from affecting that immediate question is dangerous for peace elsewhere too. So one has to go slow, much as we dislike it in regard to these foreign possessions. And it may be that in the ultimate analysis that relatively slow progress now may be the swiftest in the end. Otherwise, if one gets entangled it may take much longer.

I do not wish to say much about the major questions in the world, whether in the Far East, in Korea, or in Europe. The House knows that foreign ministers of certain important countries are meeting in Europe and proceeding very slowly in coming to an agreement even in regard to the subjects for discussion. So long as people discuss these matters round the conference table, there is always hope of some solution being found. It may not be a final solution but at any rate it will avert war. Our object today has been for the same method to be employed in the Far East, that is the powers concerned to come round a conference table. At one time, it almost seemed as if this could take place, but unfortunately it did not and events took a different turn and the United Nations passed a resolution which for the moment came in the way of some kind of negotiated settlement. Since then, war has proceeded in Korea and whatever the result of that war may be, I suppose Korea and the people of Korea will largely vanish away and fade. I suppose Korea will remain, but it is a sad commentary in our present day politics that whether a country goes to enslave another country or whether it goes to liberate it, the consequences on that unhappy country are exactly the same and that

is death and misery by the million. The situation in Korea from the United Nations point of view has improved somewhat in the last few months. There have been no major military actions for some months, but there has been some slight improvement. I rather doubt if that has made any great difference in the situation. I am no military expert and I can say nothing but another curious feature of the situation has been brought to our notice again forcibly in recent days. The United Nations was meant to be and was organized as an institution for the preservation of peace. The United Nations today are engaged in meeting aggression by armed force. The United Nations has no armies really to carry on wars; it has to rely on others. A new development is taking place, a rather remarkable one that military commanders in the field make statements about political policies. It is a very extraordinary development which is fraught with grave consequences for all the countries concerned. The course of development during the last few hundred years among all countries, whatever they may be, whether they are democratic or non-democratic has been for the civil Government of the day to lay down policies and for the armies in the field and the commanders to carry it out. In determining that policy, no doubt the commander is consulted, his views are taken on the military situation, but policies are laid down by Governments and not by commanders in the field. Certainly no commander in the field, so far as India is concerned, is going to have any voice in laying down any policy at any time. It is the Government of India that will do it. But this strange thing is happening in the Far East, that policy making statements of great significance are issued sometimes by the commander in the field, who in his profession has a very great reputation; he is a great general, but whose incursions in politics may not be so happy. On the whole, if I may express my opinion, rather guardedly, I would say that the last two or three months, to put it negatively, have not brought war nearer. On the whole the tension or the prospect of world war has rather receded; it has by no means disappeared, but it has receded somewhat and that is some gain, provided we can take advantage of that gain, provided we do not get used to it. If we carry on in this way and perhaps if we have to meet some grave crisis, some eruption suddenly, we cannot overcome it.

One thing which is not related to this—it just occurred to my mind because what was mentioned was about India House, our High Commissioner in London. One hon. Member

said that he had learnt that India House did not submit any accounts or papers etc. here and was a kind of *imperium in imperio*. I was very greatly surprised to learn this because it was complete news to me but in order not to make any mistake, I referred the matter to my Ministry and asked what the position was, and as I knew, I was told that this statement of the hon. Member was very, very far from correct. I will read out the note I got from my Ministry about this matter.

“Not only all the High Commissioner's Office figures are audited by the Auditor of the Home Accounts in London, but the final consolidated figures of expenditure are sent by the Auditor to the Accountant General, Commonwealth Relations Office here for incorporation in the Central Government accounts. The High Commissioner sends us full details of his budget estimates. These are scrutinised and approved by the Ministry. This second procedure has been in force since last year.”

There is no question of the accounts or any part of the accounts not being scrutinised etc.

My hon. friend, Dr. Mookerjee also referred to India House in rather mysterious terms and suggested that some enquiry might be made. So far as I am concerned, I am perfectly prepared, whenever there is any reason for it to have an investigation or an enquiry. But one must have some specific subject for enquiry. It is true that India House at the present moment is by far the most expensive of our foreign missions and at the same time India House is not just a foreign embassy. It is a collection of all kinds of important and miscellaneous activities, some derived from the old India Office, a very large educational section dealing with thousands of Indian students, a very large section dealing with our Army and Navy and Air force, a large section dealing with the Supply Department, a large medical section and so on and so forth. Now, it is open, of course, for us to vary or change that organization or to limit our activities whether in the military field or the educational field or the rest. But one must remember that quite apart from the normal ambassadorial functions, which again in London are far heavier than any other mission abroad, London still continues to be one of the highly important world centres from the political point of view as well as from the economic point of view, so far as we are concerned. So, quite apart from the very heavy ambassadorial

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work that it has to undertake because of these various important departments, they can be examined whether any economy could be effected. That is a matter for examination, but this vague idea that something is wrong vaguely, does not help at all. Any particular matter that is brought to our notice can certainly be looked into.

Now, the House knows that in our dealings with foreign countries, perhaps the most important country is Pakistan. For a variety of reasons, apart from being our very near neighbour, past history and all that has happened in recent years have raised many problems. Past history has really made Pakistan part of India historically, culturally and the rest. So, on the one side we are intimately connected with them in spite of all that has happened. Large numbers of people in Pakistan have their friends and relatives here; large numbers of people in India have their friends and relatives on the other side. When people come from the other side, when they go from one country to another, they meet their old friends and they embrace each other and they forget for the moment the new barriers that have arisen and talk of old times with a certain nostalgic feeling. That is so. It is also true that what has happened during the last 3½ years has raised enormous problems. The Partition would have raised them in any event; but what happened after the Partition has made them infinitely worse. All these years, we have been struggling to meet this position and somehow to get back to normality. We have not succeeded although we have made some progress. Any problem, whether it is the problem of East Bengal or any other part of India as regards Pakistan is basically governed by this Indo-Pakistan relationship which exists today, which is not a normal one, and behind which lies a great deal of suspicion and fear. How are we to deal with this?

