crores in 1972-73 could be made available to the State Government provided that the State Government would also mobilise additional resources at least to an equal extent to finance such special programmes. The State Government's proposals for Rs. 2.08 crores in 1972-73 are awaited.

CLARIFICATIONS IN RELATION TO THE STATEMENT REGARDING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Shahi.

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair)

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH): This question is not at all relevant in relation to Vietnam.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH): This question is not at all relevant in relation to Vietnam.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI (Maharashtra; First of all, I would like to express my satisfaction that this escalation by the Americans has been condemned by the Minister in his statement. The whole House supports him and we definitely support him. At the same time there are two questions which obviously arise from the statement which has been made by him. Now it is absolutely clear to anybody and everybody that this is a case of downright imperialist, colonial aggression against the freedom and independence of Vietnam. The Prime Minister herself has outside the House on some occasions clearly stated the problem as such that it is a question of imperialist aggression against the freedom of a particular country. Now here we have a statement which only refers to sensitiveness to human suffering. Not only that. It says that it will serve
[Shri G.S. Sardesai neither the cause of peace nor achieve the objectives President Nixon has set before him. The cause of peace can never be achieved by imperialist aggression. How does that question arise at all? This is my first point. Secondly when we say hero that it will not achieve the objectives of President Nixon, it is a strange way of putting it. The objectives of President Nixon are conquest in Vietnam and suppression of the independence of Vietnam. So, we must categorically reject these objectives instead of trying to argue with Nixon as if there is some misunderstanding of his objectives and saying that his objectives will not be achieved and cause of peace will not be achieved.

Is that what we want? What we should condemn is the downright aggression and in the statement that thing is just not stated. What is condemned is the escalation of war as if moral and political issues are not involved at all. It is not just a question of more brutalities, more killing. But it is a question of aggression against the freedom of a country and we do expect this Government at this stage to stags categorically that what they are condemning is the aggression against the freedom of a country. This is the position taken by the Prime Minister in a number of her public speeches. Then, why has not the Government condemned it?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, I cannot explain what is not in the statement. I have made a statement which touches upon the vital aspects of the problem. May be that some more sentences can be added. But what I think is that it is the best that I have done. So, it is a suggestion which he has made. I regard it is a suggestion.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: It is not a question of sentences. What is the issue? The issue is the aggression against the freedom of a country. Say that. What We are condemning is the American aggression against the freedom of a parti-

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I have chosen words carefully and I would prefer to stick to that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes. Mr. Subramania Menon.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): Sir, in view of the naked aggression being committed by the US Government in Vietnam and in view of the serious threat to World peace, may I know from the hon. Minister what concrete steps the Government proposes to take in order to defeat the game of American imperialism in East Asia and to see that the Vietnamese are able to carry on their avocations in their country according to their will? Secondly, Sir, I want to know whether the Government will consider any measure as Chairman of the International Control Commission, set up under the 1954 Geneva Agreement, to show that this aggression by America is against the 1954 Agreement and to see that they are scrapped off from Vietnam as early as possible?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Sir, I also want to put a question.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, talking of concrete steps, our expression on or our assessment of the situation in itself is a concrete steps and there are several other countries who also think more or less on the lines on which we think and this in itself provides a basis for mobilising further public opinion.

Then, Sir, about our responsibility as Chairman of the International Control Commission, on an earlier occasion I had an opportunity to inform this hon. House that the ICC was created as a result of the Geneva accord and the essence of the Geneva accord was maintenance of peace and the International Control Commission was expected to supervise peace. When war erupts, the
Clarifications in relation to statement regarding developments in Vietnam

What role do we wish to play in such a situation of confrontation between the super powers of the World?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, with regard to the first question, I do not accept the suggestion or the assessment made by the hon. Member that the up-gradation of our level of representation in Hanoi has in any way deprived us of the capacity to play the role of maintaining peace through the International Control Commission. I have already said that the International Control Commission has got a limited role and we do not accept the South Vietnamese contention in this respect.
Clarifications in relation to statement regarding recent developments in Vietnam

[Sardar Swaran Singh] that they have got not any ri’ht to suggest even that because of our raising the level of representation in Hanoi, they would not like to deal with India as Chairman of the International Control Commission. We are there by virtue of an International agreement, and one party to the agreement has got no right to make a suggestion of that type.

