

12.32 hrs.

# DISCUSSION ON PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT RE SITUATION IN LEBANON

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** We shall now take up discussion under Rule 193. There is no lunch today.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta**

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat):** It was I think more or less agreed that the hon. Minister would reply after 6 O'clock. This discussion will continue upto 3.30 p.m. He will reply to 6 O' clock. Is it all right?

**THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-  
TARY AFFAIRS AND WORKS AND  
HOUSING (SHRI BHISHMA NARAIN  
SINGH):** Yes.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** As soon as Private Members' discussion is over. The discussion must be over by 3.30 p.m.

**SHRI INDRAJIA GUPTA:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I think this discussion, though it will be a relatively brief one, has got considerable importance for several reasons. The first reason to my mind is that since the Israeli aggression on Lebanon took place, this is the first occasion when this House is getting an opportunity to discuss this, what shall I say, even which is probably going to have very far-reaching repercussions not only within that area but perhaps for the entire peace and stability of Asia and perhaps even of the world. I think it is fitting that the Parliament of India should be given this opportunity, members of this House, to express their views. Also the date of this discussion has been fixed at a time when the hon. Foreign Minister has just returned from a very important meeting of the Bureau of the Non-aligned countries at Nicosia. We are not fully briefed yet as to what transpired there, apart from what we have read in the Press. I am sure, he will take the opportunity of this debate to enlighten the House further. And in a few days' time the Prime Minister is leaving on her visit to the United States of America. So, I think this debate comes at a very appropriate time between the

Non-Aligned Bureau meeting and the visit of the Prime Minister to Washington.

Sir I think it is not necessary for me to go into any description—or attempt a description—of what is happening. It is now perhaps about seven weeks since this aggression took place. In the beginning the Israeli Government had claimed that its sole purpose in crossing the Lebanese border was to advance up to a limit of about 25 miles because they said, they wanted to create a buffer zone from which it would not be possible for their enemies for the enemies of Israel—to threaten the security of Israel or to make attacks on to Israeli territory, for that purpose, they said they required a 25 miles buffer zone, they were proceeding across the border to occupy that zone. Whether such a theory also is defensible or not, I do not know But it is a curious thing. But now, within two or three days after that it became quite clear that it was not their intention at all. It is but a smoke-screen and what has happened after that is a total invasion of an independent state of Lebanon, a full scale military onslaught including the surrounding of the Palace of the President of the Lebanon, a tremendous and non-stop bombardment by air, by sea and by land in order to create the maximum possible devastation and destruction that is possible by military means, which is still continuing. The slaughtering of civilian population on a massive scale, the casualty figures are not yet reliably known, and the siege—the total siege—of West Beirut where the camps of the P.L.O., the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, are located, the head quarters of Mr. Yasser Arafat, who only a few weeks ago was received in this country as an honoured guest of our Government. He is somewhere there in West Beirut, perhaps in a bunker, headquarters in a bunker, directing whatever resistance is possible still for the P.L.O. and also the question of what is going to happen thereafter. It is not only a military siege of West Beirut but the reports now say that the Israeli forces have stopped the supply of any kind of food or water or medical supplies or anything from reaching West Beirut.

Now I think the papers are carrying reports which are sufficiently horrifying and in the Prime Minister's statement which she made here on the 9th of July, she spoke about, I quote,

'the brutal killing of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians has aroused deep anguish and revulsion in the entire world community.'

While I think this is obvious, she has echoed what the people of this country—are feeling and I suppose all Indians are feeling like that—patriotic Indians—there may be a small lunatic fringe—I do not know, which holds a contrary view. I am sorry, in a way, to find from the records of the 9th of this month's proceedings, that what was an outburst which took place here by a Member of the Bharatiya Janata Party, a leading Member, which everybody heard, which was reported in the Press, does not find a place in the proceedings! I do not know if it was expunged. I do not know if it was not reported. If it was expunged, I protest against such expunction; and I would like Mr. Ram Jethmalani's utterance on that day to be inscribed in the records of Lok Sabha so that everybody knows who is who and what is what. But it is not there. I am very glad that my friend, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, a distinguished former Foreign Minister of this country, is present here today. I hope, he will contradict what his party man had said the otherday and will make it clear that that does not represent the view of his party.

This is not merely a question of aggression; it is not merely a question of annexation. This is something which is not new in the record of Israel. The Golan Heights which belonged to Syria, were annexed in a similar way. An attempt is being made systematically to annexe the occupied territories on the West Bank of the Jordan in the Gaza strip by surreptitiously setting up a large number of Israeli settlements there. Armed settlers are being posted there to see that nobody can get back there. This is a part of the disputed territory which the Palestinians

claim and rightly claim in by opinion as the site of their homeland or should be their homeland. So, it is not merely a question of aggression or annexation which we are accustomed to see from the Israeli side. Unfortunately, today they have become a symbol of deliberate and flagrant violation of all kinds of international laws and all kinds of United Nations' Resolutions and decisions. It is nothing new.

It is a tragedy, in my opinion, that people of the Jewish State—I do not say all Jews because all Jews are not Israelis, but all people who live in Israel are, perhaps, Jews or most of them anyway; there may be a few, who are not, but it is a Jewish State—who, not long ago in history, excited the sympathy of the entire world because of being made the victims of Nazi genocide in the days of Hitler, sent by the thousands to concentration camps and to the gas chambers. It is a tragedy that these people having secured a State of their own, are now out to submit other people to similar type of genocide. I do not say that all Jews would approve of what the Israeli Government is doing. There are increasing number of reports coming everyday of protests which are taking place inside Israel itself. A demonstration of a hundred thousand people has taken place in Tel Aviv protesting against this continued aggression against Lebanon and calling for peaceful settlement and withdrawal of the Israeli Army. But those people who are directing the Israeli State, seem to have forgotten the tortures and terrible sufferings through which their people went in the 1930s and 1940s. They are today determined to carry out the same kind of plunder, pillage and genocide against those whom they regard as their enemies, in this case, the Palestinians and Lebanese.

It is not merely an aggression, it is a genocide. An attempt is being made to carry out genocide. An attempt is being made to destroy the entire Palestinians physically. The Prime Minister's statement of 9th July—welcome as far as it goes—does not speak anything about this aspect of the problem.



[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

We are all reading about the cluster bombs—cluster bombs which have been supplied by their good friend, President Reagan, to the Israelis. They are not meant to be used against the civilian population. It is a horrible weapon, a barbarous weapon. Inside the bomb there are small pellets, small fragments of steel which shower out over a big area and then inflict ghastly wounds. President Reagan says these bombs were given to the Israelis on the understanding that they would be used only against military targets and not against civilian population. But now it has come to light that these cluster bombs are being used to massacre civilians, the United States Government makes this statement. In today's newspapers, there is a report by Mr. Warren Unna from Washington, quoted in the Statement which says:

"The White House, after much dilly dallying, now has decided to hold up a new shipment of 4,000 cluster—type artillery shells. This followed reports (which the Israeli Government has been unable to diffuse) that Israel violated U.S. law by using earlier supplies of cluster bombs... against Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, instead of against just military targets"

So, the Americans in their mercy have decided to delay not to cancel, not to stop but to delay—the supply of these cluster bombs, because it has become very embarrassing now, what is going on has come to light.

This is just one example. There are so many. I will make brief references to these sources, which cannot be questioned by anybody. There are reports appearing in the American press about the NBC television crew, which went to some parts of West Beirut to film victims of Israeli shelling. This is a report by Robert Fisk of London Times, which says:

"What they saw was truly shocking. Many of the wounded turned out to be not guerillas but children, infants less than a year old, their bodies gashed and lacerated by shrapnel, older children bleeding so profusely they would never

survive. One of the crew broke down and wept."

We know, we can understand, what it means when bodies are gashed and lacerated with cluster bombs, when high velocity shells are being used against them.

There are many more reports. There is a report by a Canadian doctor, Christopher Cuianno, who was working as a surgeon at a hospital in Sidon.

"He said he saw whole blocks being destroyed and pellet bombs being dropped on refugee camps. The hospital at which he worked was fired upon and bombed four times, although a Red Cross clearly was marked on its roof in accordance with the Geneva Convention."

He said the Israeli military allowed refugees to return to their camps and then bombed them again. He said that out of the 10,000 Palestinians and Lebanese who died as a result of Israel's aggression, at least 50 per cent were children under 12 to 13.

I could cite many more reports from the foreign press, from American and British sources and Western sources which corroborates that a hideous campaign of genocide is being carried on. It is not only to annex Lebanon and then withdraw but to withdraw only after they have managed to install in Beirut a Government, which will be subservient to them: This is the American attempt also. Because, next month, in August is the date of the Presidential election in Beirut. That is not known to everybody. And it is not a direct election, but an indirect election, in that country. The ground is being prepared for installing a new President in Beirut, who would be pliable and subservient to the Israelis and Americans.

As far as the Palestenians are concerned, perhaps the hon. Minister would be able to tell us better, at what stage the various proposals, counter-proposals and negotiations are, because there are so many different proposals put out. Just now President Reagan has been met in Washington by two representative of the

Arab countries, one being the Saudi Foreign Minister himself, Prince Saud al-Faisal, and the other the Syrian Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdel Halim Khaddam. According to newspaper reports, they are pressing that the first thing which is required, before anything else can follow, is the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon. I think this demand coincides with the demand of the Government of India also—if I am wrong, he will correct me. I think this is what is being stated by the Non-aligned Bureau also, that no prevarication can be allowed on this. Everything else, the proper settlement of the entire dispute and negotiated settlement and all that can follow, but the first pre-condition is that the Israeli forces must withdraw from Lebanon. They cannot remain there with all their tremendous armoured strength and under the shadow of their guns they want to impose some type of settlement. This cannot be permitted by the international community.

These two, the Foreign Minister of Syria and the Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia have said—and here I quote Mr. Warren Unna again:

“They insisted that the USA as Israel's chief military and economic patron, should clamp down on its client and curtail its aggressive activities.”

I think the Government of India should also take a firm stand on this issue. I am saying it because the Prime Minister will be in Washington next week. I do not know what she is going to take up with the President there, what they are going to discuss. They will discuss many things, I am sure. But this issue cannot be avoided and I hope this House can be assured that the Prime Minister speaking on behalf of not only her Government on this issue, but speaking on behalf of the country, should tell President Reagan clearly that there can be no stable and just settlement of this issue unless, first and foremost, the Israeli troops are withdrawn from Lebanon.

Criticism of the United States Government's role in this whole affair was not only muted, if I may say so, but was ab-

sent altogether from the Prime Minister's text. She spoke a couple of sentences outside her prepared statement which I think, she mentioned perhaps in the other House because somebody asked some question there. She did make a mention about the US and she said that everybody knows that the US has got a big hand there or something like that. But in the prepared statement which is available here, there is not a word about it and I think, Sir, the time has come to call a spade a spade. Nobody in his senses imagines that the Israelis can do what they have done unless they have the full backing of the United States Government. (*Interruptions*). I find Dr. Subramaniam Swamy is keeping up a running commentary here.

(*Interruptions*)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: (Bombay North-East): It sounds very similar to my speech on Afghanistan.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is not being recorded

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The only reason that some sort of ramshackle cease-fire is there at the moment officially, although the Israelis are violating it every day, and the reason that President Reagan called for a cease-fire four or five days after the aggression began was a couple of letters from President Brezhnev. Everybody knows it. Unfortunately, those letters have not been published; they should be published; I wish they were published. It was only after the two letters received from President Brezhnev warning him that if this thing is made to escalate and if American troops are sent to Lebanon in the name of keeping peace, then the Soviet Union will not sit idle. It was only after that, some sort of a shaky call for a cease-fire came. So, you should remember that, Dr. Swamy, my friend.

Sir, I came across an article by the Correspondent of the London *New Statement*. With your permission I may just refer to two or three things, very interesting things, which appeared in this article. I presume that these are well founded and established facts that she has caught hold of I quote as follows:

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

"The decisive even that set the Americans and Israelis together on the road to Beirut was General Sharon's visit to Washington from May 22 to 27."

This is important to remember. That was a few days before the aggression was launched, the Defence Minister, General Sharon paid a visit to Washington. What does this report say? I quote:

"He got a clear American message that it was the trainig of the move into Lebanon not the move itself, that was troubling the President's political and military advisers."

"Ever since Reagan's inauguration, the White House has consistently regarded Israeli attacks across the Lebanese border as justifiable 'hot pursuit' and 'self defence'."

They were not bothered about the impending aggression. There was only some discussion about the timings of it on the 24th May when Gen. Sharon was present in Washington.

"On May 24, the Administration sent an informal notice to Congress of its decision to sell Israel 75 F. 16 jet fighters, worth roughly dollar 3 billion."

These are the same F.16 jet fighters which we are now rather nervous about because we see they are going to come into Pakistan also.

