

[Shri T. B. Vittal Rao]

Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 6th December, 1961."

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

"That this House agrees with the Ninety-first Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 6th December, 1961."

*The motion was adopted.*

15.24 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: PORTUGUESE WITHDRAWAL FROM GOA, DAMAN AND DIU—Contd.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now resume further discussion of the following Resolution moved by Shri S. M. Banerjee on the 24th November, 1961:—

"This House is of opinion that Government of India should give a final ultimatum to the Portuguese Government to withdraw from Goa, Daman and Diu".

Out of two hours allotted for the discussion of the Resolution, one hour and twenty-one minutes have already been taken. Shri D. C. Sharma may now continue his speech.

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur):** Sir, I think it is rather unusual to discuss this Resolution after the debate on Foreign Affairs that this House had yesterday and after the forceful statement made by the Prime Minister on this question yesterday. I think the Prime Minister was pleased to say that Portugal's insults would be ended, the waters mined by them would be cleared, the raids by their soldiers would be stopped and the Indian Air Force

round the borders of Goa would be strengthened. In view of this statement I do not think there is any need to discuss this Resolution at great length. The Defence Minister also has made certain observations about Goa which encourages me to believe that this Resolution does not have much point today.

That does not, however, mean that we have been asleep and doing nothing all these years so far as this question of Goa is concerned. We have been taking measures from time to time in order to get this part of our country vacated by the Portuguese. We severed our diplomatic relations with that country, which is not a small thing so far as international relations go. We have also had the judgment of the International Court of Justice which went very much in our favour. That was also one of the points which we scored. Then, one of the biggest things that happened so far as this question is concerned was the integration of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. That was a big thing which, I think, is going to lead to the final collapse of the Portuguese rule in India.

But there have been so many provocations and so many acts of aggression by the Portuguese of late. It seems that they have strengthened their military build-up. Also, it seems that they are bent on creating some kind of panic among the people in Goa. Nobody says any good word about their rule. Their rule has been a rule of repression, brutality. They have imprisoned ruthlessly those persons who have been fighting for the liberation of Goa. Of course, yesterday the Foreign Minister of Portugal addressed a press conference and made a statement there. But I believe there is not much truth in the statement that he made: he said that the people of Goa are very happy to be under Portuguese rule. I think nothing can be farther from the truth.

The people of Goa have all the time been fighting to get rid of the Portuguese rule, which is an out-moded form of government, medieval in its conception and medieval in its execution. The people of Goa have been trying to get rid of it. And still he had the audacity to say that the people of Goa are very contented with that rule. If the people there are contented, why is it that the Portuguese Government does not permit people free access to Goa, why is it that it does not give correct information about Goa? For instance, at the Fifteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly a resolution was passed asking the Portuguese Government to give information about the colonies that it was occupying. But they have not tried to supply any kind of information. They cannot give any information, because the information which they will give, whether coloured, biased, prejudiced or weighted in their favour, even that kind of information will go against them. Therefore I think they have a lot to hide from the world, a lot of bad things to hide from the world, and therefore they are not giving any kind of information.

Portuguese rule, I think, is one of the worst kinds of oppressive rule that the world has today. It is not only Goa: Angola, Mozambique, all these countries bear testimony to the brutal repression going on in these countries. There is therefore no wonder that the people of Goa are up against this kind of rule and want to be liberated.

The Foreign Minister of Portugal has spoken with many different voices. It was not one kind of voice with which he spoke. He thought of NATO assistance, he thought of the good offices of some friendly countries, he accused the Government of India of strafing a village, and he threatened to take the question to the Security Council. He did a lot of white-washing of his own rule and a

lot of indulgence in tactics which seemed to disperse our attention one way or the other.

But I believe the world knows what Portugal means and what Portuguese rule means and what the condition of the inhabitants of Goa, Daman and Diu is under the Portuguese rule. We also know it. The Government of India is taking adequate steps to put an end to this colonial spot in our country. And I think the day is not far off when Goa will be liberated. Therefore, I am sure that my hon. friend, after what has been said by the Prime Minister yesterday, will withdraw his Resolution, because everything is being done to get this last vestige of colonialism removed from the soil of India, this last remnant of imperialism done away with from the soil of India, this last token of medieval oppression removed not only from our country, but also from Africa. I am sure the liberation of Goa will mean the liberation of Angola and Mozambique. I am sure this liberation will put an end to the tottering Portuguese imperialism, whose end we want to see as early as possible.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh and Shri Hem Barua rose—**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Still something to say? Shri Braj Raj Singh had had his opportunity the other day.

