

[Shri K. Lakkappa]

pect the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. We have never tried to mutilate and deface the Constitution.

I know, you are having an alliance for the last 2½ years with the Janata Party and you are exercised on the subject and, under the guide of getting financial resources, you are coming forward with this kind of a resolution. I know the strategy of the CPM and its policies either in Kerala or in West Bengal. I know where your roots are. You talk about defections. I cannot understand that. The first defector in the country, if there is anybody, is only Mr. Charan Singh. It is only Mr. Charan Singh who engineered defections in this country. I can say, he is the father of defections. You go through the history. I cannot understand the logic of talking about defections and having an alliance with the Janata Party. You talk about morals and scruples. I know the characteristics of your party.

The Rajamanar Committee Report on Centre-State relationship was discussed time and again on the floor of the House. May I point out for the benefit of the hon. Members that it was after 1967 that different parties started to rule the States under the federal character of our Constitution. At that time, when there was only the Congress Government at the Centre, not only the Constitution was respected but the spirit of the Constitution was also put to test and the running of the administration was within the purview of the Constitution. Now, after 1967, with different political parties and political ideologies, even anti-national activities and ugly scenes have started in the corner the south, in Kerala and in West Bengal. The demand for more State autonomy, more powers, more resources and all these things have now started coming up.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member may continue his speech next time.

17.59 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

NOTIFICATION UNDER CUSTOMS ACT, 1962

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH): Sir, on behalf of Shri Jagannath Pahadia I beg to lay on the Table a copy of Notification No. 347/7/78/TRU (Hindi and English versions) published in Gazette of India dated the 1st February 1980 exempting coffee, falling under Heading No. 1 of the Second Schedule to the Customs Tariff Act, 1975 when exported out of India, from so much of the duty of customs leviable thereon under the said Second Schedule as is in excess of Rs. 570.00 per quintal, under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-235A/80].

18.00 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE. RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN AFGHANISTAN

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Sir, I raise a discussion on the recent political development in Afghanistan and the resultant escalation of tension in this area. The recent development in Afghanistan cannot be and should not be viewed in isolation. They are to be viewed in conjunction with the wide range of events which have taken place on the international plane in recent times. Then and then alone will it be possible to make a proper and correct appraisal of the situation and correct conclusion can be drawn.

Among the wide range of events, I propose to mention a few.

As you know, ever since the April Revolution of 1978 in Afghanistan, Afghanistan became the target of conspiracies provocations, counter-revolution, sabotage and subversion, and

that was aided by the United States of America. The United States of America, who posed as the gendarme of world reaction, right from the day of the birth of the Afghan revolution, got itself involved in intrigues, and other subversive activities. As you know, Great Britain aided and abetted it, Egypt aided and abetted it and China also aided and abetted it and all of them supported Pakistan on an anti-Afghan course. As you also know, the country knows and the people of the world know, the Soviet Union, on the other hand, befriended the democratic and progressive aims of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union rendered all possible and friendly assistance so that the people of Afghanistan can march along the path of democracy and advancement. The Soviet Union wanted to give adequate help and timely assistance so that the gains of the Revolution can be further consolidated and further deepened.

I knew you would smile!

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Are you allergic to smiles?

MR. SPEAKER: It is better than his laughing at you! It is not bad.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: All right, it is not bad. I think it is good because it shows he is not angry.

Now, the Soviet Union further entered into a Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Cooperation on December 5, 1978. While, after the Afghanistan Revolution, the people of Afghanistan were proceeding along peaceful lines in order to further their hopes and aspirations, there have been external enemies working against Afghanistan and there have been camps set up in Pakistan to arm, train and equip insurgents and raiders to conduct raids deep inside Afghan territory. The raiders received arms from the United States of America, China, Pakistan and other countries. The situation developed fast. Towards the end of December, 1979, a crucial political situation developed which really

threatened the Revolution and its gains Afghanistan's independence, Afghanistan's sovereignty and integrity. It was at this particular point of time, that is, on the 26th December, the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Cooperation, entered into between the Soviet Union and the Afghan Government, was invoked in order to safeguard the honor, pride, sovereignty and national independence of Afghanistan.

Now, you will agree with me that it is the inherent right of each and every people to choose their own way of Government, to choose their own way of life; it is also the inherent right of a people to defend their system of government, to defend the way of life they have chosen for themselves; it is also the inherent right of people to make treaties or to invoke treaties in the best interests of their people. This is exactly what the Afghanistan Government has done.

These realities of the situation have been realised by the Government of India. Therefore, the Permanent Representative of India in the United Nations, stated:

"India could not look with equanimity when some outside powers have been interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan by training, arming and encouraging subversive elements to create disturbances within that country."

It was further stated:

"Afghanistan has every right to safeguard its sovereignty, integrity and independence."

