(c) the result thereof?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FOOD, AGRICULTURE, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT & CO-OPERATION (SHRI ANNASAHIB SHINDE): (a) to (c). Yes. The selling of sub-standard fertilisers which do not conform to the specifications prescribed in the Fertiliser (Control) Order, 1957, is a violation of the Order and is an offence punishable under the provisions of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955. The State Governments are competent to take penal action against those who violate the Order. The information is being collected from the State Governments of Maharashtra and Gujarat who are concerned in the matter and it will be laid on the Table of the Sabha when received.

12.10 Hrs.

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

CZECH-SOVIET DISPUTE

SHRI A. SREEDHARAN (Badagara): Sir, I rise to a point of order under Rule 197.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour): Sir, I rise to a point of order under Rule 197.

MR. SPEAKER: One by one they may raise their points of order.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Sir, I am raising this point of order under Rule 197. According to this rule I think that the Calling Attention Notice that has been admitted for today is not in order. The rule says:

> "A member may, with the previous permission of the Speaker, call the attention of a Minister to any matter of urgent public importance...."

This Calling Attention Notice calling the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the Czech-Soviet dispute is not of public importance (*Interruptions.*)

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. All hon. Members may kindly resume their seats. Kindly allow me to hear the point of order and give my ruling. I have admitted it. May I request all hon. Members on this side not to turn that side and shout? Let me answer him. It will be very easy for me to answer him. If all of you begin to shout there is absolutely no chance for me to reply.

SHRI A. SREEDHARAN: Sir, I raise my point of order under rule 197 and article 51 of the Constitution. I would like to invite your attention to the subject matter of the Calling Attention Notice that you are going to take up. It says:

> "....to call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to Czech-Soviet dispute and the efforts made by the Government of India in regard thereto."

MR. SPEAKER: What is the constitutional provision? You cannot quote the Constitution for everything.

SHRI A. SREEDHARAN: Article 51 of the Constitution says:

> "51. The State shall endeavour to—
>
> (a) X X X
>
> (b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations;"

Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union are friendly countries. They have their disputes and some efforts are being made to solve those disputes in some railway train on some border. Any interference by the Government of India, any remarks by the Government of India, in such a delicate situation will put these countries against us. That was our experience (*Interruption*). That was our experience in the Hungarian revolution. Those who have some sympathy for

Czechoslovakia, those who want the revolution to go forward, should keep quiet, otherwise they will trot out an excuse and say that the Communist world is getting together (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER: Do not go into the merits of the case.

SHRI A. SREEDHARAN: Therefore, Sir, I think the admissibility of this Calling Attention Notice is a violation of article 51 of the Constitution (*Interruption*).

DR. RANEN SEN (Barasat): Sir, I would like to add one point.

MR. SPEAKER: I am not discussing that point now. He has raised a point of order and I have to answer him. If all of you get up like this I do not know how I can answer him.

DR. RANEN SEN: Before you answer, Sir, I have got another point to place before you so that you may give a complete answer.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not want any further clarification. I have admitted it. I have considered all aspects of the question. There is no question of offending Russia or Czechoslovakia. We are friendly nations. Our making some suggestions or putting forward some ideas need not offend anybody. (*Interruptions*). Order, order. I got up to say something else. I have admitted this Calling Attention Notice and three names are put here. But some hon. Member pointed out to me that he had also given a Calling Attention Notice on the previous day and that was overlooked when this was printed. I searched the papers. I am really glad to point out that he had given a notice on the previous day. Shri Samar Guha's name was there and, therefore, his name will be put down as the fourth in the list of names of Members in whose name this Calling Attention Notice stands. Therefore it will be the fourth name.

