

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, no. This is not fair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : When it comes to China or some other country everything in a virulent language is expressed, but the moment it comes to America, the wording is such that it is watered down.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not fair Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. No, no. It is not fair to say that.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Then, what is fair ? Yes, I do maintain it and I will prove this.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I will come to your Chamber and prove it. I do not want a debate here on this.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHO-PADHYAY (West Bengal) : Mr. Chairman, I want to say something.

*(Several Hon. Members stood up)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please let me go on with the business before us. If you will take the whole time of the House with your points of order, we will not be able to do anything.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I saw yesterday.. *(Interruptions)*.. "Soviet interference in the internal affairs..."

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Whether it is an interference or not in the internal affairs of India, is a matter of opinion. *(Interruptions)* Sir, I say things after a study. I can come and prove these things in your Chamber, when it comes to America...

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is all a different thing. Please sit down, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. This question is a different thing.

*(Repeated interruptions by Shri Bhupesh Gupta)*

You do not allow the work to go on. I have taken the responsibility of editing it. If there are fifteen or twenty notices

coming to me in different languages, representing different aspects, I cannot allow fifteen or twenty calling-attention motions on the L'St of Business. I have got to collate and put down some general language which would cover the points of view of all those who have given the calling-attention notices...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What, Sir, are you saying ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Will you please listen to me ? Do not interrupt me like this.

This is the method which my office has been adopting and I would request honourable Members to try and appreciate the difficulty in which the office is put. When there are a large number of notices of motions there is difficulty. And in case anybody's point of view is not covered by the general language, then alone can there be any ground for a complaint. The language used here covers all the points of view, of this side or of that side.

Now let us proceed with our business. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel.

## CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

### LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN CAMBODIA

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the latest development in Cambodia and to the Government of India's attitude towards the Indonesian proposal for convening a conference of Asian nations to consider the Cambodian issue.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH) : Sir, the Government of India are greatly concerned about the recent developments in Cambodia. The House will recall that demonstrations took place in Phnom Penh on 14th March, 1970. The demonstrators objected to the presence in Cambodian territory of forces of DRVN and PRG. This was followed by a resolution adopted at the joint session of the National Assembly and the Council of the Kingdom of Cambodia expressing support for the demand that Government take urgent and timely measures to defend the territorial integrity of the country.

On 18th March, the Cambodian Parliament adopted a motion deposing Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the Head of State of Cambodia and electing Mr. Chen Heng, Speaker of the National Assembly, as the Acting Chief of State till the election of a new Head of State.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, on the other hand, declared from Peking that the action of the Cambodian Parliament to depose him was unconstitutional and that he can be deposed only by a national referendum. There are also reports of the Prince proposing to form a Government in exiles.

The situation has continued to deteriorate inside Cambodia. Both sides appear to be relying on outside support, and there have been clashes in several parts of Cambodia. We are deeply distressed at the loss of life specially of many innocent people. We firmly believe that the people of Cambodia should be left free to settle their internal matters without any interference from outside. Foreign intervention will only make the situation more complicated and a peaceful solution more difficult.

As Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control constituted under the Geneva Agreements of 1954, India together with Canada and Poland, has consistently sought to ensure that the objectives of the Agreements namely the neutrality, territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Cambodia are safeguarded. The Commission had at the request of the Cambodian Govt. adjourned *sine die* with effect from 31st December 1969 for financial reasons. India as Chairman of the Commission is in close consultation with the concerned parties including the co-Chairmen and other supervisory powers. So far there has been no agreement on the reconvening the Commission. We are ready to reconvene the Commission for Cambodia as soon as the other concerned Governments agree. In the meantime, we have suggested to the other two supervisory Governments that we may meet informally in New Delhi. Canada has agreed but Poland has said that it is not yet ready for a tripartite meeting.

It has been our firm view that a 1962 Geneva type conference should be convened by the Co-Chairman as soon as

partible with a view to resolving the problems of Indo-China. France has also made a proposal for consultations between the concerned parties in Indo-China and outside for the purpose of achieving an negotiated settlement in Indo-China. This closely approximates to our own thinking.

In the third week of April, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia conveyed to us his idea to convene a meeting of some South and South-East Asian Foreign Ministers to consider the situation in Cambodia. Soon afterwards it was learnt that the membership of the conference had been enlarged. We appreciate the desire of Indonesia to consult with Asian countries specially on matters of common concern. As a leading Asian country, Indonesia is naturally concerned about Asian problems as we are. We have always welcomed Asian co-operation and consultation.

In line with our thinking, we had informed Indonesia that a meeting on Cambodia and Indo-China would be fruitful only if all concerned parties were present. However, as a positive step towards calling such a meeting to which all the concerned parties and interested Governments would be invited as in the 1962 Geneva conference, it would be useful to hold a meeting of the non-aligned countries of South-East Asia.

On 29th April, we received an invitation from the Indonesian Foreign Minister to attend the proposed meeting of Foreign Ministers of 20 Asian and Pacific countries. In the meantime, some of the parties concerned who had been invited have declined the invitation, while some others have not yet replied. According to reports so far 8 countries namely—

South Korea, Japan, Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, Thailand and South Vietnam have accepted the Indonesian invitation. North Korea, China and North Vietnam have declined\*. Others, namely, Singapore, Laos, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, Nepal and Afghanistan, according to our information have not yet replied.

While we appreciate that Asian countries should meet and discuss Asian problems of common interest such meetings can be

[Shri Surendra Pal Singh] fruitful only if all sides involved in a particular problem are present. If only one side is represented, such a meeting is likely to crystallise division. It was for this reason that we had suggested a meeting of non-aligned countries of South and South-East Asia as a first step towards a larger meeting of all parties concerned.

We are grateful to the Government of Indonesia for their invitation. We are studying the situation and shall send them a reply shortly.

As Hon'ble Members are aware the situation has been further complicated by the reported decision of the United States Government to launch in Cambodia territory a combined operation along with the armed forces of South Vietnam. We are greatly distressed at this further escalation of the conflict and the additional induction of foreign forces into Cambodian territory. We do not think it will lessen tension; on the contrary, we feel that it will only aggravate an already difficult situation. What is needed is not further intervention from outside but the vacation of all foreign intervention. We would, therefore, urge the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia so that the Cambodian people are left free to decide their internal problems without any foreign interference. We must not allow Cambodia to become a play-ground of International Power Politics.

India and Cambodia have always had close and cordial relations from ancient times and it is our wish to see Cambodia prosper in freedom. It is also our earnest hope that all concerned will endeavour to halt the present deterioration and escalation of the conflict and make every effort to prevent further widening of the area of strife and co-nflict.

