

श्री राजनारायण : यह एवरी थिंग नहीं है, यह हमारा मामला है ।

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): The hon'ble Leader of the House had given us to understand that time shall be provided for debate on the Shiva Sena eruptions in Bombay and the Home Minister very generously said that he was prepared to have a debate. Now this session is coming to an end. I think they should find some time for the debate.

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: We will try to have it next week.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is a general demand from the House.

(Some hon. Members stood up in their seats.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have passed one o'clock. Everybody cannot speak.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Madam, time should be found for discussing the Shiva Sena and the Companies (Amendment) Bill prohibiting donations to political parties, as also the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Bill, and the Privy Purse.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा हूँ कि जो कार्यक्रम नेता सदन ने रखा है उस कार्यक्रम को यह जो बिजिनेस ऐडवाइजरी कमेटी है उसके सम्मुख पुनः विचारार्थ रखा जाय हमारे इस सत्रेशन के साथ कि कम्पनीज द्वारा राजनैतिक दलों को चन्दा न देने वाला विधेयक पहले आ जाय और उस पर विचार हो जाय क्योंकि कम्पनीज जो चन्दा दे रही हैं वह जनतंत्र को...

उपसभापति : यह आप सब बतला चुके हैं, इसको रिपीट मत कीजिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : इसके साथ-साथ एक बात के लिए हमसे चेयरमैन साहब ने

कहा था कि हम उस पर विचार करने का मौका दिलवाने की कोशिश करेंगे । काशी विश्वविद्यालय के सम्बन्ध में जो हमारा प्रस्ताव था, मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह भी इसमें इक्लूड हो जाय । तो मेरा निवेदन है कि यह प्रिवी पर्स...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That has also been mentioned.

श्री राजनारायण ... कम्पनियों द्वारा राजनैतिक दलों को चन्दा न देने का विधेयक, काशी विश्वविद्यालय और शिव सेना पर बहस के बाद ही कोई मरकरी कार्यक्रम हो ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Leader has heard the demands of the House mainly on the Shiva Sena, Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practice Bill and the Privy Purse. He must consider and let us know.

The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

The House then adjourned at five minutes past one of the clock.

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

RESOLUTION RE GRANTING OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION TO THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC—contd.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Yajee. You had not finished your speech.

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (विहार) : माननीय डिप्युटी चेयरमैन महोदया, 7 मार्च को कामरेड भूपेश गुप्त जी जो जर्मन जनवादी गणराज्य को राजनयिक मान्यता देने के लिए प्रस्ताव लाए थे उसका समर्थन करते

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

हुए मैंने यह कहा था कि जो देश हमारी तरह समाजवाद को स्वीकार करे और जो हमारी परराष्ट्र नीति है अंशोल की उसको माने तो सबसे पहले उसको राजनयिक मान्यता प्रदान करना चाहिए लेकिन अभी तक ऐसा नहीं हुआ। कुछ राजनीतिक नेता लोग यह राय देते हैं कि दिक्कत की यह बात है कि जो राष्ट्र संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ का बाजाब्ता सदस्य नहीं है उसको राजनयिक मान्यता प्रदान करने में दिक्कत होती है। यह दलील संगत नहीं है। अभी तक लाल चीन को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में नहीं लिया गया है लेकिन उसको हमने राजनयिक मान्यता प्रदान की और उसको संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में लाने के लिए ज़रूरत से ज्यादा हमने कोशिश की और जब उसकी बारी होती है हम अब भी कोशिश करते हैं। इसलिए यह दलील सही नहीं है कि उससे हमारी दिक्कत बढ़ जायगी। हमारे कामरेड भूपेश गुप्त ने उस रोज सरकार पर चार्ज लगाया कि वेस्ट जर्मनी से यह सरकार डरती है। उनका यह कहना उचित नहीं है क्योंकि सरकार डरती तो नहीं है। चीन का मामला आता है तो हम अमरीका की परवाह नहीं करते, ब्रिटेन की परवाह नहीं करते।

जब गत वर्ष वेस्ट जर्मनी के चांसलर आए थे तो उन्होंने बयान दिया था कि यदि ईस्ट जर्मनी को मान्यता प्रदान की गई तो जो हमारा दोस्ताना भाव है उसमें कुछ दिक्कत आएगी। धमकी तो नहीं दी लेकिन उन्होंने इस तरह की बात कही। जो हेलस्टीन डाक्टरिन है उसमें है कि जो हमसे आर्थिक सहायता ले वह ईस्ट जर्मनी को राजनयिक मान्यता न दे। हेलस्टीन डाक्टरिन के रहते हुए वेस्ट जर्मनी यूगोस्लाविया और रूमानिया को भी सहायता देता है जबकि उन्होंने ईस्ट जर्मनी को राजनयिक मान्यता प्रदान की हुई है। कल ही प्रेस कान्फ्रेंस में वेस्ट जर्मनी के जो वैदेशिक सचिव आए हुए हैं, यहाँ, डकविज उनका नाम है उनसे लोगों ने पूछा, हिन्दुस्तान के प्रेस

वालों ने सवाल किया कि यूगोस्लाविया और रूमानिया की तरह यह सरकार भी यदि राजनयिक मान्यता प्रदान करे तो क्या होगा? उन्होंने कहा कि जैसे और अपवाद हैं वैसे यह भी हो सकता है। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई दिक्कत नहीं रह गई है। सवाल यही है कि वहाँ काउंसिल रहेगा या ट्रेड रिप्रेजेंटेशन रहेगा। यह ठीक नहीं है, पूरा डिप्लोमेटिक सम्बन्ध होना चाहिए। फिर जिस तरह से वेस्ट जर्मनी से हम मदद लेते हैं उससे ज्यादा ईस्ट जर्मनी से मदद ले सकते हैं। इसलिए पूरा डिप्लोमेटिक सम्बन्ध होना चाहिए, यह हमारी राय है। उस रोज भी मैंने कहा था 7 मार्च को कि हर सदस्य ने, हर पार्टी ने मुक्त कंठ से मांग की है कि जर्मन जनवादी गणराज्य को पूरी राजनयिक मान्यता देनी चाहिए। जिस तरह से सरकार और मामलों में हिचकिचाहट नहीं करती, इस मामले में भी सरकार को कोई हिचकिचाहट नहीं होनी चाहिए। इसके खिलाफ कोई दलील नहीं है, इसलिए इसको मानना चाहिए। जो जर्मन जनवादी गणराज्य है उसको पूरी मान्यता दे। कौंसिल रहेगा या ट्रेड रिप्रेजेंटेशन रहेगा, यह ठीक नहीं है, जिस तरह से हमने वेस्ट जर्मनी को मान्यता दी है उसी तरह से पूरी मान्यता ईस्ट जर्मनी को प्रदान करें।

इसके साथ साथ एक बात और कहनी है। हमारी सरकार की वैदेशिक नीति स्वतंत्र है। मंगोलियन पीपुल्स रिपब्लिक है। आप वहाँ एम्बेसी न रख कर मास्को में रखते हैं। आप जब दिल्ली से मास्को जाते हैं तो दिल्ली से मास्को जितना दूर है उससे डेढ़ गुना उलन बाटोर है।

श्री जो० डो० पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) : दूसरा कोई रास्ता नहीं है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : रास्ते की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ, मैं दूरी का मिलान कर रहा

हैं। जितना मास्को जाने में समय लगता है, वहां जाने में उससे ज्यादा समय लगता है। हमारा मंगोलिया का एम्बेसेडर कहां रहता है? हमारा जो रूम में एम्बेसेडर है वही मास्को से काम करता है। एक छोटा सा मुल्क है, 12 लाख की आबादी है, एरिया में हो सकता है आपका आधा हो, वह यहां एम्बेसेडर रख सकता है तो मास्को से हमारी एम्बेसी कैसे फंशन करेगी। हमने तो एंबेसी के लोगों में भी बान की है। यह काम ठीक से होता नहीं है, तलूम होना है जैसे डेना फेंकने हों। हमारी मांग है कि मंगोलिया में बाज़ाबाना हमारी एम्बेसी होनी चाहिए। जो स्थान दिल्ली से मास्को के मुकाबले में डेढ़ गुना दूर पर है, इंडियन एम्बेसी मास्को से वहां ठीक से काप नहीं कर पाती है। कम से कम बड़ा इंडियन एम्बेसी की एक शाखा जरूर खुलनी चाहिए क्योंकि मचूरिया बगल में है, कोरिया बगल में है, चाइना है। जो मास्को से नहीं देख सकते हैं वह उलन बाटोर से देख सकते हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ कामरेड भूपेश गुप्त का जो संकल्प है उसकी तार्ईद करता हूं और हर एक मदस्य से अपील करता हूं कि इसका समर्थन करे और इसके साथ ही अपनी सरकार से अपील करता हूं कि हिचकिचाहट बन्द करके—कोई हिचकिचाहट नहीं है, कोई दलील नहीं है—इसको जल्दी स्वीकार करके पूर्वी जर्मनी को राजनयिक मान्यता दें। जय हिन्द।

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar):  
Madam Deputy Chairman, this is one of the rare occasions when I find myself in complete accord with the mover of the Resolution. His Resolution has not come a day too soon. In my opinion, this is late at least by a decade. It should have come earlier.

The German Democratic Republic is one of the first ten most industrialised nations of the world. What we know to-day as the German Democratic Republic is the eastern

part of the pre-war Germany. It was an agricultural area and an undeveloped area. But during the last ten years, they have built up because of their social and economic system a marvellous and extremely progressive economy. It is one of the most industrialised nations of the world. Their trade with our country is expanding. as multiplied many-fold in the last few years. It is a peaceful nation and, Madam, it is not subject to any outside control.

No doubt, it is a member of the Warsaw Pact. No doubt, it is a member of the COMECON. And that imposes some limitation on their freedom and sovereignty. But that is a voluntary limitation, a self-imposed limitation and if that is a limitation, that limitation operates even in the case of western countries which are parties to the NATO, the European Economic Community, the European Free Trade Area. Therefore, it is an expanding nation. It is a free nation and it fulfils all the conditions which international law requires for the diplomatic recognition of a State. What are the three indicia that are required under international law for the recognition of a State? A State must comprise a well-defined and contiguous territory. East Germany or the G.D.R. fulfils that. There must be a well-recognised State apparatus operating over the whole area. That condition is also fulfilled by the G.D.R. because in the last 20 years a particular State system has been operating there without any challenge from inside. And moreover, its authority should be recognised by the whole area over which it operates and is not subject to a major challenge. Its authority during the last 20 years has not been challenged. Therefore, all the three indicia that international law prescribes for the diplomatic recognition of a State are present there. In the circumstances, I see no reason why

[Shri B. K. P. Sinha]

we should not recognise the German Democratic Republic. Madam, this State has been in existence for 20 years. There are some who are of the view that its recognition may hamper the process of reunification of Germany. Germany shall be reunited, but not on the basis of recognition or non-recognition that is accorded to its parts by various States of the world. Germany shall be united by internal processes which arise and mature in the two States. Therefore, recognition or non-recognition has nothing to do with the process of reunification.

After the statements made by our two late Prime Ministers, Shri Nehru and Shri Shastri, after the communiques to which they appended their signatures which were produced after their meetings with the leaders of Soviet Russia, we have in a sense recognised a separate individual existence of the German Democratic Republic. In the circumstances, I think we are illogical in not giving them full diplomatic recognition. And, Madam, the German Democratic Republic is not only a State but it has a colourful and vigorous life. And nobody can will away, nobody can talk away the existence of this region. There is a delicate balance of power operating in the world, particularly on the continent of Europe. Therefore, if anybody is of the view that the Germany Democratic Republic has no existence except in fiction, that the existence of the German Democratic Republic can be tampered with, he is living in a world of delusion. Any attempt to interfere even in a minor manner with the existence of this German Democratic Republic, will mean a world war, and nobody today is prepared for a world war. Therefore, I see no reason why we should not extend recognition to it.

Sometimes, Madam, it is said that the German Democratic Republic was a party to the invasion of Czechoslovakia. We were all unhappy at that invasion. We all felt strongly when the independence, freedom and liberty of an individual socialist country was sought to be trampled by the armed might of five great States. But, Madam, then, these are matters entirely for the States concerned to consider. We are not the judges of the immorality of their nations. We feel and feel strongly that East Germany, Soviet Russia, Hungary and other powers acted improperly. Not only they acted improperly, they propounded a new doctrine of socialist sovereignty. That means while co-existence applied in the case of States with a different social system, co-existence with a difference applied to socialist States in that the socialist States have an unlimited power to interfere in the internal affairs of another socialist State. That doctrine is not only abhorrent to international law, that doctrine is abhorrent to our feelings also. Let me repeat it that these are matters for the States concerned to consider. These are not matters for us to consider because we are not the custodians or the guardians of the morals of other nations. No doubt, they have behaved in an imprudent and aggressive manner, but still we have neither withdrawn our recognition nor have we in appropriate cases failed to extend recognition to such nations. What prevents us today from according recognition to the German Democratic Republic? Does the House feel that the Hallstein doctrine is not obnoxious to international law? The Hallstein doctrine is a projection of a philosophy which will entitle a particular State to interfere with the freedom of action, and in a sense with the sovereign action of other States. What is the use of that doctrine today? Even the West Germans have themselves entered in relation, as my honourable friend

has already narrated; they have accorded recognition to various socialist countries. And after Mr. Willy Brandt became the Foreign Minister, the socialist democratic Foreign Minister of West Germany, he has come out with a new approach; and that new approach is that they should have closer and closer connections, both economic and political, with the socialist States. Therefore, when the West Germanys themselves are eroding the Hallstein doctrine I see no reason why we should be afraid of the Hallstein doctrine and because of that doctrine refuse to recognise East Germany.

Madam, the GDR has never worked against our interests. The latest reports indicate a development; and those reports may have been known in India today; but I knew of that development in Western Europe and particularly in West Germany more than three years ago when I was in New York attending the United Nations' sessions. Many conservative and reactionary circles in West Germany and in other countries of Europe, have deliberately decided to strengthen the hands of China, to strengthen the industrial and military might of China. There are reports that for several years the West Germans have extended huge credits to the Chinese and that they were building huge steel and armament complexes on the basis of that credit in China. The latest reports indicate that the German Missile scientists, the German rocket experts, have been working and they have been partly responsible for the phenomenal successes achieved by China in these spheres. Now, the German people are an intelligent people, I do not think they are not aware that to strengthen China means weakening India comparatively. They have a motive and that motive is if Soviet Russia is involved on its eastern frontiers, Soviet Russia will naturally

withdraw its forces from Western Europe. That motive is really a motive based on their self-interest. If they can in their self-interest take actions which strengthen a power which has been in illegal possession of our territory, which betrayed our friendship and attacked us, I do not see why we should go on sticking to our old attitude, why we should in our extraordinary desire to please Germany, succumb to the obnoxious Hallstein doctrine and fail to recognise the G.D.R. Madam, I feel the time has come when this nation which means us well, which desires to have strong cultural, political and economic ties with us, should be recognised. In moving this resolution, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I feel, represents the overwhelming opinion of this country. May be, there are some extreme circles in India also as there are extreme circles in West Germany, France and other countries. They should be unhappy about this resolution, but by and large, this country would welcome the implementation of the resolution of the honourable Member from West Bengal. Thank you.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh): He will be more unhappy when he finds me supporting it. Madam, I support the Resolution that has been moved by my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. As is well known, after the World War, Germany was divided into two parts, East Germany and West Germany, East Germany is popularly known as the German Democratic Republic and West Germany as the Federal Republic of Germany. In East Germany the Communist elements are dominating and in West Germany, the nationalist elements are more effective. Many people in East Germany did not like the regime that came to be imposed on those people and therefore about 30 lakhs of them crossed the dividing line and went over to West Germany.

[Shri Pitamber Das.]