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्ता (दिल्ली सदर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अविलम्बनीय लोक महत्व के निम्नलिखित विषय की ओर वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री का ध्यान दिलाता हूं और प्रार्थना करता हूं कि वह इस बारे में एक वक्तव्य दें :—

"चेकोस्लोवाकिया सोवियत विवाद तथा इस विषय में भारत सरकार द्वारा किये गये प्रयास"।

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as the House is aware, a new leadership assumed office in Czechoslovakia some months ago. They made known their desire to make certain changes in the internal structure and policies of their country. This apparently created certain misapprehensions amongst some of their fellow members of the Warsaw Pact Organization. There was an exchange of corespondence between the five countries of the Warsaw Pact after their recent meeting in Warsaw, and the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The press has carried detailed reports of this correspondence. Following these exchanges, a meeting between the reprentatives of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia was arranged, and the leaders of these two parties are at present engaged in talks in Czechoslovakia. The outcome of these bilateral discussions is yet to be known. The Government of India do not consider it desirable to express views on the merits of the issues currently being discussed. In view of the sensitiveness of the situation, any comment may accentuate the difficulties rather than make a useful contribution. Bearing these considerations in mind, most Governments have exercised restraint.

It is our earnest hope that matters pertaining to the policies of Czechoslovakia and to her relations with her neighbours will be resolved amicably. We also hope that the processes of detente in Europe will continue.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur): What asquib!

SHRI M. L. SONDHI (New Delhi): What a fall from the days of Shri Nehru!

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : अध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत का हर एक नागरिक, जो विश्व-शांति में विश्वास करता है, सोवियत यूनियन के चेकोस्लोवाकिया पर दबाव डालने के बारे में चिन्ता व्यक्त करता है, विशेषतः इसलिए कि दोनों ही हमारे मित्र देश हैं। हम यह चाहते हैं कि किसी भी देश का किसी अन्य देश पर दबाव नहीं रहना चाहिये। ख्याल यह था कि उनकी बातचीत के बाद कोई रास्ता निकल आयेगा लेकिन कल यह खबर आई कि श्री ब्रेजनेव बीमार हो गये और एक दम वापिस चले गये। मालूम नहीं कि वह पोलिटिकल बीमारी थी या वह सही मानों में बीमार थे। लेकिन अब वह बातचीत दोबारा शुरू हुई है। लेकिन जैसे जैसे इसमें देर होती जाती है, इस बारे में और चिन्ता होती जाती है कि यह समस्या क्यों नहीं सुलझ रही है, कहीं दबाव तो ज्यादा नहीं डाला जा रहा है। चेकोस्लोवाकिया के साथ हमारा पुराना रिश्ता है। सब तरह की मदद चेकोस्लोवाकिया से इस देश को मिलती है। लेकिन इतने दिन झगड़ा होने के बाद भी हमारी सरकार उसको एक पैसिव स्पेक्टेटर की तरह से देखती रही है।

MR. SPEAKER: You are making a speech. Now I will have to stop it Please come to the question.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : मुझे जरा बैकग्राउन्ड तो देने दीजिये।

यू० के० रूमानिया और बल्गारिया के प्राइम मिनिस्टर्ज़, श्री टीटो और दूसरे देशों ने इस विषय में चिन्ता व्यक्त की है। कुछ वर्ष पहले हम हंगरी के सम्बन्ध में पहले तो चुप रहे और बाद में जब गड़बड़ हो गई, तो हमने चिन्ता व्यक्त की। शायद हम उस हिस्ट्री को रिपीट करना चाहते हैं। चेकोस्लोवाकिया का क्या टड है ? मैं आपकी आज्ञा से चैकोस्लोवाकिया की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के रेज़ोल्यूशन में से दो चार लाइन पढ़ना चाहता हूं।

MR. SPEAKER: Do not quote it; everybody has read it.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : उस रेज़्यूलेशन में कहा गया है :

"Our development today is a development corresponding to our present Czechoslovak conditions; it was with the awareness of responsibility before our nation that the Party has taken this road. That is why, however, the Party Central Committee considers it necessary to stress in the present situation that attempts to present our course as a certain obligatory "model" for all socialist countries are wrong in principle as to content, and politically harmful both for us and for the development of our relations to the allied socialist countries".

