

not included it in the next week's business. I would request him even now to provide a day for a discussion of the food situation in the country.

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY** (Mysore): Madam, I have tabled a motion asking for a discussion on the acute food situation prevailing in the country. I have also tabled two calling attention motions with regard to the postponement of the Afro-Asian Conference and also the statement made by the Prime Minister that he is prepared to refer the issue of Pakistani aggression to an impartial tribunal. These are very important questions and we are sorry to find that no time has been found for discussion these important issues here. I understand that the Lok Sabha is going to discuss about the Indo-Pakistan relations next week. Why it is that time has not been found for the Rajya Sabha to discuss these very important issues?

**SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA:** Madam, in the first instance, it is not correct to say that the first week is over. The session started on Wednesday. We have worked for two days. Friday is a non-official day, and I have announced the business only for the next week. Some of the points which have been raised by hon. Members here have been raised in the other House also. And we would try our best to include many of the things which have been mentioned here. But I cannot promise here and now. We have at least four weeks still, after the next week, when the House will continue its session. These important points—Indo-Pakistan relations, food, foreign affairs—were raised in the Lok Sabha also and I have practically given them an assurance that we shall try to accommodate these items in the third week or the fourth week of the session.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The Houses then adjourned for lunch at thirteen minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, the VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

# RESOLUTION RE APPOINTMENT OF A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE TO REVIEW EXTERNAL PUBLICITY —continued

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, some of the countries might have made up their minds and might have taken up certain positions. If they have a closed mind and if they are biased in one way or the other, it may be difficult to plead our case but there are a number of countries which are uncommitted and our case should not go by default just for the reason that we have not been able to place all the cards before them. That has been the experience for the last three years. In 1962, when the Chinese committed aggression against India, there was a frantic search made for a 1,000 KW transmitter. It has taken nearly three years for them to conclude an agreement. If only proper steps had been taken at that time, we would have been in a better position to do good publicity through the medium of the radio. As other Members have already pointed out, in many countries, though they want to listen to the A.I.R., they are not in a position to listen to the A.I.R. because they cannot get the reception there. The Government of India always takes things in a very leisurely manner and it does not attach first importance to first things.

Some Members have already alluded to the fact that the Foreign Service should be reorganised and whenever appointments are made for the posts of Ambassadors, the I.C.S. Officers might be good in certain respects but they have not been able to create that impression in foreign countries that India's cause is the right one, that India is fighting for a right cause. They have not been able to create an

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.]

image that India is fighting for the preservation of democracy and for the preservation of secularism, that India is fighting against Communist expansionism and Pakistan's theocracy and militant dictatorship. We have not been able to impress on some of the countries that we are fighting not for a piece of territory but for a noble cause and we have not been able to impress on them that nearly sixty million Muslims are still living in India with all their rights and privileges that the other communities in India enjoy. It is because the foreign publicity in the Indian Missions abroad has not been able to cope up with the changing times. The old rut to which they were used will not pay us dividends. So we have to take steps to reorganise the Foreign Service and leading non-officials should be associated to man our embassies abroad. It was rightly pointed out that some of the journalists should be given an opportunity to man these services so that they may be in a better position to give exposition to India's cause. It was pointed out that we are sending some Missions to foreign countries to explain our cause. Some of the Members are very much eager to join the delegations going to Europe and other places but some of the Members are reluctant to go to the African countries. That is the same reason with regard to the members of the Foreign Service. They would rather prefer to serve in Europe or America, but they are reluctant to go to Afro-Asian countries. It is because they have enjoyed all these years the good things of life and they would like to go and spend their time more in merriment than in the discharge of their duties and responsibilities to the nation. Therefore it is necessary that proper reorganisation of the Foreign Services is undertaken as early as possible.

The publicity material that is being produced, as some body pointed out some time back, is not properly utilised in the foreign countries. In most of the Missions, the Ambassadors, the

Counsellors and Secretaries do not freely mix with the representatives of the people there, with the representatives of the Government as well as with the representatives of the public. They live in their isolated shells and so they will not be in a position to give a proper picture of our country. In this war we have gained the prestige that we lost and in this war we have been able to create some good impression and as the Prime Minister the other day put it, some of the countries are now realising the need to appreciate the stand taken by India. It is because an attempt has been made now to present a proper picture with regard to the present dispute with China. It was true that America considered at one time that Pakistan was their great ally and therefore they supplied armaments worth one and a half billion dollars and now the position has to be properly explained that Pakistan is not fighting the expansionist Communist China, but on the other hand she is hand in glove with Communist China to scuttle democracy in India and that India is fighting the cause of democracy, that India is fighting for democratic institutions and the fundamental rights of free people. This has to be properly and clearly explained and if this is done, I am sure, many countries, including the U.S.A., will try to change their attitude. Now we could see some change in the attitude of some of the Western countries and it is because our case is being properly focussed and is being properly emphasised.

Therefore, I feel that the Resolution is a very simple one. The failures that we have met with should be examined to see what remedies should be effected to rectify the defects in foreign publicity that we have all along adopted and therefore I feel that there is need for the appointment of a Committee of Parliament of fifteen Members so that they can examine the causes of our failure with regard to foreign publicity and how best to improve that. Thank you.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY (Mysore): Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir,

I welcome this debate because I attach great importance to publicity, especially external publicity. I am glad that there is keen awareness among friends here about the problems of external publicity. In the past, on many occasions, both in this House and the other House, views were expressed that there had been great inadequacy in our machinery of external publicity but today's debate, I think, is particularly important because we are meeting soon after a great conflict, and we have seen directly, at close quarters, apart from other things, how the apparatus of publicity has worked. To my mind, the battle that we are waging in the field of propaganda and publicity to win over many minds in the world is far more exciting, stimulating, hard and subtle than the actual war on the battle front. I feel that we may win a war on the battle front, but in the battle or war of minds, I am afraid, we may lose. So I attach far-reaching importance to this problem of external publicity.

Here I do not in any way mean to suggest that internal publicity is not important. I attach very much importance to internal publicity, but I attach far more importance to external publicity and it requires our greater attention. Sir, there have been occasions in the past also when it has been pointed out by my friends here and elsewhere that our embassies abroad have not been able to fulfil an effective role in regard to propaganda and publicity, that they have not been able to project the image of our country properly there and that they have not been able to explain our policies, and all these years there seems to have been a sort of self-righteous attitude on the part of some people in the External Affairs Ministry. If it is wrong, I will be happy to know that my statement is wrong, but it is my feeling that a sort of self-righteous attitude in the matter of publicity is creeping slowly in the External Affairs Ministry, and as a result of this there has been a sort of callous and casual treatment of this problem.

There are various instances to show how our diplomats abroad have been callous or casual on important occasions. To name a few, take the case of the Anglo-French aggression on the U. A. R., when it took place, our representative in the U.A.R. was not present. Then again, when a military *coup d'etat* took place in Pakistan, our High Commissioner was not there. Then when a military dictatorship took over the administration, the Government in Turkey some time past, our Ambassador was not there. Similarly, when there was some trouble in Nepal, when the Government was changed, our Ambassador was not there. So, many instances may be multiplied. Now this shows a certain amount of callousness if not casualness on the part of our diplomats in treating the problem of publicity as well as other important matters; they have not been able to be present on crucial occasions when their presence was badly wanted, and they have always shown a sort of disregard to the political developments there and to reporting on those developments to our country.

Again, as I said earlier, they have not been able to explain our policies and they have not been able to project our image to other countries. After all, good policies can be spoiled by bad advocacy, and as I said, I think the sense of self-righteousness is too much with us; we feel we are right and so we expect others to feel that we are right, and this kind of attitude, I should say, does not fit in well in the modern context and, I think, the problems of publicity are so important and complicated that they require a modern mind to look after that aspect; the problems of publicity and propaganda cannot be handled or tackled by ancient minds and so I am surprised and shocked to find this kind of self-righteous attitude on the part of certain officials, and the same tendency in another form of callousness, if not casualness, is prevalent among some of our diplomats.

It is not my intention to say that nothing has been achieved in the field

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of publicity; some random attempts have been made and some actions have been taken, in a huff, during emergencies, to explain our attitude and our stand with regard to various issues. But the whole thing has got to be assessed from the point of view of results; it has got to be seen whether our publicity and propaganda abroad were effective at all, whether the machinery that has been there has been geared to the purpose on hand; that is the sole test, and if you apply this test, I am afraid, we have failed. There have been various inadequacies, lapses and weaknesses on various topics developing off and on. I think one of the greatest drawbacks in the field of publicity and propaganda is that the information service of the External Affairs Ministry, particularly in the embassies, has been considered as an unimportant adjunct. Most of the Press Attaches have no *locus standi*; they are part of the embassy but they are treated as a sort of casual contract personnel and they are a sort of dissatisfied bunch. Such people, if they man such service, we cannot expect good publicity, good advocacy, good propaganda.

I feel that publicity and propaganda is a very very complicated affair. It requires a tremendous amount of training, skill, experience, aptitude and ability, and I think a modern publicist is far more important than a traditional diplomat, because what is diplomacy today except publicity and propaganda in the world? And what is the role of a diplomat? During war-time a diplomat cannot function, because he always says, "I am not staffed with proper personnel; I suffer from various inadequacies, of resources, personnel and the like". and during normal times he will never act. So I think that the only people who are important in our diplomatic missions, in our embassies, are those who engage themselves seriously in propaganda and publicity, who prepare the materials and who cultivate the minds of the people there to see this country in clear perspective. I do

not think there are many instances in our embassies—that is my knowledge—where our Ambassadors have gone out of their way—not in the wrong sense of the term—who have gone out of their way in cultivating public opinion there and press information there. Some handouts and a few pamphlets will not mean much in these days of great publicity.

I think my friend has pointed out that a small amount has been allocated for publicity. Well, I am not bothered whether the amount is small or big. Let me take it for granted that the amount allocated for publicity and propaganda is very meagre. But that is not important; resources are not at all important in the long run provided the people who work there are more resourceful; if the people there are more resourceful, lack of resources can be made up. Take Pakistan; it is not a country of great resources. Take China; it is not possible for China to allocate so much resources needed for modern propaganda. Take petty countries around; take Ceylon, for example—I do not want to compare my country with Ceylon. Anyway, it is not a question of resources; it is a question of resourcefulness. What we require is a cadre of personnel who have thought, imagination, skill and training as I said, who take it as a sort of missionary task to propagate our ideas, interests and policies abroad. That is what is required.

Unfortunately, as I said, all of us are limping on this issue. We have not been able to make up our minds. Very odd suggestions have been made here and there, but I think a very big effort is necessary in regard to propaganda and publicity. Proper planning, proper preparation of the material and proper execution of the policy laid down and who directs the policy, all these things become extremely important in the modern world. So I feel that what is required is not merely an expression of an attitude, an expression of a wish, an expression that something is wrong and that it has got to be rectified. What is required

is not merely the mending up of some fences here and there. What is basically wrong is the complacency that is prevalent in some quarters, a sort of lackadaisical attitude working in the minds of some officials. Now, that is also wrong. Within these extremes we have got to take steps, very very concrete steps by which we may bring about a change and the necessary reorientation in the set-up of the external publicity. May I suggest that our external publicity is only treated as the Cinderella of the External Affairs Ministry and that this attitude should go. That attitude should be given up. I say that more and more the Information and Broadcasting Ministry which has the necessary expertise, which has got the necessary personnel, should be closely associated with this work. External publicity also should be linked up with internal publicity. What we say in India should have the necessary rational relation with what we say abroad. Therefore, I say some sort of a marriage between the Information and Broadcasting Ministry and the External Affairs Ministry should be brought about. And may I venture to point out that one of the ways of doing this is to have a joint council or joint committee where the experts of the External Affairs Ministry and the experts of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry may be there, presided over by a senior officer of the External Affairs Ministry? Secondly, may I say also—and that is may information that these things are being handled by a Deputy Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI LAKSHMI N. MENON): A Joint Secretary.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: May be a Joint Secretary. But I feel that he has got many other duties to discharge along with these functions. I think that a senior person who can exclusively devote himself to this work should be there in the External Affairs Ministry and he should direct and take over the direction of this policy,

the propaganda policy, plan it out in consultation with the Information and Broadcasting Ministry.

Now, I come to the other point raised by some hon. friends from the other side. There was a lot of delay, I find even during the emergency in the broadcasts of the All India Radio. One of the reasons given is that clearance was not got from the the External Affairs Ministry in time, and therefore the All India Radio delayed the broadcasts. Why is this? Why should there be this kind of procedural delays with regard to our broadcasts? What is a broadcast? A broadcast is based on certain norms, and normally a broadcast should have news value information value and truth. If these things are there then there should be immediately clearance given. After all, news loses its value if not broadcast immediately. We find in Pakistan that we get immediate broadcasts of any news, any event there. But there is inordinate delay in this country. To a certain extent this was obviated, but not to the full extent. I say this is a wrong procedure and I would very much wish that our machinery is reoriented in the direction of expediting the flow of news from the Ministry of External Affairs to the All India Radio

Mr. Vice-Chairman, there has been some talk of hostile propaganda against India by foreign countries (*Time bell rings*) I think I will take only about three or four minutes more. I will be finishing now. I was referring to hostile propaganda in foreign countries. This is part of the bigger problem of publicity and propaganda. What is it that we are doing? This is linked up with the entire policy that we have been pursuing abroad. We have got to be very clear and alert to meet such propaganda in other countries. But I feel that our embassies abroad are so constituted that they are not able to take any decisions about the hostile propaganda going on there against us. They are even afraid to

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## review external publicity

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come out with hand-outs giving the necessarily clarifications. They have got to refer these matters to Delhi for getting approval. Otherwise nothing can be done there. But why this kind of an attitude, I do not know. In the matter of publicity, I feel that no foreign propoganda which is against us can be countered or prevented if there is delay. What is required is expedition and a lot of dexterity imagination and thought should be put into it.

Therefore, I submit that there should be competent personnel to handle this matter in our embassies. A new cadre should be created and if competent personnel are not available in the Administration,—they are not available and that is my view, because they are not trained for this purpose, they are not conditioned for this purpose—then they can only be taken from outside. They may be journalists or others with the necessary experience. What is required is that a cadre of publicists should be there—here and in our embassies—so that during emergencies we can always depend upon them, and not on an *ad hoc* basis take in some journalists here or there at the time of the emergency. That shows immaturity and that should not be there. I therefore plead with Government in all earnestness that there should be an awareness that this problem of publicity is there. First of all that awareness should be there. There is awareness in this House, that there is such a thing as the problem of publicity. If there is this awareness then I think all the other things will follow. I feel that great vigour, vitality and drive have got to be imported to solve this problem of publicity and I hope the hon. Ministers in the External Affairs, who are here will take my views in the right light and I count on them.

