

from Sind - came to Gujarat and at Gandhinagar he said that Junagad still belongs to Pakistan and we don't recognise Junagad as a part of India and we shall continue to show Junagad in the map of Pakistan, since the problem is before the UN. This evil design of Pakistan should be exposed and contained.

We don't have any enmity towards any neighbour. Similarly, as regards China several people have advocated a belligerent policy. But I don't think that our foreign policy is so fragile or so brittle that negotiations would impair it and that we should resort to arms and friction for each and every problem. Negotiations and peaceful efforts are the strengths of the foreign policy. Therefore I support the policy of India in the matter of China on our border crisis.

Our quest for world peace is not just aimed at establishing world peace for the sake of peace. Our efforts for peace are also related to development. As Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has said a war is a negation of development.

17.00 hrs.

So also Pandit Nehru said and our Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi has also said that the importance of disarmament lies in efforts of development of the world. Any expenditure on arms is negation of development and, therefore, we should continue to strengthen our support for disarmament accord. I must congratulate the Government on its awareness and alertness on various problems as, for example, Israel. It has shown promptness and fortitude in condemning aggression by Israel on Palestinians. Our Government very promptly condemned the murder committed by the Israel Government on the second in command of PLO. When our Tennis team was to be sent for Davis Cup to play on Israel land I had earlier written to the Government that we

should not send the team in view of the affairs there. The Government was prompt enough to declare that our team will not go in the present situation. Similarly our Cricket team was not permitted to go to Bangladesh when 21 opposition parties there had demanded that the Cricket tournament should not be held in the situation.

My submission, therefore, is that our foreign policy which has been acclaimed all around should be developed and I wish God speed to the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs in further expanding the advance of our foreign policy in the interest of world peace.

THE PRIME MINISTER (Shri Rajiv Gandhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have had an illuminating debate with many valuable and constructive suggestion and I would like to thank all the Members who have participated constructively in the debate.

There is a broad national consensus on the principles and objectives and on the way we conduct our foreign policy. Despite differences that occur in detail the main constituents of our foreign policy have been re-affirmed and re-iterated a number of times. The main constituents have a continuing relevance in today's world.

Sir, the world is changing very rapidly, especially international relations, in the last two or three years. New attitudes are developing, new ways of thinking are springing up and all this will pose new challenges to all countries in the world especially countries like India who play a significant role in international affairs. In such a situation, one cannot remain mired in the past. One must remain flexible. But at the same time one's basic principles and fundamental ethical perceptions must be rock steady on the postulates on which we have based our foreign policy.

[Sh. Rajiv Gandhi]

At one time we were regarded as immoral and impractical when we based our foreign policy on an ethical foundation. Today, this has changed. Now the world is accepting the indispensability of non-violence, of freedom from nuclear weapons and of disarmament. Today, the world accepts that there can be no real, complete development if truth is not unburdened of the weight of bloc interests and spheres of influence. The world is coming round more and more to our way of thinking, in seeing humanity as one without segmented interests, in celebrating and accepting the diversity of different peoples of this earth. Countries which were highly suspicious of peaceful coexistence, are today talking of peaceful coexistence and not of deterrence.

During these years, since our foreign policy was given a firm grounding by Jawaharlal Nehru, the world has started coming around to our world-view. And this is evidenced most recently by the Delhi Declaration, which was signed in November 1986, affirming non-violence and nuclear disarmament. It is being affirmed by the logic of reversing and ending escalating nuclear weapons development.

The SIX-NATION INITIATIVE was started with Indira in May 1984, at a time when the dialogue between the major powers was at a standstill, at a time when nobody thought that the tensions could come down. But by the efforts that she made, by the continuing efforts of the SIX nations in the FIVE-CONTINENT INITIATIVE, by the continuing efforts of all those involved in disarmament, by creating the atmosphere, the right atmosphere in the world, we have, for the first time, seen the dismantling of nuclear weapons after the signing of the INF treaty.

We have seen tensions coming down, especially amongst the major powers, and an acceptance of different socio-economic

systems. We see, for the first time, a little light for a true international democracy developing and moving away from a bipolar world.