[MR-DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Before I call on Members to seek clarifications, I would request Members to make only-brief observations so that we can complete the discussion by 10'clock.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : It is very difficult. It is a departmental issue.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : To-day is Private Members' day and if we sit longer, it will mean curtailment of the time for the Resolutions. Till 1.15 at the most we can sit.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I do not think there is anybody, any Party for whom he has not held up something.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Everybody should try to be brief and ask only for clarifications and not make long speeches.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Has the Government of India not failed in its responsibilities as Co-Chairman to establish peace in this area very quickly in its failure in not calling a Conference early? The Government of India asserts again and again that it wants Asian co-operation while they even do not join the Asian Parliamentary Union but even about the Conference, when the Government of India failed and Indonesia is calling a Conference, the Government of India hesitates. What is the reason for this hesitation? Are they too committed to the other side, too committed to the Communist side, the aggressor in South Vietnam that they are doing this?

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI DINESH SINGH) : For the information of the Member, we are not one of the two Co-Chairmen. The two Chairmen are the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom. So far as the question of our attitude towards the Conference is concerned, my colleague, the Deputy Minister has read out the statement which has clearly stated our views on that.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : May I ask one more question?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, just as brief as the earlier question.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Sir, is the Government of India aware that the territory of Cambodia is being used as a supply line for the Vietcong army that is why all this trouble is taking place? Should not the Government of India not allow this to continue in order to prevent escalation of the war in South Vietnam?

SHRI DINESH SINGH : Sir, I am afraid it is a question put too late. We have got the situation that one of the most powerful nations of the world is sending its armed forces into Cambodia and where is the question of its being used as a supply line? A war is going on there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Why don't you say they have invaded? Why do you say that they are sending their forces?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mathur.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) : मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि जिस प्रकार से आपने आज साउथ वियटनाम के कारण से खेद व्यक्त किया उसी प्रकार का खेद उस समय आपने व्यक्त किया जब कि कम्बोडिया में वियटकांग, उत्तर वियटनाम और उनके सम्बंधित जो देश हैं, जिनकी एक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय योजना है सारे दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के अन्दर साम्यवाद को फैलाने की, वह जब पहले कम्बोडिया में घुसे, उस समय भी क्या आपने इस प्रकार का खेद प्रकट किया जिस प्रकार से कि आज आपने खेद प्रकट किया है।

दूसरा प्रश्न। क्या आप यह समझते हैं कि कम्बोडिया अगर समाप्त हो गया तो उसके बाद थाईलैंड आयेगा, और सारे दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के जो देश हैं उनकी सुरक्षा के आधार पर अपने देश की सुरक्षा भी निर्भर है और इसी आधार के ऊपर इन्डोनेशिया ने दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के देशों की एक कांग्रेस बुलाई थी और दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के सारे देश हमको एक बड़ा भाई, विंग ब्रदर के रूप में मानते हैं लेकिन भारत ने अपने कर्तव्य से विमुख हो कर क्या दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के देशों के सामने यह सिद्ध कर दिया है कि भारत न विंग है न उनका ब्रदर है।

श्री उपसभापति : आप सवाल पुछिये।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : यही तो पूछ रहा हूँ।

श्री दीनेश सिंह : जो कहना था उन्होंने कह दिया, उपसभापति महोदय।

श्री मानसिंह वर्मा : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आपने मान लिया।

श्री दिनेश सिंह : माननीय सदस्य ने जो बात कही उससे एक सलक मिलती है जो उनकी ओर उसकी संस्था की है कि भारत एक महान देश है लिहाजा वह दक्षिण पूर्वी एशिया के सब देशों के ऊपर एक असर डाले, यह हमरा कोई लक्ष्य नहीं है, हमारा तो लक्ष्य है कि इन सब देशों के साथ हमारा सहयोग बढ़े। जहां तक कि उनकी घरेलू नीति है कि वह अपने यहां साम्यवाद चाहते हैं या कोई और दूसरा तरीका रखना चाहते हैं यह तो वहां की जनता को तय करना है, हमारा कोई ऐसा क्लेड नहीं है कि दुनिया में साम्यवाद आये या न आये।

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : I do not think the Minister answered his first question. He asked when the Viet-cong used that route towards South Vietnam did he make any protest?

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal) : Sir, on a point of order, when Mr. Goiaiy has not been called, how can he get up?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मेरा क्वेश्चन यह था कि आपने प्रोटेस्ट क्यों नहीं किया। मेरा पर्टीनेंट क्वेश्चन था कि जिस प्रकार अमेरिका के हस्तक्षेप पर आपने एतराज किया है तो उत्तर वियटनाम और वियटकांग ने जब वहां पर हमला किया उस समय आपने खेद प्रकट किया था या नहीं किया था। यह पर्टीनेंट क्वेश्चन था, उसका जवाब आपने नहीं दिया। जवाब दीजिये।

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : We are not surprised that the Jana Sangh sided with the Americans but we are surprised to find that I.S.P. is siding with the Americans.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : हम बार-बार दोनों साइड को ले रहे हैं।

श्री उपसभापति : माधुर जा, आप बैठिये ।  
आप सवाल का जवाब सुन लीजिये ।

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I am siding with the Cambodian people.

SHRI DINESH SINGH : So far as the question of our attitude towards the presence of troops of foreign countries in Cambodia is concerned, it is borne out in the statement that we are against the presence of any foreign troops irrespective of their nationality and we have said categorically again and again this House and elsewhere that there should be no foreign troops present in any of the States of the former Indo-China and that all foreign troops would be withdrawn. Regarding the actual presence of troops we have been some what restricted in expressing an opinion because as Chairman of the Control Commission we are called upon to express opinion when the matter is referred to us and when these matters have been referred to us we have given our specific views.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa) : It is always a peculiar spectacle in this House that when Vietcong attacks, particular country some "praise" and when Americans attack a particular country some others praise and when China comes and attack; India it is national liberation but when Pakistan attacks India it is American inspired. We ask this question from the point of view of Cambodia in South East Asia. If Vietcong attacks then Vietcong is the aggressor and if Americans and the South Vietnamese in collusion attack, they are the aggressors. It is the independence and sovereignty of Cambodia that has to be preserved and India has a duty in South East Asia to safeguard the independence of Cambodia. We are not going to be bamboozled and intimidated like this. When Mr. Goray intervened and said that Vietcong . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Vietcong zindabad-

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : Here he says Vietcong zindabad- When these questions come up, we have to talk here not of one party or the other.