Most of these people were intellectuals and skilled labourers and their exodus continued. East Germany, naturally, has been anxious to prevent this exodus because it was likely to affect its development. Now the difficulty came when East Germany tried to prevent this exodus by constructing a wall in between these two parts. It could have been prevented by psychological methods. A wall was erected which is known as the 'Berlin Wall'. There are two opinions about this Wall. Those who advocate individual freedom say that this Wall is a 'Political aggression', an aggression on the fundamental rights of people because they had a right to reside wherever they liked. There is the other section which calls it 'Economic protection' because they want to protect themselves from the economic consequences of people crossing over to the other side. I feel that rather than depriving people of their personal freedom, East Germany should have used other peaceful methods to prevent them from going. They could be provided with some allurements like better living conditions. However, as East Germany was under the influence of the people whose methods are very well known to the world, it preferred to erect this Wall which, from a long distance, appears to be very beautiful. It has paintings all along and approaches full of green lawns; but along with this Wall runs a very big hound, although chained but, the chain slides along a thick wire which is attached to this Wall. Not only that, at short distances are towers on which there stand armed guards equipped with automatic rifles, and anyone making an effort to scale that Wall is immediately shot dead. I could understand punishments being inflicted on people who want to cross over against the wishes of the Government. They could be put in jail. There could be other punishments but certainly this cold-blooded shooting of people, no civilised man

or nation in this world would look with equanimity. However, although these atrocities cannot continue longer still the East Germany people are using it as a mark-time device. They hope that as economic conditions stabilise and as the country gets industrialised, people will feel happy and may like to stay on. As at present, the GDR has trade relations mostly with the USSR but if it wants to improve its modern technology it has to come into close touch and has to establish close contacts with the Western countries like Great Britain and France. Even today in East Germany there are factories which are equipped with machines from these Western countries. The printing machines at Leipzig come from the Western countries and they have a feeling that these machines are by far in other countries. The contracts in other countries, contracts with the Western countries, I hope, will do them some good so far as the industrialisation of the country is concerned. At this time in GDR there are two elements, one, those able and young men who have got into the services because of the large scale exodus of the intelligentsia and the skilled labour. Employment has been provided to them, they have received promotions and increments and naturally they advocate and proclaim loyalty to the ruling elements in East Germany. But on the other hand there is a section, a very strong section, which even today strongly dislikes the elements ruling East Germany. They have a feeling of revolt. There is a storm inside, although silence outside, and they are waiting for an opportunity when things might change when times may be better. The present conditions they take to be a passing evil of a temporary type. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, the other day, was telling us that West Germany was manufacturing armaments which East Germany was not. One can understand that. East Germany need not manufacture armaments

because Russia does it for them. Only last year near Dresden about 3,000 brand new Russian military trucks were noticed and, in the neighbourhood were stationed a large number of Soviet helicopters. He was talking about the danger from the FDR. In fact the GDR has no danger from the FDR. The difficulty is that even those neighbours who are inclined towards Russia were not cooperating with East Germany. A point in evidence was when Rumania recognised the Federal Republic of Germany and established democratic relations with it only last year. Of late we find East Germany entering into agreement and there have been some Treaties also with some of its Communist neighbours and thus a sort of political stability is seen in East Germany. The people of East Germany also seem to be reconciling to themselves to the situation as it is. Only last year, when the new Constitution was being introduced and it was suggested that the name 'Socialist State of German Nation' be adopted for this State, over 95 per cent people voted for it. That means the people are reconciling themselves to this situation, and when the very people of that area are gradually reconciling themselves to this situation and the existence of the German Democratic Republic cannot be ignored, cannot be denied, I feel that recognition should be given to, and diplomatic relations should be established with the GDR. At the same time, Madam, it may not be out of place to mention here that I feel a similar recognition be accorded, to and diplomatic relations be established with, Korea, Israel and Taiwan.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): With Korea we have already.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: That's right. The Government's objection that the recognition would make German reunification difficult does not stand to reason. If the reunifica-

tion is to come, whether the recognition is there or not, the reunification will come. Just as we are hoping for a reunification of Hindustan and Pakistan, they may also be doing so, but so long as we have separate identities the recognition is there. Therefore I feel that we recognise the GDR forthwith.

With these words, Madam, I support the Resolution of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, the last speaker, while supporting the Resolution—and his support is very welcome because it means that one more big party of the country supports this just demand—while supporting the Resolution the last speaker said something about the wall in Berlin. As that is likely to create some misunderstanding, I must first say a word about that wall. There is no question of political freedom or civil liberties or fundamental rights involved in that wall. No citizen of any country, not even of this country, can cross the frontiers of the country without a valid passport and except through a regular route, the route of customs clearance, etc. determined by the Government of the country. And in Berlin exactly this is what has been done by erecting that wall. The wall is only a State frontier; I do not know why barbed wires are sacred but generally political frontier; are marked by barbed wires. Barbed wires are also not a bed of roses and cannot be easily crossed. Now in some part of the border of the GDR they have, as a matter of border security, chosen to erect a wall. That wall is not around the frontiers of the GDR and West Germany; that wall is only on a part of the frontier of the GDR with West Berlin. Now, Madam, West Berlin itself is an anachronism; West Berlin is a part of Berlin and it is surrounded on all sides by the territory of the GDR. That part of Berlin which is called West Berlin was used by the

[Shri Arjun Arora.]

Western Powers as a centre of espionage, as a centre of sabotage in the GDR. In order to prevent espionage, in order to protect their territory from sabotage by agents of the Western Powers, the legal Government of the GDR has, as a matter of border security, erected that wall. I have seen that wall from both the sides. I never found grey hounds there whether chained or unchained. I only found the border security force, and of course on all borders all reasonable and good Governments place some security force. So Mr. Pitamber Das should not qualify his support by this misconception about the Berlin Wall. We in this country must remember that we . . .

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: My support was unqualified.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Thank you very much.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: He has thanked him for supporting the cause of his country.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I am speaking on my behalf. Mr. Pande will now speak on behalf of his country. I am speaking, not Mr. C. D. Pande. I am speaking for the country and for the country I courted imprisonment from the age of sixteen.

(Interruptions)

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: Not only mine, my party's support also.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: That is what I said.

We in this country must remember that we have a growing trade with the GDR; from nothing this trade has developed sufficiently during the last ten or twelve years. Are we trading with robbers? Are we trading with usurers? Are we trading with people who do not exist? Are we trading with smugglers? We are trading with a particular country which has

a duly constituted Government, and our Government must recognise that Government. It is strange that, while our trade is growing, while the Government of the GDR has established a trade representation in this country, our Government has not even got a trade office of its own in the G.D.R. Of course the Government, two years back, realised the mistake and asked the STC to open a trade office. It is time, Madam, that when there is a trade agreement between the Government of the GDR and the Government of India—not between the STC and the GDR Trade Corporation, but between the two Governments—the Government should have trade office immediately in the GDR.

Then, Madam, there is a cultural exchange agreement between the two Governments. How can we have an agreement with a Government which we do not recognise? How can we have an agreement with a Government which we think does not exist? We have a cultural exchange agreement with the GDR only because in our heart of hearts we know that that Government exists, it is a cultured Government and cultural exchange with it can do a lot of good to both sides. A number of Indian students are studying in the GDR. A number of Indian students go there, to the GDR, for study, on their own. A number go on scholarships offered by the Government of the GDR and selections made by the Government of India. Because there is no embassy, because there is no consular office in the GDR, Indian students are put to a great difficulty. For their sake, for the sake of the students whom this Government selects, for the sake of the students whom this Government sends for education there, the Government should have a consular office not only in Berlin but also in Dresden and Leipzig, where a number of Indian students are getting very good education. There was a time when the West Germans were mentioning the Halstein Doc-



trine and saying that if a Govern- ment recognises the GDR West Germany will break its diplomatic relations with it. And perhaps our Government do not want to break diplomatic relations with West Germany. Now, everyone knows that the Halstein Doctrine which was un- acceptable *ab initio* is dead. The Government of Yugoslavia, the Gov- ernment of Rumania, the Government of the Soviet Union, the Government of Ceylon and the Government of Burma recognise GDR and with all these five countries West Germany has relations. Are we so weak that the West German Government which cannot brow-beat the smaller coun- tries like Burma and Ceylon into sub- mission is able to cow us down? In spite of the fact that both Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri ad- mitted that two German States have come to stay why don't we recognise GDR and have diplomatic relations with both German States?

Madam, we in this country have consular representatives of both North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Every- one knows that their unification is on the agenda. American bombers, American guns, and American soldiers are unable to stop their unification but we have recognised both these countries, North Vietnam and South Vietnam and we have consular rela- tions with them. If the people of these two countries want to unite our recognition will not come in their way. It is meaningless to say that our recognition of GDR will in any way prevent the reunification of Germany. Reunification of Germany is the business of the German people. For the time being the German peo- ple have decided to live in two States. They have two States and the two States are as different as they can be. Engaged in an arms race, West Ger- many is a satellite of the United States of America, whom Americans have armed to the teeth while West Germany has allowed American troops to be stationed there permanently, while West Germany has allowed the British troops to be stationed there

permanently and even pays for them, East Germany is a peace-loving coun- try. We have more in common with the GDR than with West Germany. Therefore, Madam, it is only proper that what Jawaharlal Nehru said and what Lal Bahadur Shastri admitted should be followed to its logical con- clusion. As Mr. B. K. P. Sinha cor- rectly pointed out, during the last ten or twelve years GDR has gone in for a good deal of industrialisation and the result is that the so-called exodus is only another Western propaganda. I know that in fact GDR has a labour shortage. All the men and all the women who want to work in the GDR are able to get employment and they have got more jobs than men and women to work. As a matter of fact, many of our Indian students who went to study there have got settled there because they have been offered good jobs. So any talk of exodus from East Germany to West Germany is a fallacy, is a propaganda, of which some of us are victims. There is no such exodus. The people of GDR are happy; their standard of living is improving. They have industrialised themselves; they have improved their agriculture under socialist manage- ment . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time now.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I am wind- ing up. Not an inch of cultivable land in GDR is uncultivated. As a matter of fact, during the last few years they have electrified the whole rural area and the difference bet- ween the urban area and the rural area is disappearing. It is a prosper- ous country; it is a strong country; it is a peace-loving country. It is a country which, as Jawaharlal Nehru said, has come to stay. Our Govern- ment must recognise it.

Before I sit down, Madam, I must refer to what Mr. Sheel Bhadra Yajee said about our relations with Mongo- lia. We have friendly relations with the Mongolian People's Republic.

[Shri Arjun Arora]

There are possibilities of trade also with the Mongolian People's Republic. We have our ambassador in Moscow looking after our relations with Mongolia. That is not proper. We should have an embassy of our own in Mongolia also just as the Mongolian People Republic with its limited resources for 12 years now has been having an embassy in this country.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीया, मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्त के प्रस्ताव का बहुत ही जोरों के साथ और दिल व दिमाग के साथ समर्थन कर रहा हूँ। मैं इस संबंध में श्री भूपेश गुप्त के प्रस्ताव में केवल एक ही संशोधन करना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ उन्होंने इस प्रस्ताव में यह लिखा है "इस सभा की यह सम्मति है कि जर्मन जनवादी गणतन्त्र को भारत द्वारा, अधिक विलम्ब किये बिना, पूरी राजनयिक मान्यता दी जानी चाहिये"। मैं "विलम्ब किये बिना" की जगह में रखना चाहता हूँ "आज ही"। अधिक विलम्ब किये बिना ही, यह एक गोल शब्द है, वेग जिस को कहा जाता है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): I would accept his amendment.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव में यह लिखा जाय "इस सभा की यह सम्मति है कि जर्मन जनवादी गणतन्त्र को भारत द्वारा आज ही पूरी राजनयिक मान्यता दी जाय"।

माननीया, एक बात की मुझे खूशी है कि आज श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने इस सदन को एक ऐसा अवसर दिया है जिसके द्वारा भारत सरकार की विदेश नीति पर एक बार फिर सदन के माननीय सदस्यों को पुनः मस्तिष्क खोलकर विचार करने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ है। मैं कहना चाहूँगा

कि जिस दिन से इन मुल्कों का बंटवारा हुआ है, चाहे पश्चिमी जर्मनी और पूर्व जर्मनी ही, चाहे भारत व पाकिस्तान हो, चाहे दक्खिन कोरिया व उत्तर कोरिया हो, चाहे दक्खिन वियतनाम व उत्तर वियतनाम हो, जिस दिमाग ने इन मुल्कों का बंटवारा किया, उस दिमाग को तोड़ने के लिए और खराब करने के लिए उसी दिन से इस दिशा में समाजवादी आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ। किसी को खुश करने के लिए हमने यह कभी स्वीकार नहीं किया कि इन मुल्कों का बंटवारा होना चाहिये। इन मुल्कों का दो मुल्कों में बंटवारा होना ही नहीं चाहिये था। हम तारीखवाइज और डेटवाइज किताब से देखकर कहना चाहते हैं और सदन के सामने रख सकते हैं कि 1947 में, 1948 में, हर समय और बारबार हम लोगों ने यह मांग की है कि जब पश्चिमी जर्मनी को मान्यता देते हो तो पूर्वी जर्मनी को भी मान्यता दो। दोनों को मान्यता मिलना चाहिये। दोनों को मान्यता न देकर बिना लगाव की नीति का डिब्बोरा फोटना, ये दोनों बातें अपने में अतगत हैं।

माननीया भारत सरकार ने विदेशी नीति का शासन तो देखा तो यह बात मन में ला लीया। पश्चिमी जर्मनी ने केवल एक बार इन्हीं दिनों को छोड़ कर विदेश नीति का शासन देखा तो पूर्वी जर्मनी को मान्यता देना चाहता है तो उसका हमारा संबंध बिच्छेद हो जाता। उसने भारत की सरकार डर गई। पश्चिमी जर्मनी ऐटानाटिक गुट में है, पूर्वी जर्मनी सॉवियट ब्लाक में है और बड़ डर गई। ऐटानाटिक गुट के सामने कि जर्मन सरकार ऐसा हुआ तो हमारी नाक फटने लगेगी, इन्हीं दिनों पूर्वी जर्मनी का मान्यता देना ही अच्छा है। मगर जब पूर्वी जर्मनी का इन्हीं दिनों मान्यता नहीं दी तो इन्हीं दिनों कि जहाँ हमने अपने

पश्चिमी देशों को राजी किया वहां सोवियत देवता हमसे नाराज हो रहे हैं, इस लिये सोवियत देवता को भी हमें खुश करना चाहिये और सोवियत देवता को खुश करने के लिये इन्होंने इजराइल से अपना संबंध विच्छेद किया, इजराइल को भी मान्यता नहीं दी। अब आप देखिए कि इजराइल को मान्यता न देने के लिये इन्होंने क्या अजीब व गरीब तर्क पेश किया कि चूंकि इजराइल हमलावर है इसलिए हम इजराइल को मान्यता नहीं देंगे, हम पूरे स्टेट्स पर उसके साथ राजनयिक संबंध नहीं रखेंगे। इजराइल को मान्यता न देकर के रूपी देव को प्रमत्त करने की यह साजिश श्री नेहरू की विदेश नीति में मिलती है। इस संबंध में एक दो उदाहरणों को रखकर के मैं आपकी सेवा में यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि क्या यह बिन लगाव की स्वतन्त्र, सजनात्मक नीति का द्योतक है। नहीं। तो इसमें साबित क्या हुआ कि भारत की सरकार इतनी दबर् और दुर्बल चित्त की है, इतनी इसकी नीति देश के अहित में जा रही है कि यह अपनी स्वतन्त्र नीति बना ही नहीं सकती। कभी यह बात करेगी रूस की और जब समझेगी कि हमारे ऐटलांटिक गुट के मालिक रंज हो रहे हैं तो फिर यह सेवा करने चनी जायगी ऐटलांटिक गुट की। जब यह समझेगी कि रूसी गुट वाले रंज हो रहे हैं तो फिर यह सेवा करने लगेगी रूसी गुट की। भारतवर्ष की विदेशी नीति सर्वदा परतंत्र रही है, लगाव की रही है और बिना अपने देश की स्वतन्त्र और सजनात्मक विदेशी नीति बनाये हुए यह पारी पारी से कभी अमरीकी गुट की सिफारिश करते हैं और कभी रूसी गुट की सिफारिश करते हैं और इसके एक नहीं, अनेक उदाहरण हैं।

इसी प्रकार से अब यह देखा जाय और इसको सब लोग जानते हैं कि द्वितीय विश्व युद्ध का परिणाम है यह कि भारत और पाकिस्तान बंटा, द्वितीय विश्व युद्ध का परिणाम है यह कि फारमूसा और चीन रिपब्लिक

बंटा। चीन को मान्यता देने के लिये तुम ने बड़ी खैरखाही की। इजराइल हमलावर है यह तर्क देकर के इजराइल को मान्यता नहीं दी गई लेकिन चीन केवल हमलावर ही नहीं है बल्कि चीन ने भारत की हजारों हजार वर्ग मील जमीन दबा ली है और उस चीन को मान्यता देने के लिए भारत की सरकार अगुवाई कर रही है। देखा जाय कि भारत सरकार का चेहरा कितना काला है। इसकी विदेशी नीति कितनी दूषित और गन्दी है और इस देश के हित में नहीं है। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आज हमारे संसद् के सम्मानित सदस्य विश्व जो दो टुकड़ों में बंटा हुआ है, जरा उसको भी हृदयंगम करें। एक टुकड़ा कहता है कि सम्पूर्ण भोजन दो और एक टुकड़ा कहता है कि स्वतन्त्र मस्तिष्क दो। फुल स्टामक, फ्री माइण्ड इन दोनों का संघर्ष आज हो रहा है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि भारतवर्ष को एक तृतीय कैंप, तृतीय खेमे का सजन करना पड़ेगा। जो कहे कि नहीं, केवल स्वतन्त्र विचार दर्शन से ही काम नहीं चलेगा, अगर पूरा पेट नहीं भरेगा, और केवल पूरा पेट भरने से ही काम नहीं चलेगा अगर स्वतन्त्र विचार नहीं होगा। पूरा पेट भरने का दर्शन, सही माने में मुझे कहना पड़ेगा कि, रूस दे रहा है, मगर स्वतन्त्र विचार का दर्शन रूस नहीं दे रहा है। स्वतन्त्र विचार का दर्शन आज ऐटलांटिक गुट में मिल रहा है, मगर पूरा पेट भरने का दर्शन ऐटलांटिक गुट नहीं दे रहा है। इसलिये आज भारतवर्ष की जो विदेशी नीति होनी चाहिये वह इस बुनियाद पर होनी चाहिये कि पूरा पेट भी भरे और स्वतन्त्र मस्तिष्क भी रहे। जब तक दोनों साथ-साथ नहीं चलेंगे तब तक काम नहीं होगा। इस लिये हम कहा करते हैं कि देशी नीति और विदेशी नीति का लगाव है और हम अपने देश में ऐसी व्यवस्था करें जिसमें आर्थिक समानता भी हो और राजनैतिक समानता भी हो, विचार की अभिव्यक्ति भी हो, भर पेट भोजन भी हो। बिना इसके काम नहीं चलता। आर्थिक विषमता को

