

16.16 hrs.

[English]

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (GENERAL)
1992-93- CONTD.

Ministry of External affairs - CONTD.

MR. SPEAKER: The House will now take up further discussion on the Demand for Grant of the Ministry of External Affairs. Shri P.G. Narayanan may continue.

SHRI P.G. NARAYANAN (Gobichettipalayam): Mr. Speaker, Sir, now the soviet Union is no more in existence. It is not difficult to understand the emergence of new perceptions in the Russian Republic towards the Indian sub-continent. Even before the Soviet Union formally ceased to exist, she voted in favour of Pakistan's resolution in the United Nations regarding the nuclear-free zone. The Russian Vice-President expressed the hope during his recent visit to Pakistan that the Kashmir issue would be resolved peacefully through negotiations between Pakistan and India on the basis of international agreements. The joint communiqué issued upon the conclusion of his visit also mentioned about military cooperation between the two countries. These developments do not mean that the Russian Republics or other Republics which have replaced the Soviet Union will not be friendly towards India. But, they do suggest that India can no longer rely upon the same responses from them which the Soviet Union displayed towards events in the Indian sub-continent. It is time for us to adjust ourselves to the changes which occurred on the very basis on which the Indo-soviet relations were structured in the last forty years.

Now, the reported suspensions of transfer of rocket technology to India following objections from the United States is creating another serious crisis. The demand of US is that if Russia do not annual there contract immediately, the US may reconsider the idea of trade sanctions also. If the transfer of rocket technology to India is stopped or suspended, it will affect our space programme

adversely. We have already made it clear that we are utilising nuclear energy and other related technology for constructive purposes. Then why the US should raise its objections to the transfer of technology? This is a very serious matter. So, the Government must take some concrete steps on this issue.

The issue of Kashmir is not a new issue. It is an issue ever since 1947. We had the Simla pact and after the Simla agreement, we expected that Pakistan could toe that line at least on an agreement which they voluntarily entered. Although the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan reiterated after their meeting in October and December, 1991, and February, 1992, the need to reduce tensions and resolve issues bilaterally and peacefully, Pakistan's action have not yet matched its stated desire to bring about any improvement in bilateral relations. Now Pakistan is attempting to use Amanullah Khan his JKLF organisation to fan the flames of insurgency in the Kashmir Valley. Of late, insurgency in the Valley has been losing but with the Indian armed forces and their ability to withstand and mischief from Pakistani inspired activities along the line of actual control. But it is our political leaders who will have to find way of countering the Pakistani challenge both politically and diplomatically.

Sir, what is even more shocking is with regard to Sri Lanka. All of us are aware that the process of solving the problem had started. The Sri Lankan Government is planning to wipe out the LTTE. They have planned it militarily and will carry it out militarily. India continues to sustain her keen interest in a peaceful resolution of the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka. India has reiterated to Sri Lanka her faith in the need for a negotiated political settlement within the framework of the unity and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka for arriving at a blasting and permanent solution to the ethnic problem.

Sri Lankan Government acted against the spirit of 1974 agreement which provided fishing rights to Tamil Nadu fisherman. Sri Lanka never allows our fishermen near Katchatheevu for fishing. That is why Tamil Nadu Chief Minister demanded the Central

[Sh. P.G. Narayanan]

Government for cancellation of the 1974 agreement so that we can get back Kachathevu to safeguard the interest of our fishermen.

The 1986 accord has not been properly implemented. If Sri Lanka had implemented the accord properly, we could have avoided LTTE problem in Tamil Nadu. We could have saved Rajiv Gandhi from assassination. Now Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Purachi Thalaivi Jayalalitha is facing threat of life from LTTE militants. As the Chief Minister has informed, a suicide squad has already entered Tamil Nadu with a view to physically liquidate her and blast the headquarters of the Special Investigation Team probing the assassination of the former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. This has also been confirmed by the Intelligence Bureau. So, the Government must come forward to ban LTTE at the earliest without any further delay.

In spite of all that, India is committed to the strengthening and consolidation of bilateral relations with Sri Lanka in keeping with the traditional and historic ties between the two countries. In July, 1991, an agreement was signed for the establishment of an India-Sri Lanka Commission. The voluntary return of Sri Lankan refugees to their homeland, based on assurances received from Sri Lankan Government commenced on 20 January, 1992.

Now I would like to say a few words about our trade policy with foreign countries. We have brought a great change in our industrial policy. There is also a change in our trade policy. Foreign countries expressed their fear and concern about our new industrial and trade policy. They have their own doubt that whether India would continue this policy or not. We have to create confidence in the minds of foreign countries so that they will come forward to help us without any hesitation. I want to know what are the plans that we are having in this direction. Our Ambassadors in foreign countries should be instructed suitably to function effectively to create an atmosphere of confidence and

trustworthiness. Then only, we can achieve what we want to achieve from our new industrial and trade policy. Some foreign countries raise the question whether India is politically strong enough to keep the country intact, as the secessionists and terrorists are now causing threats to the unity and integrity of our country in some parts. Punjab, Assam and Kashmir are already under menace and grip of terrorists effectively. Moreover, we are running a minority government at the Centre. Foreign countries should not think that we are weak and not able to solve the problems posed by secessionists and terrorists. So, we have to prove our credibility and strength. India has consistently maintained cordial and close economic and commercial relationship with other countries and this has paved the way for trade agreements with them. Our commercial offices attached to Indian Missions abroad have also played a significant role in accelerating export growth to maximize our foreign exchange earnings.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words about our other neighbours. With Nepal, there is a marked improvement in relations, particularly after the installation of the democratically elected Government, the first of its kind in the Himalayan kingdom. The old days of playing the so-called China card have gone and both countries are poised for closer alliance on many fronts—political and economic to cultural and diplomatic. There is scope for cooperation in many fields, such as river water management.

With Bangladesh, we have kept aside our mutual problems in spite of the improved climate due to the establishment of democracy there. A businesslike approach is necessary to deal with items of mutual concern if we want to recapture the spirit of friendship generated 20 years ago at the time of the liberation of Bangladesh.

In any event, the time tested foreign policy should continue. We should be in a position to deal with all and be subservient to none. That has to be the approach for our new foreign policy and international economic relations.

PROF. K. V. THOMAS (Ernakulam): Sir, when we discuss the demands for Grants for the Ministry of External affairs., there is a substantial change taking place in the international political situations.. New dimensions have come into the relationships between different nations. The United States of America and the erstwhile USSR were the two balancing super powers in the world. But now, the former USSR being withered away into different republics, the USA is assuming the job of a global policeman. When we look at the policy of America, it can be seen that America never had a permanent friend. But it has permanent interests. We had very good friendship with USSR - a time tested friendship and during a period of crisis to USSR was with us. But with the change in the political situation, with the change in the political scenario I think, India has to take a firm and leading stand in the world politics.

