

[Shri A. M. Thomas] we have taken up the matter with the respective country that sold these fighters to Iran. But, at the same time, when we brought it to the notice of Iran, they said that they had not sold it to Pakistan. All the same, when their attention was drawn to the fact that we were able to see these F-86 fighters in Pakistan, then what was said to us was that they had not the servicing facilities and other facilities in the matter of attending to these F-86 fighters in Iran and that, therefore, these planes have gone to Pakistan in that connection. All the same it is a fact that Pakistan has acquired these additional fighters now and they have acquired them from Iran.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar) : Of course the hon. Minister has made a very comprehensive statement, but I would like to know if it is possible for him to tell us regarding some of the reports which are appearing in the press regarding the concentration of the armed forces of Pakistan on some of our borders. What information has he got as to where the armed forces of Pakistan are concentrated?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has indicated Kashmir and other places. You need not go into details about these matters.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA : Then I would also like to know whether the Government is aware or if they have any information to the effect that there is some liaison between some of the parties in India and foreign countries as a result whereof there may be a simultaneous flare-up in this country, I mean a simultaneous attack from outside on this country.

(No reply.)

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY (Mysore) : The statement of the Minister has made one point very clear and that is that Pakistan has improved its position militarily and also improved its position in many many other matters, and the Minister stated that he has taken up the issue with the concerned Governments. But he has not told us about the reactions of these Governments in this regard specifically. Now, in a matter of this nature, I think

the Government has got to take up the matter more seriously and should talk to these Governments. In this connection I want to know what the attitude of the Government of the U.S.A. is with regard to supply of their equipment through the media of other countries. Then I would like to know whether any Chinese are training up guerillas in Pakistan, especially in East Pakistan and whether it will not pose a danger, an immediate threat to Indian security.

SHRI A. M. THOMAS : With regard to the U.S.A., as has been stated before also on the floor of this House, they are only supplying non-lethal weapons. They are not supplying lethal weapons either to India or to Pakistan. Of course there are these F-86 fighters; they are Canadian-manufactured F-86s. They were in possession of Germany, and then they changed over to some other type of fighters, they sold these to Iran—this is the report that we have got. We have taken up this matter with this Government before, and I have already stated the reply that we got in this matter. Apart from this we are keeping friendly countries aware of these threats and these developments and also the preparations by Pakistan, Sir. I fail to see what more we can do in this matter.

श्री जगत नारायण (पंजाब) : मिनिस्टर साहब ने बहुत सी बातें बतलाई कि कुछ देश पाकिस्तान को हवाई जहाज दे रहे हैं और वह बाहर से सामान ले रहा है। लेकिन मैं उनसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उनके नालेज में है कि वागा से खेमकारन तक इछोगिल नहर को उसी तरह से बना रहे हैं जिस तरह कि नहर वागा से कोई 10 मील तक इछोगिल नहर बनी थी? उसके साथ ही साथ 15 फुट कच्ची दोवार खड़ी कर रहे हैं ताकि इधर से कोई पास न कर सके और न देख सके कि वे क्या कर रहे हैं और इस तरह से वे अपनी पूरी तैयारी कर रहे हैं।

SHRI A. M. THOMAS : Sir, subsequent to the Tashkent Agreement, Pakistan is reported to have dug a similar canal of the type of the Ichhogil canal, in the Sialkot sector.

ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE MOTION REGARDING THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have to inform Members that under rule 172 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I have allotted two days for the consideration of the Government Motion regarding the present international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto.

MOTION RE. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move :

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

Sir, it is not my intention to make a long speech at the beginning of this debate. I would like more time of the hon. Members to be utilised in making their own suggestions and their own assessment of the international situation, and I shall try to cover in my final reply the points of importance that are bound to be raised in the course of the debate. In the beginning, however, I feel that I should give some important information, and our assessment of the international situation, particularly in relation to our neighbours, and on one or two other important matters.