Thank you.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया  
(मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय,  
जो प्रस्ताव श्री अब्रहाम ने पेश

किया है, उसका समर्थन करने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। यह बात बहुत प्राचीन काल से मानी जा रही है और प्रत्येक भाषा में उसके बारे में कहावतें भी हैं कि जिसका प्रचार अच्छा होता है उसकी खराब चीज भी अच्छी लगने लगती है, जिसका प्रचार ठीक नहीं होता उसकी अच्छी चीज भी अप्रिय लगती है। हमारे यहां मालबी भाषा में एक कहावत है कि जो बोले ऊँका बूरा भी बिक जा और नी बोले ऊँकी ज्वार भी नी बिके। तो इस दृष्टि से आज के युग में वह अत्यंत आवश्यक हो गया है कि हम अपने प्रचार की दृष्टि से कुछ न कुछ करें, जिससे कि कम से कम हमारे जो अच्छे सिद्धान्त हैं उनको प्रतिपादित करते हुए हम अपने मित्रों की संख्या बढ़ा सकें। लड़ाई के मोरचे पर हम जीते, मगर इस पब्लिसिटी के क्षेत्र में विदेशों में जो हमारी स्थिति है उसको देखते हुये ऐसा लगता है कि उसमें हम नहीं जीते। इस दृष्टि से हमारी जो प्रचार व्यवस्था है उसमें कोई सुधार करने की अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है।

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

विदेश विभाग के अनुसार संभवतः हमारी प्रचार व्यवस्था बहुत अच्छी है, उनके अनुसार वे करोड़ों रुपये प्रति वर्ष इसके ऊपर खर्च भी करते जा रहे हैं—हमारे राजदूत विदेशों में हैं, हमारे उच्चायुक्त विदेशों में हैं, पब्लिक रिलेशन्स आफिसर्स हैं, डिपुटी डायरेक्टर्स हैं, इन्फार्मेशन आफिसर्स हैं, प्रेस एटाची, एसिस्टेंट प्रेस एटाची पब्लिसिटी आफिसर्स हैं, इस बारे में बड़ी लंबी चौड़ी यादी है कि इतने सारे लोग उसके लिये हैं। जैसी कि रिपोर्ट हमारे विदेश विभाग की प्रसारित हुई उसके अनुसार अंग्रेजी में, अरबी में, फ्रेन्च में, स्पेनिश में भी काफी प्रचार किया, सारी लाइब्रेरी भरी है। डाक्यूमेन्टरी फिल्मस का प्रदर्शन किया,

अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय फिल्म फेस्टिवल में भाग लिया सब कुछ किया। इसके बावजूद भी हमारी विदेशों में प्रचार की क्या स्थिति है? इन सारे विभाग के कथित प्रचार के बावजूद भी हमारे जितने विदेशों में मित्र हैं उनकी सख्या में हम वृद्धि करते जा रहे हैं? या घटौती करते जा रहे हैं? जो हमारे मित्र हैं उनकी हमारे प्रति जो सहानुभूति थी उसमें हम वृद्धि करते जा रहे हैं या उसमें हमी कमी पैदा करते जा रहे हैं? यह इस लड़ाई के दौरान में हमको अच्छी तरह मालूम हो गया कि जो हमारे नजदीक के थे—पूर्ववक्ताओं ने लंका का उदाहरण दिया, यू० ए० आर० का उदाहरण दिया—उनके बारे में हम इस निर्णय पर पहुंचते हैं कि हमारे अच्छे सिद्धान्त होने के बावजूद भी हमारी एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स मिनिस्ट्री द्वारा पब्लिसिटी काफी किये जाने के बावजूद भी कहीं न कहीं गड़बड़ है और उसके परिणामस्वरूप हमारे मित्र भी हमारा साथ ठीक तरह से देते जा रहे हैं, ऐसा लगता नहीं। तो यह हमारे मंत्री जी विदेश में प्रचार करने की गड़बड़ को वहां डिफेंड कर सकेंगे या नहीं, मगर यहाँ अच्छी तरह से डिफेंड कर देते हैं और सत्य बात करने वालों पर आरोप लगा देते हैं कि लोगों की हाबी हो गई है कि यह पब्लिसिटी के बारे में चर्चा किया करे, उसकी आलोचना करे। परंतु जितने भी आज तक अखबार के कटिंग्स हमने देखे 1959 से अब तक, तो सब में इसी आशय का वर्णन आता है कि हमारे प्रचार का मामला बड़ा ठंडा है, ढीला है। दूतावासों द्वारा पंद्रह पंद्रह रोज तक उनको समाचार नहीं दिये जाते। 20 सितम्बर, 1959 के 'इंडियन एक्सप्रेस' में प्रकाशित हुआ था कि पन्द्रह दिन पूर्व भारत-चीन के संबंध में जो भारत सरकार द्वारा व्हाइट पेपर निकाला गया, वह इंडिया हाउस में पन्द्रह दिन के बाद भी नहीं मिला।

ऐसे एक नहीं, कई कटिंग्स मैंने 3 P.M. अभी इस तरह के लाइब्रेर में देखे जिनमें इस आशय का वर्णन आता है कि हमारी सरकार विदेशी पब्लिसिटी के बारे में उपेक्षा बरत रही है और इस बारे में कान परवाह नहीं की जा रही है। इसके मूल में क्या बात है, इस बारे में हमारी सरकार कुछ विचार नहीं करती है।

अभी विदेशों से काफी लोग घूम कर आये हैं, जिनमें हमारे जगद्गुरु श्री शंकराचार्य भी अफ्रीका एवं यूरोपीय देशों में गये थे और उन्होंने स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा है कि हमारी वहां पर बड़ी ह्यूमिलिटिंग पोজीशन है। हम लोगों को वहां पर जितना मान मिलता चाहिये था, उतना नहीं मिलता है और भारत के प्रति वहां जो अच्छी धारणा होनी चाहिये थी वह नहीं है। आजकल बी० बी० सी० यह प्रचार कर रहा है कि भारतवर्ष में हिन्दू रहते हैं, मुसलमान नहीं रहते हैं। लेकिन स्थिति यह है कि पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान में जितने मुसलमान रहते हैं उससे ज्यादा हिन्दुस्तान में मुसलमान रहते हैं। यहां पर जातीय आधार पर कोई भेदभाव नहीं है, इस बात का विदेशों में हमारी तरफ से जोरदार प्रचार नहीं किया जाता है। अभी राज कपूर विदेशों से लौट कर आये हैं और उन्होंने वहां पर जो अनुभव किया उसके बारे में 'स्क्रीन' में एक लेख निकला है, जिसके कुछ अंश मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

"While giving his impressions of his stay abroad, Raj showed much concern over two disturbing features. An image much humiliating to our country, projected abroad by wrong newspaper and radio reports circulated outside by foreign agencies, and the rather unbecoming attitude (tending to lower the prestige of our country) of some Indian living overseas....

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौराड़िया]

. . In this connection, I recall an All-India Radio broadcast by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar who, like Raj recently returned from abroad after an extensive trip, in which he advised overseas Indian how they should conduct themselves. In a nutshell, every Indian, when staying outside his country, must act as the envoy of his own motherland."

तो यह लास्ट रिसोर्ट है और हमारी सरकार इस बारे में कुछ नहीं कर सकी। हमारे देश के बहुत से लोग विदेशों में हैं जिन्हें अपने को भारत का राजदूत मान कर भारत की स्थिति को स्पष्ट करना चाहिये, लेकिन उनको इस बारे में मसाला मिलना चाहिये जो हमारी सरकार देने को तैयार नहीं है। अभी इसके बारे में कल ही 'करन्ट' में पब्लिसिटी एफर्ट्स के नाम से एक लेख निकला है, जिसके कुछ अंश मैं आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ:

*'Publicity Efforts.—An absorbing topic of conversation is what went wrong with our publicity. Some blame the system others bureaucratic attitudes and red tape but everybody agrees that something has to be done about it'*

इस तरह से हमारे सब मंत्रालयों का प्रचार का काम हो रहा है और स्वयं सरकार भी यह समझती है और चाहती है कि वर्तमान जो एक्सटर्नल पब्लिसिटी है वह कुछ ठीक नहीं है। जब सदर्न रोडेशिया में हमने वेलन्स्की सरकार से तांबा लिया तो वहां के अखबारों में यह समाचार छपते रहे कि यह जो साम्राज्यवादियों से भारत सरकार ने सहायता ली यह अच्छा नहीं और भारत सरकार वेलन्स्की के पक्ष में है। इस तरह की बातें वहां के अखबारों में कई महीनों तक छपती रहीं, लेकिन हमारी ओर से इसका स्पष्टीकरण नहीं किया गया कि जब चीन ने हमारे देश के ऊपर आक्रमण किया तो उस

आक्रमण का सामना करने के लिये हमने तांबा वहां से लिया, लेकिन हमारी जो नीति "साम्राज्यवाद" के खिलाफ है, वह कायम है। हमने इस तरह के प्रचार करने का कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया। इसलिये यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि इस तरह की बातों की ओर हमें विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये।

एक वर्ष पूर्व जब भारतीय जनसंघ के महामंत्री श्री दीन दयाल उपाध्याय अमरीका तथा यूरोपीय देशों का दौरा करके आये तो उन्होंने कहा कि भारत का जो स्पष्ट चित्र मिलना चाहिये था, वह इन देशों में नहीं मिलता और अमरीका में भारत के प्रति घोर अज्ञान है।

मेरे एक मित्र अभी जापान से लौटे और उनसे मेरी जब चर्चा हुई तो उन्होंने बताया कि हमारा प्रचार ठीक नहीं है। उन्होंने कहा कि चीन-भारत के झगड़े के समय जापान में दो दृष्टिकोण थे भारत तथा चीन के झगड़े के बारे में। एक दृष्टिकोण यानी भारत सरकार यह चाहती है कि चीन 1962 की पोजीशन में वापस आ जाये और दूसरा दृष्टिकोण, यानी भारत के अन्य दलों के नेता यह चाहते हैं कि 15 अगस्त, 1947 की पोजीशन में चीन को आ जाना चाहिये। पिछली बात को जापान की जनता ने ठीक माना। भारत के दृष्टिकोण के बारे में जब वहां की अम्बेसी में पूछा गया कि इस तरह का दृष्टिकोण में फर्क क्यों है कि सरकार 1962 की पोजीशन में चीनियों को आ जाने के लिये चाहती है, जबकि दूसरे भारतीय नेता 15 अगस्त, 1947 वाली स्थिति चाहते हैं, तो इस बारे में कोई भी स्पष्टीकरण ठीक तरह से दूतावास की ओर से नहीं दिया जा सका। इस तरह से और भी अखबारों के 'कटिंग्स' हैं; जैसे "नैंगलेक्ट आफ अवर पब्लिक रिलेशन्स इन एस० यू० एस०" इस शीर्षक से श्री ईश्वर सागर ने लेख लिखा है कि हमारी सरकार की ओर से



जो भी प्रकाशन निकलते हैं, वे आउट आफ डेट होते हैं और उनमें बहुत पुराने समाचार होते हैं। इस तरह विदेशों में भारत के समाचार नहीं मिलते हैं, जिसकी वजह से हमारा केस डिफाल्ट में जा रहा है। इन सारी घटनाओं से हम इस निर्णय पर पहुंचते हैं कि हमारा जो विदेशी प्रशासन है वह अपर्याप्त है, बिना चुना हुआ है, आकर्षण रहित है, असा-मयिक रहता है और जब उसकी आव-श्यकता होती है तो वह उसी तरह से बीमार हो जाता है जिस तरह से चीन के आक्रमण के समय जनरल कौल बीमार पड़ गये थे। लेकिन हमारा प्रचार विभाग ऐसा नहीं कि वह पूर्णतः सुस्त हो, वह कभी कभी चुस्त भी रहता है, जब हमारे कोई मंत्री वहां चले जाते हैं। जब कभी भारत के मंत्री महोदय विदेश जाते हैं तो वहां के अधि-कारी अपने सारे रिसोर्सेज लगा देते हैं। वहां पर जो हमारे प्रेस अटैची होते हैं वे मंत्री महोदय की प्रचार की बातें, उनका फोटो छपवाने में पूरी तरह चुस्नी से काम करते हैं। जब हमारे मंत्री जी वापस लौटते हैं तो उनके सामने अखबारों के कटिंग्स, उनकी फोटो और तस्वीरों का एलबम दिया जाता है, जिससे वे बहुत खुश हो जाते हैं और वह अधिकारी उनके गुड बुक्स में आ जाता है। इसी भ्रम-जाल में पड़े होने के कारण हमारा शासन आजकल विदेश के प्रसारण विभाग का बचाव करता जा रहा है और व्यक्तिगत प्रचार को राष्ट्र का प्रचार मान कर चल रहा है। इस लिये मेरा निवेदन है कि इस बारे में कुछ न कुछ अवश्य विचार करना चाहिये जिससे हमारी स्थिति विदेशों में अच्छी तरह समझी जा सके।

हमारी विदेशों में प्रसारण की नीति अच्छी नहीं है और जो भी है उसका प्रसार करने वाले साधनों में संख्या की कमी

के साथ साथ योग्यता एवं उत्साह की भी कमी है। स्थिति यह है कि हमारे यहां चार विभाग हैं जो प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष रूप में प्रचार करते हैं, किंतु उनमें कोआ-र्डिनेशन नहीं है। हमारे विदेश विभाग का पब्लिसिटी का हिसाब अलग है, सुरक्षा विभाग का पब्लिसिटी का हिसाब अलग है, होम मिनिस्ट्री का, सेन्सर के द्वारा, अलग प्रचार विभाग होता है और सूचना तथा प्रसारण मंत्रालय का अपना प्रचार का हिसाब अलग है। ये चारों विभाग अपने अपने क्षेत्र में अलग अलग तरीके से प्रचार करते रहते हैं और इनमें आपस में कोई कोआर्डिनेशन नहीं है। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि हमारी सरकार को एक सेन्ट्रल इन्फार्मेशन सर्विस का निर्माण करना चाहिये जिसमें सारे विभागों का प्रचार एक ही जगह से हो सके। इस समय हमारा जो प्रचार विभाग है वह ठीक तरह से कार्य नहीं कर रहा है। विदेशों में हमारी पब्लिसिटी ठीक तरह से हो, इसके लिए यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हम इस तरह की एक नई सर्विस का निर्माण करें जो सारे प्रचार का काम अपने हाथ में ले।

इसी तरह से जैसे अधिकारी होते हैं, वैसे ही कर्मचारी भी होते हैं और वैसे ही काम करते हैं। जिस तरह का घुड़सवार होता है वैसे ही घोड़ा होता है। जिस समय मेनन साहब थे, उसी तरह की सेना अब भी है, लेकिन आज चौहान साहब हैं और हमने देख लिया है कि कुशल नेतृत्व से क्या नहीं हो सकता है ?

इसी तरह से हमारे विदेशों में जो दूता-वास हैं, जो वहां के प्रमुख अधिकारी हैं, अगर वे ठीक नहीं हैं, वे ठीक ढंग से काम लेना नहीं जानते हैं, तो ऐसी हालत में हमारा काम अच्छी तरह से चलने वाला नहीं है। विदेशों में हमारे कुछ अधिकारी बड़े योग्य हैं, लेकिन वे कुछ व्यक्तिगत कारणों से अपनी योग्यता का फायदा नहीं उठा सकते हैं।

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौगड़या]

कुछ अधिकारी हमारे अयोग्य है जो मुल्क के बारे में नहीं जानते हैं। भारत के सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक एवं राजनैतिक जीवन के बारे में जिन्हें ज्ञान नहीं है। उदाहरण के लिए जापान में हमारे जो राजदूत श्री तैयबजी हैं वे अपनी योग्यता का उपयोग अच्छी तरह से नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। अभी जापान से मेरे एक मित्र लौट कर वापस आये और उन्होंने कहा कि जापान में लोगों के दिलों में यह बात घर कर गई है कि जब पहले पाकिस्तान ने हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला किया था तो उस समय कोई बात जनता के सामने नहीं आई; और अब लोगों में इस तरह का प्रचार होता रहा कि पाकिस्तान एक छोटा देश है और हिन्दुस्तान एक बड़ा देश है जो कि अपने पड़ोसी छोटे देश को निगल जाना चाहता है। इस तरह की भावना का परिणाम क्या हो सकता है? इस बात को हर एक अच्छी तरह से समझ सकता है। इसलिये यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हम जब तक लोगों में प्रचार नहीं करेंगे, अपना दृष्टिकोण उनके सामने नहीं रखेंगे, तब तक हम अपने इस प्रचार के कार्य में सफलता प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसी तरह की बात इंग्लैंड में हो रही है। वहा पर बी० बी० सी० द्वारा यह प्रचार किया जा रहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान में तो हिन्दू ही रहते हैं, मुसलमान नहीं रहते हैं। इसलिए यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हमारे अधिकारियों और कर्मचारियों की सेवा के ढांचे में परिवर्तन करना होगा जो सारे कामों के मूल हैं उन्हें ठीक तथा सक्षम बनाना होगा, क्योंकि वही तो विदेशों में हमारी आखे हैं, कान हैं और मुख है और हम उनकी उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकते हैं। जब तक हम इन तीनों अंगों से अपना प्रचार कार्य अच्छी तरह से नहीं लेते तब तक हम इस कार्य में सफल नहीं हो सकते हैं।

इन्फार्मेशन आफिसर या पब्लिसिटी रिलेशन आफिसर आदि की नियुक्ति अक्सर राजदूत की पसन्दगी पर निर्भर करनी है।

इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि वह अपनी उन्नति के लिये राजदूत की कृपा पर निर्भर रहता है और वह वही कार्य करता है जिससे राजदूत प्रसन्न हो। क्लर्क और स्टेनोग्राफर पब्लिसिटी आफिसर बन जाते हैं। इस तरह से जो प्रैस अटैची और पब्लिसिटी आफिसर बन जाते हैं उनको हमेशा यही चिन्ता रहती है कि राजदूत को किस तरह से खुश किया जाये और हमारे राजदूत जिन काकटेल पार्टीज, बालरूम डान्स या प्रदर्शनों में शामिल होते हैं उसी के बारे में प्रचार किया जाता है। इस तरह से हमारा विदेशों में प्रचार कार्य चलता है और यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि इस सिस्टम में परिवर्तन किया जाना चाहिये। विदेशों में जो हमारे राजदूतावास में प्रचार के कार्य करने वाले कर्मचारी हैं उनकी नियुक्ति, प्रमोशन राजदूत के ऊपर निर्भर नहीं होनी चाहिये। इसके साथ ही साथ विदेशों में जो राजदूत भेजे जाते हैं वे ऐसे आदमी हो जो हिन्दुस्तान की संस्कृति को समझते हों, वहा की नीतियों को समझते हों यहा के आचार विचार को समझते हों। जो लोग इस तरह की बात को नहीं जानते उन्हें वहा पर नहीं भेजना चाहिये और इस तरह की बात करनी ठीक भी नहीं है।

एक यह भी निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूं कि इसके लिये हमें जरा विशेष ध्यान रख करके और उनका स्पेशलाइजेशन कर के काम करना चाहिये जैसा कि रत्नस्वामीजी ने कहा। मैं इस प्वाइंट पर ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता। मगर इसके अलावा हमें विदेशों में इन विदेशों की भाषा जानने वालों को रखना बहुत आवश्यक है। आज जापान में जितने हमारे एक्सटर्नल डिपार्टमेंट के लोग हैं, मेरा ऐसा खयाल है कि उनमें कोई भी भारतीय ऐसा नहीं है जो वहां की जापानी भाषा जानता हो। ऐसी स्थिति में हम उनमें क्या प्रचार करेंगे और हम यह क्या समझेंगे कि उनके अखबार हमारे लिये क्या सोचते हैं और हम उनको क्या मैटीरियल