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** I have not spoken on anything in this session.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I was reminding Shri Braj Raj Singh that he had spoken on this subject. Shri Hem Barua may speak whatever he likes.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I feel Goa is a plague spot in international politics today as the situation has developed and this can be judged from the statement issued by the Foreign Minister of Portugal. Whatever that may be, I must congratulate the Prime Minister and also the Defence Minister for proposing to

from Goa, Daman  
and Diu

[Shri Hem Barua]

take steps against the Portuguese in Goa to see that Goa is liberated soon. To that purpose, troops are being stationed on the border. It is said that this is done in a defensive way. But, I would say that this massing of troops by us on the border has raised very high hopes in the minds of our people. It has raised expectancy to a high pitch in the minds of our people. I would only request our Government to see that this high pitch of expectancy that has been raised by this action of our Prime Minister must not be allowed to collapse like a rubber bladder when it is pricked.

Developments are taking a very serious turn, there is no doubt about it. About the statement of the Foreign Minister of Portugal, he has come with certain very queer arguments. He has said, 'why is it that India lays her claim on Goa and not on Nepal or on Sikkim or on East Pakistan or on West Pakistan. He forgets the historical relations that we have with those countries and the historical tradition out of which Pakistan was born. On the other hand, he has described Goa as the Portuguese State of India. When he described that Goa is the Portuguese State of India, it shows that Goa is geographically a part of India and therefore, when India becomes free, Goa is to be freed and Goa has to be liberated. So long, we have tolerated this situation in a very friendly manner. I would say, it is high time that we do not tolerate this situation and allow these people to go about making all sorts of statements and threatening us that the matter may be taken up with the N.A.T.O. powers and all sorts of things.

At the same time, I have certain apprehensions so far as some of the colleagues of our Prime Minister are concerned. The Prime Minister, when he addressed the Seminar in Delhi, in a positive way said that physical force may be employed in order to liberate Goa. Two days after, an

eminent colleague of his watered down the entire proposal made by the Prime Minister, in that Seminar. This brought dishonour to India abroad, particularly in the African countries. The representatives of the African countries gathered in that seminar expected India to take some bold steps. The Prime Minister was right when he made the statement. Here was our Finance Minister who made a statement and tried to analyse what non-violence is, and said that India stands for non-violence and all sorts of things. The way that he tried to elucidate the Prime Minister's statement appeared to be ridiculous.

Another thing. The very same seminar was addressed by our Law Minister also. There, the Law Minister cited articles and sections from the U.N. Charter and said that the U.N. is capable of taking action so far as Goa is concerned, so far as Portuguese colonies are concerned. It is right. That shows his legal erudition, no doubt. When he said that the U.N. is capable of taking action in Goa and we are not taking any action, this very suggestion that the U.N. is capable of taking action was made indirectly to cover up our inaction. That was the impression that the country got. Therefore, I say, there are high hopes raised. Since high hopes are raised, I do not want the Government to speak in two voices, or in different voices. I want that the troops that we have mobilised there should be employed to liberate Goa at the earliest and we must not allow the grass roots of colonialism to grow any more in that tiny territory of Goa. We must pack off Portugal back to her ancestral home in Europe.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Prime Minister.

**Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi):** May I say a few words? The Navy is there; four frigates are there.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There were only 39 minutes left, according to the decision of the House and most of that time is gone.

The hon. Prime Minister.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** Sir, as the hon. Member Shri D. C. Sharma pointed out; we have been discussing this matter fully in this House more than once, even during the last 12 or 13 days. Only yesterday, there was considerable discussion on this. So, I do not wish to cover the same ground or repeat what has already been said.

The Resolution as it is at present, about giving an ultimatum, I cannot accept, partly because, since this Resolution was drafted and notice of it was sent, things have happened and are happening and to bring in, the idea, of ultimatum, would, I think, not be desirable. Personally, I do not like ultimatums. I do not say that they can never be given. Sometimes, perhaps. But, in the case of countries and others, an ultimatum is banging and shutting of the door. I am never agreeable to bang a door which, if open, might help in settling a question. Therefore, an ultimatum, I think, is not helpful, is not desirable.

