

Question & Answer Section  
Date 10.12.2014  
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## LOK SABHA DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

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Saturday, 30th April, 1955

—  
The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(No Questions: Part I not published)

### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

#### FIRST REPORT OF AIR-INDIA INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION

The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the First Report of the Air-India International Corporation, under sub-section (2) of section 37 of the Air Corporations Act, 1953. [Placed in Library. See No. S-154/55.]

#### MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS NOTIFICATION

The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Ministry of Communications Notification No. S.R.O. 589 dated the 12th March, 1955, under sub-section (3) of section 44 of the Air Corporations Act, 1953. [Placed in Library. See No. S-155/55.]

### COMMITTEE ON ABSENCE OF MEMBERS FROM SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE

#### NINTH REPORT

Shri Altekar (North Satara): I beg to present the Ninth Report of

155 L.S.D.—1

the Committee on Absence of Members from the sittings of the House,

### ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

#### PRESENTATION OF MINUTES

Shri B. G. Mehta (Gohilwad): I beg to present the Minutes of the Estimates Committee (1954-55), Vol. 4, No. 1.

### STATEMENT re ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE HELD AT BANDUNG

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): The House will be interested to have some account from me of the recent Asian-African Conference held at Bandung. Much has appeared, in the public press about it. This is not always accurate. The joint communique issued at the conclusion of the Conference and embodying the unanimous decisions of the Conference has also been published. It is being issued as a Government paper.

At the meeting of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, Indonesia and India at Bogor in December last, it was decided to convene such a Conference under the joint sponsorship of the five Prime Ministers. The main purposes of the Conference were set out as follows:

“To promote goodwill and co-operation;

To consider social, economic and cultural problems and the problems of special interest

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

to Asian and African peoples;  
and

Finally to view the position of Asia and Africa in the world today and the contribution they could make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

The Prime Ministers further agreed that the Conference should be composed of all the independent and near-independent nations of the continents of Asia and Africa. In the implementation of this principle, with minor variations, they decided to invite the representatives of twenty-five countries who together with themselves, thirty in all, could compose the Conference. The invitations thus extended were on a geographical basis. It is not only insignificant, but impressive, that all but one responded to the invitation of the sponsors and were represented at the Conference, in most cases by Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers, and in others by their senior statesmen.

Arrangements for the Conference were entrusted to a joint Secretariat composed of the five sponsoring nations. The main burden of organisation, however, including accommodation and the provision of all facilities to the visitors, fell upon the Indonesian Government. I am happy to pay a whole-hearted tribute to the Government and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia for the excellent arrangements that had been made and the enormous amount of labour and attention which they devoted to their task. Their achievements in this regard have in no small measure contributed to the success of the Conference itself.

The Asian-African Conference was opened on the 18th April by the distinguished President of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. Ahmed Sukarno. The President's opening address to the Conference gave not only an inspiring and courageous lead to the

delegates present, but proclaimed to the world the spirit of resurgent Asia. To us in India, President Sukarno's address is a further reminder of the close ties of our two countries and of our joint endeavours in the cause of Asian freedom.

I think we may all profit by the concluding words of his speech which is well worth recalling. He said:

"Let us not be bitter about the past, but let us keep our eyes firmly on the future. Let us remember that no blessing of God is so sweet as life and liberty. Let us remember that the stature of all mankind is diminished so long as nations or parts of nations are still unfree. Let us remember that the highest purpose of man is the liberation of man from his bonds of fear, his bonds of poverty, the liberation of man from the physical, spiritual and intellectual bonds which have for too long stunted the development of humanity's majority.

And let us remember, sisters and brothers, that for the sake of all that, we Asians and Africans must be united."

Introductory speeches made in the plenary session by a number of delegations revealed the diversities as well as the outlooks that prevailed, and thus, to an extent, projected both the common purposes of and the difficult tasks before the Conference. The rest of the work of the Conference except for its last session, was conducted in committees, in private sessions, as being more calculated to further the purposes of the Conference and to accomplish them with expedition.

It was part of the decisions at Bogor that the Conference should set out its own agenda. This was not an evasion of responsibilities by the

sponsors but a course deliberately adopted by them to make the Conference the master of its own tasks and procedures.