दें? हम यह सब ठीक कर नहीं सकते । ऐसी स्थिति में यह अत्यन्तावश्यक है कि जिस देश में हम अपने प्रतिनिधि भेजें वहां हम अपने ऐसे प्रतिनिधि ही नियुक्त करें जो उस देश की भाषा जानने वाले हों जिस से हम प्रचार का काम ठीक तरह से कर सकें ।

एक सुझाव यह भी है कि चीन हमारे खिलाफ प्रचार करता रहता है, इस लिये हांगकांग में हमें चीनी भाषा जानने वालों का एक अलग डिपार्टमेंट कायम करना चाहिये जो यह देख सके कि वहां हमारे खिलाफ क्या प्रचार होता है और वहां मेनलैन्ड के रहने वालों को हम क्या बता सकते हैं । यह प्रश्न अब तक हम नहीं करेंगे तब तक यह कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा कि यहां बैठे बैठे हमने बहुत प्रचार किया और इतना पैसा खर्च कर दिया । केवल पैसा खर्च करने से काम नहीं चल सकता । इसके लिये जिस तरह से इंग्लैंड के पास न्यूज एजेंसी है, अमेरिका के पास न्यूज एजेंसी है, चाइना के पास न्यूज एजेंसी है, उसी तरह से हमें भी भारत की अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय न्यूज एजेंसी कायम करनी चाहिये और उसके माध्यम से हमें विदेशों में अपना प्रचार करना चाहिये । आज तो हम विदेशी एजेंसियों को सबसीडाइज कर रहे हैं जो हमारे खिलाफ विदेशों में प्रचार कर रही हैं । हम यह ठीक नहीं करते । इसलिये आवश्यकता यह है कि हम अपनी व्यवस्था करें या हमारे भारतवर्ष में जो न्यूज एजेंसी है उनको प्रोत्साहन दिया जाये, उनको सहायता दी जाये ताकि, वे विदेशों में जा करके काम कर सकें और उससे हमारा प्रचार का काम ठीक हो सके । और ब्रीफिंग, प्रेस इन्फार्मेशन ब्यूरो द्वारा अखबारों में न्यूज देना, ये सारी बातें ऐसी हैं, जो ठीक ढंग से की जानी चाहियें ।

अन्त में मैं एक मुख्य प्रश्न पर शासन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि पब्लिसिटी और पब्लिक रिलेशंस, ये दोनों

अलग-अलग चीजें हैं । पब्लिक रिलेशंस एक कांतिनुअस प्रोसेस है । पब्लिसिटी से आप कामन मैन को इन्फ्लूएस कर सकते हैं, मगर कामन मैन को इन्फ्लूएस करने के पहले वहां के जो मुख्य लोग हों, प्रमुख लेखक हों, जर्नलिस्ट हों या बड़े बड़े व्यक्ति हों जो कि अपने लेखों और भाषणों द्वारा लोगों का दिमाग परिवर्तित कर सकते हैं, उनसे लगातार सम्पर्क रखना अत्यन्तावश्यक है । हमें उनको यह बताने रहना चाहिये कि पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारा क्या झगड़ा है या किसी देश के साथ हमारा क्या झगड़ा है, पाकिस्तान के बारे में हमारा क्या स्थिति है, काश्मीर के बारे में हमारा क्या स्टैंड है । यह जो टैम्पोरेरी डेलीगेशन जायेंगे, वे ठीक है, उनका सूदिंग इफैक्ट हो सकता है, मगर लांग टर्म अगर हमें लाभ लेना है तो वहां पर हमारे पब्लिक रिलेशंस आफिसर हमेशा ऐसे होने चाहिये जो वहां पर प्रमुख व्यक्तियों से सम्पर्क स्थापित करें, उन से कांटेक्ट रखें और उनके दिमाग काश्मीर और भारत के बारे में या पाकिस्तान और भारत के बारे में साफ करें । जब तक हमारा यह कांतिनुअस प्रोसेस चलता नहीं तब तक हम ठीक ढंग से पब्लिसिटी कर सकते हैं, ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता । अभी जो हम रैम्फलेट वगैरह भेजते हैं, वे रद्दी की टोकरी में फेंक दिये जाते हैं और जो नोशन उनके लेखकों ने, उनके प्रचार करने वालों ने बना रखे हैं उनसे वे ठीक नहीं हो पाते । इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि जो कि पर्सनलिटीज हैं, खास-खास लोग हैं, उनको हमें पकड़ना चाहिये और इसके लिये हमें ऐसे पब्लिक रिलेशंस आफिसर रखने चाहियें जो उनसे सम्पर्क स्थापित कर सकें । इसके साथ साथ ही विदेशों से लेखकों को बुलाना चाहिये, जर्नलिस्ट्स को बुलाना चाहिये, जैसे विदेशों में यहां के लेखक जाते हैं और फिर वे ऐसे लेख लिखते हैं कि हमारी अमेरिका की यात्रा, हमारी जर्मनी की यात्रा, हमारी अमुक देश की यात्रा, उन्होंने हमें बड़ा इन्टरटेन किया, वहां यह बड़ा अच्छा है । इसलिये

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया]

हमें भी अपना कर्तव्य निभाना चाहिये और हमें भी विदेशी पत्रकारों को, विदेशी लेखकों को यहां पर बुलाकर के अपनी स्थिति समझानी चाहिये और उनसे सम्पर्क स्थापित करना चाहिये। इस दृष्टि से मैं यह आवश्यक समझता हूं कि यह पैम्फलेट वगैरह इसू करने की अपेक्षा हम पब्लिक रिलेशंस ज्यादा स्थापित करे तो उससे अधिक लाभ होगा। आज हालत यह है कि कहीं अगर हम किसी आदमी को नियुक्त करते हैं, तो वह थोड़े दिन वहां रहता है और फिर उसको वहां से ट्रान्सफर कर दिया जाता है। रिलेशंस कायम करने का काम एक रोज का नहीं है। एक दूसरे का रिमाण समझना पड़ता है और मनोवैज्ञानिक लड़ाई करना पड़ती है। अगर मनोवैज्ञानिक लड़ाई हम जीत गये होते तो युद्ध के मैदान में आज हमें इतने दिनों तक नहीं लड़ना पड़ता। मनोवैज्ञानिक आधार पर ही हम संसार में अपने मित्र बढ़ा सकते हैं और जब तक संसार में हमारे मित्रों की संख्या नहीं बढ़ती है तब तक हमारी यह सारी पब्लिसिटी और यह सारा रुपया व्यर्थ चला जाता रहेगा।

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

इसलिये मेरा यह नम्र निवेदन है कि विदेशों में जो हमारे पब्लिक रिलेशंस आफिसर स्थायी रूप से रहें, वे योग्यता वाले हों, अच्छी तनख्वाह वाले हों और उनका डाइरेक्ट सम्बन्ध मंत्रालय से हो। इस तरह की जब तक हम व्यवस्था नहीं करते तब तक हमारे लिये यह अपेक्षा करना व्यर्थ होगा कि सन् 1947 में इंग्लैंड हमारे पक्ष में था और सन् 1965 में आकर एकदम गड़बड़ कर दिया या 1964 में अमेरिका हमारे पक्ष में था और 1965 में गड़बड़ कर दिया। यह सारी गड़बड़ी इस लिये होती है कि हमारे उनके साथ जो पब्लिक रिलेशंस चाहिये वे हो नहीं पाते। इसलिये जिम्मेदार, योग्य, तपे-तपाये, हमारी नीतियों में, हमारी संस्कृति में और हमारे देश में विश्वास करने वाले

लोगों को हमें विदेशों में स्थायी रूप से नियुक्त करना चाहिये जो वहां के लोगों से कांटेक्ट स्थापित करके हमारे देश का बातें उन तक पहुंचा सकें।

MISS MARY NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the Resolution moved by our friend, Shri Abraham. Publicity, Madam, is a weapon that can make an elephant look like an ant or turn an ass into a horse. That is what Pakistan leaders are trying to do. Pakistan dictators, Ayub Khan and Bhutto, seem to be irresistible in distorting the facts but we need not do that. At the same time our leaders and our people must also be careful. What is very very important at the present time is to make the public of our country and the people of the whole world know, understand and realise the facts as they are and also see that they have them without any delay. None can refute Madam, the fact that we are not really smart in our publicity. If we were smart, it would not have been so difficult for our mission to prove in the Security Council that Pakistan is the aggressor. We neglected ourselves not for one year but for years together otherwise when Pakistan leaders were assuming the role of protectors of the Kashmiris why did we not ask the world what right they had morally or legally? Why did we not by every possible propaganda impress upon the world that they have no right at all because no other Government except Pakistan violated the principles of self-determination as Pakistan Government has done? How, when and why did Baluchistan, Chitral, Kalat, Bahawalpur and all these come under Pakistan? What right have the dictators of Pakistan to question about Kashmir? We should have made the whole world understand that they had no right at all and that we have every right because Kashmir on its own bad name into our fold. On September 8, 1948, the Pakistan Foreign Minister said:

"Pakistan is under no obligation, international or otherwise, that pre-

vents her from sending her troops to Kashmir."

Did we make the world at that time to look at what they were saying? On January 17, 1952, the Chief Minister of West Pakistan said:

"If the U.N. proves to be a band of thieves, we will have nothing to do with it. We will prove that we can liberate Kashmir with the strength of our arms."

This has been going on for years together. They have been threatening us and the U.N. right and left and what did we do in order to make the world understand their aims? The 'Pakistan Times' wrote on February 13, 1956:

"The question of Kashmir would never be solved until every man in the country was militarily trained and armed with modern weapons."

They added: "I am sure Kashmir would never join Pakistan without force." Khan Jalaluddin Khan said this. What wonderful statements these are, how they contradict one another. First they pose that they protect the Kashmiri people. Again they say that the Kashmiri people will not, on their own, agree to go to Pakistan, unless the Pakistan people take them by force. Did we use these contradictory statements in order to impress on foreign people, on everybody else and to prove that were not consistent? We did not. So, it is proved that they have no love for the Muslims of Kashmir but only for the land of Kashmir. How did we use these statements to make the U.N. and the world understand the real motives of Pakistan? If we are to be honest to ourselves, we did not care at all for what they said. We were indifferent to what they said and felt that Pakistan can only bark, but not bite. I do not mean to criticise the Government. The past

is past. We have to take care of the future. Many of my colleagues have spoken and said everything that was defective in the Ministry, but where were we in those days? We could have asked the Ministries to do better propaganda. We too were sleeping in those days. So, let us not now . . .

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): They would not listen.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: Nobody was sleeping.

MISS MARY NAIDU: If we were shouting at them as we are shouting now, perhaps they would have listened to us. Anyway, all of us took it for granted that there was no fear and that we need not bother about propaganda. Now that the emergency has come, everybody is up in arms. The Opposition Benches were not with us in those days as they are today. If they were with us and they had given their advice as they are giving today, I am sure the Government Benches would have really taken it up . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: That shows their patriotism.

MISS MARY NAIDU: So, the patriotism that has come out during the emergency did not exist in those days. So, let us not think of the past.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: You are mistaken here. It was expressed.

MISS MARY NAIDU: It was not expressed in the same way, I am sorry. Anyway, we do realise now that something in particular has to be done. A little while ago our friend, Mr. Pattabiraman, mentioned one little point with regard to Muslim artistes. He said in the Islamic Conference held in Jakarta a booklet entitled "Muslims in India" was shown—in that there was our Vice-President, and along with him were Madhubala and Dilip Kumar. If we

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were smart, we would not have called them as Madhubala and Dilip Kumar. We would have called them by their Muslim names before we printed them in the booklet. But we did print them as Madhubala and Dilip Kumar and gave their Muslim names underneath. Immediately Pakistan took it up and made much of it. They twisted it to suit their convenience and said that Muslims were not allowed to exist as artistes in India under their own names. They must change their names. The whole world knows that this is not true, but it is not sufficient. If the world does not know it, we have to force it on their brains. We did not think that it was necessary to do so in those days. In the future at least, when we are giving these pamphlets let us give them the fact that our porters, our rickshaw-wallas, whether they are Muslims or Hindus, side by side pull their rickshaws. At present they are helping the jawans with tea parties and dinner parties with the money they are saving. There is no difference whatever between a Muslim and a Hindu. At least now through photographs and everything else let us make much of our propaganda. The real reason I felt was that we had been neglecting it. Instead of blaming the Government, we could all agree to one point. The fact is that we fail to hate the people of Pakistan. Our trouble is only with their leaders. When they go on publishing in every way their utter hatred for us, we are simply unable to say anything against the people of Pakistan because we know in our hearts that they are not to be blamed. Only their dictators are to be blamed and so we are not really able to go on criticising them.

Madam, anyway, the time has now come when we must be quick and alert to prove our pure actions by smart propaganda. Once again I say that in the Security Council we were unable to get the aggressor named only because of our lack of foreign publicity. So, in future, I suggest

one or two things. There must be co-ordination in all embassies throughout the world and there must be proper guidance from the Centre. For that even at the Centre there must be co-ordination between the different departments. The Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting must have some sort of co-ordination. Every embassy, I say, must have one or two members who know the language of the country to which they go. That is very essential, because no country likes to be given propaganda papers in some other language, in English or in some other language. They would like to read it in their own language. So, it is very essential that we train some of our young boys and girls or ask them to undergo training in all the languages. There are many boys and girls who are ready to learn different languages. Pick them up and give them training in different languages and send them to the different embassies so that there may be quick translations at the embassies, on the spot, and for them to distribute the papers to the people of that country.

Also, I request that all those who are being sent as Ambassadors and their advisers and other helpers and workers in the embassies must be given proper training in the country before they are sent. They should not be sent just because the appointing authorities know them or they do not know them. They must be given some thorough training and they must be made to understand what they must uphold in those countries. Our culture, our Sanskriti, everything that belongs to us must be thoroughly known to those people who go as Ambassadors and as their followers. With these words, I thank you for giving me time to speak.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: Madam, some time back when Mr. Pattabhi Raman walked into the House, I thought that he had come to listen to the discussion here, but he has left, leaving the two Foreign Ministers to

listen to the discussion. I do not consider that external publicity is the sole affair of the Ministry of External Affairs at all. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is equally responsible, if not more, for the stuff that comes out through our External Affairs Ministry for consumption abroad. Another Ministry is the Commerce Ministry, which organises exhibitions, trade fairs and all these things and they issue leaflets and brochures regarding the products which we produce. These things also create or influence the image of India abroad. He is also absent. Of the two Foreign Ministers, one Minister is absent now. Only Mrs. Lakshmi Menon remains here.

This morning while I was just glancing through one of the bulletins issued by Press Information Bureau—I do not know why this particular copy came into my hands—I came across some gems. One is this. This is regarding the Rann of Kutch. It is not current and it is a bit old. They have given the background and say:

“Most of the area lies below 600 feet.”

I do not know what it means. Then, it says:

“The environment is generally arid and the region lies between dry shores of Sind and the fluctuating flank of the Arabian Sea Branch of the monsoon.”

I do not know, but the position of the Rann of Kutch is supposed to be understood by this sentence.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What are you reading from?

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: This is from a handout by the Press Information Bureau, from the Ministry of External Affairs, External Publicity Division, Press Relations Section, New Delhi, April 12, 1965.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Pradesh): Is it foreign press or our own press?

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: It is the Government of India's Press Information Bureau. Another thing. Here in the whole Government we are trying to establish that the Rann of Kutch was always ours. When we are giving information regarding the portion of the land to people abroad who do not know anything about it, I do not understand why the different vicissitudes or the different arguments or the different stages in the history should be produced. The facts should be stated in a clear-cut way. Mr. Bhutto was more clear when he called all Indians as dogs in the U.N.O. But here it is said:

“In 1938, a Survey of India official of the then British Administration showed the northern boundary between the Princely State of Kutch and the Sind as “disputed”.”

It might be a fact, but my point is why bring in this fact into a hand-out which we give to foreign nations? How does it help publicity? If anything, it only creates more confusion in the minds of those who read it. I could not read it completely, but I will just show you some more. This is the sentence which appears in the hand-out of the 19th April:

“It was in 1947 that Pakistan concocted her claim, totally arbitrary, gratuitous and baseless, for half the Rann of Kutch.”

In 1947, the actual division took place. Again there is another sentence:

“For the first time Pakistan raised the issue in 1948.”

There is contradiction in the facts which are produced and given out to foreign embassies.

There is a tactical mistake in another thing. Here is a sentence:

“Another tactics which Pakistan has learnt at the feet of its new

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mentor, Mao Tse-tung, is the clandestine encroachment upon Indian territory to create justification for claiming this illegal occupation as *de facto* and *de jure* possession."