[श्री राजनारायण]

बढ़ाने वाली सरकार अपने देश के लोगों का पेट भर ही नहीं सकती। इसलिये भारत सरकार की नीति लंगड़ी है। इसको सुदृढ़ आधार पर खड़ा करने के लिये अगर संसद मदद अपने दिल और दिमाग का प्रयोग करें तो उनको जमकर के कहना चाहिये। बिना किसी पार्टी के लगाव के कि ऐ कांग्रेस की सरकार, अब तक तुमने जो नीति चलाई वह पारी पारी से कभी रूस, कभी अमरीका की सेवा करने की नीति थी और इसको फौरन छोड़ो, अभी छोड़ो, अविलम्ब छोड़ो, नत्काव छोड़ो।

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): No policy is being followed by the Government of India.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीय मैं आपसे यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि दोनों देशों को मान्यता न देकर के भारत सरकार ने कितना नुकसान किया है यानी पूर्वी जर्मनी को मान्यता न देकर के भारत सरकार ने कितना नुकसान किया है हमारे देश का। अगर भारत सरकार ने पूर्वी जर्मनी को मान्यता दे दी होती तो हो सकता है कि पूर्वी जर्मनी और पश्चिमी जर्मनी के एकीकरण का सूत्रपात हो गया होता।

यह तर्क मेरी समझ में नहीं आता अपने मित्र अर्जुन अरोड़ा जी का जो वह लगे बताने पूर्वी जर्मनी का इतिहास कि वहाँ खाना मिल रहा है भरपेट और कपड़ा मिल रहा है। मान लीजिये कि पूर्वी जर्मनी में खाना न मिले, पूर्वी जर्मनी में कपड़ा न मिले तो क्या उसको हम मान्यता नहीं दगे। पूर्वी जर्मनी को खाना मिलता हो या न मिलता हो वह एक मुल्क है इस लिये जो सरकार उसको मान्यता नहीं देती है वह सरकार गलत काम कर रही है और बिना लगाव की नीति पर नहीं चलती है। इसलिये इस तर्क को यहाँ रखने की कोई जरूरत नहीं थी कि क्या आर्थिक ढाँचा

पश्चिमी जर्मनी का है और क्या आर्थिक ढाँचा पूर्वी जर्मनी का है। यूँ तो हम भी बहुत कुछ यहाँ कह सकते हैं कि पूर्वी जर्मनी का आर्थिक ढाँचा कितना विकसित है और पश्चिमी जर्मनी का आर्थिक ढाँचा कितना विकसित है। इसका कोई सवाल नहीं है। इस समय सवाल है भारत की विदेशी नीति का। भारत की विदेशी नीति से आप उसका संबंध देखिये कि क्योंकि पूर्वी जर्मनी को भारत की सरकार ने मान्यता नहीं दी इसीलिये तिब्बत पर चीन का हमला हुआ तो रूस चुप रह गया था। मैं पूरे यकीन के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर भारत की सरकार पूर्वी जर्मनी को मान्यता दे चुकी होती तो जब तिब्बत पर चीन का हमला हुआ था तो भारत के जो जज्बात थे, जो भावनायें थीं कि तिब्बत पर चीन का हमला रुके इसमें रूस हमारे पक्षमें बोलता। ही कारण है कि जब चीन का हमला हुआ भारत के ऊपर तब भी रूस चुप्पी साध गया और कहा कि चीन हमारा भाई है और भारत हमारा मित्र है।

श्री शीलभद्र धाजी : उसने यह नहीं कहा था बल्कि उसने कहा था कि स्टंपिड ऐक्शन है।

श्री राजनारायण : मगर आज मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव पर बोलते हुए सदन के माध्यम से कि रूस के लोग भी अब सोचें कि भाई कभी-कभी गला काट देता है मगर मित्र मुसीबत में सहारा दे सकता है और देता है। दो चार दिन से समाचार पत्रों में यह बात आ रही है कि रूस के पत्रकार लोग बोल रहे हैं कि भारत, बर्मा और रूस चीन को साम्राज्यवादी राक्षसी मनोवृत्ति का मुकाबला करने के लिये एक जुट हो जायें। जब चीन ने भारत पर हमला किया तब उनको पता नहीं चला था तब उन को एहसास नही हुआ था जबकि एक आदमी की इच्छा शक्ति को बढ़ा दिया गया और वह अपने मुल्क की सीमाओं को बढ़ाता हुआ साम्राज्यवादी मनोवृत्ति का प्रसार करता हुआ अविचल गति से बढ़ता चला जाय

तो उसका नतीजा उस पर भी खतरनाक होगा और वही आज हो रहा है।

*Time bell rings ( Interruption )*  
मैं अभी खत्म कर रहा हूँ। तो मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि भारत की निरपेक्ष स्वतंत्र सजनात्मक विदेशी नीति होनी चाहिये जो आज नहीं है। और अगर यही नीति हम अख्तियार कर लें तो मैं आज चाहता हूँ कि भारत और पाक के एकीकरण का प्रश्न भी आता है। भारत और पाक के एकीकरण के प्रश्न को हमको सामने रखना ही पड़ेगा। इसीलिये मैं बराबर इस सदन में कहा करता हूँ कि सर्वप्रथम शुरूआत करने के लिये भारत पाक का महासंघ बनाया जाय। मैं आज भी रूसी नेताओं से कहना चाहता हूँ और अपने मित्र भूपेश गुप्त से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब भूपेश जी भी भारत और पाक महासंघ के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करें क्योंकि जब तक भारत और पाक का महासंघ नहीं बनता तब तब चीन की खूनी प्रसारवादी नीति का मुकाबला नहीं हो सकता।

3 P.M.

इसको रूस को भी अच्छी तरह से समझना चाहिए। इसलिए खत्म करते हुए मैं चाहूँगा कि फारमोसा को भी भारत की सरकार को मान्यता देनी चाहिए, इजराइल को भी भारत की सरकार को मान्यता देनी चाहिए। उनको मान्यता न देकर भारत की सरकार ने भारतीय जनता का अहित किया, भारतीय राष्ट्र का अहित किया और भारत की स्वतंत्र बिन-लगाव की नीति का अहित किया। ये सारी नीतियाँ दफना दी गई हैं वरना इतिहास का पन्ना-पन्ना इस बात के लिए चिल्लाता है कि पूर्वी बाहिनी ब्रह्मपुत्र हमारी है, कैलाश हमारा है, मानसरोवर हमारा है। क्यों उसको हम चीन के कब्जे में जाने दें? आज वह शम्भू घड़ी है जब रूस को माँग करनी चाहिए कि चीनियों तुम तिब्बत से अपना खूनी पंजा हटाओ, भारत के मानसरोवर कैलाश को छोड़ो पूर्वबाहिनी ब्रह्मपुत्र से और लद्दाख के इलाके से हटो और उत्तर पूर्व सीमाचल का जो इलाका है जिसको ये नेफा

कहकर समझे जो तुमने दबा रखा है उसको छोड़ो। भारत की स्वतंत्र बिन-लगाव की नीति होगी तो अब सब सिद्ध हो सकेगा। अन्तिम वाक्य कहते हुए मैं अपने मित्र पूर्वी जर्मनी के लोगों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे रूस पर अपना दबाव डालें कि चीन भारत के जिन हिस्सों को दबाए हुए है, जिस तरह से चीन तिब्बत पर अपना खूनी पंजा डाले हुए है, वहाँ से चीन को हटवाने की रूस माँग करे। फिर चीन का जो सीमा पर दबाव पड़ रहा है उसका अपने आप हल हो जायेगा।

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Madam, Deputy Chairman, I had given an amendment to this motion of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta but on account of certain technical difficulties it could not be admitted. All the same what I speak will be in the light of that amendment.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The amendment is not there.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: But I think my speech can be made on the premise of my amendment. My amendment was to the effect that at the end of the motion the following words should be added: that full diplomatic recognition should be accorded to Formosa (Republic of China) and Israel.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That would have been out of order.

श्री राजनारायण: "और ऐसा न करने से भारत की सरकार की निन्दा होगी" यह जोड़ दो।

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Mr. B. K. P. Sinha made a very eloquent speech and I was really impressed by his speech and so was I with the speech of Mr. Rajnarain. Mr. Rajnarain, I was very much impressed by your speech this evening. Of course I would not say much about the problem of East Germany because so many friends have spoken on that. The criteria that Mr. B. K. P. Sinha has suggested are excellent criteria: that

[Shri C. D. Pande.]

a State must have a definite area and identity; that it must be viable; that its authority must be prevailing over that area. These are excellent criteria. Then I see no reason why these criteria which are applicable to East Germany are not applicable to Israel and Taiwan. In fact they are more applicable to them.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Even Chiang Kai-shek does not want recognition of Taiwan as Taiwan.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Name is immaterial. You call it Formosa, you call it Taiwan.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: You cannot call a country by any name you like.

श्री राजनारायण : आन ए प्वाइन्ट  
आफ आर्डर । वह एक मान्यताप्राप्त मुल्क  
है । ये जो कह रहे वह एम्बर है ।

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Taiwan is a well known area with a population of 15 million. It is bigger than 90 other countries in the world out of 125. It is bigger than Sweden, bigger than Norway, Switzerland, Greece, Ceylon, Nepal and to many other countries. There are 90 countries which are smaller than Taiwan. It is a most developed country. It is only next to Japan in Asia in standard of living, in industries and in agriculture. That is a country from which we have to learn so much in agriculture. Everybody knows that we have a variety of rice called Taichung No. 1. That Taichung No. 1 comes from that place.

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : वह पहले से होता था अल्मोडे में ।

श्री नेकीराम : पांडे जी, इसमें ताइचुंग कहां से आ गया ?

SHRI C. D. PANDE: After the independence of that island when a new Government was set up in that island, the export of banana alone is about \$65 million. Then they export textiles, they export mushroom, they

export pineapples. That country has given up foreign aid altogether. Whereas we are speaking of self-reliance for the last twenty years, we have not achieved that self-reliance. Taiwan has achieved that. If there are all the criteria fulfilled by one country, what is the reason that you do not recognise that country?

As far as friendliness is concerned, the Government of Taiwan has got the right of veto in the United Nations. Not once but there had been so many issues when we have been consistently affronting the Government of Taiwan, but they have never used the veto...

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: They supported the Chinese aggression against NEFA.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: No.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: They did it.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Please go into the recorded thing. The recorded thing is that the Taiwan Government has never exercised the right of veto against India. They could have done it on many occasions. They have reason to be annoyed with us, they have reason to be angry with us, but they did not exercise that right of veto against us. As far as Israel is concerned, Israel is a small country, is an efficient country, is an aggressor country today. Therefore, in fact my sympathy goes to the Taiwan people because they are also fighting China and we are fighting the great monster of China with a huge population. Here is a tiny country, it is a tiny country compared to the mainland, and that country has got the determination to release itself from their grip. We have 16,000 square miles of our territory appropriated by the enemy. We have not got that determination to redeem that territory.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Do you support the resolution that East Germany should be recognised?

SHRI C. D. PANDE: That is the corollary of the whole debate, of Mr. Sinha's speech . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Chiang Kai-shek supported our cause when we were fighting the British.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: My amendment only goes to show that they have got these things, that if the criteria for East Germany are correct, likewise the criteria are correct for Taiwan. Now on the question of name, Mr. Arora says . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are not speaking on the resolution at all.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: The whole speech should be expunged because it is irrelevant.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I support Mr. Arora because it is all irrelevant.

श्री राजनारायण : वह उन पर बोल रहे हैं जिन्हें यह प्रस्ताव निकला है ।

SHRI C. D. PANDE: If Mr. B. K. P. Sinha had the rare distinction and pleasure of agreeing with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I have equally great pleasure in accepting or in being in agreement with Mr. Rajnarain. As a corollary to the recognition of East Germany I say it will not be in keeping with the non-alignment policy of this Government if you would accord diplomatic recognition to East Germany and withhold the same from Israel and Tiwan.

With these words I commend my unmoved amendment.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy. Mr. Pande, 'unmoved amendment' you said.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Do not take it seriously, Madam. Nothing in his speech was serious.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the Resolution moved by Comrade Bhupesh Gupta that the German Democratic Republic should be given full diplomatic recognition by India without further delay. This question has come before this House as well as before the other House a number of times. Somehow or the other, Government has not made up its mind with regard to this burning problem. Mr. B. K. P. Sinha has already stated why and when a State should be recognised. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta while moving his Resolution has made out a case that it should be recognised at the earliest. My friend, Mr. Rajnarain, was very eloquent not only in according his support to this Resolution but also in bringing in certain very vital points of foreign policy. It is also a matter to be happy that the Jana Sangh has supported wholeheartedly this Resolution. India would like to have friendly relations with all countries including China, an aggressor, and Pakistan, another aggressor. Well, it is our desire to have friendly relations with all. But today we are not having any relations with countries like Portugal or South Africa because of the racial discrimination practised there. Except these two we are having friendly relations with all the other countries.

Mr. Rajnarain has pointed out already—and some others have already said—that we are not having full diplomatic relation with Israel in the sense that we are not having our diplomatic mission in Israel and that we have not recognised Taiwan. What is the criterion for recognising a State. It should be a geographical entity, a political entity, and there should be stability. We have accorded recognition to the States where we see that once in six months the Government is removed and another Government is installed. But here is a case where for the last 20 years there is a stable Government. It is a geographical entity, a political entity; it is a fact of life. It is a rea-

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.]

lity that we want to recognise. We are not asking the Government to recognise only in theory. They have already recognised it in fact; *de facto* recognition has been accorded to the GDR, and they have their trade representation in Delhi, and we are having trade relations with the GDR.

Now it boils down to this that there may be something lurking in the mind of the Government about according full recognition to the GDR. I wonder whether this Government is following any independent foreign policy. They look to Russia at one time; they look to America at another time. They are afraid whether by giving recognition to the GDR, West Germany would appreciate it or what its reaction would be. They are afraid of what the USA would think if we accord recognition to the GDR. Similarly, they are always perturbed about this thing. They are afraid that if they recognised Taiwan, China and the USSR might be displeased. They are afraid what the Arab countries will think if we accord full recognition to Israel. We do not have our office in Israel but Israel has its consular office in Bombay. Therefore, this Government is not following any independent foreign policy even with regard to this simple question of according recognition to any country.

We are not worried about the complex, political complications, that are prevailing in any particular country. We have laid it down as our own foreign policy that we do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of any country, that we do not want to impose any particular system, political system or economic system, on any country and that we should like to co-exist with other countries irrespective of the political colour or the economic system that is prevailing in any particular country. We have accorded recognition to Spain which is a Fascist country. For a long

time, we did not have diplomatic relations with Spain. We are still continuing to have diplomatic relations with China which has committed aggression against India in 1962. Despite the desire of many well-thinking parties in India that we should break off diplomatic relations with China, we are still continuing to have these relations.

Therefore, the point is, whether a country is friendly or not, if it is a country, if it is a reality, if there is a stable Government, if it is a geographical entity, under International law, we are obliged to accord recognition. So we have delayed too long in according recognition to the GDR. It should have been done long back. But our Government, because of their fear of the reaction that may be created in some country or the other, have not given recognition, diplomatic recognition, to the GDR. They are afraid of what the Federal Republic of Germany is going to do if we accord recognition to the GDR. We should be masters in our own country. We have a right to decide to whom to give recognition and to whom not. We have a right to decide whether to have trade relations with this country or that country. Therefore, in this aspect, our Government has failed to assert its independence not only in regard to having trade relations or friendly relations with certain countries but also in regard to having diplomatic relations with other countries. And an impression is going round in India, and it is said that we did not accord recognition to the GDR because of the fear that West Germany and the Western Bloc may not appreciate this step. These power blocs are now cracking. And whatever we should do, we should do in enlightened self-interest of this country, of course, based on accepted international principles.