There is no doubt that there is risk of a larger conflict. I would hesitate to speculate as to who would be the parties to that conflict. That is why I have used certain words while describing this aspect in my main statement. The hon. Member has asked in this situation what would be our role. We would very much like that this escalation should not take place. And our role will always be to restore peace. We are quite clear about our role and our altitude.

The second question that he has asked is about the number of North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam. I cannot give any reply with regard to that. What we thought was that the fight in South Vietnam is carried on by the PRG and the freedom fighters who are being guided by the Provisional Revolutionary Government and what is generally described as Viet Cong forces. They are all Vietnamese people, and for anybody to say as to whether a particular fighter originates from South Vietnam or North Vietnam is an exercise which, to us, appears to be futile. They are Vietnamese people and it will not be possible, will not be even wise for us to find out amongst the fighters as to which particular fighter was born in in North Vietnam and which in South Vietnam. This is something which we cannot do and we have no intention to do anything of that nature.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The country is one.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Then, thirdly, he has asked some hypothetical questions about the implications of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation. That is aimed at peace, not at war and it is up to the hon. Member to interpret the clauses of that Treaty. I would not like to answer in a hypothetical manner as to what will happen if there is a bigger conflict.

DR. BHAJ MAHAVIR: In the event of a conflict, cannot that Treaty be invoked?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : It is not for me to give legal interpretations of a document. It is an open Treaty and if there is any particular clause, who am I to say as to who will invoke?

DR. BHAJ MAHAVIR : If we want an interpretation we have to ask you; we cannot ask anybody else.
SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: My reply to the first question is that President Nixon's statement is a public document and it has been reported in the press extensively. If the hon. Member wants a copy of that statement he can contact me and I will give him a copy of the statement of President Nixon and he can study it carefully. With regard to the second question I have already replied that I am not prepared to answer a hypothetical question as to what will happen if there is a major conflict in the world between the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. All the attention of the world should be directed to prevent such a conflagration and this is an exercise which we should very studiously avoid.

SHRI BANARSIDAS: The statement of Shri Nixon is not exposed to any interpretation and there cannot be two meanings about it. Mr. Nixon has appealed to the Soviet Government that they should not involve themselves in this war. I have put a specific question.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: If the hon. Member studies the statement he will not find this sentence in President Nixon's statement. He is oversimplifying it. It is very carefully worded; it does not talk of war; it does not say that the Soviet Union should not be involved in war.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated): The hon. Minister is aware that when President Nixon sent a battleship into the Bay of Bengal it was the starting point and now he is trying to mine Haiphong and break up Railway links. It is a long process. I want the hon. Minister to realise that it is a long process and President Nixon is trying to subjugate the East and is just trying to do what he likes with his anti-communist bias. I want to tell the hon. Minister that in 1947 we showed our claws against the Dutch imperialism. When the Dutch wanted to conquer Indonesia we showed our claws against them and did not allow them to do it and our country helped Indonesia get their freedom earlier than they had expected in the sense that we gave a blow to Dutch imperialism when they were trying to subjugate Indonesia. What is happening to us after so many years? Why are we not showing some kind of strictness against the imperialist Americans? I say so because I have seen the boys and girls of America in Washington and New York protesting against the Vietnam policy. I praise the boys and girls of America for their great patriotism. Are you not going to show some spirit by calling all the nations around us, our neighbours in the South East region or West Asia to see what we are to do? We are only sending protests which have no value on a man like Mr. Nixon or the Pentagon. Are we not trying to get in touch with the South East. Asian neighbours to find out what we should do about it and to earmark supplies of medicines to the Vietnam? We have not raised our little fingers. If you go to the Vietnam Consulate here you will find that they are not only men who are here. Their women are also fighting with their backs to the wall. When they are in that condition, we are not even giving them medicines. We are coming helpless against Americans. What we are going to do by way of medicines to the Asian countries to help them I would like to know.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I would like to remind the Member that even at the time of the anti-colonial fight being carried on by the people of Indonesia we did not show any claws. What we did was we mobilised international opinion in favour of the freedom fighters. This is precisely what we are doing now also. About calling up our neighbours, in a sense the representatives of various countries have expressed their views on the
Sardar Swaran Singh: Vietnam issue as it is developing and we must realise the fact that the opinion is not uniform. There are several countries that have even supported the US move or at any rate, they are not criticising the US moves. At the present moment without any further preparation it will not be wise to rush to the step of convening a conference of the neighbouring countries.