In a sense, Mr. Chairman, the discussion on the international situation already started when the Defence Minister made a statement about the Pakistani military build-up, because this is the most important matter which is the concern of our country; this House and the country are naturally exercised over this issue. I will also in the course of my remarks say something about our relationship with Pakistan. Before that, Sir, with your permission I would like to say that our relations with other neighbours of ours are at the present moment particularly good

Our immediate neighbours, Nepal, Burma and Ceylon are on very friendly terms with us. His Majesty the King of Nepal paid us a visit. The members of the Rasbtriya Panchayat also came here and

met Members of Parliament of both Houses here. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Nepal also visited us and met not only the Government leaders in Delhi but he also went round the country and had an opportunity of seeing for himself the great friendship and affection that the Nepalese people and the Nepalese Government enjoy amongst the people of our country. We are conscious of the great effort that is being made by His Majesty the King of Nepal in improving the living standards of the people of Nepal. We ourselves, to a small extent, are contributing our share and we are happy to do so notwithstanding our own difficulties, to be able to render some little assistance as a token of our friendship and as a token of our desire to cement and strengthen the bonds of friendship that exist between the people of Nepal and the people of India.

Sir, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Burma, General Ne Win, also paid us a visit some time back, and our relations with Burma are very cordial and very friendly. There has been cooperation between us in many spheres and we were particularly happy, and I want to acknowledge this with your permission, that there was a spontaneous response from Burma when we made an urgent appeal to the Burmese for supplying us more rice to lighten our difficult rice situation in the country, and we are very happy that our difficulties were appreciated and there was a ready response and a friendly response from Burma to meet our requirement). There is growing co-operation in several other fields, and collaboration in various spheres between Burma and India.

Sir, with Ceylon we have had very good relations, and the important question of the future of persons of Indian origin, who are now in Ceylon, has happily been settled, and the present Government is fully seized of this question and they have got a great deal of understanding about the difficulties and complexities of the situation and the present Government of Ceylon are also in touch with the representatives of persons of Indian origin, who are in Ceylon, and are trying to work out the modalities and procedures for implementing the Agreement that had been signed between the Government of Ceylon and the Government of India.

[Sardar Swaran Singh]

Sir, going a little further, we have got excellent relations with Afghanistan. You, Sir, yourself as the Vice-President of our Republic, paid a good-will visit to Afghanistan and you know, Sir, what was the feeling of friendship and the feeling of brotherly relations that were exhibited during your visit to Afghanistan. Our relations with Afghanistan have always been cordial and friendly and we have got several fields of collaboration, of providing training facilities, educational facilities in our educational institutions, particularly technological institutions, for the students of Afghanistan, and I am sure that there are several areas in which we can extend our cooperation and collaboration with Afghanistan with whom we in India have bonds of traditional friendship.

Sir, I am sorry I cannot say the same about our two neighbours—I will come to that a little later—namely, China and Pakistan.

In South-east Asia, there are very significant developments that have taken place and are in the process of taking place. Out of this turmoil a new situation is emerging. In this connection, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that we are very happy that the present Government of Indonesia have expressed their desire to strengthen and improve relations between Indonesia and India. Our relations with Indonesia were traditionally very close and we had close collaboration not only bilateral but also in the non-aligned world in the Afro-Asian community and in the United Nations. There was always a good deal of cooperation and understanding between us and Indonesia. This, unfortunately, received a rude shock about two or three years back and thereafter we were rather concerned about the sharp deterioration in our relationship, and the climax was reached at the time of the unfortunate Indo-Pakistan conflict. We on our side were always confident that there is inherent goodwill among the people of Indonesia for the people of India. There are historical bonds, bonds of culture and of common endeavour to end colonialism and we in India had always been greatly involved in the processes which led to the ultimate emergence of Indonesia as a free independent country. It was, however, unfortunate that these essential bonds of friendship