"Two days later, an Administration offer to deliver another eleven F.15's, costing dollar 510 million was cleared by the Congress. On the same day, May 26, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to add dollar 125 million to dollar 785 million in economic support funds already authorised for Israel in 1983."

"The reason, according to the Senate Committee, was that 'Israel's qualitative edge' in weaponry 'continues to erode... necessitating increased arms purchases'."

It says :

"The Pentagon made it even clearer that an Israeli drive to destroy the PLO forces and push the Syrians out of Beirut would have American protection. Orders were issued before Sharon left for several US Naval deployments."

At least three aircrafts carriers — USS Ranger, USS Kennedy, USS Elsworth within a few days of Sharon's visit to Washington were sent from various places and deployed to this region just of the cost of Lebanon. So, what I wish to say is we know also what role the United States has been playing in the United Nations on this issue—trying to prevaricate, trying to hedge, and trying to prevent any clear cut decision being taken about sanctions and so on.

I am sorry that Mrs Gandhi, in her statement, has not called a spade a spade and has not made it clear as we do in the case of, for example, South Africa we made it quite clear that the South African Regime, the racist regime, is able to survive and continue what it is doing and carry out apartheid because of support of the countries like United States, United Kingdom and so on. We have said it many times and the Government has said it. But in this case nobody is going to pinpoint who is the arch culprit behind the Israelis in this case. We all know there is a powerful and very wealthy Jewish lobby in the United States in business, in Government and everywhere. There is a report here when the Prime Minister Begin of Israel visited Washington recently there was a lunch given for him at Waldorf Astoria Hotel where the fee charged for anybody who wanted to attend and eat that lunch was dollar 100,000, per head. From this lunch the Jewish hosts collected dollar 27 million in one hour for the Israeli cause.

DR SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Very good friends to have.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Very good friends to have. Now I know Shri Subramaniam Swamy is so fond of having dinner why in New York.



MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr Indrajit Gupta, it is Rs 10 lakhs according to our Indian currency.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I did not know you are so good a mental mathematician. Incidentally when I made this reference just now to the stand we have been taking about the complicity of the Western powers with the apartheid regime in South Africa, a Report has also appeared. I hope you have seen what the United Nations Commission on Human Rights investigating apartheid in South Africa, has said. They were here the other day in Delhi. The Chairman of that Commission Mr A. A. Cato of Ghana told newsmen here in Delhi, Israel and racist South Africa are collaborating closely in nuclear armament and economic fields. He also said that apart from such collaboration and further Israeli expertise given to Pretoria on counter-insurgency and containing the freedom fighters, there were clear parallels between the South Africa's activities against its black and coloured population and what Israel was doing in its invasion of Lebanon. They are the accomplice of racist regime also. Jewish regime is in reverse today — having suffered so much at one time, it is being practised on these people.

13 hrs.

The feature of the whole situation which is very sad — sad and reprehensible. I should say, it is the state of disunity and vacillation in the Arab world. On the one hand, most of the Arab countries, overwhelming majority of the Arab countries who used to be very loud in their protestation of championing the cause of PLO are silent today, are hesitating and prevaricating. I imagined that if they had got together and given a threat that they would cut off oil supplies and even that they would withdraw the vast deposits which they have there in United States banks, it would have been made Mr. Reagan to think ten times before proceeding with the

adventure of his client State. But they have not done that.

On the other hand, the Security Council of the United Nations is, more or less in a state of paralysis. The present set up is like that. Then, I would suggest, in this situation, a peculiar importance and unusual significance attaches to the organisation of the non-aligned countries. There is no other forum, there is no other organisation left to which people can look for some solution in this grim situation. Therefore, this meeting in Cyprus was of utmost importance, Sir. He will tell us exactly what they have decided to do. I know one decision which has already proved abortive. They have decided to send a team, a 9-man team to Beirut—to visit Beirut to see things for themselves and also to collect evidence on Israeli atrocities and genocide. But they have not been permitted to enter Beirut. So, that is the one decision which is already being frustrated. Now, what else have they proposed to do?

I read in the papers that Mr. Narasimha Rao has said—if he was quoted rightly—that we should take all steps to see that Israel is totally isolated. By total isolation, I understand, economic, moral, political diplomatic and all types of isolation and it should be brought to bear and to create a pressure. That is what he meant. I want to ask him.

I know Mr. Subramaniam Swamy has already been trying to brief me before I spoke that I should not say it. Therefore, precisely for this reason, I am going to say it. That is, at least, as far as moral pressure and diplomatic pressure are concerned, India is a big country and major country of a non-aligned group and in my opinion, it should, at least till normalcy is restored, temporarily close down the Israel Consulate in Bombay.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: No, no.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: It is not on the basis of any reciprocity. Have we got any Consulate in Tel Aviv? I thought Consulates and Embassies are opened on a reciprocal basis. India has no Consulate

in Tel Aviv. They have got a Consulate, here. Consulate by itself is not anything to get very much upset about. But we have seen recently, it is being misused and it has been misused. Though the Consulate continues, the earlier Consul has been asked to leave the country because of his activities and the statements he was issuing and all that. But it is, after all, a representation of the Israel Government on our soil. I am told, in some papers, some very wise, learned and experienced correspondents of some of the big dailies—I am very much frightened of them—have also written that the demand for closing down of the Consulate is very childish, foolish and immature. Why? Because it seems there are some people in our country who are Jews by religion—perhaps, there are a few thousand; I do not know how many—and the Consulate was opened for the purpose of helping any of these people if they want to migrate to Israel and to help them to migrate. I do not know how many have migrated and how many have applied for migration. Certainly, if they wish to migrate, I at least have no desire that they should be kept here willy-nilly against their desire. If they want to leave India and go to live in Israel, they are certainly welcome to do so.

All the same, the heavens will not fall if for a few months, this facility is suspended. Nothing will happen. It can be restored again. India should be able to give some concrete evidence before the world that it is prepared to take whatever limited action is possible within its competence to show its strong disapproval and condemnation of what Israelis are doing in Lebanon and against the PLO.

I fully support what the Prime Minister has said about the cause of the PLO. A cause, like this cannot be suppressed by force or guns and shells and all that. Even if they are on the defensive or put into difficulties now or even if they get dispersed, the cause of Palestine. Independence and the return to their homeland will never be suppressed and, from time to time, it will come up again. The whole world community is behind them in its support. I would, therefore, like to

know what does the non-aligned group propose to do.

I know, it is not an easy job. I know, one of the decisions they have taken is to try and move the Security Council again. That, I suppose, is one of the most difficult tasks of all because I know a veto will be exercised there by Mrs. Kirk Patrick. What do they propose to do? Will the Prime Minister take it up directly during bipartite talks with President Reagan in Washington? Will the Consulate be closed down at least temporarily to show our strong disapproval and condemnation? Otherwise, they are openly laughing and saying that India does not have the courage to take action against this Consulate.

We were told by the Prime Minister verbally—it was not part of her prepared statement—that she has addressed letters to President Reagan, President Brezhnev and President Mitterand and also to Fidel Castro as the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Bureau. But I for the life of me cannot understand why at the critical time like this those letters of the Prime Minister are not published. This itself is a big moral weapon in our hands.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): They can be laid on the Table of the House.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: They are not laid on the Table of the House even.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO): Nor is the President Brezhnev's letter secret according to you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: President Brezhnev has not addressed to our Prime Minister.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Whatever letters he has addressed are also secret.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Your media and the radio are broadcasting letters written by Julius Nyerere on the same subject. It is very good. Our media is broadcasting Julius Nyerere's letters and messages on this subject. What is there which pre-

vents us from telling the world that our Prime Minister has expressed her concern, indignation and sense of urgency. At least, you can give the contents without reproducing the exact text, sum and substance, of the thing. I do not know whether it is your Ministry which is responsible for this.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** If you lay the letters on the Table, he will give up his demand for closing down the Consulate.

**SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO:** I am not a party to this barter.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** Nor is he for that matter. So, Sir, I hope in the debate which will follow now, from all sides of this House generally speaking there will be an uncompromising and unconditional condemnation of this United States—backed Israeli aggression; there will be a firm support expressed for the cause of PLO; the desire for an early peaceful and negotiated settlement and, above all, the first and foremost demand for the withdrawal of the Israeli army from Lebanon, and with this general consensus of the sovereign Parliament of this country, we would like to strengthen the hand of the Prime Minister when she goes to Washington and I hope that she will not fail us.

I hope that she will tell President Reagan what is what and that she calls a spade a spade. India is not like any other country. It is the biggest of the countries of the non-aligned group and, therefore, she cannot be content only with passing resolutions and issuing statements. They have to be more active. They have to lobby people. They have to push people. It does not matter if she does not succeed immediately but it shows that India is active in the world forum on this issue.

I, therefore, hope that the Hon. Minister will be able to satisfy us when he replies.

**SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO (Mormugao):** I have listened with great attention to the speech of my Hon. friend here and I also along with him do fervently hope that this House will unanimously condemn the unqualified aggression committed by the Israelis against the people of Lebanon and the Palastinians there.

We will in no way, compromise with the genocide because genocide it is that the military forces of Israel are committing against the people of Palestine.

I know that there is a broad consensus here almost unanimity, and I agree that the reaction the other day from one solitary Member here can only be qualified as coming from a lunatic fringe. Though I cannot restrain myself from saying that this is a very lunatic fringe which, otherwise my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta aligns all the time, this is a part of the same lunatic fringe which is a part of the united opposition and with which my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta and others align and express solidarity when it comes to embarrass the Government of oppose the Government.

It has been said here and the Prime Minister said the other day that this aggression has been condemned not merely by those who have always condemned the Israeli wars against the people of Palastine, but even by the friends of Israel and even by the Israelis themselves inside Israel. Indeed, no less a person than the Chief Rabi of Britain himself recently in London went on record as saying that

“Never before in the history of Israel has there been so much misgivings in the Jewish community and the people of Israel as to the bona fides and as to the genuineness and desirability of the military action as taken recently against Lebanon and the people there.”

I agree that there is not better way of saying the scale of carnage and the scale of aggression than quoting the press and the opinion which is basically pro-Israel.

We taken the New York Times which, by no stretch of imagination, can be called a supporter of PLO. It says in a recent despatch that—

“In Beirut, the US State Department estimates 10,000 civilians were killed and injured. That is not surprising considering that for days warships lobbed shells and planes dropped bombs into a crowded modern city. Sidon and the smaller towns of Southern Lebanon were devastated. An International Red Cross official says that more than 600,000



[Shri Eduardo Faleiro]

people were driven from their homes by the invasion."

The London Times which again is not, by any stretch of imagination, a supporter of the PLO and which generally supports the cause of Israel has this to say under the caption "An Unbalanced Policy" in its issue of June 10 last:

"That fact is that Israel the aggressor in this conflict. Her claim to be exercising right of self-defence, to be taking unavoidable action to secure safety of her population in Galilee does not stand up..."

"Until last Friday, the population of Galilee had been protected against attacks from Lebanon territory by the ceasefire which the PLO accepted last July. The only shelling of Israeli territory from Lebanon occurred for four hours on May 9, in response to Israeli air raids in which at least twelve Palestinians had been killed and more than thirty wounded. The shelling caused no damage or casualties, according to the Israeli army. It was quite obviously intended by the PLO as a reminder that its artillery was capable of reaching Israeli targets, and that a ceasefire cannot be unilateral."

It has been said, in view of the destruction and the carnage that has been caused by the Israeli troops in Lebanon, that it is a tragic irony of history that those very victims of Auchtwitz and Buchenwald, those very victims for whom the whole world cried, the people of India cried, during the Nazi Regime, have now really out-Hitlered Hitler himself. There cannot be a better personification of what has been happening in Lebanon in the last few weeks than the very Defence Minister of Israeli, Mr. Ariel Sharon, known as the butcher of Hibiya, the man who in 1953, as a commando officer, went to a Palestinian village and killed 69 men, women and children, the defenceless Palestinian civilians. This is the man who is at the head of the military operations which Israel is conducting against Lebanon.

The being the situation, what is the world community doing? The United States as has been said here, as has been said by our Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, is obviously assisting Israel, and

I must say here how commendably, how bravely and, as usual, with great moral conviction and courage, our Prime Minister has expressed—I am sure the whole House will agree with me when I say this—has without mincing words, denounced the aggression committed by Israel. As has been said here, there is a strong Israeli lobby in the United States. But that has not deterred our leader from saying what had got to be said, from showing the aggression when aggression has been committed, from showing the aggressor, who actually the aggressor was.