Shri N. G. Goray (Maharashtra): The statement made yesterday has this sentence in the penultimate para:

"What is even more grave is the growing danger of escalation of the Vietnam war into a bigger and wider conflict."

He did not name the nations but it is a very obvious that if the conflict at all takes place, than it can be only between America and Russia because America has mined the ports and most probably within the next 24 hours the mines will become active.

Sardar Swaran Singh: They have already become so.

Shri N. G. Goray: That means only the ships that are in the harbour will be affected and I suppose it is only the Russian ships which are there because they have been supplying all the arms and ammunitions to Vietnam. Therefore, I would like to know whether in view of the fact that this conflagration if at all it takes place, is likely to be between Russia and the USA, our Government is in close touch with the Russian Government and the US Government and whether they know what the likely steps next would be in that particular area. Secondly I want to know whether we are going to take up this issue in the UN so that escalation is prevented.

Sardar Swaran Singh: With regard to first question I would like to inform the hon. Member and the House that there are ships at the present mo-

ment in the North Vietnamese ports belonging to many nationalities including that of the USSR. What is going to be the next step is something which is being carefully watched by the entire world with a great deal of anxiety and we share that anxiety.

Shri N. G. Goray: We have some special relations with the USSR.

Sardar Swaran Singh: We have very friendly relations with the USSR but surely this is not a matter in which I can say as to what is going to be the next step. Nobody can say that and it will perhaps not be wise for us to approach the problem from that angle but obviously the situation is very dangerous and very explosive and that is why greatest care and greatest restraint has to be shown in making statements about the situation. At any rate, the objective should be to avoid a major conflict.

Shri N. G. Goray: Are you in close touch with them?

Sardar Swaran Singh: We are in close touch with a large number of countries in this respect.

About UN I hope hon. Members are aware that the Secretary General of the United Nations has already initiated informal discussions with the members of the Security Council. In fact he has finished the first round of discussions with the—permanent members of the Security Council. I have not got any other information but I heard on the Radio that the permanent members of the Security Council are not in favour of convening a meeting of the Security Council. Now he is trying to have further discussions with the non-permanent members of the Security Council including us and we are in touch with the other members of the Security Council and we will continue to do whatever is possible in this respect.
to prevent a further escalation of this conflict.

SHRI HABIB TANVIR (Nominated) : I would like to know if the Government of India is considering extending recognition to the PRG and the National Liberation Front of Vietnam.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I have had earlier occasions to make a statement on this issue; at any rate this is not relevant to the war situation with which the international community is confronted at present.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : First of all I would like to say that the statement of the External Affairs Minister does not measure up the situation that we are confronted with. As Mr. Goray has said and as everybody is saying it may lead to Third World War even. If so, should we be content with a more condemnation of escalation or should we consider whether Parliament when it is sitting should condemn the US aggression on Vietnam in a straightforward Resolution? I make this proposal when both Houses are in session.

Secondly, I would like to recall those days of 1946 when in the streets of Calcutta the Calcutta students demonstrated and they were shot dead. Not only it was sympathy for Vietnam; it was the signal for the post-war upsurge in India that led to the British quitting our country. That was the first green signal. So should not the Government call upon the peoples of India to take up the matter and demonstrate throughout the country in a big way to set the masses in motion?