"The existence of differences among communist parties should not, however, negatively affect their mutual relations. In accord with the Action Programme, we shall explain and defend our stand point that our internal development is the sovereign affair of Czechoslovakia. We do not interfere with internal political questions of other countries and we demand the same as regard their relations to our country."

MR. SPEAKER: Will you come to the question now?

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : मैं क्वेश्चन ही पूछ रहा हूं। उनका केवल कहना यह है कि हमारे अन्दर के मामले में कोई दखल न दे, हमें आप की इस आर्मी की कोई जरूरत नहीं है और हम प्रेस पर से सेंसरशिप हटाना चाहते हैं, फ्रीडम आफ स्पीच देना चाहते हैं। इस हालत में मैं प्रधान मंत्री की सेवा में निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि यह सरकार हमेशा से नान-इंटरफेयरेंस की पालिसी का दूसरे देशों में प्रचार करती रही, पंचशील की बात पंडित जवाहरलाल से लेकर आज तक आप कहते रहे और यह भी आप चाहते रहे कि किसी देश की आर्मी दूसरी जगह न रहे, किसी तरह से किसी का भी प्रेशर दूसरे देश पर न पड़े। इसरायल के मामले में, स्वेज के मामले में हर मामले में आप की यह नीति रही। तो मैं प्रधान मंत्री से पूछना चाहता हूं कि या चेकोस्लोवाकिया के बारे में भी जो आपकी नान-इंटरफेयरेंस की पालिसी है और फौज न रखने को की पालिसी है उस पालिसी पर स्टिक करती हैं या नहीं, इसके बारे में आप का या विचार है ?

दूसरे, इस सम्बन्ध में आपने रूस या चेकोस्लोवाकिया की सरकार से लिख कर या और किसी दूसरे तरह स बातचीत की है और क्या लाइक-माइंडेड कन्ट्रीज के साथ मिल कर इन दोनों देशों के बीच की लड़ाई खत्म हो, इस बात की कोशिश वह करेंगी ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Sir, the question that has been put to me is largely hypothetical. As I have said, the two countries are having talks. Talks have not broken down. In fact, the latest news is that the Chairman of the National Assembly who is said to be also in favour of reform has said that the atmosphere is optimistic and that the talks are, I think, the word he used was promising. In this situation, it would not be wise for us to express any opinion. As the situation develops, certainly, one can decide what stand one should take. As far as the question of non-interference is concerned, I think, we have expressed our views very clearly, Even with respect of Czechoslovakia—I was asked 2 or 3 days ago about this matter—I said that our views are the same.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA. What are your views? That is my specific question.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We do not believe in interference from outside. But here the two countries are talking and they are trying to settle the thing through talks.

AN HON. MEMBER: What talks?

SHRI M. L. SONDHI: They are taking place within a few inches of the Soviet border . . . (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. She should be allowed to reply. Please hear her. (*Interruption*) I have understod what you have said. She is answering. I will not allow you like this.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The next part was whether we have kept ourselves in contact with various people. I have not written letters. But we are, through diplomatic channels, in constant contact with the representatives of all these countries. The third question was about like-minded people. I do not think this is a time to have such a meeting.

श्री कामेश्वर सिंह (खगरिया) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी प्रधान मंत्री ने बतलाया कि दोनों देश आपस में बैठ कर इस बात का फैसला करना चाहते हैं परन्तु इसके पहले मैं प्रधान मंत्री का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूं प्रावदा ने या कहा उसके ऊपर :

"Meanwhile, *Pravda* warned Czechoslovak communists, 'time does not wait'."

और आज के भी अखबारों में है :

"The Soviet Defence Minister, Marshall Pavel F. Batiski, announced that the wide-ranging anti-aircraft exercise 'Sky Shield' run in conection with giants land manoeuvres on the Soviet Union's western frontier, had ended."