This also finds corroboration in the Prime Minister's remarks also. The Prime Minister's remarked:

"They think the Western presence in Afghanistan was very strong."

She told the *New York Times*. She also admitted that the Soviet troops

[Shri Chitta Basu]

were there at the request of the Afghan Government. She said:

"They were invited in on, I think, 26th December, by Amin himself."

"In so far as the presence of Soviet troops is concerned, India firmly accepts the Soviet assurance, that they would withdraw their troops whenever asked by the Afghan Government."

Therefore, the story of Soviet invasion or intervention or soviet entres in Afghanistan does not arise at all and does not stand any scrutiny at all. If there has been any interference or if there has been any intervention, if you so like to call it, this interference and intervention has been caused by the United States of America, by China and by Pakistan; they have recently formed an axis. The Soviet Union has acted only in terms of the Treaty and at the request of the Afghan Government. This is an act of friendliness, good-neighbourliness and cooperation.

The situation has escalated. The Afghan situation is nothing but a pretext for the imperialist powers to revert the world to the cold war which might be converted into a hot war too. Consistent with this policy of converting or reverting to cold war policy, the United States is intensifying military preparations in the Indian Ocean area, in the Gulf area and in various other parts of the world. It also appears that the American strategy is to build up a big task force in the South Asian region with the help of China. The USA has also decided to give heavy arms and economic aid to Pakistan which poses a grave threat to India.

Before concluding, I want to say that India is committed to non-alignment and that non-alignment should not mean non-involvement and neutrality. It is the time for test. Non-

alignment cannot have a full meaning, a complete meaning and a purposeful meaning if it is not directed against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This is the case in Afghanistan where the imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism want to put back the clock of history. Therefore, non-alignment should not be equi-distant from imperialism and Soviet Union. Non-alignment means in this case to stand by the people of Afghanistan in this hour of their grim struggle when they are fighting for the preservation of their independence and integrity.

I hope the Government of India should immediately condemn forthwith and firmly the actions taken by the United States of America, by China and by Pakistan and thereby really brighten the image of India's non-alignment and by that way earn the goodwill of the entire humanity, the Socialist Bloc and other progressive nations of the world.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh): The political situation in Afghanistan is causing a serious concern to the peace-loving people all over the world. There are two reasons for this serious concern. One is, of course, the presence of Soviet troops on Afghanistan land and the second is that the United States of America along with China, Pakistan and other countries are forming an axis and are trying to create new military bases in this region. And this is a matter of great concern particularly for us, because every Indian citizen feels greatly concerned that on our border this kind of tension has been created.

It has been said time and again that the cold war situation has gone much ahead and, the people are deeply concerned that it may not be converted into a real war. Therefore, it is a matter of really great concern for every one in this august House and in our country and also peace-loving people all over the world.

I think it is not a happy situation for the Soviet Union to send its forces to Afghanistan. Soviet Union has been one of those countries which have consistently taken a position for world peace, for disarmament and has also expressed its unequivocal faith in Panchsheel and non-interference in the internal affairs of another country. Therefore, I am sure it is not a very happy situation and I hope that as soon as it is possible to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the Soviet authorities, will move in that direction.

It has been stated by Soviet Union that they had to send their troops to Afghanistan when a friendship treaty was invoked by a legitimate government of Afghanistan. Sir, it is for the Soviet Union really speaking, and not for us, to make her own judgment. As the Prime Minister very rightly said, we have to believe what the Soviet Union has said. Therefore, I think that in this matter, as concern is being expressed and anxiety is being expressed all over the world, the conscience of the world opinion, peaceloving people of the world, the peace forces of the world, I am sure, will be able to assert themselves and they will also make everything possible to create an atmosphere where the situation will become normal.

But, the more serious situation is that the United States of America has taken full advantage of this situation. It will be wrong on the part of the United States authorities to say that they decided to send arms to Pakistan because of the Soviet army's presence in Afghanistan. It is completely a baseless thing. In this country, particularly, we know, from our own experience, that the United States of America has been arming Pakistan for many years; now the United States of America has been sending not millions but billions of dollars worth of arms to different parts of the world. It is not in the mouth of the United States authorities

to say as to why the Soviet Union sent their army? What happened in Viet Nam? The United States of America, according to their own sources of information, say that 85,000 Soviet troops are present in Afghanistan. But what happened when more than half a million United States Troops for years were in Viet Nam? They were fighting there by defying the entire world public opinion. When the entire world people were on the side of the valiant people of Viet Nam, at that time, the United States of America turned a deaf ear to the world public opinion. They were present in Viet Nam, killing innocent Vietnamese people by using all sorts of poisonous arms, gases and everything possible on earth.