Madam, with regard to recognition, it is long delayed. We should see



that full diplomatic recognition is accorded to the GDR. Further we are having very friendly relations with the GDR and it is a very peace-loving country. There is no doubt about it. We would like to have friendly relations with all countries and therefore I am one with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta in supporting this Resolution. Madam Deputy Chairman, a question might be posed that this might hinder the unification of Germany. We do not want to come in the way of the unification of Germany. We do want that West Germany and East Germany are united in a strong peace-loving Germany. We would like to help that process. We do want that these countries should come together under one banner, under one flag. But since these people themselves want to have two separate States we should accord recognition to East Germany. We have already accorded recognition to West Germany. West Germany itself is having trade and diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia, Rumania, the U.S.S.R. The G.D.R. is having diplomatic relations with Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, U.A.R., Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Tanzania and Cambodia. Therefore, the argument that according recognition to the G.D.R. will come in our way as far as our relations with West Germany are concerned is not tenable when West Germany itself is having diplomatic relations with socialist countries.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I am one with Mr. Rajnarain when he said that we should have diplomatic relations with Taiwan and better relations with Israel. They are members of the United Nations. They are recognised by the world community.

Some might say that Taiwan does not want recognition for itself but for the entire China. But two Chinas are there whether we like it or not. We do want that these two Chinas should come under one banner. After all, two Vietnams are there. Two

Koreas are there and two Indias, if I may say so, are, there, one India and the other Pakistan. Many people did not want the partition of India but it has happened. We do want that Pakistan should thrive well and we two would like to have friendly relations. But if at any time there is a move for the unification of India and Pakistan we would not like to come in their way. Therefore, since these two States continue to exist we should accept the fact of life.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Your time is over.

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:** Last word, Madam Deputy Chairman. We do not follow an independent foreign policy. We were a party when Tibet was raped by China. If only we had raised our revolt at that time this would not have happened. If the Dalai Lama were allowed to form an exile Government of Tibet in India they would be with us. We should recognise that exile Government of Tibet if and when it is formed in India.

Madam Deputy Chairman, with words I support the resolution moved by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. Thank you.

**SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH (Andhra Pradesh):** Madam Deputy Chairman, while congratulating Mr. Bhupesh Gupta for bringing forward this good resolution I would like to request the hon'ble Members of this august House and the Government to consider the situation keeping the political realities into consideration. Before supporting this resolution let us examine the criteria. What are the criteria for giving recognition to a nation? It should have a definite territory, recognisable population with an independent government of its own. East Germany is having its own Government for the past 18 to 20 years. This problem is hanging fire for the last 18 to 20 years. So I request the Government and the Members of this august House to

[Shri Kota Punnaiah.]

consider this problem keeping the realities into mind and settling the issue as early as they can.

Madam, the Government of India has already recognised the existence of East Germany by accepting a Trade Representative for East Germany. We have given *de facto* recognition to East Germany. *De jure* recognition is nothing but a formality. Why not fulfil that formality and maintain our relations with East Germany at a higher status by exchanging Ambassadors? We are having good relations with East Germany regarding trade. That trade is increasing year by year. The East German people, as Mr. Arjun Arora said, are a peace-loving people. We also believe in peace and co-existence and we believe in the *punch-sheel sutra*. When both these nations are having some common interest there should not be any hindrance for giving recognition to East Germany.

Madam, time in and time out we have been pressing the United Nations to admit China into the world body. Not that I oppose China's admission to the United Nations. But what I want to emphasise is when we can fight for a principle which helps our undeclared enemy, why can we not apply that very principle to East Germany which is our friend, which stood by our side when the Chinese aggression took place, when the Pakistan aggression took place? When we can maintain diplomatic relations with China which is threatening our security from across the northern border, I think we can maintain diplomatic relations with any country in the world.

Apart from all these facts, Madam, it is our declared policy to maintain non-alignment and friendship with all the nations of the world. Here I must say that I am sorry to oppose my hon. friend, Mr. Mulka Govinda

Reddy. Just now he said that the Government of India is not having its own independent policy. I must tell him that it is having its own independent foreign policy. It is not dependent on either America or Russia or, for that matter, West Germany. Let him understand this.

श्री राजनारयण . ग्रडरस्टैंड करते  
तो 20 मान बीत गये ।

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH: आपको तो ज्यादा टाइम लगेगा So I would only request Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy to understand that the Government of India is having its own independent policy regarding foreign affairs.

Madam, if we do not extend diplomatic recognition to East Germany, I think we will be dishonest to our departed leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who believed in non-alignment. The Government should take early steps to give full diplomatic recognition to East Germany in the interest of both the nations, in the interest of promoting peace among the people of East Germany and India and for the progress of both the nations and not in the interest of East Germany alone. In the interest of India also the Government should take early decision regarding full diplomatic recognition to East Germany.

With these words I support the resolution. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu): Madam Deputy Chairman, this resolution reminds us of one of the greatest tragedies in modern history when the unity of Germany was broken. Germany which had taken nearly a thousand years to get itself united found itself divided as a result of the last World War. It was also due to a military accident that both the Russian forces and the allied

forces were able to enter Germany at or about the same time. If Winston Churchill's advice had been followed, the allied armies would have kept the Russians out of East Germany by just being first in the field. Germany would have been occupied by the allied forces and German unity would not be the problem that it is now. Attempts have been made to bring about German reunification. The first Prime Minister of East Germany, Grotewohl, although at first he wanted the Government of the Soviet zone to be built up from below with local government institutions and institutions formed by the Germans themselves in the Soviet zone, later on, coming under the influence of Russia, he later suggested a peculiar way of bringing about German unity, namely, that the two parts of Germany should be given equal voting power in any constituent assembly. It is a peculiar way of constituting a constituent assembly, giving one part of the constituent assembly the same voting power as another part of the constituent assembly. A normal constituent assembly would have given the right of individual voting to each and every member of the constituent assembly. Even now German reunification could be brought about if a free German vote was allowed. If the Russian forces were withdrawn from East Germany and the Western forces, the few that are left there, were also withdrawn from Western Germany and a free election was held of the German people, then real German reunification based upon popular will expressed in the usual way would have been realised. But now it depends neither on East Germany nor on West Germany to bring about this reunification because powers outside Germany are interested in keeping them separate. So, it is only if these two powers, namely, Russia on the one side, and the Western powers, France, Germany, the United States of America, on the other, were agreed to bring about German reunification, then German reunification could be brought about. Let us hope that as the two

power blocs come together under the impact of the Chinese invasion of the Russian border, as Russia and the United States of America come together, they might agree upon some plan with regard to the reunification of Germany.

Mr Bhupesh Gupta in his opening speech referred to a speech made by Mr Jawaharlal Nehru when he was dealing with this question of recognition of East Germany. In that very speech, delivered I think in the Rajya Sabha on August 28, 1961, after giving the reasons for recognising the Federal Republic of Germany—because he said there was continuity of policy dating from the British days—about the eastern side, he went on to say “There was no such continuity. . . and we hope that some arrangement will be made whereby East and West Germany could be brought together.” He said that if we recognised East Germany, then once and for all the division between East and West Germany would become permanent. He was awaiting the time when the two parts of Germany could by themselves come together, whereas a diplomatic recognition, a formal recognition, by India would imperil the prospects of that reunification.

SHRI A P CHATTERJEE Just one question. Do you think that if we continue not to recognise it, then reunification will come about, or it is certain and settled that this reunification is not coming on this basis at all?

SHRI M RUTHNASWAMY I mean, the more the powers that recognise the division of Germany the less would be the prospect of Germany being reunited. After all, the majority of powers refuse to recognise East Germany. It is only a few powers, a minority of powers who recognise it. The majority of the powers not only in Europe not only in America, but also in Africa have refused to recognise

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy.]

East Germany. So that was the reason that influenced Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru to keep the door open so that a time may come when the two divided Germanys would be brought together either by themselves, if a free vote was given to all the people of Germany; or if the two power blocs came together in the interest of peace, in the interest of the peace of Europe and in the interest of world peace, they would bring about this unification of Germany.

Madam Deputy Chairman, we have suffered from the absence of unity for thousands of years. It took thousands of years for India to become united, and after reunification had been achieved, some forces came to knock the cup from our lips and India has become divided once again. We who have suffered from the absence of unity for thousands of years, we who are suffering to-day from absence of unity in India—not only in India but also in Pakistan we see the present troubles, all due to the partition of India—we who have suffered so cruelly and so tragically from the disunion of India should be very careful about taking any step that might prevent Germany from being united. Germany also took more than a thousand years to get united. It was united once under the holy Roman empire in the mediaeval times, and then forces came to disrupt the Christendom and Germany was divided into a number of States, so that for long it was not known as Germany but as the Germanys. Then as a result of unification Germany became united in 1870. And then again it was divided as a result of the last World War. Therefore, we should see that the wound of Germany, the wound that has been inflicted upon the unity of Germany, is healed as soon as possible. Therefore, our Government is perfectly justified in refraining from taking any step that might imperil the prospect of the reunification of Germany.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, when I look at the conduct, the behaviour and the relationship between East Germany and our country, I find that our Government accepts the love marriage between the two countries, but I do not know why the Indian Government is not prepared to perform the religious rituals to confirm this marriage. And the Resolution moved by my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, is to have that ritual performed as early as possible and as suggested by my friend, Mr. Rajnarain, even to-day. Madam, with due respect, I differ from our old colleague, Mr. Ruthnaswamy who said that if this wound is to be healed, the present policy of the Government should be continued. On the contrary, I feel that if this wound is to be healed, East Germany should be recognised by this country at diplomatic level as a nation because it is a reality of the moment. If we refuse to understand realities, there are no chances whatsoever of healing this wound. I would now quote from a speech of Mr. Nehru when he was in London on September 20, 1962. Mr. Nehru said: "The sooner the German problem was dealt with realistically the better it would be. It was unrealistic to ignore the existence of two German States. Sooner or later a peace treaty was bound to be signed with East Germany." When, Madam, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi visited Russia, in that joint communique it was stated:

"The Indian side reaffirmed the statement made by the late Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri in the Soviet-Indian communique on May 20, 1965, that the fact of the existence of two German States cannot be ignored."

Why do they not recognise it? I just fail to understand why the Government is hesitating in recognising East Germany. And that is why I say...

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Where did they say—Pandit Nehru and

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri—that we should recognise that they are two entities?

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: That is why I began my speech saying that we accept the love marriage, that the conduct in between the two parties, the relationship in between the two parties in just like love marriage. But at the same time, there is that refusal from the Government to have the religious ritual. That is why I began my speech it saying I fail to understand why the Government should not do it.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: It is illicit love.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Honourable Members may not appreciate my referring to the Indian Constitution while speaking on foreign affairs. May I draw the attention of the House to Article 51 in the Directive Principles? That Article says—

“The State shall endeavour to—

(a) promote international peace and security;

(b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations.”

My emphasis is on 51(b), “maintain just and honourable relations between nations”. When these are two nations, when all the three Prime Ministers agreed that these two Germanys are two nations and that it is a reality, is it the honourable way of maintaining our relationship? The directive principle is very clear. It is given by the Constitution that we shall have to maintain just and honourable relations. And I must say today that by not recognising and by not giving diplomatic recognition to East Germany, the Government is failing in implementing the guiding and the directive principles of our Constitution itself, and to that extent...

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Are there two Germanys and two nations?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Yes, yes. It is all right . . .

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: They have the same language, the same culture, the same religion.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: It is just like Pakistan and India.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Madam Deputy Chairman, India and Pakistan should be construed as one nation, but there were the imperative forces of history which bifurcated these two countries and they are two nations today. Similarly it so happens that because of those imperative forces there are two Germanys, East Germany and West Germany, today.

When I say that diplomatic recognition should be given to East Germany by our Government, I would like to appeal to this House that similarly whatever be the policy in connection with Israel I am here to deplore the way in which Israel has been behaving—we cannot forget that Israel is also a reality. It is a reality. Of course, I am very sorry for the way in which Israel has been behaving. It is not the way of behaving with neighbours. But I have no doubt that if Israel is using aggressive language, if it is behaving in an aggressive way, it is because there is somebody behind it, and with such imperialist forces Israel cannot adopt such policy. So, the time may not be ripe, but I do feel that the directive principles shall have to be applied in the case of Israel as well.

When we talk of Taiwan, please allow me to say, . . . (Interruptions.). What is the foreign policy? What is the policy of our External Affairs Ministry? Foreign policy is not one which is guided by foreign countries. Foreign policy of an independent

[Shri M M Dharia]

country is an independent policy. It is known as foreign policy because it is concerned with foreign countries. It cannot be a policy to be dictated by foreigners. And from that point of view when I look at the functioning of our Government, many times I feel the way they have been functioning is not in the interests of our country. Goa was freed. Even after freedom, on Kashmir we have given a guarantee under our Constitution. What was the need for that? By doing so, I have no doubt that we have weakened the integrity of this country. Pondicherry has become a Union Territory, and a Lt Governor has been provided for Pondicherry. Why is it not merged with Tamil Nadu? What is that separate culture there? Similar is the case with Goa, Diu and Daman. In the case of Daman and Diu, these are tiny places. They are just like small towns. Today they are Union Territories, parts of Goa. How can the Government of Goa administer Daman and Diu? We have never cared for that. Take Nagaland. Still it is with the External Affairs Ministry. Why? Is it a separate country? It is not under the Home Ministry. It is under the Ministry of External Affairs. Every time it is argued that there are special problems, there are special circumstances, for that I think this whole treatment has created special problems for this country. We could have avoided all those problems. But we are not prepared to think in those terms. I have no doubt in my mind that in this country the time has come when we shall have to think about our own foreign policy and shall have to evolve a policy which should be necessarily in the interests of this country. Many people ask, "Who are our common friends and who are our common enemies?" No country has common friends, no country has common enemies. There is only one thing common. There are common interests of the country. And from that point of view, the time has come when the whole policy

shall have to be revised and a new policy shall have to be evolved.

Madam, coming back to East Germany, I do feel that this country has made tremendous progress during the last 20 years. Then, Madam, some figures and other things were quoted by my friend, Mr Arjun Arora. It has been said that when compared it is a poor country and it has been asked, "Are you going to recognise it?" Yes, we shall have to recognise it. That is not the test. Having regard to the industrial and agricultural progress made by East Germany, by giving diplomatic recognition to it, we will be doing a great help to our country also. And from that point of view I feel that Mr Arjun Arora rightly emphasised that aspect of their industrial and agricultural development that East Germany has made. So, from all these considerations, I am here to support the resolution of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. But perhaps, as is usual, as it usually happens, there are so many speakers and this resolution may be tossed over and it may not go to the next session. May be, the honourable Minister may intervene and say, "Yes, we have understood the feelings of this House and it will be under our consideration." I appeal to the Government that this should not be the treatment to be given . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Wait and hear the Minister.

SHRI M M DHARIA: Madam, after so much of experience if I cannot understand what he is going to say, then, I cannot be a real parliamentarian. I know what he is going to say and he will have the full sympathies of this House. Perhaps it may overflow than what we have been doing today. I have no doubt about it. But ultimately he will not be in a position to say, "We are going to do it." He cannot say that. I have no doubt about it. But if he has the courage to say that, I shall be the happiest person and I

shall be the first person to jump up from my seat and congratulate the honourable Minister...

(Interruptions)

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) Members should not jump in this House They can do anything

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: So, in this case with all such relationship that we have established, the Government, I feel, should not now hesitate in the case of East Germany. But I may suggest that our entire external policy shall have to be re-examined. The time has come for that because I feel for projecting a bright and correct image of our country, at one end we shall have to mobilise our internal strength and at the other end we shall have to give a bright image to the outside world. If some efforts are made by the Government, I have no doubt that we will achieve that ideal. I would appeal to the Government, 'Please give not only your sympathetic consideration, but active consideration, to our suggestions made in this House.' I am sure the Government will consider the feeling that are expressed here in support of the resolution of Mr Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I extend to this resolution of my honourable friend, Mr Bhupesh Gupta, my very warm and wholehearted support. And I do so not only as a modest student of international affairs, but as one who has spent about two weeks in the GDR some two or three years ago as a member of this House and enjoyed the warm hospitality of the people of the G.D.R. and the parliamentary institutions of the G.D.R. (Interruptions). My honourable friend, Mr. Ruthnaswamy, raised the question whether the GDR qualifies for the description of a nation on the ground of a number of factors I might mention here that there are as many as 11 steel

plants in GDR. We are a big country. With all our resources we are not able to manage three public sector steel plants properly. There are so many Committees of Enquiry.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: I said that the GDR was not a nation.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Is it a nation? That is the first question he asked.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: What applies to GDR should apply to West Germany also.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Is it a nation, he asked. My friend Prof. Ruthnaswamy said that the people of West Germany and East Germany speak the same language. So also the people of Austria but Austria became a separate State on account of the rivalries of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties about 100 years ago. They formed themselves into a separate state and if to-day somebody says that Austria should be integrated with West Germany or East Germany it will be considered a preposterous proposition. Now the East Germans have got a very strong claim for nationhood because the traditions in East Germany are quite different from the traditions in West Germany. I have seen that.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Since when?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Since 1945 I have gone to the schools. They are thoroughly ashamed of the part that Hitler took in launching a fullscale war on Europe and the whole world in 1939-1945.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: It is a pity that you have not gone to West Germany. In West Germany if you utter the name of Hitler, people will hang their heads in shame.

SHRI A. D. MANI: He asked me whether I went to West Germany. I also enjoyed the hospitality of the West German Government.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.]