Mao Tse-tung is not liked by us. He has done us harm, the maximum harm has been done by him. But the point is whether Mao Tse-tung is understood in the same way by the African countries. What do we find. Many of the African countries do not believe that Mao Tse-tung is wrong. That is the position. What happened to the Afro-Asian Conference? You had a lot of difficulty in convincing the Africans that Mao Tse-tung was wrong. Why should the British people who are anxious to get the business of China rather than continue the friendship of India believe this? Mao Tse-tung has done harm to India, I agree. But the way in which our case is explained is tactically wrong. It will not be understood by a citizen of Ghana or any of the Middle East countries. There are some of the gems which are issued by them.

AN HON. MEMBER: America will appreciate you.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: This is the position. It is not a question of the External Affairs Ministry alone. These things are produced by the Press Information Bureau under the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, and they have got a Department where there is a quarrel between the Press Information Wing and the blue-blooded I.F.S. officers, whether they should come in the seniority list, whether they should be merged; that kind of struggle is going on. This is one of the basic reasons for the haphazard way in which things are done.

The hon. Ministers have been touring all countries recently and it is hoped they are giving a proper image of the country abroad. In Soviet Russia the problem never arose. Recently I happened to go to London,

Paris, West Germany, Switzerland Italy etc. I went from here with the idea that India is a big country, is a great country. Going through the newspapers and articles which I read everyday, my head was quite swollen. But after the initial reception and all these things in London were over, I moved to the house of a friend and I started mixing with the local people and the local Indians also. Incidentally I can say that there is not a single Indian in London who has got a good word for the High Commission's office in London. I do not, however, think that this is the occasion to go into details. From there I came to Paris. There also I visited not many but a few friends and discussed things with a few people. Invariably, you must excuse me for telling you, the first question I was asked by strangers was this: "Are you from Pakistan?" I said: "No. I am from India". They said: "Oh, India". This was rather strange. I felt what is this "Oh, India", as if it is something like a second class country. I discussed with the members of the Communist Party in Paris and asked them what was their reaction to Chinese aggression against us. They said: "We were sympathetic to India, but we did not get any material. We phoned your Embassy, they had no material. But from the Chinese Embassy bundles after bundles of material were coming to us. We did not know what to do." This was the position.

Again, once travelling from Geneva to Berne by train, I was discussing with some friends. Their first question was: "Are you from Pakistan?" My impression is that India is a big country, that we are known throughout the world. In Europe people ask: "Are you people from Pakistan?" I am relating my personal experience.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): That is the experience of others also.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: I discussed this issue with two Consul-Generals of our country in two Euro-



pean towns and also with Mr. A. C. N. Nambiar who lives in Geneva, who was for some time our Ambassador in Bonn. I asked: "What is this? I feel India is considered something like a second rate country." Of course, officers after their initial hesitation also came out with reactions which were very similar to mine.

Mr. Govinda Reddy just now mentioned that while organising groups to go to African countries, some M.Ps. are dropping out. It may be incidental, but these people, with whom I discussed, told me that at social receptions our Ambassadors and others, when an African comes, say: "How do you do?" How do you do?" And there it finishes. With the English people or the Americans or with other white people, they talk with them, they hug them, they hug each other's wives, and so on. But there is some sort of formality, some rigidity with the majority of the countries who have become free, who are heard in the U.N.O., the world forum today. This sort of reserve is there. It should be overcome. Unfortunately God has made these countries black, and naturally they have some doubt whether they are being looked down upon. They have to be treated with special care. When you simply say: "How do you do?" and then go on and talk with a white man, naturally they think that we are slaves of the British.

Another fact is that we are in the Commonwealth. That small island, England,—some status it does have by being head of the Commonwealth. But the purpose of the Commonwealth, I do not understand. We are still there. "Why is India still there? It is not yet an independent country." That impression often prevails among many people in Europe, that it has not yet become free. This doubt is still there. I am not telling you things out of imagination. Why is it there? We are a big country, 150

times bigger than England. It is after all a small island. Day by day it is realising that it is a small island. In order to give it a status, this Commonwealth is being continued. The moment we walk out of it, the Commonwealth will collapse. We are still hesitating. Lots of doubts have been expressed. We are a strong country of 470 million people. We have got a status provided we assert ourselves, provided we behave with firmness. That we are not prepared to do. This is the position.

In our dealings with people abroad, in educating them, our bulletins should be short and easily understandable by them, not like some of these things which look like papers from research students. First of all, there will be no patience for them to go through the whole thing. Three days ago, I was talking to a correspondent of an Italian paper who was in Delhi. He said, "We are sympathetic towards India because Pakistanis are out and out American agents. We know that. But then why did you attack in the Lahore Sector? We do not understand it." He is the correspondent of a paper. Naturally he has a wide knowledge. He could not understand why India attacked the Lahore Sector. What are our Ambassadors doing? Cocktail parties are necessary once in a way. They could give all those things. But why not they hold press conferences also now and then? During the Chinese aggression—I was told—the editor of a paper in Ceylon wanted to know the views of our High Commissioner there. He went there; he had tea but the High Commissioner was talking about Indian mangoes. This is the position in the embassies and of our representatives abroad. Unless we overcome this, we cannot reflect our ideals, the image of India cannot be properly reflected outside. It is not simply satisfying ourselves that we believe in Gandhiji, in the ideals of Nehru, in internationalism and all that. That is all right. For the common people there is no time

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to read big books or research papers or the big hand-outs given to the papers. We should also hold press conferences to give the correct position. That should be done. They should be vigilant. But the whole thing cannot be done unless the External Affairs Ministry puts the foreign service people on correct lines.

Again, about the question of appointing Ambassadors, there is a controversy. One Committee has been appointed. Shri N. R. Pillai is the Chairman. It is good. Shri N. R. Pillai has a lot of experience regarding foreign service and all that. But they should have included at least one or two people from public life also. But all the members are from service. I am not saying this out of prejudice towards people in service. But the outside reaction will not be reflected unless some non-official members are also included in it. These issues can be discussed; several opinions will come before the Committee and the whole thing can be gone into. This should be done.

Also, it is not the External Ministry's show alone; the Information and Broadcasting Ministry also is equally responsible and its foreign section broadcasts to Indonesia, China and all that. One point is that the whole of Europe today uses these transistor radio sets or medium-wave transistor radios. Our broadcasts in short wave will not be heard by them. This question of broadcasting to foreign countries is being discussed over the last two years. Every type of question is coming up now and then. But the Government have not come to a decision to instal a strong medium-wave transmitter. All these transistors are pocket radios. they are used even in houses there; they have medium-wave transistors. Even if you are shouting from Delhi in short wave, it is not possible for them to hear it. So, early steps in that direction should be taken.

I hope that all these things will be taken into consideration. I do not

know whether a committee is necessary. It seems that a committee is already functioning. I think that it would be better that the Committee co-opts some non-official people like Shri Akbar Ali Khan or Shri Govinda Reddy to sit on it and come to a definite conclusion as to how to reorganise the entire External Affairs Ministry and also the Information and Broadcasting Ministry's External Department work.

SHRI M. R. SHERVANI (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to the mover of this Resolution for giving the House an opportunity to discuss this vitally important subject. While we as a democracy are no believers in the techniques of the late Dr. Goebbels which Pakistan seems to have perfected, it cannot be denied that our external publicity suffers from many weaknesses.

This has become more pronounced since 1962 when China mounted its aggression against India. The recent Pakistani attack on India opened the flood-gates of vile propaganda from Rawalpindi. Its diplomatic missions have let loose a torrent of literature based on falsehood and half-truths. The foreign press has come in for special attention at the hands of Pakistan and all kinds of anti-Indian stories have been planted in British and American newspapers. The Pakistani Public Relations officials have been working overtime in all the world capitals.

Foreign correspondents, who knew little or nothing about the development in the sub-continent, suddenly found themselves in Karachi and Rawalpindi. And they swallowed the Pakistani propaganda hook, line and sinker. They accepted as gospel truth the stories of genocide, mass upsurge in Kashmir and of superiority of the Pakistani armed forces. But the foreign correspondents sent to India underplayed the Indian stories. Even the successes in the field were belittled and represented as defects.

I am quite willing to concede that partly this hostility towards India springs from the pre-determined attitude which most Western countries have adopted in the matter of Indo-Pakistan conflict, and the External Publicity Organisation cannot be solely blamed for the present state of affairs. But many foreign correspondents, when they are questioned about the partisan attitude of their press, have complained that the Indian official publicity machinery is not helpful and that Pakistani Public Relations men have been far more considerate towards them.

I have had occasions to go abroad from time to time and I have some idea of the type of propaganda to which Pakistan has stooped, to blacken India's face. While we cannot reduce ourselves to their level, I certainly feel that we ought to do more than we have done to place things in a correct perspective.

It is no secret that there is a colossal amount of ignorance about India in most countries of the world. The impression that Pakistan has been trying to create in the countries outside is that after independence during the past 18 years Indians have been gradually reverting to a state of savagery.

Two years ago, I met a foreign diplomat at one of the conferences outside India. After a few weeks, when we had become quite friendly, he asked me with a confidential air one day, "Do you worship snakes in India?" "Yes", I answered. "Do you treat cows as sacred?" was the next question. "Yes" was my reply. "Do you have people who are not allowed to draw water from the well even if they are dying of thirst?" was the third question. I said, "Yes" and added: "We were doing all these things three or four thousand years ago when people in most parts of the world were living in caves." I then explained to the diplomat that the old

superstitions had died out almost completely, that untouchability had been abolished by law and that the West looked after its cows far better than we could afford to do. The next day this diplomat with a feeling of apology showed me a glossy publication brought out by the Pakistan Government where an attempt had been made to show that after the British left India, Indians were gradually drifting to a state of savagery.

In the whole of the Middle East, Pakistan has assiduously created an impression that India practises genocide and, that Muslims at best are only second-class citizens, I will quote one example. Some time back I was talking to a foreign Muslim dignitary. During the talks he referred to the plight of Muslims in India and to communal riots. I pointed out to him that these riots were a legacy of the creation of Pakistan and that in a city like New York and London, more people were killed every year by automobile accidents than by riots in India. He then referred to the status of the Muslims. When I pointed out to him the high positions which the Muslims held in the different walks of life—in civil service, in foreign service, in the academic world and elsewhere—he was surprised.

I have given these two examples to illustrate the nature of the Pakistani propaganda so that we can think as to how best we can counter it. In my view, both quantitatively as well as qualitatively our external publicity suffers from many shortcomings. The financial allocation for the External Publicity Division for 1965-66 has been actually reduced from over Rs. 50 lakhs in the revised estimates for 1964-65 to Rs. 44 lakhs in the estimates for the current year. In my view, in these days, propaganda war is no less important than war on the battlefields. In 1963, the External Publicity Department was reorganised in the context of the Chinese threat and Sino-Pakistan

[Shri M. R. Shervani.]

collusion. It is said that a top Indian journalist had been consulted before the reorganisation was effected. In my opinion, the reorganisation has not solved the problem. Most of the I.F.S. or External Publicity Officials are cut off from the current of events at home for long spells. They often cultivate an outlook divorced from the realities of the situation. If some of our External Publicity officials had been in India during the last one month or two and witnessed the mighty upsurge which had swept all over the country, I am sure they would have brought to bear a new passion and a new feeling of dedication to their task. My suggestion, therefore, is that there should be frequent interchange of officers of the Indian Information Services and the External Publicity Services and that after every three years an officer stationed abroad, should have a spell of home service—either in some State or the Centre. This would give him a better slant on developments.

In regard to dissemination of suitable publicity material abroad, I must say that our efforts are no match to Pakistan's. A recent news report from Colombo said that since the beginning of recent hostilities, Pakistan had distributed in Ceylon alone nearly two dozen anti-India publications. In the countries of Africa and Middle East, the number of glossy publications distributed by Pakistan is equally large. I think we will have to do much more if we are to counter false Pakistani propaganda and create a correct image of India in these countries.

In our literature, emphasis should be on the nature of the current Pakistani regime, and the character of the society that we are trying to build up in our country—a society free from religious bigotry and regimentation. We should explode the myths that Pakistan is spreading about India. Not merely should we rely on distribution of suitable literature, but we

should utilise all available foreign publicity media to explain India's case. In many of the countries, broadcasting is run commercially. Why cannot we buy radio time to put across our point of view? In the last year's annual report, a reference had been made to the number of TV units to which invitations were extended so that they could exhibit TV films on India in their countries. Now that we are having our own TV arrangements, could we not produce our own TV films for exhibition abroad?

In this connection, I welcome the decision of the hon. Minister of Information and Broadcasting to establish Films Division offices in foreign countries so that our documentaries and feature films could be easily made available for screening in foreign countries. It would be worthwhile even hiring private halls or making arrangements with local exhibitors for screening these films.

I would like to emphasise the use of the foreign press to project Indian ideology and point of view. In view of the known hostility of the Western press towards India, I would like the Government to consider the feasibility of buying space in the newspapers to place our point of view on various problems before foreign people. There is nothing derogatory in it. The Tory Party in the U.K., assisted by top-ranking firms of public relations consultants, buys space in the newspapers to place its programme before the electorate. In the U.S.A. also this practice is fairly common. In our own country, some foreign Powers regularly buy newspaper space to project their point of view. We should place our stand on Kashmir, Pakistani aggression, the Chinese menace, the secular character of our society, etc., etc. before the foreign readers regularly.

Another important point to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government is about the distribution of selected newspapers to journalists, leaders of thought and news media in

other countries. In our own country, papers like the 'New York Times' and the 'Guardian' are being distributed on a similar basis. My suggestion is aimed to keep them informed about the trend of opinion in our country.

In the last year's annual report, a reference had been made to our efforts to keep the Indian students abroad properly informed so that they could serve as our unofficial ambassadors. I am sorry to have to say that this claim is not correct. Most Indian students abroad are not at all happy with the high-hatted attitude of our diplomatic personnel. Many of them wrote pathetic letters home when they read in the local papers, glowing accounts of Pakistani successes in the recent operations. The least that the Missions can do is to supply them Indian papers so that they know what is happening in their country. Only when they themselves are well informed, can they succeed in informing others.

Another weakness of our external publicity organisation stems from the fact that most countries which are friendly to us are dependent on Western news agencies. And since these news agencies rarely present objective picture of events, a distorted image of the country is often created in the countries of Africa and Asia. I think the time has come when we should get together with some like-minded governments and help in the establishment of an international news agency owned co-operatively by the newspapers of India and other friendly countries.

With these observations, I support the Resolution.

श्री जगत नारायण (पंजाब) : मैडम, डिप्टी चेयरमैन, तीन सौ साल पहले महाराजा रणजीत सिंह ने दुश्मन की धरती पर हमला करके फतह हासिल की और वह फतेह आज तक भी तारीख में याद है और जिस धरती

पर उन्होंने फतह हासिल की थी उस धरती के लोगों को पुश्त-दर-पुश्त अभी तक याद है। आज मैं आप की खिदमत में यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने लाहौर की तरफ फौजों को मार्च करने का हुक्म दिया और हमारी फौजों ने उस तरफ मार्च किया यह बड़ा नेक फैसला था सुबारकवाद का फैसला था और इससे हिन्दुस्तान का वकार बढ़ा है मगर कहां बढ़ा है। हिन्दुस्तान में बढ़ा है बाहर के देशों में नहीं बढ़ा है ? हमने पैटन टैंकों का कब्रिस्तान बनाया हमने सैंबर जैंटों का कब्रिस्तान बनाया हमने पाकिस्तान की फौजों को भगाया हमारी फौजों के सामने वे ठहर नहीं सकी। मगर हालत हमारी यह है कि आज सारे संसार में हमारी इस जीत को जीत नहीं समझा जा रहा है। शायद आप यह कहें कि मैं इस जीत के मुतालिक क्यों मायूस हूँ। मैं मायूस तो नहीं हूँ। जहां तक हिन्दुस्तान का ताल्लूक है मैं समझना हूँ कि हमारी सरकार ने एक बड़ा अच्छा कदम उठाया और पाकिस्तान को एक सबक सिखाया। मैं आपके सामने चन्द बाहर के अखबारों की खबरें रखना चाहता हूँ और यह दिखाना चाहता हूँ कि बाहर के देशों में क्या क्या प्रचार हुआ क्या उन्होंने यह महसूस किया है कि हिन्दुस्तान ने जीत हासिल की है या नहीं। यह मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। यह हमारा अंग्रेजी रोज-नामा "स्टेट्समैन" पिछले महीने का है। इसमें जर्मन जो कारस्पान्डेन्ट है उसने लिखा है :

"This paper does not enjoy much reputation in India. One of its most annoying performances was a headline in the issue of September 23: 'Weeping Shastri tells MP's of Cease-fire Order', suggesting as if a defeated India was accepting it with tears."

यह अखबार में लिखा है कि शास्त्री-साहब ने रोते हुए वहां पार्लियामेन्ट में यह कहा। फिर यह साहब लिखते हैं कि एक बहाने ने एक जर्मन लड़की को क्या लिखा है :

[श्री जगत नारायण]

"But my German friend wrote otherwise. She said that she was frightened at the holocaust in which India—India, mind you, not Pakistan,—was enveloped. Belonging as she did to the generation of the Second World War, she knew what bombing meant, for her own home town of Hamburg had been destroyed. She hoped that Delhi was safe and, if not, that I and my family had been safely evacuated.

"Amused a little, I wrote back saying that there was little fighting in India, and that even Pakistan, on whose territory fighting was going on, was pretty safe. Two days after the cease-fire, however, an Indian friend returned from Europe and gave a story amazingly corresponding to the German version.