This is the time for us to look ahead to a world where there may not be nuclear weapons, where disarmament will have taken place. We have to safeguard ourselves against new developments which could pull us back into the same competitive arms race. Beyond nuclear weapons, we must see that there are no other means of mass destruction developed. We must see that new dimensions are not added to the arms race and, equally important, we must see that no highly accurate conventional weapons are developed, what we have termed 'surgical weapons' in the FIVE-CONTINENT INITIATIVE, weapons, which used effectively, could remove the entire leadership of a nation without causing widespread damage but still causing complete chaos.

So, is the time to start thinking of how we can start controlling these things and putting things on to a new track. We need new structures of international cooperation. We need a really effective United Nations system, restructured to reflect international democracy and sovereign equality. We need international cooperation based on the recognition of one common family of human beings, an inter-dependence of interests, and the symbiosis of growth in the South with stability in the North. We need a world order based on the insights and values of Gandhiji and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Sir, coming to South Asia, we have, on a number of occasions, reiterated our commitment to friendship and cordial and cooperative relations with Pakistan. We entertain the warmest sentiments for the people of Pakistan, with whom we share much in common—language, music and literature. We have a common history. There is no ill-will towards the people of Pakistan.

We wish them well. And, therefore, we greatly welcome any exchanges at the people's level—visitors, tourists, students, journalists, trade unionists women's groups. At every level, we would like to see many more exchanges. We seek inter-action with the new generation who have been born and who have grown up as Pakistanis but whom Pakistan policies have kept distanced from a personal knowledge of India. Peace between Pakistan and India is peace between their peoples.

To promote such contacts and build cordiality in the Shimla spirit, we have proposed a number of steps. I do not want to give an exhaustive list but I would like to read out some. We proposed a Treaty of Peace and Friendship. We proposed an agreement for non-attack on nuclear facilities, we have proposed discussions on new ground rules on the border. We proposed an MOU on hijacking. We proposed an MOU on air space violations by military aircrafts. We proposed expansion of private trade. We have proposed a move to a non-discriminatory trade regime and the MFN treatment. Indo-Pakistan joint ventures have been proposed. Exchanges of writers, of intellectuals, exchanges of media, cultural exchanges, troupes, films, drama, music, dance. We have proposed exchanges of books, periodicals and newspapers. We have proposed many other confidence-building and risk reduction measures, as may be mutually agreed. We have proposed the easing of travel restrictions. We have proposed cooperation on drug trafficking and terrorism. Unfortunately, we have stuck with very unsatisfactory responses from the Pakistani side.

On the other hand, Pakistan forestalls people to people programmes. They pursue what is very obviously a nuclear weapons programme. They assume hostile postures in areas such as Siachin. They allow their territory to be used for the support, sustenance and sanctuary of terrorists and sepa-

ratists. We have informed the Pakistan Government that our Home Secretaries—The Home Secretary of Pakistan and the Home Secretary of India—must meet to discuss the sudden increase of terrorism on our borders. We must have good communications between our two countries at various levels. On the military side, we already have a hotline. Perhaps a hotline is needed between the some Secretaries also to see that any tensions that build up can be defused and reduced as soon as possible or immediately.

We had one such hotline between the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan and the Foreign Secretary of India. But, at their request, it has been dismantled. We would like to have it restored and put back so that tensions, if they build up, can be reduced quickly.

I hope that we can get on quickly to genuine and sincere normalisation of our relations. A prosperous, stable Pakistan, with its independence, sovereignty and integrity fully assured, is in India's national interest. We would like to see a Pakistan like that.

A little further West, in Afghanistan, we welcome the Geneva Accord. It should lead to a cessation of interference and intervention in Afghanistan. It should lead to the return of refugees. The Agreement in Geneva has opened a window of opportunity for peace and stability in Afghanistan, assuring its independence and sovereignty and its non-alignment. We have played our role constructively and quietly in facilitating this process. We regret that Pakistan did not respond to our invitation for consultations. We could have made things a little smoother, perhaps.

