

## NOES—Contd.

Kavade, Shri B. R.  
 Kedaria, Shri C. M.  
 Khan, Shri M. A.  
 Kinder Lal, Shri  
 Kushok Bakula, Shri  
 Lakshmikanthamma, Shrimati  
 Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.  
 Malhotra, Shri Inder J.  
 Masuriya Din, Shri  
 Minimata, Agam Dass Guru, Shrimati  
 Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali  
 Mishra, Shri Bibhuti  
 Nagnoor, Shri M. N.  
 Naidu, Shri Chengalraya  
 Pahadia, Shri Jagannath  
 Pandey, Shri K. N.  
 Parmar, Shri Bhaljibhai  
 Parthasarathy, Shri  
 Patel, Shri Manibhai J.  
 Patil, Shri Deorao  
 Patil, Shri S. D.  
 Qureshi, Shri Mohd. Shaffi  
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri  
 Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.

Ram Swarup, Shri  
 Rana, Shri M. B.  
 Randhir Singh, Shri  
 Rane, Shri  
 Rao, Shri Jaganath  
 Rao, Shri J. Ramapathi  
 Reddy, Shri Surendar  
 Saleem, Shri M. Yunus  
 Sapre, Shrimati Tara  
 Sen, Shri Dwaipayan  
 Sen, Shri P. G.  
 Shah, Shri Shantilal  
 Shambhu Nath, Shri  
 Sharma, Shri D. C.  
 Sharma, Shri M. R.  
 Shashi Bhushan, Shri  
 Sheo Narain, Shri  
 Shinkre, Shri  
 Sinha, Shri Mudrika  
 Sonavane, Shri  
 Surendra Pal Singh, Shri  
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.  
 Tiwary, Shri K. N.  
 Vyas, Shri Ramesh Chandra

MR. CHAIRMAN : The result\* of the Division is : Ayes: 55; Noes: 69.

*The motion was negatived.*

16.38 Hrs.

**RESOLUTION RE : LIBERALISATION MOVEMENT IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara):** I move the following Resolution:—

"This House hails the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their bid to liberalise and democratise the political life of their country, reiterates its faith in the policy of non-involvement and non-interference in the internal affairs of any country and appeals to all freedom loving countries and people to extend their support and sympathy to the movement in Czechoslovakia."

I would have been happy if this Resolution had been moved by the Leader of the House,

and much earlier, because I had to wait for my turn in the ballot so that a Resolution of this nature could be discussed.

It is really unfortunate that, when such a significant development has taken place in world politics, we have failed to react. Gone are the days when this country, whenever there was a freedom movement anywhere in the world, be it Abyssinia, or be it Spain, was expressing its sympathy and even sent brigades to those countries. What has happened now ? What has happened to this country ? What has happened to the Government here ? Even the Congress Party has not passed any Resolution reacting to this very significant development.

I can understand the difficulty of the Communist Party of India in coming out with a Resolution . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Has his party passed a resolution ?

\*The following Members also recorded their votes:

**AYES:** Sarvashri Dinkar Desai, K.M. Madhukar, Madhu Limaye and K. P. Singh Deo.

**NOES:** Sarvashri Sitaram Kesri and Dalbir Singh.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY:**  
Even then in their minds, some reaction has been there . . . .

**SHRI M. L. SONDHI (New Delhi):**  
P. C. Joshi.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY:**  
as a result of which the UP branch of the CPI reacted in a certain manner.

**SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade):**  
At least there is one party, which has reacted, the PSP, a party which has no roots (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY:**  
I am not going to criticise him. Let him not expose himself. I was really wondering why the Politburo of the CPI did not react as their comrades in UP had done. But I was a little bit distressed to find that although they have supported the Bratislava communique, there was no word of praise about heroic efforts being made by the new Czechoslovak leadership to rescue communism from the clutches of Stalinist and Maoist techniques and thraldom.

It would really be a pity if we do not recognise the changes that are taking place on the ideological level, which have come to the practical level now. My doubt is : is this great nation and country so paralysed, are we so paralysed in a situation like this that we are just mute spectators ? Have we come to that pass that we have not even been able to express ourselves freely about whatever we feel about this development, and extend our solidarity and sympathy with such movements, which enlarge the freedom of the peoples of the world ?

We are discussing this Resolution at a time when tensions are somewhat eased. It is good in a sense that this has come at a time when there is a calm atmosphere. Let me make it clear that my purpose is not to condemn anybody, not to castigate anybody.

**SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA (Secunderabad):** He has already done that.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY:**  
There is a misunderstanding. He will take a little time to understand it.

I do not propose to say anything which would harm the very cause for which the Czechoslovak people are fighting. They

are a very brave people, a tiny country but brave people, who have taken upon themselves this great task of rescuing millions of people from the stranglehold on and suppression of personal freedom. They are fighting a great battle for the whole of humanity.

Let me make it clear that I really welcome the significant changes that have occurred. In the Bratislava Declaration, there are two essential features which I want to highlight—I will come later to the developments that had taken place earlier. But there is no doubt that in this communique, issued after the Conference in Bratislava, there are two aspects. One is this. This is the communique signed by the nations which participated in that meeting:

“The consultative meeting reaffirm the old Marxist principle that in implementing socialist ends, every party guides itself by the generally valid principle of building socialism in harmony with the concrete conditions and traditions of its country, and that it serves the new task of the development of a socialist society on the basis of the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory”.

For the first time it is admitted that a country can develop its own kind of socialism. Secondly, in this declaration it has been said, and it is very important:

“The varied tasks of the development of a socialist society in each of our countries can be served much more easily by mutual assistance and support. The fraternal relations extend the possibilities of development of each individual socialist country.