यह जो बातचीत हो रही है जेकोस्लोवाकिया और रूस के के नेताओं के बीच में क्या यह जायज है कि मिलिटरी एक्सरसाइजेज़ का डर दिखा कर, धमका कर, उन लोगों पर अत्यधिक दबाव डालकर अपने ही मन की बात करने की कोशिश की जाय ? प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं कि आपस में फैसला करना चाहत हैं परन्तु क्या यह उचित है . . . (व्यवधान) . . अरब देशों का व्यवहार रूस से और जेकोस्लोवाकिया से दोनों से एक ही है तो क्या उन का यह फर्ज नहीं है कि वह इस मामले में हस्तक्षेप करके इसको निपटाने में मदद करें ?

मैं जानना चाहता हूं क्या प्रधान मंत्री बतलायेंगी कि हमारे राजदूत जो प्राग में हैं उन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री को क्या रपट भेजी है और कितनी सैन्य शक्ति रूस की इस बात का दबाव डालने में लगी हुई है ? अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अनुरोध करूंगा आप से कि आप प्रधान मंत्री से कहें कि हमारे राजदूत की क्या रपट है उसको सदन में बतावें। सिक्रेट कह कर इसको नहीं रोका जा सकता है। मैं इस तरह से आज नहीं मानने वाला हूं।

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): She has to answer two questions. One is whether they have received reports from our diplomats and the second is the extent of Soviet military might in Czechoslovakia.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I am sure you will not expect me to know or announce the extent of Soviet military strength. With regard to reports from our Ambassadors, certainly we are receiving reports, but I do not think I can place them on the Table of the House . . . (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. L. SONDHI: What about military manoeuvres? Military exercises are taking place. If exercises take place somewhere else, we protest against that. Military pressure has been brought there. What prevents you from making a statement? Military exercises are taking place. There should be some answer.

MR. SPEAKER: Under what rule is he getting up and shouting? There are people who have given call-attention notice . . .

SHRI M. L. SONDHI: I have been requesting you for the last one week.

MR. SPEAKER: But you have not given anything in writing. (*Interruption*).

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : कामेश्वर सिंह के दूसरे सवाल का जवाब नहीं आया। एक्सटेंट आफ मिलिटरी एक्सरसाइजेज़ . . . . . .

MR. SPEAKER: I will repeat, if you want, what she has answered. About Soviet military might, she said, 'I am not expected to say anything'. (*Interruptions*).

श्री रवि राय : मिलिटरी एक्सरसाइजेज़ के बारे में . . . .

MR. SPEAKER: You cannot force her to say something. She has answered the question.

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त : मिलिटरी जो वहां पर है उस के बारे में आप का क्या विचार है यह नहीं बताया।

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta, I do not allow this. I am warning you for the third time. It is not proper. You monopolise every-

thing—getting up and shouting every time. Will you please sit down?

About the first question, she has said, "Ambassadors' reports are coming in, but do you expect me to place them on the Table of the House?".

Now, may I request Mr. Madhu Limaye to put his question? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi):: We expect the Prime Minister to give replies to the specific questions. That is all that we want.

MR. SPEAKER: She is answering. It is a delicate question. I am to look whether I am satisfied or not. Members may not be satisfied, but I am to be satisfied.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: But are you satisfied with her answer? (*Interruptions*)

श्री मधु लिमये : (मुंगेर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज मुझे उम्मीद थी कि प्रधान मंत्री को मौका था कि वह 50 करोड़ जनता की ओर से इस सदन की बहुसंख्या की ओर से इस विषय पर कुछ बोलेंगी, लेकिन मुझे खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उन्होंने यहां पर जो वक्तव्य दिया है ....