The GDR has satisfied the criteria for full nationhood because the traditions in the GDR are quite different from the traditions in West Germany. Even in regard to education, I spent a considerable time in their schools. Their education is entirely different and differently oriented from that of West Germany.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: May I ask whether 25 years are enough to make a tradition?

SHRI A. D. MANI: With 60 years the Soviet Union has created one of the greatest revolutions in history. These are the people who have made revolutions in East Germany. There is liberalism in the political structure of East Germany. There are as many as five parties—The Democratic Farmers' Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party and the National Democratic Party. The Communist Party is of course there. They all constituted and formed a National United Front like the United Front Government of West Bengal. I have also attended their parliamentary sittings and I have heard Herr Ulbricht address the Assembly. There is perhaps not the same freedom of expression which we have in the democratic countries but much more than in the Soviet Union. That I could see. You could discuss many matters in the GDR quite freely. Now this State has been in existence for nearly 24 years, if we take 1945 as the beginning line and 1969 as the deadline. For about 25 years it has been in existence.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Is there more freedom in East Germany than in Russia?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Certainly, that is what I said. There is more freedom because there are five parties. There are no five parties in Russia. The Communists are of course the dominant party in the GDR. (Interruptions). That is their concept of democracy. You cannot quarrel with that. We think of multiplicity of parties and multiplicity of candidates but the East German or the East European mind particularly is in the direction of only leagues created by one party.

(Interruptions)

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: Do you mean to say that they have democracy but not parliamentary democracy?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Not the kind of democracy that you and I have. Why should we try to foist our notions of democracy on them?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The kind of democracy where we do all the talking and the Birlas make the money?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Mr. Ruthna Swamy said that we should not take any steps which will prevent the two Germanys uniting together. Now I cannot be a political prophet or astrological prophet but I can say this from what I saw both of West Germany and East Germany that there are no possibilities of union unless there is an upheaval in Europe. If there is an invasion or if there is a collapse of the social order as in Czechoslovakia, anything may happen. Then it is perhaps possible. If West Germany invades East Germany and defeats East Germany there is possibility of union. Now Hitler attempted the Union of Czechoslovakia with the Third Reich. He failed but I am afraid the possibility cannot be considered as very serious. In view of the fact that there is a detente between the USA and the Soviet Union in Europe, I do not know if



there is going to be any great upheaval. I can tell you why the Government of India is somewhat reluctant to recognise the GDR. I have gone to the other side of the Wall. I have seen the Wall in existence. I have discussed matters with those who know what things are going on with the German Government and what things are going on in the Indian Government. We are afraid that West Germany may not give us financial aid if we recognise GDR. They have made many suggestions in a number of indirect ways. My friend the Deputy Minister will not be able to accept it on the floor of the House but outside the House he would perhaps say that West Germany is putting a lot of pressure on us not to recognise the GDR.

HON. MEMBERS: No.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I know that they are putting a lot of pressure on us not to recognise the GDR.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Like Egypt pressurising us not to recognise Israel?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Yes, I would also come to that point. We should not be bothered about what West Germany thinks of our recognising the GDR because this is an independent and separate proposition.

My friend Mr. Dharia raised the question of the recognition of Israel. I am one of those who have stood for the recognition of Israel in spite of derisive laughs and jeers from this side of the House, from friends who are now interrupting me. I had been derisively shouted down for having supported it.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I supported it.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You supported but not Mr. Gupta. I am talking of Mr. Gupta. I am not going to refer to Israel in this connection except this. Somebody pointed out earlier in the

debate that there is political identity in GDR or there is territorial identity. The entire GDR is only one-third of the former Third Reich of Hitler. Two-thirds only is now in West Germany and one-third in GDR. The GDR is agricultural. West Germany is highly industrialised but in spite of being the agricultural farmland part, GDR has made enormous strides in industrial production and they are leaders of the opticals industry. A nation which has staged an economic revolution in a short time cannot be said to be diplomatically non-existent just because politics makes it very inconvenient for us to recognise GDR. I feel that the time has come for us to recognise the GDR. In this connection I may say that the GDR has opened as many as four Trade Missions in India. Mr. Manubhai Shah was implored to go to Leipzig. I went and stayed for some time in Leipzig. There is a huge fair every year and Mr. Manubhai Shah dare not go to Leipzig at the time of the fair, because West Germany was most hostile to our Ministers participating in the Leipzig fair.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: West German firms like Siemens participated in that fair.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I know, but they do not want your Minister; he is not a West German firm.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is how West Germany behaved.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Yes, this is how West Germany behaved. I have discussed this matter; I do not want to disclose the names of persons with whom I have discussed this matter. I have discussed these matters on both sides of the Wall, in West Germany as well as East Germany. The West German Government, they are putting a lot of pressure in regard to these things. The Deputy Minister for External Affairs must understand

[Shri A. D. Mani.]

that a stage must come when we must reconcile our economic interests with our diplomatic needs. I want to point out the variety of goods in which we have active trade with the GDR. GDR is importing finished goods from India also. They are going to buy fertilizers from our country. They are giving us machine tools. They have got an excellent machine tools industry in the whole of Europe—East Germany. They have an excellent printing machines industry; most of the printing machines we have are from East Germany. If Mr. Goenka wants to bring out a new edition in some place, he will get the printing machine from East Germany. Even Mr. Jagat Narain sent his son to East Germany, and he has a rotary printing machine imported from East Germany.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: What about you?

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am trying to get one.

(Interruptions)

Even in food industries they are able to have active economic ties with India. Sir, I feel that when there is so much on the trading account it will be unrealistic for us to say that "we cannot recognise you diplomatically." We have resorted to all sorts of diplomatic subterfuges. There is the East Germany Trade Mission here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Two minutes more, Mr. Mani.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Now parties are being given by them from time to time. They are allowed to get even liquor on the diplomatic card and that is without duty.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: How do you know?

SHRI A. D. MANI: It is there. You enquire into all this; they are allowed to bring liquor.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: But how do you know?

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am a student of international affairs; you know it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): They want to take your time; your time is coming to a close.

SHRI A. D. MANI: They are getting all the diplomatic facilities excepting in name. Now why do you resort to subterfuges? Why not accord full diplomatic recognition? Why feel shy? It is a country with whom we have very active economic association and with whom we are trading every day. They are importing our goods and we are importing their goods.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Rabindranath Tagore is there, Gandhi is there, Nehru is there.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Yes. And they are highly respected. All our national heroes are highly respected in GDR. I do not see any reason why diplomatic recognition is not accorded to GDR when there is so much cultural contact and when so many of our students go to GDR for education. And I have seen some of the students who are studying in engineering colleges and colleges of technology there and profiting by such education. When we have all these ties I see no reason why Government should hesitate to give full diplomatic recognition to GDR. And I agree with my hon. friends Mr. Dharwadkar, that the Minister should not merely say that Government will consider all these views expressed in this House. We are trying to tell Government that it is not only we but that the entire public opinion of India is with us in regard to the recognition of GDR. So this should be done without delay and with good grace and in good time.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is one of the rare occasions today when we see that Shri Bhupesh Gupta is getting support from almost every Member on both sides of the House; every one of the participants has been agreeing with and supporting Mr. Bhupesh Gupta in this Resolution. I say that even Mr. Ruthnaswamy did not oppose it. He only explained the difficulties. He may deny if he wants.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: My whole speech was in opposition to the Resolution.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: My understanding of him—subject to correction—was this that he said that it is one nation and that if we recognised GDR today we will be stopping the reunification of Germany as one nation and so we should not recognise GDR here and now, and that that was the reason why the Government of India did not accord full diplomatic recognition to GDR. He was trying to tell us, or was justifying the course of action that the Government of India has so far taken. But I am sure he has not at least—as far as I understood him—openly opposed our recognition of GDR. This is what I have got to say.

Sir as we know, and as has been said many times here, we are a free independent country and we are a sovereign country. But I would also say that we have a foreign policy that we do not believe in taking aid with strings. We do not believe in having a sort of foreign policy which is meant for others and our foreign policy should be what is good for the country. But somehow, Sir, in spite of all our determination to accept this as our foreign policy, sometimes we do feel that we do something either to please one country or the other country, one Bloc or the other Bloc. Coming to the reasons why we should recognise GDR, if we have not accorded that recognition, why is it

so? I would like to know it from the Government. It has been said by Mr. Mani or somebody that they are frightened of West Germany or that they are trying to control us. Is it so? If it is so, can we say that we are a sovereign country and we are free to have our own foreign policy? Somebody said that we are refusing to recognise Israel because Egypt and the Arab world does not like it. Sir, the Government may come and say "No", but sometimes it is not very convincing because we know, in international law, what is a country or a nation. As has been very nicely put forward by Mr. B. K. P. Sinha, it must be an independent entity with territorial integrity, it must have an independent Government recognised by the people and it must reflect the will of the people of that particular area. Now if that is the definition of an independent nation and a country, do not GDR and Israel come under that? And should we not recognise Israel and GDR? I entirely agree with Mr. Ruthnaswamy that Germany is one nation. But today they are two countries unfortunately. It may be fortunate also that it is so divided, and it is because of historical reasons. We always knew that a united Germany was a mighty Germany and a strong militarily-prepared Germany and that such a Germany was the cause of the first and second World Wars. Not that I want Germany to be disunited always, not that I want that the two Germanys should not come together. Maybe that the two Germanys are poles apart now with two different types of Government, and yet they have contributed to political peace in Europe and certainly to peace in Central Europe, which was not witnessed earlier when it was one Germany, the United Germany. The second World War broke out when Germany became very strong militarily. Now today they have two Governments, one West German and another East German. And then it is not for us to say, 'let them unite', because the people of those two countries, if they

[Shrimati Yashoda Reddy.]

like, can always unite. It may be said that if we would have given them time, and the feeling that we do not recognise a divided Germany, they would have come nearer. I think we have given them enough time, and twenty years' time is a very good time for them to reunite. Also it is for their countries, it is for their Governments and certainly it is for their people to decide on their unification. But today they are two countries even though the people are of one nation and we are having trade relations with them, and under international law GDR comes under the correct definition and correct interpretation of a country, and I think, we should recognise East Germany, the Democratic Republic of Germany, for not only the reason of giving that country the status we have given to the other part of Germany, but for our own good, not only for trade relations, but to show that we are an independent country and we would like to recognise every independent nation, come what may—it may be that the Eastern Bloc may not like it, or the Western Bloc may not like it, but here in India we should show that we would like to recognise even every small and independent sovereign country. What politics or philosophies they follow is not our concern. Our concern is to look after our country's interests, to look after our Government, see what policies or what principles we are going to follow, and the only principle which should guide us is to have friendly relations with all countries, and GDR or Israel, for example, should not be an exception to this. In the case of GDR one hon. Member said that it is *de facto* recognition. Somebody else said that it is marriage without ritual. Call it by whatever name, but we do have good relations, and we have trade connections with GDR. As has been said, our students go there and study. We get quite a lot of industrial produce from that country. This so-called Halstein Doctrine which was in vogue is now

out of place. Almost every country is recognising GDR. Even West Germany itself has recognised most of the social countries. Even a small country like Ceylon—not that I question because it is a small country and not that it cannot do great things—which geographically and economically is smaller than others had the moral courage, had the moral independence to recognise GDR. And why should we not? That is my simple question to the Government. I would request the Government to think very seriously about this matter. Today the hon. Minister may not be able to give a categorical answer for the simple reason that he cannot do so unless he consults the Government, unless he consults the Cabinet.

AN HON. MEMBER: Has he come here without consulting the Government?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: But today the House is unanimously behind this request. Almost all the Members on this side and on that side are agreed on this. Maybe he did not know what will be the mood of the House; maybe he did not know what the Members will say; maybe he hoped that the Members might be divided; maybe he thought that the motion of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta might be lost. But today he can go and convey to his Minister and to the Government of India that all of us are sincere, all of us are almost unanimous barring the respectable opinion of Prof. Ruthnaswamy. And if, as I said, he only explained and not opposed it, then it is completely unanimous.

As far as Israel is concerned, we will have some other occasion. Now I wholeheartedly support the motion of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIAMENON (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I support this Resolution unreservedly and wholeheartedly. So many Members have spoken about

the criteria for recognition, etc. but I would suggest that the most important thing in diplomacy, in foreign policy, is our national interest. I agree that national interest is not the same for me and for example for Mr. Pande and for Mr. Ruthnaswamy for whom national interest may mean the interest of the landlords and the big bourgeoisie but for people like us national interest means the interest of the people, the workers, the peasants and the vast majority of the people. Even granting this, there are certain broad ways of looking at a problem from the wider national interest. Looking at this problem from our wider national interest I consider that recognition of the German Democratic Republic is very much in the interest of the people of our country. Now the German Democratic Republic for the first time in the history of the German nation stands for socialism, democracy and peace. For the first time in the history of the German nation a State which is not dominated by the Junkers, not dominated by the militarist, not dominated by the monopolists has been established. And if we apply the logic of Mr. Ruthnaswamy I do not find any reasons why we should recognise West Germany. If it is a question of German unity, if the recognition of the GDR will endanger the process of reunification of Germany, then I think we should not recognise West Germany also. The point is, Germany can be united and it will be united when the West German people are able to throw off the yoke of the Junkers, the militarists and the big monopolists. Until that time the German working class, the German peasantry, cannot be expected to hand over on a platter their State to the Junkers. That cannot happen in history Prof. Ruthnaswamy is asking for history to be reversed. Whatever may happen, nineteenth century cannot be implanted in the twentieth century, especially in the second half of the twentieth century.

Now, let us see what sort of a State this German Democratic Republic is

Article 6 of its Constitution says that the German Democratic Republic supports the aspirations of the people for freedom and independence and fosters relations of friendly co-operation with all States on the basis of equality and mutual respect. This is important for a country like ours. Here is a State in whose fundamental law is inserted an obligatory provision to keep peace, to live in peace with other people of the world and to help the freedom and independence of other peoples. Should we not recognise such a State?

Then there is another thing. Take its industrial power. It is the fifth industrial State of Europe and the tenth among the industrial nations of the world. It is not a small thing. Though it is a small country in size and in population its industrial might is quite a significant fact of life. It is second in the world in the per capita production of chemicals and it takes the sixth place in ship building. Here therefore we have a modern progressive industrialised State which has pledged itself to keep peace, to maintain relations of peace, to support the freedom and independence of other people and to support the developing countries and the national liberation movements of the colonies. Such a State is there, should we not recognise it? Or because somebody in West Germany feels angry at us should we keep off from recognising a reality that is there? This is the essential question. Is it in our national interests today to recognise the German Democratic Republic or not? That is the only thing to be considered. If some free enterprise people say that we have got quite a lot of collaboration agreements with West German firms and so we cannot recognise the German Democratic Republic, then that is not national interests; that is only the interests of a few interested people; that is class interests. And it is precisely from such quarters that such confusing things come. For example, take the talk about recognising Taiwan,

[Shri K. P. Subramania Menon.]  
recognising Israel. These things can be considered separately. The essential thing to be considered here is, is it in our national interests today to recognise GDR or not? This is the only to be considered.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:  
The Soviet Union itself has recognised Israel.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: That is true. They do so many things. You don't do all the things that the Soviet Union does. Let us be clear of the problem here. Here is a State which supports peace, which supports national liberation movements, which supports another friendly Asian country like the UAR which supported the Congolese people against the Belgians, here is a State which does not make any territorial claims, and which opposes NATO. And, mind you, NATO is an organisation which pumps a lot of military equipment into Pakistan. And this German Democratic Republic is a State which opposes this NATO. And lastly we have quite a large amount of trade with the GDR and quite a favourable balance too. They import from us a lot of cashew nuts, a lot of coir, a lot of coffee and our people from Kerala are quite interested in seeing that the German Democratic Republic is recognised and more trade is developed with that part of the world. Now, I come to one funny situation which arose. As you know, Sir, comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, was invited by the German Democratic Republic. Rather the invitation was from the East Asian Society of the German Democratic Republic. The Government of India, of course, issued a passport, but when it came to what is called the P-Form, they said: No, you cannot go. Why? Because it is an invitation from a private organisation, a non-official organisation. Now, suppose . . .

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:  
The Congress President could go to Japan.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: All of them can go. That is the whole thing. (Interruptions.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No interruptions.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: In case the GDR invites him, he will be able to go. But when it was enquired of the Government of India, they were at a loss to say whether they could allow it or not. How can the Chief Minister of a State go to the GDR on the invitation of a Government which is not recognised by the Government of India? All sorts of foolish things happen. I say that this sort of thing should not happen. There is no reason why this country cannot recognise the German Democratic Republic and the sooner we do it, the better it is for all of us. It is in our national interests for our economic advancement, etc. Thank you.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): Mr. Vice-Chairman, today, while discussing the question of diplomatic recognition of East Germany, I feel that perhaps we are still living in the old, past history. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, said, the recognition of West Germany is a historical left-out of the British regime, because they had contacts with Germany. Later on it was converted into a military mission and because of that military mission we have diplomatic relations. For some time, it seems, even our representatives used to be military Generals or civil servants in military uniform. Now, it seems the same thing is continuing mentally. Though we are having trade with East Germany, we are having other relations with East Germany, very friendly feelings towards East Germany, cultural relations with East Germany and the

East German people also have got warm feelings towards us, it seems we go on behaving as if we are in army uniform. Though the world has changed we continue to behave and work in the old fashion. Is it not time that we move in the year 1969 and not in the year 1948? The British left us with having relations with West Germany. I am glad that a new Foreign Minister has come. He will have more time to spend on foreign affairs than we have today and I hope that he will look to it that in our foreign policy, especially towards East Germany, we move to the year 1969.