But what has the rest of the international community been doing? The United States, it has been said here and it is very obvious, has been financing and has been the main supporter of the Israeli aggression. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, Mr. Indrajit Gupta could mention only a couple of letters written nothing more; he has been silent, and we are also not aware of anything more about what the Soviet Union is doing to help the Palestinians or to defuse the situation. (*Interruptions*) The impression is that both the Super Powers are only interested in their global interests, they are interested in their 'strategic consensus'. And it is painful to say, but it is the truth, apparently for all purposes, they are particularly interested in using this war as a testing-ground for their weapons of mass destruction; whether they are weapons from the East or from West, they are being tested in Lebanon against the Palestinians, against the people of Lebanon, to find out their efficacy in the same way in which they were tested a few weeks ago in the Falkland Islands conflict. As far as the Arabs are concerned, their disunity has been proverbial and may I say that their strong commitment to rhetoric rather than action is also becoming legendary. Hardly anything has come from them. The Palestinians and their sole legitimate representatives, the Palestinian Liberation Organization, have fought this war practically alone as they have fought for their survival all these years, practically alone, unaided by their closest neighbours and by those who proclaim to be their friends. I should say that in this bleak situation the position of India shows as a beacon of hope and expression, an undaunted expression of the moral conscience of mankind.

We have not merely made a statement. We have made statements. We have given all help, all material help that we could give under the circumstances—medicines, doctors and all facilities and the expulsion of the Israeli Consul from Bombay has not been such a simple act. It has obviously involved a lot of consideration but it was a more justified act because the conduct of the Israeli Consul in the soil of this country has been such that it cannot be—I would say—expressed even in the parliamentary language.

I would like to submit that many of us in this House, I am sure, would have been moved in our earlier days by the great literature, by the great philosophy that was created around the Israeli diaspora, the children of Israel being scattered all over the world for a thousand years. It was a tragedy which moved us from our childhood and about which many of us still feel strongly but the great tragedy which we see to-day before our own eyes and the world is seeing to-day before its own eyes is the Israeli diaspora being substituted by the Palestinian diaspora. The people of Palestine are being thrown out from their own land. They are being thrown out of Jordan. They are now being thrown out of their own Lebanon and the question is being asked: where should they go? Should they go to Greece? Should they go to Iraq? Where should they go? There is only one answer to this. And the answer is that the Palestinians should go to Palestine. They have an inalienable right to a homeland in Palestine. This has been the position of India and I am sure this country and this Government will once again assert the leadership which has been shown in this conflict and in this situation to press for this in all forums and with all its might.

The other thing which is of immediate need and for which the Government has already asserted its stand is to seek by all means at its disposal the vacation of the Israeli aggression beyond the internationally recognised borders of Lebanon.

I once again commend and very strongly congratulate the Government and the Prime Minister for the very unequivocal, articulate and courageous stand as shown in her statement and I commend the leader-

ship given by the Government of India and by the Foreign Minister in raising once again its voice which is the voice of the moral conscience of mankind against Israeli aggression.

May I conclude by saying this? Whatever Party we may belong to in this House, we have a duty towards this nation and the duty is to condemn the aggression of Israel because this nation has been itself a victim of imperial arrogance and colonial oppression for centuries and this nation at all times and till recent times through its leaders has always stood for the oppressed, for the right and for the weak against the military might.

Once again I commend the statement of the Prime Minister and I beseech the Government to pursue this course which it has so nobly taken so far in this crisis in all matters of foreign policy.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South): It really pains me to think that today a nation is paying the price of imperialistic conspiracy and a nation is suffering for no fault of its own. It appears to me that the whole world is looking at them, but ...

But, it seems to me, that there is none to bring relief to them and to save them.

Sir, it reminds me of the days before the Second World War; when Abyssinia was attacked by Italy. Haile Selassie sent a letter to the League of Nations that the Italian Fascists were trying to obliterate the people of Abyssinia. But, no one came to the help of the Abyssinians who fought with bows and arrows against the superior arms of the Fascists. We know what price the world had to pay because of inaction and silence of the whole League of Nations under the leadership of Imperialist Forces. France and England were silent; nobody came to help them when a nation was butchered. Today also we find the same thing. Can you imagine that Israel is openly attacking, violating all international law, violating all international morality and violating all the U.N. Resolutions? There are some people who talk of freedom and democracy. This is the age of anti-colonialism. Some people say: where is colonialism? Then, why is it that today, 40,000 people have been

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butchered in Lebanon? Who are these people who died? You go to Beirut and you will find smouldering ruins, the burning houses and the corpses. Who are these people? Why should they die? They are the sons of this very land. They are Palestinians. The country belonged to them. But, it is because of the Imperialist's conspiracy that millions of them were evacuated and uprooted. They were uprooted from their own soil; they were uprooted from their own home. This was because in 1917, there was a Balfour Declaration. There too, it was by the same British Imperialists who divided India. The Balfour Declaration said in 1917 that the Jews would have their homeland in Palestine. Who are they to declare as to where the Jews would live? What would happen to the Palestineans? The Leader of the Zionist Movement when approached—Mr. Einstein—said "if you find a place for the Jews in Palestine, then, what would happen to the Arabs?" The Leader of the Zionist Movement Weizmanu said: "What, you talk of Arabs—they are of no consequence." For the establishment of a Jewish State, a Hebrew State, millions of Arabs who had been living there for 1300 years could be uprooted. What was their claim? Three thousand years before they were David and Solomon there and ruled them and that is why they have the right to live in Palestine. The people who have been living there for 1300 years are to be killed, uprooted. I do not want to go into the history as to how the money from the U.S. and how the conspiracy of England helped to uproot the millions and, how, after the Second World War, the State of Israel was created. But, what could be the boundary of Israel? The Israel's Zionist Leader said about the boundary, about their frontiers, where they claim, it should be formed—from the Nile to Euphrates. That is what they claimed. You will see the whole history of Israel is a history political brigandage, expansionism, racialism and little respect for international morality and international law. Is it possible for a small State like Israel to continue in its efforts of aggression and expansion with-

out any help from outside. I do not believe there is any single person in this House who believes that Israel can continue its aggression without any outside help. Where the help is coming from? Well decidedly it is coming from United States of America. The whole of Israel army is equipped by the USA. You go through the assistance that they have got from the USA compared to the assistance the Arab countries have got. For spare-parts also they depend on the USA.

Sir, you know when Nasser stopped the ships to ply over the Suez there was attack by England and France and which one country joined this Imperialist attack. It was Israel. Israel was created with a definite purpose. What was that purpose? Apparently it was to find a home for the Jews but really to create a vassal State in the heart of Middle East to protect the interests of the Americans, French, English or the Imperialists because 70 per cent of oil in the non-Socialist world is produced in the Middle East and you know how the modern war-machines depend on oil and that oil comes from the Middle East. That is why a State like Israel is necessary to protect the interests of the Imperialists there and that is why it was created. I would quote from U.S. News and World Report, wJune 1967 page 42:

"Israel has probably done more for the U.S. in the Middle East in relation to money and effort invested than any of our so-called allies and friends elsewhere round the globe since the end of the 2nd world war. In the Far East we can get almost no one to help us in Vietnam. Here the Israelis won the war singlehandedly, have taken us off the hook and have served our interests as well as theirs."

Now, how it happened. Before 1917 95 per cent of the population of Palestine was Arabs and 97 per cent of the land was occupied by the Arabs. Now, these people have been uprooted, made refugees and are being butchered. What is their crime? They want to go back to their home and live in their own land.



They want to restore their own lost territory. What Israelis have been doing all these years. They are occupying one land after another using muscle, money and superior fire power supplied by the Americans and using better organisation and using terrorist methods. They have their own terrorist organisations like Haganah, the Stern and Irgun gangs and most of their leaders including Begin and others belong to these terrorist groups who are now accusing Palestenians of Terrorism. And how this invasion took place? Mr Indrajit Gupta has said about it. Sharon went to the USA and got the grave signal for this massive invasion. Why? To teach the Palestenians a lesson. What lesson? "You are endangering our security. We are in occupation of your land and have made you refugees. God has given us this land and your Allah has destined you to get crushed and perished. Don't question our right. God gave us right to have a Hebrew State, to annihilate thousands of people. If you try to restore your land, you are guilty of international terrorism and we will teach you a lesson." That is what they say. What is their concept of security? The very presence of the Palestenians and PLO goes against their security. They demand that they have a right—both legal and moral right—to destroy their strongholds. It is certainly, Sir, a peculiar concept of security. May I ask: Can the Afghan people apply the same standard and ask them, we have a right to attack Pakistan because Pakistan is arming guerillas and sending them to Afghanistan? If they say like that how will you react to that? Is this concept of security accepted by international law, by the United Nations Charter? No. No country can undertake this type of aggression. But a small country like Israel is doing it and the Americans are backing it: they are supporting it; they say that there should be peace. What type of peace? Our students of history know the type of Roman Peace—PAX ROMANA. All States were Roman vassals. So, today, we have this type of peace claimed by the Americans. The Americans demand these are terrorists and they should be destroyed. Now may I ask: Can we accept this type

of an arguments? The answer is, No. We cannot. Unfortunately today the UN is in a similar position as the League of Nations at one time. You know what happened to the League of Nations. We know how the Second World War was started. In spite of the massive building which the United Nations is having, we find today that a very small country backed by a big power has undertaken the task of political brigandage and aggression ruthlessly and relentlessly. Even in their cruelty they are out-Heroding Herod himself. The UN is passing resolutions. Some people are talking; what the Soviet Union is doing? Well, what can the Soviet Union do? Do you expect the Soviet Union to send its armed personnel to fight for the Palestenians? Say it. It is only the USA which can control Israel, which can stop supplies to Israel, and cry a halt and punish the criminals. But they are not doing that because their own interests are involved. Therefore they are helping Israel. Unfortunately the Arabs are disarrayed and disunited. This again proves that if a State is in the hands of landlords and propertied people they cannot consistently fight imperialism. Today the Bourgeois State cannot fight imperialism consistently because of its vacillation; you cannot simultaneously fight communism and the imperialists. (Interruptions) Where is the Islamic unity and Islamic Bomb? Their own people are being butchered. Their own rulers are happy with petro-dollars. They are totally divorced from the people. But I believe that the Arab people are with the PLO. People are also with the PLO in all parts of the world.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker. Sir, even in Israel, It is a good sign that in Tel Aviv, one lakh Israelis marched over the streets, protesting and fighting against the policies of their own Government. It is the people who ultimately triumph, it is the people who ultimately determine the course of history and I believe and I agree with our Prime Minister that a popular movement cannot be crushed by military forces. It is not possible. Today there may be some setback but tomorrow this military regime, this racist regime, this tool of imperialism in the Middle East will have

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its own lessons. The Palestinians will triumph. But would ask the Indian Government to take a lead in this because non-alignment is not indifference to the question of International Law, International morality. India has a role to play should our role not be more dynamic, more assertive. I think that our Government should be more assertive. I know within the given frame work, they have to work. But even then our Government should give a lead because being the leader of the non-aligned nations, we have a moral responsibility and I do say that the closure of the Consul Office in Bombay should be a permanent closure. Such a racist regime cannot have its Consulate in Bombay. Not only that. I am demanding the cancellation of our Prime Minister's visit to the United States of America. Why should she go there when the Americans are violating the world opinion, backing the racists' regime, annihilating thousands of people in Beirut and encouraging expansionism? Is it the opportune moment for our Prime Minister to visit the United States of America? Should the Government not think twice about what the repercussions will be all over the world. Have you the guts to call a spade a spade in New York? Well, because of your I.M.F. obligations and economic dependence, you cannot do that. That is why in this statement you have very cleverly avoided the name of the United States of America. You have expressed the pious wish. Very good. But why can't you name the main power behind this aggression, killings, wanton destruction and naked violation of the International law.

Sir, in the end, I would say that here is the determination of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. What they say is that they are dying but they are fighting; they are not going to surrender and here I find that determination. I would like to quote here the voice of resistance.

"You may take the last strip of our land  
Feed my youth to prison cells  
You may plunder my heritage  
You may burn my books, my poems,  
Or feed my flesh to the dogs  
You may spread a web of terror  
On the roofs of

my village O ENEMY OF THE SUN  
But

I shall not compromise

And to the last pulse in my veins

I shall resist."

This is the Voice of Resistance. This is the determination of the Palestinians and I believe that the people of Palestine will win, the Israeli forces will be compelled to withdraw the naked aggression and the Palestinians will get back their beloved land. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI R. L. BHATIA (Amritsar): Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, on June 6 1982, Israelis attacked Labanese with one lakh strong forces. It was an unprovoked attack on the Labanese people. Sir, it is an aggression which was long engineered in Washington when the Defence Minister of Israel went there for consultation. And thereafter this attack was made on Lebanon. USA has been supplying armaments to Israel in a colossal way. There was no danger to Israel from anywhere and we know that the Arab countries around are so weak that they could not attack Israel. There was no danger to Israel at all, but the USA was giving unparalleled armaments to Israel.