I feel the non-aligned movement has got a much bigger role to play to decide the political situation in the world. Many of the actions of the United States show that unless the developing countries and the Third World countries stand united, our interest will be in jeopardy. You have seen the stand taken by the United States in Kuwait. In the name of sending out Saddam Hussain, they intervened in Kuwait and fought and fought a wars by which it got a lot of benefits. Again in the name of restructuring Kuwait, they are intervening and again repping benefits out of it. Under the leadership of the former USSR, the communist and socialist countries were able to give a political balance to the entire world. But unfortunately, that force is no more. I am not of the opinion that communism is finished. I am sure that the changes that are now taking place in the global politics will give shape to a new order so that the problems of man can be settled in a much more democratic way. Even in the present Russia, the new development taking place show that democratic norm and democratic way of life will have much more prominence.

Coming to the Indian sub-continent, India has to play a much bigger role. At the time of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mao

Tse-Tung we had a relationship 'Hindi -Chini Bhai-Bhai'. In 1962, there was an end to this relationship. But later, after 25 years, we have seen Shri Rajiv Gandhi visiting China. And a few days back, our Up-Rashtrapathi also has gone to China. So, there is an attempt to build the relationship anew. I think, India being the biggest democracy of the world, should forget the past bitterness and try to have better relations with our neighboring countries.

Now I come to Pakistan. Pakistan has always given us trouble. But still it is one of our own brothers. We should find away out for arriving at a mutually agreed settlement.

Coming to Sri Lanka, we have always tried to protect our Tamil brothers in Sri Lanka, within the Sri Lankan democratic framework. But unfortunately, some of the powerful Tamil ethnic groups in Sri Lanka did not cooperate with Rajiv Jayavardena accord. I think we should try to see that the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka is steered by peaceful negotiation.

There are certain issues before the world. One problem that is facing the whole world is terrorism. India is also a victim of terrorism.

What is happening in Punjab and Kashmir is not an isolated issue. Similar terrorist activities are going on in England and other places. So, to curb the terrorism I feel that India should take the leadership so that the countries of the world may come together to fight terrorism as a global issue.

Today we are celebrating the Earth Day. But the earth is facing a lot of environmental problems. The Ozone layer is developing holes. Deforestation is taking place to such an alarming extent that even one-third of the forest which was there earlier is being removed. So, this environmental problem should be viewed as a global problem.

Then we have the problem of poverty, In many countries of Asia and Africa thousands and thousands of children are under the garb

[Prof. K.V. Thomas]

of poverty. It is a global issue and it has to be fought not by a single country but by the world at large. Similarly, illiteracy is a global issue and it should be tackled by the world at large.

There are health hazards like the AIDS which is spreading in India in such a way that it will become one of the biggest health hazards that our nation is going to face. Similarly, the movement of narcotics and drugs should be checked as a global issue.

The other point that I wish to make is regarding the Gulf countries. I have visited the Gulf countries several times. A large number of Indians are working in UAE and other Gulf countries. We should try to have better relations with these countries. People working in these countries have a lot of problems. The embassies in these Gulf countries should see that their problems are settled as early as possible. We should also try to have better relations with the Islamic countries.

With these words I conclude, Sir. Thank you.

[*Translation*]

SHRI GUMAN MAL LODHA (Pali): Mr. Speaker, while discussing the present position of India's important foreign policy and its relations with the adjoining as well as other countries of the world, the first and foremost thing to be seen is our security arrangements, our relations with the friendly neighboring countries and the basis of that relationship.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all I would like to submit that we must be careful about such a serious matter. The assassination of our former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi our foreign policy with Sri Lanka and the emergence of LTTE is a very unfortunate chapter. Since the time Pakistan started sending terrorists into Punjab after giving them training, financial aid and also arms, peace in Punjab has been disturbed. The

Punjab problem, claimed the life of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, our former Prime Minister, I make this submission with a view to think over its seriousness. We are going to transfer "Tin Bigha" corridor Bangladesh in order to improve our relations with our neighboring country. We do not mind to make this small sacrifice by transferring "Tin Bigha" corridor if it is required, to improve our relations. But through you, I would like to submit that a conspiracy is being made against our country in Bangladesh by providing training and arms to the terrorists to disrupt peace in various parts of our country. The places like Maimansingh, Jayantipur, Joyadpur, Adampur, Bhanugatch, Srimangal in the Maulavi Bazar are the places where ULFA terrorists are being imparted training.

16.41 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in this way ULFA terrorists receive training in Bangladesh and disrupt peace in Assam which ultimately results in blood-shed there. There have been frequent incidents of extortion to the tune of crores of rupees. Officials working in Oil and Gas companies have been kidnapped and even murdered. The terrorists involved in such incidents belong to ULFA training camps in Bangladesh. Similarly MULFA is the other Bodq Terrorists organisation. They are also receiving training in Neefamari Army Camp and Gabanda Army Camp in Bangladesh. Other army camps like those in Maimansingh in Jayantipur and Joyadpur in Dhaka are also in Bangladesh. Not only that, there are also similar camps even in hill areas of Salopi and Chatgaon. PLA Camps are there in Chhotadhami, Nayapattan, Longla, Ram Nagar, Ambarkhan, Adampur, Sona Rupa Tea Estate and Bhanugatch in Maulavi Bazar in Bangladesh.

Similarly, ATTF Camps like Reja, Kaslog, Mayani, Jopuri, Thangaj situated in Chatgaon are also in Bangladesh. MNF camps are situated in the hill areas of Alikadam Chatgaon. I have given some examples which will suggest that there are at least 40-50 training camps in Bangladesh to impart

training to terrorists in order to disrupt peace in various parts of our country.

Conspiracy is being hatched to shed blood even in the North-Eastern region like Nagaland, Mizoram and other places. Therefore, to say that Tin Bigha is being transferred to them with a sense of harmony and good will for the friendly countries is nothing more than self deception.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that when India helped Bangladesh to free itself, Sheikh Mujib-ou-Rehman was the Prime Minister. India had helped him to become the Prime Minister. We had good relations with him. That is why Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman-Indira Gandhi pact was signed in 1974. At times the relations deteriorate. But the present situation is not like that. Therefore, transferring 'Tin Bigha' corridor now to Bangladesh just to improve our relations without that country would be our political folly. As our former Minister of External Affairs, Shri Solanki rightly said that the question of transferring Tin Biha corridor Bangladesh has spread discontent in west Bengal. A human chain had been formed there, Satyagrahas, agitations are being launched and dharnas are being staged. The people of the areas are scared and harassed. If this and is transferred to Bangladesh, the life of about 50,000 people living in Kusalbadi areas would be in danger. I fail to understand that if the purpose behind it is just to provide passage to the people of Bangladesh why a floyover is not being constructed? At that time I had made this suggestion to the hon. Minister. Moreover, not only we, but also many other parties of West Bengal supporting CPM are agitating over the matter. They have also argued that if the purpose is to provide passage, a floyover will serve the purpose. Then what is the need of transferring land falling under Indian territory?