श्री रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) : आपको हमेशा खेद रहता है ।

श्री रवि राय : खेद न हो तो क्या कहें ।

श्री मधु लिमये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे बड़ा खेद है कि इस देश की ओर से जो बातें आज इस पार्लियामेंट में कहनी चाहिये थीं, प्रधान मंत्री के द्वारा नहीं कही गई। ठीक 30 साल पहले आपको याद होगा यूरोप में एक राक्षसी शक्ति ने चेकोस्लोवाकिया जैसे शान्तिपूर्ण और प्रजातान्त्रिक देश की हत्या की थी । इस हत्या में साझेदारी ब्रिटेन, फ्रांस और इटली की थी । उस समय, अध्यक्ष महोदय, चेकोस्लोवाकिया की जनता और रूस की जनता दोनों में दोस्ती का रिश्ता था .....

MR. SPEAKER: That is all about the past. Let him come to 1968 now. Let him come to his question.

श्री मधु लिमये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह इन को कहना चाहिये, अगर ये नहीं कहती हैं तो मुझे कहना चाहिये । अगर ये नहीं कहती हैं तो कम से कम इस देश की ओर से एक आदमी तो बोले । 30 साल पहले मुझे याद है—राजनीति में एक छात्र के नाते जब मैंने पहले कदम रखा था—म्युनिक करार के खिलाफ़ हम लोगों ने फर्गुसन कालेज के छात्रों की सभा बुलाई थी । उस समय चेकोस्लोवाकिया के साथ हम हमदर्दी दिखाते थे तो आज एक स्वतन्त्र सैनिक के नाते मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारा कर्तव्य है कि तात्सीवादकी नीति के खिलाफ़ जिस तरह से हमने उस समय आवाज़ उठाई थी, उस वक्त हम दब नहीं थे— अंग्रेज क्या कहेंगे फ्रांसीस क्या कहेंगे—इस लिये आज एक स्वतन्त्रता सैनिक के नाते मैं कहना चाहता हूं ..... (व्यवधान) .... हमारी विदेश नीति भी की पांच आधारशिलायें क्या हैं, —1. राष्ट्रीय स्वतन्त्रता की हम कद्र करें, 2. सार्वभौमिकता की कद्र करें, 3. शान्तिपूर्ण सहअस्तित्व विभिन्न देशों में, चाहे सामाजिक व्यवस्था जो भी हो, बनी रहे, 4.शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से दो राष्ट्रों के बीच में जो झगड़े हों उनको हल किया जाय, और 5. सब से महत्वपूर्ण बात-- अन्तर्गत मामलों में हम हस्तक्षेप न करें विशेषकर जो बड़े राष्ट्र हैं वे । हमेशा इस सदन में—मैं आजादी के पहले की बात करता हूं—कांग्रेस को यह फख्र था कि जहां दुनिया में अन्याय होता था, दबाव और आक्रमण की बात होती थी, पुरानी कांग्रेस

हमेशा बोला करती थी, लेकिन आज पता नहीं कांग्रेस दल को क्या हो गया है. . . . .

MR. SPEAKER: Whatever they may say, the hon. Member should address the Chair.

MR. SPEAKER: Let him come to the question now.

श्री मधु लिमये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा सवाल यह है कि इन्होंने कहा है--

"The Government of India do not consider it desirable to express views on the merits of the issues currently being discussed.".

तथा स्वयं वे कहती हैं कि हमारा दृष्टिकोण क्या है, वह हमने चेकोस्लोवाकिया को बतला दिया है। क्या एक कमरे के अन्दर बैठ कर बतला दिया है, हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को उसका पता नहीं दिया जायगा कि इन्होंने अपना क्या दृष्टिकोण रखा है । अध्यक्ष महोदय, रूमानिया के लोग, यगोस्लाविया के लोग, उन्होंने साथ दिया है, व अमरीकी दलाल नहीं हैं, व कम्युनिस्ट देश हैं, उन्होंने कहा है, इटली की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने कहा है, जिसको पिछले चुनावों में 25 प्रतिशत से अधिक वोट मिले थे, फ्रांस की कम्यनिस्ट पार्टी ने कहा है कि फौजी हस्तक्षेप नहीं होना चाहिये । चेकोस्लोवाकिया की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और वहां की जनता ने कहा है कि जहां तक सामाजिक मिलकियत का सवाल है हम कोई परिवर्तन नहीं करेंगे, जहां तक वारसा करार का सवाल है, रूस के साथ दोस्ताना रिश्ता बरकरार रखेंगे . . .