According to US, Law armaments given to other countries are for defence purposes. But here they knew that Israel was going to attack Lebanon, and they were going on giving armaments to Israel. What does it mean? This means that USA wanted all this. Not only this, even later in the United Nations, when the discussion took place and when the whole world wanted to condemn Israel's aggression against Lebanon and there was voting, 129 people took part in the voting. Out of 129, 127 voted against Israel; only two people voted for Israel. One was Israel itself and the other was USA. What does this means? Does it not make it clear that Israel and USA were together? They combined together and wanted to attack Lebanon. Why is it so? It is because it is part of the American consensus; it is a part of their scheme of things in the Middle-East, and

that is how they deployed their forces. It was a right occasion to take advantage thereof.

Then, this war is against the international norms. This war was not declared, and afterwards, there has been a wanton destruction of Lebanese people, their property, civil population and all that. It was an indiscriminate war against everything, whatever was there in Palestine. They did not spare even children and ladies, hospitals and other such buildings. According to the reports, 15000 people have already died and 50,000 have been wounded or injured. According to the reports given to us by WAFA, even nerve gas was used and which was responsible for diseases of eyes, headache and paralysis in Palestine.

When Israel attacked Lebanon, they said that they wanted 40 kms corridor area which will be free from guerillas and that it was in this context that they attacked Lebanon. But now when they have occupied Gaza Strip, West Coast and Golan Heights and half of Lebanon, they say that they want to completely annihilate the PLO; they want that PLO should quit Lebanon and they want to get rid of them.

We are very sorry about the Arab countries. All the Arab countries are around Israel, but none of them could rally force. They did not help Lebanon and they were silent spectators. They have agreements with Lebanon to go come to their rescue as also with PLO to come to their rescue whenever there was an attack on them, but nobody has come forward. This is a very serious situation. Not only that, the Arab League met at Tunis and they have been discussing all these problems. We had great hopes that those people would come forward with some concrete programme to meet this aggression, but due to their internal

bickerings, they could not have even a joint communique. Such is the sorry state of affairs that they could not come together even to call this Israel's aggression an aggression.

Now, the situation is that even in Israel, the people are against the Israeli Government. The Labour Party in Parliament has opposed all this move of Mr. Begin. They have called for withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon. As Mr. Gupta has said, one lakh people came out in the streets to condemn this aggression. In USA also a sizeable public opinion is opposing all this. At the United Nations USA was the only country which voted with Israel and 127 countries voted against it. As a result of isolation of USA in the United Nations, a sizeable public opinion in USA is being formed that they must stop all what is going on in Lebanon. The European countries have also condemned USA for its soft attitude towards Israel so far as this attack is concerned and specially when it is supplying Israel with colossal arms. Members of the European Community have also asked USA to consider PLO a party to the dispute so that a negotiation can take place. Apart from that in the whole world there is a very strong opinion against the Israeli aggression. In the Socialist countries, in the Arab countries, in the non-aligned countries, everywhere there is a strong opinion against this aggression. Recently, the non-aligned countries had a meeting in Nicocia. Our Foreign Minister was also present there. They have taken a lead in this direction, so much so that they wanted to go to Beirut themselves to see what is happening there. But they were not permitted to go there.



Now that the world opinion is becoming more and more against Israel, we have to see what is the role of India. Right from the beginning we find that India's role has been correct. It has been for the cause of the Palestinians. Mahatama Gandhi also supported the cause of the Palestinians when he said.

"Palestine is for the Palestinians as England is for the English and Franch for the French." Later, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the year 1938 also wrote that "Palestine is essentially Arab and must remain so. Sir, ever since India became free, it has been our policy to support the cause of the Palestinians. It is not our enlightened interest that we are supporting them. There was no question of petro-dollar, there was no question of oil then, it was not we were having our foreign policy imperitives to keep the Arabas happy. It was a cause that we were fighting for. It was a cause that we were promoting because we thought it right. India's foreign policy has always been that of supporting a just cause. Even now India has sent medicines, blankets, doctors, although they have not been permitted to go inside. Only yesterday, the Prime Minister has handed over to the Ambassador of the PLO, a large number of blankets and good quantity of medicines to be sent there. Apart from that a Committee under Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma has been formed in India for the help of the PLO. Sir, our Prime Minister has been very specific and clear in supporting the cause of the Palestinians. I am sorry some people think this is not enough.

Well, India as leader of the non-aligned is already doing its part in the non-aligned

movement. Now, when Prime Minister Indira Gandhi goes to USA to talk to Mr. Reagan, surely it will find a place in her talks and she will give India's point of view.

All of us in India are of one opinion—whether people on that side, or on this side; we are all against Israeli aggression. We all want that Lebanon should be free from foreign troops, we all agree that Palestinians must have a home, and that the sovereignty and integrity of the Lebanese people must be maintained and fully protected. On this nobody in this House has a difference of opinion.

I am sure that when we have an unanimous opinion. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi will certainly play her part while talking to Reagan. She will express the national consensus and the national sentiments; and there is nobody and no other person who can more emphatically and more clearly place India's point of view to Mr. Reagan.

Lastly, I would request our Foreign Minister to play an important role in the non-aligned movement. As we see it, the Arabs have not been able to help the Palestinians, for various reasons which I do not want to go into. And there is aggression against Lebanese people. They are suffering. Their roads are blocked. Food is not moving. There is no water and there is no electricity. People are suffering. In this context, India has a role to play, along with the non-aligned countries. They will raise their voice and create public opinion in the world in such a manner that the aggressor must go back. USA must not support Israel, because Israel is an aggressor; and the whole world is against this aggression.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (नई दिल्ली): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने 9 जुलाई के अपने वक्तव्य के अंत में जो

कुछ कहा, मैं उसे उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ। लेबनान की समस्या को हल करने के क्या किया जाना चाहिए, इसकी ओर संकेत लिए देते हुए प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा:-

"Such a solution must ensure the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon; and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their rights to an independent nation-State."

13.58 hrs.

[SHRI MARINATHA MISRA in the Chair]

इन दोनों बातों पर देश में मतभेद है। आक्रमण आक्रमण है, चाहे वह किसी देश पर हो, दुनिया के किसी भी खंड में हो। इस्राइल के आक्रमण का समर्थन नहीं किया जा सकता। दूसरे, पश्चिम एशिया की समस्या तब तक समुचित रूप से हल नहीं होगी, जब तक फिलस्तीनियों का मानना तय नहीं होगा। कब तक वे बेघर-बार हो कर मारे मारे फिरते रहेंगे? आज भले ही शस्त्रों के बल पर उनको दबा दिया जाए, लेकिन स्वतंत्र राज्य कायम करने की उनकी मांग एक उचित मांग है और आज नहीं तो कल उस मांग को स्वीकार करना होगा।

लेकिन मुझे सरकार से शिकायत है- इस लिए नहीं कि मैं विरोधी दल में हूँ, लेकिन इस लिए कि क्या यह जरूरी था कि प्रधान मंत्री लेबनान के बारे में बयान देने के लिए पार्लियामेंट की बैठक होने तक रुकतीं। इस्राइल ने लेबनान पर हमला शुरू किया 6 जन की 33 दिन बीत गए। 15,000 लोग मार डाले गए, 50,000 घायल कर दिए गए, लाखों बेघर-बार हो गए, ऐसे अत्याचार किए गए, जिन्हें अमरीका के टॉलीवुड पर दिखाने में इस्राइल को भी शर्म आती है। मगर भारत की प्रधान मंत्री नहीं बोली विदेश मंत्री का भी ब्यान नहीं आया। यह ठीक है कि पार्लियामेंट की बैठक शुरू होने के दूसरे ही दिन बयान दिया गया। मगर तब तक लेबनान का विनाश हो चुका था।

जो ब्यान दिया गया है वह भी जल्दबाजी में तैयार किया गया है। शब्दों का चयन ठीक ढंग से नहीं हुआ। मैं नहीं जानता ब्यान का प्रारूप विदेश मंत्रालय में तैयार हुआ था प्रधान मंत्री के सचिवालय में।

आजकल विदेशी मामलों में कभी कभी समानान्तर सड़कों पर पांव चलते दिखाई देते हैं।

प्रधान मंत्री के बयान में कहा गया है:

"Israel's cynical and contemptuous disregard of international opinion, its continuing aggression and its use of military means to seek political objectives provide a very sad presedent for the future."

क्या केवल सैनिक उपायों के अवलम्बन से हमारा विरोध है? क्या इस्रायल के राजनीतिक उद्देश्यों से हमारा मतभेद नहीं है? यह शब्दावली इस बयान में क्यों रखी गई? यह हमारी स्थिति के बारे में गलतफहमी पैदा कर सकती है।

आचार्य भगवान देव (अजमेर): मिस्टर वाजपेयी, अभी जो आप बोल रहे हैं, आप जब विदेश मंत्री थे उस समय आप का क्या रवैया था?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: आप बैठ जाइए।

सभापति महोदय: यह विदेश नीति की चर्चा हो रही है।

आचार्य भगवान देव: उस समय आप ने क्या किया और यहां क्या बोल रहे हैं?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: सभापति महोदय, एक बार मैंने कहा था इसी सदन में कि बोलने के लिए वाणी चाहिए मगर चुप रहने के लिए वाणी और विवेक दोनों चाहिए।

आचार्य भगवान देव: विवेक तो आप स्वयं खो रहे हैं। आप स्वयं आइने में अपना चेहरा देखें।

सभापति महोदय: वाजपेयी जी, आप आगे पढ़ें।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: आप कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से ऐसे ही महान वक्ताओं को बुलाइये।

आचार्य भगवान देव: नहीं, महान वक्ता तो आप ही रह गये हैं इस सदन के अन्दर गये राम जेठमलानी क्या बोले और आप बोल रहे हैं यह देख लीजिये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: जेठमलानी जी ने जो विचार प्रकट किये वह उन के व्यक्तिगत विचार थे।

... (व्यवधान) ...

सभापति महोदय, यह समय मेरे हिस्से में न जोड़ा जाय।

मेरे विचारों की श्रृंखला टूट गई। शायद यही इन का इरादा और उद्देश्य था।

आचार्य भगवान देव: इरादा तो सफ है कि आप अध्यक्ष और उपाध्यक्ष खलकर वाले।

सभापति महोदय: आप उन की ओर ध्यान ही मत दीजिये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: नहीं, सभापति महोदय, इन का काबू में करना आप का काम है। इस तरह टोक टाकी करना हम भी जानते हैं। ... (व्यवधान)

आचार्य भगवान देव: आप क्यों खड़े हो गये बीच में?

सभापति महोदय: क्यों इस तरह को बात करते हैं? उन को बोलने दीजिए।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: इस सदन में व्यवहार करने का एक मर्यादा है।

आचार्य भगवान देव: व्यवहार आप से सीखना पड़ेगा?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: हां, सीखना पड़ेगा।

आचार्य भगवान देव: आप को सीखना पड़ेगा, आप कुछ बोलते हैं, आप को जेठमलानी जी कुछ और बोलते हैं।

सभापति महोदय: क्यों इस तरह करते हैं? बैठ जाइये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: सभापति महोदय, केवल सैनिक उपायों के प्रयोग से हमारा विरोध नहीं है। आखिर, इस्रायल का उद्देश्य क्या है लेबनान पर हमला करने का? लेबनान की एकता खंडित करना, स्वतंत्रता को समाप्त करना, लेबनान में एक कठपुतली सरकार कायम करना। दूसरा उद्देश्य है फिलिस्तीनी मुक्ति मोर्चे का समाप्त करना। हम दोनों में से किसी उद्देश्य के साथ

सहमत नहीं हो सकते। हम आतंकवाद के खिलाफ हैं। निर्दोष, निरीह व्यक्तियों के विरुद्ध हिंसा अपनायी जाय, इस का समर्थक नहीं किया जा सकता। लेकिन इस्रायल के नेता आतंकवादियों पर उंगली उठाएँ, यह बात समझ में नहीं आती। वे स्वयं अहिंसावादी नहीं रहे हैं। इस्रायल की स्थापना के लिये उन्होंने स्वयं आतंकवाद का सहारा लिया था। मैं यह भी मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ कि लन्दन में इस्रायली राजदूत की हत्या कर दी गई, इसलिये बदले की कार्यवाही के लिये यह हमला किया गया। इस हमले के लिये पहले से तैयारी की गई थी, इस बात का माननीय सदस्यों ने उल्लेख किया है। इतना बड़ा हमला बिना पूर्व-तैयारी के नहीं हो सकता। इस्रायल के रक्षा मंत्री ने एक बयान दिया है जिस में उन्होंने कहा: और यह बयान बेरूत में बैठ कर 30 जून को दिया गया। और आज मैंने अखबार में पढ़ा कि यह प्रेस कांफ्रेंस उस होटल में की गई जिसमें आज हमारे लेबनान के राजदूत ठिके हूँ। मैं चाहूँगा विदेश मंत्री इस स्थिति को स्पष्ट करें क्या हराने राजदूत के लिए जान वचाने के लिए इजरायल अधिकृत क्षेत्र में जाना डो गया था? इजरायली डिफेंस मिनिस्टर ने जो कहा, मैं उद्धृत कर रहा हूँ, मैंने समाचार-पत्रों से पढ़ा है:

The Israeli Defence Minister Mr. Ariel Sharon said yesterday we had told Washington of Israel's intentions to invade Lebanon only ten days before the invasion."