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, the most ridiculous thing is that it has been proposed that a policeman will be deployed there who will regulate the traffic of people of both India and Bengladesh. Our Japans are already deployed on Bangladesh border. Even then lakhs of Bangladesh is infiltrate not only into

West Bengal but also other parts of the country, How can a policeman prevent them from doing so. I am unable to understand all this.. Illegal immigration is a serious problem. Such immigrants have settled in Delhi, Lucknow and other parts of the country. They are very active in Calcutta where they have settled. They want the right to vote and other Civil rights as Indian citizens. Transferring of "Tin Bigha" corridor would not mean just providing a passage to them; they would carry military equipments, tents, misiles, armed guards etc. The extent of its danger can be well imagined from the fact that we would allow them to do so on our own land., Secondly, when Red cliff Award was signed, we aware supposed to acquire the land area under 12 police stations of East Pakistan that comes under Bangladesh now. But our weak Government has left the land at the mercy of local residents.

We had met the Home Minister at that time and had requested him to get the Redcliff Award implemented. They are not accepting the land, which has been given to them through the Award and the Government is getting more liberal. Are you going to enter into any agreement to give them the land? I would like to submit that in the present situation, it should become clear to the neighboring countries that though India is a peace loving country, it has power also. Only the slogan of peace cannot be useful to us. If there is power with peace, peace can be maintained more effectively. While talking of peace, India was attacked by China. Although, the then Prime Minister had raised the slogan of "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" for China and had thought that China will come to protect us, but the saviour became the destroyer. It caused heavy causality in our forces and focibly occupied our land. We do not have Tibet with us today. Tibetan youth, who came here, distribute pamphlets at the Boat Club. Dalai Lama and his followers wander here like beggars. We lost Tibet in this way and were not able to do anything during the Chinese attack. Similarly, the areas captured buy Pakistan are still under its occupation. Therefore, I would like to submit that while believing in peaceful co-existence on-e should be powerful also and

should understand the reality. Mere sentiments should not be shown. If it is done, that is hypocrisy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would also like to submit that there should be dual citizenship in our country. NRIs living in America and England are facing a lot of difficulties today. If the system of dual citizenship is implemented here to solve their problems, there will be increase in foreign exchange earnings of our country also. We have made changes in our industrial, fiscal, commercial and import-export policies and have liberalised our policies to provide opportunities to the N.R.Is so that there could be economic and industrial upliftment of our country. Those N.R. Is are saying that they do not want a half-hearted invitation, They should be given the right to live here also. They are Indians but origin. I would like to submit that the Government should consider the question of providing dual citizenship to the N.R.Is.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to say one more point. We are a silent spectator to the situation in Afghanistan. Pakistan and the U.N. are playing their cards there. All the other countries of the world are concerned about the future Government in Afghanistan, but we have no concern about it... We should be at least vigilant about all our neighbouring countries.

Mr.. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to make one more submission. Pakistan has become a nuclear power. This has been accepted and tested several times. But we are not as vigilant about it as we should be so that we can meet the challenge whenever any such situation arises. We should also make nuclear weapons in our country. I would like to submit that our foreign policy should be based on ground reality.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, It is said that the countries under this Asian Contient can never be permanent friends or permanent foes to other countries of the world. We may have some permanent interests, but our

biggest interest is to maintain sovereignty of our country and to keep its borders safe and secure. May the image of our country should always be good in the world. But this is possible only when, we prove ourselves as a powerful country. With the disintegration of Soviet Union, a very peculiar situation has arisen today. Such a situation may favour some countries, politically and some countries may not like disintegration of Soviet Union, but it is a matter of grave concern for India, because America has emerged as the only Super power in the world now and the balance of power, which was there between the two countries has ended.

It's an altogether different question whether the U.S.A. bullies Iraq, justifiably or unnecessarily and I would not like to comment on it. But is America going to dictate to us on our relations with Russia, on rocket technology transfer to India etc? Is America going to interfere in our Internal affairs? We won't seek alms from the U.S.A. Therefore, it is very essential that we formulate all our policies, in accordance with the changed situation and the new dimensions and horizons that have now emerged. We should be in a position now to live without American aid. When our forces had gone to liberate Bangladesh, the United States threatened that if India did not withdraw its forces before Bangladesh, it would send its Seventh fleet equipped with atomic and nuclear weapons to destroy India, but I must felicitate our military commanders and the political leadership of the time for not surrendering before the hollow threats of America and successfully liberating Bangladesh. Today also, we should be strong and powerful enough to drive home the same message to the Americans. It is true that at that time, the now defunct Soviet Union was a balancing factor. Had the Americans sent their naval fleets to our coasts, we had the confidence that the Soviets will come to our rescue and oppose the Americans. Therefore, today we have to enhance our atomic power, so that we remain fully prepared to meet any eventuality. The disintegration of the Soviet Union has led to the emergence of many nuclear weapon States.. Earlier, we had to deal only with the U.S.S.R, but today we

have to deal with many countries, which are following their own independent policies. Although most of these newly independent States are with us to date and want to maintain the same relations that the erstwhile Soviet Union had with India, but one cannot be sure whether they will change for the worse, as has been the case with Bangladesh. When pressure was being put on us to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Bangladesh did not support us. Rather, it along with Pakistan supported the U.S.A.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, under the circumstances, keeping in mind the facts as they are, we should cautiously delineate between our friends and foes. For this very reason, we should also be fully prepared to protect our borders. Similarly, clear-cut instructions should be given to our officials in Embassies and posted outside, who represent our policies and interests that they should project the image of a strong and powerful India, whether they be in the U.S.A., U.K. or elsewhere.

With these words, I would like to submit that the Government should pay serious attention to these points and scrap the Tin Bigha agreement. The implementation of the agreement would be Suicidal - and already the people of West Bengal have registered their opposition to this move and an agitation is going on there. Soon, there will be vehement opposition to it throughout the country. We won't allow the surrender of even an inch of our sacred motherland to Bangladesh.

[English]

SHRI INDER JIT (Darjeeling): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Demands of the Ministry of External Affairs. But even as I do so I would like to make some basic suggestions for consideration.

My first point relates to the basic philosophy and approach of India's foreign policy. Pandit Nehru gave us our present policy of non-alignment and, indeed, went on to become the architect of the non-aligned

movement together with Presidents Tito and Nasser. We have continued to be a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. However, many today question the relevance of non-alignment. Insofar as I am concerned, non-alignment continues to be relevant and we should continue to follow the policy of non-alignment. We have to remember that non-alignment is essentially the extension of a country's independence at home to independence abroad.