They are to stooges of Vietcong and China. (Interruptions) Sir, It is very unfortunate. Whether it is Vietcong in alliance with China or Vietnam forces backed up by Americans, they have no business to interfere in the affairs of Cambodia with which we have cultural and other interests. Mr. Deputy Chairman, that is why I am asking this question. Was it not a mistake on the part of Government of India ; when for financial reasons the International Control Commission was virtually made ineffective was it not proper for the Government of India to approach all those countries who are interested in the preservation of peace in South East Asia to see that the International Control Commission functions effectively because that was the only medium, even though we know it was not as much effective as it ought to be for preserving to a large extent peace in that region ? Secondly, I want to know from the Minister what harm there will be if we go to the conference convened by Indonesia and put the point of view of India, not the point of view of the Americans or of the Chinese, or of the Vietcong or Vietnam forces, because some of the South East Asian countries are also involved there. We went to Rabat ; we went to so many other Countries even to countries with whom we were seeing eye to eye. So I want to know whether the Government of India will reconsider the matter since the interest of South East Asia is very very close and dear to us. To preserve peace there a political solution is needed. A military solution can never be in the interest of South East Asia or in that interest of anybody else. I want to know whether the Government will join that conference to put forward the view of India forcefully so that they can bring about a consensus there of as many countries as possible who are attending the

SHRI DINESH SINGH : I entirely agree with the hon. Member when he says that all foreign forces should be withdrawn and the Cambodian people should be allowed to determine their future. That is exactly what we have said in our statement. So far as the question of adjournment of the Control Commission is concerned we had to adjourn the Commission *sine die* because of lack of resources and at the request of the Government

of Cambodia. I was a decision that was taken by the Gi rrr. mission as a whole in consultation wit' the Co-Chairmen. As the House is aw; re, we were not in favour of adjourning *sin di* i but i I was not possible to continue the functioning of the Coin-mission.

Regarding tl v question of going to the conference o not going, I can assure the lion. Meml er that we would no\* hesitate to go t > any part of the world to attend any < in erence in the path of peace and if it co i ld bring about a peaceful solution to a problem. If the hon. Member would read the statement carefully again that was made b i my colleague, the Deputy Minister, he wc lid see there the guide lines that are u ider consideration. The point that we h ive to consider in favour of attending thi: conference or not attending it is whethc: ti is will lead to a peace ful solution or \ hether it is likely to cry stallise opinion ; nd in any way contribute to certain dill julties. And that is the principle which will determine our parti cipation or no i-participation. I might say that we an very appreciative of the efforts that Ind >ncsia has made to have Asian consultation on matters which are of very great importance to Asian countries and to the woi d as a whole. But oar participation w ll naturally depend on our assessment f what is the likely out come of the c .i l 'H nee. That is why we felt that ion-aligned conference of South and South East Asian countries would have beer: far more useful in taking into account th situation and in trying to bring all p; rties round a conference table, because unless all the parties are present there coi ld be no peaceful solution.

MR. DEPU1 ¥ CHAIRMAN : Mr. alyan Roy.

SHRI N. G. iORAY : Sir, it is very difficult to foil .w the whole statement. Would it not have been better. . .

SHRI KAIAAN ROY : Sir, on a point of order, you have called me and Mr. Goray she aid not distrub me.

SHRI N- G. XJRAY : I am trying to help you in tlie deliberations. . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY : You help only the Americans. I hope the hon. Minister will agree that India. . .

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I am not asking a question. I am only helping you. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : One minute, please. Let him say what he has to say.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi) : Why does he oppose a sensible suggestion being made ?

SHRI KALYAN ROY : He has called me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : All the parties are here. The entire list should be gone through.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Will you please wait for one minute ?

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Yes, Sir.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Actually my suggestion is only this. As I said, the statement that was read out by the Deputy Minister concerns a problem, which is, I should say, very serious and it has very serious implication; aot only for India, but the whole of South East Asia- That being so, when such a statement is being read out it become; very difficult to follow all the guidelines. He referred to some guidelines. Will you, not please give instructions that when such a statement is made, copies should be made available to us, so that we can follow it ?

SHRI DINESH SINGH : Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is customary for us to circulate these statements in advance, but hon. Members will appreciate that many changes had to be made because of the situation t<sub>n</sub>at was made known only this morning. It was not, therel possible to circulate it in advance.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : India being the biggest country in South East Asia— I think the Minister will agree with me that we are the biggest State—we have to preserve peace in South East Asia. The war flames are over Cambodia, but they are nearing to our door3. War is very near our door. Even the topmost Senators in the U.S., Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Fulbright, have condemned this massive invasion and I *think* he will agree with me that since yesterday saturation bombing has started. Villages a<sub>r</sub>e

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

being bombed. Dead people are scattered in the villages and on the roads. Does he not feel that it is time for India now, according to the principles laid down by Pandit Nehru, to come out openly and condemn this vicious, barbarous and most cowardly aggression on the people of Cambodia ? You are talking of Chinese invasion. The Americans, twenty thousand miles away from Cambodia, how are they justified in coming, through the backdoor, to the said of the puppet government and to bomb and kill the Cambodians. Would you not here and now, on the floor of the House, condemn this aggression in Cambodia and say that if the Americans do not immediately withdraw their bar-barus forces from Cambodia, India would like to help the Cambodians to throw out the Americans from Cambodia ?

AN HON. MEMBER : Which Cambodians ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. D. MISRA (Uttar Pradesh) : First, throw out the Chinese- The Chinese are on our borders. Throw them out.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order.

SHRI DINESH SINGH : I should like to say that our sentiments for the people of Cambodia are not any less than those expressed by the hon- Members. We feel very deeply about the unfortunate developments in Cambodia and the loss of life of innocent people and we have, in very strong terms and language that we have ever used, asked for the ending of all foreign intervention and withdrawal of foreign forces. We have already given our views in the body of the statement that was read out.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Sir, I will ask questions in the second round, but in the meantime Mr. Ganguly will ask questions.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : His name comes after three names on the lists.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I want to ask...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : We can make arrangements in our own party.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He will get a chance afterwards, not now. There are other Members earlier to him in the list.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I will ask in the second round.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : In that case other Members will ask.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : In that case I am asking. I want to ask clarifications on certain points. Now, is the Minister aware that there has been a press note in today's Statesman that the Cambodian Government at Phnom Penh, the *coup d'etat* Government of Cambodia at Phnom Penh themselves have said that they were not aware, nor were they informed, that the South Vietnamese and American forces had jointly invaded Cambodia. The position is that even the Cambodian Government, the *coup d'etat* Government of Phnom Penh, which is a stooge of the Americans, according to us, was not informed, but the Americans and the South Vietnamese have invaded Cambodia. If that is the position, is the Government of India going to lodge a strong protest with the American imperialists ? If they feel that the word 'imperialists' will stick in the throat of the Indian Government, I use the words American Government. Will they lodge a protest against their interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia without consulting the Phnom Penh Government ? That is my first question. My second question is this. Is the hon. Minister aware also that as the Chairman of the International Control Commission the Indian Government has a definite responsibility in regard to this part of South East Asia ? Is this Government satisfied that the Government is discharging its responsibility when it looks on helplessly when this *coup d'etat* Government at Phnom Penh, at the instigation of the Americans and with the help of the Americans, are killing the Vietnamese women and children *en masse* ? They are being murdered- These Americans, these white-skinned devils, are killing these women and children. Now, as the Chairman of the International Control Commission, has there been left in the Indian Government any sense of decency and humanity to go forward, and lodge a protest with the American Government against this ?