"He had attended meetings of some very well informed and intelligent people. He had been to Brussels, Prague, Belgrade, Bonn, Rome and Athens, where he had talked to laymen. What he gathered was that India had been all but defeated; there was fighting around Sialkot and Lahore, of course, but some people insisted that these were Indian towns. He was told that the Shastri Government had toppled, that Sikhs had taken control, and that America and Britain were only pulling India's chestnuts out of the fire."

4 P.M.

यह खबरे बाहर के मूलकों में इस ढंग की छप रही हैं ।

चौरङ्गिया साहब ने भी जिक्र किया राज कपूर का । मुझे भी पांच साल पहले रूस जाने का मौका मिला था । वहां पर जितनी इज्जत पड़ित नेहरू की थी—उस वक्त की मैं बात कर रहा हूं आज का पता नहीं—वहां राज कपूर की भी बड़ी इज्जत थी । यहां तक कि हम एक जगह जा रहे थे नदी के किनारे एक लड़का आ गया उसने आवारा के गीत गाने शुरू कर दिए और वह गाता चला गया । बाद में हमें

बताया गया कि उसको सारे गीत याद थे । तो मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि राज कपूर की बाहर के देशों में बड़ी इज्जत थी । मेरे भाई ने पढ़ कर सुनाया, लेकिन एक बात वे भूल गए । जिस होटल में वे ठहरे हुए थे, वहां के बारे में वे लिखते हैं :

"'Are there no ethics in news coverage?' he asked. False-hoods such as 'Bombay bombed,' and so forth were unscrupulously spread abroad by foreign news agencies and correspondents."

वे आग कहते हैं :

"One hall porter in a Tahiti hotel, taken in by these reports, asked Mr. Kapoor: 'Do you have an army?'"

आपके पास फौज भी है या नहीं ?

"To most Americans, India is still a land of snakecharmers and fakirs, the producer-director-actor said. 'Do you have electricity?' an American asked him."

वहां का जो बड़ा प्रोड्यूसर है उसने पूछा कि कि आपके यहां बिजली भी है या नहीं । अमरीका में हिन्दुस्तान के मुताल्लिक इतनी नालेज है कि उनको इतना भी पता नहीं है कि हमारे पास फौज भी है या नहीं, बिजली भी है या नहीं । इसी के साथ साथ यहां के लड़ाई के दिनों में एक नौजवान लड़का पढ़ने के लिए गया विलायत में, तो वह अपना तजूरबा लिखता है कि जब मैं विलायत में गया तो मैं लड़ाई के दिनों में गया था । मैंने क्या सुना वहां पर:-

"It is the frightening efficiency of Pakistani propaganda that lies at the heart of the pro-Pakistani bias."

मैं अपनी बहन लक्ष्मी मेनन जी से कहूंगा कि वे इसको सुनें :-

"In London there is an active Pakistan society which was recently addressed by the Pakistani High Commissioner and, as a result of this meeting, a letter was sent to the 'Times' lucidly stating the Pakistani case. The Pakistani High

Commission also distributes pamphlets, which are largely made up of quotations from newspapers and other authorities, on 'India's aggression against Pakistan' and 'revolution in Kashmir'.

"With this picture of India as a wicked military aggressor, to be compared to the Nazis, especially after India has also for eighteen years been preaching non-violence and irritating other nations by pointing a finger at them, it is little wonder that the attitude to India is not a favourable one. The English are particularly affected by this as Mr. Nehru condemned them for using violence in the Suez dispute.

"What has shocked me is that India does not even attempt to contradict, or to counter-balance, this picture. There is no Indian Society, and the Indian High Commission in London does nothing; on the contrary, when it was suggested to the wife of a high official of the Indian High Commission that Indian women in this city should get together and do something to alter the situation, she did not care. It is this sort of behaviour on the part of our official representatives abroad that antagonises people and nations. \* \* \*"

उसने अपना तजुर्बा जो वहां पर उसे हुआ बताया ।

यहां पर बहुत से सजेशन दिए गए हैं। मैं एक अखबारनवीस हूँ। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि अपने मूलक में भी और बाहर के देशों में भी जितनी अखबार की आवाज है उतनी आवाज शायद ही किसी और चीज की हो। हमारे देश में जो अखबार में छप जाय, गलत छप जाय, ठीक छप जाय, उसको लोग परमात्मा की वाणी समझते हैं। दूसरे देशों में भी यही हाल है। वे पहले अखबारों की हेड लाईन्स देखते हैं, फिर अपने काम पर जाते हैं। हमारी पोजीशन यह है कि जो हमारे यहां पर एम्बेसेडर बैठे हैं, वे वहां के अखबारनवीसों को मिलने

की कोशिश नहीं करते। मैडम, मैं आपकी खिदमत में एक वाक्या रखना चाहता हूँ। पांच-छः साल पहले मैं एक पीस-कॉन्फ्रेंस में गया था। जिसमें 70 डेलीगेट्स थे। उसमें 7 एडीटर्स थे और उनमें कोई भी एडीटर दिल्ली के प्रोमीनेन्ट रोजाना के अखबारों का नहीं था, या तो पंजाब के थे या एक यू० पी० के। हमारे साथ एक एक्स-चीफ मिनिस्टर भी थे। जब ये चीफ मिनिस्टर थे, तब इनकी हुकूमत के वक्त ख्रुश्चेव इनके यहां खाना खा गये थे। उन्होंने दरखास्त दी थी ख्रुश्चेव को मिलने के लिए। इधर हमने भी, एडीटर्स ने, ख्रुश्चेव से मिलने के लिए दरखास्त दी। ख्रुश्चेव बड़ा विजी था। उन दिनों ईरान का मसला था, वहां बगावत हो गई थी। बहुत विजी था, लेकिन जहां तक एडीटर्स की दरखास्त थी मिलने के लिए, उसने नेकस्ट डे हमें बुला लिया, हालांकि कोई भी प्रोमीनेन्ट दिल्ली वाले अखबार का एडीटर नहीं था। उसने पूरा डेढ़ घंटा हमारे साथ बातचीत की तमाम मसाल पर, हालांकि वह बहुत विजी था और आखिर में हमीं उठे। उसने यह नहीं कहा कि आपका टाईम हो गया है आप चले जायें। यह है प्रेस को केटर करने की बात। हमारे यहां क्या हालत है? जब पाकिस्तान ने छम्ब जौरियां सेक्टर पर हमला किया तो—मुझे इस बारे में पढ़ने की जरूरत नहीं है लम्बा हो जायगा—पाकिस्तान अपने साथ उन फारेन कारस्पान्डेन्ट्स को ले गया जिन पर उसको एतबार था यह दिखाने के लिए कि हम किस तरह हिन्दुस्तान की फौज को भगाते हैं। और हमारे यहां पर यह हालत थी कि जब हम जीत रहे थे, बर्की की तरफ बढ़ रहे थे, डोगराई की तरफ बढ़ रहे थे तो—जैसा कि आप जानते ही हैं कि इस लड़ाई का ब्रन्ट पंजाब ने वर्दाश्त किया है—पंजाब के जालन्धर शहर के, जहां से 13 रोजाना वर्नाकुलर के, सारी जवानों के अखबार निकलते हैं तमाम एडीटर्स ने दरखास्त की कि हमें ले चलिये, हम आपका प्रोपेगन्डा करना चाहते हैं कि आप

[श्री जगन नारायण]

ने किम तरह जीत हासिल की है। हमें फ्लैट रिक्रूजल मिला। जब सीज फायर हो गया तो उनके आठ दिन बाद एडीटर्स को वहां ले गए। उसके मुकाबले में पाकिस्तान वालों ने जिस दिन छम्ब पर हमला किया, वे उसी दिन अपने साथ ब्रिटिश कारस्पा-न्डन्ट्स को ले गए जब कि यहां पर यह हालत है कि उन कारस्पान्डन्ट्स को जो कि आपका प्रचार करना चाहते थे, उनको नहीं ले गए।

मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि जब तक आप दूसरे देशों के प्रेस में अपने ख्यालात नहीं छपवायेंगे जब तक वहां के अखबारों में आर्टिकल्स नहीं भेजेंगे, आप चाहें जितने कल्चरल शो ले जाइये, कितने कल्चरल प्रोग्राम बना लीजिए, कितने ही डेलीगेशन ले जाइए, आपका जरा भी इम्प्रेशन नहीं होगा। इस लिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे एम्बे-सेडर्स को यह हिदायत दीनी चाहिए कि उनके साथ ऐसा स्टाफ जाना चाहिए एडीटर्स का, या मैं समझता हूं, राइटर्स का जो कि वहा जाकर वहा के अखबार वालों से मिलें। लन्दन में अखबार छपते हैं, जिनकी एक-एक की इशात 40-40 लाख है। उस में एक हेड लाईन छप जाये हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ, आप उसका कितना भी जवाब नहीं दे सकते। अब्बल तो कोई जवाब नहीं दिया जाता, कोई कण्ट्रेडिक्शन नहीं किया जाता है। और अगर किया भी जाय तो, हेड लाइन से जो मिसचूफ हों चुकी है, उसको तो आप दूर नहीं कर सकते। इसलिए यह निहायत जरूरी है कि हम वहा के अखबारनवीसों से कन्टेक्ट करें। जहा जहा हमारे खिलाफ प्रोपेगन्डा हो रहा है और जिस ढंग से भी हम उसको काउन्टरएक्ट कर सकते है या हम उन को अपनी तरफ ला सकते है, उनसे बातचीत कर सकते है, उन्हें आर्टिकल्स लिखवा सकते है, तो वह सब करने की हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए। एक बात हमें याद रखनी चाहिए—यह ठीक है, आपकी जो डिप्लोमेसी है, बेशक आप इस

मामले में महात्मा गांधी की असूलों की तरह चलें, धर्मपुत्र बन—कि आज दुनिया में जो अखबारनवीसी चल रही है, जिस ढंग से विदेशों में खबरे छप रही है उसके मुताबिक आपको भी अपना एटीट्यूड बदलना होगा, आपको भी खबरें उस ढंग पर छपवानी होंगी जिससे हिन्दुस्तान की इमेज बन सके। इसलिये मेरी निहायत अदब से दरखास्त है कि प्रेस को इगनोर न कीजिये। हमारे नेता लोग बाहर जाते हैं, मुझे भी छः सात देशों में जाने का मौका मिला है। मुझे मालूम है कि एक जगह भी वे प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस नहीं करते है। वे जिसे चाहें बुलाते हैं, मगर प्रेस से कभी नहीं मिलते। तो इस ढंग से आप जहाँ बाहर के देशों में भारत-वर्ष की इमेज नहीं बना सकते। मैं एक महीने बाहर रहा, जापान, कोरिया, हांगकांग, चांग काई शेक के फारमूसा में। तो मैं आप की वसाकत से अपनी बहिन जी को बताना चाहता हूं कि एक महीने में चार खबरें हमने पढ़ी। हर रोज हम छः सात अखबार लेते थे जिनमें अपने देश की सिर्फ चार खबरें पढ़ी। उस एक महीने के अरसे में चार खबरें गईं। एक तो यह कि पोप साहब हिन्दुस्तान में तशरीफ लाए, दूसरे यह कि उनकी आमद पर 300 आदमियों को पकड़ लिया गया और जेल में भेज दिया गया; तीसरी खबर "लाइफ" के हफ्तावार इश्यू में पढ़ी जिसमें लिखा था कि श्रीमती विजयलक्ष्मी पंडित जीत गई है; और चौथी खबर यह थी कि लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी की पोप के साथ मुलाकात हुई। वहां के तमाम अखबारात ने सिवाय इन चार खबरों के और कोई खबर हिन्दुस्तान के मुताल्लिक नहीं लिखी। तो आप देख लीजिए, अगर इस ढंग से आपका प्रचार दूसरे देशों में होता हो तो आपकी क्या इमेज बनेगी और खास तौर पर इस वक्त जब कि हमारी जो जीत हुई है, यह तमाम देशों में शिकस्त में तब्दील कर दी गई है? इसके मुताल्लिक मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि आपको बाकायदा तौर पर बाहर के अखबारात में प्रोपेगन्डा करना चाहिए।



तो मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि हमें बाहर के मुल्को में अपनी पब्लिसिटी कैसे बढ़ानी चाहिए। मैं इसके मुताल्लिक आपको चार पांच सजेशन देना चाहता हूँ। सब से पहला सजेशन यह है कि हमारे यहां की जो ब्रीफिंग होती है वह इस ढंग पर होती है कि जो हिन्दुस्तान के हक में नहीं जाती। मेरे एक भाई ने प्रेस रिलीज पढ़ कर सुनाया। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ, यहां पर 5 अगस्त को जब हमला हुआ था तब से लेकर 10 अगस्त तक क्या कोई ब्रीफिंग हुई? नहीं हुई कि हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला हुआ है कि नहीं हुआ है बल्कि हमारे डिपार्टमेंट की तरफ से, एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स के डिपार्टमेंट की तरफ से, यह कहा गया था कि काश्मीर में पाकिस्तान की तरफ से अलजीरियन टाइप का रेवोल्यूशन कराया जा रहा है। यह नहीं कहा गया कि हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला किया गया है। वहां जिक्र सिर्फ काश्मीर का था हालांकि काश्मीर भारत का अंग है, और उसके बाद शास्त्री जी ने कहा कि 5 अगस्त और उसके बाद जो कुछ हुआ यह भारत-वर्ष पर हमला है, मगर 10 अगस्त तक सिर्फ यह कहा गया कि पाकिस्तान काश्मीर में अलजीरियाई किस्म की फाइट कराना चाहता है और यह तसलीम कर लिया कि पाकिस्तान वाले अलजीरियाई किस्म की फाइट यहां कराना चाहते हैं। तो फिर हमने तसलीम कर लिया कि हमारे यहां देश में बगावत है। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस ढंग से ब्रीफिंग की जाती है वह गलत ढंग ही है। इसलिये मैं बड़े अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि आपके जो आफिसर हैं उनको समझाइये कि जो भी ब्रीफिंग प्रेस को करनी हो इस ढंग से की जाय जिससे हिन्दुस्तान का इमेज बने, उसके खिलाफ आवाज न उठे।

उप सभापति : आपका वक्त समाप्त हो गया है।

श्री जगत नारायण : एक मिनट।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Under the Rules of Procedure, you cannot take more than fifteen minutes.

एक मिनट तो आप ले सकते हैं।

श्री जगत नारायण : मैं सिर्फ एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो आप डेलीगेशन भेज रहे हैं इसको भेजने का तभी फायदा है, अगर उनका मास कान्टेक्ट हो। अगर मास कान्टेक्ट न हो तो यह जो कन्डक्ट टूँअर हैं इनका कोई फायदा नहीं पहुंच सकता है; क्योंकि जब तक आपका वहां की पब्लिक के साथ मास कान्टेक्ट नहीं होगा तब तक वही बात होगी जैसा कि श्री कुमारन साहब ने बताया कि जब उन्होंने लोगों से प्राइवेट बातें कीं तो उन्होंने डिफरेंट लोगों के मुक्त निगाह से सुना। तो भले ही आदमी आप एक भेजिये, डेलीगेशन में दस आदमी भेजने की जरूरत नहीं है, और उस आदमी को इस तरह भेजिए कि वहां वह एक महीना रहे। वह सरकारी गेस्ट होकर न रहे, उसका मास कान्टेक्ट हो। तमाम दुनिया के अंदर, दूसरे देशों में, हिन्दुस्तान के मुताल्लिक जो नजरिया बन गया है वह तभी बदलेगा जब आप बाहर के देशों के अखबारों को ब्रीफिंग कराने की कोशिश करेंगे। बाहर के देशों को ब्रीफिंग कराएं, उनको आर्टिकल भेजे तब आपकी बातों को लोग समझेंगे और उनका रुख बदलेगा।

DR. SHRIMATI PHULRENU GUHA (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman I do not know whether a committee of Members of Parliament, if appointed, can help our foreign publicity. But I thank our friend Shri Abraham for bringing this Resolution before the House, because it gives us an opportunity to ventilate our feelings and also to place some of our suggestions for the consideration of the Government.

There is a general feeling that India lacks external publicity. Obviously the Indian embassies have not been able to interpret India to the people

[Dr. Shrimati Phulrenu Guha.]

at large in the countries where they function. Only the visits of the President, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and other dignitaries of the Indian Republic create some enthusiasm in those countries and the people then become eager to know about India and the problems which India is confronted with in working for secularism, democracy and nonalignment. But the tempo is allowed to dry up because our people there cannot follow it up through public contacts.