The participants in the meeting have expressed a firm resolve to do everything that depends on them for enhancing an all-round co-operation of their countries, on principles of equality, safeguarding of sovereignty and national independence, territorial inviolability, fraternal co-operation and solidarity.”

These two essential features of the declaration are a significant change from what had happened before. This must be read with the statement of the Central Committee

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

of the National Front of Czechoslovakia. Here is the declaration with me which says how they have reacted. They have reacted and they have stood by it from the very beginning, because, as early as July 26, in an appeal to the Prague citizens, they had said:

"The moment has come when we can prove to the world that socialism is no mere emergency solution for underdeveloped countries but the only true alternative for all civilised mankind."

They have also stated:

"We are being accused of treason. We are given ultimatums by comrades who keep ever more showing their ignorance of our evolution and our situation. We are accused of crimes we did not commit. We are suspected of intentions we never had and do not have."

and they say:

"We are convinced that the decisions on the future of the society and the form of socialism in Czechoslovakia are the sovereign affairs of our people. The people must decide and choose their way of life. They must decide on the future of the Republic. The maturity which they have shown in all their actions this year is a guarantee that we shall not diverge from the socialist path and that no counter-revolution in any form will find a suitable soil in our country."

This is the determined will of the people of Czechoslovakia.

Let us further observe that on the eve of Marshal Tito's visit and after the Bratislava Conference, a draft party constitution has been published which shows the mind of the people of Czechoslovakia and how they want to build a new communist party, a party which is based on democracy and democratic functioning inside the party, because it says:

"Each person should be able to join or leave the party on his own free will and no privileges or ad-

vantages should come from party membership. Each member should have the right to express his opinion freely at party meetings and in the party Press, be able to criticise activities of the party and its officials, regardless of their rank. Most visible change of the new statutes will be the end of the title "First Secretary" and a return to the traditional name "Chairman".

"The draft also wants to prevent concentration of power with any one person and suggested that leading State and party functions should not be combined.

"Minorities should also have the right to demand that their views be recorded and that a reassessment of their opinion was made possible."

They also want secret ballot so far as party functioning is concerned. This shows that really in Czechoslovakia the movement that is going on is a movement for democracy, for freedom, for giving an opportunity to all citizens, irrespective of anything, even to oppose, to express freely what they want. I must also say, because my friends are a little bit exercised, that I laud the Russian attitude at this Bratislava conference. I shall come later to the previous stand they had taken. There is no doubt about the way they have accepted this position. There was no alternative for them. They had to accept this position. They have acted in a statesmanlike manner at this moment by not creating more tension and sending the army to suppress this movement. There are facts of life and probably they have taken note of them. The Soviet monolith has broken one by one. We all know that the same practice was adopted in Yugoslavia in 1948, but it did not work, and Yugoslavia was not finished. We know what happened in Rumania. China left the communist brotherhood in 1960. Therefore, the communist fraternity or the hegemony they wanted to establish no longer exists. They also realised what their attitude was at the time of the Hungarian revolution or the East German revolt, although there was some attempt to do certain things, as I shall presently show. These persons were not characterised as enemies of the people or

social reactionaries or the stooges of imperialism and they did not proceed to liquidate them. That sort of tactics would not have helped them here. At the time of the Hungarian revolution, our Government did not open its mouth and the great Krishna Menon had this to say that the Hungarian revolt was like a civil riot in Ahmedabad. They are still in that atmosphere and they do not realise that something is going on. In Eastern Europe and in all the European countries there is a great change going on. The impact of that change has to be realised by all. The Bratislava Declaration may be a temporary phase. It is not a victory for this side or that side. It may be a temporary moratorium. One does not know. It is difficult to prophesy what would happen after a few days. But this fact has to be realised that Czechoslovakia is not East Germany or Hungary. It is a fact that military forces were deployed. But at the same time they did not dare; they did not move the tanks to suppress the people of Czechoslovakia because the Czechoslovakian army is tough and well trained and they are familiar with Soviet fighting methods. These are factors which they had to take into account. Because of the changed situation we can expect this attitude. . . . (Interruption) Let us not forget what happened before. The earlier move was to bamboozle them. I shall quote from the five party letter to the Czechoslovak Communist party:

"It is our deep conviction that the offensive of the reactionary forces, backed by imperialism, against your party and foundations of the socialist system in the Czechoslovak socialist republic threatens to push your country off the road of socialism and that consequently it prejudices the interest of the entire socialist system. . .

At the end

"It is our conviction that a situation has arisen in which the threat to the foundation of socialism in Czechoslovakia jeopardises the common vital interests of other socialist countries. The peoples of our States would never forgive us for being indifferent and light-hearted in the face of such a danger."

They were thinking that this movement is a danger to the whole socialist world. What was the reply of Czechoslovakia ?

"We do not see any realistic reasons which would justify assertions calling our present situation counter-revolutionary, assertions of an immediate endangering of the basis of the socialist system or assertions that a change is being prepared in Czechoslovakia in the orientation of our socialist foreign policy and that there is a concrete threat of a separation of our country from the socialist community."

And they say:—

"The Communist Party depends on the voluntary support of the people; it does not implement its leading role by ruling over society but by most devotedly serving its free progressive socialist development; it cannot impel its authority, but must constantly acquire it by deeds. It cannot enforce its line by orders, but by the work of its member; by veracity of its ideals."

Referring to the demand for the restoration of censorship, they have said in reply that "the abolition of censorship, freedom of expression, are supported by the absolute majority of the people of all classes and strata of our society."