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee thought that we were inconsequential and illogical: on the one side we talk of coming to terms with Pakistan, being friendly to them and arriving at a trade pact which he said helped Pakistan to get strong; on the other, we are talking in strong terms in regard to Kashmir or some other place. That is true. We do both, because both are necessary. Obviously you cannot take up an attitude that there are no problems, because there are problems. Nor can you take up an attitude that because we have not come to terms in regard to

Kashmir, we go out for an all out conflict. These are the two positions, very logical positions no doubt, but logical only in the theoretical sense, not logical in the real sense of the problems we have to face today. The result is, we have to pursue in a sense both these policies. It is really one policy and the policy is this. We are convinced that India and Pakistan must as rapidly as possible revert to normality in regard to their relations. We are so situated that we must have that close co-operation which two neighbouring countries have. Mr. Bakor Ali Mirza said that he deeply regretted the Partition. So do all of us. Nevertheless, I think we all realise that however sad the Partition was, however sad the consequences of Partition were, the fact remains that Partition was approved by or accepted by us and it must remain. Any idea or attempt to go behind that is not only utterly wrong from the practical point of view, but is fraught with the gravest consequences. It may be some sentimental approach of the problem; but it is not the real approach. Therefore, one recognises the fact that Pakistan and India are two independent neighbouring countries. Now, from the economic point of view, from the political or any point of view, they should have close contact with each other. It is only when they develop those contacts that our relations will be more or less normal. Before we do that, we cannot get rid of the difficult problems that the Partition and after have raised. We try to meet them; we try slowly to get over them. For us to lose hope and say that these problems cannot be solved has no meaning. We may as well say that the world problems cannot be solved and therefore we declare war against the world. We do not. We struggle; we go step by step. Sometimes we succeed. Only recently we came to a trade agreement. Why did we come to this trade agreement? Not in a fit of generosity for Pakistan, though it is not bad to be generous, because generosity pays in the end provided it does not injure, provided you are not generous at somebody's expense or at the expense of your country's interest. Of course, that would be wrong. Otherwise, it was not a question of generosity. An objective view was taken of the conditions apart from sentiments and a decision was taken which no doubt profited Pakistan somewhat, but which profited us also. Otherwise, we would not have taken that. There is a tendency to think that anything that might perhaps injure or harm the opponent is good because it injures the opponents. But, it may also injure us. Therefore, the trade pact was a step

not only objectively considered a desirable step, but also one which went some distance towards bringing some normality in our relationship. Other questions remain as the House knows. There is the canal waters issue, the evacuee property problem—very important matters; they remain. We have made various approaches of which this House knows. I will not go into them.

Finally, I come to the Kashmir issue. Normally, I would not have said much about the Kashmir issue because it is, at the present moment, before the Security Council. I believe it is coming up tomorrow at Lake Success. But, I should like to say something now in order to remove apparently some doubts that have arisen or some confusion that has arisen, not in the minds of Members of this House, but rather of others. I should like to say here one thing. More than one hon. Member talked about our withdrawing this from the Security Council. That may be a reaction which is understandable in the circumstances. But, nevertheless, I do not think that, if the hon. Member thinks about it, he will advance that argument. First of all, I am not quite sure if anything can be withdrawn at all in this way. It will be a gesture which will have no meaning. Secondly, this would mean our re-orientating our whole basic policy towards the United Nations Organisation as well as to the great nations in that Organisation. It is not a small matter. We have from the very beginning looked up to the United Nations Organisation, not because we considered it a perfect organisation, but because we felt that it was an Organisation the basis of which was right, the object of which was right. Although it may have gone wrong often enough, nevertheless, some such organisation was essential. If the U.N.O. ceased to function to-day, it would be a disaster in the world. All the nations of the world will then have to start another organisation, may be on a slightly different basis, but more or less something comprising the various nations of the world. My own feeling has been a feeling of distress that the U.N.O. has somewhat drifted from its original conception. Nevertheless, whether it has drifted or not, it is the only world organisation and it would be a dangerous thing for any country in a fit of impatience, to weaken that organisation, and cut itself away from that organisation because then there will be nothing left to cling to in the international sphere. Therefore, any suggestion that, because of the Kashmir issue, we should do something which would amount to our cutting ourselves

adrift from that Organisation, I think, is wrong and should not be advocated. We have, if I may submit with all respect, in this world to avoid any sentimental or passionate approach to these problems. In regard to Kashmir, it has sometimes been said, not in India but abroad, that India's approach is a sentimental one. Well, if India's approach is a sentimental one, I do not know what Pakistan's approach is and how it could be characterised, as one reads about it day to day from the Pakistan newspapers.

Anyway, I can assure the House that the Government of India consists of persons—I know my colleagues—who certainly are not people who are easily swept away by sentiments. They are men of great experience and with a capacity for cold-blooded reasoning which is remarkable. May I also remind the House of a fact which people may forget, that after this invasion or raid of Kashmir, for some months afterwards, we had the good fortune to have Gandhiji still with us. We all know Gandhiji and the world knows him and he was no lover of war or of any kind of violence; and hardly a day passed when I did not seek his advice in matters that troubled me. In regard to the Kashmir issue I went to him many times, I went to him on the very first day when this problem arose, to seek his advice. I did not wish to entangle him and put the burden on him; nevertheless, I wanted to know his reaction on all important things. What he said and his attitude to the problem is not a private thing, because he repeated it in his prayer meetings. It was not a sentimental thing, it is not as if he was swept away by some sudden gust of sentiment, because he did not function in that way, but he had, after a close analysis of the whole problem come to certain conclusions.

Now I should like to say something about Kashmir and the situation as it is to-day. The House will remember that a short while ago, a resolution jointly sponsored by the United Kingdom delegation and the U.S.A. delegation was brought before the Security Council. We felt when we read this resolution, I must say, greatly distressed. It seemed to us so completely wide of the mark to ignore so much of what had already happened that we could not just understand how the able representatives of great nations could possibly have sponsored that resolution. At that meeting of the Security Council the Foreign Minister of Pakistan also spoke at great length and made charges which were remarkable even for him in their

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wildness. I had something to say about it—I forget whether it was in this House or elsewhere—but I do not wish to repeat all that. But the way this resolution was brought forward, the approach of the resolution rather, at this juncture, seemed to us from every point of view, dangerous for peace. Now, when we find that the whole approach to this question continues to be wrong and distorted, one cannot remain silent. It is an approach which I think is wholly unfair to India and the people of Kashmir. We made it clear that we could not accept that resolution and so we were not prepared to suggest any amendments to it. Now, in the place of this joint resolution, an amended resolution has now been placed before the Security Council by the same two sponsors. There is some improvement in this; but even now, the basic feature is ignored completely as to what the real position is, and there are certain recommendations which we have all along made it clear we cannot accept. Apart from this amended resolution, I must express my regret at the tone and content of some of the speeches made there, especially the speech of the representative of the United Kingdom, which display what appears to me to be an astonishing ignorance of the entire problem.

I should like the House to remember in this connection that not only when these resolutions were placed before the Security Council, but long before and since, there has been a continuous and intensive propaganda in Pakistan for *jehad* against India. Now, it seems to me that, with the background of *jehad* and with a background of wild charges made against us, it was hardly possible for any talk or settlement. The background has to improve before you can talk in a friendly way or at any rate, in a way which may lead to some kind of result. Now, India—I hope we have made it clear—desires peace above everything, peace for the world and peace with all our neighbours. But India is not quite so feeble or weak as to submit to insults and threats of *jehad*. From the very beginning it has been our declared policy that the people of Kashmir should decide their future. We adhere to that and whatever might happen, it is the people of Kashmir who will decide it. Because of this policy of ours we accepted the idea of plebiscite, provided that the proper conditions for it were produced. Those conditions have been stated in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission and the Security Council in August 1948 and January 1949. It is because an attempt is made jointly to

go behind those resolutions that there has been difficulty in arriving at a settlement about the conditions preceding a plebiscite. We made many important concessions when we accepted those resolutions. Certain fundamental matters remained on which there can be no possibility of any further change or concession. Both the substance and the order laid down in those resolutions of 1948 and 1949 were considered vital by us. We cannot agree at any time to a vacuum being created in Kashmir for the sake of satisfying Pakistan or her sympathisers. Nor can we agree to leave Kashmir unprotected or ungoverned or allow any outside authority, civil or military, to take charge of that country.