What happened to China? The Prime Minister very rightly drew the attention of the whole world that the United States of America used to say that they wanted to contain Communism. What business have they got to contain Communism? Communism is a philosophy; it is an ideology. It is for the people of any country to choose whatever system they want; whatever socio-economic or political system they want to choose. By sending arms and sending troops or by invading a country, how can any other country prevent the system? Earlier China used to be a very big danger for the United States of America. The Americans used to say that. When I say 'American', I am differentiating the people of America from the authorities of the American Administration. The people of America very rightly raised their peaceful voice against the aggression committed on the land of Viet Nam. Because of that pressure, the American Administration was really compelled to withdraw their forces.

Our experience in this country is that U.S. has always been sending arms and arming Pakistan who committed two aggressions on our land. They still are in possession of some of our territory. China, who committed

[Shri Chandrajit Yadav]

an aggression on our country is still in possession of thousands of miles or kilometers of our territory. These two aggressors, who committed aggression on our country, are joining hands with the United States of America with whose weapons, the United States of America and neo-colonialist countries are always on the side of the exploiting system in the world as they were always opposed to the patriotic popular movements in all parts of the world. They are trying to militarise even the peaceful zones. In spite of powerful opposition and in spite of powerful public opinion that Americans must withdraw from the Indian Ocean, they have not withdrawn. They go on expanding the military base. They have decided to expand their Naval base in Diego Garcia armed with nuclear weapons. It is not a serious danger for us? It is not only a serious danger for us but it is also a serious danger for the entire peace-loving people and for the entire freedom loving people in the entire region. I would also like to draw the attention of our Government to another serious situation. Sir, the United States of America, China and Pakistan have formed an axis. Both China and Pakistan are aggressors on our country. They are still in possession of our land and the U.S. is arming these countries by giving them all kinds of military technology and by giving them all kinds of military aid. This has become very serious. Now in the name of religion, and Islamic bloc can come into existence, and they hold Islamic Conferences. Our Government must take note of it. It is a reactionary bloc playing the game of imperialists. I would appeal to the Government that in future they must ask our representative not to take part in the Islamic Conference either in the capacity of a delegate or in the capacity of an observer. What happened to us at Rabat? Can we forget that? We were humiliated, we were rebuffed. Even in the recent Islamic Conference which was held in Islamabad, our Ambassador had to withdraw

because the Pakistan President made a observation about Kashmir.

Therefore, I will say that this is a very serious situation. I would like to assure the Prime Minister and the Government that in such national crisis the entire Parliament and the country will be behind the Government in any step they take any action to defend the freedom of our country, to defend our land and also take the initiative for the establishment of peace. I hope that the Government will take the initiative along with other non-aligned countries.

Sir, we should not feel nervous as some say that we may get isolated. Even on Bangladesh issue hundred, four votes were against us in the United Nations when we were for a right cause and when we were on the right side. Therefore, the Government should take the initiative with all other non-aligned countries, other peace-loving countries so that peace can be restored in this region. U.S. must dismantle its basis and stop arming Pakistan and a situation should also be created that the Soviet Union troops should be withdrawn as early as possible.

SHRI MADHAV RAO SCINDIA (Guna): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are living today in an ever-changing International situation. The cold-war has hotted up and will leave us scorched if we do not immediately adopt the initiative to defuse the issue. After 9 years, the eyes of the Super Powers and the International Community are once again on us. We can play a pivotal role at a time when in our region the Super Powers are confronting each other almost eyeball to eyeball.

The cold war has seen many a situation where one or the other Super Power has gone to the very brink in an attempt to keep what remains of its sphere of influence or even extend it. But because of the mutual danger both face of a nuclear war, certain restraints have been grudgingly

accepted. But now in a bid to out-manoeuvre each other, in Afghanistan they have embarked on a course which may lead to the situation getting completely out of control. The Indian Government in the interest of our country, regional stability and world peace will have to strain every nerve to see that this does not happen and it can only do so when it is in a position to counsel moderation to both. There is no room for any moralising here. At this juncture, there is no point in saying who was right and who was wrong. Let us acknowledge realities and work within a given situation, a within certain parameters and see our counsel retains an optimum effect, instead of merely joining the hysterical band. Our Prime Minister struck the right chord when she said that our stand should not be pro-Russia or pro-America but pre-India. This issue has the potentiality to engulf not only our region but the entire world in a thermo-nuclear holocaust. There is no doubt that Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has placed Soviet Russia within 350 miles of the Arabian Sea and the Soviet airforce can control the oil lifeline of the West and Japan. It is also a historical fact that from the days of Czarist Russia, she has dreamt of a direct entry into the warm waters of the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf. But let us not get carried away by viewing matters merely against this backdrop. Is it not true that a situation of instability was being created in Afghanistan? According to Soviet reports, the Soviet Union entered Afghanistan when they were invited into Afghanistan when the Afghan army weakened by coups and counter coups was unable to keep the internal situation within their control. It is alleged that insurgents armed with American and Chinese arms were crossing constantly into Afghan territory and operating from bases within Pakistan. If this is so, it has boomeranged on Pakistan and it is in Pakistan's interest that these acti-