It is very clear, therefore, that in the earlier stages, there was an attempt made to frighten the leadership and the people of Czechoslovakia. Even letters were published in the *Pravda* which said, "You must believe that we are ashamed of these people who hypocritically pose as friends of the Soviet Union and its people and at the same time demand an immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops."

This strategy did not work here. What happened to this strategy to divide the people? The people are more united. The people are more united than before. Not only that. The military forces and troops had to be withdrawn. There is not a single country in Eastern Europe—let alone Czechoslovakia and Rumania—even the communist parties of Italy, France, Britain, Switzerland, Finland, Austria, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Sweden were sympathetic to Czechoslovakia's line and leadership. Not only that. It is significant that the Swedish communist party said in a broadcast over the radio—

**SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli)** : He is a friend of the communists! Join our party. Let us work together.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY** : After Kosygin's visit to the country in mid-July, that he welcomed the process of democratisation in Czechoslovakia with great satisfaction and condemned this letter as unwanted interference.

This five-party letter can be compared to the document published by the United States at the time of the Cuban revolution which can be called, "on the eve of the Bay of Pigs." In that document, it is stated that the United States were not against the revolution in Cuba but were only against Castro... Likewise, here also, there was an attempt made to divide the people, which as a result, as I said, had united the people under the leadership of Dubcek and others.

In this connection, without dilating much about the other developments that have taken place, and since you have already indicated—I do not know how much time I have taken.

**MR. CHAIRMAN** : The total time allotted is two hours.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY** : I am entitled to half an hour.

**MR. CHAIRMAN** : It is not a question of entitlement. You have taken 20 minutes. How much more do you want ?

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY** : I will finish within five to seven minutes. I do not want to go into the details of the other developments and how things, in the course of the last few months have taken shape. I have already referred to the liberalisation and democratisation of the process that is being started inside Czechoslovakia. It is very difficult to foretell what would happen in the future, but there is no doubt that it is more likely than not that the orthodox Stalinist elements in Soviet Russia, Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria will not be able to stop the rushing waters of democratic change in the communist system. Time and again it has been proved that the passion for liberty, the urge for equality, the longing for human dignity and freedom cannot be curbed for very long by the most authoritarian regime and the Soviet technique of thought-control.

In fact, the modern scientific era, with its emphasis on experimentation, seems to be a guarantee against all forms of orthodoxy. The radio, the television and other means of mass communication, instead of proving to be tools in the hands of dictators, have in fact the makings of breaking through all attempts at conservatism and thought-control or brainwashing.

17 Hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the chair*]

The Russian attempt at containing the Czech infection is doomed to failure. Human resilience and resentment against intolerable restrictions will prove invincible in the end. Czechoslovakia has embarked on a road which is no longer compatible systems brought into being by the Communist Government at various places. What happened in the case of China will be repeated in Czechoslovakia also—one does not know. It is significant here that China came out with a statement that the Russians should not have withdrawn their troops from Czechoslovakia. This is really the Mao-tse-Tung way of Communism and the Chinese reaction to the Czechoslovakian manoeuvres. At the same time, I know there were letters published by Chinese comrades in Peking in relation to Vietnam. On 30th March a letter was circulated which said that the Chinese people will not permit their little neighbour (Vietnam) to falter or "allow their victory to turn into defeat by default". It is significant that this letter preceded the Warsaw letter by more than three months. This raises a question. Are the Russian after all being compelled to follow Mao-tse-Tung in these matters ? Faced with the logical conclusions of the process that Khrushchev himself set in motion, are his successors now feeling obliged to put the clock back and revert to the Stalinist ways ? It seems it will be difficult to reconcile Mao-tse-Tung and Dubcek, and if anyone attempts to do it, be it even Breznev, he is bound to fail. There is no half-way house between democracy and totalitarianism. Either unalloyed totalitarianism as exemplified by Hitler, Stalin and Mao-tse-Tung or the road to full freedom, dignity of the individual and unfettered democracy. This is the dilemma before the Communist world today.

Therefore, Sir, I have brought this resolution in order to draw the attention of the whole country and the people to this very significant development. As I said earlier, I find the Treasury Benches practically empty excepting for the Minister of States of External Affairs. If this is the state of affairs here you can realise why this country is so paralysed in its thinking and in its future. I, therefore, commend this resolution for acceptance by this House.

MR. SPEAKER: *Resolution moved:*

"This House hails the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their bid to liberalise and democratise the political life of their country, reiterates its faith in the policy of non-involvement and non-interference in the internal affair of any country and appeals to all freedom loving countries and people to extend their support and sympathy to the movement in Czechoslovakia."

Is Shri Shinkre moving his amendment?

SHRI SHINKRE (Panjim): Sir, I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

omit "and appeals to all freedom loving countries and people to extend their support and sympathy to the movement in Czechoslovakia". (1)

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक बैंक बैन्चर हूँ, निर्दलीय सदस्य भी हूँ लेकिन अपने छोटे मुँह से एक बड़ी बात कहने का मौका मुझे आज मिला मुझे मालूम है, मैं जेकोस्लोवाकिया जैसे देश के बारे में बोल रहा हूँ, जिस देश का मैं बहुत आदर करता हूँ, वहाँ के जो स्वातंत्र्य वीर हैं उन का मैं बहुत आदर करता हूँ और अभी भी मेरा सिर मसरीक जैसे स्वतंत्र्य वीरों की स्मृति में झुकता रहेगा। लेकिन इस के बाद भी मैं ऐसा नहीं कहूँगा कि वह जो रेजोल्यूशन श्री द्विवेदी ने पेश किया है उस को मैं फुली सपोर्ट करूँ क्योंकि वह जो उस रेजोल्यूशन की कक्षा है वह हमारी जो विदेश नीति है, उस के खिलाफ है। मैं चाहूँगा कि जेकोस्लोवाकिया की जनता अपने लिए जो चाहे वह करें। वहाँ जो आन्दोलन हो रहा है उसको हम