and understanding between the people of two great countries, India and Indonesia, got a temporary setback and there were several incidents which I do not want to recall. I am happy that the patience that we had shown in this respect has yielded results and even on very difficult occasions we always continued to entertain the hope that the day was not far off when our relations would revert to the normal equation of friendship and understanding and comradeship. There are distinct signs of that developing now and taking a concrete shape. Hon. Members of this House must have noticed the several statements which have been made by the Foreign Minister, Dr. Adam Malik, and I greatly welcome the sentiments that he has expressed and I look forward to the pleasure of welcoming him when he visits our country, because we have got everything to gain not only bilaterally but also we can be a factor, both Indonesia and India working together, for stability and for the maintenance of peace and for lowering of tensions in this part of the world.

We are also, Mr. Chairman, very happy that the two countries, Indonesia and Malaysia—Malaysia with whom we have got such close and friendly relations—are taking steps which will be to the mutual advantage of those two countries, and the unfortunate confrontation which had bedevilled relations between Indonesia and Malaysia appears to be ending before long. It is our hope that this will happen very soon. These are our friendly countries. As for Malaysia we have always understood with a great deal of appreciation their peculiar difficulties. And we can add that Malaysia also has always understood our problems and there has been a special friendship between Malaysia and India. We are naturally happy, therefore, that the difficulties that were being faced by the government and people of Malaysia on account of the confrontation now appear to be on the point of being resolved and we would wish that this process is hastened and the relations between Indonesia and Malaysia, two countries which are neighbours of each other and which have several bonds which bind them together, bonds of history and culture and of common interest and respect for each other's sovereignty and independence, these things will emerge as a positive force which

will contribute to stability and for lowering tension and for the development of healthy relations.

Sir, the situation in Vietnam about which our Prime Minister made a statement on the 7th July, is a situation which is a matter of great concern for the whole of the world. We are very much ourselves gravely concerned, because it is a country which is in our neighbourhood. They are our brother Asians and the people of Vietnam are suffering from one difficulty or another, from one type of war or another type of conflict and war, for the last twenty-one years. They have suffered very much and naturally our sympathies go out to the people of Vietnam. Sir, the present unfortunate situation has, therefore, naturally caused us concern. When we saw that there is grave risk of escalation of this unfortunate conflict, when the bombing of the areas in the vicinity of Hanoi and Haiphong took place, we could not remain silent spectators because we thought—and rightly thought—that this is a situation which is fraught with very serious danger, the danger of escalation, danger where the human sufferings would increase, danger which might engulf other areas and other parts. So we made suggestions which were incorporated in the Prime Minister's statement. In essence, Mr. Chairman, this was a continuation of the policy that we had always adopted in this very difficult Vietnam situation. We have always held the view that there cannot be a military solution of this problem, that this problem must be taken away from the battlefield to the negotiating table and there should be a dialogue, a conference, a Geneva type conference, so that the agreements, the Geneva Agreements, may be implemented and the people of Vietnam may have an opportunity to decide about their future without any interference from any outside force, without any pressure from any side, direct or indirect. This has been consistently our position.

How to bring this about, how to take this difficult problem from the battle-field to the conference table or to the negotiating forum? We came to this conclusion after a very careful study of the various aspects of the situation that this is not possible so long as bombing of North Vietnam continues. We made it, therefore, quite clear that the objective of