Accordingly, the Conference settled its agenda on the lines of the main purpose set out at Bogor. The Conference also decided that their final decision should set out the consensus of their views.

Economic and cultural issues were referred to separate committees and their reports were finally adopted by the committee of the whole Conference. This committee also dealt with the remainder of the agenda including the main political issues. The House will be familiar, from the final communique of the Conference which has been laid on the Table of the House, with the proceedings of these committees and the recommendations made. It is, however, relevant to draw attention to their main characteristics. These recommendations wisely avoided any provision for setting up additional machinery of inter-nation co-operation, but, on the other hand, sought to rely on existing international machinery in part and, for the rest, on such decisions as individual Governments may, by contact and negotiation, find it possible to make. I respectfully submit to the House that in dealings between sovereign Governments, this is both the wise and practical step to adopt. It is important further to note that all delegations without exception realised the importance of both economic and cultural relations. The decisions represent the break-away from the generally accepted belief and practice that Asia, in matters of technical aid, financial or cultural co-operation and exchange of experience, must rely exclusively on the non-Asian world. Detailed recommendations apart, the reports of these committees, which became the decision of the Conference, proclaim the reaching out of Asian countries to each other and their determination to profit by each

other's experience on the basis of mutual co-operation.

In the economic field, the subjects dealt with include technical assistance, early establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development; appointment of liaison officers by participating countries; stabilisation of commodity trade and prices through bilateral and multilateral arrangements; increased processing of raw materials, study of shipping and transport problems; establishment of national and regional banks and insurance companies; development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes; and exchange of information and ideas on matters of mutual interest.

In the cultural field, the Conference similarly dealt with a wide range of subjects, recognising that the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural co-operation. The links that bound the Asian and African countries together in earlier ages had been sundered in their more recent history of foreign conquest and annexation. The new Asia would seek to revive the old ties and build newer and better forms of relationship. While the Asian renaissance has legitimately and naturally played an important part in the thinking of the delegates, it is important that they remembered and recorded, in accordance with the age-old traditions of tolerance and universality, that the Conference believed that Asian and African cultural co-operation should be developed in the larger context of world co-operation.

As a practical step, the Conference decided that the endeavours of their respective countries in the field of cultural co-operation should be directed toward their knowledge of each other's country, mutual cultural exchanges and the exchange of information and that the best results

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would be achieved by pursuing bilateral arrangements, each country taking action on its own in the best ways open to it.

The work of the committee of the whole Conference was devoted to problems mainly grouped under the headings of human rights and self-determination; problems of dependent peoples and the promotion of world peace and co-operation. Under each head were grouped a large number of specific problems. In the consideration of human rights and self-determination, specific problems, such as racial discrimination and segregation, were considered. Special consideration was given to the Union of South Africa and the position of people of Indian and Pakistan origin in that country as well as to the problem of Palestine in its relation to world peace, human rights and the plight of the refugees.

The problem of dependent peoples or colonialism was the subject which at once created both pronounced agreement and disagreement. In the condemnation of colonialism in its well-understood sense, namely, the rule of one people by another, with its attendant evils, the conference was at one. It affirmed its support to those still struggling to attain their independence and called upon the powers concerned to grant them independence. Special attention was paid to the problems of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria as well as to West Irian. Aden, which is a British Protectorate and is in a different category, also came in for consideration.

There was, however, another and different view in the Conference which sought to bring under colonialism and to include in these above affirmations the alleged conditions in some countries which are sovereign nations—some of these are members of the United Nations and all of

them are independent in terms of international law and practice. They have diplomatic relations with ourselves and other countries of the world including the Big Powers. It appeared to us that irrespective of whatever views may be held in regard to the conditions prevailing in these countries or of relationships that may exist between the Soviet Union and them, they could in no way be called colonies nor could their alleged problems come under the classification of colonialism. To so include them in any general statement on behalf of the Conference could be accomplished only by the acceptance by a great number of participants of the Conference, including ourselves, of the political views and attitudes which are not theirs. It is no injustice to anyone concerned to say that this controversy reflects a projection of the cold war affiliations into the arena of the Asian-African Conference. While these countries concerned did and indeed had a right to hold their own views and position on this as on any other matter, such views could not become part of any formulation on behalf of the Conference. It was, however, entirely to the good that these conflicting views were aired and much to the credit of the Conference that after patient and persistent endeavour, a formulation which did not do violence to the firmly held opinions of all concerned, was forthcoming. This is one of those matters of which it may be said that one of the purposes of the Conference, namely, to recognise diversities but to find unity, stands vindicated.