The resolution now proposed at the Security Council does not flow from the resolution of August, 1948 but is a new proposition unilaterally produced. It is a new resolution and the arguments advanced in support of it by the U.K. and U.S.A. delegations put forward a fantastic and entirely new theory that Kashmir is a kind of no-man's land where the sovereignty is undetermined. Neither the United Nations Commission, nor the Security Council itself ever advanced such a theory previously, and indeed, they could not do so because the facts were clear enough. Kashmir is juridically and politically an integral part of the State of India and at no time has the United Nations Commission or the Security Council challenged this fact. The fact that a neighbour country has committed aggression upon it and as a result of war a certain part of the territory has been removed from our factual control does not make any difference to this basic fact.

Because of our desire for peace and to avoid further bloodshed, we accepted the cease-fire agreement and allowed this military position to stand pending negotiations. This has been interpreted to mean as if Pakistan had not only acquired some kind of political right over the territory under its present control but had also a right to interfere in the other part of the Kashmir State territory. We cannot accept either of these interpretations. In no view of the case has Pakistan the slightest right of any kind. The issue of accession of Kashmir to India is something arising from the Indian Independence Act and the negotiations that preceded it and it is fully in accord with all that has happened with regard to the accession of many other States. This accession took place when India was still a Dominion of the Commonwealth

and the act of accession was accepted on behalf of the Crown by the then Governor-General. It is strange for His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to argue that another Dominion acted unconstitutionally. The Republic of India inherited the position left behind by the British Government.

Apart from accession it has to be remembered that India today is a continuing entity, taking over all the rights and liabilities that vested in the old India. We continue to be in the United Nations without further election. We took over all the duties and liabilities of the old India and in every other way the rights and responsibilities of the old India came to us. These rights and responsibilities included the protection of not only the Indian States that had acceded to us but any others about which there had been no accession to Pakistan. Thus irrespective of accession we would have had an obligation to protect the people of Kashmir against aggression. Kashmir at no time has been recognised as a State under international law but has been an integral part of India. The Partition made no difference to our responsibilities in regard to Kashmir so long as it did not deliberately accede to Pakistan. We went to the United Nations not to determine the accession issue or where sovereignty lies. We did not go there to seek arbitration but to complain about the aggression of another State, which was likely to lead to international complications and probably affect peace. Evidently the sponsors of the joint resolution before the Security Council have a short memory and have forgotten how the matter came before the Security Council and the history of the tragic events that had preceded it. The United Nations utilised the position of our having made a reference in this matter to widen the scope of their enquiry and despite the protest of the Kashmir Government we in order not to lower the prestige of the United Nations gave every facility to the U. N. Commission. Until this moment neither the U. N. Commission nor the Security Council has suggested that the question of accession was arguable.

We have at all times been agreeable to the idea of a peaceful settlement by mediation. But we have not considered arbitrament as suited for the solution of a complex problem like demilitarisation at the present dangerous juncture. We submit that this proposal for arbitrament is neither a fair nor a healthy proposal and it ignores the basic facts we have mentioned.

A great deal of stress has been laid in the revised resolution and in the speeches sponsoring it on the proposal to have a Constituent Assembly in Kashmir. While stress is laid upon this no mention is made of the continuous threat of war that is hurled at us by Pakistan from day to day. We have made it perfectly clear that the authority of the Security Council is not challenged in any way by the proposal to have a Constituent Assembly in Kashmir. This follows naturally and inevitably from our Constitution and our general policy all over India. It is intended to regularise the position in Kashmir whereby the authority does not flow from an absolute sovereign or from a political party but is derived from the people. I want to repeat that Kashmir is an integral part of India and is governed, in so far as the subjects of accession are concerned, by the Constitution of India. We cannot upset or violate our Constitution, because of some resolution put forward in the Security Council. We are always prepared to have the assistance of a mediator to explore avenues of a settlement with him. How far such a mediator at the present juncture would be helpful is a matter to be considered. But we cannot accept anything that flows from the basically wrong argument of the proposed resolution before the Security Council.

I have ventured to remind the House of the legal and historical aspects of this case because of their essential importance. We have no desire to base our position on a legal formula only but we cannot accept the position that the law and the Constitution on which we stand can be ignored.

Apart from the law the political consequences of any proposal or suggestion have to be considered. It is not a small matter for some kind of an *ad hoc* decision but a matter which concerns not only the four million people of Kashmir but the hundreds of millions of people of India and Pakistan. It would be an act of very little wisdom if something is done which might lead to consequences involving those hundreds of millions.

I ventured to repeat some of these arguments in regard to Kashmir, not because this House is not acquainted with them or requires any convincing. But unfortunately in this world people forget, more especially when a wrong thing is said and said repeatedly, and so I think it desirable to say this at this stage.

So far as we are concerned our policy in regard to Kashmir I believe

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

has been consistent throughout. There are certain essential basic principles on which we could not compromise. Apart from that we have always gone out to seek a settlement. Where these principles are being attacked we have made it perfectly clear then and now that we cannot submit or surrender on these issues. And I repeat that it is not a matter of prestige—false or true—on our part; it is not a matter of sentiment but of hard fact and of hard appraisal of the situation and of the consequences arising from any wrong action that might be taken.

I should like to express my gratitude not only for what hon. Members have said generally about our foreign policy but for the patience with which they have listened to me.

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, may I ask, in regard to the observations that the Prime Minister made about the partition of India, is it the Prime Minister's view, in spite of the fact that there was no plebiscite or referendum over the question of Partition, a method which we have suggested and even accepted for the settlement of some other issues facing us, that the partition of the country has been approved by the people?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member can hardly expect me to answer that. I do not know if the hon. Member is referring to the whole or parts of the country or only parts affected. What I said was this: that this Partition is final and has to be accepted and any attempt not to accept it or work against it can only lead to disaster and to graver problems in the future. Therefore we proceed on the full acceptance of it.

Shri Hussain Imam (Rihar): May I suggest, Sir, that in view of the very illuminating speech of the hon. Prime Minister we may sit for a little longer today?

4 P. M.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: On the other hand, I thought the hon. Member was going to suggest that in view of the very lucid exposition of the problems by the Prime Minister there was no need to sit further, that we may adjourn now and have some leisure. Anyway we will go on and I will call a few Members one after another. I hope the beautiful atmosphere that has been created will not be spoiled. This is a very delicate matter, and therefore I hope the same atmosphere will continue.

The Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): Sir, I would suggest that the discussion continue till five o'clock after which the Deputy-Minister may speak.

Hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: How long will the Deputy-Minister take?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): Fifteen to twenty minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then I shall call the Deputy-Minister at 4-40 P.M. Meanwhile hon. Members may take advantage of the time available. As many of them as is possible may speak, but the time-limit of ten to twelve minutes may be observed.