मर्यादित रूप से सपोर्ट कर सकते हैं लेकिन हम यह नहीं कहेंगे दूसरे देशों को कि वह सपोर्ट करें वहाँ जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है उसको क्योंकि बात यह है कि पहले हमें देखना पड़ेगा कि हमारा जो राष्ट्र है, भारत है, उस की वर्तमान स्थिति क्या है, उस की स्थिरता कहां है? भारत की जो विदेश नीति है उसका परिणाम अलग जो अविकसित देश है उस पर मर्यादित रूप से होता है लेकिन मैं यह कहूँगा कि जो राष्ट्र अनडेबलबल है, अविकसित है, जो दूसरे राष्ट्र पर अवलम्बित है, दूसरों पर डिपेंड करता है, उस की वह चाहे विदेश नीति हो या अन्तर्गत नीति हो, उसका परिणाम सभी अलग देशों पर कभी भी नहीं हुआ करता क्योंकि हम लोगों को बार-बार हमेशा ही भीख मांगनी पड़ती है दूसरे देशों से, चाहे अनाज की चाहे शस्त्रों की और उसके बाद हम कैसे सपोर्ट करेंगे और कहेंगे अलग देशों को कि वह सपोर्ट करें जो आन्दोलन जेकोस्लोवाकिया में चल रहा है पहली बात यह है कि हमारे जो सुझाव हैं वह व्यवहार्य हैं। हम बहुत बातें कह सकते हैं। लेकिन जब हम ऐसी कोई बातें करते हैं तो सोचना पड़ेगा वहाँ हमें घोबा है या नहीं। मैं एक बात कहूँगा। गोवा के बारे में हमारे जो प्राइम मिनिस्टर जवाहर लाल जी थे, वह हमेशा ही बातें करते थे कि विदेशों से

SHRI NAMBIAR: Now he has come to his constituency.

SHRI N. K. SOMANI (Nagaur): It is very relevant. At least patriotic.

श्री शिंकरे: हमारी जो नीति है विदेश के साथ में वह शान्ति की नीति है। हमारी नीति है कि जो हमारी समस्या है वह हम शान्तिमय ढंग से बिना शस्त्र उठाए हल करेंगे, मगर आप जानते हैं क्या हुआ गोवा के बारे में? गोवा की समस्या जब कठिन हुई, ज्यादा से ज्यादा कठिनाई आई उन के सामने तो उस समस्या का हल करने के लिए भारत को शस्त्र हाथ में लेना पड़ा। इसीलिए मैं कहूँगा कि जब हमें ऐसी समस्या का विचार करना

## [श्री शिक्करे]

पड़े तो हम सोचें हमें क्या करना पड़ेगा भविष्य में? एक तो बात यही है कि हमारी बात व्यवहार्य है या नहीं? लेकिन इस का मतलब यह नहीं समझा जाना चाहिए कि जेकोस्लोवाकिया में जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है, वहाँ के स्वातंत्र्य वीर जो कुछ करना चाहते हैं, वह जो लिबरलाइजेशन एंड डेमोक्रेटाइजेशन आफ दि पोलिटिकल लाइफ आफ दि कन्द्री लाना चाहते हैं, उस के खिलाफ हूँ, उसको मैं सपोर्ट करता हूँ क्योंकि प्रत्येक देश जो है वह कर सकता है जो उस के देश को चाहिए। प्रत्येक देश के नागरिक जो हैं वह जो चाहें अपने देश के लिए वह कर सकते हैं। मैं यह भी कहूँगा इस बारे में कि वह चाहे जो सरजाम-शाही करना चाहें, उस का उन को राइट है और जो उन का राइट है वह करें, कम्यूनिज्म लाना चाहें तो कम्यूनिज्म लाएँ दूसरी नीति अपनाना चाहें तो दूसरी नीति अपनाएं तो यह जो रेजोल्यूशन है, इस का पहला भाग जो है मैं उसको सपोर्ट करूँगा। और मेरा अमेंडमेंट जो है इस को सारा सदन सपोर्ट करे, ऐसी मैं अपेक्षा करता हूँ।

MR. SPEAKER: The resolution and the amendments are now before the House.

SHRI D. C. SHARMA (Gurdaspur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I congratulate Shri Surendranath Dwivedy for having brought forward this Resolution. I must say that this Resolution is not very forceful; it does not go far enough. But I was amazed at the amendment which my hon. friend put forward. I do not know in what world he was living and in what ideology he believed, in what force of liberation he was believing. I think, Goa is still on his brain and he tries to equate every country of the world with Goa. I am very sorry to say that. I think that his amendment should be thrown out by this House because it does not carry anybody anywhere and does not mean anything.

I congratulate Comrade Dubcek for having given a new kind of leadership to the Czechoslovakian people. I think, Czechoslovakia has had a very chequered history.

I think of Dr. Benes and Dr. Masaryk whose death is still a mystery. I think of other persons also but I think that Comrade Dubcek has shown the real kind of leadership and has taken the country out of the clutches of Stalinism. He has given the people the hope to live, to think, to feel freely and to do whatever they like within the framework of a democratic set-up. That is what he has done.

But it should not be forgotten that the Russian people also are realists; the Russian people are not die-hards so far as their ideology is concerned. They accept the writing on the wall which we sometimes do not do. They accepted the new policy for Rumania as also in some other countries of eastern Europe. I am very happy that under Mr. Breznev they have accepted the new orientation of the policy of Czechoslovakia.