My third question is this. Much has been said that the North Vietnamese forces are coming into Vietnam through the Ho Chi Minh trail. Hon. Members are aware that the Ho Chi Minh trail is a road which exists only in fiction and that also is corroborated by the fact that even the imperialists do not dare to call it a road or a street. They do not dare call it a highway. They call it a trail. Is the hon. Minister aware that as far as trails are concerned they are merely village paths, absolutely unsuitable for any motion or movement of war material or army? Therefore, is the hon. Minister aware that this question of Ho Chi Minh trail is a fiction created by the Americans as a justification for interference in South East Asia?

Lastly, I would ask this clarification. As far as the Indonesian Government is concerned, will the hon. Minister clearly tell the Indonesian Government that the hands of the Indonesian Government are already dyed with the blood of 3 million Communists in Indonesia? The hands of the Indonesian Government are already dyed with the blood of those innocent victims. This is a CIA Government set up by American dollars and the help of the CIA. Therefore, the Indian Government should not sully its good name by responding to the invitation of the Indonesian Government who are ruling there in the name of Government. These are my four questions.

SHRI DINESH SINGH : We have all seen the press statement to which reference has been made by the hon. Member and which is for the Government of Cambodia to express a view about whether they were consulted or not. We cannot say anything about it.

Regarding the protest to be made to the U. S. Government our position is known to the U. S. Government and it has been stated here in the House which will I am sure be taken full note of by the U. S. Government.

Regarding my position as Chairman of the International Control Commission and what we can do, the hon. Member is aware, as my colleague had read out, we had suggested the possibility of reconvening of the Control Commission in Cambodia, failing which we had

said that we might have informal discussion in New Delhi amongst the countries which are supervisory powers of the International Control Commission. Canada has agreed to this. Poland has not yet found it possible to agree. We hope that Poland will also find it possible when we can meet informally and decide whether there is any role that the Control Commission can play or whether there is any statement that we should make on this.

So far as the question of the trail is concerned the hon. Member has made known his views. The United States have made known their views as to whether it is a highway, road or whether it is some jungle path, and I think both positions are very well known. Even so far as the United States are concerned I do not think they have said that there is one highway. That is why the word trail has been used. We do not know, unless the Control Commission is asked to investigate and facilities are made available and it goes and is able to formulate a view.

Regarding the invitation from the Indonesian Government, we have expressed that we are giving thought to it. We have also given our general views about it. I would beg of the hon. Member not to make references to foreign Governments in the language that he has done. He and his party may hold certain views. But Indonesia is a very friendly Government and we continue to work with them and we hope to co-operate and further strengthen our relations with Indonesia.

SHRI CHITTA BASU ( West Bengal ) May I know from the hon. Minister whether it is not correct to say that the present crisis in Cambodia, not only in Cambodia but the entire Indo-China peninsula, is the result of the policy of global strategy of America to spread escalation of the war, to spread tensions in South East Asia, by subverting the popular Governments, by pulling down the people's Governments and also create certain circumstances against which the national liberation forces are fighting today? Is it not part of the global strategy of America today which we have found in Indo-China today?

My second question is whether it is not correct to say that the Government of India has alienated the support and sympathy of the anti-imperialist forces and the forces for the liberation of the people in



[Shri Chitta Basu]

that part of the world by deferring a very important question like that of recognition of the P. R. G. and upgrading of our Indian Mission in Hanoi and our refusal to condemn the aggressive activities of the American forces in Vietnam has alienated the friendship of those people in that part of the world. If so, I want to know whether the Government would try to retrieve the position by taking action, by condemning even on this occasion the aggressive acts of the American forces and also asking the Americans to effect immediate and complete withdrawal from that region. And what is the attitude of the Government of India with regard to the Norodom Sihanouk Government in exile?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: It is very difficult for us to give out assessments of policies of foreign Governments. We can only give the facts which may be result of these policies, and that is what we have given and that is known to the House. But it is not possible for us to give out the assessments that we may have of policies of different Governments.

So far as the question of the anti-imperialist role of India is concerned, the world as a whole knows the role played by the people of India in their own struggle for independence, in the struggles of other peoples for their independence and our general attitude against colonialism and imperialism, and I think the record of the party to which I have the honour to belong and the role of the Government have been held in the highest respect not only in this country but all over the world and our role against imperialism in any part of the world. I am sorry that it has not been possible for us to convince the hon. Member. But he himself has been in the struggle.

Regarding the American forces, I say, and I would like to repeat with all the emphasis and all the strength that I could command that the American as well as all foreign forces must be withdrawn from Cambodia immediately.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Our attitude towards the Government of Mr. Norodom Sihanouk?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I am sorry; the hon. Member asked what was our attitude towards the Government of P\* Sihanouk in exile. We are not aware that he has formed any Government in exile.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : I do not know how the Government can effectively check the hostilities in that area by convening the International Control Commission at this moment. I do not see any reason why the Government of India should waste its efforts on convening that Commission, but on the contrary I would request the Foreign Minister to consider the conference called by Indonesia. We have got vital interest in South East Asia. We have got very friendly and good relations with Indonesia.

(Interruption by Shri A. P. Chatterjet)

Anybody not fair with your party is not required by you. I am not a man of that type. Your C.P.M. has got nothing to do with this. You are an anti-Indian actually. What I say is...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You ask.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I am asking, Sir. This is one mode of speaking.

1 P.M.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, what I am persuading the Minister of External Affairs is to consider that our relations with Indonesia are to be strengthened and our interests in South East Asia as regards peace are to be activated and vitally protected. And in that connection, I am one with the Government when they say "What is the use of calling and having this CPTI when all the parties are not ready and are not participating?" There by I only think that the Government of India should consider calling or proposing a Geneva type of Conference that will actually help to solve this problem because whether the aggressor is the U.S.A. or the Vietcong, they have to be condemned. In this connection, I implore with the Government of India to take a more positive thing a Geneva type of conference. This is my first point.