यह तो सबूत है, प्रमाण है। लेकिन रीगन साहब का भी एक बयान मेरी नजर से गजर है जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है:

"The U.S. had been just as surprised by the invasion of the Lebanon as everyone else."

हम कि की बात सही मानें कि लेकिन एक बात स्पष्ट है कि इजरायल जो चाहता है और अमेरिक ने लेबनान की समस्या को हल करने के लिये जो बहुसूत्रीय सुझाव रखे हैं, उन दोनों का लक्ष्य एक ही है।



सभापति महोदय, इजरायल अपनी सीमाओं में, एक राष्ट्र के नाते अपना अस्तित्व रखे, इससे किसी को मतभेद नहीं हो सकता है, कम से कम मेरा मतभेद नहीं है। लेकिन यूनाइटेड नेशन्स के रेजोल्यूशन (242) में जो सिक्कोर बार्डर्स सिक्कोर्ड सुरक्षित सीमाओं की बात कही गई है उसकी अभी तक परिभाषा नहीं हुई है। यह सिक्कोर बार्डर्स की बात बड़ी खतरनाक है। गलान हाइट्स पर कब्जा कर लिया गया क्योंकि इजरायल कथित सुरक्षा के लिए गलान हाइट्स की जरूरी है। ईस्ट जेरुसलम का क्या होगा? वेस्ट बैंक गया, गाजा गट्टी गई। इजरायल वाले जूडिया समारिया का आज उल्लेख कर रहे हैं। जब पी एल ओ पर इस बात का दबाव डाला जा रहा है कि वे इजरायल के अस्तित्व को स्वीकार करें, वहां इजरायल पर भी इस बात के लिये दबाव डाला जाना चाहिए कि फिलिस्तीनी समस्या का हल खोजें? इजरायल से यह भी पूछा जाना चाहिए कि उसकी सीमायें कहां हैं? इजरायल की स्थिर सीमायें नहीं हैं, उसकी सीमायें चलायमान हैं, चंचल हैं। इजरायल पार्लमेन्ट में जो कुछ विवाद हुआ है, उसके भवन के ऊपर, वह मैन भी देखा है। नाइल से लेकर यूफ्रेट्स तक इजरायल है। इजरायल के सत्ताधारी नेता कहते हैं कि इजरायल किसी देश का नाम नहीं है। इजरायल एक राष्ट्र नहीं है, बल्कि एक परिकल्पना है, एक विचार है, एक सपना है। लेकिन ऐसा लगता है, यह सपना विश्व शान्ति के लिये खतरा बनने जा रहा है। इजरायल ने जो कुछ किया है उसकी संज्ञा पागलपन के अलावा और कोई नहीं है। मेरे मित्र इन्द्र-जीत गुप्त जी ने इस बात का उल्लेख किया है कि पहले 40 किलोमीटर कारीडोर कायम करने की बात कही गई थी, शत्रु उसे छोड़ दिया गया है और आज समूचे लेबनान को इजरायल निगल चाहता है।

सभापति महोदय, क्या किया जाए, मेरे पास इसका उत्तर नहीं है। यूनाइटेड नेशन्स का सर्वसम्मत प्रस्ताव इजरायल को सीधी राह पर नहीं ला सका और न ला पायेगा। हम इजरायल को यूनाइटेड नेशन्स से निकालने का भी निर्णय कर सकते हैं। उस दिन जब प्राइम मिनिस्टर बेगिन यूनाइटेड नेशन्स जनरल असेम्बली में भाषण करने के लिये गये तो करीब-करीब सारा सदन

खाली पड़ा था—इससे बड़ा अपमान और क्या हो सकता है? लेकिन इजरायल की सत्ताधीशों को इसकी चिन्ता नहीं है। वे एक ही भाषा समझते हैं—बल की भाषा। पिछले कुछ महीनों से दुनिया में जिसकी लाठी उसकी भैंस तेजी से चल रही है। एक बड़ाई फाकलैण्ड आइलैण्ड्स में हुई थी, अंग्रेजों ने सेना का प्रयोग करके उसे दबा दिया। लेकिन एशिया में इस समय बड़ी तनावपूर्ण स्थिति है। ईराक और ईरान आपस में लड़ रहे हैं। पहले ईराक की सेना ईरान के भीतर थी और अब ईरान की सेना ईराक के भीतर है। क्या होगा—मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। अगर अरब आपस में लड़ेंगे तो इजरायल का इकट्ठे होकर कैसे मुकाबला कर सकते हैं? गुट-निरपेक्ष देश इस ईरान-ईराक लड़ाई को खत्म नहीं करा सकते हैं। उधर हिन्द-महासागर में तनाव बढ़ रहा है। महाशक्तियों की स्पर्धा में तेजी आ रही है। अफगानिस्तान अपनी आजादी खो चुका है। प्रधान मंत्री जब सउदी-अरब गई थी, तो उन्होंने कहा था खाड़ी देशों की सुरक्षा और भारत की सुरक्षा, इस भू-खण्ड की सुरक्षा जूड़ी हुई है। पर खतरा साफ दिखाई दे रहा है। अरब और इजरायल युद्ध या लेबनान पर इजरायल के हमले से लड़ाई के तरीकों में भी कुछ परिवर्तन हमें दिखाई देते हैं। मिलिट्री इलेक्ट्रॉनिक्स का जमाना आ गया है। हम एफ-16 पर बहस कर रहे हैं। सीरिया ने काफी मोर्चेबंदी की थी, मगर सीरिया की सारी मिसाइल की मोर्चेबंदी को इजरायल ने विफल कर दिया। यह ठीक है कि ऐसा अमेरिका की बिना मदद के नहीं हो सकता है।

SHRI BIKHU RAM JAIN (Chandni Chowk): Computerised.

SHRI R. L. BHATIA: It was from an organisation.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: आज के तनाव में अराफात का ध्यान छपा है। प्लेस्टाइन को प्राथनायें नहीं चाहिए, उनको हथियार चाहिए। अरब देश हथियार देने को तैयार नहीं हैं। कैरो शिखर के बाद एक ज्वाइंट डेफेंस फोर्स बनाने की बात हुई थी, मगर लेबनान पर हमला हुआ तो सीरिया के अलावा कोई नहीं था। सीरिया ने भी

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

लड़ाई नहीं लड़ी। हवाई-युद्ध में कुछ हाथ दिखाए और बाद में सीरिया ने युद्ध-विराम कर लिया। यह स्थिति दुनिया को कहां ले जाएगी? इस स्थिति में हमारी और इस भू-खण्ड की सुरक्षा का क्या होगा? यह प्रश्न इस लड़ाई से बार-बार मन में उठता है।

सभापति महोदय, फिलहाल पी. एल. ओ. की सैनिक दृष्टि से पराजय हुई है, फिलहाल मैं कह रहा हूँ क्या हम उनकी सैनिक पराजय को कूट-नीतिक विजय में बदल सकते हैं? चाहे अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से क्यों न हो, आज पी. एल. ओ. से बातचीत करने की चर्चा चल पड़ी है। अगर पी. एल. ओ. से कोई बात मनवानी है, तब भी उसे बात करनी पड़ेगी। क्या अमरीका को तैयार किया जा सकता है, पी. एल. ओ. को मान्यता देते के लिये। प्रधानमंत्री अमरीका जा रही हैं, मैं यह मांग नहीं करूंगा कि वे अमरीका की यात्रा रद्द कर दें। अपनी सारी कुशलता उन्हें इस बात में लगानी होगी कि अमरीका को रास्ते पर लाया जाए। मैं नहीं जानता कि अमरीकन रास्ते पर आ सकता है या नहीं आ सकता है। लेकिन जो नए विदेश मंत्री बने हैं, उन्होंने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि जब तक पलेस्टाइन का सवाल हल नहीं होगा, तब तक पश्चिम एशिया का कोई स्थाई समाधान नहीं हो सकता है। मैं विदेश मंत्री से जानना चाहूंगा कि गूट-निरपेक्ष देश इसमें क्या कर सकते हैं? ब्रेज्नेव के रास्ते बन्द है और सामान पहुंच नहीं सकता है लेकिन सुरक्षा परिषद् के सभी सदस्यों के यहां जाने का कदम ठीक कदम है। वाशिंगटन के साथ मास्को का भी दरवाजा खटखटाना चाहिये। मैं मास्को की आलोचना करने की दृष्टि से नहीं कर रहा हूँ, लेकिन मास्को के जो अरब दोस्त हैं, उनको भी थोड़ी सी शिकायत हुई है। नई दिल्ली में पी. एल. ओ. के एम्बेसडर, मि. अबूधा, का इन्टरव्यू मैंने पैट्रिओट में देखा है, उनसे पूछा गया:

"Asked about the Soviet role in the wake of the invasion, he pointed to the initial statements and warnings from the side of the USSR, but expressed surprise at the latest silence on

the part of Moscow. This silence was inexplicable."

लेकिन अब यह कहा जा सकता है कि मास्को चुप नहीं है। आज ही मास्को ने कहा है—अगर अमरीकी सेनायें बेरुत भेजी गईं तो वह विरोध करेगा। सवाल अमरीकी सेनायें भेजने का नहीं है, सवाल लेबनान से इजराइली सेनायें निकालने का है। जब पिछली लड़ाई हुई थी, उस काल उस ने धमकी दी थी, उस का असर हुआ था मैं नहीं जानता आज ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है या ऐसा न होने के कारण क्या है। लेकिन मास्को और वाशिंगटन तथा सुरक्षा परिषद् के अन्य स्थायी सदस्य हैं, उन को इस बात को मानने के लिये तैयार किया जाना चाहिये कि इजराइल जो कर रहा है, वह तीसरे महा-युद्ध की शुरुआत हो सकती है। हर आक्रमण के साथ उस की भूख बढ़ती जा रही है।

मैं जानता हूँ—हमारे कांग्रेस के सदस्य कहेंगे कि जनता सरकार ने क्या किया? जनता सरकार ने इजराइल के बारे में देश की नीति में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं किया। मोरिशस दायान ने जो अपनी आटोबायग्राफी लिखी है उस से इस बात की पुष्टि होती है—जब तक अरब इलाके पर आप का कब्जा कायम है और जब तक शान्ति-सन्ध नहीं होती है, तब तक डिप्लोमैटिक रिलेशन्स कायम करने का सवाल पैदा नहीं होता है।

य नई नीति नहीं है। मैं उस समय भारतीय जन संघ में था। उस समय अरब-इजराइल बार पर हम ने एक रजोल्यूशन पास किया था—30 जून, 1967 को—और उस मैं हम ने कहा था—

"Israel should withdraw its forces from areas it has occupied in recent conflict."

और यह भी कहा था—इजराइल को अरबों के साथ सह्यस्तित्व के आधार पर जीवित रहना पड़ेगा। उसे भूल जाना चाहिये कि वह कोई गोरो का देश है। उसे अपनी एफ्रो-एशियन-पर्सनेलिटी विकसित करने की जरूरत है।

इस लिये जहां तक सिद्धान्त का सवाल है, उस पर मैं नहीं समझता कि देश में कोई मतभेद है, लेकिन इस परिस्थिति में हम क्या करें, इस पर गहराई से विचार करना चाहिये। मेरे पास कोई सभा नहीं जिसे मैं विदेश के सामने रख दूँ।

लेकिन मैं चाहूंगा कि पी. एल. ओ. को सैनिक पराजय को कटनीतिक विजय में बदलने की कोशिश की जाय। लेकिन ईजराइल पर दबाव कैसे डाला जाय ? परिस्थिति और भी बिगड़ सकती है अगर जिस की लाठी उस की भैंस की तरफ दूनिया आगे बढ़ती गई तो इस को हमें रोकना होगा और इस को रोकने का एक ही तरीका है कि हम विश्व के लोकमतन्त्र वक्ता बनाने का प्रयत्न करें और अपने देश को जल्दी से जल्दी मजबूत बनाने की कोशिश करें, क्योंकि मुसीबत आई तो कोई साथ नहीं देगा, हमें अपने आप संकटों पर विजय प्राप्त करनी होगी।

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR SINGH (Banka): Mr. Chairman, this discussion has been a welcome opportunity to all of us to convey to the Palestinians our feeling of oneness with their cause; in their suffering, facing as they do mass massacre and deprivation. In this hour of their trial and crisis they should know, and they know well, that India to a man stands firmly behind the cause of the PLO.

Our links with the Arab world and our categorical support to the Arab cause are rooted in history. It is not based on any necessity or convenience, but is based on principles and values. This has come out very true because today the non-aligned movement is the one forum, which has been most outstanding in its support to the PLO. And fortunately the main thrust to the principled stand has been provided by India itself.

