

of Petroleum and Chemicals and Mines and Metals (Department of Mines and Metals)—

(i) Notification G.S.R. No. 1116, dated the 12th May, 1970, publishing the Mineral Concession (Amendment) Rules, 1970.

(ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1117, dated the 23rd May, 1970, publishing the Mineral Concession (Second Amendment) Rules, 1970. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4107/70 for (i) and (ii).]

NOTIFICATIONS OF MINISTRY OF FINANCE

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R. GANESH): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notifications (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance), under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962 and section 38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944:—

(i) Notification G.S.R. No. 1092, dated the 25th July, 1970, publishing the Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) 47th Amendment Rules, 1970.

(ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1093, dated the 25th July, 1970, publishing the Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) 48th Amendment Rules, 1970.

(iii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1094, dated the 25th July, 1970, publishing the Customs and Central Excise Duties Drawback (General) 49th Amendment Rules, 1970.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-4110/70 for (i) to (iii).]

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Sir, I also beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance) Notification G.S.R. No. 1153, dated the 5th August, 1970 (in English and Hindi), together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4108/70.]

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT RE FLOOD SITUATION

सिन्हाई तथा विद्युत मंत्रालय में उपसंत्री (प्रोफेसर सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद) : श्रीमन्, मैं देश में बाढ़ की स्थिति के बारे में एक अनुपूरक विवरण सभा-पटल पर रखता हूँ। [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4059/70.]

SIXTH REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSES ON OFFICES OF PROFIT

SHRI BIREN ROY (West Bengal): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Sixth Report of the Joint Committee of the Houses on Offices of Profit.

MESSAGE FROM LOK SABHA

THE WEST BENGAL APPROPRIATION (No. 2) BILL, 1970

SECRETARY: Sir, I beg to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:—

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the West Bengal Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1970, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 25th August, 1970.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table of the House.

MOTION RE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH): Sir, I move:

"That the present international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration."

Sir, I have no intention to make any speech at the commencement because I want hon'ble Members to participate in the debate. I will crave the indulgence of the House to wind up the debate and I will try to cover in my concluding speech, by referring to important international events, and answer the specific points that might be raised in the course of the debate.

The question was proposed.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, कुछ तो वे बतायें कि जिस पर हम डिबेट प्रारम्भ कर सकें। कुछ सेलियेट फीचर्स तो वे बतायें।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):
Sir, I move:

1. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House reiterates its adherence to the policy of non-alignment and peace, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, and recommends to the Government to further strengthen this policy and carry it forward.' "

2. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes with serious concern the mounting pressure of the rightist forces on India's foreign policy with a view to reversing it in a pro-imperialist direction.' "

3. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House views with grave concern the rising tempo of anti-Sovietism in the reactionary circles in the country with a view to recking India's foreign policy of peace and non-alignment.' "

4. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this house deploras the concerted attempts by reactionaries to disrupt and undermine the friendship and cooperation between India and the Soviet Union which is contributing not only to the cause of world peace, but also to the independent economic development of our country.' "

5. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House warns the nation that the rightists' attack on Indian foreign policy is an integral part of Right Reaction's plot to bring about a rightists' takeover of power at the Centre.' "

6. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes with great anxiety and apprehension the increasing activities of the C.I.A. in this country in pursuance of the cloak-and-dagger diplomacy of the United States.' "

7. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes with concern the open and covert efforts of imperialism, specially

U.S. imperialism, to bolster and encourage the rightist forces in this country.' "

8. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the U.S. and other imperialists are trying to exploit the present instability and uncertainty in the political life of the country to push forward the plan of neo-colonialism.' "

9. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes with concern and regret certain tendencies on the part of the Government to yield to the pressures of U.S. and other imperialists and of the rightist forces within the country.' "

10. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House expresses its disappointment that the Indian mission in Hanoi should not have yet been upgraded to the ambassadorial level.' "

11. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House, while welcoming the establishment of Consulate-level relation with the German Democratic Republic, however, regrets that the full diplomatic recognition to this first Socialist German State, which is striving for peace, and is friendly to India should have been denied.' "

12. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House recommends to the Government that the Indian mission in Hanoi should be immediately upgraded and the German Democratic Republic accorded full diplomatic recognition.' "

13. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House sees no justification whatsoever in India's continuance in the Commonwealth of Nations, especially after the return of the Tories to power with their declared policy of military presence in the East and military support to the racist South African regime.' "

14. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that India's foreign policy in so far as the U.K. is

concerned has lost all its character and has become absolutely ineffective.' "

15. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that the Government of India has not been acting in a forthright and firm manner in relation to the Government of U.K. when this Government allows and indeed encourages, colour bar and racist discrimination within the U.K., especially against the Indians, Pakistanis and other residents of Asian-African origin.' "

16. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House expresses its disappointment that the Government has not yet accorded diplomatic recognition to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.' "

17. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that India should take immediate steps to start trade relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.' "

18. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of the view that the Government of United National Front of Cambodia, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, should be recognised as the legal and authentic Government of Cambodia.' "

19. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that India's membership of the so called Asian Development Bank is contrary to her foreign policy and international commitments, and constitutes a direct encouragement to the United States—Japanese designs and the SEATO.' "

20. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that India must not take any step in its diplomatic relations with Indonesia which would, or is likely to, encourage the present despotic, militarist Suharto regime based on religious fanaticism and total suppression of all democratic liberties and even Human Rights.' "

21. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that India must frankly tell Malaysia that the latter's support to the presence of the British troops in the Malaysian region would be regarded as a betrayal of the cause of national liberation and a threat to the security of this region as also a stumbling bloc to the promotion of friendly relations between India and Malaysia.' "

22. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House calls upon the Government to make a correct and objective evaluation of the imperialist and neocolonialist ambition of Japan and the threat Japan now poses to the countries of the Asian region.' "

23. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of the view that the attempt to build trade and other economic relations with Thailand and other Asian SEATO countries, actively supporting the United States war in Vietnam, runs counter to the objectives of India's foreign policy.' "

24. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of the view that India should stop its trade relations with the puppet Saigon regime, more particularly in respect of goods which may be used, directly or indirectly, for military purposes.' "

25. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that India must come out sharply and categorically in condemnation of the latest Nixon policy of the "vietnamisation of war" in Vietnam and of "Position of strength" which is intended to make Asians fight Asians and prolong and spread the United States war in the Indo Chinese peninsula.' "

26. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House calls upon the Government to demand of the United States the cancellation of the US-PAK military aid pact of 1954.' "

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27. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House reaffirms India's full and unstinted support to the United Arab Republic and other Arab nations defending freedom and security against the aggressive Israel, backed by the United States of America.' "

28. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House urges upon the Government to extend its full support to the struggle of the Palestinian Arabs to return to their homeland and, in particular, to the Al Fateh which is leading this struggle.' "

29. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House recommends that the Al Fateh be allowed to open an information office in New Delhi.' "

30. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House hails the treaty between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany for the renunciation of the use of force, and hopes this would usher in an era of *detente* in Europe.' "

31. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that both the German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany should be admitted to the United Nations.' "

32. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that India should display initiative in helping to bring about an accord on European peace and security.' "

33. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that India should take initiative at the forthcoming non-aligned meet at Lusaka in mobilising the non-aligned nations to actively support the cause of Vietnamese liberation and other national liberation movements and for further activating the forces of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.' "

34. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that India should support the participation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the Cambodian Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.' "

35. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that India should play its due role in strengthening the relations between the non-aligned States with the USSR and other socialist States.' "

36. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is firmly of the view that India must constantly consolidate her friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and give no quarter to the nefarious efforts to sabotage it.' "

37. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House urges upon the Government to firmly adhere to the policy of nuclear disarmament and not to yield in any manner to the pressures for making the atom bomb by our country.' "

38. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of the view that India must take due note of the growing trends in Pakistan in favour of internal democracy and good neighbourly relations with India.' "

39. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of the view that India's policy towards Pakistan must continue to be based on the Tashkent Declaration and be conducted in the Tashkent spirit.' "

40. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that efforts should be made to resume, to begin with, trade relations between West Bengal and East Pakistan and that for this purpose the West Bengal authorities should be given necessary power.' "

41. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that while justly criticising the Pakistan Government for its anti-India stance, the Government must at the same time give due publicity to the activities of democratic forces in that country.' "

42. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that more frequent contacts between India and Pakistan at the ministerial level would be conducive to the cause of Indo-Pak. amity.' "

43. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House cautions the Government against anti-India provocations which reactionaries in Pakistan may indulge in so as to divert the people from the real issues before them in the coming elections.' "

44. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House expresses its profound satisfaction at the formation of the new United Front Government in Ceylon, headed by Shrimati Sirimavo Bandaranayake, which is firmly pledged to the policy of peace and non-alignment, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism.' "

45. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House recommends to the Government that fresh initiative be taken to strengthen Indo Ceylonese friendship and co-operation and for the implementation of the Shastri-Sirimavo Agreement of October, 1964, regarding the residents of Indian origin in Ceylon on the basis of the repatriation of a definite number of Indians on the one hand and granting of the Ceylonese citizenships to a similar definite number of Indians on the other, as fixed in the original Agreement.' "

46. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of the view that only if India fulfils her quota of repatriation of Indians from Ceylon as per the Shastri-Sirimavo Agreement of 1964, can the Indian Government effectively seek the fulfilment by Ceylon of the other part of the Agreement, namely, the granting of Ceylonese citizenship to residents of Indian origin in Ceylon.' "

47. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon be given clear instructions to handle Indo-Ceylonese relations in the same spirit in which the late Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri signed the Shastri-Sirimavo Agreement of 1964, instead of trying to take advantage of the modifications later made therein by Dudley Senanaike mainly to please certain vested interests in Ceylon.' "

48. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes that it is necessary to ensure balanced trade relations between India and Ceylon in view of the fact that Ceylon's heavy adverse trade balance with India does stand in the way of promotion of stable and friendly economic cooperation between the two countries for mutual benefits.' "

49. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that an early meeting between the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon will be useful to revive and strengthen the earlier friendly contacts interrupted by the former Dudley Senanaike Government.' "

50. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes that certain maps published in foreign countries do not correctly show the Indian borders, and calls upon the Government to take up the matter with the relevant authorities for necessary corrections in such maps.' "

51. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the USA still continues to treat Goa as a province of Portugal, and calls upon the Government to take up the issue with the USA and demand of the latter that Goa be recognised as a part of the Indian Union.' "

52. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House disapproves of certain publications in the West which treat large chunks of Indian Citizens as belonging to some other country.' "

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53. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that the Ministry of External Affairs functions without a global, integrated approach to the present international situation and new developments with the results that the actual implementation of the foreign policy is vitiated by compartmentalisation, *ad-hoc* approaches, and an evident lack of an overall perspective.' "

54. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes that India's foreign policy has been steadily losing its dynamism since the death of Jawaharlal Nehru with the result that this country's stature in world affairs has considerably fallen.' "

55. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House cannot avoid the impression that the direction of foreign policy by the political leadership is minimal while the top bureaucrats in the External Affairs Ministry virtually formulate foreign policy approaches and tasks.' "

56. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes with perturbations the dark influence of the Western powers, notably the US Embassy in New Delhi, on the higher echelons of the Ministry of External Affairs.' "

57. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes with surprise the attitude of the Ministry of External Affairs in regard to the various disclosures made in J. F. Galbraith's book *AMBASSADOR'S JOURNAL* about the behind-the-scene activities of the then Foreign Secretary M. J. Desai and other officials of the Foreign Ministry to influence India's policy to suit the US interests and designs.' "

58. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes that some high officials in the Ministry of External Affairs are doing everything in their power to emasculate the anti-imperialist and even anti-colonial aspects of India's foreign policy since they know that an immediate reversal of the same is not feasible under the present Government.' "

59. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes that some officials in the Ministry of External Affairs do not hesitate to pass on confidential information to certain sections of the press and others in order to mount offensive against India's foreign policy from a pro-imperialist, rightist position.' "

60. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of the view that the Ministry of External Affairs should, at the top level, be thoroughly reorganised to ensure honest and imaginative elaboration and implementation of the policy of peace, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.' "

61. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House expresses its dissatisfaction at the manner in which the so-called Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet was functioning.' "

62. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House deplores the appointment of former princes, ex-Army officers, discredited politicians and bureaucrats and other reactionaries as ambassadors in foreign countries.' "

63. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the training of the Foreign Service cadres must be radically re-oriented so that a sense of high mission and firm commitment to the policy is inculcated in them.' "

64. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that merits of the Indian Foreign Service cadres should be duly acknowledged and rewarded from the standpoint of how they have displayed bold thinking and initiative to bring purposefulness and dynamism to the foreign policy.' "

65. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the working of the Indian Missions in Washington, London and Bonn should be searchingly reviewed in all aspects of their activities.' "

66. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes that there is a great deal of nepotism, favouritism and financial waste prevalent in the Indian Missions in several countries, notably the U.S.A. and U.K.' "

67. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the Indian big business has established shady liaison with some officials in a number of Indian Missions abroad, and calls upon the Government to exercise the utmost vigilance against such contacts.' "

68. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House appreciates the invitation to the Foreign Minister of Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, Madame Nyguen Thi Binh by the former Minister of External Affairs and expresses profound satisfaction at her memorable visit to our country, but, at the same time, regrets the petty-minded manner in which the visit was treated by the Government including the latter's attempt to keep as far as possible the distinguished guest away from the people and from truly mass reception.' "

69. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House deplores that Government should have granted visas to two Saigon agents to visit this country at the time of Madame Binh's arrival and to be paraded here by the enemies of India's foreign policy.' "

70. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government should have taken far more serious exception to the provocative and insulting suggestion by the Saigon puppets for the arrest of Madame Binh during her brief sojourn in India.' "

71. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the so-called South Vietnamese consulate in New Delhi should have been asked to wind up, especially after the attack on the Indian Mission and the burning of the Indian Flag in Saigon, and of course, in view of the fact that it does not represent South Vietnam.' "

72. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House recommends that the People's Republic of Korea be accorded full diplomatic recognition.' "

73. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the passports for visits to Taiwan should not be issued as in the case of South Africa and Portugal.' "

74. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes with surprise and shock that the Indian Missions in Britain, France, Italy, West Germany and Spain should not have taken any steps to prevent the convents in these countries from the alleged purchase of poor peasant girls from Kerala for nunnery, leaving it to the Sunday Times of London to divulge such traffic in Indian girls.' "

75. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the Government is not exercising even the minimum care in issuing visas to foreign nationals from the West to visit this country in the guise of tourists, research scholars, etc., with the result that spies, smugglers, hippies and the like are coming here in large numbers.' "

76. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House recommends that Government should introduce visas for the British subjects other than those of Afro-Asian origin, from the UK coming to this country.' "

77. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House recommends that the national liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies be given better and more active support and also invited to open their information offices in New Delhi.' "

78. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the continued economic dependence on the USA and other Western countries contributes in large measure to the inconsistencies and vacillations on the part of the Government in the sphere of its foreign policy, and that this dependence has to be overcome at all costs in order that India

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can worthily fulfil her role in the world affairs in the interest of peace, national liberation and progress.' "

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHURJEE (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

79. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House urges upon the Government of India to give a dynamic approach to our foreign policy and to play an effective role in support of the newly liberated countries particularly in Africa and Asia.' "

80. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House urges upon the Government of India to establish full diplomatic relations with the States which have liberated themselves from colonial yoke and attained *de facto* sovereignty.' "

81. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House urges upon the Government of India not to yield to any sort of pressure, economic or political, exerted by any power and to uphold its independent, neutral and non-aligned policy enunciated by late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.' "

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): Sir, I move:

82. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government have failed to stick to the non-aligned policy under the pressure of super powers and have failed to improve the image of India in international field.' "

83. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government have failed to develop closer relations with East and South East Asian countries, which is very vital for the maintenance of peace in this region.' "

84. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government have failed to create world opinion against intrusion of super powers into Indian Ocean, which is desirable from the security point of view.' "

85. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government

have failed to protest against USSR's action in not revising the map in the Soviet Encyclopaedia and other government publications which show the north-western and north-eastern parts of India as Chinese territory.' "

86. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government have failed to put sufficient pressure on the UK Government against its reported decision to supply arms to South Africa and to convene a conference of Commonwealth countries to prevent implementation of such action.' "

87. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government have failed to take adequate steps to put pressure on the Government of U.K. to change its immigration policy.' "

88. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Government have failed to raise their voice of protest whenever the question of human freedom arose as was evident at the time of the Czechoslovakia crisis because of the aggression committed by USSR or at the time of invasion of Cambodia by the USA and Vietcong forces in collusion with North Vietnam and Communist China.' "

(Amendment Nos. 82—88 also stood in the names of *Sarvashri Mulka Govinda Reddy, N. G. Goray and Shishir Kumar*).