finding a peaceful solution through a Geneva conference type of negotiation with the objective of implementing the Geneva Agreement, the hope for this could only be if the bombing of North Vietnam were to stop to be followed by a conference and a cessation of other hostilities. Now, it is true that this suggestion made by our Prime Minister has not resulted either in a cessation of bombing or in other processes which we thought were likely to follow if bombing stopped. But I put it to this august House that this appears to be the only hope if South East Asia and in fact the world is to be saved from a grave risk of escalation which might develop into a holocaust, which might engulf larger parts of the world and which might also involve other parts. It is therefore very necessary for us to appreciate the situation. The dangers in the situation unfortunately persist and the extension of hostilities to the demilitarised zone is a further factor towards escalation. If the situation is to be saved, if the position is to be retrieved, there must be some move towards de-escalation and some beginning has to be made somewhere. If the whole world continues to throw up its hands and give this up as a difficult matter for which no solution is possible, this would not be a correct attitude and notwithstanding the immediate difficulties that any proposal or any suggestion is likely to meet, there must be a set of voices raised, powerful voices raised, which might open some way of finding a satisfactory solution of this very difficult and very complicated problem. We are not adopting an attitude of trying to apportion blame. The most immediate thing which must attract our attention, which must attract the attention of the world community, the international community, is to find out some reasonable way of de-escalation and of trying to create conditions in which some dialogue might start. It is from this point of view that we made these proposals. Now, there have been some harsh critics, I think, more in this country perhaps than in other countries, of the ideas which were put across very clearly and very boldly by our Prime Minister in her broadcast on the 7th July. It is quite interesting that but for China which came out with a very clear statement denouncing these suggestions the reactions from other countries

[Sardar Swaran Singuj have been very restrained- There has been a large volume of support for these ideas. Some of the countries have expressed it openly; others have convened to us in the course of our contacts with those countries but I cannot recall any other country except China which may have denounced them squaTely and categorically. Well, that is not difficult to understand. Unfortunately China is in a moods

SHRI AKBAR ALI K/IAN (Andhra Pradesh) : Even North Vietnam did not denounce.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: The reactions from North Vietnam, I would like to repeat, have been very restrained. We should understand their attitude. So long as the present bombing continues and the present fighting continues in different parts of Vietnam, it is not easy to expect that they would readily ayree to the various steps. Naturally their expectation would be that they would think of them when something happens. They cannot be expected to give out their reactions in a totality of contingencies where one thing is contingent or dependent upon something else happening. Therefore, I would like to place this thought for the earnest consideration of this House that this very difficult situation which has dangerous potentialities is a matter of grave concern for the world and any effort that is directed to opening some way, some hope of de-escalation and of starting the other process of taking it away from the battlefield is most welcome and as Prime Minister herself made it clear, we are not wedded to these proposals in the sense of trying to insist upon the actual formulation thereof. These are ideas and there can be suitable modifications, if necessary, provided they are acceptable. We are not opposed to any such modifications. I would like to sav, Mr. Chairman, that notwithstanding the difficulties that we foresee, it is our intention to continue our efforts in this direction and we are in touch with friendly countries and other concerned Powers and we will continue to do our best to contribute whatever we can to see that peace returns to these unfortunate people and the people of Vie'nom are left to decide their future without any outside interference.

Jr, it is quite interesting that this formulation of Government of India's ideas is being criticised from two different angles. Some volume of opinion thinks it is too much to one side and the other thinks that it is too much to the opposite direction. The reactions which we knew would be there are not unexpected but the main object in putting across these ideas was to open some hope in a situation which did not appear to open out any possibldity of a peaceful settlement. Sir, an unfortunate feature of the situation in Vietnam is that it has its repercussions in other adjoining countries also. It has its repercussions in Laos and naturally we are greatly concerned; not only because these countries are our neighbours—we have got historical ties, cultural ties, with these countries—but also because they are suffering and suffering sto terribly.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab) :
And Cambodia.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH ; I am coming to Cambodia. Our admiration goes for the heroic effort that Prince Souvanna Phouma is making to give a neutral Government to the State of Laos. He is facing very great difficulties and we have every sympathy for the difficulties that are being experienced by the Royal Laotian Government but we are confident that the situation in Laos will also take a turn for the better when the situation in Vietnam improves. The unfortunate position now is that the two situations are very much interlinked and there is littli chance of the situation in Laos improving without an improvement of the situation in Vietnam.