AN HON. MEMBER: Have they?

SHRI D. C. SHARMA: This shows how far they can go and travel along the road of Communism.

What is Communism? Communism does not mean democracy.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR: Who said that? You should learn something more about Communism.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is difficult at his age.

SHRI D. C. SHARMA: Here I find that they have democratised the political life of the country; they have introduced the secret ballot. The secret ballot is the quintessence of democracy and if the people of Czechoslovakia have done that, I think, they have travelled far far away from the road to Communism as Shri Vasudevan Nair understood it or as some other person understood it.

You know, Sir, in Czechoslovakia people have been getting signatures for the approval of the policy of Mr. Dubcek. What is this? I think, this is also a kind of democratic form of acceptance of a policy. Do you mean to say that in other Communist countries they will have signatures or will have their hands raised or will have the votes cast? No. Therefore, I think, that this liberalisation has taken place there.

Then, I would say that the Bratislava Conference, the summit conference, whose communique my friend read out, has done some good work. There is no doubt about it. If it had not done that work, I think, Czechoslovakia would not have been able to do anything.

I am told, when that summit conference was going on, the Soviet Tanks were rumbling along the frontiers of Czechoslovakia. I have read it in papers; it may be true or it may not be true. What I say is that the people of Czechoslovakia who are the lovers of liberty, who are the lovers of freedom, who are the lovers of creative activity, have stood by their love of freedom.

Now, another point that I want to make is this. I do not know how far the economic power that was exercised by the Soviet Union is gone. I do not know how far the military power that was exercised by the Soviet Union is gone. But, I think, there has been some kind of a liberalisation and I am very happy that, in this thing, both the Russians and the Czechoslovakians have ~~come to terms with each other~~. Czechoslovakia has given a good idea of what can happen.

With these words, I congratulate the mover of the Resolution for placing this Resolution before the House.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta North East): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a venomous Resolution which my friend, Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, has chosen to move concealing behind certain apparently honeyed formulations, an attack on the advance of socialism which has been registered so significantly by the Bratislava statement of six communist parties involved in the controversy which he has referred to. I say it is a venomous Resolution because, under the guise of hailing the heroic people of Czechoslovakia, it is really aimed at the effort which has been made by the socialist countries to bring about a situation where the conspiracy of the world's reactionaries to topple socialist regimes in different parts of the world can be defeated.

Sir, I have heard Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, and with no surprise, because I know the politics of the party to which he belongs. I know how, when freedom is threatened and when human decency and dignity is in danger

in Vietnam, where the American imperialists spend more money a year than the total gross national product of India, in pursuing the most barbarous warfare in the records of history, his party has acted as completely indifferent to that kind of attack on human dignity. I know also how, today also, he has tried to bring in the question of totalitarianism, Hitler, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, all bracketed together, with a lack of historical knowledge which, of course, I am not surprised at, when it comes from the P.S.P. spokesman, attempting thereby a kind of formulation against so-called totalitarianism.

I see some reference to the people of Czechoslovakia and some sympathy being shown by Shri Surendranath Dwivedy in regard to the efforts about extending the bounds of socialist democracies. The bounds of socialist democracies would be extended by the socialist countries and the socialist people in their own manner, whatever the reactionaries of whichever brand might say about it. Sir, you have been certain socialist countries, and you know there are certain differences in the objective situation which prevails in certain countries. It so happens that in Czechoslovakia, the conditions have called for a certain kind of change which is in the direction of greater and fuller democracy. We certainly welcome that. But we know at the same time that when a socialist system is established and when it is opposed by such forces as are arrayed against it today, what is known as liberty, has to be rationed with a parsimonious hand in certain conditions.

One has to defend to cause of the revolution, and in Czechoslovakia the problem which the Czechoslovakian Communist Party leadership has also taken upon itself to solve; was how to get a synthesis between the needs of socialist reconstruction and advance and the needs of a fuller opportunity for individual freedom. And that is why the new experiment is taking place not only in Czechoslovakia but in different countries of the socialist system, the Soviet Union included. The biggest factor in recent international history has been this that the socialist world is making advances in a direction which was not possible earlier because they had to build socialism in face of the hostility of all the

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

world. That new phenomenon is before us. And that is why in Czechoslovakia something happened which surely was welcomed all over the countries of the communist system, the socialist system, and by progressive people everywhere. There is no doubt about it that we have welcomed the changes which the Czechoslovakia party leadership wanted to establish in their own country because those changes were in the direction of progress, of greater democracy, of greater freedom, for that country. But the difficulty arose when it was seen very clearly that that was being utilised by the neo-imperialist forces in order to demolish the socialist system.

Look at the map of Czechoslovakia. It has boundaries with five different countries three of them are socialists but two of them are non-socialists—Austria is there and West Germany is there. Look at the fact that NATO exercises were taking place—military exercises—very near the West German territorial boundary with Czechoslovakia. We know how Czechoslovakia, if it can be torn away from the socialist system, can be used as a bayonet always aimed at the socialist system in the world, and that is why naturally there was concern in every socialist country, naturally there was concern in the minds of all progressive-minded people, that something should be done in regard to safeguarding the position of Czechoslovakia, that in the name of liberalisation and democratisation things are not done which would give a handle to the neo-imperialists to mount their attack for which they are preparing everywhere their attack against the socialist system. And that is why there was concern expressed by different socialist parties, and that is why the Bratislava statement has come after discussion—no doubt, after discussion, very necessary discussion—and what do they say? In the Bratislava statement it is said very clearly that the fraternal parties firmly and resolutely counterpose their unbreakable solidarity, their high vigilance to any efforts of imperialists and also of all other anti-communist forces to weaken the leading role of the working class and communist parties; they will never allow anyone to drive a wedge between socialist States to undermine the foundations of socialist system. That is the cornerstone of the Bratislava agreement, and over

this all these parties have come together. All the world thails the Bratislava agreement. But Mr. Dwivedy wants the Indian Parliament to hail the brave people of Czechoslovakia with the ugly motivation that this would be interpreted in a manner which would bring grist to the mill of anti-soviet, anti-socialist, forces, the reactionary forces, all over the world. That is the purpose. That is the kind of purpose which they are pursuing every where. We see it for the first time that they do not come out in the open, and say things which have to be said in order to appear to defend a sort of socialism.