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI S. N. MISHRA): Sir, I move:

89. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that more independence and consideration of national interest are required to restore the original image of our foreign policy.' "

90. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House expresses its concern at the diminishing national consensus behind our foreign policy.' "

91. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House expresses its concern at the steady erosion of non-alignment in our foreign policy which has affected our independence of policy and action.' "

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I move:

92. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that in view of the harsh application of Immigration Laws in the United Kingdom largely against Indians and persons of Asiatic origin, Government should inform the U.K. Government that unless the present racist policy of the U.K. Government is abandoned, India would be forced to leave the Commonwealth.' "

93. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that in order to strengthen and broaden the basis of international understanding, cultural and information centres of foreign Governments which have been closed down in India should be re-opened.' "

94. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that in view of China developing thermonuclear weapons, the Government should experiment with the making of nuclear weapons which will give a fillip to scientific talent in the country and also develop its technological base.' "

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, I move

95. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the entire foreign policy betrays surrender on the part of the Government in many important matters to the Anglo-American imperialists and that the immediate essential first steps to be taken for coming out of the Anglo-American tutelage are—

(a) recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam;

(b) upgrading to Ambassadorial level of the Indian diplomatic mission at Hanoi;

(c) diplomatic recognition of German Democratic Republic; and

(d) severance of relations with the British Commonwealth.' "

The questions were proposed

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The motion and the amendments are now open for discussion. We have got a large number of speakers to speak on this important subject. We have allotted one day for completing the discussion. Therefore, we may perhaps have

to sit beyond 5 also. We have to conclude the debate today.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : श्रीमन्, सुविधा की दृष्टि से अच्छा होगा कि डिस्कशन आज हो जाय और उठार कल हो ।

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: May I request, through you, Sir, that the Minister may kindly reply tomorrow?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Let us have the debate today and he may reply tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have suspended the whole business today. We have dispensed with the Calling Attention Motion this morning. We can sit 1½ hours after 5. There is no necessity of prolonging the debate tomorrow also.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): We can sit till 6 o'clock to-day and the Minister can reply tomorrow, because you should give more opportunities to Members.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The debate can go on till 5-30 . . .

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA): We can sit beyond 6 o'clock. We have no objection.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: We can sit up to 6 o'clock. Let the Minister reply tomorrow.

SHRI OM MEHTA: No, no, it will not be possible.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: At 5-30 the Minister may be called.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, as a large number of hon. Members would take part in this debate and they would like me to cover most of their points, I suggest that I may be called, subject to your convenience, at 5. I have forgone my right of speech at the beginning to enable more hon. Members to be accommodated.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Minister wants to reply at 5 o'clock and you want him to reply tomorrow. Some *via media* has to be found.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, nobody wanted to take away the Minister's right of speech. He has, in his discretion chosen not to speak, and I can understand it. Therefore, let us not make a big show of it. Sir, the right of the Members to participate in the discussion in an adequate manner should not also be taken away. And that right cannot be exercised by either cutting short our speeches or remaining silent. Therefore, Sir, I suggest that the Minister should reply not at 5 o'clock but much later.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right, let us now start the debate and see how it proceeds.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I would like to stress one point. This is rather unconventional. On an important subject like our relations with foreign countries, the hon. Minister was expected to give some salient points because he would naturally want to be benefited by the views of the House on certain important points of Government's policy. So, not to make any speech in the beginning would be rather unconventional. I would suggest that he should make a short speech and ask us to express ourselves on certain points which are uppermost in our minds.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I am in the hands of the House. If they want me to make a speech, I am very willing to make it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not necessary. The hon. Minister has forgone his right because of the large number of Members who want to speak.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Mr. Deputy Chairman, the foreign affairs debate is always initiated with a speech from the Minister. Otherwise, we had tabled certain motions and we should have had the right to initiate the debate. We have forgone that right because the Foreign Minister wanted it. And it is but right that the Foreign Minister should initiate the debate. Should we take it that there is no policy of the Government with regard to foreign relations? Is it a bankrupt policy? The Government should come forward with a statement saying, 'This is our policy; what is your view?'

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If it is the desire of the House, the Minister can just mention the salient points.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): No, there is no necessity.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, so far as the current matters which agitate the minds of the hon. Members and also the country are concerned, they have been the subject matter of questions and Calling Attention notices, and the Government's position in relation thereto has been made clear. It is only to accommodate a larger number of speakers that I made the offer. But if it is the desire of the House that I should open the debate, I am very willing to do it. I am entirely in the hands of the House and the hon. Deputy Chairman.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: The Minister should open the debate.

SHRI OM MEHTA: He has already opened the debate.

SHRI S. D. MISRA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, let him speak in the end.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right Mr. S. N. Mishra,

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, let me make it quite clear in the very beginning that we as the Opposition party recognise, and are always conscious of, our responsibility to help build and maintain a consensus behind our foreign policy. It should indeed be the concern of every one of us that our foreign policy appears to be a truly national policy. And it is kept beyond the bounds of the usual controversies and polemics. There are any number of issues which can constitute a good battle ground for us and we will never hesitate to join issues with the Government. But let not factionalism on the domestic front be projected on the external front so that our image abroad gets fragmented and weakened. Even as it is, on the domestic front it is bad enough. And many a time we have a feeling that the Government is following on the domestic front a policy of conflict, and outside a policy of subservience. That is the impression that we get. But what I would like to emphasise is that so far as the problems confronting us on the external front are concerned, we would like to act, as it has been said, like the Kauravas and the Pandavas together; we would be 105 and we would not be divided amongst ourselves.