श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती) : हिन्दुस्तान की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने कहा है, वह भी बतलाइये ?

श्री मधु लिमये : पी० सी० जोशी को पढ़िये। इन्दिरा गांधी से तो पी० सी० जोशी अच्छे हैं ।

श्री मधु लिमये : आप उनको रोकिये । मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान की साम्राज्य विरोधी नीति और प्रगतिशील परम्पराओं को मद्देनजर रखते हुए हमारी विदेश नीति की जो पांच आधार शिलायें हैं, जिनको लेकर हमेशा ढिंढोरा पीटते थे--उनको सामने रख कर आज प्रधान मंत्री अपने जवाब में साफ साफ कहें कि चेकोस्लोवाकिया के साथ हमारी पूरी हमदर्दी है और रूस से हमारा निवेदन है कि एसे छोट देश को, जब कि वह आन्तरिक सुधार करना चाहता है तो उसको फौजी दबाव और धमकियों के जरिये आपको खत्म नहीं करना चाहिये । पांच देशों की ओर से जो पत्र चेकोस्लोवाकिया को लिखा गया है, उसमें वे कहते हैं कि आप जो आन्तरिक सुधार करना चाहते हैं, वे आर इनएक्सेप्टबल टु अस । इन-एक्सेप्टबल का क्या मतलब है । चेकोस्लोवाकिया जो चीज करना चाहता है--रूस को अच्छी लगे, न लगे । रूस में बहुत सी चीजें नहीं होती चेकोस्लोवाकिया को अच्छी नहीं लगती हैं, हमको अच्छी नहीं लगती हैं--लेकिन उसके लिये दबाव नहीं डाला जा सकता है । मैं प्रधान मंत्री महोदया से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आज का उनका जो दृष्टिकोण है--चेकोस्लोवाकिया के बारे में हमदर्दी का आज उस का एलान यहां पर होना चाहिये ।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी: अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस वक्त यह प्रश्न नहीं है कि हमदर्दी किधर है या किधर नहीं है। जब एक गम्भीर स्थिति, नाजुक स्थिति सामने हो तो सरकार का यह कर्तव्य है कि हम कोई ऐसा कदम न उठायें जिससे स्थिति और ज्यादा गम्भीर बन सके। हम ने अपनी नीति को बिल्कुल नहीं छोड़ा है अगर दूसरे

लोगों ने के कहने के मायने यह नहीं हैं कि हम ने नीति छोड़ी है या इस के मायने यह भी नहीं हैं कि हम ऐसी बात कहें, जिससे गम्भीर स्थिति में कुछ और परेशानी आये।

SHRI M. L. SONDHI: Chamberlain also said that it was a far off country. She is directly following Chamberlain.

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मैं बिल्कुल ऐसा नहीं कह रही हूं। यह एक देश है जिसके साथ हमारे बहुत पास कोई के सम्बन्ध है वह हम से दूर नहीं है, बल्कि बहुत से देशों से बहुत ज्यादा पास हैं, पहले भी रहे हैं और आज भी हैं।