vities cease immediately. Unfortunately, instead of counselling restraint, America seems to be more intent on aggravating matters by making Pakistan an American arsenal. They must realise that this move may possibly destabilise the very regime in Pakistan that they want to keep. This is because the newly armed tribal insurgents can be more of a threat to the peace of the area where they have sought refuge than to the much superior Soviet forces against whom they are supposed to fight. Let us not forget that the armed insurgents being sent into each others territory is a game two can play for there are enough discontented Pathan and Baluch tribemen in Pakistan waiting to settle scores with a regime which they consider a usurper of their homeland. India must impress Pakistan and the United States of these dangerous portents.

Secondly, in the changed circumstances, a stable Pakistan is essential to India's interest to act as a buffer between Afghanistan and India. It is indeed unfortunate that President Gen. Zia made a mention of Kashmir in the recently concluded Islamic Conference because it is in our mutual interest that we face the situation, imbued by the Simla agreement spirit, and work in unison for the peace of our region. But for this, Pakistan must be persuaded to stop accepting American and Chinese arms because if they do, it is inevitable that we will have to arm ourselves too and the effects on economic progress will be disastrous for both our countries. The United States must realise its folly and stop the flow of arms. It is no use Mr. Clark Clifford coming to India and assuring that the United States will ensure that these arms are not used against India. When asked if the United States would supervise the manner in which Pakistan would use these arms, he said: "We will

[Shri Madhav Rao Scindia]

not", but added that they would ascertain that the arms are used for the purpose for which they are sent and any violation would be regarded as dereliction of the purpose for which they are sent. I would like to know, what America would do if that dereliction of purpose takes place. This blind rearming of Pakistan by the United States and China can only be viewed by India to be as destabilising as Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

We must also try and rule out all the potentialities for further confrontation in this region. We must see that Iran does not get directly embroiled in this controversy. Iran must realise that public opinion in the United States is putting President Carter under tremendous pressure to take strong action for the release of the hostages, but if he does so, it may induce Soviet Russia to move Southward and involve Iran, converting it into the main cockpit of Super Power fighting. It is, therefore, in Iran's interest that they help in defusing the issue and their largest single contribution at this juncture would be to release the hostages, thereby eliminating the risk of the triggering off, of Super Power action and reaction in Iran, and our country must do all in its capacity to convince Iran on this matter.

Finally, we must persuade Moscow to bow to world opinion and withdraw from Afghanistan at the earliest. History shows that it is not going to be easy for the Soviet forces to hold the lid down over Afghanistan for an unlimited period of time. Given the cooperation of the United States, Pakistan and Iran in defusing this issue by showing restraint, Soviet Russia must also be persuaded to respond.

The situation in Afghanistan is undoubtedly fraught with grave danger. We are once again on the brink. India is playing a moderat-

ing role and I congratulate Mrs. Gandhi and our Foreign Minister on having taken a wise stand. An effective foreign policy must be based on a policy of enlightened self-interest. With the galloping progress of science and technology, men stands to-day at the cross-roads. On the one side is the danger of his tumbling down a nuclear abyss into utter self-destruction. On the other, the opportunity to raise himself the pinnacle of his glory. Let us fervently hope that India will be able to play a pivotal role in Afghanistan and thereby help the world avert the danger of a nuclear holocaust and help it instead attain that pinnacle of glory.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): Sir, No doubt the situation is very grave and the way it is now aggravating, immediate effective intervention is very urgently necessary.

To equate Soviet Union and America as two Super Powers and not to see the difference between the two, will land us into wrong steps. Soviet Union is a socialist country, but American imperialism is a colonial Power; and in India which was a colony of British imperialism, we had a bitter experience of what role imperialism plays, and how it poses a danger to the freedom of all countries.

18.32 hrs.

[SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV *in the Chair*]

Particularly to these newly-independent countries, the danger comes from imperialism, and not from any socialist country.

The example of Vietnam is there. Very recently, the example of Iran is there. With the loss of Iran to them, Americans are now trying to develop another base, and that is why they are utilizing this occasion of Soviet

presence in Afghanistan immediately to implement their longstanding strategy. So, it is not a question simply of Afghanistan.