The China-India conflict brought world publicity to India. The foreign policy of India was matter of criticism. But the basic point of non-alignment was not understood by the people outside India and our publicity failed there. The India-Pakistan conflict is a long-drawn game and the recent war is nothing but the outcome of the cold war that has continued since 1947 or 1948. But what about our external publicity? The attitude of the Security Council has made it clear that there is as yet no full recognition of the fact that Pakistan happens to be the provoking agency against all the basic principles that India has stood for. But Pakistan has gained in her publicity and has created a favourable opinion in many countries. The political reasons are there no doubt. But our publicity also failed and we must recognise that also. It seems that the majority of the people outside India could not appreciate the clear case of India, namely, that Kashmir forms an inseparable part of India and that there can be no question of any plebiscite in the changed circumstances. The activities of China and Pakistan have been very intensive since 1962 and the recent attitude of most of the Afro-Asian countries showed how they could play their cards. The Government of India has now thought of sending goodwill missions to different countries. This is a well advised programme no doubt. But it is yet to be seen whether hurried visits of these goodwill missions will carry any real and lasting effect on the peoples of

those countries. I am a great believer in goodwill missions which, I think, should be a regular feature and they should be sent at regular intervals.

It is reported that foreign correspondents have complained that adequate facilities are not given to them to observe the situation in all its bearings while Pakistan gives them better treatment. They receive news from Pakistan earlier, than from us, and naturally when they prepare their reports they could not base them on a correct understanding of both sides. I would request the Government to look into this matter very thoroughly. What has been done cannot be undone. We learn through experience, through our past shortcomings and mistakes also. So a proper, strong and vigorous plan should be formulated now by the Government of India for our external publicity.

May I suggest that a central agency may be set up with the representatives of three Ministries, i.e., the external Affairs Ministry, the Defence Ministry and the Information and Broadcasting Ministry? This central agency should get all the news and then give proper shape to it and make hand-outs, and the hand-outs prepared by the central agency would go to the proper places. The second suggestion that I would like to make is that the accredited representatives of foreign presses should be provided adequate facilities. The third suggestion that I want to make is that information leaflets and literature should be widely circulated in time. I repeat 'in time' because we are told that our literature often reaches people much later. Our leaflets and literature must be sent to the prominent personalities in different countries such as legislators, members of local authorities, chambers of commerce, etc. These leaflets must be translated in their languages. Most of us are getting literature from the Soviet Union, from Britain, from America and from Germany. They always send out their literature in time but as far as our information goes, our literature does not reach the people abroad in time. The

diplomats stationed in foreign countries must invite small groups to the Indian embassies have discussions with them. I would like to point out in this connection, Madam, that big parties do not help so far as publicity is concerned. Big parties may be necessary but there must be regular small parties where discussions on different topics could take place. A cross section of prominent people of respective countries especially Senators or Members of Parliament should be invited to India.

Lastly, I would like to suggest that Government should also consider sending prominent journalists and persons from public life to foreign countries on deputation as public relations officers for a specific period, say, three or five years to interpret India properly. Prominent journalist and people in public life may not like to take up permanent Government service but may be willing to go and take up these jobs on deputation for a particular period. Some of my friends have already mentioned about the Ambassadors and their offices, so I do not want to repeat those matters. With these words, I would request the Government, particularly the Ministry of External Affairs, to see that our publicity abroad is rid of whatever defects may be there so that in future we can really interpret India properly; Thank you, Madam.

**श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**

उपसभापति महोदया, विदेशों में हमारा जो प्रचार चलता है उसके बारे में मेरा ख्याल यह है कि इस सदन में सर्वसम्मत राय है कि वह ठीक नहीं चल पा रहा है। इस चीज की बुनियाद कहां गलत है, सरकार को इसको सोच करके ठीक करना चाहिये। यह तो सरकार का फर्ज है कि एक्सटर्नल मिनिस्ट्री की कोई कार्यवाही हो, इन्फारमेशन या ब्राड-कास्टिंग मिनिस्ट्री की कोई कार्यवाही हो या डिफेन्स मिनिस्ट्री की कोई कार्यवाही हो, उसके बारे में वह जांच करे कि इन तीनों के काम के बारे में कोई कमेटी होनी चाहिये या

नहीं, जो इनके काम के बारे में जांच-पड़ताल कर सके और सरकार को अपनी रिपोर्ट दे।

लेकिन मैं इस बारे में कुछ अपनी राय देना चाहता हूं और वह यह है कि हम सब लोगों ने देखा कि जब हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई चली, तो दुनिया के बहुत से ऐसे देश हैं जहां तक हमारी बात नहीं पहुंच पाई। यह सही है कि जब चीन ने हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण किया था तो कुछ हद तक कुछ देशों में हमारी बात पहुंच पाई। यह इसलिए नहीं कि हम ने उस वक्त कोई कोशिश की; बल्कि इसलिए कि इस समय दुनिया में जो आइडियालाजिकल वारफेयर चल रहा है उसमें दो गुट हैं। उस में जो वैस्टर्न गुट है उसने चीनी आक्रमण के समय हमारे मामले में कुछ दिलचस्पी ली और हमारी बात को समझा। लेकिन जब पाकिस्तान के साथ झगड़ा होने लगा तो हम ने यह बात देखी कि हिन्दुस्तान की अपनी जो पब्लिसिटी का माध्यम है वह दुनिया के सामने हिन्दुस्तान के केस को ठीक तरह से नहीं पहुंचा सका, उसका प्रचार नहीं कर सका और इस बात के बारे में हमको सोचना चाहिये।

एक तो यह मेरी निश्चित राय है कि हिन्दुस्तान के जो दूतावास बहुत से देशों में हैं और वहां जो हमारे एम्बैसेडर भेजे जाते हैं उनके बारे में बुनियादी तबदीली होनी चाहिये। वैसे तो मैं विरोधी दल का हूं लेकिन मैं यह मानने के लिए तैयार हूं कि अगर कोई जिले स्तर का कांग्रेसी कार्यकर्ता है और उसको राजदूत बना कर भेजना चाहते हैं तो वह उन ब्यूरोक्रेटिक राजदूतों से अच्छा कार्य कर सकेगा जो वहां पर बैठे हुए हैं तथा जो इंडियन फारेन सर्विस के लोग मौजूद हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि इन दोनों की दृष्टि में फर्क है। इस समय हमारे राजदूत दूसरे देशों में बैठे हैं, उन्हें देश के बारे में कुछ भी पता नहीं है और वे वहां पर क्या पब्लिसिटी कर सकते हैं। जो ब्यूरोक्रेट्स वहां पर बैठे हैं वे अपनी जिन्दगी भर में एक छोटे गिरोह से

[श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

बाहर नहीं गये हैं और उन्हें ही एम्बैसेडर बना कर भेज दिया गया है, तो इस तरह के लोग हमारे देश की क्या पब्लिसिटी कर पायेंगे ? हिन्दुस्तान की जो तस्वीर है, जो एमेज हैं, वे दुनिया के सामने नहीं दिखला सकते हैं। लेकिन जो आदमी हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में अच्छी तरह से जानता है वही उसकी तस्वीर को भी बतला सकता है। लेकिन जो आदमी खानदानी गलामी में पला है, जो ब्रिटिश सल्तनत के जमाने से ही एक खानदानी गुलाम रहा और अफसर बन गया, जो एक छोटे से गिरोह के अलावा और किसी को नहीं जानता है, जो हिन्दुस्तान के नये स्वरूप के बारे में कुछ नहीं जानता है, अगर उसको एम्बैसेडर बना कर भेज दे तो जो तस्वीर वह रखेगा वह हमारे हित में नहीं जायेगी, बल्कि हमारे खिलाफ ही जायेगी। तो इस तरह इस में ताज्जुब करने की बात नहीं है। तो हमें इस तरह की बुनियादी फर्क करना चाहिये; क्योंकि यह विदेशी मंत्रालय का जो कार्य है वह बहुत ही महत्व का है। मैं यह बात जानता हूँ कि बहुत से एम्बैसेडर ऐसे हैं जो अपने काम में बहुत दिलचस्पी रखते हैं, जिनको पहले से तजुर्बा है और कुछ नये तजुर्बे उनको होते हैं जिनसे वे फायदा उठाते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान का जो नया रूप है उसको वह समझते हैं। इस तरह से हमारे यहाँ ऐसे बहुत से लोग हैं और मैं सब के बारे में यह बात नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन जो ब्यूरोक्रेटिक वर्ग है, जो एक तरह का खास क्लास बन गया है, उसके बारे में ज्यादातर लोगो के बारे में कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि वे लोग हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में कुछ नहीं जानते हैं। इस तरह के लोग आपस में हिलमिल कर भी रहना नहीं जानते हैं और इन्हें हमारे कल्चर के बारे में भी कुछ पता नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान के लोगो में यह बुनियादी खराबी है कि वह अपने को सिकुड़ा लेते हैं और अपने को छोटा बना लेते हैं। वे लोग आम तौर पर इसी तरह के गिरोह में रहते हैं और दूसरे लोगो से मिलने नहीं जाते हैं।

मैं जहाँ भा थोड़ा-बहुत विदेशो में गया वहाँ मैंने यहाँ शिकायत पाई कि हमारे एम्बैसेज में जो काम चलता है उसके बारे में किसी को पता नहीं चलता है कि हिन्दुस्तान का एम्बैसे कहाँ पर है। अगर आप उस देश में जा कर हिन्दुस्तान की एम्बैसे के बारे में पूछेंगे और यह मालूम करना चाहेंगे कि आप को हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में क्या मालूम है, तो वे लोग यहाँ बतलायेंगे कि हम को हिन्दुस्तान की एम्बैसे के बारे में कोई जानकारी नहीं है कि वह है भी या नहीं। तो ऐसा हालत में जब तक हम इस तरह की हालत को ठीक नहीं करेंगे तब तक दूसरे मुल्क वाले हमारे बारे में ठीक बात मालूम नहीं कर पा सकेंगे और न हम वहाँ पर अपने मुल्क के बारे में अच्छी तरह से प्रचार हो कर पायेंगे।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ और सरकार का ध्यान इस बात को और दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार की तरफ से जो किताबें छपवा कर भेजी जाती हैं, हवाई जहाज के जरिये भेजी जाती हैं और यह समझ कर भेजा जाता है इससे फायदा होने वाला है, तो ऐसा नहीं है। यह तो हिन्दुस्तान में प्रोपेगैन्डा के लिये या पब्लिसिटी के लिये है और यह जो हमारा पब्लिकेशन डिवाजन है वहाँ पर छपिये या किस डिपार्टमेन्ट में छपिये, तो शायद यहाँ के लोग पढ़ें, लेकिन यहाँ से अग्रेजों में छाप कर के कोई किताब हम किसी एम्बैसे में भेज दे और वहाँ पर उसका वितरण करा कर के वहाँ के लोगो को हम समझा पायें, यह बात नहीं हो सकती। असल में होना यह चाहिये कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार जो भी नीति बनाता है उस नीति का वहाँ पर प्रचार होना चाहिये। वहाँ पर आप अपना ड्राफ्ट भेज दे और वे अगर चाहें तो उसको ट्रांसलेट करा कर के वहाँ छपवायें। यह जरूरी नहीं है कि यहाँ से किताबें भेजी जायें। वही पर छाप कर के और वहाँ की भाषा में वहाँ पर वितरण हो।

इसके साथ-साथ वहां का जो प्रेस है, वहां का जो भी माध्यम है जैसे फिल्म हैं या बहुत से देशों में टेलिविज़न भी हैं, बहुत से देशों में कार्मशियल टेलिविज़न होते हैं, बहुत से देशों में कार्मशियल ब्राडकास्टिंग होती है, इन सब माध्यमों का इस्तेमाल होना चाहिये। मगर यह सब सरकार नहीं कर रही है।

जो हमारी विदेशों में एम्बेसीज़ है उनको यह चाहिये कि वे वहां के जो प्रेस के लोग हैं और वहां के जो और पब्लिक ओपिनियन बनाने वाले लोग होते हैं, उनके साथ ताल्लुकात रखें और उनको हमेशा अपने यहां पर बुलायें, उनके साथ बातचीत करें, उनके साथ हिलें मिलें और हो सके तो उनको अपने देश में इनवाइट करें। जब तक यह सब नहीं होगा तब तक हम कोई पब्लिसिटी कर नहीं पायेंगे।

एक चीज़ यह भी याद रखनी चाहिये कि यहां से तो गुडविल मिशन भेजने का इन्तज़ाम किया गया है, लेकिन साथ साथ में यह भी होना चाहिये कि वहां से भी गुडविल मिशन यहां के लिये इनवाइट किये जायें और उनको हिन्दुस्तान में घुमा कर के हिन्दुस्तान की सही हालत बतलाई जाये। जब तक इस तरह का दू वे ट्रैफिक नहीं होगा तब तक यह मामला हल होने वाला नहीं है। दूसरी चीज़ यह है कि जो प्रेस अटैची वगैरह हमारे होते हैं उन में ये इंडियन फारेन सर्विस या ब्यूरोक्रैसी के लोगों को भेजने से कोई मतलब नहीं निकलेगा। ऐसा मैं समझता हूं कि जब तक जर्नलिस्टिक प्रोफेशन में काम करने वाले आदमी, जो तजुर्बेकार हो, जो पब्लिसिटी के बारे में कुछ जानते हों, जिन का कुछ निजी तजुर्बा हो, नहीं जायेंगे, तब तक कुछ हो नहीं सकता। नौकरी के हिसाब से जो वहां जाते हैं उनसे हम बहुत ज्यादा आशा करें, यह ठीक नहीं है। मैं तो यह समझता हूं कि जिन को हिन्दुस्तान की पब्लिसिटी करने की कुछ इच्छा है, ऐसे

लोगों को अगर आप भेज सकें तो उससे कुछ नतीजा निकल सकता है। मैं यह जानता हूं कि यह चुनने का काम बड़ा मुश्किल है सरकार के लिये कि किस को प्रेरणा है, किस को नहीं है। लेकिन इस में अपनी ओर से इनिशिएटिव दिखा कर के सरकार को कोशिश करनी चाहिये। हो सकता है कि कई लोग ऐसे हों जिन के पास कोई डिग्रीज न हों, जिन्होंने इंडियन फारेन सर्विस का इम्तिहान पास न किया हो, लेकिन उनके काम से यह पता लगेगा कि वे उपयोगी हो सकते हैं और ऐसे आदमियों को चुन करके भेजना चाहिये; क्योंकि वे अपनी प्रेरणा से कुछ काम वहां पर कर सकते हैं।

एम्बेसीज़ के बारे में मैं एक शिकायत और करना चाहूंगा। बहुत सी ऐसी एम्बेसीज़ हैं जहां पर हिन्दुस्तानी खुद जब जाते हैं और कोई चीज़ मांगते हैं तो वह उनको मिलती नहीं है। मुझे मालूम है कि कुछ हमारे विद्यार्थी स्कैंडिनेवियन कंट्री में हमारी एक एम्बेसी में गये और वहां पर काश्मीर के मसले पर उन लोगों ने कुछ मैटीरियल मांगा एम्बेसी से, तो उनसे कहा गया कि अभी तो यहा पर कुछ है नहीं, आप कल आइये, परसों आइये। फिर बाद में यह हुआ कि जब उनको कोई मैटीरियल मिला नहीं तो उन्होंने तंग आ कर के उसे छोड़ दिया। यह दो साल पहले की बात मैं कह रहा हूँ। तो इस ढंग की मनोवृत्ति हमारी एम्बेसीज़ की बन गई है कि वहां लोग नौकरी के लिये चले गये हैं जो केवल दफ्तरी ढंग से काम करते हैं और यह नहीं देखते हैं कि किस तरह से हम अपने देश की बात वहां के लोगो तक पहुंचा सकते हैं। इसलिये चाहे कहीं हमारे एम्बेसेडर्स हों या एम्बेसीज़ में काम करने वाले दूसरे लोग हों, जब तक उन सब का यह ध्येय नहीं होगा कि हमें अपने देश के लिये कुछ करना है और इस देश में हम आये हैं तो इस देश के साथ हमें रिश्ता ठीक करना है, तब तक कुछ होने वाला नहीं है।

## [श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

मैं एक चीज और कहना चाहूंगा कि जो आदमी किसी दूसरे देश में भेजा जाता है उसको अपने देश के बारे में जानना चाहिये और उस देश के बारे में जानना चाहिये। बहुत से लोग ऐसे होते हैं कि वे अफ्रीका के देशों में चले जायें तो उनको यह पता नहीं होता है कि वहां का क्या इतिहास है, उस देश का क्या रवैया रहा है, उन्होंने क्या किया है, किस तरह से उनको आजादी मिली है, किस किस ने आजादी के लिये लड़ाई लड़ी है, वहां के लोग कौन कौन से हैं, वहां के मुख्य मुख्य राजनैतिक दल कौन कौन से हैं और उनके क्या मकसद हैं, उनकी सामाजिक समस्याएं क्या हैं। इन सब के बारे में जब तक जो आदमी वहां पर हमारी तरफ से दूतावास में जाते हैं, उनको मालूम नहीं होता, तब तक वे वहां कोई काम ठीक से नहीं कर पायेंगे। जब तक वे उस देश के लोगों को नहीं समझेंगे तब तक वे उनको कुछ समझा नहीं पायेंगे। इसलिये सरकार को एक्सटर्नल पब्लिसिटी के बारे में और सारी एम्बेसीज के बारे में बुनियादी तौर से सोचना चाहिये और यदि सरकार इन सब चीजों को ध्यान में रख कर काम करे तो कोई चीज हो सकती है, वरना नहीं हो सकती है। तो मैं यह चाहूंगा कि एक्सटर्नल पब्लिसिटी के बारे में जब हमारी एम्बेसीज के लोग कोशिश करें तो उसके लिये जो वहां के बड़े बड़े अखबारों के लोग हों या जो वहां की भाषा के अखबार हैं उनके एडिटर या जर्नलिस्ट हों, उनके साथ वे अपने ताल्लुकात ठीक करें। इसके साथ साथ उनको हम बराबर यहां से मेटेरियल भी भेजते रहें और हमारे देश के बारे में और हमारी जो समस्याएं हैं उनके बारे में जब हम उनको कोई प्रोपेगेंडा मेटेरियल भेजेंगे, तो उनके साथ अगर हमारे ताल्लुकात अच्छे हैं तो वे अपनी प्रेरणा से हमारी तरफ से कुछ काम करेंगे। इसलिये यह जरूरी हो जाता है कि हमारे जो भी वहां दूतावास हैं वे लगन से इन सब चीजों के बारे में काम करें और वहां