Sir, Cambodia also has, under the very dynamic leadership of Prince Sihanouk, succeeded in maintaining its independence and sovereignty. Prince Sihanouk has been able to give a stable government to Cambodia. We have always been strongly and stoutly in favour of maintaining the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia. The* troubles which the Cambodian people are facing, particularly on their borders, are troubles which naturally are a matter of concern. Some proposals have been made by Cambodia towards strengthening the functioning of the International Control Commission and the matter is receiving the

attention of the two Co-Chairman, *i.e.*, \ the Soviets and the British, and no final decision has yet been taken.

Sir, our relations with several South-east Asian countries, *viz.*, Japan, Thailand and the Philippines, are friendly. With Japan particularly, we have got not only increasing economic relations, but also we have established a system whereby there are periodical consultations between the representatives of the Government of Japan and the Government of India, so that there can be exchange of views on important *issues* that affect us bilaterally and also the bigger issues of peace and war.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Before the hon. Minister leaves the topic of Vietnam, may I ask your permission to interrupt him?

SAWMK SWARAN SINGH: No, not now. It could perhaps be done later on. Let me finish. If there is anything, I shall certainly reply.

With the Philippines and Thailand we have had several contacts. Our Speaker and Members of Parliament paid a goodwill visit to the Philippines some time back and they were well received. There is a great deal of understanding of our position. ^Although we are conscious of the fact that our views are not always identical, particularly on political issues, this is a case where friendship and understanding have grown notwithstanding differences on several issues. Our endeavours to strengthen our relations with these countries will continue.

The Australian and New Zealand Governments have helped us a great deal in the economic field in a concrete manner. I am mentioning all these things, so that the House may have some idea of the situation in our neighbourhood and this is a matter which will be of interest to this House and the countries concerned. With Australia and New Zealand, both of whom are members of the Commonwealth, we have numerous contacts and we work together in several fields in the United Nations and the Commonwealth. Our friendship and relations are good.

Now, Sir, I wish I could say the same thing about our two other neighbours, Pakistan and China. Now, about Pakistan, in continuation of what the Defence Minister has stated this morning about the military build-up in Pakistan, I would like to say only this. We have signed the Tashkent Declaration with Pakistan. It is our earnest belief that the Tashkent Declaration does provide a basis for improvement of relations between the two countries. If this Declaration, the undertakings and the obligations which have been taken on by the signatories—India and Pakistan—are adhered to, it would open up the prospect of reversing the unfortunate trends of deterioration in the relationship between the two countries. We are still hoping that the wisdom of developing good neighbourly relations will not be lost sight of. The various steps, which are clearly mentioned in the Tashkent Declaration, for settling several matters, which affect the lives of millions of people both in India and Pakistan, would open the way of reversing the trend of deterioration and open the way for the development of good neighbourly relations. Mr. Chairman, for some weeks after the signing of the Tashkent Declaration there were indications that Pakistan would take some steps towards implementing the Tashkent Declaration. In pursuance of this we ourselves took a very highpowered team to Rawalpindi for discussion and settlement of several matters which required urgent consideration, discussion and settlement between the two countries. I would not be far wrong if I were to say that the team that went to Rawalpindi was the most high-powered team that ever left India for any other country, including Pakistan. There were three Cabinet Ministers, four or five Secretaries to the Government, several other members of the subordinate staff, because we were anxious that matters should not remain pending and that there and then, as soon as some settlement, in principle, was in sight, follow-up action might be taken immediately, so that concrete things might emerge as a result of the discussions. We were, however, disappointed. We have continued our efforts. There we had agreed that we would meet again. We have made an offer, as the House is no doubt, aware to the Pakistan Government that there could be and should be a meeting at official level, which could

[Sardar Swaran Singh] prepare the ground for a meeting at Ministers' level. There was response from the other side, which was not very helpful. We have again proposed to the Government of Pakistan that there should be a meeting at the official level and this meeting should be without any pre-condition and there should be freedom for either party to raise any point they like. It should not be circumscribed by any condition. That is a very fair proposal and it is our earnest hope that, even at this stage, Pakistan will react positively to our suggestion, and a meeting at official level might be possible and thereafter a meeting at Ministers' level and other levels, so that we might be able to take concrete decisions in the economic field and several other fields.