You have seen already that the American Government has increased its defence budget. It is a colossal defence budget, as if they are going to start a war. They have taken up that attitude. In to-day's papers you might have seen that the American Government have assured that they are giving aid to Pakistan amounting to nearly \$ 2,000 million. Originally, they said it would be only \$200 million, Now within one day, it has increased 10 times. Why? Because they want to strengthen Pakistan as their spring-board, to attack all freedom-loving countries. They want to bring these Asian and South East Asian countries under their hegemony, because the Persian Gulf is rich in oil; and more than 60 per cent of the oil comes from that region. So, you have seen how they tried to cordon off Iran by sending their war-ships with nuclear weapons. The Kitty Hawk and other warships are still surrounding Iran. Their new objective is to surround Afghanistan. That is why they are quickly developing their bases, and creating trouble inside Afghanistan by giving training to those refugees who are insurgents with modern weapons, and sending them inside to start civil war and to overthrow the Government which is now being backed by the Soviet Union. Had there not been the presence of Soviet Army, Afghanistan's independence would have gone by now, and there would have been a bitter civil war. And CIA is helping this section of insurgents fully. You know the role of CIA in toppling Governments. The example of Chile is before you. That is why we support the stand taken by the Government of India and appreciate the balanced statements they have made. We support that stand.

The question now is that the Government of India must be firm in declaring that these colonial powers

should never be allowed to strengthen their bases here, because Pakistan being a base of American Imperialism with so much sophisticated weapons including nuclear arms. It is a threat, a potential danger not only to Indian independence but to the independence of all the South East Asian countries. They are strengthening their base in Diego Garcia. Despite the United Nations resolution that Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace. In defiance of all this, despite a protest from the Government of India also and all the littoral countries, they are proceeding with strengthening these bases with nuclear weapons. So, the overall strategy must be kept in mind.

They have already discontinued all the economic agreements that they had entered into with Soviet Union. They are creating the war psychology to provoke these forces to come into some clash or conflict. That is why, the Afghan Government who want to defend the revolution which they have achieved in April 1978 by overthrowing feudal exploitation, have built up a democratic system now. To defend that new system of democracy and independence from American intervention, Afghanistan has sought Soviet invoking in Friendship Agreement. Moreover you know that Afghanistan is on the border of Soviet Union. So, no government can allow its own border to be the main base of American Imperialism. So, they cannot remain indifferent to this. What they are doing they have told. Once this new government of Afghanistan have their own base consolidated, the Soviet army will withdraw from Afghanistan. They are not taking any part in the internal administration. Only their presence has prevented these insurgents to enter into Afghanistan and create trouble at the instigation of the CIA and American imperialism. That is why, the Government of India taking into consideration all these things must tell more assertively and boldly that India oppose all these conspiracies of American imperialism,

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

Government of India has told about defusion of the situation in Afghanistan, but the defusion also must be combined with our open demand that the Diego Garcia bases must be dismantled and the bases which they are developing in Gulf areas must be withdrawn. They can have no direct interest in Gulf areas, because America is thousands of miles away from the Gulf areas. That is why, this new situation, if it is to be defused, India must stand firmly by all the new developing countries and the National Liberation Movements, because the NLM is fighting this American Imperialism. That is why, this firm stand is necessary though we appreciate the stand taken by the Government of India. But we want that the Government of India should be more forthright in denouncing U. S. imperialism in their stand.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW (Jullunder):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, the geo-political situation as obtains today in Afghanistan has become very explosive and we all have already appreciated this fact. The tribal spirit of independence in relation to which I would like to draw the attention of the super powers who are now involved in this particular hotspot, is that historically it has always been resilient to all types of shocks.

It may have been the days of Partho-Scythian and Hunnish times; it may have been the times of Queen Sogdiana, Spituma, Turmann, Mahir Gill and other war lords that had been involved in that region time after time inclusive of those thundering conquerors like Mahmud, Timur, and so on to Ahmed Shah Abdali, Nadirshah, etc., that spirit, indomitable spirit, of independence of the Afghan—I say this because I had the opportunity to visit these countries on various occasions—remained indeed unbreakable. Incidentally I had also the opportunity of having been posted

in my young days on the then Northwest Frontier of India and I could well understand the indomitable spirit. You may wish to play about with them rough today—that is, the Super Powers. But it is not all that easy to crush them down or to sandwich them into nothingness. On that analogy I should like to point out to Col. Karmal to uphold that spirit of independence and not to grovel on one's knees and try to find out something from out of nothing. That is just a point to him. The question to understand is, how some of the super powers want to handle and make use of this unknown landlocked spot on the surface of the globe. I was astonished about a decade and half back at what was happening in Afghanistan. When I landed at Kandahar what I saw was this: Americans with all their paraphernalia of Bulldozers, Angle-dozers and what-have-you, were in charge there for enlarging that airfield and also had made various roads in that region. Then, after one day, I landed at Kabul and what did one notice? Everything was being done there and looked after for progress or development, so to say, by the USSR. They were there. You know the road they built, right up to the king's palace; you know the extension of the aerodrome that was done. It is amazing how the big super powers have the knack of coming in from all directions under the plea of bringing up the lot of the people at large, people who are perhaps not fully developed. I am just giving out this point to the super powers: you must understand that people have eyes to see the various types of encroachment. I now come to the point to explain how this country has become hotspot of the whole world. The hobnobbing of Super Powers aside the fact is this. My Prime Minister has already given you the sequence of events starting with Daud's elimination by a combination of Khalq and Parcham parties in April 1978 and then Taraki's coming to power. Soon after in September, 1978 Taraki was killed and Amin

took over. Amin was later court-martialled and eliminated....