Shri Joachim Alva (Bombay): I rise to stress one particular point which my hon. friends missed this afternoon. I want to mention the problems of the countries of South-East Asia which are nearest to us, countries like Indo-China where the war of jellied gasoline bombs is being waged mercilessly and where whole populations are moved by the spirit of nationalism against the foreign invader. I would very much like that we express our sympathy with the peoples of Indo-China. Though no doubt the frontiers of the world have contracted, and though no doubt our frontier is neither at Cairo on this side nor Saigon on that side, the atomic bomb has destroyed all the frontiers of the world. I specially mention South-East Asia because if the hostilities in South-East Asia cease, two million tons of rice will be released to us. Not only that, the problems in South-East Asia cannot be ignored by us because the countries of South-East Asia are our nearest neighbours and the conflagration may spread from Indo-China to Burma and then, whether you like it or not, we shall be in it.

Secondly, I would like that we express our sympathy more wholeheartedly with the oppressed peoples of the world, especially the people of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. After attaining our independence we do not now seem to remember the woes of other peoples still suffering under the throes of imperialism or under the throes of Western imperialism. We have a duty to perform towards our neighbours; we have a duty to perform towards our fellow-sufferers whose sufferings began long before ours or even when we were suffering. Their sufferings have not yet ended whereas we have attained independence. We

must express our whole-hearted sympathy with those countries and assure our strength and moral courage to those peoples who are still under the heel of the foreign conqueror in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. Unless the problem of these oppressed countries is solved we shall have no liberty in the world and wars will still be waged on account of these causes.

Another question I want to refer to is Goa. As you know, the Portuguese authorities in Goa have been waging a relentless battle through Radio Goa. What I apprehend in times of internal commotion in our country or in times of external aggression, is that this Radio Goa will play a very mischievous and malevolent role. This House is perhaps not taking full note of the landing of Negro soldiers in Goa as stated by some hon. Members this morning. We must take note of all that is happening in Goa; for while we may be embroiled in Kashmir or in other conflicts, we cannot allow the heart of India to be converted into a base of attack against India.

The end of the first world war saw nationalism rising in the West, saw aggressive and concentrated nationalism coming in the U.S.S.R. But the end of the second world war saw the rise of freedom units, self-governing Asian countries. And the third war, if and when it comes—may it never come—if and when it comes, will destroy the foundations of capitalism through the atom bomb. The countries of Asia and Africa will also be liberated. Therefore, we cannot but express our sympathy on behalf of those oppressed and subjugated peoples of those countries in Asia and Africa under the iron heel of Western Imperialists. We must note that the country and this House stand solidly behind the Prime Minister's foreign policy. Strangely enough there are some straws in the wind and right-away when this debate is taking place in this House there is a conference for cultural freedom meeting in Bombay. We welcome all the foreign thinkers and poets who have come to it, but if an attempt is made by this cultural minority to make an attack on the basic values of our foreign policy we shall certainly resent it. There is a heading which has appeared in a Bombay paper, "Cultural Congress will devise scrapping of India's neutrality". These are straws in the wind. We shall see that we never allow any minority in our country, in collusion with outsiders who may come in the garb of thinkers and writers and journalists, to make an insidious attack against our foreign policy. The whole country and this House are

behind the foreign policy pursued by our Prime Minister.

There are many more things of which one could speak. Some of my hon. friends have already referred to points of administrative detail. However, in conclusion, I would like to say that in regard to Korea, the Prime Minister's warning regarding the crossing of the 38th Parallel has now passed into history. As regards China, she is our next-door neighbour, with whom we are linked by ancient ties of friendship. We cannot allow anybody to destroy China. The Chinese feel as though somebody is sitting right on their head and they feel worried about a threatened invasion which may take actual shape now or later. Describing our foreign policy some hon. Member wrongly said we are sitting on two fences. We cannot have any foreign policy except that which is based on enlightened self-interest and national character, on our past, on our principles of peace and non-violence, and also on the fact that we are a young nation, which has just attained freedom. We shall join no side lest we become the victims of a Power where material values are enthroned, or of another Power where spiritual values are dethroned. We have our own philosophy; we have our own enlightened self-interest; we have a very strong army and our law and order are maintained exceedingly well. If these two instruments of law and order on one side and of defence on the other are in good mettle, we can see sooner or later that the home policy, built on the strength of the army and of the strength of law and order, will eventually help us to build up a strong foreign policy.

[SARDAR HUKAM SINGH in the Chair]

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad (Bihar): I am sorry that Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee is not in the House at the present moment. But for his suggestion that Government should make a declaration that in the event of war India will give moral support to the cause of democracy, I would not have ventured to speak this afternoon after the Prime Minister's speech. I think this is an entirely misconceived suggestion. The struggle that is going on in the modern world is not a struggle between democracy and dictatorship: it is a struggle between capitalism on the one hand and socialism on the other. Above all, it is a struggle between America and Russia for the establishment of world hegemony.

I hold the opinion that democracy and dictatorship are not contradictory concepts. The lowest common denominator of all forms of government is

[Shri Brajeshwar Prasad]

democracy. It is the basis of all Governments. Both totalitarianism and parliamentarism are forms of democracy. The totalitarian form of government represents the indirect form of democracy while parliamentarism is the direct form of democracy. During the last War, a whole nation stood behind Hitler. It is preposterous to suggest that that form of government was undemocratic or tyrannical. Totalitarianism cannot be prevented in a country by making a declaration on the floor of the House.

Shri Kamath: Shout from the roof.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: Totalitarianism comes when the atmosphere is ripe for it. Realising fully that the next step in political evolution is the establishment of world hegemony, I hold the opinion that it is desirable for us to join hands with China and Russia. Of necessity, India will have to join the great defence areas of China and Russia. (An Hon. Member: No.) It is a geo-political necessity. We cannot remain neutral, in the event of a war between China and America, for if China goes down, with an American-dominated China on the one side and Pakistan on the other, we will be ground between the upper and the nether stones of the grind-mill and be liquidated out of existence.

World hegemony is inevitable. By no stratagem on earth, the institution of the nation-State can be maintained for long. The days of the nation-States are over. The first question before us is: what kind of world do we want? And the second question before us is: do we want the transition to the new world by methods of peace or do we want it by methods of violence? If we join hands with China and Russia there will be a peaceful transition to the new world; if we join hands with the Anglo-American bloc, there will be war and bloodshed on earth. We want Asian hegemony to be established over the world. (An Hon. Member: Over the world?) Yes. Do we want an American-dominated or an Asian-dominated world? If we want that there should be Asian leadership in this world, we should join hands with China and Russia. Whether we like it or not, Asia is going to become one. The question of alignment or non-alignment is merely a temporary one which will vex and trouble us for some time to come, but within a decade this question will be one of mere-academical interest.

Shri Hussain Imam: It is a great pleasure to find that even the worst critics of the Prime Minister have come out with a need of praise for his handling of the Nepal affair. Nepal

is not a solitary instance in which the handling of the foreign situation has been peaceful, compromising and realistic, but every step that the Prime Minister has taken has proved to the hilt the correctness of his policy, which is based on rationalism, compromise and reality.