In regard to what happened in Czechoslovakia, there is no doubt about it that the subversive actions of imperialism were to be noted. You can go to Parliament library if you yourself find some time and you will find a lot of periodicals, so many of them, all devoted to the anti-communist crusade, whether "East Europe" or "Problems of Communism" or "Communist Affairs". Mr. Dwivedy can go and read those papers, but he was speaking to a particular brief. He can go and find this out. From much earlier, propaganda was going on. You can read those articles how Czechoslovakia was being sought to be prepared very definitely by certain anti-socialist elements. There is a game which has been going on all the time.

That is the game against which the socialist system has got to be prepared.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY:** Let him read the reply of the Czechoslovak National Front to such things.

**SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE:** I have read all the correspondence. There is no time for me to refer in detail to all the correspondence. But the Bratislava statement actually sums up the exact position. In that statement, they very clearly say that "we have to carry on an irreconcilable struggle against *Bourgeois* ideology, against all anti-socialist forces". It says again that it is the "common internationalist duty of all socialist countries to support, consolidate and protect the socialist gains which have been achieved at a price of heroic efforts and selfless labour".

After all, it is very easy to spread anti-Soviet venom. In Poland, 600,000 soldiers

of the Soviet Red Army gave their lives for the liberation of that country. For the liberation of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and all the other East European countries, hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers gave their lives. I am not saying it only in order to boost the Soviet Union; I am only saying it in order to put it before Shri Dwivedy and his like that all the socialist countries and their populations know it very well what exactly the Soviet Union has done before; they know it very well that it is for the socialist system to stand together; they know it very well that they have to have the Warsaw Pact as long as there is the NATO organisation aimed against them; they know it very well that as long as the imperialists continue their crusade against them, they have to have the COMECON for purposes of economic co-operation. And in this Bratislava communique, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia agrees with the Communist Parties of the other five countries that in so far as their membership of the Warsaw Pact is concerned, in so far as their membership of the COMECON is concerned, they have to be strengthened and fortified because the danger from the imperialist side is always there.

If I could see some point in Shri Dwivedy's Resolution which intended to stress India's concern for freedom and extension of the frontiers of freedom, I would have understood it. But there is a motivation behind it; there is the venomous idea of attacking the socialist system, particularly the Soviet Union. But there is the socialist system with the Soviet Union naturally at its head and, therefore, all this kind of verbal pyro-technics would not lead them anywhere. Unfortunately, the Bratislava conference has taken the edge off the attack which he and his like have planned and I am sure after the Bratislava conference, this Resolution is a scrap of paper which will be thrown aside by this House.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI (New Delhi): I would, in the national interest, appeal to Prof. Mukerjee not, as it used to happen, always smell a plot in every discussion. There are many of us in India—I think the tradition comes down to us from the time of Rabindranath Tagore—who have on a national basis taken interest in Czechos-

lovakia. May I invite him to give it a national focus ?

Czechoslovakia had national awakening, what they call *Norodny Prohusein* in the 19th century, parallel to the Indian. They have an earlier past, the Hussite past of the 14th and 15th centuries which bears parallel to many resurgent movements in India. The thought of that period the movement of the unity of Czech Brethren, produced a person almost in anticipation of Mahatma Gandhi, chelcicy and later, a humanist called Comenique, in anticipation of Rabindranath Tagore. But unfortunately, tragedy sometimes comes to a nation. The Czechoslovak people have suffered too many tragedies. There was the famous or infamous Bila Hora, the "White Mountain", which brought slavery to the Czech people. But in spite of the loss of their freedom, we know now the Czech people kept up their spirit of freedom even at that time. We know about the break-up of the Astro-Hungarian Empire, the advent of pan-Slavist ideas and the resurgence in Europe at the time of the first world war which had shaken up Europe.

Therefore, I would say that when we look at Czechoslovakia, let us look at it with clear eyes.

Mention has been made of Masaryk. Yes, I would say that Masaryk is not a counter-revolutionary as some of our friends say sometimes. I am glad that in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia a reassessment is coming, and it will also come in Russia I am sure. What Masaryk protested against was scholasticism, always trying to be dogmatic. And there are several Marxist thinkers today in the Marxist tradition who also want progress of human thought. But for Czechoslovakia we cannot forget that Hitlerism descended upon that country in a brutal manner, The Sudetan Germans were exploited for that purpose. Then came Munich. Again, events moved towards the second world war. Czechoslovakia was liberated by the Russians, I admit it, but what do they say in Prague today ? They say: "The Russians liberated us in 1945, we shall liberate them in 1968." What they mean by that liberation in the field of ideas.