But at the same time I must say that this cannot be a one-way traffic. This cannot be a unilateral act on behalf of the Opposition. There has to be a two-way traffic between the Government and the Opposition. The Government will have to conduct itself in such a way that in the internal field one does not have to say that our foreign policy is used for promoting narrow party interests. I regret to say and I would have been glad if I did not have to say it, that our foreign policy—many a time we have an impression and we cannot get away from it—is being utilised to serve narrow party ends. I do not want to make a bald statement which may look rather irresponsible. I would give certain instances which would force you to the conclusion that our foreign policy is being distorted and used for party ends. There can be no better example than the now famous interview of the American Ambassador, Mr. Keating, which he gave to the correspondent of the New York Times in Kashmir. The Ambassador said that the Prime Minister had outfoxed all other politicians in India, probably in the other camp of the Congress, that is, the camp to which we belong, and that everybody had been on the run thereafter. He had also to say something, something not only about the internal politics of certain parties in the country, but also something about ideology. And he said that if the Indian Government was not ready to go to the left of the centre—although it pleases me; I would like the Government to go to the left of the centre, but the point that I want to make is that the Ambassador has absolutely no business to interfere in

our internal affairs—these would create serious troubles. The Ambassador warned us that a great revolution was going to overtake us in the future if the Government did not move to the left of the centre. No Ambassador can be allowed to commit such a flagrant breach of protocol. This is not done and this must not be allowed to be done. Did the Government do anything in this matter? Did the Government show its displeasure in any way to the Ambassador? And if he did not express any regret, did the Government show a stiff upper lip to say that we will have to take steps to get him recalled? The only explanation for the Government's inactivity in this matter can be that since the Ambassador criticised the opponents of the Government, it pleased them. And they did not like to take any step in that regard.

Similarly, we come to other instances of the Soviet organs interfering in our internal affairs particularly the Soviet radio and the press agencies. They have been making all kinds of intrusions into our internal affairs with perfect impunity and the Government—this great Government of ours—has been pleading in defence of these organs. They have been saying that they are autonomous agencies of the Soviet Government. May I ask you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, are not our public undertakings also autonomous? Would anybody for that matter suggest that they do not have their primary inspiration, motivation and control from the Government? This is the kind of treatment we are being subjected to by foreign powers and the Government is not coming to our protection. One is therefore, bound to be driven to the conclusion that the foreign policy is being used for narrow partisan ends. I do not have much time to go into other examples.

The basic question is whether we have one foreign policy or we have two foreign policies almost running concurrently at the same time. From the way in which the Presidentialisation of the office of the Prime Minister has been taking place, we are inclined to think that our foreign office has become an adjunct of the office of the Prime Minister. Or, we may say that there are two foreign offices functioning at the same time. This hon. Minister's foreign office might appear to us only as a facade of the real foreign office functioning in the office of the Prime Minister. This impression is not only created by the foreign intelligence being located in the office of the Prime Minister—although that is one of the important functions which has to be reckoned with—but it is also due to the fact that all communications—mind you all communications—sent out by the office of the Prime Minister of India are neither sent to the foreign office, the so-called foreign office of the hon. Minister Sardar Swaran Singh, for information, nor are they routed through them. I am saying this on the basis of some reliable in-

formation. I would not like to make any unsubstantiated allegation of any kind.

And Mr. Deputy Chairman, the powers of appointment to the diplomatic corps are also concentrated in the office of the Prime Minister. These powers are being used as powers for dispensation of patronage... (*Interruption*) and may be sometimes we get an impression that these powers are being used for creating a coterie in the diplomatic circle.

With these two foreign offices and these foreign policies in essence functioning concurrently, we have a kind of dual diplomacy working in this country. We are reminded of what one of the French emperors wrote to his diplomat in Russia:

"I realise your difficulty in reconciling the instructions you receive from me with those you receive from our Foreign Secretary".

That is what Louis XV wrote to his Ambassador in Russia. And Mr. Deputy Chairman, a great commentator has said:

"I should go so far as to contend that whenever a State seeks to run two foreign policies concurrently, a temptation to which despots and Prime Ministers are specially liable, their diplomacy becomes immediately ineffective. Again and again, from the days of Demosthenes to the days of Lloyd George and Neville Chamberlain has history taught this seemingly simple lesson".

Now, we have to learn a lesson from this. I have no doubt, Mr. Deputy Chairman, after having said this, that there is no viable alternative to the principles of our foreign policy. But the question is not one of master principles or their simplistic adumbration or their ritualistic reiteration. The question is not that simple.

Sir, it is the verb, as Mr. Aneurin Bevan said, which matters, not the noun. It is the verb, 'Verb', which matters. Now, there might be agreement, Mr. Deputy Chairman, on the platonic levels so far as the principles are concerned. But, when we come to the actual issues to be tackled, we come to the parting of ways. So, although we proudly claim, as common heritage of the tenets of our foreign policy, we have to say that the way in which the Government conducts our foreign policy makes us say that they are rendering these principles completely vacuous. The emphasis on non-alignment would be pleasing, but the chanting of it as a propagandist slogan is extremely obnoxious. This has gone to such an extent, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that if anybody criticises the conduct of the foreign policy, he is immediately dubbed as being an enemy of non-alignment. This is not going, you see, to work in the future, this kind of plea is not going to wash. Realism is not to be found in the Government

[Shri S. N. Mishra.]

by the people of India, so far as, you see, the conduct of the foreign policy is concerned. But, the basic attribute, Mr. Deputy Chairman—and the Government will have to convince us on that question is the exercise of independence. How does the Government use its independence? Does it care for the preservation of independence at all in international affairs? Where are the instances in recent times in which the Government has exercised independence in the conduct of foreign policy and where have we used our independence in our national interest? Now, to my mind, Sir, it seems the lack of manoeuvrability, the lack of flexibility and the lack of dynamism in the conduct of foreign policy are the very anti-theses of non-alignment.

If you do not have manoeuvrability, if you do not have flexibility, and if you do not have dynamism, then do not repeat it *ad nauseum* that you are committed to non-alignment.

So, it is with these negative attributes, rather the lack of these positive attributes, that, you see, the Government seems to be going ahead.