Let us look at the things he has done during the past financial year. First of all, we had the Korean question. His stand was that the U.N. Forces should stop at the 38th Parallel. This was disregarded with disastrous results to the U.N. Forces which we all have seen. Again, when the thing was at a different stage, when the aggressors had come back to South Korea, he suggested the method of compromise. He wanted to resist the declaration of China as an aggressor. It was disregarded. What is the result? Today, the Good Offices Committee has been unable to do anything and the U.N.O. has been unable to make China bend its knees. That was the second instance when the advice of India was disregarded by the U.N.O. with disastrous results to itself.

Then, in the beginning of the financial year which is going to end, our Prime Minister entered into an agreement with the Prime Minister of Pakistan in spite of strong protests and dark forebodings. What was promised out of that agreement and what has come out of it? Even if it had succeeded in restraining the flow of evacuees, it would have been successful enough. The rate was as enormous as six or seven lakhs per month. Not only did the agreement stop this, but according to the statistics, about 18 lakhs of people have gone back to East Pakistan and six lakhs have come to West Bengal. That is an achievement in itself, of which we all can be proud.

After the very considered statement which the hon. Prime Minister made on the Kashmir issue, I would not like to say a word. But I would just like to say this, that the world has seen and we have seen that his policy may not appear to be very strong in the beginning, but in the result it is the right policy that can be adopted. Therefore, we must all place our implicit faith in him and let him be the skipper who can guide the ship safely ashore through the stormy seas in which we are passing.

My only object in intervening in this debate was to suggest that India is not an ordinary country like other countries of the world. It has a special mission to perform. I feel that India in the not very distant future

will be one of the first Four Powers, if it is not already one of the Big Four Powers of the world. As such, it owes a duty to other suffering humanity in Asia and Africa. Our Foreign Minister has been trying to take up cudgels on behalf of the down-trodden people of the world. We had an example of it in the case of Indonesia, but that is not enough. As long as imperialism remains in Asia and Africa, it is the duty of India—once itself a slave—to emancipate them and it is by that action that we can establish a leadership of our own, not through bayonet or Bismarckian policy but through service which has been the distinguishing feature of the policy of Mahatmaji. I, therefore, suggest that there should be a “Jawahar Doctrine”, to match the “Munroe Doctrine” of America, to the effect “Hands off Asia and Africa”; “Asia for Asians and Africa for Africans” and “No foreign power shall be allowed to remain”. That should be our objective. It is no honour for India to be regarded as a big power. India’s mission is to liberate—as she has liberated herself—and it is only by that means that we can establish, as I said, our leadership through service.

America’s supremacy today in the United Nations is due to the fact that tiny countries on the American sub-continent have been given representation of their own. We with thirty-five crores of people have got one representative as against Guatemala’s ten lakhs or so. It is unjust that population should not be taken into account in the matter of representation on the United Nations councils. The injustice is all the greater when we find that large tracts of Asia are under foreign domination. As soon as they are liberated, they will side with us, just as Indonesia and other countries are siding with us. We must also make it our bounden duty to compose our differences with all our neighbours. With Ceylon we have got some troubles over the question of Indian nationals, the same is the case with Burma. All these problems must be compromised. It is only by means of this policy of ‘live and let live’, and a spirit of forbearance, that we can establish our position to which we are entitled. That will be the day when India will be regarded as the leader of Asia and Africa, it is an objective for which all of us should work.

Shri Raj Bahadur (Rajasthan): Sir, I am grateful to you for having given me an opportunity, though at the far end of the day. We know we are all living in an era which may be aptly called “an era of no peace, no war”, or “partial war and no peace era”.

On the one hand we see that the Korean cauldron is raging with the same unabated fury and heat. We see signs of unrest in Persia over the nationalisation of oil industry. We see that the British have come out with the declaration that they will go in for production of Atom bombs. On the other hand we have General Eisenhower’s declaration that he will resort to the use of Atom bomb if that will in any way influence the outcome of the war. Lastly, General MacArthur has openly come out with a threat of utter destruction for China. This is the predicament in which humanity finds itself today.

Since we last discussed foreign affairs on the floor of this House, the world has drifted nearer to the brink of catastrophe. In this atmosphere surcharged with violence and hatred, with clouds of war gathering all around, the lonely and solitary, but firm voice of India stands out for peace and that voice of peace we heard in the noble words of our Prime Minister today. He has rightly said in one of his recent press conferences that in case the fury of atomic war were to be let loose upon humanity not less than one thousand million people of the world will be involved in it. It might perhaps be an extreme estimate. But nobody can deny the possibility of uttermost destruction in case such a war breaks out.

But when we speak with a firm voice in favour of peace, without aligning ourselves with either side, our voice is sought to be stifled and drowned in the din and noise of political bickerings and animosities. We know how politics and hunger are being played against each other. There is unseemly delay for political reasons in the passage of a Bill for the alleviation of human misery. On the other hand we are confronted with an Anglo-American resolution on Kashmir. Whenever we speak of Kashmir, I am reminded of an incident that happened when the League of Nations was functioning and I am amused to think whether the League of Nations did not actually function better than the United Nations. That does not mean that I have lost my faith in the United Nations. I am reminded of an incident which occurred in 1925. In October 1925 the Greek forces crossed the Bulgarian-Macedonian frontiers. It happened to be a time when the Council was not in session. Bulgaria at once ran for the help of the Council. The then President of the League of Nations M. Aristide Briand summoned the Council on three days short notice, and issued an order to both the parties to cease fire. The

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Greeks did not reply to that. When the Council was assembled it issued an ultimatum of 24 hours to the Greeks that in case they did not cease fire sanctions would be applied against them. The result was healthy. Truce was secured and after that a Commission of Enquiry was appointed. The whole affair was closed with a heavy fine on the Greeks. This was the way in which the League of Nations dealt with the problem at that time—the problem of aggression.

But what do we find now, when our territory has been openly and deliberately invaded by Pakistani hordes? Could not the Security Council have taken a lesson from history? It is a pity that after the bitterest experience that humanity has received during the course of two wars the United Nations have not acted even as expeditiously and as reasonably as the League of Nations did. That is the state of affairs.

So far as the new proposal of arbitration is concerned to decide the destiny of a whole people, it appears to me to be an unprecedented one. This morning and in the afternoon I have been at pains to find out whether there was any precedent anywhere in the history either of the League of Nations or of the United Nations, where the destinies of a people have been decided by this sort of arbitration. The House may be amused to know that there has been only one incident where such a course was resorted to, and that was in the dispute over the island of Palmas or Miniagas—a small island situated somewhere near the West Indies—between the U.S.A. and the Netherlands. This was as early as the 4th of April 1928 and in that case arbitration was resorted to only on the mutual consent and agreement between the two contending parties. It was never forced upon any of the parties in the way it is sought to be done in our case. It is very strange and peculiar that this sort of arbitration is sought to be thrust upon us. I do not know how far this resolution claims to bring about peace. To me it appears to be nothing but a sort of blackmail.