Thus, we must continue to judge every issue on merit and independently in the best interest of our country. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the fact that the Non-Alignment Movement today is not what it was originally intended to be. Regrettably, in fact tragically, those who founded the Non-Alignment Movement and the successors decided to go in for numbers and in the bargain sacrificed its quality. This led to the absurd situation wherein countries which were blatantly aligned with one super power or the other were accepted as members of the Non-Aligned Movement. At one stage, even the Government of occupied Afghanistan, following the soviet aggression, was allowed to continue as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. All this has greatly undermined the movement and its credibility.

Nehru, it may be recalled, had pointed out that the non-aligned countries had no military power and no economic power. However, they could acquire moral force provided they stood by some basic principles and acted impartially without fear or favour. This moral force, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, has been greatly undermined over the years because of our decision to opt for quantity in preference to quality.

It was my privilege, Sir, to accompany the late Rajiv Gandhi to Cuba following the commonwealth Summit at Bahamas in 1985. Cuba and its great leader, Fidel Castro, deserve every admiration. Nevertheless, it has always intrigued me as to how India, Yugoslavia and Egypt as the architects of the Non-Alignment Movement ever came to accept Cuba as a non-aligned country.

[Sh. Inderjit]

What of the future? As I said earlier, we should continue to be non-aligned. At the same time, we need to be realistic and pragmatic. We have only to recall what happened even during Nehru's time to see how the high priest of non-alignment showed realism in the larger interest of our country. I recall the days when Hungary was brazenly and invaded militarily occupied by the Soviet Union. The Lok Sabha reacted and angrily to these developments.

I was a witness, to these happenings from the Press Gallery above and of the all round demand in the House for strong condemnation by Panditji and, indeed by the Lok Sabha of the naked Soviet aggression. Surprisingly, however, this did not happen. Nehru spoke but did not condemn the aggression. The reason? Nehru was clear that India needed to be realistic in terms of its best national interest. Major decisions could not be taken in a vacuum.

We have to remember all this even as we advocate pursuit of non-alignment vigorously. We should not become euphoric and talk idealistically without keeping in mind India's best national interest and the reality of today. It is very well for some Members of the Opposition to assert that India must do this or that irrespective of its consequences. Importantly, this is not the line some of these friends advocated during the hey day of the Soviet Union. They themselves advocated realism.

All this, however, is not to suggest that we surrender to any super or supreme power. We must be prepared to stand up and be counted in our best national interest. But our decision must be based on the reality of today. I would thus advocate a foreign policy of non-alignment with realism even as we have opted for a domestic policy of continuity with change.

I would like to make two other points in this overall context. First, I do not accept the proposition that we have now moved into a unipolar world. I have great regard for Shri

Vajpayeeji. But I do not accept Atalji's view that the US has become the supreme power. True, the Soviet Union has gone up in smoke. Nevertheless, there are other power centres that are in the process of emerging.

United Europe with united Germany emerging as an economic giant is one such new power centre. Japan is another such power centre. In fact, Japan together with South-East Asia appears to be poised to emerge as a power Centre to reckon with. Many perceptive observers even believe that India, China and Japan could together emerge as a crucial power Centre given the required cooperation over the coming decade. I do not think there is any scope for believing that there is any vacuum in this area.

The other point relates to our work culture and outlook. Many of our problems have arisen over the past few decades because we seldom anticipate developments and act. Tragically, we always seem to sit back and react. I could give any number of instances in this regard having had the privilege of watching this House function from the Press gallery above for almost 40 years. We must change our work culture and hereafter anticipate and act.

In my opinion, this should be the basic criteria of judging the merit of the officers of our Foreign Service. Those who show ability and capacity to anticipate and act deserve due recognition as also due reward. Top plums and cherries among the postings in the wide world abroad should, in my opinion, go to those who have requisite merit to analyse, anticipate and act. We must desist from the temptation of favoring sycophants and favorites. Already, this unfortunate tendency has played considerable havoc with the service, its morale and competence.

The world is today increasingly talking of a New World Order. It was our privilege, no doubt, to be the first on the international scene to talk of a New World Order and a New International scene to talk of a New World Order and a New International Economic Order. But this by itself is not

enough. In my view, we should set up in our M.E.A. a high-power cell to draw up our own concept of a New World Order and then seek support for such a concept initially from among the Third World countries and those are members of the Non-Aligned Movement. In other words, it is time to anticipate and act. In fact, the high-power cell should even seek the help of some outside experts and those who might be described as retired Veterans of the Foreign office in this exercise.

The Ministry of External Affairs, I am aware, has a Policy Planning Division or a Policy Planning Cell. There was a time when it was a very important Cell. It was presided over by someone who had the rank of a Cabinet Minister Shri G. Parthasarthy was named as the Chairman of this Policy Planning Cell initially and was given the status of Cabinet Minister. But this Cell had gone to sleep. It just does not function. I think it is high time that we either revive this Cell or, as I said, have an altogether new Cell to plan and plot for the New World Order, which is about to emerge.

Even as we pursue our time-tested New world Order, we need to devote a great deal of time attention to the basic and crucial issue of promoting North-South Dialogue. I greatly regard to say that we seem to be doing little in the matter. In 1983, Indira Gandhi took a bold initiative as the Chairperson of NAM to convene a North-South Summit at the United Nations in New York.

Some twenty-seven heads of Governments participated in the Summit which then held out hope and promise of happier times. The North today is working hard to plan and plot its continuing prosperity. Hardly a day passes when its members do not meet in groups. But the South seems to be slumbering. Japan, China and the ASEAN countries are trying, for their part, to promote greater South-South cooperation. But much else remains to be done.

Not long ago, the Foreign Ministers of the G-15 countries met in Geneva. This raised great hopes and expectations. One

thought the issue of North-South Dialogue would be taken up. But I was distressed to learn subsequently that the entire exercise of the Foreign Ministers of these G-15 countries was devoted to finalising the draft communique which is to be issued at the (end of the) next Non-Alignment Summit in Indonesia. Something is basically wrong. The South needs to wake up. Otherwise we are in deep trouble.

A meaningful North-South dialogue, together with a restructuring of the international monetary and financial system, is a must in the interest of peace and stability in the world. The North keeps harping on disarmament and the Non-proliferation Treaty namely the NPT as a means of ensuring peace and stability in the world. But if it is truly serious, it needs to recognise the basic need for development of the third World and the link between development and disarmament.