In the field of communications we, on our side, have taken several initiatives and our endeavours will continue towards implementing the Tashkent Declaration and we are hoping that Pakistan would also respond. At the same time, the burden that is cast upon us of continuing to take steps towards strengthening our country cannot be ignored. It is in that context the statement made by the Defence Minister this morning is relevant. This means a* heavy burden, which we have to carry, but there is no option,

1 P.M.

Still it is our earnest hope that in a situation like this the crying needs of the people of India and Pakistan should not be forgotten, the needs of improving their living standards, of taking steps to improve their day-to-day life which obviously is very seriously affected when large resources are diverted to this armament race about which mention was made this morning; whereas, if positive steps are taken under the Tashkent Declaration, then a situation develops in which greater resources can be earmarked for the real development purposes of the country and for the benefit of crores of people in India and Pakistan. It is in that direction that we must have the ultimate objective and should work to ensure a state in which this type of craze for acquiring armament does not exist. The hon. Defence Minister gave some information and it is amazing how Pakistan went to all and sundry in the world getting arms from all conceivable sources, some openly, some even

surreptitiously. This is a very dangerous and, I should say, a very senseless approach. India is a big country. We have got our responsibilities, and if Pakistan ever feels that it can browbeat India by this type of attitude, I think Pakistan is sadly mistaken. We on our side are fully conscious of the role that we should play and which we are determined to play, namely, to work for improvement of relations, and it is my earnest hope and desire that there will be a response from the side of Pakistan. If we go on tying knots, it is easy, but if we put one contingency or one condition as a condition precedent for anything else happening, it is easy to build up a case and build up an atmosphere of that type. Where does it take us, the two countries? Where does it take the people of our two countries who are neighbours and who have a common heritage of history, of culture, of language and several other points of contact? So it is our hope that our efforts which are genuine and sincere and about which I have no doubt in my mind will succeed, and that the people of Pakistan, the 10 crores or 11 crores of people in Pakistan, do want to live in peace and friendship with the people of India as good neighbours, and it is our hope that these forces which are forces of lowering of tension and of improving relations will prevail and the present difficulties would be got over.

DrWAN CHAMAN LALL : We, are the same people.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : We are the same people, Diwan Chaman Lall has rightly reminded me. He himself was brought up in Rawalpindi which is now the capital of Pakistan, and there are several other persons there who were born here in India, and it is, therefore, in the mutual interest of people on either side that our relations should improve.

Sir, I cannot help remarking that this unfortunate, intransigent attitude, an attitude of going away from the Tashkent spirit, has been greatly instigated by the attitude of China. It is quite interesting that China is the solitary country in this world which condemned the Tashkent Declaration as soon as the Tashkent Declaration was signed by the two countries. It is amazing. Two countries through their Heads of Government solemnly sign a declaration which is not directed agafast

China- It is the determination of the two countries to resolve all their differences by peaceful means and to take positive steps in the economic, cultural and several other fields to improve relations. It is difficult to imagine any country in this wide world at any time in history, I would add, which might have objected to an agreement of this type, and it goes to the credit of our great neighbour, the Peoples Republic of China, that they came out strongly to condemn this Tashkent Declaration. It is difficult for me to imagine as to what could be the reason for doing this, but probably the rulers of China do not always look to reason and if they have got any particular objective before them, then they would not be influenced either by logic or by the hard facts of history but would just go in pursuit of their own notion of keeping up conflict in all parts of the world. Unfortunately there is one country in the world today, China, which does not believe in the efficacy of peaceful means for resolving any disputes, and this is the main question that divides China today from the rest of the world. Other countries, even though they do not agree with each other, which are ideologically completely different from each other or countries that have difficult, basic points of difference and potential conflict between them, continue to hope that it is possible to resolve even the most difficult and complicated problems by peaceful means. But China does not accept that. They somehow or other continue to toe this line, the inevitability of war and conflict for resolving anything; but the world knows that conflict and war do not solve any problems. If anything they complicate those problems apart from unleashing misery and suffering on the people of the world. So this intransigent attitude of Pakistan is traceable to this collusion and this alliance between China and Pakistan. Sometimes I have every sympathy with the people of Pakistan when their leaders slip into this Chinese way of thinking. But it is for them to decide. It is not for me to give any advice. I know that to anything that we say in the present unfortunate relationship the reaction on their minds is the opposite. It is for them to see as to what is happening in other parts of the world, for them to be convinced as to whether the path that they are pursuing is even in their own best interest or in