Some hon. Members have said that our publicity machinery has failed. I for one think that it may have its own weaknesses or faults. But the fact of the matter is that when people shut their eyes, no amount of publicity will convince them.

Do the Anglo-American bloc not know what happened after partition? Do they not know that it were the Pakistani hordes which committed

aggression? Do they not know that even now threats of a *jehad* or holy war are being blatantly given? Only this morning we read in the papers a report that the so called Azad Kashmir leader, Gulam Abbas, has presented the Freedom of Kashmir to one Grand Mufti of Palestine and that was done not by handing over the keys, but a rifle, saying that this rifle and not the key will open the gateway of Kashmir for Pakistan and Islam. The so-called Mufti has blessed it and said that *jehad* is the creed of Islam. But let it be known to the world that the strong words—words free from all doubt—that have dropped from the lips of the Prime Minister have got the solid backing and will of the whole Indian people. India stands on its own, it stands on a moral plane. Kashmir is the heart of our hearts, the blood of our blood, the flesh of our flesh. It is an integral part of India, and nobody and no power can separate it from India. We shall shed the last drop of our blood to save and defend Kashmir which is part of India. In such circumstances as we find ourselves in we shall have to stand on our own legs. We shall have to look for help from no other quarter but mobilise our own resources, strength and energies for the defence and security of our motherland.

There are so many contradictions in the present-day world. On the one hand the United Nations stands for peace. But the nations which compose the United Nations are spending thousands and thousands of millions of dollars over armaments, over their defence budgets.

Shri Kamath: Disunited Nations!

Shri Raj Bahadur: My friend calls it the Disunited Nations. I do not object to it. My regret is that the United Nations happens to be the last hope of mankind for peace, the last hope of civilization to exist. And if the sort of policies that are being pursued by certain of its members who happen to hold the reins of the United Nations succeed, perhaps the faith which is put in it by the people, the down-trodden people of other countries, the people of the less influential countries, might be shaken. And it will mean disaster for the world, for humanity and civilization. That is my regret. Anyhow the point I was making was that the U.S.A. which is the most important of the powers in the world is spending over 12,000 million dollars over its defence. The entire annual expenditure of the U.N.O. comes to 50 million dollars. On the other hand our defence budget is only 40 million dollars. In such ca-

circumstances when we see that those who stand out for peace and claim peace are spending so much on their armaments and preparing for war and destruction, is it not proper for the world, for all the nations, to think that if humanity and civilization have to survive they have got to listen to the voice of peace that flows from the lips of our Prime Minister?

Shri Alagesan (Madras): The Prime Minister today took over some of his old halo, the halo that surrounded him during the freedom movement, and he would be loved and supported in the country for the stand he took and the cause he represented of India in Kashmir.

I would like in passing to make a reference to our embassy in the United Kingdom though it has been touched upon by some hon. Members. Last year while speaking on that subject I had to mention that the budget of the embassy is not submitted to the Finance Ministry for scrutiny and approval, that it is simply submitted in the old way and is not being scrutinized. I am glad to find that the practice has since been changed and that the budget is now being submitted for approval. But the slice that our embassy in the United Kingdom takes over is very large; it is about one-fifth of the whole. While economy has been effected and expenditure curtailed in other embassies we do not find any such economy effected with reference to our embassy in the United Kingdom. If the tradition of taking over is true in any place it is so in the embassy in the United Kingdom. I do not want to use strong language about it because I know it is a very vulnerable spot in the texture of our embassies.

I shall now straightway go to the question of Indians overseas. In particular I should like to mention about the plight of Indians in Ceylon. Nowhere is dissatisfaction and disappointment felt so much as in regard to the way in which we have gone about tackling this problem of Indians overseas and the foreign possessions in India. I do realize that the position is changed. Ceylon and ourselves are no more parts of the same Colonial empire ground down under the heels of the common oppressor. Now we face each other as two independent nations. Certainly this position of our independence should give us a better facility to appreciate the viewpoints of each other and come to a settlement. On the other hand, the status of independence of both the nations seems to obstruct, and does not facilitate,

the coming to a satisfactory solution of this problem. Because the Indians that have gone to Ceylon come from that part of the country from which I come, that part of the country is more agitated about it. Most of the people who are in Ceylon are labourers. They have been sent there by the common consent of both the Governments in the old days, though emigration has been stopped on the advice of the Congress Ministries from the year 1937 onwards. Having gone there and having contributed not a little to the economic development of the country, they now find themselves in a sorry plight. They are neither here nor there. What do they want? What is the position? They are about ten lakhs in number, that is, roughly one-seventh of the total population of the island. Most of them want to live there, want to continue their avocations, and want to acquire Ceylon citizenship. To this many obstacles are placed in their way. Recently, though it has been amended, there has come the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act. That Act places difficulties in their way and sees to it that a number of them are not registered. Though Indians are in such large numbers, so far only a few hundreds have been registered as citizens. Not more than a few hundreds. The rest could not register themselves. Nobody will suggest that the mailed fist should be pressed into service in regard to the solution of this problem. We have to exhaust all friendly methods. We can bring it about only by friendly methods and friendly pressure. This question was placed before the recent meeting of the A.I.C.C. at Ahmedabad and the Prime Minister gave some assurances. Now it is high time we took up this question and tried to solve it to the satisfaction of all concerned. The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs has toured Europe and America and come to know about the conditions there first-hand. It is good and it is necessary that we should tour occasionally and look about the world for ourselves. But it is something like a child being attracted more towards the bazaar than towards the quiet lanes and streets. It is better we also send our representatives to these countries, where Indians live and where they suffer, so that their problems may be studied at first hand. Now, what is the position? All the Indians there are required to register themselves to entitle themselves to citizenship. About 40,000 applications of heads of families have been made. It will cover the registration of about two lakh citizens there. These applications have been pending for a long time and in the meanwhile there are

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yet many more applications to be filed. The disenfranchisement of the Indian population has been going on with a vengeance. Recently a by-election was held owing to the unfortunate death of the Speaker of the Ceylon Parliament and it was found that more than 18,000 Indian Tamils who had the right to vote in the previous election had suddenly lost their right. When it was enquired into, it was found that because of the Exchange Control regulations there, these poor estate labourers were asked to sign a form in which they had to say that they were only temporary residents, so as to enable them to send a few rupees as remittances to their relatives in India. They were misled into signing that form. Though an assurance was given on behalf of the Government of Ceylon that the signing of the form would not disable them from acquiring citizenship and though they signed with that knowledge, later on it was found that this had become a disqualification under the new Citizenship Act and now they have been dis-enfranchised and they have lost their vote, that is, more than half the Indian population resident there have lost the vote. That is the position and if that is allowed to continue, the whole Indian population there would lose their political rights and they would have no pull in the public affairs of Ceylon. This happened in the constituency called Balangoda. While they were dis-enfranchised like this, there were others who were allowed to make remittances near about Rs. 25; they sent that money to their relatives in India and their rights were not disturbed. So this discrimination was made and the wrong has to be set right.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

It is good to hear that the new Home Minister of Ceylon who touched India on his way to Burma gave an assurance that he would see to it that this problem of acquiring of citizenship by the Indians there is solved to the satisfaction of all concerned. It is good to hear that assurance, but if people are impatient, if they felt that satisfactory results are not forthcoming even after years of negotiation, it is understandable and the Government should take early steps to set right these matters, of course, always realising that we have to deal with an independent nation, but even so we have got a duty and an obligation to perform by the Indians resident in Ceylon.