The North needs to understand that the world can be assured stability only if immediate steps are taken to prevent, what I would call, continuing proliferation of poverty. In my opinion, the world today needs NPP, namely, Non-Proliferation of Poverty, even more than NPT, the Non-proliferation Treaty. I had the privilege of attending an International forum of parliamentarians on a New world Order in Washington in September last year. I then pleaded for NPP in juxtaposition to NPT. I am glad to say that my plea was well received by the Parliamentarians at the forum.

We have to also remember that NAM by itself may not be able to deliver the goods insofar as the North-South dialogue is concerned. We have to think in terms of getting the cooperation of Brazil and getting the cooperation of Mexico and other countries. Therefore, we must seriously think, and I would appeal to the Minister of State for External Affairs to seriously consider the possibility of setting up some kind of a core group of Third World countries which would process this whole issue.

Now I would like to turn very briefly to

[Sh. Inderjit]

Pakistan and Indo-Pakistan relations. Regrettably these have worsened during the past year and more. In fact, Pakistan is today waging, what the Prime Minister Mr. Narasimha Rao has appropriately described, a proxy war on India words which I had ventured to use both in the last Lok Sabha and also here last year. But it is not enough to denounce Pakistan for its State-sponsored terrorism. We must come out with a clear plan to deal effectively with this continuing menace. We must mobilise world opinion to pressurise Pakistan and get it to stop State-sponsored terrorism.

Happily, Pakistan's vicious role in Kashmir is now being increasingly recognised by the United States and the U.K. But this by itself is not enough. They advise us against any action which might escalate matters. India has accepted this advice. However, it must make it clear to both Washington and London that in the light of their advice to us, they have a very special moral responsibility to see that Pakistan ends the proxy war. They must tell Pakistan in no uncertain words that the monstrous game it is playing in India is a game New Delhi too can play with equal ruthlessness in Pakistan.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we must strive for a peaceful solution of our problems with Pakistan. In fact, both our countries are committed to bilateralism. Fortunately, we still have in Pakistan, leaders who are committed to the Simla Accord and to bilateralism and are willing to seek an end to growing confrontation. I had occasion - if I may say so, with your permission - to discuss Indo-Pakistan problems, briefly, with Begum Benazir Bhutto in Washington at the International Forum of Parliamentarians.

This brief meeting led to correspondence between us. I should like to share a very important operative portion which I am sure would be of interest to all the hon. Members. I had then said to her: "I earnestly hope that the New Year will usher in happier times for

Pakistan and India and see an end to the growing confrontation between our two countries." further said: "It is time to be earthy and wise and somehow bury the proverbial hatchet". I also sent her a copy of something that I had written in 1982 entitled "From Simla to Islamabad" and said: "I hope you will find this of some interest as it sought to set the record straight in regard to the mutual commitment of both India and Pakistan in the Simla Accord to bilateralism." I said to her: "I shall be glad to get your response".

I wrote to her on 16th of January and she replied in a letter on February 13 last said, amongst other things, as follows: I quote:

"Pakistanis of different shades of political opinion share your hope that 1992 will see an end to the growing confrontation between India and Pakistan."

She further said:

"I have read with great interest your two articles. Bilateralism is the essence of the Simla Accord. Indeed, bilateralism continues to be the cardinal principle of the Pakistan People's Party dating back to the Simla Accord."

what she has said on bilateralism is important and needs to be noted. This view, which I received on 13th February last, was certainly a very welcome view because, at a time when Mr. Nawaz Sharief is trying to internationalise the issue, it is good to have former Prime Minister of Pakistan, who enjoys great personal popularity in her country, to commit herself to the fact that bilateralism is the essence of the Simla Accord.

Islamabad today acknowledges, willy nilly, that the two countries have resolved under the Simla agreement "to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations". But at the same time, it argues that this does not tie them hand and foot and that the issue was settled at Simla itself. What is the truth? The truth is that India

had, in the draft of the Simla Accord, proposed that the two countries would resolve their differences by peaceful means "exclusively through bilateral negotiations". But Pakistan objected and the word "exclusively" was dropped.

Eventually, both sides agreed to resolve their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or "by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them". The words "by any other peaceful means" were contributed by India and the words "mutually agreed upon between them" was contributed by Pakistan. In other words, even the revised draft was very clear that it committed both the countries to act through bilateralism. If there was to be any departure from bilateralism, it was to be on the basis of what was mutually agreed upon.

Importantly, our stand on bilateralism is well understood in Washington, London and several other chancelleries of the world. I have had occasion to talk - if I may say so - to some of the Foreign Secretaries and Foreign Ministers in recent months including Mr. Douglas Hurd during his recent visit here. They candidly conceded to me that India has a case on bilateralism. But they pointed out that India needs to put its case across vigorously in the world capitals at a time when Kashmir is attracting increasing international attention. The Kashmir issue is no longer on the back burner. We can ignore this reality only at our peril.

India, they concede, has also a case on Human Rights violations. But this too has to be put across vigorously. Unfortunately this is not being done. I am very happy to find that this is the view which Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee himself expressed when he returned from his last trip to New York. Sharing this view, he said that we needed to put our case across more vigorously. I regret that our case is largely going by default.

We need, very clearly, to draw up an action remembering one basic fact of life today. **You may be the best person on earth. But that is not important. What counts and matters today is what you appear to be.**

Worse still, what you are made out to be. I would, therefore, earnestly plead with the Government to devote more time and energy to public and press relations. This, Sir, is not being done. We have a good case. We do not have to be apologetic. But let us put it across vigorously.

Times out of number, Sir, we send our delegations to the United Nations. I would like to see our Members utilised better at these occasions. They could surely be asked to visit various centres within the United States, in Canada and elsewhere. In other words, it is important to draw up some kind of a pragmatic plan to put our case across vigorously, a case which is now understood and appreciated by some of the leading countries. But it is not being put across.

Sir, I have taken a lot of your time. But I would like to put across one other point in regard to the Kashmir dispute. I therefore seek your indulgence just for another couple of minutes. Times out of number, Pakistan is saying that the issue still remains to be settled. Sir, we need to put across the fact that the issue is virtually settled. The Simla Accord invests the line of actual control with the states and sanctity of an international border which was not to be violated by any means whatever.

Yes, sir, one thing remained and the Simla Accord does talk in terms of the final settlement. In my humble opinion, Sir according to the information I then gathered as a Journalist as a media man, the final settlement related only to a very limited aspect and that limited aspect was the rationalisation of the line of actual control. This line of actual control today is largely based on military factors. It is not based on geographical and other rational factors. The only thing that remains to be settled in regard to Kashmir is the rationalisation of the line of actual control because the line of actual control under the simple accord has been invested with the sanctity of an international border.

I will now conclude. One more point and I would have done. Sir, I would like to conclude

[Sh. Inderjit]

by making a general point. The world today faces many crises because it has hordes of politicians but not many statesmen. As we all know, a politician is one who thinks only of today. A statesman, on the other hand, also thinks of tomorrow. In India, if I may be permitted to say so, our problem is unfortunately worse.