As for intimating the wishes of India to the Portuguese Government or to others, I think it will be correct for me to say that notice of this fact that Goa is in India and should become part of the Union of India was given very clearly and firmly the day we became independent. From that moment, we have repeated this many times. Then, other things have happened which add to the weight and importance of that notice. In the United Nations, a Resolution has been passed in regard not to Goa, but in regard to all Colonies and therefore it applies to Goa, although I am aware that the Portuguese Government says, it is not a colony, it is a part of Portugal taking root in a corner of India. Nobody in this House, or for the

matter of that outside this House, can be taken in by this fiction and this extraordinary approach. Goa is a colony, very much a colony and a bad colony. Therefore, all countries which have colonies were given notice by the U.N. Resolution to put an end to their colonial status. That was the second notice. Then, recently, all that has happened in the Portuguese possessions, colonies in Africa and elsewhere has also brought the day when Portuguese colonialism will end nearer and nearer. Therefore, the situation is a dynamic one. It is a moving one, not static. We should remain alert and take such steps as may be necessitated by changing circumstances. I cannot say what exact steps we may have to take at any time. I do not bar out any steps. But, I will repeat what I have often said before that to the end, whenever the end may come, we shall always hope to settle every problem like this or any other by peaceful methods of negotiation.

I realise that after all this experience, the last fourteen years' experience, it is a very brave and confident man who can say that such peaceful methods of negotiation can bring results, so far as Portugal is concerned; it is very difficult to say that. Nevertheless, one should never, as I said, close the door, while at the same time being prepared for such other steps as may become necessary from time to time.

We have recently taken steps to prepare in that way; it is not so much that we took the initiative, apart from the general initiative that we have taken in this matter, but in this particular matter, recently, it was not we who took the initiative but the Portuguese Government who by their aggressive policy have really compelled us to take action. The action that we have taken in effect is to be prepared for action; and we have done that, as the House knows. And we hope still that the Portuguese Government will be prepared to

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agree to put an end to this colonial status of Goa and depart in peace and friendship.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh** (Firozabad): Is there any proof of such a thing on their side?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I do not know what the hon. Member said. However, we should continue to hope that that happens, because one thing is obvious, and it has always been obvious, that Portuguese domination of Goa cannot be a continuing feature of India or of anywhere else. As is bound to happen, it has always been a question of time, and I think that all the world will acknowledge that India, and the Government of India and the people of India have been very patient and restrained in this matter. So, that is the position.

May I say again what I have often said, and what we said in regard to the French possessions here too, that it is not our intention, when Goa becomes a part of the Union of India, to put an end to the individuality and personality of Goa? Goa is a fairly small enclave. In terms of Indian geography, it can well be a small part of a district of India. But, because of the past, because of many things that have grown up in India, and because in India we have welcomed the fact that India is a country of considerable variety, and we have preserved it, we are prepared, and we intend, to keep Goa's individuality, and keep it as a separate entity, in direct connection with the Central Government, and maintain its special features, whatever they may be, such as customs, culture, etc., as we did in the case of Pondicherry, till the people of Goa themselves want to change them. It will not be imposed on them. If they want to change them in future, of course, they can always change them. That is the future, as we envisage it, and I hope that that future will become the present fairly soon, at least not before long.

Therefore, I am unable to accept this resolution, and I think that the best course for the hon. Member would be to withdraw it.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee** (Kanpur): I have been hearing with patience and rapt attention the speeches made by the hon. Prime Minister during the course of these two days. I am also convinced that steps are being taken by the Government of India to deal with the problem.

When I moved this resolution, I had used the word 'ultimatum' as an expression or rather the manifestation of the sentiments of our countrymen. I am sure the hon. Prime Minister will kindly bear me out when I say that this was the sentiment, and this is the sentiment even today of our Indian people.

I was surprised to hear Shri M. R. Masani yesterday when he was comparing a very big issue with Goa and saying that this was a sort of pigmy. And he brought in the UN and he brought forward many arguments in support of inactivity in Goa. And he said so many things which I could only expect from some of those who are always against the end of imperialism or imperialist rule.

Since he brought in the UN, may I bring to his notice a statement by an eminent jurist of our country, namely Mr. M. C. Chagla? This is the report about what he has stated:

"Speaking as a jurist, Mr. M. C. Chagla, who inaugurated the convention, said Portugal's right to Goa was the same as the right of a brigand to another man's property. If India freed the people of Goa no breach of the United Nations Charter was involved. The Charter did not want aggression to be tolerated—it had to be resisted."

I would also like to refer to how the right-wingers in UK or those

who are supporting imperialism in Goa and supporting imperialist rule in the colonies have reacted. This was how the *Daily Telegraph* reacted.

".. the *Daily Telegraph*, mouthpiece of these interests, today warns Prime Minister Nehru of 'the incalculable consequences' trying to drive out the Portuguese by force.

"There is no convincing evidence, the paper writes editorially, 'that the people who inhabit the Portuguese enclaves are crying out to be freed from Portuguese rule, and even if there were, it is hardly open to India to initiate or even to take a moral stand based on self-determination. In her own practice that principle seems to mean one thing for Kashmir, quite another for Junagadh, and still another for the Sikhs'.