Dr. Koskar: My task in replying to the various suggestions and criticisms levelled by Members of this House has been lightened to a great extent by the very lucid exposition that the

Prime Minister made on the floor of the House regarding our foreign policy and certain aspects of it which were criticized by various hon. Members.

I will only mention certain matters put before the House by Members about which the Prime Minister had not time to throw any light on. I will first mention the question of publicity. The Prime Minister did say and explained an aspect of the publicity question and the difficulties that we have to encounter with regard to it. But I feel that it would not be fair to the existing publicity organization of the Ministry and also of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry if I allowed the impression to remain that not only the staff is inadequate and we have not got enough money, but the set-up, as it is, is to some extent incompetent or is not able to do something. We have to approach this question from a somewhat different standpoint. Most of the speakers have tried to lay stress on the fact that Pakistan publicity has been good, has been effective, while ours has been halting. Some hon. Members went so far as to say 'hypocritical' and probably 'contradictory'. I would like to ask hon. Members to analyse the approach of ours regarding publicity and the approach of Pakistan regarding foreign publicity. Pakistan's approach is, I submit, negative and I would not say destructive, but probably showing out the shortcomings of India or running India down. I call this a kind of negative policy. It is always easier to run down anybody. But it is always very difficult to try to build up something. Our publicity has not the task of running down Pakistan or running down any other Power but the aim of our publicity is constructive. We aim at making the world acquainted with India, with the facts about India, with bringing the rest of the world closer to India. Now, this is a long range process. It is not possible to undo the evils or the ignorance spread about India during centuries of foreign rule. It will take some time before we can see some tangible results with regard to this publicity but I submit that that is lasting publicity and that is the only solid basis on which we ought to base our publicity abroad. Then there is also the question of expenses. The Prime Minister referred to this aspect. I would only like to draw the attention of hon. Members to the fact that our present budget is Rs. 3.2 millions for external publicity. The U.S.A. budget for external publicity is 20.5 million dollars and the U.K. budget is 1.5 million pounds.

An Hon. Member: How many rupees?

Dr. Keskar: It will be about rupees ten crores.

An Hon. Member: What is the percentage?

Dr. Keskar: I am sorry I am not able to give the percentage off hand. It is obvious that with the very restrained means that we have at our disposal, it will not be possible for us to do publicity on the scale that the U.S.A. or the U.K. are doing. The Prime Minister very rightly referred to the fact that our publicity is also not of the same type as that of the big Powers, but I will draw the attention of hon. Members to the fact that in spite of the great handicaps under which we are labouring, in spite of shortage of money, in spite of the stringent economic conditions, whatever we have achieved during the last three or five years of publicity is something of which we need not be ashamed. I make bold to say, and I can say from my personal experience—I am saying this to those of my hon. Members who always draw our attention to the effective publicity of Pakistan—that India is at present known and appreciated more in all countries of the world in comparison with other countries which are spending much larger sums of money. I know when my hon. friends refer to that aspect of Pakistan's publicity, they refer that Pakistan, on some political questions, is able to get some things done or some resolutions passed, by concentrating its propaganda on a few countries. But, as I said, our propaganda is to make known our country better and I submit that we have succeeded to some extent in doing that.

There was a lot of criticism with regard to publicity on Kashmir. I do agree that with regard to Kashmir, we have not been able to put through our view point in the Press or the opinions of the main powers of the world. But, we have also to consider the difficulty that faces us in this matter. We have to combat against the background that has been created through decades of British rule with regard to the two-nation theory, with regard to the Hindu-Muslim question which has inculcated in the mind of a large part of the world that a Hindu majority area will necessarily go to India while the Muslim majority area will necessarily go to Pakistan. I would also ask hon. Members to realise the difficulty, for example, in doing propaganda with regard to Kashmir in a country like the United Kingdom

where the opinions of a large number of people, of journalists, thinkers and politicians, have already definitely made up their mind on the issue. It is not possible for us to undo or change the opinion of people who have formulated and crystallised their opinion for a very long time. No doubt, in certain parts of the world, we could have done probably some more propaganda than we were able to do. But, as I said, it is a question of spending a large sum of money, and we have not been able to do much on account of the present financial stringency.

Reference was made to the qualifications for the publicity set-up that we should have for India. The Prime Minister made a reference to it. I would also like to say that Government has in mind that the Information Officers whom we appoint for publicity should have a certain knowledge of history, certain knowledge of politics and also journalistic experience. As hon. Members know, our officers are all selected by the Union Public Service Commission. Government cannot at random select officers whom it likes. We have laid down certain rules for the recruitment of officers for publicity work and it is left to the Union Public Service Commission to select proper officers with proper qualifications. I am glad this year there has not been such a vehement criticism as there used to be in the last two or three years regarding extravagance in our Embassies. I am glad that the visit of many of my hon. friends to the various Missions abroad has made them realise that far from spending too much money on our missions, quite a number of our missions are starving for want of funds, for want of adequate equipment and for want of adequate staff. But, the Government's policy is that though we are in need of more staff, and better equipped Embassies, in view of the present financial stringency in the country, we should try to restrict the expansion work on our Embassies abroad, and wherever possible even retrench; because Government considers that the needs of the country at home are much greater than the needs of the Embassies abroad, and first we have to think of consolidating our own economic position at home.

I would like to say a few words with regard to certain aspects of our policy referred to by various hon. Members. There was reference by many Members to Nepal. There were also suggestions that the Agreement brought about in Nepal was not good in this aspect or that aspect. I would like to remind hon. Members that Government of India is not

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anything either in the administration of Nepal or in the Agreement that has been brought about. Nepal is an independent country. It is a friendly neighbouring country to which we are bound by ties of culture and history. Whatever we may suggest for the improvement of Nepal has been and will always be done as suggestions from a friend. It is not possible for the Government of India to tell the Nepal Government that Nepal is defective in this aspect or that aspect, and that they should improve this way or that. We can only tell them when they ask us and to that extent only. We have always to bear in mind that we are, in the matter of Nepal, friends who can counsel in a friendly way to an independent and friendly country.