The second point that I want to know is whether this Government will at least now bring to the attention of the U. S. Government that in their own country, views are expressed that they should not escalate the war on this side of the world. I do not say about what Senator Fulbright or others have said. But there is a growing anti-Americanism in the South East Asian side and that should be taken care of by the United States. In this connection I want to know from the Minister what is the content of the broadcast

that was to be made by President Nixon yesterday night. I have only read about it. But I do not know whether President Nixon has categorically given out the views of the American Government in his broadcast yesterday night and in the light of what I have said will the Government of India take steps to convey to the U.S. that this is not the way to keep peace there?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: You rely upon President Nixon's broadcast. Why don't you take American citizenship?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: When you are actually deported to China, then I will think of what to do. I will deport you to China first and then I will think.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You proceed.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: He is disturbing my line of thinking. My point is, as a Naxalite it is his business to disturb everything in this country. That is what I want to condemn in here.

SHRI KAIYAN ROY: Mr. Kulkarni will not condemn the Shiv Sena.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not reply to interruptions. You continue with your question.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: What about the Shiv Sena?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kulkarni, you need not reply.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, when such provocative remarks are coming from anti-Indian people, I have to take care of them. I am very much an Indian and I like my country very well. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: It is a little upside down your dictionary. You say...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: The last point that I want to know from the Government is this. As rightly pointed out by my friend, Mr. Chitta Basu, there, the Government of Prince Sihanouk was really controlling the entire position in that area very comfortably. Now due to certain type of work done by whether the CIA or by whom, I do not know...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: The CIA conspiracy...

*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Mr. Kulkarni, continue with your question.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, if you had been in my position, you would have given more reply than I give.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your continue.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: What I wanted to know as a matter of clarification, is, when Prince Sihanouk went to Soviet Russia or wherever it was, his government was thrown out. The Government of India should go in depth and find out how it happened, find out what is the reason, and therein lies the reply that countries with vested interests, countries with larger resources, are making a playground of these smaller nations. In that connection, I want to say that this Government of India should support that head of Government there—whether it is Prince Sihanouk or anybody—who is the true representative of the Cambodian people.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I entirely agree with the hon. Member when he says that this Government should recognise the true representative head of the Cambodian people. And because of the situation which has been brought about by certain forces in Cambodia, the situation being fluid, we have not expressed an opinion on that.

Regarding the convening of the Geneva Conference, we have been negotiating and we have been using the various forum; of consultation—bilateral, diplomatic and others—to try to bring about a Geneva type of conference. Perhaps we have not indulged in very great advertisement. But that is no reason. We want to play an effective role in finding a solution to the very difficult situation that has been created in Cambodia, and in Indo-China as a whole.

Regarding the content of President Nixon's broadcast, I have not been able to hear it. It came very early in the morning.

AN HON. MEMBER: Do not hear.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: And we have heard over the All India Radio certain points which have been highlighted and if the hon. Member would go back home and listen to the radio news at 1-30 perhaps he will be able to get more information about it.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: What was the main point of it? You must have heard it. I may not have heard it.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I said that I had not myse)/ hoard President Nixon's speech. But he said over the All India Radio thai in combination with the forces of South Viet Nam, the American forces are entering Cambodia.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I asked him about the last question.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: The last question I replied first.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARN (Kerala) : It is an admitted fact that an aggression has been committed on Cambodia and from whichever side the aggression comes, that aggression has got to be condemned in the strongest terms. So far as this country is concerned, in matters of aggression of this type, particularly in Asia, I should think that we should not take technical matters into consideration for the purpose of deciding whether we should participate in that Conference in Indonesia or whether the - conference should be of the non-aligned nations only. May I remind that when several years back Indonesia was in trouble against the Dutch and Indonesia had to be saved from the forces of the Dutch and the Asian countries rallied round Indonesia, it was this country which had just breathed freedom that convened a conference of all the Asian countries? That conference was convened by Prime Minister Nehru and was held, if I know aright and If I 'remember aright, in the very precincts of this sacred hall and decisions of a far-reaching nature were taken at that time. May I know from the hon. Minister as to why when such a new aggression has developed in an Asian country, an aggression which is likely to envelop the other countries of Asia, this country, India, is not taking a lead in the matter of the resolution of the trouble in that spot in Asia ? And may I know from the hon. Minister what positive steps this country's Government would initiate in the matter of the resolution of this trouble?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I should like to assure the hon- Member that it is not any technical question with which we are concerned, but it is the question of the larger interest, whether a prticular conference will produce the results that we all expect out of it, and that is the main consideration about which we shall have to take a decision to attend or not a conference that his been convened by Indonesia.

Regarding our convening a conference, I am aware of the reference that the hon. Member has made of an earlier conference that was convened at the instance uf the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. And I should like to assure the Member that here it is not a question of convening a small conference of a few countries it is a question of getting the two parties together, whether we are able to bring...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: As the Chairman of the International Control Commission, you did not denounce the American aggression. Surprisingly, the External Affairs Minister has not yet done it. under the Geneva Agreement, being the Chairman of the ICC, why are you not denouncing the open, naked American aggression which President Nixon announced last night ? I do not understand that.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I shall come to that later. Let me, with your permission, Sir, finish answering the question that has been earlier put by that hon. Member.

It is not a question of our taking the initiative. As I mentioned in reply to Mr. Kulkarni's question, perhaps we have no advertised. But we have been actively engaged in trying to get the two sides together, and we feel that it is possible only in a Geneva type of conference where all the parties would come together and would be able to give some thought to a peaceful solution. It is this conference towards which we have been actively and consistently working.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: The hon'ble Minister has a very soft corner for all regional conferences. He thinks that many things can be solved by the regional cooperation and conferences. Now it is for the first time that some of these very important countries—and some of them are the nearest neighbours of that country which is in trouble today—have taken initiative of a conference in Indonesia. And

all the important neighbouring countries of that part of the world have agreed to attend that conference. Japan and Indonesia are outstanding amongst them. Malaysia is there. All of them are friendly countries. You do not go in for this type of approach in the hope that it should be held at the initiative of Russia when you will join. Then you are keen. Now you do not want to take any initiative. You are not enthusiastic about attending this conference. In fact in my opinion you should have taken the initiative of calling the conference instead of Indonesia doing it. Now that Indonesia has done it, we welcome it. Japan, Australia, New Zealand and others have accepted the invitation. Among those who have not accepted is China. If China is there a solution is not likely to come because Chinese people do not believe that anything can be solved by negotiations. They believe that everything should be done through a blood bath. That is their theory. Therefore, China and Korea have not accepted the invitation. In fact, their not being there will be helpful. My suggestion to the hon'ble Minister is this. My question to him is why he is not taking initiative and why he is taking such a long time in accepting whole-heartedly the invitation issued by Indonesia. There is no contradiction between the two conferences. You should join the conference. Your Asian friends are vitally interested in this...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala): With whom are you I would like to know. Are you with Japan if you think China is not our friend?