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have only one minute more.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW: If you permit me, I will say a few more words; I will conclude whenever you want. It is a strong guillotine, imposed, I must admit. But just give me a moment to tell you the latest situation. I will not recapitulate what has been stated by our Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. The point that comes out of this is three-fold. First of all, about the Russian ingress. All said and done, whether some people like it or not, the initiative taken and the manner in which it was taken with rumbling tanks coming in—was a little overtly done. It was not so necessary; I maintain it was not necessary. That part of it,—a slip—Russia must own, as has also been indicated by the Prime Minister. They should take the first opportunity to take her advice, diplomatically and politically work it out whichever way they may wish it and try to clear out of that country.

The second point is about China. You may know that little finger, like buffer, the province of Afghanistan known as Wakhan, China has got some of its elements working there. You have known the other day about the Karakoram Road and its implications.

Their collusion with Pakistan in that region also has tremendous significance even in relation to the Afghanistan incident.

Thirdly, I want to point this out from the Pakistan side. It is a well known fact which you cannot hide, that the so-called armed guerilla have operated inside that country (Afghanistan). There is no doubt about the authenticity of this version. I would advise Pakistan to desist from that type of action and attitude and control themselves so that, as I had

pointed out the other day, they themselves may not get into a mess, because, the ultimate result (from such a mess) will be first the start of a conventional warfare and thereafter it, may trigger off be an accidental nuclear warfare causing unaccountable harm to them.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please finish.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW: I stop and thank you very much for the few minutes given to me. I think I have been given a little less.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much for co-operation.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Mr. Chairman, the situation in Afghanistan is very sensitive. The entry of the Russian army into Afghanistan on the one hand and also the development of cold war in the entire region, had almost brought us on the brink of disaster and any single wrong step on our part is likely to escalate the situation rather than contain the situation. Therefore, we have to be very careful in adopting various postures and taking certain attitude.

It has been the national consensus in the country. When we adopted the policy of non-alignment it was not the policy of a single party in this country but it was the national consensus in this country that we had accepted deliberately, consciously the policy of non-alignment. We do not want to be ourselves involved into politics....

SHRI CHANDER SHEKHAR SINGH (Banka): Yours was more genuine.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: All right, if you are satisfied, I accept the compliment.

So, I very much like that we do not get ourselves involved into controversy and power conflicts of super-power blocks. When we say we are

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

non-aligned, it does not mean we are neutral on all issues, let it be absolutely clear to all super power blocks. Our concept of non-alignment for years has meant that we will judge every issue on merit. We will judge it by the national interest. We will judge it by the wider interests of peace in the world. We will judge it by the wider interests of defying the forces of colonialism, forces of imperialism and defend the forces of freedom. In that broader concept we have defined our concept of non-alignment. Therefore, if any country on the forum of United Nations comes to our rescue and comes to our help, whenever it is beneficial to the interest of our country, we always welcome that. On the question of Kashmir, on the question of liberation of Goa, when Soviet Russia defended and supported our situation, we welcomed that but at the same time....

SHRI BUTA SINGH (Ropar): Your Prime Minister....

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I am not worried. Please do not degenerate the entire debate to that level. Everytime if you want to bring the entire debate to bring in the Prime Minister into picture, I will utter her name ten times. But I do not think it is....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not as we are concerned when on specific your time.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Therefore, I would insist that as far as we are concerned, when no specific issues Soviet Russia stood by us on Kashmir issue, on the question of liberation of Goa, we welcomed the support extended by Soviet Russia. But at the same time persons like me find that a new theory is being evolved and it is called the theory of limited sovereignty and that theory is taken advantage of to send one's