की प्रेस और दूसरे पब्लिसिटी मीडिया की तरफ अपना ध्यान रखें ताकि हमारी तरफ हमेशा उनका झुकाव रहे। चाहे हमारी कोई समस्या हो, चाहे पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारी लड़ाई हो, चाहे किसी देश के साथ हमारी लड़ाई हो, हमेशा उनका झुकाव हमारी तरफ रहे, यह हमारी कोशिश होनी चाहिये। इसलिये सब जगह हमारी एक्सटर्नल पब्लिसिटी ठीक होनी चाहिये। ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है कि कहीं दो दिन में यह पब्लिसिटी हो जायगी। जब तक दो तीन साल तक लगातार कहीं कोशिश नहीं होगी, जब तक वहां पब्लिसिटी के जो लोग हैं या पब्लिसिटी का जो वहां मीडिया है, उसको हम अपनी तरफ नहीं खींचते तब तक वहां हमारी पब्लिसिटी ठीक तरह से नहीं हो सकती है। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि लांग टर्म प्लान बना कर के इन सारी चीजों के बारे में सरकार सोचे और इसको ठीक करे।

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, at the outset I would like to make it clear that I am here to appreciate and welcome the Resolution not because it makes a recommendation for appointing a Committee but because the balloting of the Resolution has given us an opportunity to express our views at a time when they are absolutely necessary. So far as external publicity is concerned, this is not the first time that it is being criticised. It is under fire since long and I am aware that the Ministry has been making strenuous efforts to make improvements in our publicity. I feel that external publicity is not only based on some booklets and pamphlets, some literature and some reports here and there. It functions like a living organism; it is related firstly with several factors. According to me our publicity is related with our own policies. If our policies are policies of determination, if we speak in terms of self-confidence then alone it is reflected in our own publicity and also in our external

publicity. It is because of our struggle or successful fight with Pakistan, it is because of the brave fight given by our jawans that—there is no doubt in my mind—even in foreign countries that sort of image of our country which we intended to have since long, has definitely been created. So it is that determination, that fight, that confidence with which we are striving to live a better life, and that policy which is material if we intend to have better publicity, and from that point of view I believe that this publicity is necessarily related with the functions in the country itself.

It is also related to some other factors. Our Embassies and our High Commissions in foreign countries are equally responsible for our publicity. Last year I had occasion to be in the continent, in America, in Japan and such other countries. I feel that wherever our Ambassadors and our High Commissioners have been functioning well, wherever they have remained effective, wherever they have created good contacts, we are having good publicity as well, but where our Ambassadors have failed, I think the external publicity has also failed and from that point of view the time has come when we shall have to think of our own Ambassadors and our High Commissioners. There is no method of giving any training so far as our Ambassadors are concerned. I feel that when we want to nominate good Ambassadors, it must be obligatory on such officials to have some sort of training in our country prior to their departure to that country. They should study the history of the country, the social aspects of the country, the traditions and customs of the country, the geography of the country, the economic and social problems and language of the country. They must be in a position to compare what are the problems here with what are the problems there and how it will be possible to create that sort of mutual understanding between the two countries. So long as that sort

of training is not given, it is really impossible for our Ambassadors even to make a good impact.

It is also a related aspect so far as external publicity is concerned. I was in Japan. I was happy to know that our Ambassador there was knowing the Japanese language, but when I enquired about the other officers, I was really astonished to find that there was none who was knowing the Japanese language. They had never approached Members of Parliament in Japan. I had talks with some Members of Parliament in Japan and when I asked them about their relations with our Ambassador and with our Embassy in Japan, I was really surprised to know that there was no relationship whatsoever, so far as that Embassy is concerned. Why does this happen? Why have we failed? The time has come to make an assessment of the functioning of our Embassies.

The third point, so far as external publicity is concerned, is related with exhibitions—exhibitions of both types, our commercial exhibitions and our cultural exhibitions. So far as commercial exhibitions are concerned, I do feel that it is through these commercial exhibitions that we can put forward, in the eyes of the people of foreign countries, what is going on in our own country. I would like to suggest that along with the commercial exhibitions, there should be some sort of obligation or some sort of effort to show at least in one stall what is happening in our own country. What was India and what is India today? I had a talk with several students from our own country while I was in foreign countries and when I used to talk to them I found that they were not knowing what we have done during the last fifteen years. This is not the case of our old students. The students who have recently left our country are not in a position to know about our own country. Why should we not make it obligatory on the part of our students

[Shri M. M. Dharia.]

who go to foreign countries for further education, that they should know at least the A, B, C of the progress that has been made in our country? They should know something about the Constitution of our country. It should be made obligatory on them. Naturally these students who can be the ambassadors of our country should know it, but they are knowing nothing of our country. From that point of view also, I believe that some efforts should be made.

I also feel that in these days when the Fourth Estate is so powerful, an effort from that direction shall also have to be made. Of course, I do not mean that this is an effort to be made by the Government alone, but some private agency shall have to come forward. Nowadays it is through "Time", it is through "Newsweek", it is through "Life" and some other weeklies that the foreigners know about India. We know that the approach of "Time" and "Newsweek" is not at all helpful to our country. They always remain critical and in case we approach any American, he says: "Well, so far as India is concerned, we know that much." And whatever he is knowing is definitely harmful to our country. Why should we not make an effort to start such good weeklies of that standard or of a better standard, which will create a good image of our country, which will present not only India but also Asia and Africa in foreign countries? I think that sort of effort is equally necessary.

Besides, I feel that services like Air India are also our best ambassadors. While I was in New York, I was happy to have these remarks from one of the American passengers. When I asked him how he was travelling, he said: "I am going by your Air India". I asked him why he was not travelling by some other plane of some other company. He said: "I want to reach in a safe manner." That sort of confidence has been created by

Air India even among the travellers of foreign countries. They are also our best ambassadors. Embassies are not only those which are functioning from offices and which are established by the Government. Embassies could function from various points of view and to create such relationship several efforts are absolutely necessary for better external publicity. An endeavour shall have to be made to see that all these agencies, whether they are travellers, whether they are plane services, whether they are companies like Air India or some other companies, some other agencies or some other individuals, must be in a position to reflect the character of our country, the image of our country in foreign countries. I feel that even the tourists coming from foreign countries to our country also create their own impressions. If we can afford good facilities to such tourists, if we can make good arrangements for these tourists and show them not only the places of interest but also our own policies and our own places of progress, I feel that they too can be very useful in giving external publicity. I feel that no such effort is being made. Besides, hotels and sports are also very useful from that point of view. I have said all these things because I feel that external publicity is related to all these things.

Besides we require an efficient machinery. So far as the present machinery is concerned, I am really sorry to say this, but the way the External Affairs Ministry has been conducting external publicity, it is not related, as it should have been, to internal publicity. The time has come when we shall have to create a Central Information Service for internal publicity and also for external publicity. It shall have to be coordinated and a new life shall have to be created, through which it will be possible for us to take our own ideas, to take our own culture, to make an impact of our own ideologies in foreign countries. From that point of view, we shall have to remain very active and



we shall have to remain very prompt. We have seen and we have heard about the views of Mr. Harold Wilson, whether it was purposely done or not, I am not prepared to make any comment, but Mr. Harold Wilson said that Pakistan has been first aggressed by India. Even though Pakistan had first committed an aggression in the Chhamb area, it was the military action that was taken in the Lahore and Sialkot region of Pakistan that was referred to by Mr. Harold Wilson. We do not know what our Embassies and our High Commissioners were doing in those foreign countries up to that moment. Why that information was not given when the aggression was committed by Pakistan by sending their intruders, by crossing the cease-fire line and also the international border in the Chhamb area is not known.

[MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

Instead of taking that information immediately to the foreign countries, we were late and they were in a position to say that it was Pakistan which was aggressed by India and not the other way. So, here also we have failed to create that sort of impact on foreign countries by taking the news and information to them as early as possible.

Sir, so far as these committees are concerned, as I said in the beginning, I am not here to support any committees and for having any new committees because we know the history of committees. There is a demand for the appointment of committees. We create new committees. Of course, the committees sincerely study the problem and their report is presented. They probably manoeuvre to have some photographs published. The report is before the Government for consideration and after some days the report is neatly shelved, as it always happens. Therefore, I am not here to support the Resolution to have that sort of Committee. I think the External Affairs Ministry should take

note from the various speeches of the various views that are expressed and should make a genuine effort to have a good sort of combination, to have an efficient publicity. I would like to insist once more that this publicity is necessarily related to the policies we pursue in our country. If we fail in our own policy, if we are weak in our own policy, it is not possible to have a better image of our country outside in the whole world, and from that point of view, I think that good efforts shall have to be made.

Mr Chairman, I have spoken for fifteen minutes and before I conclude, I thank you very much.

**श्री० सत्यभक्त सिद्धान्तालंकार** (नाम-निर्देशित) : आदरणीय महोदय, मुझे इस बात में कोई आपत्ति नहीं मालूम पड़ती कि जो हमारे विदेशी दूतावास हैं, वे कार्य कर रहे हैं या नहीं कर रहे हैं। उसके विषय में तो हमारे जो माननीय सदस्य हैं उन्होंने बहुत कुछ कह दिया। मैं सिर्फ एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह कि हमारा जो प्रचार कार्य है वह पाकिस्तान के लिये बहुत कम हो रहा है और हिन्दुस्तान के लिये बहुत ज्यादा हो रहा है। आप रेडियो खोल कर बैठिए तो बहुत कुछ सुनाई देता है। ऐसा बातें सुनाई देती हैं कि हम यह जीते, वह जीते, हमने यह किया, वह किया। हम तो, अगर हम को न कहा जाय, तब भी हम समझते हैं कि हम जीत रहे हैं, लेकिन ज़रूरत तो इस बात की है कि पाकिस्तान के अन्दर जो रहने वाले हैं—पाकिस्तान के अलावा जो दूसरे देश हैं उनके विषय में, जैसा मैंने कहा, बहुत चर्चा हो चुकी—लेकिन पाकिस्तान के सुनने वालों को—इसमें तो कोई शक नहीं है कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर लोग पाकिस्तान के रेडियो को सुनते हैं और पाकिस्तान के अन्दर लोग हिन्दुस्तान के रेडियो को सुनते हैं—तो ज़रूरत इस बात की है कि पाकिस्तान के रहने वालों के दिमाग के ऊपर आप ठोकर लगाएँ और उनको इस बात के लिये तैयार

[श्री सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तलंकार]

कर दें कि वहां के लोग, जो पाकिस्तानी हुकूमत है, उसके खिलाफ उठ खड़े हों। इस बात के लिये प्रोपेगेंडा को जरूरत है। अंग्रेजों को आप क्या सनसनायेंगे, अमेरिकन्स को आप क्या सनसनायेंगे? आपका जो प्रोपेगेंडा आप कहते हैं विदेशों में नहीं हो रहा है, आप किताबें प्रोपेगेंडा की जाएं, लेकिन जब तक अंग्रेज आपको बात सुनने को तैयार नहीं है और जब तक अमेरिकन आपको बात सुनने के लिये तैयार नहीं है—तब तक आपका सारा प्रोपेगेंडा बेकार है, उस प्रोपेगेंडा को आप करें या न करें।

जरूरत तो इस बात की है कि आप इस बात को समझें कि पाकिस्तान के अन्दर जो बहा को हुकूमत करने वाले हैं, उनको और पाकिस्तान के निवासियों को आप फोड़ दें। और यह करना बहुत आसान है। आप रेडियो पाकिस्तान को सुनिये, वे रोज़ सिखों को संबोधित करके भड़काते हैं, मुसलमानों को सम्बोधित करके भड़काते हैं। क्या आप रेडियो के जरिये पाकिस्तान के निवासियों को सम्बोधित करके उनको इस बात के लिये तैयार नहीं कर सकते और उनको यह नहीं समझा सकते कि वहां के लोग, जो वहां के हुकूमरान हैं, वहां के शासक हैं, वे पाकिस्तानियों के विरुद्ध कार्य कर रहे हैं? हम कहते हैं वहां का राज्य एक धर्मनिष्ठ राज्य है, धर्म को लेकर वह अपना आंदोलन चला रहे हैं; हम कहते हैं, हमारा राज्य धर्म के ऊपर आधारित नहीं है, राजनीति के ऊपर आधारित है, भारतवर्ष के अन्दर सभी धर्मों के लोग रह सकते हैं; हिन्दू, मुसलमान, ईसाई सब को एक समान अधिकार प्राप्त हैं। यह एक ऐसी विचारधारा है जिस विचारधारा को लेकर मैं नहीं समझता अगर आप मुसलमानों को समझाएं तो वे नहीं समझेंगे। मुसलमानों के दिमागों के अन्दर इस बात को डालने की आवश्यकता है, और भारत के रेडियो के जरिये डालने की आवश्यकता है, जिससे वे पाकिस्तान के निवासी इस बात को समझें कि

भारतवर्ष की जो विचारधारा है, वह वास्तविक विचारधारा है। मुझे तो, जैसा मैंने कहा, इस बात के ऊपर ज्यादा कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि विदेशों के अन्दर हमारा प्रचार कैसा हो रहा है, कैसा नहीं हो रहा है, वहां कैसा हो प्रचार करें, लेकिन जब तक अंग्रेज अपने विचारों को जकड़ कर बैठे हैं और जब तक अमेरिकन अपने विचारों को जकड़ कर बैठे हैं, तब तक आप कितना हो प्रचार करते जायें उस प्रचार का कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है। अगर कुछ लाभ हो सकता है तो तभी हो सकता है, यदि आप पाकिस्तान के अन्दर एक ऐसी विचारधारा को उत्पन्न कर दें कि वहां के लोग उठ कर वहां के हुकूमरानों को पदच्युत कर दें। आखिर पाकिस्तान का इतिहास क्या है? पाकिस्तान के अन्दर कोई हुकूमत अब तक टिकी नहीं है, एक हुकूमत आई, उसको हटा कर दूसरा उठ खड़ी हुई। खुद अय्यूब खां कैसे आए? ये भी तो “कू” करके आए, मिलिटरी का रिवोल्यूशन करके आए। तो इस बात के अन्दर कोई कठिनाई मालूम नहीं पड़ती। आप अपने रेडियो को सुनिये। मैं तो अपना रेडियो सुनते-सुनते तंग आ जाता हूँ—गाने, भजन, रूपक, इन्हीं के अन्दर हम लोग रमे हुए हैं। चीन का रेडियो सुनिये, चीन का रेडियो सुबह से लेकर शाम तक एक विचारधारा—सोशलिज्म, लेनिनिज्म, रिविजनिज्म—इसी की चर्चा करता चला जाता है और जो लोग लगातार उनको सुनते हैं उनके दिमागों के ऊपर असर होता है। तो क्या हम पाकिस्तान को सम्बोधन करके, वहां की जनता को सम्बोधन करके, जैसा कि पाकिस्तान का रेडियो यहां के सिखों को संबोधित करके कहता है, जैसा कि पाकिस्तान का रेडियो यहां के मुसलमानों को सम्बोधन करके कहता है, जैसा कि वे मुजाहिदों को संबोधन करके कहता है, मुजाहिदों, मुजाहिदों, तो क्या आप पाकिस्तान के निवासियों के घरों के अन्दर, जहां वे अपने दरवाजों बन्द करके बैठे हों, अपने रेडियो के जरिये अपने विचारों को नहीं बिखेर सकते?