SHRI C. D. PANDE: He is caricaturing the whole thing. I am neither for America, nor for Russia nor for China. I am for the freedom of all the Asian countries. This is the occasion where you should take the initiative. The Government seems to be lukewarm in that initiative. Your being lukewarm is a matter of concern to all of us. You should take direct interest in these things. The Minister says that they are interested in a Geneva Conference as if any conference in Indonesia has no value whatsoever. You are pinning every faith in a conference that may be held in Geneva. I know about the Geneva Conference. I was a delegate to the Geneva Conference in 1961-62.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: That was a misfortune of India.

SHRI G. D. PANDE: India has undertaken to protect the freedom of Laos. Today Laos is in the same fate as Cambodia. The Communist wing of China is advancing towards Vientiane, the capital of the country. You are committed to the protection of their freedom. But no step is being taken. Have you taken any initiative with regard to safeguarding the freedom of Laos of which you are guarantor? You are always thinking of a Geneva type of conference.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please put your question\*

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Sir, the Geneva Conference is under trial. You are under trial. What answer have you got to the people of Laos, to the people of Cambodia?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Sir, the hon'ble Member has himself indicated that he was present at the Geneva Conference in 1961. Now two things come out of that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not sure what he was doing there.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: He was a morale booster.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: The hon'ble Member sat with the Chinese representatives at this Conference and he saw for himself that it is possible to sit with China in a conference and try to work out an agreement. Therefore, it would not be correct to say that we cannot or should not sit with China in a conference. China must be brought to a conference of this kind if we want a peaceful solution.

Now, the hon'ble Member has laid very great stress on initiative, that we have not taken initiative. I do not know what initiative he has in mind unless he has in mind the initiative to join the Americans in sending Forces there. This we have not done.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: No. I meant initiative in calling a conference. He is misleading.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Sir, it is the initiative that I was talking of unless one is thinking in terms of sending Armed Forces. I am afraid this initiative we have not taken and we do not propose to take

[Shri Dincsh Singh.] any of these initiatives. If it is a question of taking initiative to End a peaceful solution, this initiative, I would submit to the House and the hon'ble Members, we have taken, a decision to convene a conference where, both sides will be present so that we could find a peaceful solution-

I agree we do not advertise. Now I have said this in the House. Now, may be, the hon'ble Members are aware of it and now it will receive the publicity that the hon'ble Member has in mind. But it is this effort bilaterally, through diplomatic channels that we have been pressing here to get the two sides together. Unless the two sides come together there is no point in having a general conference. There is no point in having a general conference at which only one side is present. Then you crystallise. Our idea is to get the two sides together. We are committed to holding this conference in Geneva. It is because once the Geneva Conference was held that one talks of a Geneva-type of conference. We do not say that it should be held in Geneva. We would be very happy if it is held in an Asian country which is really the area which is concerned with what is happening there. Therefore, I should like to assure the hon'ble Member and the House that India has been taking an active interest in this matter of bringing the parties together in which we can find a peaceful solution to this difficult problem.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन् हमारा छोटा सा सवाल है।

श्री उपसभापति : आप बैठ कर बोलिये।

श्री राजनारायण : जरा हम श्री दिनेश सिंह का चेहरा भी देखना चाहते हैं क्योंकि वह जो बोलते हैं तो उन के चेहरे की आकृति भी उसी ढंग की होती है या नहीं उस को हम ज्यादा देखते हैं।

श्री दिनेश सिंह : और नजदीक आ जाइए।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं यहीं से देख लूंगा। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार की बिन लगाव की, स्वतंत्र तटस्थता की नीति आज है या नहीं। यह मेरा पहला प्रश्न है। दूसरे मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह सत्य है कि कंबोडिया में पहल उत्तरी वियतनाम

ने पैकिंग के समर्थन से हमला किया और अगर यह सत्य है तो क्या इस के परिणाम-स्वरूप दक्षिणी वियतनाम ने भी कंबोडिया में प्रवेश करने की चेष्टा की? अगर यह भी सत्य है तो भारत, जो अपने को बिन लगाव का राष्ट्र कहता है, तो उस बिन लगाव के राष्ट्र का कोई इनीशियेटिव है, उस की को सक्रियता है या नहीं? बिन लगाव यानी नान एलाइनमेंट वाला, यानी जिस का किसी से लगाव न हो। यह हिन्दुस्तानी शब्द है, इस को समझो। तो बिन लगाव की जिस राष्ट्र की नीति है, उस बिन लगाव की नीति वाला मुल्क क्या सर्वदा अमरीका, रूस और चीन के मुख को देख कर और उन की गति विधियों को देख कर अपनी नीति का संचालन करेगा या अपने इनीशियेटिव पर भी सारे राष्ट्र को प्रभावित करने की भी कहीं न कहीं चेष्टा करेगा।

इसी से लगा हुआ हमारा दूसरा प्रश्न है कि इंडोनेशिया भी बिना लगाव का राष्ट्र है। तो अगर बिना लगान का राष्ट्र इंडोनेशिया सभी प्रश्नों पर विचार करने के लिए कोई सम्मेलन बुलाता है और एक नीति तय करने के लिए कोई कदम उठाता है कि किसी ढंग से आज उपनिवेशवाद का, चाहे उस का प्राचीन स्वरूप हो, चाहे उस का नवीन स्वरूप हो, उस का विरोध हो तो उस में भारत सरकार को शामिल होने में दिक्कत क्या है?

मैं इस निश्चित मत का हूँ कि भारत यदि बिन लगाव का राष्ट्र है, यदि स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र है, यदि भारत सरकार की तटस्थता की नीति है, तो तटस्थता की नीति निष्क्रियता की नीति नहीं है। भारत की सरकार तटस्थता को निष्क्रियता का पर्यायवाची आज बना रही है वह सोचती है कि हर काम में निष्क्रिय रह और वही तटस्थता है। ऐसी बात नहीं है

तो इन हम तमाम बातों की रोजनी में भारत की सरकार ने अगुवाई क्यों नहीं की। भारत राष्ट्र अपनी बिन लगाव की नीति को बहुत

सफाई के साथ दुनिया में बनाता। जब कि एक तरफ चीन का प्रभाव बढ़ रहा हो, एक तरफ अमेरिका का प्रभाव बढ़ रहा हो तो फिर इन दोनों के प्रभाव से मुक्त हो कर वह सक्रिय तटस्थता की नीति से सारे विश्व के लोगों को प्रभावित कर के उपनिवेशवाद को खत्म करे, चाहे चीनी उपनिवेशवाद हो, अमेरिकी उपनिवेशवाद हो या रूसी उपनिवेशवाद हो। इस नीति को संचालित करने के लिये भारत की सरकार के पास आज कौन सा सक्रिय कदम है? मैं इसके बारे में सरकार की नीति जानना चाहता हूँ।