Pakistan, Mr. Deputy Chairman, is a member of a power bloc and yet it does seem to us that it has more manoeuvrability and more flexibility than India has today. So has Iran. They are everybody's darlings, both Pakistan and Iran are everybody's darlings. Everybody seems to be bidding for their hands. Why so? Because they know how to strike alternating postures of smiles and frowns. But, our Government seems to be behaving like a staid, prosaic lady, not at any time alternating frowns and smiles, although we do have a charming Prime Minister. And, yet, all this finesse of diplomacy seems to be reserved for the domestic front, but it does not seem to have any application so far as the external front is concerned. Therefore, let it be quite clear that we do stand for the real principles of non-alignment and other basic tenets of our foreign policy.

There is another instance which would go to show that this Government is having a static concept of non-alignment. Only 2 or 3 days back the Prime Minister was pleased to send a message through one of the news agencies of Yugoslavia in which she stressed again the bi-polarity of the international world. May I say that non-alignment has to be viewed to an extent even now in the context of a bi-polar world but it has to be realised at the same time that this bi-polarity is now becoming somewhat obsolete and what we find now is a completely new phenomenon of the condominium of the Super-Powers over the rest of the society. That is what is happening. It is in this context of condominium that we have to view the principle of non-alignment—whether

it is being related to that. One Super-Power seems to be completely chary and afraid of doing anything embarrassing to the other Super-Power. They are more attached to the detente than to any problem occurring anywhere and therefore you found that Russia did not take any interest at all in terms of military intervention in the Dominican Republic and so America did not take any interest in terms of military intervention on the part of the Warsaw Powers in Czechoslovakia and this is a fact which has to be reckoned with. There is going to be another claimant to share this power that would be available under condominium and that is rapidly coming to the scene, that is China. But in our foreign policy at no time have we found any mention about the spheres of influence which are sought to be carved out by the Super-Powers and the way in which the future of non-alignment has to be related to it.

Now when I am in the context of the sphere of influence, I would like to go to an impressing that is shared by not a few in this country that our country is becoming subservient to the Soviet Union and unless we are able to disabuse the minds of our public men, there can be no real public sanction. You would be able to point it out much better. (*Interruptions*). I do not find just now, although sometimes I do have an impression that only to give an impression of being non-aligned this Government choses the policy of bi-satellitism but what I want to emphasise is that there is an impression in the country—may be wrong and if the Minister is able to controvert it successfully, none would be happier than myself—that our country is being practically racked to the apron-strings of this one Super-Power, that is Russia and we have to depend so heavily upon it that we shall—if we have not already made—make a nonsense of the policy of non-alignment. Before I proceed with this matter, I would like to emphasise that I would like to have the friendliest of relationship with Russia and in fact this country has to feel grateful to Russia for many kinds of helps and assistance that it has been able to extend to our country. We are not a country which can be ungrateful for many of the things that have been done by Russia to help us. But while I am prepared to say that, I would also like to emphasise that in the matter of military supplies, the increasing dependence on Russia is not entirely of the Government's seeking. That also I would emphasise and many a time the Government had been driven to seeking aid from Russia because the Western Powers have let us down and one would not like to find fault with the Government. I would make it absolutely clear.

But this has also to be recognised purely as a fact that our dependence on Russia had increased to an enormous extent,

and it might prove fatal not only to our independence in the international field but to also our independence of action in the domestic field. I would like to be very categorically clear on this point. Now the danger has become somewhat real because of the nature of the Government that we have in this country, and the support with which this Government is able to maintain itself. Every aid, Mr. Deputy Chairman, has a political or ideological dimension, more so military aid, which could be exploited more fully and actively by a country that has aggressive fraternal parties and elements inside the country it assists. I think it would be pleasing to my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Your whole speech is very entertaining.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: All right, if it pleases you, I am very happy. The position is bound to be worse, Mr. Deputy Chairman, when a Minority Government has to depend upon the active co-operation and support of such elements, and is in fact only too willing to be led by such elements in order to strike a so-called radical posture.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: (Maharashtra): Why are you shy of naming the party?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: I have already named him here. I is his party.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Let it go on record.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: Let the honour go to the party of my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

With this fact of dependence...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What are the radical postures that the Government are adopting?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: I said "so-called". You perhaps did not mark this word.

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, with this fact of dependence upon Russia—which I have said purely as a fact—and also with some amount of justification in certain cases, let not anybody say that I have not been objective in my assessment. The question that arises is whether a better Aid Diplomacy would not have diversified the sources of our aid. If the aid remains concentrated in a particular quarter then we are bound to be too dependent upon it and thereby lose our independence. Now, Sir, if I do not have nutritious food and if there is a good friend who gives me that food every day, then there is no doubt that I am going to benefit from it. But at the same time let it be quite clear that I am going to be a slave to that person. So this is the situation where we have come, and we have to find out whether the Government has really brought to bear the kind of Aid Diplomacy which it should

have, or it is deliberately not pursuing such an Aid Diplomacy only to give a complexion to the politics of the country in a particular way.

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, all this tends to persuade us to the view that the Government seems to be pursuing the policy which Dr. Soekarno did in Indonesia, the policy of NASAKOM. And may be that we shall see very soon this Government pursuing the policy of Sirimavo of Ceylon. But let me assert it with all the emphasis at my command that India would not be allowed to go either the Soekarno way or the Sirimavo way. However, there are clear indications of this—the way in which the Government seems to be functioning.