We have lots and lots of politicians but very few statesmen. What is more, most of us tend to think only of the moment and not even of the day. Fortunately, the Prime Minister has in recent months shown that he can function as a statesman and given proof of it time and again. I only hope that this approach will continue and extend to all the spheres of Government and more, especially, to India's external affairs. We must face the latest challenges confronting us boldly and with statesmanship. We must anticipate and act. Nothing must be left to chance. We can ignore all this only at our peril. Thank you, Sir.

SHRIE. AHAMED(Manjeri): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, while supporting the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs, I would like to make some observations.

In a charged world, India should consider what should be the thrust of our foreign policy. No discussion on foreign policy will be complete without acknowledging the great contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru who laid the foundation for our foreign policy.

Sir, every country considers its foreign policy to maximise the national interests and we also following to a certain extent the policy laid down by great Jawaharlal Nehru. But in the changed world situation where the momentous changes have taken place such as the eclipse of Gorbachev and the emergence of Boris Yeltsin, the collapse of the soviet union and the creation of independent states, the end of cold war and the emergence of the United States as the most powerful country, India should also give consideration to what should be thrust of our foreign policy. In the present situation, the US has certain pre-eminent position and

with reasons of realism, we should also recognise that. But, at the very same time, India is too big a country to have an unequal relationship even with America. We have our own strength, our own position, our own tradition and happily there is broad national consensus in defending the national interests so far as our foreign policy is concerned.

Sir, India has been maintaining its pre-eminent position among the Non-Aligned countries. Therefore, I venture to say that at any cost India should maintain its position and should also prove that we are capable of leading the Non-Aligned countries in world matters. I am very sorry to mention one thing in this context. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the west Asian policy that India had evolved since 1950 is now in the process of being changed significantly. India's West Asian region policy sought to create a healthy relationship with the countries in the West Asian and for having political, cultural and commercial ties in that region. An oil boom in the West Asian countries also gave India a further boost to our economic interaction in that region. In these circumstances, I am constrained to submit before this House that there is no justification for India to accord full diplomatic ties with Israel at this point of time. It is an undisputed fact that Israel has been consistently and persistently including in blatantly discriminatory practices with regard to Palastenians living in Israel and also in the territories under Israel's military occupation known as the 'occupied territory' since June, 1967. There are also documentation of terror and violence let loose by Israel against Palastenians in the occupied territory which has been drawn even by American sources and this documentation is as conclusive and shocking and it is also a part of the UN records. Israel's inhuman treatment of Arabs in the occupied territory is in flagrant violation of the UN Charter, but still unfortunately, we have extended full diplomatic ties Israel. In the relationship with Israel, I may say that, India should move carefully by keeping in mind the larger national interests of our country.

Sir, the hon. Minister of State for External Affairs has submitted before this House that

India is likely to be invited to participate in the peace process of West Asia. I would like to know whether there is any Arab country to invite India to participate in the West Asian peace process, even after our decision to accord full diplomatic recognition to Israel. We should not give wrong signals to the Arab friends by going out of our way and by giving an impression that we are keen to cooperate with Israel on sensitive areas such as anti-terrorism. I can very well understand what Israel hopes to gain, but I cannot understand what India can gain in it. Likewise, in the matter of Libya also, while we are all united in condemning terrorism, both State-Sponsored or otherwise, we are also keen that inter-State relationship should be handled with due respect for international law and established diplomatic practices. We want to solve the problems through diplomatic channels, not through military interventions. The sanctions imposed against Libya by the United Nations Security Council, according to me, are against all canons of international justice.

Sir, America, for the time being resorting to muscle flexing and arm twisting to have its own way in the major international issues, whether it is in the matter of continuation of sanction against Iraq even after the Gulf war or some other issue. I am not at all a supporter of Saddam Hussein. What he had done in the matter of occupation of Kuwait was a matter to be condemned. But even after the Gulf war, sanction against Iraq is going on. Even in the matter of transfer of rocket technology to India by Russia present sanction against Libya, United States is resorting to arms twisting and muscle flexing policy. I would say, India should not fall in line with U.S.A. in this matter. It is unfortunate to see that sometimes India succumbs to pressure and fall in line with this issue, with America. India should give leadership to the Non-Aligned countries and also countries in the Arab region to stand against America in protecting the sovereign rights of these nations. India should take up the leadership and to get the problem solved through negotiated means and also under the UN Charter.

Regarding Afghanistan, let me make a

submission. I support the Government of India's effort to maintain cordial relations with Afghanistan. Let Afghanistan have a Government of their own according to the wishes of their people. For a decade, the world has been misled to believe that those who ruled in Afghanistan had the people's backing. Now it is proved beyond any shadow of doubt that those who ruled were puppets in the hands of the Soviet Union Government. Therefore, we must be very much careful and also cautious. At the same time, we must also take into account the national interest of the country to maintain best of relationship with Afghanistan. What happened in Iran after the fall of Shah of Iran, what happened to American's relation with Iran after that is a lesson to the world. There are writings on the wall and we should definitely read such writings on the wall when we deal with Afghanistan. We must strive hard to maintain the best of relationship with Afghanistan and help that Afghanistan must have a Government of their own people.

In our relationship with the Gulf countries, I would urge the Government to do whatever possible to strengthen, it. The forthcoming visit of the President of United Arab Emirates should be utilised for strengthening the bilateral relationship between our two countries and the people of these two countries.

I may also urge the Government to take effective measures to strengthen the staff position of our Embassies in the Gulf area. Our Embassy people have to deal with thousands of people every day at our Missions in the Gulf countries. Unfortunately, there is no adequate number of staff in those countries. There are about 12 million Indians living abroad according to the Annual Report of the External Affairs Ministry. Some of my friends have urged for dual citizenship. I would like to say that our Indian living abroad, in other countries, should be given the right to vote in the election to the Legislature and Parliament of the country. Even if it is costly, the Government of India should take all measures to ensure that the Indians living abroad should have the facility to cast their votes in the elections whenever taking place.

[Sh. Inderjit]

I may also avail of this occasion to urge the Government to take whatever measure necessary to help the Haj pilgrims. There are thousands of Haj pilgrims from India. During Haj season as it is one of the international fora for our country to make vigorous campaign and propaganda about the Muslim community in this country.

There are sinister campaigns let loose by the interested elements against India with respect to the treatment meted out to the minority communities in the country. India should also try to dispel such impressions against this country.

I would also urge the Government to strive hard to normalise our relationship with our neighboring countries, particularly with Pakistan.

Government should also consider to evolve a scheme as suggested by Shri Indrajit Gupta to have the people to people cooperation and the best relationship with Pakistan. It is also in the interest of Pakistan not merely in the interest of India, that Pakistan should have the best cordial relationship with their immediate neighbour, India.