**श्री दिनेश सिंह :** उपसभापति महोदय, माननीय सदस्य ने हमारी नीति के बारे में कुछ नये नये शब्द इस्तेमाल किये, उन्हीं के सोच में मैं पड़ गया। माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि हमारी नीति बिन लगाव की है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि बिन लगाव के क्या मतलब है। हमारी नीति का बहुत बड़ा लगाव है इस देश के साथ, इस देश के हित के साथ। हम कैसे कह सकते हैं कि हमारी नीति बिन लगाव की है।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, आन ए पाइंट आप एक्सप्लेनेशन।

**श्री दिनेश सिंह :** मेरी बात तो सुन लीजिये। आप मेरी बात तो पूरी सुन लें। हर चीज का एक्सप्लेनेशन आप दें। शायद और एक्सप्लेनेशन की जरूरत पड़े।

**श्री राजनारायण :** बिन लगाव का अर्थ ही भारत सरकार नहीं समझ रही है, मैं आश्चर्यचकित हूँ। वह बिन लगाव में अपने देश की समस्याएँ समझ रहे हैं।

**श्री दिनेश सिंह :** माननीय सदस्य ने दूसरी बात कही तटस्थता की नीति की। यह भी बात सही नहीं है। हमारे दुनिया में क्या होता है उसके बारे में बिल्कुल खास विचार है हम उनको प्रकट करते हैं, हम दुनिया से अलग

नहीं रहना चाहते, तटस्थ नहीं रहना चाहते हैं, हम गुट से अलग रहना चाहते हैं, हमारी गुट-निरपेक्षता की नीति है। माननीय सदस्य उसके बजाय तरह तरह के अपने जो शब्द लाते हैं उसके बारे में बाद में बाहर बात कर सकता हूँ, यहाँ उनको मिलाना उचित नहीं है।

जहाँ तक कि सवाल यह है कि उत्तर वियटनाम ने हमला किया, दक्षिण वियटनाम की वहाँ पर फौजें गई नहीं गई इसके बारे में माननीय सदस्य शायद उस वक्त नहीं थे जब कि दूसरे माननीय सदस्य ने पूछा था और हमने कहा था...

**SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE :** You have got special information from the American Embassy.

**श्री दिनेश सिंह :**... कि चेयरमैन इंटरनेशनल कंट्रोल कमिशन की हैसियत से जब हमारे सामने सवाल आया कि यह आक्रमण हुआ या वहाँ के लोग जाये या नहीं आये, हमला हुआ, उसमें जिस स्थिति के बारे में हमसे जांच करने को कहा गया उसके बारे में हमने जांच की और समय समय पर कमिशन के विचार को हम बताते रहे हैं, इसलिए एक आम तौर से कि किसने आक्रमण किया, हमला किया, इसको हमारे लिये कहना मुमकिन नहीं है। अलग अलग समय में जब इसके बारे में हमसे यह मामला उठाया गया तब हमने जवाब उसके बारे में दिया था।

**श्री राजनारायण :** क्या जवाब दिया था ?

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) :** क्या जवाब दिया ?

**श्री राजनारायण :** ऐसा है कि यह टाकिंग शॉप नहीं है। मैं आश्चर्यचकित हूँ कि दिनेश सिंह जी अपनी समझ को ताक पर क्यों रख आये हैं।

श्री दिनेश सिंह : मेरी पूरी बात समझ लीजिये तो आप भी समझ जायेंगे।

जहाँ तक कि माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि हमने क्या काम किया है, क्या इनिशियेटिव लिया है, इसके पहले मैंने इसको काफी विस्तारपूर्वक माननीय सदस्यों के जवाब में बताया कि भारत ने क्या इनिशियेटिव लिया है।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, एक निवेदन मैं आपके द्वारा करना चाहता हूँ कि श्री दिनेश सिंह, विदेश मंत्री का जो उत्तर है यही उत्तर भारत को गुलाम बना कर रहेगा क्योंकि दिमाग साफ नहीं, इसलिये उत्तर साफ नहीं।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I think we have had enough discussion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I would like to put some questions. There is some time more. There are some more Members wanting to put question.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : It is already 1.25.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, no. Let us also get a chance.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right Mr. Ganguly. Please put a brief question

SHRISALIL KUMAR GANGULY (West Bengal) : Sir, India has taken the stand of neutrality. But under this mask of neutrality they are encouraging South Vietnam by exporting war material to South Vietnam like Tata Mercedes Benz trucks and other things. India is also the Chairman of the International Control Commission. It is a participant in the Commission. In this connection I would like to mention that the Cambodian Ambassador in New Delhi who was appointed by the Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, held a press conference on March 30, where he openly declared his support for the rebel Government headed by Lon Nol. Now I am asking the Minister of External Affairs as to why this turn coat Embassy is still being allowed to function in New Delhi instead of being promptly closed down. Is it because it is following the honourable example set up by the ruling party of tabbing in the back and floor-crossing?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Sir, I do not know what floor-crossing the hon. honourable Member has in mind. I cannot see any floor-crossing any where. So far as the question of export of war materials to Vietnam is concerned, I should like to state categorically that we have not exported any war material to Vietnam. The honourable Member has himself referred to Tata Mercedes truck... (Interruption) which have been used by operators here. Now, would he say that they are going for war with somebody or other? I should like to assure him that we have not exported any war material to Vietnam-SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULY : What about the second part of my question ? Why is the Cambodian Embassy allowed to continue in New Delhi?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: The honourable Minister has not answered that part of the question . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULY : He has not answered that part of my question.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: We are not used to any master-slave treatment. It is being constantly raised by Members. It is more a reflection of their mentality. We do not believe in master-slave treatment. We are a socialist party. So far as the question of the Embassy is concerned, the Embassy has been functioning and is continuing to function.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUK-HERJEE (West Bengal) : (Interruptions) May I ask the honourable Minister what stands in the way of the Government of India categorically deploring the naked aggression of the United States of America on Cambodia?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: We have stated our views very clearly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, if the statement which has been made by the honourable Minister is an indication of the policy of the Government with regard to the developments in the peninsula of Indo-China, then, I must say that it is thoroughly disappointing, inadequate and does not conform to the policy of peace and non-alignment, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. Therefore, I protest against this weak-kneed policy of the Government of India in this matter

and it does appear that the foreign policy of our External Affairs Ministry has really lost its chart. I would like to know whether the Minister is aware that even before President Nixon spoke last night a memorandum was circulated by the White House explaining in anticipation the President's speech and his stand. And the memorandum was circulated to the Congressmen and Senators in which it was stated that the action that he would be taking, "It is a strike operation, that is an integral part of the operation in Vietnam". Therefore, the policy of Vietnamisation of the American war is in operation in the form of an extension of the American war in the peninsula of Indo-China thereby violating still further every tenet of the Geneva Agreement. Therefore, the Government of India should come out as a nation, as Chairman of the International Control Commission, in a forthright condemnation of these gross violations of the Geneva Agreement, of everything that we stand for, namely, the American aggression in Cambodia. President Nixon made it known, announced last night, that the U. S. and the South Vietnamese troops have launched a combined attack in Cambodia. There is no set about it.