30 वर्ष पहले की बात मुझ को याद दिलाई गई है—माननीय सदस्यों को शायद मालूम होगा कि उस समय मैं स्वयं उस जगह थी और मुझे मौका मिला था वहां के सब नेताओं और जनता के लोगों से मिलने का। चेकोस्लोवाकिया से मेरे अपने निजी सम्बन्ध बहुत गहरे और पास के रहे हैं। जब मैं छोटी थी तब से रहे हैं। लेकिन जैसा मैंने कहा स्थिति की गम्भीरता को समझ कर कहना चाहिये। जो हमारी नीति है, जो हमारे विचार हैं, उस को वे प्राप्त कर चुके हैं। जहां तक लिखने का सवाल है,—अध्यक्ष महोदया दुनिया में इतनी सरकारें हैं, हुकूमतें हैं, लेकिन सरकार की तरफ़ से इस बात में कोई नहीं पड़ा है, जो कुछ देश बोल रहे हैं—उनका-उनका रिश्ता दूसरी तरह का है। किसी के डर में, किसी के दबाव में नहीं आ रहे हैं, लेकिन इस समय हम यह जरूर महसूस करते हैं कि . .

SHRI PILOO MODY: Choose between right and wrong.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): Tito is going there, the Prime Minister from Rumania is going there. They are freer than we. Is she writing to them? Is she going there?

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : जब हम जाते हैं तो यह माननीय सदस्य हैं, जिनको एतराज होता है।

श्री बलराज मधोक : जब जाना चाहिये, तब नहीं जाते हैं:

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मैं तो यह कहूंगी यह समय नहीं है जब कि हम को कुछ करना चाहिये। हम को देखना है कि वहां पर क्या होता है। मैं तो यह मानती हूं कि चेकोस्लोवाकिया के नेता और जनता खूब अच्छी तरह से जानती हैं कि उन के हित में क्या है और वे उस स्थिति को सम्भाल रहे हैं।

SHRI M. L. SONDHI: Then she will be wise after the event. This is the most inglorious hour of the Indian Parliament. When the question of human liberty is involved, when we are observing Tilak's Day today, Lokmanya Tilak who said 'Swaraj is my birthright', it is a shame upon you what are you doing today? Sitting like muffled people! You are the descendents of Chamberlain'.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) Government did not tell us yesterday anything about the Indo-US talks that were going on in the capital when we were all wanting to know about it (*Interruptions*).

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा (बेगुसराय) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे भी निवेदन करने का मौका दिया जायेगा ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कर सकते हैं।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : जो सवाल उठ गया है वह बड़ा अहम सवाल है।

MR. SPEAKER: When I am on my legs, hon. Members should sit down. I think the initial mistakes was mine. I thought that this was a subject where there would be no controversy.

The Prime Minister has made a statement. Naturally she is a little careful about the words she uses—she is expected to be very careful in the choice of words. After all, members are a little more free than the Prime Minister in this respect.

Shri Samar Guha had also give an a call attention notice. It was earlier . . .

श्री देवेन सेन (आसनसोल) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, विलिंगडन अस्पताल की हड़ताल के बारे में मैंने काल-अटेन्शन नोटिस दी थी।

MR. SPEAKER: We are in the middle of a call attention motion. Apart from that, if any member gets up and says anything on any matter, whether it is a strike or something else, I am helpless. I will only have to adjourn the House. Talking anything like this while we are discussing a particular matter is not proper. I am appealing to the Leaders of the Groups. If even in the middle of a call attention motion we have taken up, members begin to refer to other matters, it is not at all proper.

Shri Samar Guha.

SHRI SAMAR GAUHA (Contai): Through you, Sir, I want to remind our Prime Minister of the glorious voice of her father, the first Prime Minister of India, that was heard in the very capital of the United States of America, in which he said:

> "Where freedom is in danger, justice is threatened and aggression takes place, India cannot be neutral".

With these preliminary words, I want to offer my service to that tiny State, Czechoslovakia, which today is holding the flag of freedom aloft against a giant super power with only the moral spirit and that much of dedication which that nation got from its illustrious sons, Masaryk and Dr. Benes.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Who liberated Czechoslovakia from Nazism?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I expected that our Prime Minister, holding the heritage of her great father, would at least today show that forthright courage that was shown even by a very longstanding Communist leader, Shri P. C. Joshi, who said 'Big Brother, Yes, but with Big Stick, No'. Even Rumania and Yugoslavia, both Communist States, have stood in this hour for that tiny State where a new wind of freedom is blowing not for the eastern world only but for the whole human civilisation.