Asia and Africa also spoke with unanimity against the production and use of weapons of mass destruction. The Conference called for their total prohibition, and for the establishment and maintenance of such prohibition by efficient international control. It also called for the suspension of experiments with such weapons. The concern of Asian and African countries about

the armaments race and the imperative necessity of disarmament also found expression.

The most important decision of the Conference is the "Declaration on World Peace and Co-operation". The nations assembled set out the principles which should govern their relations between each other and indeed that of the world as a whole. These are capable of universal application and historic in their significance. We in India have in recent months sought to formulate the principles which should govern our relations with other countries and often spoken of them as the five principles. In the Bandung Declaration we find that the full embodiment of these five principles and the addition to them of elaborations which reinforce these principles. We have reason to feel happy that this Conference, representative of more than half the population of the world, has declared its adherence to the tenets that should guide their conduct and govern the relations of the nations of the world if world peace and co-operation are to be achieved.

The House will remember that when the five principles, or the Panch Shila as we have called them, emerged, they attracted much attention as well as some opposition from different parts of the world. We have maintained that they contain the essence of the principles of relationship which would promote world peace and co-operation. We have not sought to point to them as though they were divine commandments or as though there was a particular sanctity about either the number or about their formulation. The essence of them is the substance, and this has been embodied in the Bandung Declaration. Some alternatives had been proposed and some of these even formulated contradictory positions. The final declaration embodies no contradictions. The Government of India is in total agreement with the principles set out in the Bandung Declaration and will honour them.

They contain nothing that is against the interests of our country or the established principles of our foreign policy.

The Declaration includes a clause which has reference to collective defence. The House knows that we are opposed to military pacts and I have repeatedly stated that these pacts based upon the idea of Balance of Power and "Negotiation from strength" and the grouping of nations into rival camps are not, in our view, a contribution to peace. We maintain that view. The Bandung Declaration, however, relates to self-defence in terms of the Charter of the United Nations. The provisions of the Charter (Article 51) make it clear that the inherent right of self-defence, individual or collective, is: "if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security". This is quoted from the Charter. I also invite a reference to Chapter VIII of the Charter where the conditions about regional arrangements are set out in detail. It has been stated in the Bandung Declaration in express terms that these rights of collective defence should be in accordance with the Charter. We have not only no objection to this formulation, but we welcome it. We have subscribed to collective defence for the purposes defined in the Charter. It will also be noted that the Bandung Declaration further finds place for two specific safeguards in relation to this matter, namely, that there should be no external pressures on nations and that collective defence arrangements should not be used to serve the particular interests of the Big Powers. We are also happy that the Declaration begins with a statement of adherence to human rights and therefore to the fundamental values of civilisation. If the Conference made no other decision than the formulation of the principles of the Bandung Declaration, it would have been a signal achievement.

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

So much for the actual work and achievements within the Conference itself. But any estimate of this historic week at Bandung would be incomplete and its picture would be inadequate if we did not take into account the many contacts established, the relations that have emerged, the prejudices that have been removed and the friendships that have been formed. More particularly, reference should be made to the conversations and, happily, some constructive results arising from private talks. Such results have been achieved in regard to some of the difficulties that had arisen in relation to the implementation of the Geneva decisions in Indo-China. Direct meetings of the parties concerned and the good offices of others, including ourselves, have been able to help to resolve these difficulties and create greater understanding and friendship. This is the position in regard to Cambodia, Laos and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. We regret, however, that we have not been able to make progress in this regard in respect of South Viet-Nam. This must await time and further endeavour.