Our esteemed Prime Minister through her public declarations and initiatives through various channels had made it very clear that India is and shall remain consistent and unwavering in its support to the Palestinians and today I feel tempted, Mr. Chairman, to quote not only our Prime Minister, not only Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who laid the foundations of our foreign policy, but the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi himself who, as early as 1920, spoke in denunciation of the Balfour Declaration and clearly stated:

"Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English and France to the French. It

would be wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct. The mandates have no sanctions but of a lost war. Surely, it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews, partly or wholly, as their national home."

An emphatic assertion, prophetic words which are as relevant and valid today as they were long back.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, some sort of a cease-fire exists today, but the cease-fire has not brought an end to the sufferings of the Palestinians who are under seize in Beirut and sweltering under a heat wave, bereft of power and water and food, and face Israeli artillery attack from the hills overlooking the city.

Israel by its massive aggression and invasion has let loose the devil of pre-emptive action as they claim it to be without exhausting the opportunities for reaching settlement and peace in the region. And this aggression and this blatant violation of all international norms of behaviour has completely shattered the image which it tried to project, of a beleaguered small State under the threat of the mighty Arab States. It is behaving like an outlaw, in blatant disregard of international opinion and open defiance of United Nations and all such authorities. Unfortunately, Sir, all this has been possible only with the United States complicity which has openly lauded the objectives of Israeli invasion of clearing out the PLO and eliminating them as a military factor and a political factor. We are happy Mr. Vajpayee also has clarified the stand of his Party on this important issue. We know he is in a difficult predicament he is embarrassed sometimes by some unbridled members of his Party, at other times by an over-enthusiastic Prime Minister of his Government. But even in these circumstances what he has stated to-day has gone to reinforce unanimous national opinion on this issue.

We are of the opinion that their attack and the entire game is to impose a



[Shri Chanda Shekhara Singh]

solution on the Arabs which is satisfactory to the United States strategic consensus, their interests and which the Israel are also to subserve. They have been doing in the past through concerted effort to change the population complexion in the occupied area from genocide and planned settlement and the game here is also to create a situation where the Arabs might be compelled to accept a solution to the liking of the United States and Israel.

Prof. Satyasadhan Chakraborty made a demand that the Prime Minister should cancel her visit to the United States. I do not think the enlightened section of the public opinion in our country would agree to his views. We fully know that the Prime Minister is going there in order to make our stand clear to the United States and President Reagan and the world knows that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is never lacking in guts and determination. We are fully confident that she will put across to President Reagan India's point of view and we are sure that wherever she might go she will keep India's flag flying to our credit.

The Prime Minister's statement reiterates the basic principles of just and lasting solution and the main ingredients are four fold as have been enunciated here:

1. Recognition and restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to an independent, sovereign State.
2. Vacation of all territories occupied by Israel by force.
3. Negotiations with the PLO as the authentic voice of the Palestinian people, and
4. Israel's right to peaceful co-existence.

This policy alone can safeguard peace and stability in the region which has almost sitting on a volcano for such a long period.

At the moment there is a flurry of diplomatic activity going on in Washington and Beirut and Nicosia and other capi-

tals and we are happy that the United States is taking initiative and ucering round the undeniable fact that the solution is possible only by direct talks with the PLO.

The guerrillas unfortunately are feeling the heat both from enemies and some of their friends. The key issue at the moment is to find a solution that would preserve Palestinian honour and dignity. I hope our distinguished Foreign Minister who has been by now recognised as a leading figure in the non-aligned movement would exercise all his diplomatic skill to see that the UN peace keeping force is inducted to play its full role for stability and peace in this region.

A collective Arab response at this movement would have been a positive factor in the situation. Unfortunately, it is conspicuous by its absence. But a spectacular mobilisation of world public opinion has taken place not only in the Muslim countries, not only in the Arab countries, not only in the non-aligned countries but even in the Western countries and even in Israel. The present war has split the U.S. Jews also and many Jew and Israeli soldiers feel betrayed by their own Government. The PLO today is under seige, but it is not broken its morals are high and it is unbending in its principle stand. We are confident that it shall endure, rather gain strength through this ordeal.

Our Prime Minister has said and rightly said that a popular movement, a people's movement cannot be suppressed by use of arms or force. But I would like to conclude not with a quotation from our Prime Minister but from a quotation from a former United States Assistant Secretary of State, Harold Saunders—

"The PLO is the symbol of the identity of a people who are dispersed all over the Middle East. You cannot kill a national movement. You cannot kill a symbol."

The voice of the Palestinians. I am sure, will keep on resounding throughout the region unless a fair and just solution

is achieved, which is possible only through removing mistrust and suspicion and strengthening the basis of co-existence of the Arab and the Israelis in this region.

We fully commend the statement of the Prime Minister and we hope our Foreign Minister would be able to translate the wishes of the Indian people into concrete action with the help of the Palestinians and the besieged PLO.

**श्री रामबिलास पासवान (हाजीपुर) :** सभापति महोदय, प्रधानमंत्री जी ने जो वक्तव्य दिया है और वहां जिस तरीके से बेरूत जल रहा है, जिस तरह से लेबनान पर जुल्म डाला जा रहा है - मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह की जघन्य हत्याओं की मिसाल दूसरी शायद नहीं होगी।

अभी हमारे साथी श्री बाजपेयी, श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्ता आदि सदस्यों ने बतलाया कि जहां तक यू एन ओ का सवाल है, गुट-निरपेक्षता का सवाल है, 90 देशों ने मान्यता प्रदान कर दी है। कई देशों ने अराफत को राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष के रूप में घोषित कर दिया है, लेकिन इन सारी चीजों के बावजूद नतीजा क्या निकल रहा है। नतीजा यह है कि चारों तरफ से वह घिरा हुआ है, उसका खाना वन्द है, पानी वन्द है, लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं, प्यासे मर रहे हैं। इस तरह की स्थिति दरकार है।

अमरीका का जहां तक संबंध है, अमरीका एक तरफ तो अपने दूत पश्चिम एशिया में भेज रहा है और ढिंढोरा पीट रहा है और दूसरी तरफ नवीनतम हथियार सप्लाई कर रहा है। तो सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि हम इसमें क्या कर रहे हैं?

रूस के सम्बंध में हमारे साथियों ने कहा—।

मैं एक हिन्दी बख्शार के एडीटोरियल को कोट करना चाहता हूँ। युद्ध विराम को उसने लिखा है कि नाटक है। उसने लिखा है :

लेबनानी हमले से साँवियत रूस की इज्जत पर भी गहरा धक्का लगा है। फिर-स्तीनी मुक्ति मोर्चे के सब से बड़े संरक्षक होने का दावा रूस अब तक करता रहा है।

सीरिया के साथ तो रूस की बीस बरसों की मैत्री संधि भी थी। फिर भी सीरिया के पिटते हुये जवानों को बचाने के लिए रूस आगे नहीं बढ़ा अफगानिस्तान या पांलेड में फंसे रहने के कारण उसकी चाहे जैसी मजबूरी रही हो लेकिन इसरायल लेबनान युद्ध ने यह सिद्ध कर दिया है कि रूस और अमरीका दोनों महाशक्तियों की रणनीति अपने स्वार्थ की रक्षा में है, न कि विश्व शान्ति में।

अरब मुल्क आपस में बिखरे हुये हैं। उन में से कोई भी जोखिम उठाने की हिम्मत नहीं कर रहा है। इस परिस्थिति में पी. एन. ओ. पी. मारा जा रहा है।

अभी कहा गया है कि इजरायल का टारगेट तीस किलोमीटर इलाके का था। फिर वह चालीस हो गया। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि वह पी एन ओ की समाप्ति पर डटा हुआ है। इजरायल को सभी यहूदी भी सपोर्ट नहीं कर रहे हैं। इजरायल के हजारों लाखों यहूदियों ने भी बेगिन सरकार को युद्धबन्धी के लिए लिखा है, उससे आग्रह किया है, अपील की है लेकिन उसका भी कुछ असर नहीं हुआ है। जब कोई प्रस्ताव यू एन ओ में आता है वह वीटो का प्रयोग कर देता है। पंद्रह हजार से अधिक नागरिकों की इजरायल ने हत्या कर दी है। इजरायल के विरुद्ध निन्दा तक का प्रस्ताव पारित नहीं किया जा सका है। कारण यह है कि अमरीका वहां वाटो का प्रयोग करने के लिए तैयार बैठा है। बातें बहुत होती हैं। लेकिन सीधी सी बात यह है कि वहां एकतरफा हमला चल रहा है। जिस तरफ से कोई आदिवासी बैल्ट होते हैं और उसको उठा कर कोई फेंक दे और कब्जा कर ले उसी तरीके से वहां भी सारा मामला चल रहा है। यहूदियों ने वहां पर कब्जा कर लिया है और पी एन ओ को भगा दिया है। वे भाग रहे हैं, मर कट रहे हैं। अमरीका का सीधा सा प्लान इजरायल के माध्यम से यह है कि पी एन ओ को इतना ध्वस्त कर दो कि उसमें दुबारा हिम्मत ही न रहे कि मुक्ति संग्राम को वह छेड़ सके। उसका इजरायल को उंगली दिखाने का भी इरादा नहीं है।

सब से अहम सवाल यह है कि पी एन ओ की कैसे रक्षा की जाए। मैंने पहले कहा

है कि नव्वे देशों ने पी एल ओ को मान्यता दे दी है। दर्जनों लोगों ने अराफात को राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष भी मान लिया है। इसके बावजूद जो अराफात के बयान निकले हैं उससे लग रहा है कि कहीं न कहीं फिलिस्तीनी मुक्ति मोर्चे का, पी एल ओ का मनोबल टूटता जा रहा है और दूसरी तरफ इजरायल की बर्बरता बढ़ती जा रही है। इसकी परिणति कहाँ होगी? मैं तो समझता हूँ कि इसकी परिणति यही हो सकती है कि तीसरा विश्व युद्ध न हो जाए, तीसरे विश्व युद्ध यह समस्या धारण न कर ले।

जहाँ तक गुट निरपेक्षता की बात है, यह मामला मेरी समझ में तो आया नहीं है आज तक। यू एन ओ का मामला भी आज तक समझ में नहीं आया है। जिस की लाठी उसकी भैंस वाली बात चल रही है। हम लोगों की गुट निरपेक्षता कहीं कमजोरी का दूसरा अर्थ तो नहीं है? हमारी यह गुट निरपेक्षता भी कोई असर नहीं डाल पा रही है।

मैं ने विदेश मंत्रालय की बहस में भाग लेते वक्त पिछली बार यह कहा था कि हमारी नीति वैकल्पिक दलाल, आल्टरनाटिव बोकर के समान नहीं होनी चाहिये। डा. लॉहिया ने कहा था कि हम को वैकल्पिक दलाल नहीं बनना चाहिये। अफगानिस्तान के मामले में हमारी नीति रूस के सामने घुटने टेकने की रही है। इजरायल के मामले में रीगन के सामने हम घुटने टेक रहे हैं। प्रधान मंत्री अमरीका जा रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि भारत की जनता की जो भावनाएं हैं उनको साफ तौर से उनको अमरीकी अधिकारियों के सामने वहाँ जा कर रखना चाहिये। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि रीगन की भावनाओं से वह प्रभावित हो जाएं। वहाँ जा कर उनको कोई रास्ता निकालना चाहिए। रोना पीटना बहुत हो चुका है। वहाँ पी एल ओ बेचार मर रहा है, रो पीट रहा है। भारत सरकार पहल करके कोई रास्ता निकाले। अपने अधिकारी के लिये पी एल ओ संवर्ष कर रहा है। इजरायल का जो धैर्य बन गया है कि पी. एल. ओ. को समाप्त कर दिया जाय उसको बचाने में भारत सरकार कारगर हो सके और अपने स्टैंड को अमरीका में जा कर के प्रेसीडेंट रीगन को समझा सके और

प्रभावित कर सके यही सबसे बड़ी उपलब्धि होगी। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

**श्री गिरधारी लाल अंगेरा (जम्मू):** जनाबेवाला, मैं तमाम हिस्ट्री में नहीं जाना चाहता कि यह हमला कैसे हुआ क्यों कि वह बातें यहाँ कही गयी हैं और हाउस के काफी मेम्बरान ने, श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त से लेकर, सब ने उन आस्पेक्ट्स का जिक्र किया है और बताया कि इजरायल का हमला अमरीका की हिमायत के साथ हो रहा है। अगर अमरीका हिमायत न करे तो यह हमला न हो सकता था और न चल सकता था।

आज सूरत यह है कि जहाँ तक फिलिस्तीनियों का ताल्लुक है फिलिस्तीन उनसे छीना गया जिसकी वजह से वह अपना रॉजिस्ट्रेशन कायम किये हुए हैं। आज फिलिस्तीन के बाद वह जार्डन में गये, वहाँ से निकाले गये। उसके बाद लेबनान में आये ताँ उस पर भी कब्जा किया जा रहा है। न सिर्फ उनके देश को छीना गया बल्कि उनके वजूद को ही खत्म करने की कोशिश की जा रही है और उनके मेजबान को भी खत्म करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। छोटे बच्चों, औरतों बूढ़ों को इस तरह से कत्ल किया जा रहा है, किस्म किस्म के दम उग्र पर गिराए जा रहे हैं, इतनी बेरहमी से कत्ल किया जा रहा है जिसकी मिसाल मिलना मुश्किल है। नाजियाँ ने भी जो मँसाकर किया उसको भी यह सरपास कर गये हैं। जब हम कालिजों में पढ़ते थे और फासिस्ट फॉर्सज जब दुनिया में पैदा हुए तो दुनियों में हल चल मच गई थी। हमारे देश में एक मूवमेंट पैदा हुआ स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहरलाल की सदा-रत में वह लहर चली और नाजवानों में इस कदर जोश था और हलचल मच गई थी और दुनिया में जब जबरदस्त पब्लिक ऑपिनियन फॉर्म हुई तो आखिर में उनको शिकस्त का मुँह देखना पड़ा। आज पब्लिक ओपीनियन को जागृत करने की कोशिश की जा रही है, इस जाहिराना हमले के खिलाफ ज्यूज भी होने लगे हैं, अमरीका के अन्दर भी पब्लिक ओपीनियन असर्ट कर रही है और इजरायल के अन्दर भी इसके खिलाफ आवाज उठी है।

लेकिन यह भी ठीक है, जैसा माननीय पासवान ने कहा 90 देशों ने पी. एल. ओ.