I hope the Government will move this direction.

[Translation]

DR. S.P. YADAV (Sambhal): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the foreign policy of India is being discussed in this august House and I have stood to oppose it. I would warn the Government that the foreign policy of India is faulty owing to our internal short-comings. I would like to ask all those people who are commending the foreign policy of India, in this House whether the 78 thousand kilometers of Indian land is not under the possession of Pakistan and 38 thousand kilometers is not under occupation of China. It is only due to the outcome of our wrong Foreign policy. It is being asserted that the foreign policy of India was adopted in Nehru's regime and it is still continuing. I hope this

opinion that we have inherited an ambiguous and crippled foreign policy. I believe that the internal problems of India are leading the country towards a bad turn. Punjab is in the grip of terrorism, disruptive elements like jangju are active in Kashmir and communal riots are taking place all over the country. Hindu-Muslim communal feelings are at their peak and the foreign newspapers are making detrimental propaganda about India. Is our Government fully aware of these facts? I think the Government is unaware of it. A couple of leaders talk about healthy relationship with our neighbouring countries. They talk all its only for propaganda purpose and the propaganda gives ill effects to the things. Although our relationship with neighboring countries like Pakistan, China, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka is not cordial but we do not say it openly. I understand that we have been suffering from an inferiority complex in one way or the other China had got its own system and status. Pakistan was born out of its hatred towards India. Bangladesh came into being owing to the valour of Indian soldiers. Cities like Batticaloa in Sri Lanka look forward to India for their Tamil and Sinhalese problem. The objective of Pakistan politics is entirely depends on the Kashmir issue. whenever there are negotiations like Simla agreement, delegates sit across the table and talk about fruitful things and a cordial behaviour on the surface is projected. But the moment the conferences are over and the delegates return to their respective countries their approach immediately turn unfriendly. As such, these agreement will never have a fruitful outcome.

What about our relationship with China. The Congress party has been rulling the country for the last 42 years. I would like to know from them as to why the border dispute with China could not be resolved despite their claims that they were having an excellent foreign policy. The fact is that our relationship with China, is not good due this border dispute. Agreements were signed from time to time but the result was not fruitful. I would like to warn the Government not to be too unaware of the situation prevailing in the country otherwise the country will move towards disintegration because the people

in Government are involved in cases like Bofors case. It is unfortunate that corruption is rapidly increasing in the country and the people belonging to the ruling party cannot deny it. China was for some time lagging behind us in respect of nuclear development but now China has left India far behind in the nuclear race. China has attained experts in the field of nuclear capability to such an extent that it can attack at least twice on any country with its nuclear weapons. China has acquired nuclear capability and Pakistan is also manufacturing nuclear and chemical weapons clandestinely. I would like to warn all those who are in Government that if these two countries threaten India unitedly, the history of 1962 may repeat itself. A situation should not develop again in which the Ministers of Defence and the Minister of External affairs would tender their resignations. Therefore, I would like to warn that very sophisticated arms and ammunitions have been manufactured. We should take lesson from the Iraq-war. The war which took place there was fought with latest weapons. If we sit idle and keep ourselves contemplating only, we will be deceived or receive shocks in future. The political scenario of the world is fast changing. Our only friendly country in Asia which helped us a lot earlier by supplying arms and other equipment's has been disintegrated and has lost its previous identity. The USA is emerging as the leader of uni-polar world. It is not a common phenomenon. It must be thought over seriously as to how did the erstwhile Soviet Union disintegrate. I would like to exhort the Government that if Centre-State relations are made cordial and if it is found that the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa are allocated less funds and less assistance at the time of adverse situation only because they are run by a BJP or a Janata Dal Government, the feeling of secessionism will gain ground in the minds of people in every State and they will start thinking in this direction. Therefore, you must be vigilant to these things. **when the Samajwadi Janata Party was in power at the centre, it dismissed the Tamil Nadu Government. These days similar things are being said about the Nagaland Government. I would like to urge the Government that it will**

have to think about all the States on the basis of equality irrespective of the Government there in power. It is because you should dispel the illusion from your mind that the Congress (1) Party will form its Government in all the States of the country. It is impossible. Now the circumstances have changed to a great extent. Now people have become politically vigilant. Therefore, it had become essential for the Government to keep a watch on the entire country and all the States. A policy of fair dealing will have to be adopted. There should be no discrimination. If such discrimination is made, our country also may meet the fate of the erstwhile Soviet Union.

I would like to tell my hon. Friends that when Pakistan was created it aimed its policy at creating hatred against India and create trouble for us. All its military rulers had the only aim to wage war and clash with India and under its cover run the politics in their own country. In the present situation, it can be said and I hold it that our relations are not cordial with the neighbouring countries. It is the misfortune of our country that if we try to establish cordial relations we are dubbed as cowards and if we do not so, we are charged with not being interested to smoothen our relations with them. The main drawback is our helplessness. Therefore, I urge the Government that first of all it should try to set right the internal situation in the country. The situation in the country is deteriorating and major incidents like killings, kidnappings are taking place every day. But the Government denies such incidents. Yesterday one of our colleagues expressed his resentment over a rape-incident on a fourteen year old girl, but the Government made no statement on it. When an issue or a question is raised in the House the Government disowns it as if nothing has happened. If the Government adopts such a policy of indifference and does not try to strengthen the internal situation of the country, the country will have a very bad time in future. I want to say **only this much that the Government should strengthen the internal situation. In this year of 1992, we should strengthen the internal situation and no stone should be left unturned to make relations**

[Dr. S.P. Yadav]

cordial with the neighbouring countries. If this is done, I shall agree that our foreign policy is moving in a right direction. Otherwise the last 42 years history will also be repeated by the present House in regard to country's foreign policy.

[English]

SHRI VIJAY NAVAL PATIL (Erandol): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the map of the world is changing very fast. Small countries like Germany have united and a big country like Russia has disintegrated into many countries. With the changing situation, our foreign policy needs complete overhauling.

As my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta has stressed the need again reconstituting the Policy Making Committee in the Ministry of External Affairs, I also support the same. I think, the time has come to think about this and we should have a Policy Making Committee in this Ministry.

Many people in this House and outside have started thinking that with the integration of Russia, America has become the leader of the uni-polar world. It has not actually become the leader but it is posing to become the leader of this world. With this, the role India has to play in the world affairs has become more important. Our policy of non-alignment has also not lost its importance mainly because it is based on the peaceful co-existence. And India being the senior among the developing countries, our responsibility has increased in taking stand on various disputes which arise among the countries in various international events and we have to take our stand very carefully.