आपका कहना यह है और हमारा यह दावा है कि हमारा विचारधारा एक महान् विचारधारा है और इसी विचारधारा के ऊपर संसार टिक सकता है। वह जमाना गया जब कि धर्म को लेकर जिहाद हुआ करते थे। आज के जमाने में आप जिहाद का नाम लें, क्रूसेड का नाम लें—क्या यह विचारधारा चल सकती है? लेकिन चल रही है, इसलिये चल रही है क्योंकि हमारी तरफ से पाकिस्तान के वाशिनटों को, वहां के निवासियों को संबोधन करके रेडियो के जरिये कुछ नहीं कहा जाता। हमारा जो कुछ प्रचार कार्य है वह अपने देश के लिये है। विदेशों के लिये बेशक प्रचार करते रहिये, लेकिन सब से ज्यादा जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम पाकिस्तान के निवासियों को संबोधन करें, उनको इस बात के लिये तैयार करें कि वे खड़े खड़े हों, अपने यहां के दुश्मरानों के खिलाफ उठ खड़े हों और विद्रोह करें। मैंने तो समाचारपत्रों में भी कुछ लेख लिखे हैं, मैंने लिखा है कि हम अपने रेडियो के जरिये, दूसरे प्रोग्रामों को छोड़ कर, रोज-रोज गीत, गाने, रूपक इन बातों को छोड़ कर—रूपक भी कैसा? ऐसा रूपक निकलता है जो मजाक का होता है, मजाक से लड़ाई नहीं जाती जाती। इसमें संदेह नहीं हम ने रणक्षेत्र के अन्दर पाकिस्तान को हरा दिया है, लेकिन विचार के रणक्षेत्र में उसे हराना जरूरी है। आपकी विचारधारा एक सही विचारधारा है, एक ऐसी विचारधारा है जिस पर संसार टिक सकता है, तो उस विचारधारा को लेकर आप रेडियो का इस्तेमाल कीजिये। खबरें कम लोग पढ़ते हैं। आप कहते हैं, साहित्य छाप छाप कर भेजिए। एक साहब ने कहा, टनों साहित्य भेजा जाता है, वह साहित्य उठा कर लोग फेंक देते हैं। इतना साहित्य पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों के पास जाता है, कितने लोग उस साहित्य को पढ़ते हैं? लेकिन रेडियो हर कोई सुनता है, रेडियो-ट्रान्जिस्टर लेकर लोग इधर-उधर फिरे हैं। हमारी आवाज को सुनाने के लिये

जरूरी है कि हमारी जो ब्राडकास्टिंग मशीनरी हो उसका हम सही इस्तेमाल करें और जो विदेश मंत्रालय है, उसका यह काम है कि इस तरह के भाषण तैयार करें, और खास करके ऐसे भाषण मुसलमानों के जरिये से तैयार होने चाहियें, जो कि रेडियो के जरिये ब्राडकास्ट हों और पाकिस्तान के लिये हों।

मैं अभी एक अखबार में पढ़ रहा था कि एक सज्जन बाहर से आ रहे थे तो उनके साथ कुछ अरब के लोग भी थे। उन्होंने कहा : क्या बात है, मुसलमानों के ऊपर हिन्दुस्तान में बड़ा अत्याचार होता है? यह सज्जन मुसलमान थे, उन्होंने कहा कि चागला साहब मुसलमान हैं। लेकिन उस अरब व्यक्ति को यह मालूम नहीं था कि चागला साहब मुसलमान हैं। जब उन्होंने कहा कि चागला साहब—जो कुछ उनका नाम हो—करीम भाई हैं तो उस अरब को पता लगा कि चागला साहब मुसलमान हैं और उसने अपने हैन्डबुक के अन्दर उनका नाम दर्ज कर लिया। उसने कई मुसलमानों के नाम बताये, यह मुसलमान है, वह मुसलमान हैं। अगर मुसलमानों को वजह से काश्मीर के अन्दर प्लेबीसाइट होना चाहिये, तब तो अमरोहा में भी होना चाहिये, मुरादाबाद में भी होना चाहिये, जहां-जहां मुसलमानों की पापुलेशन ज्यादा है वहां यह होना चाहिये। तो यह बात अरबों की समझ में आ सके, आप इस दृष्टिकोण से प्रचार-कार्य करें।

जहां तक विदेशों में प्रचार का सम्बन्ध है, मैं एक बात आप से कहना चाहूंगा। अभी एक भाई ने यह कहा था कि जब वे किसी दूसरे मुल्क के अन्दर गये तो उनसे पूछा गया : क्या आपके यहां हिन्दुओं के अन्दर ऐसे लोग भी हैं जिनको छुआ नहीं जाता, जिनके हाथ का पानी नहीं पिया जाता? तो यह आंदोलन और विदेशियों का इस प्रकार का भ्रमनिवारण कौन कर सकता है? यह आंदोलन आपके वहां पर बैठे हुए जो कि दूतावास है, वे नहीं कर सकते। वे लोग तो खुद ही उसी तरह की

[प्रो० सत्याभ्रत सिद्धान्तालंकार]

जाति-व्यवस्था के अन्दर पले हुए हैं, वे कैसे इन शंकाओं का समाधान कर सकते हैं ? हमारे जैसे लोग, आर्य समाज के लोग, ऐसे लोग जिन्होंने इस बात का झंडा बलद किया कि वे हर जगह मनष्य के अन्दर का भेदभाव मिटाने को तैयार हैं, वे विदेशियों के इस प्रकार के भ्रम का निवारण कर सकते हैं। आर्य समाज ने जितना कार्य किया है, उसका परिणाम यह है कि आज जाति-व्यवस्था तथा वर्ण-व्यवस्था के भेद को कुछ-कुछ समझा जाने लगा है। वर्ण-व्यवस्था का मतलब यह है कि जन्म से मनुष्य के अन्दर जो भेद है उसे हम नहीं मानते, कर्म से जो भेद है उन भेदों पर आश्रित व्यवस्था वर्ण-व्यवस्था का यथार्थ रूप है। हमें ऐसे मिशन बाहर भेजने चाहियें, जोकि वहा जाकर ऐसी बातों को बतला सके। शास्त्रों के अन्दर क्या लिखा है ? आप के शास्त्रों में वर्ण-व्यवस्था और जाति-व्यवस्था में फर्क बतलाया गया है। आप में से बहुत थोड़े आनरेबल मेम्बर होंगे जो वर्ण-व्यवस्था और जाति-व्यवस्था का भेद समझते होंगे। वे समझते हैं कि जो वर्ण-व्यवस्था है वही जाति-व्यवस्था है, यह बात गलत है। प्राचीन काल का जो वैदिक समय था उसमें वर्ण-व्यवस्था जन्म के ऊपर आधारित नहीं थी, कर्म के ऊपर आधारित थी। उसके बाद ज्यों ज्यों समय गुजरता गया, जन्म के आधार पर भेदभाव बढ़ता चला गया, तब जाति-व्यवस्था का निर्माण हुआ। तो यह चीज वही लोग विदेशियों को समझा सकते हैं जो वेदों के पढ़े हुए हों, जो प्राचीन संस्कृति और साहित्य को समझते हों। तो यह जो विदेशों में आन्दोलन की बात करते हैं, उन्हें उन लोगों का सहारा लेना पड़ेगा जो भारतीय साहित्य को, भारतीय संस्कृति को और भारतीय परम्परा को जानते हैं। इसके बिना विदेशियों का भ्रम कैसे दूर होगा ? इस भ्रम को तो हमारे ही लोग लिये उड़े हैं।

जैसा मैंने कहा, हमें सब से बड़ा आन्दोलन

हिन्दुस्तान के रेडियो से पाकिस्तान के निवासियों के लिए करना होगा। आप पाकिस्तान के निवासियों के लिए कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं, आप जो कुछ कर रहे हैं, वह केवल अपने लिए ही कर रहे हैं। जब मैं रेडियो सुनता हूँ, जो आवाज उसमें होती है वह मेरे लिए होती है, और वह पाकिस्तान के निवासियों के लिए नहीं होती है। उस रेडियो से जो कुछ कहा जाता है पाकिस्तान के निवासियों के लिये, उससे उनके मन में मेरे लिए घृणा उत्पन्न होती है। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान का तो यह आधारभूत सिद्धान्त नहीं है, उसका आधारभूत सिद्धान्त तो यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान को मिल कर रहना है, लड़ कर नहीं रहना है। अन्त में जाकर यह नहीं हो सकता कि हम सदा लड़ते ही चले जायें। इन दोनों में मैत्री भाव उत्पन्न तब हो सकता है जब हम भारत की विचारधारा का, अपने देश का निर्माण धर्म-भेद के आधार पर न करें; बल्कि हम अपने देश का निर्माण राष्ट्रियता के आधार पर करें और इसी राष्ट्रियता की भावना को पाकिस्तान के कानों तक पहुंचायें तथा रेडियो के जरिये पहुंचायें।

मैं विदेशों में भारतीय दृष्टिकोण के प्रचार के संबंध में कोई लम्बी बात नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि इस संबंध में बहुत लम्बी बातें कही जा चुकी हैं। मैं तो सिर्फ एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ, और मैं समझता हूँ कि हम लोग इस बात को गांठ बांध लेंगे, कि रेडियो के अन्दर वैसा प्रोग्राम रीज लगातार चलना चाहिये पाकिस्तान को सम्बोधित करके और मैं समझता हूँ कि उन लोगों को अपनी विचारधारा देकर के हमें इस बात के लिए तैयार करना चाहिये कि पाकिस्तान के लोगों को हम ने रण क्षेत्र में भले ही हरा दिया है, लेकिन विचारधारा के क्षेत्र में हम पाकिस्तानियों के विचारों को इस प्रकार बदल दें कि पाकिस्तान के लोग खुद ही वहां की शासन-व्यवस्था को बदल दें।

## appointment of a Parliamentary

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, before you call the next speaker, I would like to know whether the Prime Minister is going to make a statement.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, that is my understanding.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, I would just point out to you—if he has to make a statement, he should not keep the House waiting. He should have chosen such a time in the Lok Sabha on that he could complete his job in the Lok Sabha and come to this House. We should not be . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: After he has finished his statement in the Lok Sabha, he will make the statement here.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He should not have chosen 4.30, he should have chosen 12.00 then.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think we will wait.

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN (Madras): Mr. Chairman, I am indeed very grateful for the high honour that has been given to me to speak on this very important Resolution when you, Mr. Chairman, preside, I should consider it singularly appropriate for a discussion of this Resolution in the particular context of the Indo-Pakistan conflict. If in spite of the justice of our cause, in spite of the truth of our claim, in spite of the aggression by Pakistan and in spite of the falsity of its case, several parts of the world have not yet understood the basic issues involved in the Indo-Pakistan conflict, I am rather afraid we have not done our job of publicity abroad. I should not be misunderstood when I say that we have not done our job—it is not that the present accredited Ambassadors in the different parts of the world have not done or discharged their assignment much to the credit and to the glory of our country. But I feel—and that feeling is growing day by day—that

there is some inadequacy in the very method and manner and tempo of our foreign publicity not to keep pace with Pakistan. Therefore, it becomes necessary that we have to reassess the nature and need of our foreign publicity.

Mr. Chairman, the wondering and wandering West has not yet understood the basic issues involved in this conflict and it has been saying at the moment that India should be more considerate, that India should be more accommodative. Even the most civilised countries in the world which play a very great role in international relations have been always advising us to behave better towards Pakistan. I am afraid we have to focus the attention of the world on some of the very important aspects and attributes of the present conflict. We have got our own ideals; we have got our own institutions; we have got our own culture; we have got our own civilisation and we require, therefore, to project all these glorious aspects of Indian civilisation and Indian life to the world. And what is it that we find? We find that there has been some misunderstanding about some of the basic issues that are involved at the present juncture. When I say that we have to reassess the need and nature of foreign publicity, I am conscious of the stern advice which our late lamented, beloved Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, gave to us, that we should not at all degenerate our publicity to a propaganda level. He advised us even to the point of admonishing that we are a big nation and that we are doing things in a big way. The world has got its ears, it has got its eyes and it can understand what we are doing. With great respect, Mr. Chairman, we have to accept that advice. But in the unfortunate context that has now overtaken our country and in the way in which our adversary, Pakistan, is projecting its own image abroad, I feel rather constrained to look back and say whether we cannot increase the tempo of our foreign publicity.

[Sari T. Chengalvarayan.]

Mr. Chairman, what is the method by which the foreign countries, the world, can understand about our ideals? Our ideal of secularism is something singular, something that cannot find a parallel in the whole of Asia—and I would go even to the extent of saying, in any part of the world—and yet the Tory Press in Great Britain till the other day said the Hindu Prime Minister of India 'Look at the pitiable and colossal ignorance or prejudice or both that we witnessed in the case of their understanding of the basic and fundamental foundations of our democracy. Once again we find that we are standing lonely on the burning deck of democracy in Asia. We find the encircling gloom of decadent democracy, we find the enveloping extinction of parliamentary institutions and yet, the world feels that there is something wrong, that there is something not very good in the case of India. I therefore feel, Mr. Chairman, that the time has come—and I think the hour is also going to strike—when we have to consider what method, what manner, what matter we have to give to the world. Mr. Chairman, what is it that we find to-day in the world? Take the case of our own foreign policy. We have been proclaiming to the world our dedication, our devotion to the cause of peace. Our late, beloved leader, Prime Minister Nehru was preaching the philosophy of peace throughout the world and what is it that we find to-day? Peace is in pieces everywhere. We feel to-day that the great doctrine of non-alignment, which Pandit Nehru gave as a renovation of the old concept of diplomacy in international relationship, has not been understood. We feel today, therefore, that we have to project some of the new and novel philosophy, new and novel tenets of international relationship to the world and I think our foreign publicity has to be tuned to that level? What about the Pakistan conflict? How has the world understood this Pakistan conflict? When some say that Pakistan has made an incursion, the world

press says that it is just an excursion. When Pakistan has made an invasion, they merely say that it is just peeping into the territory of India. When Pakistan had bombed our cities, the world was silent. When Pakistan invaded our territory, the word was dumb. When Pakistan began to violate the principles of cease-fire, the world is again silent. When Bhutto is blowing his bombastic bubbles day by day, there is none in this world to prick it and it becomes therefore necessary, in my most respectful submission, that we have to tell the world that there has been a magnificent misunderstanding of the basic tenets of our country, a malicious misrepresentation of our objectives, a mischievous misinterpretation of our faith and therefore it requires, in my most respectful submission, that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in collaboration with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, will observe three directions in regard to foreign publicity. We have to do three important things. One is, it must be formative because, in many places, opinions about India are not yet formed. Therefore our publicity must be directed to the formative position. In some places, they lack information. Our publicity must be informative in that respect. In some cases there has been misunderstanding. Our information must be, with regard to it, reformative. Therefore my most respectful submission for the kind consideration of the External Affairs Ministry is that our publicity must be formative, it must be informative and it must be reformative. I am sure that if we do all these, the publicity that we can command in the world will be a great thing.

We are very deeply beholden to our beloved Prime Minister for having thought fit to send delegations abroad at the present conflict and I am sure that the delegations represented by hon. Members of this House and the other House have done a very good job. May I on this occasion take this opportunity to say that when you visited some of the Arab countries,

what a tremendous, thrilling, electrifying influence Mr. Chairman was able to produce in those countries? I am sure the whole image of India, the whole purpose of India, the whole destiny of India and the whole philosophy of India could not have been so well understood as you have been pleased to project into those countries. I therefore feel that the delegations that we have sent abroad recently have done a very good job. Many Members have crossed the seas and I have not yet crossed the seas and the only big sea that I have crossed or the only river I have crossed is that of Cooum in the City of Madras. I have been telling that the whole principle of foreign publicity is lacking that tempo, that tradition, that twist, that tone and that tenor which is necessary in the present context, and I am sure that our Embassies abroad, with the direction and guidance of the External Affairs Ministry, in collaboration with the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, will be able to give a new mettle and a new method for the purpose of reorientation of our publicity machine.

I am also conscious of this fact that with regard to the question of publicity there is a danger of degenerating our publicity to the degrading levels of propaganda. I am sure, that whatever we may do, we shall not be a party to degrade ourselves to such base levels of propaganda of a gutter press. We are a big nation, we are a great nation and we are a powerful nation and we are a nation with a purpose. I am therefore sure that whatever may be our enthusiasm and anxiety for entering into foreign publicity in a new way, let us be very cautious in regard to the manner and the level of our publicity. I am sure we shall not be a party to such degradation. Pakistan may have its own course.

With these words, I have very great pleasure in associating myself with this Resolution and I am sure, Mr. Chairman, that this Resolution will help us to broadcast the truth of our great nation. May I conclude with

this hope: *veritas omni vincit*—Truth always triumphs.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Prime Minister will now make a statement.

#### STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER ON INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI LAL BAHADUR): Mr. Chairman, in the statement which I made in this House on the 24th September, 1965, I had given an account of the developments culminating in a cease-fire coming into force between India and Pakistan at 3.30 A.M. on the 23rd September, 1965. I do not wish to take up the time of the House by going into details about subsequent happenings which have been fully reported in the press. I would, instead, try to present the broad picture of the later developments and to share with the House Government's views and thoughts on the various issues that have yet to be resolved.

The cease-fire is still far from being fully effective. The main reason for this is the fact that Pakistani forces have continuously tried to occupy posts and areas which were not in their hands when the cease-fire came into effect. It is these violations by Pakistan that account for the uneasy conditions that prevail in areas where our troops are facing the Pakistan army. The House will recall that the actual hour of the cease-fire had to be put off by fifteen hours beyond the dead-line set in the Security Council Resolution of the 20th September, 1965 because Pakistan delayed its acceptance of the cease-fire till the last minute. During this period which elapsed between the acceptance of cease-fire by both countries and its actual coming into force, Pakistani forces were actively engaged in trying to occupy fresh territory wherever possible and particularly in South-West Rajasthan. Even after the cease-fire, Pakistani troops did occupy a few posts and villages in Rajasthan, which are separated from each other by long dis-