Thirdly, should we not seize American properties in India or seal up American properties in India? When it is a question of aggression leading to Third World War and when the criminal is before us the least that an underdeveloped country professing to be non-aligned, anti-Imperialist and anti-colonial, can do is to seize American properties so that the criminal understands. The matter won't rest there and the matter cannot be decided in Vietnam and the Gulf of Tonking only. The matter has spread throughout the world and the world should take cognisance of it and decide it against the criminals. Also you should consider the non-aligned countries making a joint move, a joint condemnation. There was the Lusaka Conference of all the non-aligned countries. Those countries are there. I want to know whether there could be a joint condemnation by them very soon and whether there could be, not a meeting of the Security Council, but a meeting of the U. N. Assembly, so that the U. N. Assembly can at least castigate the aggressor country, condemn it and mobilise world opinion in a big way. So, these are the steps that must be taken. Merciful sympathy won't carry us anywhere in this matter.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Sir, about the first suggestion made by the hon. Member of having a formal resolution, in a sense I have mentioned about it in the last sentence of my Statement and I will remind the House again by quoting from it. "I am sure this House will join the Government in condemning this latest escalation." And the trend of the discussion indicates that the House is joining me in condemning this latest escalation.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : This is a substitute. Are both the things the same?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I do not think a formal resolution is necessary. Then about the second question. He is talking of the 1946 demonstrations and
Sardar Swaran Singh] the mobilisation of public opinion inside the country against a colonial power. It was good and we are proud of that period in our history when we were fighting for our own freedom, and it is for that reason that our sympathies are for the people fighting for their freedom in all parts of the world. There are bound to be public meetings. And already the people are mobilising. The hon. Member is perhaps not fully aware of the amount and the strength of feeling in this respect among the people of the world and the people of India.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The feeling inside the heart and publicly demonstrating that feeling are two different things.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: There have been public meetings and processions. These are bound to take place. Government does not organise them. There are the political parties and I am sure they are seized of this matter. Then, seizure of U.S. property is an extreme step, which is not called for, and I would not accept that suggestion.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: How many times can you do that?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: The fourth question is about the non-aligned countries making some move. It is a good suggestion and I am sure at the forthcoming Ministerial meeting of the non-aligned countries they are bound to discuss the situation in North Vietnam. I cannot think of a speedy way of mobilising, as a group, all the non-aligned countries because of the difficulties in logistics and communication, but there will be general support for the people of Vietnam, fighting for their freedom amongst the non-aligned countries, and even if the countries themselves express their viewpoint, that will have a powerful effect on international opinion and also on those people even in the United States of America, who are organising demonstrations and are criticising the steps taken by the U.S. administration. Then comes the suggestion for convening the General Assembly. The General Assembly anyhow is meeting in September. The earlier experience with the General Assembly is not very gratifying. We ourselves had to face the General Assembly when the problem of Bangladesh was there.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: This time it might be gratifying to you.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I do not know unless the hon. Member has got some inside information.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You ought to know.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: ...unless the hon. Member has some inside information.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: How can I know?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: ...about the type of attitudes likely to be adopted in the U.N. General Assembly.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Why not sound them?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: We are sounding out and if there is any further real information, solid information, with the hon. Member I will take advantage of it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: If I have, I will give it to you. What about seizure of American properties? If we seize them what will you do?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: The law will take its course.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Condemning America for their acts of war is undoubtedly a welcome
utterance and I would support the Government. Surely we should not minimise the importance of it. World public opinion should be mobilised in a matter of this kind. Now, Sir, I feel—and I do not know if he agrees with me—that there is over-much emphasis on the so-called confrontation between what they call the two super-powers. We heard the same thing at the time of the Bangladesh liberation struggle that it was an issue between India and Pakistan. People hardly mentioned to those imperialist quarters that the stake was the independence of Bangladesh, the freedom of Bangladesh and their struggle against the aggression or atrocities, whatever you may call it, by the West Pakistani troops. Now, here again the issue is not confrontation. If America wants to start this kind of conflagration, provoke a third world war it is for us to take note of it and take Precautions, but no other super-power, if you have in mind the Soviet Union, is at all interested in this kind of thing. It is doing everything to stop it. At the same time, it goes to the eternal credit of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people that they have been helping generously the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. I have heard it not only, but even I saw Ho Chi-minh. He spoke on the subject when he greeted the Soviet people and he spoke at various meet in PS. Now, Sir, that will continue. I have no doubt about it. The Soviet Union stands by this kind of friendly countries. They stand by them and they stood by India. Therefore, that is not the issue. It is a question to be addressed to the United States of America. The theory of confrontation is brought in by Western circles in order to sidetrack the real issue. What is the issue? The issue is America has now started a full-scale war of aggression against an independent sovereign State, a State which we recognise and many other countries recognise. The trouble starts there at the present stage. Now, the territorial waters have been mined. Warlike acts are taking place. Bombing is going on from the air. The bombing targets are rail-
[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] in the whole region, and moral obligation also, that is to support them in every possible way today against the naked aggression. Secondly, certain other obligations follow from our international commitments. We have accepted the Chairmanship of the International Control Commission under the Geneva Agreement although we are not a signatory to it and we cannot be a signatory. But we have accepted it. Now, this has got certain tasks also in the situation, apart from what it, as Chairman, is doing in regard to the functions of the International Control Commission now. Poland and Britain are the two Co-Chairmen, and there should be consultation with them for concerted action in regard to this matter. We should like to know something on this subject.