the best interest of their people- It is amazing, Mr. Chairman, that not only did they condemn the Tashkent Declaration, I think, on the very first or second day after it was signed but later on took other steps. In this connection I would like to mention the visits of Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Foreign Minister Marshal Chen-yi and later of Premier Chou En-lai to Pakistan. In the course of these visits it was amazing to see the way they tried to create an impression, the Chinese leaders, in the minds of the people of Pakistan that (ho Chinese were their real supporters, and they made statements even which went far beyond Pakistan's attitude on many issues/ So, this is how this instigation has worked.

About China, we have on several occasions stated that they are our neighbours and that the Colombo Proposals could form the basis of further discussions, further talks. They opened a way for resolving our differences. But all these things were completely rejected by China and they continue to reject them and now their attitude is one of total hostility, of complete opposition to whatever India says. And India now is generally clubbed with others—what the Chinese describe as imperialist USA, revisionist USSR and reactionary India. Now these days, in any Chinese formulation this is the phraseology that they generally employ. If we ...

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : We are not only in the company of the USA, but also of the Soviet Union.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: As I said, they say, revisionist USSR, imperialist USA and reactionary India. These are the three expressions that they are using. Fortunately for us, I think, we have not got that vocabulary, abuses which can match the abuses that are hurled by China against us. But I think, as a matter ...

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : अभी आप कितना समय लेंगे ?

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : The Minister can take as much time as he likes.

सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह : राजनारायण जी, जितना आप कहें ।

श्री राजनारायण : घन्यवाद । इतना समय हमें भी दिला दीजियेगा । आप कोई नई बात

[श्री राजनारायण]

नहीं बतला रहे हैं जो हम जानते नहीं। अगर कोई नई बात बतलानी है तो कहें।

सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह : राजनारायण जी, आपके लिये तो कोई नई बात नहीं है। लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि हाउस का बड़ा सेक्शन है, हमारा सारा देश है और बाहर के देश हैं, जिनके लिये यह चीज जानना जरूरी है।

श्री राजनारायण : हमारा धीरज खत्म हो गया, तब हम बोले।

सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह : मैं आपसे अर्ज करूंगा कि सत्र कीजिये और इस दुनिया में सत्र से बहुत कुछ मिलता है। शायद आपके लिये यह नई बात हो।

श्री राजनारायण : नई बात है तो सुनाइये।

सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह : सत्र करना भी एक नया पहलु है आप की इस पिकचरस लाइफ में।

SIT, I was saying that the attitude of China which unfortunately has now developed into one of complete opposition and hostility to India is something which imposes a greater burden on us to be vigilant and to strengthen our unity and our determination to face whatever may be the difficulties that might be created by this type of attitude and by this type of collusion between Pakistan and China.

Mr. Chairman, there are only one or two more points which I would like to say at this stage. As you know, our Prime Minister paid a visit to Cairo, Brioni and Moscow and after that a statement was made by her on the floor of the House. We welcome the forthcoming meeting of the three Heads of Government which is proposed to be held in Delhi. President Tito, President Nasser and our Prime Minister are meeting here in India some time in October and this will be an opportunity to exchange views on factors that not only effect our relations *inter se* but also the international situation, the ways to strengthen non-alignment and to successfully combat the dangers that non-aligned countries are facing. These are important matters that are bound to be discussed

About the African situation, I would like to make a mention only of two matters. One is the situation in Rhodesia which, unfortunately, continues to be very very difficult. The sanctions which the United Kingdom had imposed against Rhodesia do not appear to be yielding results. And we have always held the view that not only economic sanctions but all other sanctions including the use of force should be employed so that the illegal, racist regime of Rhodesia should be ended and power restored to the majority people of Rhodesia.