को रिकग्नाइज किया है तो केवल रिकग्नाइज करने से ही काम नहीं चलेगा बल्कि पब्लिक ओपीनियन पैदा करनी चाहिए। नान-एलाइन्ड देशों में हमारा ही एक देश है जिस के प्रधान मंत्री ने, फोरन मिनिस्टर ने और लोगों ने एक दृच्छा स्टैंड लिया है जिस पर मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें कायम रहना चाहिये।

मगर एक सवाल पैदा होता है कि वह ताकत जिसने इजराइल को रागव किया है लेबनान पर हमला करने के लिये वह प्लान क्या यही तक खत्म हो जायेगी? मैं समझता हूँ हर देश, जिसमें हमारा देश भी शामिल है जो उनके इशारे पर नहीं चलता है आज इसी किस्म के खतरे में है। ऐसे देशों के अन्दर और बाहर गड़बड़ पैदा की जा रही है। एक एक करके उन देशों में वह गड़बड़ कर रहे हैं और सबवर्सिव एलीमेंट्स को अपने साथ बुलाते हैं और ऐसे हालात पैदा करते हैं। दुनिया के तमाम आजादी पसन्द लोग, और जो चाहते हैं कि आम लोग तरक्की करें, उस किस्म की ताकतों के लिए आज जो माहौल पैदा हुआ है वह बहुत चिन्ताजनक है। . . . . .

जिसको हमारे फाजिल दोस्त अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी ने कहा है कि बड़ी परेशानकून हालत है, और इसका क्या हल हो सकता है? इसके लिए हम सब को, हमारी गवर्नमेंट को सोचकर कोशिश करनी है।

अमेरिका के संबंध में यह कहना कि वहां न जाएं, मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने वहां जाने का फैसला कर के बड़ी शक्लमन्दी की बात की है। मैं इसे सपोर्ट करता हूँ। मुझे खुशी है कि हमारे फार्मर फारेन मिनिस्टर श्री वाजपेयी जी ने कहा कि वहां जाकर हमको एक बात साफ-साफ कहनी चाहिए और कोशिश करनी चाहिए, वहां हम कामयाब हों या न हों, हमको वहां एसर्ट करना चाहिए कि फिलीस्तीनियों के राइट्स को कबूल किया जाए, उनको मान्यता दी जाए। उनके साथ बात की जाए, उनके साथ फैसला तभी हो सकता है जब वह मानेंगे, नहीं मानेंगे तो कैसे फैसला होगा? इसके लिए एक बात साफ

तौर पर तय कर के हमें कोशिश करनी है, उस बात को इस वक्त कहें पब्लिक के सामने, या वहां से आने के बाद कहें, मगर इस अमन के रास्ते पर हमको चलना होगा और उसके लिए हमें कोशिश करनी होगी। अगर यह नहीं होगा तो पूरी दुनिया के अमन को खतरा है। जिस अमन शांति के लिए हम कोशिश करते हैं, जिसके लिए नान-एलाइन्मेंट की आर्गेनाइजेशन दनी, हम चाहते हैं कि दुनिया में जंग न हो, जिस जंग को योरूप वालों ने धकेला, जोर लगाया अमेरिका की कोशिशों के बावजूद यूरोप के लोगों ने जंग का वातावरण नहीं बनने दिया। अब सेंट्रल एशिया में आकर उसका अखाड़ा बना रहे हैं। उसमें सीरिया ने पहले कोशिश की रजिस्ट करने की मगर आखिर में वह भी चुप होगया। अरब देश पी.एल.ओ. के साथ हमदर्दी तो रखते हैं, वहां का आवाज और वहां की गवर्नमेंट्स भी चाहती है, कि पी.एल.ओ. कामयाब हो जितना कुछ वह कर सकते हैं। वह उन्होंने किया नहीं। जितना प्रेशर यू.एस.ए. पर वह ला सकते हैं, वह लाए नहीं हैं।

यह बात हमारे सामने है, दुनिया के अमन के लिए खतरा है, अगर तीसरा जंग आज होगा तो बड़ा खतरनाक होगा, तमाम दुनिया के लिए खराब होगा। इससे दुनिया का ग्लोब मैल्ट हो सकता है। अगर यह न्यूक्लीयर वार हो गई तो बहुत खतरनाक होगी।

मैं एक बात यह दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि श्री मूलक राज आनन्द बड़े भारी राइटर हैं, किसी पार्टी के साथ उनका ताल्लुक नहीं है, उनका कहना है कि जितने हमारे पास हाइड्रोजन बम हैं, अगर उसका दसवां हिस्सा भी एक्सप्लोड हो जाए तो दुनिया का, ग्लोब का क्रैस्ट मैल्ट हो जाएगा और कई हजार मिलियन इंसान उसको दौबारा ठीक करने में लगेंगे।

मैं समझता हूँ कि आज इंसानियत को खतरा है, दुनिया के लोग खतरे में हैं, दुनिया की एग्जीस्टेंस को खतरा है, ग्लोब की एग्जिस्टेंस को खतरा है।

यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है हमारी गवर्नमेंट, प्राइम मिनिस्टर और फारेन मिनिस्टर

## [श्री गिरधारी लाल डोगरा]

जितनी कोशिश कर सकते हैं, वह कर रहे हैं, हमको और ज्यादा कोशिश करनी चाहिए। दुनिया के लोगों, दुनिया की गवर्नमेंटों, आर्गेनाइजेशन्स और आदाम, जो भी अमन-पसन्द है, उनके जरिए हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए। पी.एल.ओ. का काज सिर्फ पी.एल.ओ. का काज ही नहीं है, बल्कि दुनिया के आदाम का काज है। दुनिया के उन लोगों का काज है जिनको इम्पीरियलिस्ट्स हड़प करना चाहते हैं और नीचा दिखाना चाहते हैं। जिनको अपने डिजाइन के लिए कूचलना चाहते हैं, उनका शान्ति चाहने वालों या और आजादी चाहने वालों का सिम्बल पी.एल.ओ. है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको अपनी प्राइम मिनिस्टर को, और गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया के स्टैंड को, उसको सपोर्ट ही नहीं करना चाहिए, बल्कि दुनिया की तमाम लिबरेशन फोरसेज से अपील करनी चाहिए, जितनी लिबरटियों के लिए स्टैंड करने वाली फोर्सेज हैं, सब को एक होकर आवाज उठानी चाहिए। आज यू.एस.ए. के प्रेशर लाने से ही जंग बन्द हो सकती है दूसरा और कोई रास्ता नहीं है। यू.एस.ए. पर प्रेशर नहीं लाया गया है, यह बात साफ होनी चाहिए। हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर, या इस हाउस के जितने हमारे सभी पार्टियों के लोग हैं, सब को एकजमा होकर कहना चाहिए। हम जब तक इस बात का जोर नहीं देंगे, काम नहीं चलेगा। इस बात को साफ किया जाना चाहिए। यह एंटी यू.एस.ए. मूव नहीं है, वहाँ के लोग जब तक जंग नहीं चाहेंगे, लड़ाई नहीं हो सकती। अगर जंग हो गई तो न वह बचेंगे, न यह एशिया बचेंगे, न हम लोग बचेंगे, न सोरूप व सोवियत यूनियन बचेंगे। इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि तमाम जितनी कोशिशें हो सकती हैं, वह सब इस जंग को खत्म करने के लिए की जाएँ, हमारी मॉरल फोर्सेज है या पॉलिटिकल फोर्सेज है, सब को उसके लिए यूटिलाइज किया जाए ताकि यह बन्द हो सके।

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA (Bombay South): The day of 6th June has been written in the annals of the world

as the darkest day. The clouds of depressing darkness since then have been looming large over the horizons of West Asia, over the skies of West Asia.

The aggression of Israel, the massive attack, the blitzkrieg by the Israel panzers, the attack by tanks and Air Force has left behind a stench of death and destruction and a rain of death and destruction has been let loose on Lebanon.

Genocide has been committed on the civilian population. Tortures have been inflicted on PLO forces. Israel has been so much arrogant that they have refused to extend the status of prisoners-of-war to the Palestinian prisoners. This is in complete violation of the Geneva Convention.

The number of deaths is also so much staggering—the number of destruction of the civil population. Thousands have been killed. Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee has said that more than 15,000 people have already been killed. Many times that number have been maimed by bombs. Entire city blocks have been reduced to rubble and one million people have been rendered homeless.

It appears that Israel is exploiting the contentious politics prevailing in Lebanon. Unfortunately Lebanon, politically and socially, is a fragmented society. The Maronites and the Muslim population are divided and this has given ample scope to Israeli forces to play havoc in that situation on the land of Lebanon.

The way in which the whole development has taken place is really horrible and startling. It appears that Israeli has been preparing for this day since long. Since the last many years they have been toying with this idea to annex and commit aggression on this part of the land of Lebanon on one pretext or the other. In 1954 no less a person than Moshe Dayan observed:

"The only thing that is necessary is to find an officer, even just a major. We should either win his heart or buy him with money, to make him agree to declare himself the Savior of the Maronite population. Then the Israeli

Army will enter Lebanon, will occupy necessary territory and create a Christian regime which will ally itself with Israel. The territory from the Litani southward will be totally annexed by Israel and everything will be all right."

This observation of Moshe Dayan in 1954 gives us the background that the rulers of Israel have been toying with this horrible idea since 1954 and the present aggression is nothing but the extension of that idea. They have implemented that horrible idea in practice and have ultimately created havoc in Lebanon. They have brought about death and destruction in that part of West Asia but it is not going to be confined to that region only.

It may be a world conflagration tomorrow. From that viewpoint, the situation is fraught with greatest danger and we cannot connive at it. Lebanon is a country of 10,000 square miles with a population of three million Christians and Muslims. Now, Sir, I am not going into the Lebanese constitutional provisions because of which this situation might have arisen.

But, Sir, the Israel's objectives are very obvious—

(1) they want to exterminate the Palestinians in their strongholds;

(2) to drive Syrian army out of Lebanon;

(3) to establish Israeli-Christian-Phalengist enclave in Southern Lebanon and

(4) to dominate the future Government in Lebanon.

So, these are the objectives which are very obvious. They should not remain hidden from the world.

Now, Sir, other factors that we witness to-day are really very much disturbing. What has happened to the Arab World? Sir, our country has always advocated the

cause of Arab countries and we have stood like a rock behind them. We have, from the days of our struggle for freedom, espoused the cause of the Arabs and our first Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, was very much vociferous in extending the fullest possible support to the cause of Arabs as stated here by my friend, Shri Bhatia. He quoted the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who also supported the cause of Palestinians.

Now, Sir, this is our view point. We have been consistent in supporting the cause of the Arab World. Unfortunately, Sir, we are witnessing a spectacle, a scenario, which is very depressing and that scenario is that Arab World is just sitting cross-fingered and they are the silent spectators of what is going on in Lebanon. It appears that Israelis have found this moment as the best and most opportune moment as they know the situation in the Arab World. Iran and Iraq have got their own problems; Syria has got its own problems. Then, Sir, Saudi Arabian and Gulf States are probably very much afraid that Khomeni type of revolution may take place there. Egypt, likewise is involved in its own problems.