With these preliminary words, I want to know from the Prime Minister whether as the representative of one nation which in its Constitution had enshrined the words "Equality, Democracy and Freedom", this Government will categorically welcome the wind of liberalisation and democratisation that is taking place in the policy of Czechoslovakia? Secondly, I want to know on the basis of the generally accepted principles of international relations between two States, equality, reciprocity, mutual respect of the individual sovereignty of each State, whether, instead of having a dialogue with a bullying, threatening and blackmailing neighbour, with military manoeuvres taking place within a few miles of the site of the talks, this Government, on the basis of the international code that guides the relations between sovereign States, will let it be known to our friend, the Soviet Union and her leaders that India will appreciate if the talk between Russia and Czechoslovakia is conducted on the basis of equality, reciprocity, mutual dignity and recognition of mutual sovereignty.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: India does stand and will always continue to stand for justice, liberty and that peace. There is no question about that.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Except in Czechoslovakia.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I am glad to see this new found friendship for Czechoslovakia on the other side, and if I may say so, I think it will greatly embarrass the Czechoslovak leaders and people.

SHRI PILOO MODY: It is this silence on the part of the Government which will embarrass them. We should have welcomed it and at least said that we sympathise with the process of democratisation that is taking place there. If we cannot say that much that is creating difficulty for them.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We are close enough to the Czechoslovak people and leaders for them to understand exactly where we stand.

SHRI RANGA: Can you not appreciate sympathy for the weak whatever may be their politics?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I am welcoming your change of attitude.

SHRI PILOO MODY: We are still looking for a change of attitude from your side.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Our attitude always has been friendly towards them. Surely, you do not want that to change.

It is a question of judgment and assessment of what helps in a particular situation and what does not help, and it is our asessment that at this moment it will not help to express specific views on this matter. As far as our views on democracy and on greater liberalisation are concerned, there is absolutely no doubt that we have stood for these things in all parts of the world, and we do not change our attitude towards these in this case either. As I said, I am sure the Czechoslovak leaders and people fully appreciate our point of view in this.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara): The latter part of the question, whether they have written to Soviet Russia which is a friendly country that in matters like this there should be no interference, has not been answered.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have already said that we are in touch with them, and I do not think it is proper for me to say what may have been written to anyone.

SHRI DEVEN SEN *rose—*

MR. SPEAKER: I know you have given notice. Not only you, there are thirty people. If everybody gets up like you, there will be no business possible in Parliament. At least I cannot manage it like this. Somehow I am sick of this.

After the Calling Attention was admitted, and before also, some leaders had written to me that a discussion must be held on the subject. Mr. Masani, Mr. Madhok, Mr. Surendranath Dwivedy, Mr. Kunte, Mr. Humayun Kabir and so many of them wrote to me. First they wanted foreign affairs to be discussed, but later on they wanted to discuss this subject. I had admitted the call attention notice. The point is whether a discussion at this stage, again after the call attention notice is useful. Mr. Masani had written to me that a discussion was necessary. I cannot say anything now. There is the Leader of the House and I shall consult her. What is the best course to follow could be seen in the Business Advisory Committee.

AN HON. MEMBER: Let us have a foreign affairs debate.

MR. SPEAKER: I shall consult the Business Advisory Committee where the Leaders of the Opposition are also there. We shall discuss the matter and see what can be done.

SHRI M. R. MASANI (Rajkot): Had the Prime Minister stood for the country and spoken up for the people I myself would have been first to say: drop that motion. Unfortunately, she has not done so and we want an early debate.

MR. SPEAKER: I have been giving my views.