armies into Czechoslovakia men like me find it very difficult to reconcile and justify entry of Russian troops into Czechoslovakia when I stand for the concept of non-alignment. Therefore, as our concept of non-alignment demanded, we took a firm attitude. The same situation is arising today. We find that the Russian troops have marched into the territory of Afghanistan. Some people may justify it and defend it that to attack the counter-revolutionary forces, they were invited and they have gone there. But once you try to succumb to this pressure, we will be drifting away from the non-aligned world. If you look at the entire attitude, the comprehensive attitude of the non-aligned world, the third world, you will find that we are likely to get gradually isolated if we just try to align with one particular point of view or the other. I find there was a slight tilt. Initially, when the issue came up, the care-taker Government and the Prime Minister invited the Soviet Ambassador and these were the words that were conveyed to him: "India's deep concern at the substantial involvement of Soviet forces in Afghanistan and to seek withdrawal of the same." This was the communication made then. At a later stage, there was a slight tilt and we find that from New Delhi, instructions had gone to our representative in the United Nations and it was announced there. "We have no reason to doubt the bona fides of Soviet troops entering into Afghanistan and they will not say there for a day more than it is necessary." I think at a later stage, this tilt was slightly corrected. The Prime Minister announced the other day in this very House that we are neither pro-America nor are we pro-Soviet Russia, but we are pro-India. That is exactly what she said. I am glad that this posture has been taken and I hope we shall stand by this posture. That is the posture that we require. We are neither pro-America nor are we pro-Russia. We are pro-India. Our attitude has been, we have no perma-

ment enemies; we have no permanent friends; we have only permanent national interests. So, judged by our national interests only, we have to take our attitude. Very often, when the Soviet troops landed into Afghanistan, Article IX has been quoted from the Afghan-Soviet Treaty. Now, Article IX of the Indo-Soviet Treaty says:

"In the event of either party being subjected to attack or threat thereof, the high contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and security of their countries."

This particular article of the treaty is going to be interpreted by the foreign powers to send their armies in a foreign land. In that case, these types of articles are going to be misused. They may be used as a cover to defend the entry of one army into other territories. In that case, such treaties will be under a strain. I am one among those who feel that the Indo-Soviet Treaty and the Soviet-Afghan Treaty have no doubt certain historical purpose and therefore, they must be strengthened. But at the same time, the aberrations of these clauses, the misuse of these clauses, will again give a handle to some of the powers like the USA to increase assistance to Pakistan and develop a new atmosphere of cold war, destroying the very purpose for which non-alignment stands for. It is a fact that today the non-aligned countries the third world—most of those countries—have categorically come out with an unequivocal condemnation of the Russian army's entry into Afghanistan and I hope and trust that we shall not allow our non-alignment to be tilted like the leaning tower of Pisa, but our non-alignment remains a genuine non-alignment to serve the interests of our country and the interests of all the peace-loving people of the world.

SHRI K. A. RAJAN (Trichur): Sir, on behalf of my party, I broadly agree with the attitude, approach and the cautious steps taken by the Government on this very sensitive issue of Afghanistan. I also very much appreciate the stand taken by our representative in the United Nations. I need not go into the history of the Afghan revolution. It was a people's revolution. The Afghan revolution just gave a shock, as it is used to be, in the quarters of the imperial circles. They were playing a game, as they were playing in Chile, to subvert the real people's government and to see that another reactionary regime is brought in according to their will and pleasure. But in that they could not succeed. I am not going into the internal affairs of the Afghan people and what is going on there. But it has been publicly stated by the Soviet Union that at the request of the Amin Government, they entered there and at any time when they feel that their presence is not needed and their safety is not jeopardised, they will return to their country.

Sir, here the question is, I may say, that India has to stand up to its traditional position of non-alignment. 'Non-alignment' sometimes is unfortunately interpreted as non-involvement. The architect of non-alignment, our late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has clearly laid down that the essence of non-alignment lies in its anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist posture. Unfortunately, I am sorry to say, there is an aberration of this non-alignment by the so-called genuine non-alignment propagated in the last 2-1/2 years under the rule of the Janata Party. But, Sir, as the time at my disposal is very limited, I want to emphasise that there is an unfortunate tendency to equate, as my comrade Samar Mukherjee stated, the super powers, the USA and the USSR. The Indian people know what had happened at the time of

[Shri K. A. Rajan]

the Bangladesh liberation, what was the attitude of the western press, what was the attitude of the imperialist quarters and what were they saying about our mission in Bangladesh. If we had learnt something from the Bangladesh liberation, I think we would not have dared to say it is an aggression in Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. I also want to emphasise one more point especially in the context of the Islamic Conference. In the Islamic Conference the President of the Pakistani regime, the head of the Government, stated that it has some connection with the Kashmir problem. I am not going into details. And on the other side, the Bangladesh President also mentioned that he also wants the protection of the American umbrella. The dangerous situation that is developing in Pakistan just to build up an armed empire under the aegis of the American imperialists is threatening the security of our country. I hope our Government with its vigilant and cautious approach will keep up its traditional non-alignment and see that the imperialist powers never subvert our independence and sovereignty. Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The time allotted was only one hour. Now I will call Shri Baliram Bhagat. After that I will call the Minister.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT (Sitamarhi): Mr. Chairman, Sir the Afghan situation is very much explosive and it threatens the very security not only of the region, but of our own country. Never before was our national security so threatened as it has been in these recent months. I am happy that all sides of the House have expressed their concern and there is unanimity on this situation. (*Interruptions*). Sir, I think the Prime Minister rightly described that we look to our own interests, we are pro-India. That is the correct thing. But let us

first analyse the situation, what is the developing situation, and find out what is our national interest, and the steps that we should take on this situation. The situation is that in Afghanistan for a number of months a situation of destabilisation was going on and the Pakistan trained guerillas were active in Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, I understand, showed deep concern about it and got in touch with the then Indian Government and wanted that India should talk to Pakistan, persuade them so that they should not escalate these guerilla activities in Afghanistan.