Now, Sir, with regard to the other matters, I am not one of those who are enamoured of the United Nations. I agree with you—what is the United Nations? The American lobby there—they have people from south America and they mobilise some of them and blocking. It will be a blockade again of the United Nations. The Security Council—you know very well. A member of the Security Council is himself an aggressor, a member of the Security council with bombers in one hand and with nuclear and other things in the other hand. We do not expect anything From it. Sardar Swaran Singh is quite right in not giving any quarter to this kind of thing. But international public opinion has got to be mobilised. I think we should pursue in this matter, pursue our political stand, our diplomatic stand.

Sir, in this connection, I think the time has come when India should give up all the inhibitions of the past in regard to this matter after having the experience of the Bangla Desh liberation and having foiled the Enterprise. We know how the Enterprise was chased away from the Bay of Bengal. I think in this connection that India should set aside all inhibitions; fuller support should be given, fuller identification with the Vietnamese liberation struggle should take place, and it should take a tangibly active form. Of course, in that connection, I feel that the recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Vietnam would be an important step, a very significant step. But quite apart from other things, we should give material assistance, we should give every assistance to them. The puppet regime which is there should be asked to quit and go into the US Embassy for the time being and live there and take shelter there. That is what should be done. It is quite clear that, the puppet regime of South Vietnam will not last even a single day without the backing of superior American arms and without the backing of the war against the people in that entire region. This is the grossest aggression. I do not know how many aggressions have taken place in human history, in recorded history. Therefore, we are faced with this situation; not confrontation, but we are faced with a situation of an aggression taking place in Indo-China. All the countries, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, all are attacked. Ten thousand miles away from the American shores, these people are mining the territorial waters of North Vietnam.

Therefore I think the matter is extremely serious from this angle that a super power is trying to start a war in this region. Nixon has been a brink man. Now, he has brought the situation to the brink. He is almost on the brink. This can be and must to stopped. He is threatening a world war. He is trying to blackmail the international community and trying to impose military solutions, according to what he is dictating, instead of accepting the very reasonable proposals, the seven-point proposals, of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam. That is why they boycotted the Paris talks. That is why they have taken this attitude today. I think the Indian policy should be absolutely clear in this matter. At the time of Bangla
Desh liberation of the freedom loving people they in an unqualified manner fully identified with the Bangla Desh liberation and helped them. Now we are on trial. Today we should fully take sides of all freedom-loving nations and, above all, the Soviet Union in supporting the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Surely we should take the side of the Vietnamese liberation fighters who are making history. The American attempt for Vietnamisation war has completely failed. Mr. Nixon wants to get out of this crisis by resorting to methods of this kind...... (Time bell rings) ...... by taking the whole world to the brink of war, and the Government in that light should formulate the various aspects of its policy and activise the world opinion at all levels so that we are in a position to bring the full weight of our country's prestige and honour to bear on the situation and prevent Mr. Nixon from starting another war and also compel him to withdraw from the Indo-Chinese soil.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Sir, the hon'ble Member has not asked for any clarification but has asked for information as to whether we are in touch with the two Co-Chairmen or whether they are in touch with each other, that is the U. K. and the U. S. S. R. My reply is in the affirmative.

With regard, to the other points that the hon'ble Member has mentioned he has expressed his viewpoint.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : And do you agree with it ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : It is not necessary for me to make any detailed comment on the various views that he has put forward.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is this ? This is the trouble. He agrees and at the same time he does not agree.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Papers to be laid.