(Interruptions)

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to give some instances, because this is one of the burning topics of the day, a few instances to show how this Government is really subservient to the Soviet Union. Take first the matter of national interest so far as our territory is concerned. Now, this cartographic misrepresentation has been continuing for the last fourteen years or so and it has been further reiterated recently in the month of June with the full conformance of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The Government has shown pusillanimity and slackness which can only be put down to subservience to the Soviet Union. Sir, they have pursued such policies that our friendship is being taken for granted by the Soviet Union; otherwise there could be no reason for the Soviet Union having the audacity to misrepresent from year to year certain areas which belong to us and it is a shame, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that this Government has not thought it fit to lodge even a formal protest with the Soviet Union. The Government has never been clear on this point whether it did reduce to writing its protest, whether it did make what can be characterised as a formal protest. What they have been doing all the time, Mr. Deputy Chairman, is that they have been imploring, requesting, entreating, the Soviet Union to carry out corrections in its maps and they have been feeling satisfied themselves with the verbal assurances of the Soviet Union.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): What will you do if you become the Prime Minister which you will not?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: You vacate that Chair and then I shall say.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I am prepared to vacate my chair for Mr. Mishra.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He will send an expeditionary force headed by Mr. Masani.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, their tactics of verbal assurances to us and representation in the maps in favour of China has been extremely helpful to the Soviet Union. Through verbal assurances it has been satisfying us and through the printed representations it has been satisfying China. Here is diplomacy which the Government could probably emulate but it would never learn; politicians of their kind cannot be trusted ever to learn. Now, it is amazing, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that in this matter of cartographic misrepresentation the Government woke up even to the need of banning the publications and the maps from the Soviet Union only when an agitation was mounted in this regard and there was a fearful prospect—fearful or otherwise, whatever you might call it—of a massive mass movement being built up after October 2nd.

Now, not only the Russians have been giving out our lands on their printed maps to other countries like China but they have been treating the land in this country as their own. Shall we forget that they commenced construction of a cultural centre in Trivandrum without getting the permission from the Government of India? In Trivandrum when they had gone ahead for quite some time the Government did stop it but that is not the point. The point in question is why should any foreign country treat any bit of our land as their own and go ahead with construction? While I am on this point I would also like to emphasize that probably the *status quo ante* it sought to be restored in this matter and again they would go ahead with their cultural centre and the Americans would again revive their libraries and cultural centres. However, it is for the Government to clarify this point whether they are going to restore the *status quo*.

Sir, I will give you another example of how they have been treating this land as if it belonged to them. They commenced construction and went ahead with it in the matter of construction of a Consulate in Malabar Hills in Bombay right in front of the Chief Minister's residence and the facts in this case are amazing, if not shocking. The Government of Maharashtra wrote to the Government of India in the Ministry of Home Affairs a year back and the Ministry of Home Affairs wrote to the Ministry of External Affairs and the whole thing was going on merrily ahead. Here again I have reliable information that permission was given by one of the high-placed officials of the Government of India to the Soviet Union to go ahead with the construction. I would like you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, to take hold of

all those papers because I am afraid there are frantic attempts made to destroy some of those papers. Actually permission was given by the Government here. Now I ask why the Ministry of External Affairs has been slack in this matter and why they did not take the necessary steps.

Now, while I am on this subject, I would also like to make a reference to what they call the diplomatic cars, the CD plates which they have been exhibiting. In reply to a question in the Rajya Sabha probably in the month of May, the Government said that they were neither aware of these cars being used nor had they given those to them, but the names of eight Soviet journalists have been provided to the Government of India and they could check up whether these cars are being diplomatically used by them or not. One thing which is of a more disturbing nature is this. There is now a rumour that an attempt is being made—I am not saying this to create some kind of sensation, mind you and I would again be happy if that rumour is scotched—to enter into a secret military or other arrangement with the Soviet Union. This matter is causing so much of anxiety and suspicion that I feel it my duty to bring it to the notice of the Government for an authoritative contradiction, if need be.

Now, I would come to the other scene and the tragedy of Asia. Asia is disturbed seriously in the South East. Although the trouble in the West is not yet over, there seems to be a light down the tunnel. In fact, it is Asia which is bidding fair to be the cockpit of troubles, not any other part of the world. Many people fear that Asia might become the cockpit of a world war itself if things go on as they do. There have been both open and surreptitious infringements of sovereignty in Asia. There are two policemen in Asia, the two super-powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. But there is another emerging on the scene on whom they have absolutely no control and that is China. So, it is now becoming a 'tripolar' system in Asia in the first instance and it may become a 'tripolar' system in the world itself. Now, it has been established...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Bipolar I can understand, but 'tripolar' I cannot understand.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: Exercise your imagination a bit more. It has now been established beyond any shadow of doubt that China has acquired the potential for becoming great power. She is not only equipped with the bomb, but she is also equipped with the missile. Now, China has definitely become the focus of balance of power in Asia. May be the day is not far off when it

would become the focus of power in the world itself, but the more important point to note is that we now find ourselves at this moment confronted with the threat of a new dimension to our defence.

The defence gap between India and China is now crossing the permissible limit. China is already at war in depth with us. Although the Government has succeeded in lulling us to sleep that the matter is quiescent, China is even at the present moment at war in depth with us. Therefore you find the instructional forces being aided and abetted by China and the slogan of Mao being the Chairman is already in the air at some place.

Now, added to that we have got, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the race to control the Indian Ocean. That adds another dimension to our problem. People have been talking of the power vacuum in the Indian Ocean, although I must say that there is no vacuum as such; probably it has already been filled. There is a frantic attempt either to convert it into an American lake or a Russian lake, as it used to be a British lake at one time. But the evidences are that there are more efforts made by the Soviet Union to gain control of the Indian Ocean, and recently the charge has been made, although a contradiction has come, that when the hon. Prime Minister went to Mauritius, she was negotiating on behalf of the Soviet Union for a berthing place or whatever you might call it in Mauritius for Soviet Union. *(Interruption)* I have said that a contradiction has come. Now Mr. Deputy Chairman, an important point to note in this connection is that Mr. Stalin at one time had classified the nations of the world into two categories, the land animals and the sea animals. Asia happens to be in the category of the land animals, and it is particularly from the sea that threats to the security of Asia come. India also had experienced it in the past when it was overwhelmed by naval powers, these powers have now lost their influence. To Asia this is the threat which is now looming large.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to say a few words about the peace plan in West Asia. We feel greatly relieved at the hopeful turn in West Asia and at the prospect of peace returning to that extremely disturbed area. The U.S. peace plan accepted both by the UAR and Israel marks three achievements. First it has secured the approval of the UAR to direct negotiations with Israel. Secondly, it has secured the agreement of Israel to withdraw from the areas occupied by it after the last war—perhaps the areas of Jerusalem and so on are excepted, but I have no authoritative knowledge upon this point. Thirdly, it has immediately introduced effective cease-fire which was broken in spite of the UN resolution. This is not merely freezing the situation as