**SHRI ARJUN ARORA:** Mr. Bhargava has become the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is correct.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA:** (Uttar Pradesh): The only difficulty is Mr. Krishan Kant is not the Prime Minister. I have come back to my seat.

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT:** The basic thing which we have to consider is whether in our Foreign Office, at the East European desk or West European desk, thinking has gone ahead to meet the present-day situation.

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI** (Maharashtra): What is the desk?

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT:** It is the European desk in the Ministry of External Affairs. I do not know whether some thinking has gone into it and they have come to the conclusion that East Germany, GDR, must be recognised now. As Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said, *de facto* we are having all types of relations with East Germany. What is the difficulty in having *de jure* relationship? You know perhaps when we had Pondicherry *de facto* we were very anxious to have the *de jure* transfer of it to us. In this respect the East German people

feel in the same way. I do not know why our Ministry of External Affairs does not recognise the situation. As Mr. Mohan Dharia was saying and others were saying, the hon. Minister will get up and say: "While we value the feelings of the House..." What is the use of it, if you do not act on it? I do not know, before the Government decided to send the Deputy Minister here to reply on behalf of the Government, whether this subject was considered by the Cabinet or not. When a Resolution comes before the House, it is the duty of the Cabinet, of the Government of India, to discuss it and come to a solution which they can present before the House.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN):** Why do you presume that they have not done it?

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT:** I am asking it. If they are still undecided and they will try to understand the feelings of the House, what is the use of the discussion?

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:** He knows that this Government is a prisoner of indecision. That is why he says it.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN):** No, no, he does not mean that.

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT:** We only believe in postponing the Fourth Plan...

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** In this case it would be correct to say that this Government is the prisoner of some bureaucrats in the South Block operating under the West German orders.

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT:** Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I do not agree with you. They are not bureaucrats. There are 'Birlocrats'. In industry, commerce, all those things, there are 'Birlocrats', who take decisions, not

[Shri Krishan Kant.]

bureaucrats That tribe is also finished A new type of 'Birlocrats' are coming up here in Delhi

There are two or three basic things which we have to consider while having relations with a country. I do not want to repeat the arguments of our friend, Mr B. K. P. Sinha. It is a well-established country—may not be a nation—for the last twenty years, with which not only India has dealings. Even Western Europe and America would like to deal with it. Even Russia now wants to have trade relations with West Germany. The situation has changed. I do not mind what the Mover of the unmoved amendment has said that it is not a question to be discussed here. We, as a country, must live in the present and not try to shirk it. We have to face it, recognise the situation and try to deal with it. We want to deal with every country. Be it Formosa, even if we are to have two Chinas, we should be prepared to recognise it. We should be prepared to recognise any country which has existed for the last ten or twenty years. We have to deal with them. Even America is thinking of having relations with China and the Chinese are leaving Hongkong alone, so that they can have inter-relationship and trade relationship. So, in this modern world, when inter-relationship and trade relationship is growing, it is necessary that we in our foreign policy and foreign dealings must have a correct and objective stand. One of the failures of not having that stand is the example of East Germany. May I know this from the hon. Deputy Minister while replying to the debate or intervening in the debate? May I say that he will not merely appreciate the overwhelming or, if I may say so, the unanimous or near-unanimous opinion of this House, but announce it. If he cannot announce today that the GDR will be recognised or we will have diplomatic relations with them, he must let us know by what date, maybe 15 days

hence or maybe in a week, it will be recognised. The Cabinet must consider it after this debate in this House, if they value the feelings, sentiments, ideas and opinions expressed in this House. I do not think any democratic Government can really brush these aside. I would like to know by what time the Government could give an announcement that they will establish diplomatic relations with the East German Government with which we have very friendly relations. You know our neighbour Ceylon wanted to establish diplomatic relations with East Germany, and the West German Government said, 'Do not do it because we are the real Germany', and they wanted to impose on them all that rubbish of past history. Being a dignified nation, Ceylon said, "We do not care for what you say we are going to establish diplomatic relations with them, we are going to recognise the existing reality". They established it, and still the West Germans continue to have their relations with Ceylon, and there is no difficulty because the trade relations will be there. We should not be taken in by what the West Germans feel because we have ultimately to take decisions in our own self-interest and in the interests of world peace. The German Democratic Republic are a peace-loving nation. The way they have developed is really a marvel. After all the ravages of World War II, the way they have built up their nation is really a thing which we should envy, which we should try to follow.

As we know, in our relations with West Germany there have been some tensions off and on but not with East Germany. In this House and in the other House we have so many times discussed the delivery of arms, of aeroplanes and of tanks to Pakistan through West Germany, which was considered as an enemy's posture against India. But we have no such complaint against the Democratic Republic of Germany for which we are thankful. Even when the Indo-



Pakistan war came, their attitude was friendly and they appreciated us. Still we can have good feelings and diplomatic relations with West Germany. Even in China with whom we fought a war we are having an Ambassador there now. We can start consular relationship with the German Democratic Republic. At least a beginning in the right direction must be made. I feel this recognition of East Germany by the nations of the world will really make the West Germans and the East Germans think that they have their own individuality, and it may be that when people come of age, they can really come together, discuss together as equals and they may be unified. Our recognition will not in any way stand in the way of the German people coming together. It may be that the democratic people of the world will recognise them, and it will better help in their democratic unification.

With these words, may I request the hon. Minister not to just talk this resolution out but give us something in substance indicating by what time, if not today, we can expect the announcement of the Government of India in respect of a very valid and a near unanimous demand of the Rajya Sabha?

श्री जगन् नारायण (हरियाणा) :  
जनाब वाइस चेयरमैन महोदय, मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्त के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। यहाँ पर दूसरे बेंच से दो एक मल्टी आनरेबल मेम्बरस ने कहा कि श्री मुल्का गोविन्द रेड्डी ने जो खयाल जाहिर किया कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की पालिसी वीकनिड है, वह सही नहीं है, उस पर उन्होंने एतराज किया। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस मामले में सरकार की परनेक्सिटी जरूर है, यह बात मजहक अंगेज जरूर है लेकिन मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि हमारे विदेश विभाग की किस तरह की पालिसी है। आपने तमाम बड़े छोटे देशों को ता रिक्कगनाइज कर दिया

सिर्फ आपने तीन देश रिक्कगनाइज नहीं किये, एक ईस्ट जर्मनी, एक इज्राइल, एक फारमूसा। इसकी क्या वजह है? अगर इसकी वजह यही है कि कोई आप पर दबाव है किसी तरफ से तो यह आपको बतलाना चाहिये। मगर जहाँ तक मुझ तक़ुर्बा है, जानी तो नहीं लेकिन मेरा लडका बहा गया था और वाइस चेयरमैन साहब हमने वहाँ से एक आर्टिमेटिक आफ सेट मशीन खरीद ली। ईस्ट जर्मनी की जो एक फ़ैक्टरी है उन्होंने इन्वाइट किया था हमारे लडके को कि आप यहाँ आकर ट्रेनिंग ले ली। तो मेरा लडका वहाँ ट्रेनिंग के लिये गया तो वहाँ से आकर उसने ईस्ट जर्मनी के मुताल्लिक कम में कम 25 आर्टिकल लिखे। वेस्ट जर्मनी का भी वह गेस्ट रहा दस दिन, उसके मुताल्लिक भी उसने पच्चीस, तीस आर्टिकल लिखे बड़े फ़ैक्चरल आर्टिकल लिखे। उसने बताया कि ईस्ट जर्मनी के लोग हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों में प्यार रखते हैं, उनका अच्छी तरह काम मिखलाते हैं मगर वहाँ पर जो डिफ़िकल्टी है वह यह है कि जितने विद्यार्थी वहाँ काम सीखने के लिये जाते हैं उनकी वहाँ पर कांटेक्ट करने के लिये हमारा कोई दफ़तर नहीं है चाहे वह आपका कोई ट्रेड का दफ़तर हो। जब कभी तकलीफ़ होती तो उसको वेस्ट जर्मनी आना पड़ता या बीन की तरफ़ जाना पड़ता तो इसलिये यह निहायत जरूरी है कि जब आपके इतने ट्रेड रिलेणन्स है तो क्यों नहीं आप वहाँ पर अपना दफ़तर खोलते, क्यों नहीं उनकी युटिलाइज करते। आपके उनके साथ इतने ट्रेड रिलेणन्स है लेकिन वहाँ पर आपका कोई दफ़तर नहीं। तो कम से कम 300 बिलियार्थी वहाँ पर काम सीख रहे हैं, प्रिटिंग के महकमे में और दूसरे महकमों में। इसलिये निहायत जरूरी है कि उनके लिये वहाँ कोई अप्रोच करने के लिये कोई रास्ता हो जिसके लिये वहाँ आपका कोई आफिस हो और उनको अगर वेस्ट जर्मनी में ही आना है अपनी तकलीफ़ों को रफ़ा कराने के लिये तो आपका वहाँ उनको भेजने का क्या फायदा है उनके

[श्री जगत नारायण]

लिये कोई सहूलियत न हो। यह मैं एक नुक्ते निगाह से बता रहा हूँ। वैसे मैं ममझता हूँ जब आपने संसार के तमाम छोटे बड़े देशों को रिकगनाइज किया है तो फिर आप क्यों नहीं ईस्ट जर्मनी को रिकगनाइज करते। यह निहायत जरूरी है। आपको ईस्ट जर्मनी को रिकगनाइज करना चाहिये, आपको इजराइल को रिकगनाइज करना चाहिये, आप को फारमूसा को रिकगनाइज करना चाहिये ये तीनों देश ऐसे हैं जो यू० एन० ओ० के भिम्बर हैं और इन तीनों देशों को बाहर के देशों ने रिकगनाइज किया है, इजराइल को सत्तर अस्सी देशों ने रिकगनाइज किया है, फारमूसा को साठ, सत्तर देशों ने रिकगनाइज किया है और ईस्ट जर्मनी को पन्द्रह बीस देशों ने रिकगनाइज किया हुआ है, शायद इससे भी ज्यादा ने किया है। तो फिर क्यों हमारा देश रिकगनाइज नहीं करता, क्यों नहीं डिप्लोमेटिक रिलेशनस कायम करता ?

इसके साथ साथ दूसरी अर्ज यह है कि जैसा अभी अभी जिक्र किया गया है कि दोनों मुल्क आपस में मिल सकते हैं कि नहीं मिल सकते हैं। प्रोफेसर रत्नस्वामी ने भी कहा वह एक नेशन है। उसके मुतालिक मैं कहना चाहता हूँ मेरे लड़के ने वहां पर तीन महीने काम किया और वहां पर उसने जर्मन भाषा को सीखा, जर्मन भाषा को सीखते हुए उसको आम लोगों के साथ क्रांटेक्ट में आना पड़ा, वहां के नौजवान लड़कों के साथ। वाइस चैयरमैन महोदय, वहां पर जो नई जेनरेशन, नई संतान, नये नौजवान पैदा हो रहे हैं उनके दमियान एक फीलिंग है कि हमारे दोनों जर्मनी एकट्ठे होने चाहिये और हमारे रास्ते में कोई दीवार हायल नहीं होना चाहिये। वहां के नौजवान समझते हैं कि हम एकट्ठा होकर फिर अपने देश को मजबूत बना सकते हैं, यहा उनका एक प्वाइन्ट आफ व्यू है और यह अभी जो श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा ने कहा

कि वहां वह जो दीवार है वह दीवार वह कोई रास्ते में इस तरह से हायल नहीं है तो मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि वह तो एक कंडक्टेड टुअर में गये हुए है ...

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : मैं दोनों तरफ गया हूँ।

श्री जगत नारायण : मैं आपको बता देता हूँ .....

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : यह कहना गलत है, मैं किसी कंडक्टेड टुअर से नहीं गया। मैं अकेले घूमा हूँ दोनों तरफ।

श्री जगत नारायण : मैं बताता हूँ। मेरा लड़का तीन महीने वहां रहा और उसको नौजवानों के कांटेक्ट में आने का मौका मिला। उन नौजवानों का पक्का खयाल है कि न कोई दीवार बननी चाहिये न ...

श्री पीताम्बर दास : बूढ़ों का खयाल वह होगा जो अर्जुन अरोड़ा जी बता रहे हैं, नौजवानों का खयाल यह बता रहे हैं।

श्री ओम मेहता (जम्मू और काश्मीर) : अब देखना यह है बूढ़ा कौन है जवान कौन है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You are combining both. You are saying on your behalf and on behalf of your son.

श्री जगत नारायण : मैं तो गया ही नहीं वहां पर।

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : आप अपने स्टेटमेंट को कांटेडिक्ट कर रहे हैं।

श्री जगत नारायण : मेरी फर्स्ट हैंड नालेज अपने लड़के की मार्फत है। वह नौजवानों के साथ रहा है। मैं अपनी नहीं कह रहा। मैं कह रहा हूँ कि वहां यह प्वाइन्ट

आफ़्ब्यू है नौजवानों से कि दोनों जर्मनी मिलने चाहिये। आज बशक कोई कहे कि वह नहीं मिल सकते हैं मगर वक्त आयेगा जब वहां के नौजवान उठेंगे और दोनों जर्मनियों को इकट्ठा करेंगे। मैं साउथ कोरिया में गया हुआ हूं, वहां के लोग साउथ कोरिया को नार्थ कोरिया के साथ मिलाना चाहते हैं। साउथ वियतनाम भी मैं गया हूं, वहां के लोग नार्थ वियतनाम से मिलना चाहते हैं। रास्ते में हायल कौन है। बड़े बड़े देश उनको आपस में लड़ा रहे हैं। इसी तरह से ईस्ट जर्मनी और वेस्ट जर्मनी के लोग भी आपस में मिलना चाहते हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह इम्प्रेशन था मेरे लड़के का और उसने बीस पच्चीस आर्टिकल लिखे।

1969 1015  
12.11.69 10.00.00

मैं आपसे यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि हमने वहां से जो मशीन मंगाई है उसके एतराफ करने में हम कोई एतराज नहीं है। जो मशीन हमने वहां से मंगाई है वह 1 1/2 साल से चल रही है और उसमें कोई दिक्कत हमें मालूम नहीं हो रही है। इसकी वजह यह है कि वे लोग जो भी चीजें बनाते हैं उसमें पूरी मेहनत करते हैं और बहुत अच्छी तरह से उस चीज को बनाते हैं। लीपजिग में यह पौलीग्राफ मशीन बनाई जाती है और वहीं पर इसका दफ्तर भी है। वहां पर बाहर के लोगों को जो चीज सिखलाई जानी है उसको वे लोग पूरी मेहनत के साथ सिखलाते हैं चाहे वे ईस्ट जर्मन वाले हों या वेस्ट जर्मन वाले हों। वे लोग पूरी मेहनत करके लोगों को नैयार करते हैं। जो विद्यार्थी यहां से जाते हैं उनको मशीन के बारे में अच्छी तरह से समझाते हैं। मेरे लड़के का कहना यह है कि वहां पर इस तरह का रिवाज है कि जब कोई आदमी वहां पर काम सीखने जाता है तो वे लोग यह कहते हैं कि काम के वक्त जब तक तुम अपने कपड़े उतार कर दूसरे कपड़े नहीं पहन लोगे तब तक तुमको काम अच्छी तरह से नहीं आयेगा। इसलिये वे लोग

वहां पर जब काम करने जाते हैं तो वे अपने कपड़े उतार कर दूसरे वहां के कपड़े पहिन लेते हैं। यह उन लोगों की क्वालिटी है। जर्मन लोगों में यह गुण है कि जो काम वे अपने हाथ से लेते हैं उसको वे ऊंचे तक ले जाते हैं।

आखिर मैं आपसे यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट की फारेन पालिसी बहुत अजीब है। अभी श्री राजनारायण जी ने कहा कि हम तिब्बत को एक बफर स्टेट बनाना चाहिये था, लेकिन हमने तिब्बत को अपने हाथ से गंवा कर चीन के सुपुर्द कर दिया। अब चीन की सरहद इस इलाके में हिन्दुस्तान की सरहद के साथ मिल गई है जिसकी वजह से हमारी सीमाओं को हर वक्त खतरा बना रहता है। हमारी सरकार की जो विदेश नीति है, वह हमारे देश के लिए घातक सिद्ध हो रही है। श्री राजनारायण ने ठीक ही कहा कि जब चीन ने हमारे देश के ऊपर हमला किया था तो इस हाउस में जवारलाल नेहरू के जमाने में हम लोगों ने हलफ लिया था कि जो रकबा चीन ने हमारे मुल्क का ले लिया है हम उसको वापस लेकर ही रहेंगे। इस बात को हुए 20 साल हो गये हैं लेकिन उसके मुताल्लिक हम जिक्र भी नहीं करते हैं। इस सरकार ने उस बात के बारे में कभी भी जिक्र नहीं किया कि जो 40 हजार मुरब्बा मील रकबा चीन ने हमारा ले लिया है उसको किस तरह से वापस लिया जायेगा। यह सरकार उस रकबे को वापस लेने के लिये कोई कोशिश भी नहीं कर रही है। इस बारे में हमारी सरकार की तरफ से किसी किस्म का कोई एलान भी नहीं हुआ है।