The House is aware that the Prime Minister of China made, while he was at Bandung, a public statement announcing his readiness to enter into direct negotiations with the United States to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially the question of relaxing tension in the Formosa area. We have known for some time that China was willing to enter into direct talks, and other parties concerned have also not been unaware of it. The announcement itself does not therefore represent a new attitude on the part of China, but the fact that this has been publicly stated at a gathering of the Asian and African nations represents a further and wholesome development. If this is availed of by all concerned, it can lead to an approach towards peaceful settlement.

I had several conversations with Premier Chou En-lai. Some of these related to Formosa. At my request Shri Krishna Menon also explored certain aspects of this question with the Prime Minister of China. In the last few months we have also gained some impressions on the reactions and the attitude in Washington, London and Ottawa in regard to the Formosan question. We cannot speak for other Governments and can only form our own impressions and act according to our judgment of them. We have increasingly felt that efforts to bridge the gulf are imperative in view of the gravity of the crises and the grim alternative that faces us if there are to be no negotiations. We feel and hope that patient and persistent endeavour may produce results or at least show the way to them. We have the privilege and advantage of being friendly to both sides in this dispute. We entertain no prejudices and do not feel ourselves barred in respect of any approach that will lead to peace. We propose, therefore, to avail ourselves of such opportunities as are open to us to help to resolve this grave crisis. In order to continue the Bandung talks, Premier Chou En-lai has invited Shri V. K. Krishna Menon to go to Peking. I have gladly agreed to this.

The Bandung Conference has been a historic event. If it only met, the meeting itself would have been a great achievement, as it would have represented the emergence of a new Asia and Africa, of new nations who are on the march towards the fulfilment of their independence and of their sense of their role in the world. Bandung proclaimed the political emergence in world affairs of over half the world's population. It presented no unfriendly challenge or hostility to anyone but proclaimed a new and rich contribution. Happily that contribution is not by way of threat or force or the creation of new Power Blocs. Bandung proclaimed to the world the capacity of the new nations of Asia and Africa for

practical idealism, for we conducted our business in a short time and reached agreements of practical value, not quite usual with international conferences. We did not permit our sense of unity or our success to drive us into isolation and egocentricity. Each major decision of the Conference happily refers to the United Nations and to world problems and ideals. We believe that from Bandung our great organisation, the United Nations, has derived strength. This means in turn that Asia and Africa must play an increasing role in the conduct and the destiny of the world organisation.

The Bandung Conference attracted world attention. In the beginning it invited ridicule and perhaps hostility. This turned to curiosity, expectation and, I am happy to say, later to a measure of goodwill and friendship. In the observations I submitted in the final plenary session of the Conference, I ventured to ask the Conference to send its good wishes to our neighbours in Australia and New Zealand with whom we have nothing but the most fraternal feelings, as indeed to the rest of the world. I feel that this is the message of the Asian and African Conference and also the real spirit of our newly liberated nations towards the older and well established countries and peoples. To those still dependent, but are struggling for freedom, Bandung presented hope to sustain them in their courageous fight and in their struggles for freedom and justice.

While the achievements and the significance of the meeting at Bandung have been great and epoch-making, it would be a misreading of history to regard Bandung as though it was an isolated occurrence and not part of a great movement of human history. It is this latter that is the more correct and historic view to take.

Finally, I would ask this House not only to think of the success and achievements of the Conference, but

of the great tasks and responsibilities which come to us as a result of our participation in this Conference. The Government of India are confident that in the discharge of these responsibilities, our country and our people will not be wanting. Thus we will take another step in the fulfilment of our historic destiny.

# STATE BANK OF INDIA BILL— Concl'd.

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now proceed with the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill to constitute a State Bank for India, to transfer to it the undertaking of the Imperial Bank of India and to provide for other matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

As we are proceeding with the clause-by-clause consideration I would request hon. Members who have tabled amendments to hand over at the Table the numbers of the amendments that they would like to move. The numbers of the amendments may be given within fifteen minutes and they will be taken up as the clause-by-clause consideration proceeds in respect of each clause, provided the amendments are otherwise in order.

**Shri Sadhan Gupta** (Calcutta South-East): To which clause?

**Mr. Speaker:** To all clauses. The idea is the Office might tabulate all of them, so that as each clause is taken up it may be easy to locate which amendments are going to be moved and which are not going to be moved. That is the idea.

## Clause 2.—(Definition)

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

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.