In our view the best guarantee of peace, stability and non-alignment in Afghanistan is a strong Government in Af-

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ghanistan. And, we would like to see a strong Government in Kabul. We have vital stakes in this. Therefore, we are inviting President Najibullah to visit India to discuss all aspects of the post Accord situation. We wish the people of Afghanistan an era of progress, reconstruction and rehabilitation and we pledge our support to this endeavour.

Sir, our Agreement with Sri Lanka was universally welcomed as the only basis for a fair and lasting settlement in Sri Lanka; a settlement meeting all the legitimate needs and demands of the Tamils; an Agreement that strengthens Sri Lanka's unity; an agreement that meets our security concerns.

In the last 9 months the IPKF has stopped the conflict between Tamils and Tamils. The IPKF has stopped the conflict between the Tamil militants and the Sri Lankan army. The LTTE has been disarmed - a large section of the LTTE has been disarmed by the IPKF.

Near normalcy has been established in the North and we are moving towards normalcy very rapidly in the East. The Sri Lankan Government has released most Tamil detenus and has framed legislation for provincial councils. For the LTTE we keep channels open. We welcome them to join the political process and to test their standing in the democratic process.

Sir, in South Asia, SAARC has been moving very well and it is moving rapidly. We are very satisfied with the progress. SAARC is reaching new potentials and establishing a good framework for relationships in South Asia. A Member has raised the question of SAARC being used to settle bilateral issues. I would like to make our position very clear. SAARC is not a bilateral forum and we will not use it to sort out our bilateral issues. We have direct contacts and we deal directly on bilateral issues.

Sir, with China we have been endeavouring to improve our relations. We are building a climate of trust, looking for a new and productive phase in our relationship. We recognise that the process of normalisation is complex. The border question needs peaceful negotiations. It needs mutually acceptable outcomes and we need to keep in mind the national sentiments in both countries. The maintenance of peace and tranquillity on our borders becomes vital while we talk of long term settlements. We are strengthening cooperation in many fields with China. We are glad that the efforts to normalise relations have been welcomed by all sections of the House. We have accepted, in principle, that I should visit China on their invitation.

Our relations with Japan have advanced significantly. I have had a large number of meetings with their ex-Prime Minister Nakasone, when he was Prime Minister and after. And on this visit to Japan, I had a very long meeting with Prime Minister Takeshita. Japan is now our largest bilateral donor of official development assistance. It is also our third largest trading partner. We expect an increase in Japanese investment, in joint ventures with Japan, and in technical collaboration with Japan.

On my way back from Japan, I stopped over in Vietnam to meet the new leadership that has taken over. Vietnam is a true and sincere friend of India, with whom we enjoy shared values, shared principles and many shared geo-political perceptions. My visit reaffirmed the strong historical ties between the two countries. We have established a strong political understanding with the Vietnamese leadership, an understanding to promote all round cooperation in economic, social and cultural development, an understanding that will strengthen and safeguard the forces of peace and stability in Asia.

We had talks about Kampuchea. As you

are aware, Sir, India has been active in trying to find a solution for the problems in Kampuchea. We are playing our part. We hope the talks between Prince Sihanouk and Prime Minister Hun Sen will be resumed soon.

There is an important role for the ASEAN countries. I hope that they too will come forward and play that role. Our relations with the ASEAN countries are progressing smoothly. We have increased economic, commercial and other relations. The Prime Minister of Singapore visited India a little while ago and I have visited Indonesia and Thailand. We have long-standing ties with Malaysia.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Gulf War continues. We have persistently deplored this fratricidal conflict between two non-aligned countries. We have remained in close touch with both. We have endorsed the United Nations Security Council Resolution 598. The negotiating process to implement the Resolution has been undermined by the resumption of the war of the cities and by the resort to chemical weapons. We deplore the intensification of the Great Power naval presence. The incidents in the Gulf involving US warships are becoming more and more serious and we urge the utmost restraint on all sides. The need of the hour is statesman like caution, reversing the escalation and promoting a negotiated settlement.

In West Asia, our support to the Palestinian cause the PLO is historic and consistent; and dates back to our freedom struggle. We condemn the brutal behaviour of the Israeli forces in the Occupied Territories. The recent cruel assassination of Abu Jihad is also an act that will only escalate tensions in the area and will make it more difficult to normalise matters and to find a solution. The situation is critical and brooks no piecemeal approach. I believe there is growing support for an International Conference on the Middle-East. The Palestinians have an inal-

ienable right to self-determination and we support them in that right.