We also formed SAARC on the lines of European Economic Committee. But the functions and the activities of the SAARC member countries, they are not very fast and as expected they are not helping the member countries. The cooperation among the member countries in respect of agriculture, control of drug-trafficking, tourism, bio-technology and in various other fields needs

to be boosted. If we more cooperation among each other, then we can become more powerful and our strength of bargaining on multilateral issues will increase.

Our neighbouring countries are unfortunately more problem ridden than our country. And that is why, countries like Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are posing problems to us. But countries like China can be helpful. And we have seen that during the recent years, China is trying to improve its relations with India. But the main eye-sore is on the decision about Tibet. Our thinking is that Tibet will have to be free. But it is not possible now, as more than 60 lakh Chinese people have inhabited. They started staying in Tibet. So, freeing Tibet from China has become a distant dream. But if we rethink over this policy and try to be more friendly with China, then our defence expenditure can be curtailed. And as is seen, China wants stability and peace in this region and improving the relations with China, is help us. But, at the same time, China is very allergic over any naval activity on the high seas, because in South China sea, it has got many tiny islands. And because of that, any naval military activity on the high seas, will be seen with suspicion by China. And in this background, our joint naval exercises with the U.S.A., will also be seen by China. So we have to be very careful about that also.

Many things are being said and all sections of the House are one about the Pakistan's policy of fomenting trouble in India. But one thing that we have to understand is, it is not only fomenting trouble in India but is also making the world opinion change about their stand on Kashmir and Punjab and other policies of India—by way of false propaganda made by their very strong TV and Radio. We should also try to have a strong media. We spend so much on military, and for canvassing and for letting the World know about views and our stand, especially in our neighbouring countries and distant countries, our TV and Radio should be made more stronger. We have seen that America is trying to stop Russia from transferring the rocket technology to India. On this count we need not worry. Because

since 1980 we have developed our own space technology. The successful launching of SLV II and thereafter the on-going research in the field has taken India very far in this field. We are among the six countries which are very much advanced in space technology. The SLV launching itself can augment the pay-load factor. The space vehicle carrying 50 kilos can be made to carry 500 kilos. India can develop inter-continental ballistic missiles so that America's prevention of Russia from transferring this technology to India is not going to affect us much. But there we see the attitude of a big country like America towards a developing nation.

Last but not least we are seeing a changing phenomenon in the world politics. The politics is now sought to be based on religion. Whenever there are elections to international bodies, the Muslim countries will like to vote a Muslim gentleman, the Christian countries will like to vote a Christian gentleman. There also the polarisation on the basis of religion is taking place. On the basis of religion countries are being divided. Even a small country of the size of one of our districts like Cyprus had been divided among the Greek Cypriots and Muslim Cypriots. Under these circumstances where the world order is changing, where religion has started playing a more important role, may be in the case of disintegration of Russia to some extent, our country which is secular and countries like Japan and China which have Buddhism as the religion will have to play a very important role in future. Because of this also the position of India becomes unique. Being as a secular country, being a country with big population of intelligentsia, when polarisation is there according to religion, our secular country can play a big role, not only in the field of disarmament, but also in the field of social, cultural and political stability among the different groups, specially Christian and Muslim. Because of this again I stress the need for having a complete overhauling in our policy, keeping constant, of course the policy of non-alignment.

DR. SUDHIR RAY (Burdwan): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I oppose the Demands for Grants submitted by the External Affairs

Ministry. As my previous speakers have pointed out, the Government of India has lost the sense of direction and is simply dancing to the tune of the super power which tries to dominate this world by threats, blackmails, proxy wars, counter-revolution etc.

USA which is the only super power in this uni-polar world, now tries her best to get at the third world countries. Already our Government have accepted the IMF and World Bank conditionalities without a voice of protest. USA is imposing humiliating conditions on us in the form of Dunkel proposals and NPT, etc.

What is the alternative? USA tries to do this because there is no socialist bloc. With the collapse of the socialist bloc. USA thinks that she can dictate terms to any and every State. She can apply sanctions on Libya; she can crush Iraq, etc. Now, the only alternative is that India must use the fora like SAARC, NAM, etc. India must mend her fences with the neighbouring countries. We are glad that already the Sino-Indian relations have improved to a considerable extent. Only 30 days ago, we all demanded that there should be peaceful settlement of Sino-Indian border dispute. But we were branded as traitors and we were sent to jails. Now, both China and India have expressed their desire to settle the boundary disputes by peaceful means and negotiations. Not only this. We have signed some trade pacts with China and the Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng paid a visit to India. It has been decided that there should be more trade, more travel and more cultural exchanges. This good relations between China and India is certainly welcome because it will enable us to withstand the pressures of US imperialism. As pointed out by the previous speaker Shri Indrajit Gupta, we should try to practise people to people diplomacy as regards Pakistan. People of Pakistan do not know the facts.

The Government of Pakistan often try to argue that the bungling -cum-bannian Government of India is eager to cross to Pakistan. But, our propaganda materials must convince the outside world that India is a secular democracy and every second Indian

[Dr. Sudhir Ray]

is a Muslim. In India every second Indian is a Muslim and Indian culture is a composite culture. In India, the Muslims are also enjoying the basic human freedom, which the Pakistani people do not know. Therefore, we should encourage more travel; we should do away with travel restrictions and we should try to improve our trade, commerce, etc., with Pakistan. I would point out that India committed a folly when the Secretary of the External Affairs Ministry called the representatives of five Security Council Members to find out India's stand. India unwittingly internationalised the situation. We should say that the Kashmir issue is a bilateral issue and Kashmir issue should be settled only by bilateral negotiations. Kashmir represents our secular democracy. It represents our composite culture. Therefore, Kashmir is an integral part of India and Pakistan should be told that no proxy war can solve the issue. If we try to improve our relations, then certainly both India and Pakistan will gain bouquets because it will reduce our Defence expenditure and the remaining money should be spent for the economic development of the country.

As far as Bangladesh is concerned, I should point out that with the advent of a democratic Government in Bangladesh, the situation now is more encouraging. We should transfer Tin Bigha area because we should abide by the international

commitments. So far as the sharing of Ganga water is concerned, the issue should be amicably settled. As regards large scale immigrations, yes, it is there, but we should remember that it is not because of an evil design; it is mainly because of dire poverty from which the people suffer in Bangladesh. My humble submission is that border trade with Bangladesh should be legalised.

Let normal trade rules be legitimised.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You can continue tomorrow. The House...

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM NAYAK (Bombay North): I am on a point of order. *(Interruptions)* The House has to be adjourned.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House shall have to be adjourned as desired by Shri Ram Nayak.

The House stands adjourned to meet again tomorrow, 23rd April 1992, at 11.00 a.m.

18.00 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then Adjourned Till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, April 23, 1992/Vaisakha 3, 1914 (Saka)