Reference was made to the question of protection of our frontier adjoining Tibet. My hon. friend Dr. Singh said that that frontier is inadequately protected, and that it is necessary for India to do something more than we are doing at present, to have a friendly Tibet. I feel that on the question of Tibet there is some misunderstanding in the minds of my hon. friends. Tibet is a friendly neighbour which is autonomous, but which is under the suzerainty of China for the last so many centuries. Government is not unmindful of the protection of our frontiers adjoining Tibet. I may go further and say that the Government feels that the best way of protecting that frontier is to have a friendly Tibet and a friendly China. It is obvious that such a complicated and big frontier cannot be well protected if we have a border country which becomes hostile to us. That would become a very big problem to us. Therefore, we feel that in tackling the question of Tibet and China, we should always keep in mind that a friendly China and a friendly Tibet are the best guarantee for the defence of our country. Over and above this, Government has not neglected the task of taking adequate measures for the military or other protection of this frontier in case there are any incidents. Though I thank my hon. friend for drawing our attention to this, I think Government has made it clear on the floor of the House in reply to questions that this important aspect of our policy regarding our North-east frontier is engaging the attention of Government constantly.

There was reference to the recognition of the Vatican, by my hon. friend Dr. R. S. Singh. I was not able to understand where the question of secularity comes in the recognition of the Vatican. No doubt, the Vatican is

a theocratic State. May I draw my hon. friend's attention that there are other States also which are theocratic in the sense that they accept a certain religion as the State religion. For example we can mention Saudi Arabia and one or two other States which may be considered to be theocratic in nature.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: The Vatican is not a State.

Dr. Keskar: It is a State.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Not in the political sense.

Dr. Keskar: I am sorry, I am unable to agree with my hon. friend. It is recognised by all international conventions as a State. Our dealings with the Vatican are only as a State...

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Is the Vatican a member of the United Nations Organisation?

Dr. Keskar: The Vatican can become a member of the U.N.O. if it likes; if it has not become a member, it is not our fault.

Then, my hon. friend Mr. Joachim Alva came forward with a sentimental appeal regarding our friends in South East Asia to co-operate more actively with them in bringing about changed conditions in Asia. Our sympathy for those who were dominated by colonial powers in South East Asia and elsewhere is well known and Government has repeated that many times. I might say that it is the moral sympathy that our country has shown to many of the countries in South East Asia that has brought about a considerable change in the situation in South East Asia. That has brought about the liberation of Indonesia. No doubt, my hon. friend may find fault with our attitude of neutrality regarding the two regimes that are at present trying to establish their authority in Indo-China. Now it is obvious that the Government of India cannot recognise any regime in Indo-China unless we are convinced that that regime is in effective possession of the country and has the support and the backing of the people. As long as we are not convinced about that, it is not possible for Government to recognise one regime or the other.

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Shri Joachim Alva: What about the war going on there with American jellied gasoline bombs?

Dr. Keskar: It is not possible for the Government to say anything about the war that is going on there.

There was a reference by my hon. friend Mr. Alagesan to the question of Indians in Ceylon. He was rather critical of Government's impotence—if I may make bold to make use of that word—in not being able to do anything for the Indians in Ceylon. The question of Indians in Ceylon and of Indians in countries like Malaya and Burma has been debated many times on the floor of this House. Perhaps Mr. Alagesan supposes that the Government is not aware or has not tried to get first-hand knowledge of conditions of Indians in these countries. I might draw attention to the fact that the Prime Minister himself has visited Ceylon, has visited Malaya and has visited Burma; and though he thinks that I have not visited it, I have also been able to visit if not Ceylon, at least Burma and Malaya and a few other countries where there are large numbers of Indians. I submit that it is not easy to settle the question of Indians living in such independent neighbouring countries, except by negotiations and by diplomatic and friendly pressure. There is no other way. If my friend would try to think of a large number of foreigners living in this country and what he would say if the Government of another country came forward and tried to say something in regard to those foreigners here, he would realise the difficulty under which we are labouring. I may say that our Government has been constantly keeping in view this question of Indians in Ceylon and no occasion will be left off to take up and back the case of Indians there. It is a delicate question, for it is not easy to persuade a foreign country that it is in its own interest to do something for the Indians there or for any large number of foreigners there. I may say this with regard not only to the Indians in Ceylon but also with regard to Indians in every other place, to Indians overseas, in general. Our policy is one of friendly pressure on the various countries where there are a large number of Indians. And I may add that the position of Indians in many countries is much better today than it was five years before. Pursuing this policy, I am sure we will be able to find ways to ameliorate the conditions of Indians in

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I shall now put the Demands to the vote of the House. Ceylon.

I have already taken up more time than I should have. With these few words I would appeal to the House to pass the Demands under the Ministry of External Affairs.

The question is:

"That the respective sums, not exceeding the amounts shown in 15 PSD.

the order paper, be granted to the President to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1952, in respect of Demands Nos. 18, 19 and 20 under the control of the Ministry of External Affairs."

The motion was adopted.

[As directed by Mr. Deputy-Speaker the motions for demands for grants which were adopted by the House are reproduced below.—Ed. of P.P.]

DEMAND NO. 18—MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 50.43.000, be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1952, in respect of 'Ministry of External Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 19—TRIBAL AREAS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1.43,78,000, be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1952, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

DEMAND NO. 20—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3.47.43.000, be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1952, in respect of 'External Affairs'."

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, before the House rises for the day, may I request with regard to tomorrow's business some change may be made? Two important and weighty Ministries have been set down for discussion to-morrow—the Ministry of Works, Production and Supply and the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research. The House will be very grateful if only one Ministry is taken up to-morrow, the Ministry of Works, Production and Supply, and the other one may be postponed to some other day—say preferably one of the four days which will be earmarked for the Finance Bill—but that matter may be decided later on. For

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to-morrow at least I would request that only one Ministry may be taken up for discussion as each of them involves so many problems and issues.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is the reaction here?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): The hon. Member's suggestion is reasonable; nevertheless very difficult to give effect to at this juncture. It will affect the whole Budget discussion and all the dates etc. I do not mind if the House wants to sit longer, say instead of stopping at five o'clock go on up to seven o'clock or so.

Shri Kamath: Good, shall we sit up to seven o'clock?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I am perfectly prepared.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Punjab): May I just remind the House that the Finance Committee sits to-morrow from five to seven?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I make a suggestion to the House for its acceptance if it is willing? We have been practically making the same remarks during the general discussion of the Budget,—except with regard to Special Demands, of course—and possibly the same remarks will be made during the second reading of the Finance Bill. If hon. Members are prepared to agree not to ask for another day, we may take one of these two important Ministries to-morrow—say the Works, Pro-

duction and Supply Ministry—and get another day for the other Ministry, from the days allotted for the general discussion on the Finance Bill.

Several Hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If that is not done, the only alternative is to sit longer hours. That is all that can be done.

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): May I suggest that day after tomorrow the Ministry of Rehabilitation comes up and that is the only Ministry for that day. If hon. Members are anxious to have only one Ministry to-morrow we can add on the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research with the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

Several Hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then, are hon. Members prepared to sit longer?

Several Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then what will be the time-table for to-morrow? Shall we say that we finish the Ministry of Works, Production and Supply by four o'clock and from four to seven deal with the other Ministry and finish it by seven o'clock? Is that agreeable?

Hon. Members: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Well, now we adjourn till 10-45 A.M. to-morrow.

The House then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 29th March, 1951.