[Shri M. L. Sondhi]

The Czech people are actually *Rusophile* pro-Russian, they have never been anti-Russian, and I think the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has also a certain history. Intellectuals have played a role in that country, trade unions have played a role, agrarian interests have also been represented in a particular ideological manner. I am sure Mr. Dange will bear me out, he used to come to Czechoslovakia, he knew many of these people who are leading this revolt, I would challenge him to say that Dubcek is a counter-revolutionary, he cannot say that I know that. Therefore, I am referring to the new ideological imperatives which we in India should understand.

Some friends accuse the Czechs, they say that the National Front is composed of right elements, it is against the leading role of the communist party, that Leninist principles are not adopted in the presence of Czechoslovakia that there are revisionist and counter-revolutionary cells, but I think that is because we all think too much in the cold war manner, we all become apprehensive. The world has moved away. There is a new Europe. You, Sir, have been to Russia and Hungary. May I suggest a visit to Czechoslovakia? You will see that the Czechoslovak people believe in non-interference. They are not slaves of the past, they are thinking of the future. They have confidence, that confidence cannot come out of a counter-revolutionary spirit. They have in mind the future development of the society and the individual. They want friendship with Russia on equal terms, and whether we like it or not, Prague today has an enhanced importance. It is the meeting point of a new Europe, and it would be a rather sad day for India to ignore the importance which Prague has today. Therefore, the Russians should be well advised to understand the whole problem in a new light. Our Foreign Office and our publicists should use that influence.

And particularly let us understand Slovak-resurgence. Who are the Slovaks? They had great leaders in the past. I recall to my mind Ludovit star, the man who talked in terms of the great resurgence of the Slave people the far greater manner than the Russians or Soviet leaders do today. He

did it, and it is that outlook which is coming out in Bratislava. There is a ferment from below. There was leader called Clementis. He was one of the famous Foreign Ministers of the Slovaks in Czechoslovakia. He was executed by the Stalinists. Today the students in Bratislava Faculty have asked that Clementis should be declared a national hero. That is the mood of the country. Hasak and Novomesky who escaped death at that time, Mr. Dange knows them also, have come out today, they will not be held back. It is a tremendous onward resurgence of the Slovaks. They want mutuality of cultural interests with other slave and with the Czechs, they want a genuine sort of f.d.c.r.ism and rehabilitation of those people who suffered the crimes of Stalin. Therefore, let us look at Czechoslovakia with a new outlook.

Something was said about planning and socialism and questions of socialism. In Czechoslovakia I have myself heard this said that they are not only opposed to the cult of personality, but they are also opposed to the cult of the plan. This was said by the young leading communist theoretician Rodoslav Selucky. He said that there were certain defects of excessive centralisation and mere fulfilment of growth targets will not help because that often means that the managers conceal the resources in their sectors and a narrow competitive spirit develops, and development problems are ignored. In the case of Czechoslovakia led no doubt to an emphasis and concentration on the export of heavy metal products. Today, the new economists, many of them are Marxists with years of training in Marxism and Leninism behind them, are looking at the world with reality and they say that Czechoslovakia can develop also its traditional industries of glass, porcelain and ceramics, and that it is in the interest of balanced growth that home industries which can utilise equipment available there should be encouraged. I am aware of the fact that impressive technical development has taken place in Czechoslovakia. In the Bohemian steel works, four million tons of steel are produced; in the Slovak works another four million tons of steel and 2.5 millions of re-rolled steel are produced. I applaud these achievements and do not underrate them. But it is a country which today wants national integration on

the basis of a modern economic outlook. The Slovaks and the Czechs want to come together on a new basis. They are thinking of this National Front and if I were to quote *Rude Pravo* their party journal, "The first thing to be done is to return confidence to the people." That is the note. We also went to Srinagar to talk about national integration. I think we can learn from the Czechs and the Slovaks, how they are developing this national front as a political programme. There is impatience. I do not hesitate to welcome the Bratislava developments. I am also aware which Prof. Mukerjee should concede us—that all is not well in Moscow and there also there are different factions and different points of view and it would be unfair to the Soviets to think that they are all of one mind. There is debate and discussion. The purpose of our debate and discussion should be to influence them constructively and welcome the new development. Sometimes we in India may not welcome a new development. At that time we do not mind other people telling us to go to a new direction. It is always difficult to think of new things. New things always irritate you. In Czechoslovakia the Czechs and the Slovaks are bringing the 21st century nearer to us. It is a new development, a new Europe, a Europe by and large free of war and tension. That is why they seek to regulate the relationship of the party and the state apparatus. That is something which I think we should also welcome why should the Congress Party burden itself with every single administrative problem—or for that matter, any other party in power? There should be different roles for parties, different roles for the state apparatus. This was the polemic between Konstantinor and Cestimir Cisar and the latter affirmed that party is subordinate to society. I had the opportunity of knowing some of these people during my stay there. I am convinced they know their problems best. I have no hesitation in saying that the Czechs and the Slovaks are realists; they have been; they are a nation united today. Dubcek is the symbol of the future. This onward momentum cannot be stopped by anybody. I am not saying that it goes against anybody. But I should naturally like that in India we should put our heart and soul and almost associate ourselves with the new