I do not know how this particular paper brought under criticism even the struggles that were launched by our Sikh friends for a Punjabi Suba. The paper further continues:

" So far Mr. Nehru's personal attitude to the problem of the Portuguese territories in India has been exemplary', it goes on. 'While reserving India's freedom of action he has, not always with the approval of his supporters, set his face firmly against the use of violence.

'If there is now any real danger that he will abandon this course, it will be because of domestic political difficulties precipitated by his failure to defend India's northern frontiers against the Chinese.'"

Nobody in this House has ever pleaded that our northern frontiers should be weakened. I think that everyone in this country is alive to these problems. But, after all, our intention is that Goa which is the 'last spot' of imperialists should be freed. That is

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why the people of Goa are struggling. We know how the movement is going on, and how the nationalists are being tortured to death. Those stories are known much more to the hon. Prime Minister than to a person like myself.

I feel that the Government of India's approach should not be a Hamlet-like approach 'To be or not to be' and waiting for the final action. I feel that the time has come now when on the 26th January, 1962, our Indian flag must fly over Goa. If they could fly or hoist their flag on the Anjudev Island, how is it that we are not flying our flag on Goa? I am sure the Prime Minister will also realise, it, and he does realise it; he has love for the African people, for the black people whom the imperialists always hate, because I always find that 'a black prince is always on his chest', and I feel that he has a liking for the black people. I feel that we must move in this matter.

In conclusion, having heard patiently what the hon. Prime Minister has said, I would say that I do not want to divide this House on this issue, because then a feeling may be created in the House and in the country that even the Parliament of the country is divided on this issue.

With these words, therefore, I would beg leave of the House to withdraw this resolution of mine, but I would just make one more remark. On the 7th of this month, which was the Flag Day, people who were paying previously only four annas for the flag paid up to Re. 1 and Rs. 1.8.0 for it. I have seen myself how even a poor clerk was paying one rupee, and telling that girl who was collecting money 'I am paying this one rupee, because I want the Indian flag to fly on Goa.'

With these words, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my resolution.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The amendments have first to be disposed of.

**Some Hon. Members:** Yes.

**Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur):** I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendments.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I take it the hon. Member has the leave of the House to withdraw his amendments. *The amendments were, by leave, withdrawn.*

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I take it the hon. Mover has the leave of the House to withdraw his Resolution.

*The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.*

RESOLUTION RE: DRESS FOR LOK  
SABHA MEMBERS

**Shri N. R. Muniswamy (Vellore):** I beg to move the following Resolution:—

“This House is of opinion that some acceptable dress regulations be insisted upon to be observed by all Members of Lok Sabha when attending the House”.

This Resolution seems to be very innocuous and at the same time not invoking any sort of seriousness on the part of Members of this Parliament. For this reason, according to some of my hon. friends, it is not so much worthy of consideration. But I wonder if it is not necessary for us to maintain some sort of decorum, decency and serenity in the House and for this purpose I insist that some sort of dress must be prescribed while Members attend the House.

I have made some enquiries with regard to any such regulations concerning dress observed in other countries. The reply given to me was that no dress regulations are prescribed in other Parliaments. The only regulation that is supposed to be in vogue is that the Members should be in full dress.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad):** I wish to seek a clarification through

a point of order. This is the fag end of the Second Lok Sabha and we are discussing a matter which will govern the new Parliament. Even if this Resolution were passed, it would apply only to the newly-elected Members.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** So long as we live, we must continue our activities. Why should we accelerate our death?

**Shri B. Das Gupta (Purulia):** He has already lost hope.

**Shri N. R. Muniswamy:** I have not understood the implications of my hon. friend's interruption. Whether it is intended for this Parliament or the next Parliament, the matter is relevant all the same.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker.** The hon. Member meant to say that Shri N.R. Muniswamy and myself may not be here as Members.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** I did not mean that.

**Shri N. R. Muniswamy:** I accept that I may not be here. It is exactly for that reason that this dress regulation should be observed here.

**Shri Ram Sewak Yadav (Barabanki):** For God's sake, let him withdraw the Resolution.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri N. R. Muniswamy:** The simple point is whether it is essential that we should observe any dress regulation while attending Parliament. My only answer is that we must have some acceptable dress regulation to be uniformly observed by all of us.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is one thing I would suggest to the hon. Member. I mentioned that even at the Committee meeting. He should come out with a concrete proposal.

**Shri N. R. Muniswamy:** It will come at the end.