About South West Africa, I made a statement the other day about the judgment of the World Court. That is another very important issue and I am sure that the support that this Parliament gives to the legitimate aspirations of the majority people of South West Africa would not only hearten them but would create an atmosphere in the United Nations which will mount up the requisite measure of pressure against South Africa so that they can end their hold upon South West Africa and the mandate of the United Nations is restored and that South West Africa is enabled to achieve their cherished goal of freedom which is the legitimate and rightful expectation of the majority of the people of South West Africa.

Mr. Chairman, I have in answer to some questions given information to Parliament about the efforts for disarmament and non-proliferations of nuclear weapons. I do not want to say anything more except to remind the House that at the present moment the difficulties are many and real. But ultimate peace depends upon the efforts that are being made for disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. They open the only hope for the world and for maintaining the forces of peace in the world.

Thank you very much.

شری عبدالغنی (پنجاب) : میں

صرف ایک بات جانتا چاہتا ہوں۔

[श्री अब्दुल गनी (पंजाब) : मैं सिर्फ एक बात जानना चाहता हूँ।]

श्री सभापति : अभी जब इस पर डिसकशन होगा तब आप फरमा सकते हैं।

شری عبدالغنی : ایک بات عرض
کرنی ہے تاکہ بولتے وقت ہاؤس کا
وقت بچ جائے -

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी : एक बात अजें करनी
है ताकि बोलते वक्त हाउस का वक्त बच जाये]

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Has the hon. Minister made any motion ? He has not moved the motion.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He started by saying that "I wish to move".

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan) : Sir, I move :

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

'and having considered the same, this House—

(i) urges Government to bring pressure on Britain to scrap the Banwell Commission's Report which, if implemented, would split up Mauritius into factions and tribes; and

(ii) assures the people and the Government of Mauritius that in this ultimate struggle of its to shake off foreign thralldom, India is with them."

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

'and having considered the same—

(i) this House regrets that despite the lessons taught by last year's military confrontation with Pakistan and the sterile Tashkent Pact, the Government of India's foreign policy continues to betray apathy to national self-interests and is conditioned instead by out-dated and irrelevant cliches;

(ii) this House records its opinion that Government's repeated invocation of the Tashkent Pact, mutilated by Pakistan in letter and spirit, its readiness to hold parleys with Pakistan notwithstanding Pakistan's insistence on having Kashmir on the agenda, its in-

t[1 Hindi transliteration.

L69PS/66—4

ability to check the obvious shift in Soviet Russia's attitude towards Pakistan, and its adject surrender to western pressure in the matter of devaluation are deplorable instances of the Government of India's failure on the foreign front, and

(iii) this House demands that—

(1) Government must decline to hold talks with Pakistan unless the latter gives evidence of a constructive approach to the problem to agreeing to exclude Kashmir from the purview of talks and let it be known to Pakistan in unambiguous terms that Kashmir is not negotiable;

(2) Government should convey to Moscow that any arms aid to Pakistan will be regarded as an unfriendly act; and

(3) Government must emancipate its policies from the economic chains which bind it to the Western Powers by radically overhauling the Plans so as to progressively dispense with all aid."

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR (Mysore) : Sir, I move :

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

'and having considered the same, this House approves of the said policy."

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

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

'and having considered the same, this House records its sense of disappointment at the persistent failure of the Government of Pakistan to honour the spirit and the terms of the Tashkent Declaration and expresses the opinion that in the circumstances the Government should inform the Government of the USSR that in view of the attitude of Pakistan, India cannot be expected to unilaterally honour the Declaration."