इसी तरह से पाकिस्तान की हालत है। काश्मीर का जो हिस्सा अभी तक पाकिस्तान के पास है उसके बारे में अभी तक इस सरकार ने कोई एलान नहीं किया है बल्कि हमारी कोशिश यह रही है, इस सरकार की कोशिश यह रही है कि इस समय जो स्टेट्स को है, अगर वही रहे तो ठीक रहेगा। पाकिस्तान

[श्री जगत नारायण]

के पान काश्मीर का जो हिस्सा है वह हिन्दु-  
स्तान को वापस लेना चाहिये, मगर आज  
तक हमारी सरकार ने इस बारे में कोई कदम  
नहीं उठाये हैं और न इसके बारे में कोई जिक्र  
ही करती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी जो  
विदेश नीति है, वह बहुत ही गलत है और  
उस नीति को बदलना निहायत जरूरी है।

जहाँ तक ईस्ट जर्मनी को रिकगनाइज  
करने का सवाल है, इसके मुताबिक श्री  
भूपेश गुप्त का जो प्रस्ताव है, उसका मैं पूरी  
तरह से समर्थन करता हूँ। मगर इसके साथ  
ही साथ मैं यह भी अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि  
अगर यह सरकार ईस्ट जर्मनी को मान लेती  
है तो इसके साथ उसे इजराइल और फारमोसा  
को भी रिकगनाइज करना चाहिये। दुनिया  
का कोई भी देश ऐसा नहीं रहना चाहिये जिसे  
हम रिकगनाइज न करें क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान की  
जो पालिसी है वह बहुत ही सीधी है। इसलिये  
हमें इन मुद्दों को रिकगनाइज करना चाहिये  
और इस बात का सबूत देना चाहिये कि  
हिन्दुस्तान एक ऐसा देश है जो सब देशों के  
साथ भ्रातृभाव रख सकता है।

श्री ह्यातुल्ला अंसारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
बाइस चैयरमैन साहब, श्री भूपेश गुप्त जी ने  
जो रिजोल्यूशन पेश किया है मैं उसको  
सैकिन्ड क्लॉग। लेकिन मैं एक  
बात पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इंडिया  
ने जी० डी० आर० को क्यों नहीं  
रिकगनाइज किया? क्या उसने इस मामले  
में बहुत बड़ी भूल की है और गलती की है।  
उसकी नजर क्यों नहीं गई? क्या उसे कुछ  
पैसा मिल गया, क्या कोई दबाव था, कोई डर  
था और या कोई और मामला था। मुझे  
बहुत अफसोस होता है कि इस मामले पर यहाँ  
पर कोई रोशनी नहीं डाली गई।

श्री राजनारायण : हमने डाली।

श्री ह्यातुल्ला अंसारी : आपका तरीका  
और है। मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ  
मन् 1945 और 1946 के जमाने की बात।

(Interruptions.)

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:  
When is the Minister replying?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
AKBAR ALI KHAN): There are  
many speakers still.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I want  
to know one thing. I would then ask  
that the debate be extended by waiv-  
ing the rule a little. I understand  
that the Minister does not want to  
speak. For two days we have been  
speaking on this subject. Naturally,  
the nation expects, we expect, every-  
body expects, that the Government  
would give its reaction to what we  
have said, even if it be a tentative  
reaction, now. We should find it out.  
This is not a normal approach on the  
part of the Government to allow this  
House to discuss this for two days and  
get away. My suggestion is, let there  
be closure now; let the Minister speak.

AN HON. MEMBER: No.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Ansari is  
on his legs.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would  
not disturb him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
AKBAR ALI KHAN): Let him go  
on.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:  
Where is the time? There should  
be closure. I support him that the  
House....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I move  
that after five of the clock the debate  
be extended. Let the rule be waived.  
Let the debate be extended by an-  
other half an hour and we can hear  
the Minister.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:  
I support the motion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Not now. Mr. Ansari.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not opposing his views. He might say.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: We will discuss about credit to small farmers and then take up your Resolution.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have no objection. But this is very, very unfair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Ansari, you please carry on.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Sir, on a point of order. No Member, even if that Member be Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, can rise in the midst of another Member's speech and move a motion. Let him finish his speech first.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not moving a motion.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: You are disturbing him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Not at all. What I say is, do it before it is too late.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Yes, Mr. Ansari.

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी : मैं आपको सन् 1945 और 1946 के जमाने की याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ। सन् 1945 में जब लड़ाई खत्म हुई थी तो उस समय दुनिया उलझी हुई थी और जर्मनी पूरी तरह से तबाह और बिगड़ा हुआ था। उस जमाने में नया नया यू० एन० ओ० बना। एटम बम हिरोशिमा और नागासाकी में गिर चुका था। तबम दुनिया लड़ाई में डर गई थी, बबरा गई थी और वह लड़ाई में पनाह चाहती थी। उस जमाने में यू० एन० ओ० था। यू० एन० ओ० को बड़ी बड़ी उम्मीदें

थी और यू० एन० ओ० से भी दुनिया को बड़ी-बड़ी उम्मीदें थी।

हिन्दुस्तान जब आजाद हुआ तो हमारी यह दिली नमना थी कि दोनों जर्मनी मिल जायें। यह प्राबल्य दोनों जर्मनों को मिलाने का बराबर रहा। इस मामले में यू० एन० ओ० में भी बराबर कमेटी बनती रही और डिमकम होता रहा। यह मामला उसके मामले कई बार आता रहा। उस जमाने में हम यह नहीं कर सकते थे कि दोनों जर्मनी को रिकरनाइज्ड कर लेने। हमने जर्मनी को रिकरनाइज्ड कर लिया था लेकिन हमने और किसी कंट्री को रिकरनाइज्ड नहीं किया। यह चीज दुनिया में बढ़ती ही रही।

अब जर्मनी की हालत देखिये। वहाँ की इंडस्ट्रीज खत्म हो गई थी। इंडस्ट्रीज खाली खत्म ही नहीं हुई थी बल्कि तब यंग मेल मर गये थे, मर्द मर गये थे और औरतें ही औरतें रह गई थी। ऐसी हालत में हमारी हमदर्दी पूरी तरह से उसके साथ थी। हम चाहते थे कि वह बड़े और तरक्की करे और अपने आप को सम्भाल ले। उसकी राह में कोई रुकावट डालना नहीं चाहता था। लेकिन साथ ही साथ एक और नकशा भी था उस जमाने में स्टालिन रूस में था और स्टालिन की एक खास पालिसी थी। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी आफ इंडिया की एक खास पालिसी थी। मैं पहले कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी जो इंडिया में उस जमाने में थी, उसकी पालिसी की याद दिला दूँ। जब हम लोगों को अजादी मिल चुकी थी, तो 1950 में उन्होंने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान आजाद नहीं हुआ है और अब भी अंग्रेजों का गुलाम है। सिर्फ कहा ही नहीं बल्कि उसके लिए एक जबर्दस्त तहरीक भी चलाई। जेल गये और जेलों के अन्दर रिबोल्यूशन किया और उसको दूर तक ले गये थे। तो यह जो फारेन पालिसी थी वह एक तरह से

[श्री ह्यातुल्ला अन्सारी]

इंटरनल पालिसी से कनेक्टेड थी। हम यह भी देख रहे थे और यह कह रहे थे कि स्टालिन की एक और भी पालिसी है। स्टालिन ने लड़ाई के जमाने में कह दिया था कि रूस, एक कंट्री नहीं है बल्कि 15, 16 कंट्रीज में बंटा हुआ है। यूक्रेन एक कंट्री है, अजरबाइजान एक कंट्री है और काजिस्तान एक कंट्री है। इस तरह से रूस में जितने भी स्टेट्स थे उनको स्टालिन ने एक तरह से इंडिपेंडेंट कर दिया था और इसकी गरज यह थी कि वे सब यू० एन० ओ० के मेम्बर बन जायें।

यह बात भी हम लोगों को अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि जिस समय ईस्ट जर्मनी पर रूस का कब्जा हुआ वह स्टालिन ने किया था। मैं यह बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि उस समय यह प्रजेन्ट गवर्नमेंट नहीं थी बल्कि स्टेलिन की गवर्नमेंट उस समय थी, जिस कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की बहुत तारीफ लोग करते हैं, जिसे हम रोज सुना करते हैं, जिसके मुताल्लिक रोज तकरीरें हुआ करती हैं, उसके बारे में हम जानते हैं। हमें इसके बारे में तजुर्बा है कि स्टालिन की रीजिम किस तरह की थी और रूस क्या है। अगर उस जमाने में हम जी० डी० आर० को रिकग्नाइज करते तो सबसे बड़ा दुश्मन होता यू० एन० ओ० और सब से बड़ा दुश्मन होता जर्मनी। जब यह मामला यू० एन० ओ० में था और सारी दुनिया अपने मामलों को उसके सिपुर्द करना चाहती थी क्योंकि सारी दुनिया यह चाहती थी कि कोई भी मुल्क हिरोशिमा और नागासाकी न बने। उस जमाने में हमने भी कुछ कदम बढ़ाये और काश्मीर के मामले को यू० एन० ओ० में ले गये। क्यों ले गये? बिगाड़ने के लिए नहीं और खराब करने के लिए नहीं ले गये, बल्कि हम इस मामले को इसलिए वहां ले गये ताकि उसके सहारे मसला हल हो जाय और सोचा था कि

यकीनन मसला वहां हल होगा। हमें नहीं ले गये बल्कि दुनिया के हर मुल्क ने अपने प्राब्लम्स उसके सिपुर्द किये। इसी तरीके से और मुल्कों की भी मिसालें सामने आईं। इजिप्ट का भी मसला आया और यू० एन० ओ० के सामने वह मसला पेश किया गया और सपोर्ट किया गया। पूरी दुनिया की पालिसी है कि यू० एन० ओ० को सपोर्ट करो और यू० एन० ओ० की पालिसी को सपोर्ट करो, दुनिया की प्राब्लम्स को सपोर्ट करो और हल करो। उस जमाने में पूरी यह उम्मीद थी कि जर्मनी का मसला यू० एन० ओ० हल करेगा। इस वजह से हमने ईस्ट जर्मनी को रिकग्नाइज नहीं किया और आगे चल कर के कुछ ऐसे डेवलपमेंट्स हुये कि वह वेस्टर्न जर्मनी बन गया।

इसके बाद एक चीज और आती है और वह यह है कि जब डवलपमेंट और आगे बढ़ा तो बर्लिन की प्राब्लम उठी और बहुत गंभीर हो गई और यह नजर आया कि आसानी से वह हल नहीं हो सकती है बल्कि लम्बा हो गया है मामला, तब जवहार लाल जी के जिन बयानात का तजक़िरा किया गया वे उसी जमाने में बयानात दिये गये थे क्योंकि यह देखा गया था कि यह मामला बहुत लम्बा हो गया और बहुत दूर चला गया है। उस जमाने में हमने दोस्ती बढ़ाई जी० डी० आर० से और दोस्ती इस तरह से बढ़ाई की हमारे बड़े बड़े लोग बहा गये और उनके भी बड़े बड़े लीडर्स यहां आये। आज भी उनका ट्रेड डेलीगेशन कहने के लिये यहां है, मगर उसको तमाम फैसिलिटीज नहीं दी गई हैं जो एक एम्बेसेडर को दी जाती हैं और उसकी इज्जत भी वही है। जहां एम्बेसेडर्स को बुलाया जाता है वहां उनके रेप्रिजेंटेटिव को भी बुलाया जाता है और उसको भी वही दर्जा दिया जाता है।

अब एक चीज और ज्यादा उलझ गई है । बहुत खुशी की बात है कि उलझी हुई चीज यहाँ इस हाउस में भी आई है और वह यह है कि जी० डी० आर० का मसला उलझ गया इजराइल से और ताइवान से । हमने चार पांच मुल्को को रिकगनाइज नहीं किया और हर एक के अलग अलग हालात थे । अब मैं इजराइल की बात कह दूँ कि इजराइल है क्या चीज । एक मजहब को उन्होंने एक नेशन बना दिया । यहूदी जो हैं वही हैं इजराइली और वहाँ पर चाहे 80 फीसदी अरब हो जाये, लेकिन वहाँ हुक्मत बनेगी यहूदियों की । यह गोया वही थ्युरी है जो मजहब की बिना पर नेशन बना देती है । उसके मानने वाले दुनिया में दो हैं । एक तो थे उसके मानने वाले मिस्टर जिना । मिस्टर जिना चले गये, उनकी लीग चली गई, लेकिन अब उस थ्युरी के सच्चे मानने वाले यहाँ पर जनमधी हैं । वे यह सिखाते हैं कि जो कौम बनती है वह रेलीजन पर बनती है और इसी लिये इजराइली गवर्नमेंट को मान लेना व ईमानदारी समझते हैं और कहते हैं कि उसमें खराबी क्या है । आज यहूदी जो वहाँ हैं उनकी हुक्मत है । अगर वहाँ 80 परसेंट अरब हो जाये, 90 परसेंट अरब हो जाये, 95 परसेंट अरब हो जाये, लेकिन वहाँ हुक्मत इजराइलियों की रहेगी, यहूदियों की रहेगी और कौम इजराइली कहलायेगी । हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर हमने उस थ्युरी के खिलाफ बड़ी कुर्बानियाँ दी हैं । कम से कम मुसलमान बेहद मारे गये हैं, बरबाद हुये हैं इस थ्युरी के खिलाफ लड़ने की वजह से । आज चाहे लोग इसको न मानें, लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि कितने लोग मारे गये हैं और हमने कितना मुकाबिला किया है जिना का । हिन्दू भी बरबाद हुये हैं । हिन्दुस्तान बट गया । आज भी हमारे आँखों में आसूँ आ जाते हैं जब हम 1947 की लड़ाई की याद करते हैं । यह कहते हैं कि रिकगनाइज कर लो उस थ्युरी को ।

कर लें हम रिकगनाइज तो क्या रिपकरण होगा । उस से यह ठीक है कि जनसभ की पार्टी सामने आ जायेगी क्योंकि फिर जो हिन्दु कौम है वह गिलीजन की बिना पर एक कौम बन जायेगी । लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान को बरबादी की तरफ नहीं जाना चाहिये । जिना साहब खत्म हो गये, उनकी लीग खत्म हो गई । अब उनको ज़िन्दा नहीं करना चाहिये और उनकी बात मानने वाले ये जो जनसभ यहाँ हैं इनकी बात को भी हमें नहीं माना चाहिये ।

(Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण जनसभ के बारे में यह कह रहे हैं . . .

(Interruptions)

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी उसके बाद आता है ताइवान का मामला

(Interruptions)

एक बात मैं और कह दूँ कि यहाँ पर कुछ पार्टियाँ ऐसी हैं जिन्होंने जनसभ से बहुत ही दोस्ताना कर लिया था और बहुत ही बिरादरी कर ली थी । अब उन्हें हर मिनट यह जाहिर करना पड़ता है कि हम जनसभ के साथ नहीं थे । उनमें एक कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी है और दूसरी जनसभ की पार्टी है . . .

श्री राजनारायण कांग्रेस के हिन्दुत्व को खत्म करने के लिये ।

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी उनको हुक है यह कहने का, लेकिन पालिश करने से यह दाग धुल नहीं सकता (Interruptions) यह उसी तरह है

छुटाये न छुटेगा,  
अरे कातिल न बन लडका ।

वफादरी के खून का दाग,  
क्या धब्बा है कीचड़ का ॥

Interruption by Shri Rajnarayan

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी अकेले आप ही काफी हैं

श्री राजनारायण मुकाबिला करने के लिये हम ही काफी है। जो भी "आर्गोना-इजर" पढ़ना होगा वह जानता होगा कि जनसंघ अकेले हम को ही गाली दे रहा है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) You must learn to listen to others

SHRI RAJNARAIN I have learnt all these things

SHRI A G KULKARNI How can you learn at this age?