Moving to Central America, we support the Contadore process. It has led to the Guatemala Peace Accord in the middle of last year, which should lead to a just and lasting settlement ensuring the right to self-determination, independence, security and integrity of all States of the region, free of interference and intervention from outside.

There is much evidence of the growing affection and shared perceptions and concrete support from Latin America to India, despite the long distances that separate our countries. I must make special mention of the genuine efforts that Daniel Ortega has been making in Nicaragua to bring about peace, to uphold the independence of Nicaragua and to strengthen non-alignment in the region.

Our relations with Peru have improved tremendously during these past years. Peru is blazing a new trail in Latin America. Argentina and Mexico are partners in our Six-Nation Initiative and we are working unitedly for disarmament. We had a lot of co-operation between Brazil and India in the GATT negotiations. Because of our unity and like-mindedness we were able to have our way and swing things in favour of the developing nations. We must expand our co-operation with Latin America to a level commensurate with the great interest and sympathy for India in Latin America.

Our relations with the USSR have been traditionally close and warm. These are now expanding at an unprecedented pace, improving qualitatively to new levels. Special mention must be made of the new thrust in increased trade and economic co-operation, and especially in science and technology co-operation that we are starting up. The Festival of India in the Soviet Union and the Soviet Festival in India have been great successes.

[Sh. Rajiv Gandhi]

We are looking forward to General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to India in November this year.

We have been steadily improving our bilateral relations with the United States since Indiraji's visit in 1982. The United States is now our largest trading partner with growing scope for increased economic cooperation and technology transfers. We have been holding useful consultations on international and regional issues with the United States. On defence matters, our concentration is on high technology with a view to strengthening our self-reliance.

Our foreign policy is based on the basic postulates given to us by Gandhiji, of one humanity, of non-violence and of speaking the truth. On one humanity, we have fought for ending the divisions, the narrow walls that we have built. We have fought for ending *apartheid* which has spawned colonialism in Namibia. We have fought against invasion, subversion and destabilization in Southern Africa that *apartheid* is causing. Our response to the challenge is seen in the AFRICA Funa. Forty-five countries have responded, and pledged over a quarter of a billion dollars, including Rs.50 crores from us. Several donors, including India have initiated projects.

Increasing recognition of the Non-aligned Movement is taking place in the world. At one time it was called immoral. Today, it is accepted by all nations. The principles and practices of non-alignment are seen as the only path for assured peace, stability and prosperity in the world. We have grown from a small minority to an overwhelming majority; and even those who are not in the Non-aligned Movement have started talking the non-aligned language. We must maintain the unity of the movement, because that is what will give us

strength.

In the economic field, the irrational world order is harming development in the South, and continued prosperity in the North. We need a new consensus on an economic order, a new consensus on development and a cooperative world order.

India has been fighting for disarmament, nuclear disarmament, from long before it was fashionable. The INF Treaty is a historic step in this process, but it must be remembered that it is only a first step. A lot more needs to be done. Much must be built this process. To make further progress, we must work towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons within a time-bound programme. We must include all nuclear weapon powers in the process. We must see that weapons, nuclear weapons, do not extend into new dimensions. We must see that there is no development of other weapons of mass destruction or surgical weapons. We must replace doctrines of deterrence by doctrines of peaceful co-existence.

In 1988, we conclude the 40th year of India's independence. We also begin the birth centenary year of Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of our foreign policy. His vision was much in advance of his times, but it is getting world-wide recognition today, a quarter of a century after his death. We are the proud inheritors of an ancient civilization whose basic precepts are the source of our foreign policy. We have remained steadfast to Jawaharlal Nehru's vision. There are new challenges and new prospects and new possibilities ahead. We have to abide by our own principles, but interpret them anew to suit evolving circumstances. We shall work towards peace and amity in our neighbourhood and the resolution of regional conflicts. We shall work for human rights and justice in the world, for international democracy among sovereign equals, for cooperative world order, for one humanity.