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त (बिहार) : क्या पढ़ रहे हो, सोविएट इन्वैसी में बना हुआ नोट पढ़ रहे हो या क्या पढ़ रहे हो ?

SHRI BHLTESH GUPTA: I do not know. You better keep quiet. That is the position. So it is quite clear. It is a declared war and the Government should formulate its stand in the light of what is happening today and what the American President has said. I am surprised that this Government is not doing what even the British Government is doing. Today's paper brings the news that the British Government is opposed to Nixon's policy of extension and prolongement of the war in Cambodia. Earlier the 'London Times' and 'The Guardian' had criticised the American move even when they got an indication of it. What is more, we do not have even a bill in our External Affairs Ministry in a matter like this or a Mansfield. Both Mr. Fulbright and Mr. Mansfield, who is the leader of the democratic majority in the Senate, have condemned Nixon's policy and in fact they passed a resolution earlier in the Senate: 'No military commitment in that region.' Not only that, they are accusing

President Nixon of misleading the American Congress and the Senate and here is the External Affairs Minister of a non-aligned country, an independent country, newly liberated country who does not have the guts even to say what the Americans and the British are saying against Nixon's policy of war and aggression and naked aggression. I would like to know why the Government withdraws its recognition to Prince Norodom Sihanouk who was elected by a referendum as the Head of the State and the Parliament had no jurisdiction to oust him in the manner it was done. It was a *coup d'etat*. Do we not know that the "Washington Post" and "Le monde" have written that the *coup d'etat* of 18th March had been an aggression inspired by the Americans and the CIA and it is stated in the American papers? There is no reference to it. Do they not know that 'Nelson Eagle' carried the U. S. arms a day before to the rebels in Cambodia and then the Americans had the temerity to approach the Government here to get it released after the delivery had been made? These are facts. I do not know what has happened to your agreement or commitment with regard to Prince Sihanouk when he came to this country and later on you issued a joint declaration. Should you not stand by that? So I say that the Government should explain its policy. Instead, I am shocked that he is merely supporting almost Mr. Malik's proposal. Everybody knows that it is supposed to be an American show to provide a cover for American aggression and rightly this has been rejected by many countries. Was it not their duty to say in categorical terms that India would not be a party to the kind of conference the Indonesian Foreign Minister is trying to get together with a view to providing an alibi and cover for American aggression? I do not know why even that is not being done. Therefore in all these respects the Government should work, continue to recognise Prince Sihanouk as the legitimate, legal Head of the Kingdom of Cambodia in consonance with the declaration between the two countries—the declaration of friendship and cooperation. The India Government should publicly denounce the American aggression and declare that it is a violation of the Geneva Agreement and call upon the withdrawal of the American troops. The India Government should denounce the mass massacre of Cambodian inhabitants of Vietnamese origin which had been taking place and should not guide itself by the cock and bull story about the presence of



[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

Viet Gong people there. It is an American propaganda and this should not be shallowed by the Foreign Affairs Ministry. If necessary we should realise that the Cambodian people who are resisting imperialism and aggression are fighting for the security of the entire region. The Americans are extending and enlarging the war because they are in difficulties in Vietnam and that is why they are seeking a way out, in the name of Vietnamese at war by involving the entire region as if it is a new Indo-China war, by this naked aggression. I want a categorical stand by the Government consistent with what we have laid down in our foreign policy statement. I am very sorry for Mr. Dinesh Singh. We are thoroughly disappointed at the statement made which is socking. It is a statement where you give everything . . .

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LOKNATH MISRA<sup>1</sup> (Orissa) : I do not particularly interrupt him because I feel Mr. Dinesh Singh is the visible Foreign Minister and he is the invisible Foreign Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My friend Mr. Misra has got some optical illusion. Mr. Patel called it "Departmental store" everything for everybody. Here is an aggression going on and they talk about the presence of others. It is to cover up American aggression. It is to provide an alibi. President Nixon said that he has gone there to deal with aggression of other foreign troops. It is providing moral justification for the Americans. We strongly protest against this cowardly statement of the Government and we demand that the name of honour of this country, in the name of whatever we stood for in the matter of foreign policy, in the name of our commitment in regard to the Geneva Agreement and all the rest that the Government of India should come out of its vacillation and prevarication and state its policy clearly in support of the freedom fighters fighting against the imperialism and American aggressions and the Americans should be told about it. You should summon the American Ambassador to the External Affairs Ministry and tell him point-blank that we consider this aggression not only aimed at the Cambodian people or the people of Indo-China but against the peace and security of this region. That is how you should thoroughly condemn this aggression and make the position of India known to the world.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I would assure the Member that my temptation to use strong language is not any less than his but I am circumscribed by the office I occupy and the position that India occupies as the Chairman of the Control Commission in using language which is perhaps more moderate but far more effective.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Nixon says that he has entered Cambodia . . .

SHRI DINESH SINGH : About the speech by Mr. Gupta I am amazed and I might say, a little worried that he should find satisfaction from what is said in London and by some Senator in Washington and . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I said 'even they'.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: ... and not be satisfied. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : When you and Mr. Morarji Desai quarrel I do not find satisfaction in that quarrel but Mr. Desai is so discredited that even you dislike. . .

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DINESH SINGH : I was trying to say that if Mr. Gupta would care to go through the statement made by my colleague, the Deputy Minister, he will find that we have expressed in no uncertain terms our views about the situation in Cambodia and that perhaps there may be a difference in the language that one may use but our sentiments are not any less than his when peace is threatened or when the freedom of a country is threatened.

Therefore we would like to say perhaps in a more dignified and moderate language but the fact is there that we are deeply concerned with the presence of foreign forces, with the entry of American forces in this massive manner and the action that is being taken in Cambodia. We urge all countries including the United States to withdraw their forces immediately from Cambodia and let the people of Cambodia—as the people of other States of Indo-China—decide their future without any foreign interference.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All-right; we will pass on to the next item now.