it is but it is a definite and distinct improvement on the situation because the possibilities of direct negotiations are indeed great we have to express our appreciation of the two super powers, both the United States and the Soviet Union, for bringing about this improvement. Particularly it comes as a matter of great relief to us because the danger of escalation of war had increased very much in that area; it would have touched the flash point very soon because there had been increasing commando activities from the side of the Arabs and also there were frequent acts of reprisal from the side of Israel. Then, on the one hand the Soviet Union had supplied more lethal SAM missiles to the UAR and pilots to fly their planes, and on the other the U.S. President, although he was himself very hesitant, was under increased pressure of public opinion to replace the losses of the Phantom type of planes of Israel.

Now a word about the treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR. We welcome this treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR. A stabilisation of political and military positions in Western Europe and West Asia is always not only gratifying to us but very helpful to the peace-loving and developing countries.

It indeed marks a major break-through in the European situation. So far as West Germany is concerned, it has secured for it the prospect of the continuance of the present position in West Berlin without any threat of use of force to change the *status quo*. Secondly, it has made the task of West Germany in the matter of negotiating in trade and other matters with Eastern Europe easier. And thirdly, from the point of view of Soviet Russia, it has eliminated one point of friction with the United States and, what is more fundamental, it has secured the western frontier of Russia, which means that it is now free to apply its energies to the other frontier which might be showing disturbing signs.

So, that seems to be the analysis of the treaty.

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to say one or two words about our relations, coming nearer home. I will take only, three or four minutes and then I will have finished my speech. But I would be failing in my duty if I did not refer to the India-China relationship and India-Pakistan relationship, although very briefly. It seems that we have decided—and that is particularly evident from what the Government has been doing or they have not been doing in this matter—to allow the problem that we have with China to die out. There is an impression that we have come to terms with the *status quo*. I must emphasise that this is

[Shri S. N. Mishra.]

clearly against the national commitment and the national sentiment. Government will have to convince the country that it is taking all appropriate steps, diplomatic and otherwise, to redeem the solemn pledge given to the nation. We note of late that there has been a change in the disposition of the Chinese towards India. Some people are inclined to read into what Chairman Mao said to our Charge d' affaires. We do not know what is happening in the field of India-China relationship. But we would like to know from the Minister of External Affairs what are the recent developments so far as this relationship between these two countries is concerned.

Similarly, Mr. Deputy Chairman, with regard to Indo-Pak. relations, the Government does not seem to be taking us into full confidence. Recently, Mr. E. Narayanan of the Patriot had an interview with the Soviet Premier, and the Soviet Prime Minister, good as he is. . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Good—you say?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: I would also say that he is good, and he is one of the remarkable leaders of the world, and I say nothing about that. You also must be a good Indian. The Soviet Prime Minister said that during the talks that took place between him and President Yahya Khan there was a search of ways to normalise the relations between Pakistan and India. The Soviet Prime Minister said that during the course of the talks he did everything possible to help bring together the two States friendly to the Soviet Union in accordance with the Tashkent Conference. Has the Government been informed of what transpired at the talks between the Soviet Premier and President Yahya Khan?

Lastly, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would likely to sum up by saying that many a time the claim is made by the Government and its supporters that it is a successful foreign policy. I have not been able to go the whole gamut—that is simply impossible during the time available to me—but I must say this is not so. I have tried to establish that not only in the direction mentioned earlier but this would be found even with regard to disarmament—and we are always wedded to world peace. . .

I would say that our foreign policy is indeed very ably conducted, so ably conducted that no expectations are entertained by the people of India, nor even claims made on its behalf by the Government in very emphatic terms when they are pulled up in this House. It is so successful, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that it is hardly minded by any important country at the present moment. It is so alive and throbbing that it has become foreign to the Parliament of India. It

is indeed a piece of good luck that after two years or so—I do not exactly know how much time. It is a long lapse of time—we are having a debate in the House. It is so live and throbbing that this subject has become almost foreign to Parliament. It is so live and dynamic that it does not figure in public debates except in the form of criticism. It is so active indeed that it has no role to play in South-East Asia. We are the Chairman of the International Control Commission, and we do not think it fit even to join the Asian alternative by Indonesia. This Conference was attended by three secular Muslim States and yet our Government did not think it fit even to send an objection.

It is so active that we have no role to play in West Asia. Other powers have been conducting negotiations endlessly for some time and now their talks are coming to fruition in some way, but nowhere India has figured in them. Even then, Mr. Deputy Chairman, a claim is made on behalf of the Government that they are conducting a foreign policy which satisfies the aspirations and sentiments of the people. I think it is a claim which cannot be sustained on any rational grounds. Therefore, we have given notice of certain amendments. I hope that the House will consider these amendments in the light of the observations that I have made just now. Thank you very much.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think we now adjourn for lunch.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Nurul Hasan, will you speak now or after lunch?

PROF. SAIYID NURUL HASAN ((Nominated)): After lunch.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty eight minutes past twelve of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

ANNOUNCEMENT *RE* RELEASE OF SHRI BHOLA PRASAD, MEMBER OF RAJYA SABHA, FROM JAIL

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that I have received the following letter dated the 18th August, 1970, from the Superintendent, District Jail, Monghyr (Bihar):

"In continuation of this office letter No. 1283, dated the 11th August, 1970. I have the honour to inform that Shri Bhola Prasad, Member, Rajya Sabha, who was interned at this Jail on the