श्री ह्यातुल्ला अन्सारी मुझे जर्मनी पर कहना है, लेकिन एक बात जो और कही गई है वह बता दू। कब्जे की एक घड़ी ब व गरीब बात कही गई है कि जिस की हकूमत जहा बन जाये डिफेंकटो, उसको मान लो। मैं तो नहीं मानूंगा। यह ठीक है कि काश्मीर पर कब्जा है, पाकिस्तान का, लेकिन मैं उसको नहीं मानूंगा। पाकिस्तान का वहा 25 साल कब्जा रहे, 50 साल कब्जा रहे, 100 साल कब्जा रहे, मैं तो नहीं मानूंगा उसको। बैसे ही अगर लहाख पर चीन का कब्जा है तो हुआ करे, मैं तो नहीं मानूंगा उसका कब्जा। यह क्या चीज है कि जिस का हो गया कब्जा, उसको मान ला। ये कहते है कि डिफेंकटो जिस की गवर्नमट है उसको मान ला और यह न देखो कि बैकग्राउंड क्या है। मैं इसको नहीं मानता हू। मैं समझता हू कि बिल्कुल यह बात नहीं है। लेकिन यह ठीक है कि हमें जी० डी० आर० की कुछ बातों को देखना है और उसके हिसाब से काम करना है।

(Time bell rings)

अब मैं दा तीन बातों को समेट कर खुलामा में कह दू। एक बात यह है कि हमारे कुछ दोस्तों ने जी० डी० आर० की बहुत तारीफ की। मैं भी वहा जा चुका हू

और वहा जो मुझे पहला तजुर्बा हुआ है वह यह है कि जी० डी० आर० में किसी रेस्टोरा में मैं न खाना खा सकता था और न चाय पी सकता था। उसकी वजह यह थी कि थोड़े से जर्मन लफ्ज मैंने सीख लिये थे और उन लफ्जों में मैं कहता था कि चाय लाओ, खाना लाओ और बैग पास आ करके चला जाता था क्योंकि मुझे नहीं मालूम था कि किसी रेस्टोरा में जाने के बाद यह जरूरी है कि पासपोर्ट दिखाया जाय मैनेजर माहब को कि हम बोनाफाइड है और उसके बाद खाना मिलेगा। लेकिन बैस्ट जर्मनी में ऐसा कही नहीं हुआ कि खाना खाना हो तब भी पासपोर्ट दिखाओ, चाय पीना हो तब भी पासपोर्ट दिखाओ कोई चीज खरीदनी हो तब भी पासपोर्ट दिखाओ।

एक चीज मैं और बता दू और वह यह है कि वहा मैंने भी कुछ मजदूरों से बातें की है। वैसे वहा मजदूरों की हालत यह है कि वे बहुत खुश है, लेकिन जिस मिल में वे काम करते है उसको वे छोड़ नहीं सकते है। यह एक अजीब तरीका है कि अगर वे किसी मिल को छोड़ कर चले जाय तो उनको मकान भी छोड़ना पड़ेगा और उनको दूसरी जगह नौकरी भी नह मिलेगी (Interruption)

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा यहा भी जो नौकरी में मिल जाता है उसको वर्षों तक नौकरी नह मिलती है। (Interruption)

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE Mr Vice-Chairman are we discussing the internal affairs of Germany?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY His time is up He was given 15 minutes

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Mr Vice-Chairman, I am moving now that the debate be extended.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) Let him



finish. When an hon'ble Member is speaking you cannot interrupt him.

SHRI HAYATULLAH ANSARI: I am on my legs.

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमें उनकी इंटरनल गवर्नमेंट से मतलब नहीं है। अगर जी० डी० आर० में वैसी गवर्नमेंट नहीं है जो हम पसन्द करने हैं तो उससे हमारा मतलब नहीं है। लेकिन यह ठीक है कि हमें उसको रिकगनाइज करना चाहिये, फिर भी रिकगनिशन में ही बात आ जानी है कि उसूल कुछ हो लेकिन उसके अप्लीकेशन का तरीका क्या हो यह भी देखना होगा। मान लीजिये आज इजराइल का जार्डन पर अटैक हो रहा है और बराबर इजराइल की तरफ से बाउफेयर चल रही है यू० ए० आर० से और अगर कंटीज से, इस वक्त अगर हम उसको रिकगनाइज कर लें, तो पोलिटिकल टर्म्स में उसका मतलब क्या होगा। (Interruption) हम यही कह रहे हैं कि फामूला क्या हो। यह बिजली का बटन नहीं है कि हमने बटन दबाया और रिकगनिशन हो गया। इंटरनेशनल मिचुएशन देखने के बाद ही कुछ हो सकता है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, he says that the G.D.R. people are not eating anything. Does he know that they have a very high standard of living. Even the bitterest enemy of the G.D.R. would confirm this.

श्री हयातुल्लाह अन्सारी : मैं सिर्फ यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह बिजली का बटन नहीं है कि हमने उसको दबाया और उसको रिकगनाइज कर लिया। इसके लिये हवाला भी देखने होते हैं। यह खेल के तरीके नहीं हो सकता है। मैं बता रहा हूँ कि अगर आज हम इजराइल को रिकगनाइज कर लें तो जार्डन, क्या समझेंगे, यू० ए० आर० क्या समझेंगे और हमारी दो मौ कगोड की जो

ट्रेड है अरब मूलकों से उसका क्या हथ होगा।

5 P.M.

दूसरी तरफ चलिए, अगर हमने इजराइल को रिकगनाइज नहीं किया और जी० डी० आर० को रिकगनाइज किया तो क्या इजराइल से लड़ाई नहीं हो जायेगी, बाकायदा इजराइल से जंग नहीं हो जायेगी? इजराइल समझेंगे कि जी० डी० आर० को रिकगनाइज किया, हमको नहीं किया। यही प्राबलम होगा। यह इंटरनेशनल प्राबलम बन गया है कि किसे रिकगनाइज करे और किसे रिकगनाइज न करें और किमी को छोड़ दें तो उसका रिपरकशन क्या होता है। (Time bell rings) मैं अभी ख़त्म करता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : 5 बजे दूसरा डिस्कशन है। मिस्टर कुलकर्णी।

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I had moved that this debate be continued. This is not fair . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): All right, please sit down, Mr. Kulkarni. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, please sit down. You see, the position is that this programme is fixed from the beginning. If you wanted to have a closure, you should have done it earlier . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I was trying to do it. You did not allow . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No, I had called Mr. Ansari . . .

(Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण पाइन्ट आफ आर्डर देखिए। जब भी पीरियड को एक्स्टेंड करने का मौका आता है तो वह मौका पार्लियामेंटरी मिस्टम में यही होता है। अभी दो मिनट

[श्री राजनारायण]

समय रह गया था, 5 नहीं बजे थे, तभी भूपेश गुप्त ने पीरियड को एक्सटेंड करने का प्रस्ताव रखा। हम लोग सपोर्ट करते हैं भूपेश गुप्त को। भूपेश गुप्त ने ठीक मौजू समय पर प्रस्ताव रखा, 5 बजे से पहले रखा, 5 बजे के बाद रखे होते तो आप कह सकते थे कि चूंकि 5 बजे तक इसका समय था, इसलिए यह प्रस्ताव नहीं आ सकता, मगर चूंकि भूपेश गुप्त ने 5 बजने में जब दो मिनट बाकी थे तभी इस प्रस्ताव को रखा था, इसलिए हम भूपेश गुप्त के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हैं कि आप इसके पीरियड को बढ़ायें।

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, you take the sense of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I understand what Mr. Rajnarain...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Kindly sit down... (Interruptions) Kindly sit down. Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is an important debate. I wanted to move the closure and I even said that I would forgo my right of reply and let the Minister intervene. Then I was told, let him finish. I saw some point in it and I sat down. Then exactly at 5 o'clock I rose because at 5 o'clock the extension becomes relevant. Now, therefore, I would like to move that the debate be extended. Nothing prevents you from doing on your own, or with the approval of the House if you like...

SARDAR RAGHBIR SINGH PANJHAZARI (Punjab): Yes, with the approval of the House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can say whatever you like. You have the majority, I know. You talk like that. Is it fair to the House that because you have the majority, you can get away with it? This kind of co-operation I do not like. If it had

been so, we would have put up another speaker and we would have made the arrangement differently. Now for two days we have debated this subject. Members from all sides have spoken. Is it not proper for the Government to express its views, at least its tentative reaction? First of all, the Foreign Minister...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I have heard you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, you have not heard me. The Foreign Minister himself was not present. It was not showing very great respect to the House. I agree Mr. Surendra Pal Singh was here. He is quite an affable man...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): He was here throughout.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He sat here throughout the debate. But why didn't he intervene? Then, he need not have been present in this House. Therefore, we are entitled to know. The only inference will be that you are doing it perhaps because the West Germans have advised you not to make any commitments...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No, no, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I do not approve of such a statement. This is not right.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I want extension. You reject my extension. (Interruptions) I am prepared to sit after this...

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The West Germans have advised the Ministry—that is not at all correct...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What are you saying? What am I to say? (Interruptions) Mr. Chairman, you

are indulging in politics. Let him say that. Why are you saying that...

(Interruptions)

No, no, why are you saying it? Give a ruling. You say whatever you like. Let the Government say...

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Sir, let that be expunged...

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Are you sitting in the treasury bench...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You please sit down...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But do not make such... (Interruptions) It is derogatory of the Chair to participate... to speak for the Government. It is derogatory of the Chair.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Please sit down. You must understand. I have seen what the appreciation of the House has been and apart from my position as Chairman, you know my views about this matter itself. So having all that in mind, I think it is very uncharitable in weight and tone that you should address the Chair like this. Anyhow, what I say...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What are you saying? It is all the more reason why the Government should speak. We want Government's reaction...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Please listen to me. Now, the position is, I would have very much liked to direct the Minister to intervene and say something. But according to the programme, at 5 o'clock the other discussion should commence.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You never asked at 3-30 what the Government had to say. The Minister could have spoken at any time...

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I am not arguing with you. I am just giving you the factual position. You see the position is, at 5 o'clock there is another item, a half-an-hour discussion. That has to be taken up... (Interruptions) Please listen. Notwithstanding that, I will place the matter in the hands of the House. If the House wants that we should continue this debate and take Mr. Kulkarni's debate afterwards, I have no objection.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: That is what we want.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: On a point of order...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The whole thing is totally unfair.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, you were a very considerate and affable man to pass over the serious remark of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that the Chair is indulging...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have not said it.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: You said it. (Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not use such bad English...

(Interruption)

SHRI C. D. PANDE: You did. You used the word "indulge"...

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have not said that... (Interruption) Find it out.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Find it out.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have not said it. If I have said it, I said the wrong thing... (Interruption) I am saying, I had not said it. If I had said it, I had said the wrong thing.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Then, it is all right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr Bhupesh Gupta said it was a mistake. We need not take notice of it.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: Mr. Vice-Chairman, the position is very simple. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta says that he got up at 5 o'clock to propose extension. The next step is that you ask the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): That is what I am doing.

श्री राजनारायण : मेरा पाइंट यह है कि हर समय चेयर के लिए कोई जरूरी नहीं है कि सदन की राय हो न। (Interruption) सुना जाय, मैं आप पर कोई इल्जाम नहीं लगा रहा हूँ, मगर मैं इस पक्की राय का हूँ कि इस समय जो लोग सदन की राय लेने की बात कर रहे हैं वे जानते हैं कि ऐसे लोगों की मैजोरिटी है जो श्री भूपेश गुप्त के . . . . (Interruptions) सुन्दर मौके के प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार नहीं करना चाहते हैं और इसलिये वे कहते हैं (Interruption) इसलिए मैं आपको अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ (Interruption) कि चेयर को रेज़ीड्यूएरी पावर्स हैं।

SARDAR RAGHBIR SINGH PANJHAZARI: On a point of order.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MO-MIN (Gujarat): On a point of order.

श्री राजनारायण : जो ठीक है उसके लिए चेयर वदम उठ सकती है।

SHRI OM MEHTA: He is confusing the issue.

श्री राजनारायण : आप अपनी रेज़ीड्यूएरी पावर्स का इस्तेमाल करें और इस डिबेट को एक्सटेंड करें।

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): If the position was that there was no other item on the agenda I would have exercised my discretion and quite possibly I might have exercised my discretion accepting the request of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and others. But there is already an item on the agenda and that is the right of Mr. Kulkarni who has moved it. It is his right . . . (Interruptions) I can only do it when . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Mr. Kulkarni can wait for half an hour more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I can only do it if the House demands to do like that. I want to know the wishes of the House, whether we should continue with this . . .

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We want division.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The question is:

"That the debate on Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's resolution be extended."

The House divided:

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Ayes—15; Noes—24.

AYES—15

Basu, Shri Chitta

Das, Shri Banka Behary

Gupta, Shri Bhupesh

Kesavan (Thazhava), Shri  
Krishan Kant, Shri  
Kulkarni, Shri A. G.  
Mandal, Shri B. N.  
Menon, Shri K. P. Subramania  
Pitamber Das, Shri  
Rajnarain, Shri  
Reddy, Shri Mulka Govinda  
Sarla Bhadauria, Shrimati  
Sinha, Shri Rewati Kant  
Varma, Shri Man Singh  
Yajee, Shri Sheel Bhadra

NOES—24

Anand Chand, Shri  
Ansari, Shri Hayatullah  
Bhargava, Shri M. P.  
Chaudhary, Shri Ganesh Lal  
Gilbert, Shri A. C.  
Khaitan, Shri R. P.  
Lalitha (Rajagopalan), Shrimati  
Mallikarjunudu, Shri K. P.  
Mitra, Shri P. C.  
Momin, Shri G. H. Valimohmed  
Narayanappa, Shri Sanda  
Neki Ram, Shri  
Pande, Shri C. D.  
Panj hazari, Sardar Raghbir Singh  
Patel, Shri T. K.  
Reddy, Shri Yella  
Rizaq Ram, Shri  
Sahai, Shri Ram  
Satyavati Dang, Shrimati  
Shanta Vasisht, Kumari  
Sharma, Shri Anant Prasad  
Singh, Raja Shankar Pratap  
Sinha, Shri Rajendra Pratap  
Vidyawati Chaturvedi, Shrimati

*The motion was negatived.*

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, we should not stand on this particular question on the voting figures. I would request the honourable Deputy Minister to say a

few words about the policy which the Government wants to follow.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No. no.

SARDAR RAGHBIR SINGH PANJHAZARI: We are opposing it. It is absolutely wrong.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: It may be voting or it may be anything. What Mr. Bhargava has said is a very important thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No, no. I am calling Mr. Kulkarni.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This Government does not have the courage to say anything on this... *(Interruptions)*... being pressurised...

*(Interruptions.)*

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu): On a point of order.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I will hear Mr. Dharia.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I am very sorry, Mr. Vice-Chairman, my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, should not have passed such a remark as "pressurised" on the Government. I am sorry that this issue has been brought after voting. *(Interruption)* Instead of passing any remarks with this decision of the House... *(Interruptions)* There is nothing like "pressure".

श्री राजनारायण : चेयरमैन साहब, आपने धारिया जी को मौका दिया। मैं केवल आपसे जरिये अदब के साथ धारिया जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर सरकार जवाब देना चाहती है तो क्या आप रोकते,

[श्री राजनारायण]

सरकार जवाब देना चाहती तो क्या आप रोकते, क्या धरिया जी रोकते? सरकार को इस समय गुनाम बनाया हुआ है। नहीं तो, क्यों नहीं देती जवाब।

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: The matter is over now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Dharia is right. I think. . . (Interruptions) Please sit down, please sit down.

#### HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION ON POINTS ARISING OUT OF ANSWER TO STARRED QUESTION NO. 322 REGARDING CREDIT TO SMALL FARMERS.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is very important subject. I will now request Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and other friends to help us to find out more money for farmers. Sir, I wanted to make out a case for the rural areas. We have got about 80 per cent of the population in the rural areas and 80 per cent of the land is dependent on rains. It has got no irrigation facilities whatsoever. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in reply to the debate on the general budget it has been stated that more money was spent on the agricultural development. I challenge this statement because I can say, more than hundred times of that money. . . (Interruptions) Mr. Vice-Chairman, how can I continue like this? What is this going on?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Order please, order please.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: What I wanted to say was hundred times

more money was spent on the organised industry in this country during the last three Plans and I want to challenge this Government, having spent so much money on industry, they are now coming and saying that since money also has been spent on the agricultural sector they want to collect taxes to equate agriculture with industry. It is absolute hypocrisy of the highest order. . . (Interruptions) Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am so much disturbed on this point. Nearly 40 per cent of the raw materials of organised industrial sector come from the agricultural sector. . . (Interruptions) Eighty per cent of the raw materials originating from the agricultural sector form sizable share in the export bag. That is why it is a very important sector for which the Government. . . (Interruptions) Mr. Vice-Chairman, the two Whips are fighting over there. . . (Interruptions) Your Highness....

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Nobody is high.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I have given you the background of these rural area. . . (Interruptions) What is this planning? Each man gets 35 naye paise. Is it rational? It is incumbent on the Government to make very drastic structural changes in its policy in financing the agricultural sector. What I am saying is that at present what is the position of the farm credit in this country? I can understand when the Finance Minister says that only nine months have passed after the Credit Council has been inaugurated. I quite understand that the policy could not be made out but is there a directive to the Credit Council to evolve a social approach? I doubt it. We are only supplying 25 per cent. credit at a very reasonable rate and the balance credit is being obtained by these farmers at 30 to 50 per cent rate or