19.00 hrs.

Then we have this situation that at the invitation of the Afghan Government, the Soviet Army had to move in. There is a Soviet presence in Afghanistan. We do not like any armed intervention in any country, we have said it, is our national policy but this is not an isolated incident, because we see that the worst kind of cold war or Big Power rivalry is going on. There is activity in Afghanistan of the United States, the Chinese are active in the northern parts, the Karakoram Road is very busy transshipping arms to Pakistan, there is a massive build up of arms supplies to Pakistan, there is a build up in the Indian Ocean, Diego Garcia is being activated and bases are being strengthened. All this poses a great threat, and therefore in a situation like this we cannot criticise one country for one action or the other. It is not in our interests to create further escalation by a wrong step because it has become a very active cockpit and a small thing can ignite the whole situation, this arena can become a place for a Big Power war.

Immediately there are two dangers. Once the snow melts, if the guerilla activity escalates from the side of Pakistan into Afghanistan the Soviet Union can be provoked to attack Pakistan. The big arms build up in

Pakistan at the instance of the United States and the Chinese, the U.S.-Chinese axis operating in Pakistan in terms of the arms build up, can escalate activities in Afghanistan. If that happens, it will become a very serious, very dangerous situation for us.

We are hearing every day of the supply of arms by the United States to Pakistan. First it was 200 million dollars, but now we read that it is going to be 2 billion dollars. One thing is very clear, Patently clear, and there should be agreement on this in this House also that over the years, the United States in the interests of its global security Policy has always ignored the Indian point of view, as if India is not relevant to them or the Indian interests are not relevant to them, but it has done it in the past, and it is doing it now. This fact should be recognised, and I think there should be unanimity on this.

Now, when there is this arms build up and China is operating, USA is operating, who is our friend? If a war flares up, if something happens, who is our friend? The only friend we have is the Soviet Union, and we depend upon the Soviet Union for our own security. We have a Treaty of Friendship with them. We have been taking their help for our defence preparedness. Therefore, these two facts we should realise: the United States has been ignoring India's interests, and in this situation if anything happens, if war flares up, the Soviet Union is our only friend. These are facts, these are not arguments, and in the pursuit of our national interests, we must realise this.

We have said that we follow a pro-Indian policy, but what should be our national interests? I think the national interest demands that we should take action on the following lines, that we should seek the end of the Pakistani support to the insurgents, the termination of the supply

of arms to Pakistan, withdrawal of Soviet troops, termination of massive Western aid, not only US assistance, but Western assistance to Pakistan and we must pursue actively, to create a greater awareness in the matter. It is such a very dangerous situation that the Indian Government cannot afford the luxury of sitting idle. They should not be hesitant, they must take a positive initiative as we took in the case of Bangladesh crisis. I am happy, our Foreign Secretary is going to Islamabad. We must get in touch with Pakistan, talk to them and develop our friendly relations on the basis of the Simla Agreement and step by step negotiations. We must pursue our policy of having a closer cooperation with Pakistan and other neighbouring countries and also non-aligned countries because that is the only forum where the interests of the developing countries and the weaker countries are protected. Therefore, it is vital that the Government should keep in touch with all the Opposition Leaders. They have expressed their support. There is unanimity on this question. They should follow a vigorous policy in defusing the whole situation and preventing the area from exploding into a war zone and in creating a situation where the problem is solved around the table, safeguarding the interests of our nation.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO): Mr. Speaker, Sir I am very grateful to the hon. members who have participated in this debate. We appreciate that the Government, on this particular question, has the unanimous support of all sections of the House and therefore, the solid support of the entire Indian people. There is not much to reply because when all sections agree with the line of approach and the initiatives taken already by the Government, there is hardly anything to reply. I can only assure the House that the suggestions specifically made in some respects by

[Shri P. V. Narasinha Rao]

hon. members will always be kept in view and I may even assure them that we are proceeding almost precisely on the lines suggested by them. We have not been making public statements, but we have kept our initiatives in tact and I can assure

the House that we are going to make full and effective use of them.

19.38 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, February 2, 1980/Magha, 13. 1901 (Saka).