stirrings in Bratislava and in Prague. I shall quote one small sentence of Dubcek which I think should be hung as the motto by all the political parties. In his television interview on July 18, he says: "If the party wants to carry out its policy, it cannot replace the masses; it cannot replace the people; but it must replace the leadership and this leadership must replace the methods of policy by such that would really comply with the interests and the desires of the nations of the Czechoslovakia Socialist fatherland, of this republic." Why am I pleading for a national understanding? Because, we forget that India has moulded the mind of Czechoslovakia. I shall quote a person who published the works of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore in Czechoslovakia even before freedom came to that country. His name was J. Snajdr. He said that Gitanjali and Sadhana were a great consolation to the Czechoslovak soldiers who were forced to fight against their will during the First world War, on behalf of the Austro-Hungarian empire. He said that every departure of Czechs and Slovak soldiers to the battle front would be accompanied by a rise in the sale of Tagore's Gitanjali and Sadhana. May I finally say that Gurudev himself visited Prague and he gave a lecture on June 18, 1921 at the Charles University in Prague. His theme was: folk religion of India. It is that aspect which the Czechoslovakia like, not the ritualist religions of India. Gurudev also gave a lecture at the then German University in Prague on the integrative role of universities and intellectuals, and held out the example of the ancient Indian Gurukula. What happened when Czechoslovakia was threatened by the German hordes at the time of Munich. Karel Capek a great poet and literateur of Czechoslovakia broadcast a radio message to Gurudev Tagore and addressed him somewhat in the following words: Oh, great sage of the east, repository of wisdom in the east will you not come to our help when snow is falling on our door steps and dark cloud of war threaten us? Tagore immediately asked his son to rush to the telegraph offices and telegraph a message of sympathy to Czechoslovakia. Later on he wrote a poem but this is not the occasion to quote that poem. I would say that today in our political avenue we must learn from the Czechoslovak people, with whom we are bound by historical and cultural ties.

[Shri M. L. Somaiji]

I regret the Ministry of External Affairs is not always mindful of our close relationship with Czechoslovakia and other countries of Eastern Europe which for them are sometimes the *terra incognita* beyond the Suez Canal; they regard them as *vilayat*, as all shades of England, or something like that. Therefore, what we need is the specific knowledge, the historical knowledge, and a knowledge in which ultimately there is reconciliation of the national aspirations, the national past and a great future of human unity which awaits mankind ahead of us.

17-41 Hrs.

## HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

## INDIAN GOODS AND EQUIPMENT HELD BY PAKISTAN

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर): अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप की आज्ञा से कहना चाहता हूँ कि 1947 से ले कर 1965 तक भारत की नीति पाकिस्तान के साथ जो रही है वह पूरी तरह से नाकामयाब रही है। 1965 में पाकिस्तान ने हमारा 101 करोड़ रु० का सामान पकड़ा और हम ने केवल 27 करोड़ रु० का सामान उन का पकड़ा। मन्त्री महोदय से मेरा पहला प्रश्न यह है कि जब पाकिस्तान ने प्राइज़ कोर्ट इस्टैब्लिश कर के हमारा साठे पांच करोड़ रु० का माल जब्त किया और लड़ाई दिवलेअर कर के कहा कि फार्मल वार में जो हम ने जब्त किया है वह हमारा है, हम ने उस को प्राइज़ में लिया है, और इस के ऊपर हमारे सिक्योरिटी कौंसिल के प्रतिनिधि मि०पार्यसायिथी ने आब्जेक्शन भी किया और कहा कि हम इसके लिए डेमेजेज क्लेम करेंगे, क्या हिन्दुस्तान ने भी उसी तरह से प्राइज़ कोर्ट इस्टैब्लिश कर के यह कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान की जो लड़ाई हुई थी उस को हम फार्मल वार मानते हैं? अगर कहा था तो उन्होंने क्या किया और जो डेमेजेज की बात सिक्योरिटी कौंसिल में कही गई थी उस के लिए उन्होंने क्या कार्रवाई की ?

दूसरी चीज यह कि ताशकन्द ऐग्रीमेंट में नौ बातें कहीं गई हैं। नौ बातों में से केवल एक बात को छोड़ कर, जिस में उन्होंने यह कहा है कि:

“The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25th February, 1966 to the positions they held prior to the 5th August, 1965, and both sides will observe the ceasefire terms and the ceasefire line.”

कोई दूसरी बात पाकिस्तान ने नहीं मानी। आज ताशकन्द ऐग्रीमेंट एक डेड लेटर है। पाकिस्तान उस को नहीं मानता। जिस तरह से लड़ाई बमैर दोनों तरफ के लोगों लड़ें नहीं हो सकती उसी तरह से दोस्ती भी जब तक दोनों तरफ से इरादा न हो, नहीं हो सकती। जब यह डेड लेटर है और उस पर पाकिस्तान अमल नहीं कर रहा है, हमारी तरफ से एकतरफा कार्रवाई हो रही है, तब मैं माननीय मन्त्री महोदय से दूसरा सवाल यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब ताशकन्द ऐग्रीमेंट हुआ तब जब तक पाकिस्तान ने बाकी कंडिशनस को पूरा नहीं किया, आप हाजी पीर, लाहौर और स्यालकोट से वापस क्यों हट आये? हमारा माल पाकिस्तान ने वापस नहीं किया, और जो दूसरी शर्तें थीं उन को भी उस ने पूरा नहीं किया, लेकिन आप शरीफ आदमी की तरह से वापस हट गए। आप ने इस बात की चिन्ता नहीं की कि पाकिस्तान शर्तों को मानेगा या नहीं। यह एक बहुत बड़ी फेल्सोर गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की रही है, जिस ने जो चीज उस के हाथ में थी उस को पूरा कर दिया और अब पाकिस्तान उस को नचा रहा है और हम को उन की उंगली पर नाचना पड़ रहा है। मेरी मांग है कि ताशकन्द ऐग्रीमेंट ऐग्रीमेंट किया जाये, उसे खत्म किया जाये। क्योंकि इस तरह का एकतरफा फैसला आगे नहीं चलेगा। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि आपने विधुद्दाल क्यों किया, जब तक सारी कार्रवाई पूरी नहीं हुई ?