Another factor is that petro-dollars also are playing havoc in that region. Nobody wants to be on the wrong side of the U.S.A. All these factors are playing their part and that is how every advantage or benefit is going to the aggressor and all those who are the victims are left alone to the mercy of the aggressor. The brave people of Palestine, the P.L.O. forces—they are the forces to reckon with are the revolutionaries. Those revolutionaries are fighting valiantly for their freedom. After all, what do they want? The Palestinians want inalienable liberty right to life and their homeland. It is their birth right which nobody can deny to them. From this viewpoint, it is a moot point as to why the world is sitting silent. The Arabs are not running to their rescue; nor the other powers are running to their rescue. Our non-aligned countries are trying their level best to raise their



[Shri Ratansinh Rajda]

voice in support of the cause of the Palestinians. Our Foreign Minister has been consistent and he must be congratulated for playing his part, playing a leading role, to see the efforts of Third-World get a momentum to render all help to the Palestinian's cause.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Conclude now.

SHRI RATARSINH RAJDA: Sir, I have just begun.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is simply impossible to go through this List.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA: Very well, Sir. It appears that our voice is also feeble this time. We are of course, consistent in supporting the cause of Palestinians. Why have we not raised the voice as Pandit Nehru did when the Dutch committed the aggression on Indonesia in 1947-48? At that time, the entire world had to hear our voice. I know thereafter when there was an aggression on Suez Canal, at that time too, India raised its voice voiceferously.

In the comity of nations that voice was respected. Now I do not want to minimise the efforts that are being carried on now by the Foreign Minister and our Prime Minister. Prof. Satya-sadhan Chakraborty, a good friend of mine, suggested that Prime Minister should cancel her visit to the USA. Now, Sir, in the international relations, mere cancellation of such visits alone will lead us nowhere. I think on the contrary if Mrs. Gandhi goes to the USA, she can stare into the eyes of the US President and tell him some home-truths. I think Mrs. Gandhi is the personality who can do that and if she does that, then the entire world would thank her for bringing about sanity in U.S. Administration. (Interruptions). My friends here may not like my generosity. But Sir, the fact is this. In our history today, these are critical times. And I do feel that Mrs. Gandhi can play a very important role by supporting solidly the Palestinian cause; I am sure she will be able to bring

about some sanity on the part of the US Administration. The key to the solution of containing Israel lies in the hands of the USA.

15.00 hrs.

I am very sorry for the stand taken by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union had guaranteed the Palestinians that they would provide impenetrable shield to them if aggression was committed by Israel on PLO forces. Unfortunately the Soviet Union today is a silent spectator to what is going on. It may be that they have overstretched themselves in Afghanistan and in Poland and in other parts of the world. They are not running to the rescue of the Palestinian forces. With these words I would request the Foreign Minister to see that we give every support and help to the Palestinian cause. What is needed to be done today is this: First of all, we must bring about cessation of hostilities because that is the need of the hour. Secondly, we will have to force Israel to withdraw its military forthwith beyond the internationally recognised boundaries of Lebanon. Thirdly we will have to see that the Resolutions of the Security Council Nos. 508 and 509 are implemented immediately. Lastly proper negotiations for a comprehensive, just, and lasting solution should be started forthwith.

If we bring about a situation in which all these four conditions are fulfilled, I think, some amicable solution could be found out and then the entire world would heave a sigh of relief.

Sir, I have done.

15.04 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair].

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We shall have to complete this discussion by about 3.30. Three are from the Opposition. One or two are there from the ruling party. I would request all hon. Members to be very brief. Whatever has got to be told has already been told. I want to call all hon. Members who have given their names. So, I request you to reduce your time to 5 minutes. At 6 O'Clock the Hon. Minister will reply.

**श्री जयपाल सिंह कश्यप (अंबला) :**  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, ब्रिटन की राजनीतिक संतान, जिसका अमरीका ने पालन-पोषण किया, वह इजराइल आज विश्व शांति के लिए सबसे बड़ा खतरा बन गया है। लेबनान फिलिस्तीनी लोगों के ऊपर जो आक्रमण करने का और उनको बर्बाद व नष्ट करने का बीड़ा इजराइल ने उठाया है, वह निन्दनीय है और हम सब की हमदर्दी फिलिस्तीनियों के प्रति है। इस समय यह युद्ध और जो इजरायल का कदम है, वह विश्व के लिए सबसे बड़ा खतरा बन गया है और यू. एन. ओ. व संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के लिए दांव पर लगा दिया है। अगर यू. एन. ओ. ने वह प्रस्ताव पास न किया होता, जिसका समर्थन 127 देशों ने किया, केवल अमरीका और इजरायल जिसके विरोध में रहे हैं। यदि वह प्रस्ताव न हुआ होता तो शायद संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ का महत्व नहीं रहता। लेकिन उसकी सारी प्रक्रिया को अमरीका ने अपने वीटो का इस्तेमाल कर के सुरक्षा परिषद् में सारे काम को जिस तरह से पंगू बना दिया है, उससे आज अमरीका और इजरायल एक तरह से दुनिया में अपनी भावनाओं में अकेला पड़ गया है। आज दुनिया का जनमत एक और है और अमरीका व इजराइल एक और हैं। अमरीका का यह कदम संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के अस्तित्व को खतरे में डाल रहा है, विश्व को खतरे में डाल रहा है और तीसरे विश्व युद्ध की संभावना भी पैदा कर रहा है। हगको बड़े कड़े शब्दों में इसकी निन्दा करनी चाहिए। संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ ने जिस तरह का प्रयास किया है, उसके आधार पर हमें राजनीतिक, आर्थिक और सैनिक नाकेबन्दी हम को इजराइल से टक्कर लेने के लिए, उसके मनसूबों का दमन करने के लिए करनी चाहिए और भारत को उसमें पहल करनी चाहिए। हमको उसमें सक्रिय हिस्सा लेना चाहिए, ताकि हम विश्व युद्ध को बचा सकें। हमारा दृष्टिकोण है कि इजराइल इतना बड़ा शक्तिशाली देश नहीं है, लेकिन जिस तरह से वह फिलिस्तीनियों के पी. एल. ओ. को नष्ट करना चाहता है। यू. एन. ओ. के अन्दर अमरीका के डैलीगेट, प्रतिनिधि ने वह कहा कि हमारा उद्देश्य तो फिलिस्तीनी मुक्ति-मोर्चे का उन्मूलन करना है, उसको

सूनाप्त करना है। इससे साफ है कि हमें विश्व जनमत को तैयार करके इस तरह का प्रभाव डालना चाहिए कि इजराइल के बढ़ते हुए कदमों को हम किसी तरह से रोक सकें और मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी के इस कथन से पूर्णतया सहमत हूँ कि किसी की शक्ति से कुछ दिनों के लिए, किसी की फौजों से थोड़े दिनों के लिए, दबाव डाला जा सकता है, लेकिन वहाँ के लोगों में आजादी की, स्वतन्त्रता की, भावना है, उनमें आजाद रहने की मनोवृत्ति है, जिसका कि दमन नहीं किया जा सकता है। इजराइल भी अपनी शक्ति सेना के सहारे, चाहे अमरीका कितनी बड़ी शक्ति लगा दे, लेकिन लेबनान और फिलिस्तीनी की स्वतन्त्रता पर बहुत लम्बे अर्से से आक्रमण करके उसको नष्ट करना चाहता है, वह नहीं कर सकता है। अंत में जीत फिलिस्तीनियों की होगी। दुनिया का जनमत उन के साथ है।

इतना कहते हुए मैं इजराइल की निन्दा करता हूँ। अंत में एक ही शब्द कहते हुए कि हमको एक राय होकर एक प्रस्ताव पास करना चाहिए और हम लोगों को एक राय होकर इसकी निन्दा करनी चाहिए। फिलिस्तीनियों के लिए हम लोग जितनी भी सहायता कर सकते हैं, वह हमें करनी चाहिए। हमारे देश की जनता को और सरकार को एक हो कर उनकी सहायता करनी चाहिए।

**श्री वृद्ध चन्द्र जैन (बाडमेर) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने जो वक्तव्य दिया है, उस का समर्थन करते हुए मैं अपने विचार सदन के समक्ष रखना चाहता हूँ।

आज पलेस्टीनियन्स के साथ अन्याय और जुल्म हो रहा है और उस के लिए अधिकांश देशों की सहानुभूति होते हुए भी, जो मदद दे करना चाहते हैं नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। पलेस्टीनियन्स की आज यह स्थिति हो गई है कि बेरूत में उन को इजरायली फौजों ने घेरे में डाल दिया है और सभी की नजरें आज अमेरिकी की तरफ लगी हुई हैं कि वह इस मामले में कुछ करे। अराफत भी अमेरिका से अपील करते हैं और अभी जितने भी वक्ता यहाँ पर बोले हैं, वे भी यही अपील कर रहे हैं कि हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जो यूनाइटेड

[श्री वृद्ध चन्द्र जैन]

स्टेट्स आफ अमेरिका जा रही है, वे वहां पर जा कर अमेरिका पर अपना असर डालें और अपना प्रभाव डाल कर इस समस्या को हल करें। पी. एल. ओ. के लीडर, मि. अराफत के इस संबंध में कुछ विचार आए हैं। उन्होंने यह कहा है :

"I do not need your prayers, but I need your swords." In a message marking Id, Mr. Arafat reminded the Arabs of the duty of religion, of nationalism, of neighbours and of Islam. Mr. Arafat denounced the failure of the Arab nations to come to the aid of the Palestinians saying: "Where are its men, its arms, its wealth and its influence? Where is your pride and determination?"

ये शब्द उन्होंने कहे हैं और अरब देशों को जो इस में मदद करनी चाहिए, वे नहीं कर पा रहे हैं और इस का मुख्य कारण यह है कि उन में खूद में एकता नहीं है। उधर सेक्यूरिटी कौंसिल और जनरल एसेम्बली में हम ने प्रस्ताव पास किया। स्क्यूरिटी कौंसिल में जब प्रस्ताव पर वोटो हो गया, तो जनरल एसेम्बली में वह प्रस्ताव पास किया गया परन्तु उस प्रस्ताव की भी कोई कद्र नहीं हो रही है। स्थिति यह हो रही है कि इस प्रकार जो जूलम करते हैं जैसे साउथ अफ्रीका से नागिबिया के मामले में जूलम कर रहा है, अन्याय कर रहा है और वह जनरल एसेम्बली और सेक्यूरिटी कौंसिल और यू. एन. ओ., किसी का भी सम्मान नहीं कर रहा है, उसी प्रकार से इजराइल भी यू. एन. ओ. का सम्मान नहीं कर रहा है और अमेरिका वह इजराइल की पूरी तरह से सपोर्ट कर रहा है। इसलिए अवश्य ही यह जो स्टेटमेंट दिया गया है, इस में कमी है क्योंकि अमेरिका के बारे में कुछ भी शब्द नहीं कहे गये परन्तु मैं यह समझता हूँ कि इस समय यह कहना उचित नहीं है। जबकि प्रधान मंत्री जी वहां दौरे पर जा रही हैं, वे अपने स्ट्रांग विचार वहां पर रखेंगी। जब हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का युद्ध हुआ था और बंगला देश बना था, उस समय भी हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री वहां गई थीं और

अमेरिका में स्ट्रांग वर्ड्स में उन्होंने कहा था। इसी प्रकार से अब की बार भी हमारी प्रधान मंत्री स्ट्रांग वर्ड्स में इस के बारे में कहेंगी और प्रेशर डालेंगी और प्रेशर डाल कर जो लेबनान पर अनधिकृत आक्रमण है, जो नग्न आक्रमण है, उस आक्रमण के लिए इजरायल के लिए ऐसी स्थिति पैदा कर देंगी, जिससे इजरायल लेबनान से चला जाए और पलेस्टीनियन्स जो हैं, वे लेबनान में रहें। यह स्थिति जो है, इस पर सही तौर पर निर्णय तभी होगा, जबकि पलेस्टीनियन्स लेबनान में ही रहें। आज अगर कोई इस प्रकार का समझौता होता है, जिस में पलेस्टीनियन्स को लेबनान से जाना पड़े, तो वह एक उचित समझौता नहीं होगा। यह एक तरह की बुरी हार होगी और एक भयंकर हार होगी। इसलिए आज यह बहुत ही आवश्यक है कि जो पलेस्टीनियन्स हैं, उन को वहीं पर रहने देना चाहिए। इजराइल ने अनधिकृत आक्रमण किया है, उसको वहां से हटना चाहिए। इस के लिए प्रयास करने की आवश्यकता है और इस में नान-एलाइंड कन्ट्रीज महत्वपूर्ण रोल प्ले कर सकती हैं और वे महत्वपूर्ण रोल प्ले भी कर रही हैं।

हमारे देश के विदेश मंत्री ने इस में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा की है और वे अब भी अदा कर रहे हैं। हमें इस बात का गर्व है कि हम लगातार अरब कन्ट्रीज का साथ दे रहे हैं और हमारे साथ देने से उनकी शक्ति बड़ी है। श्री अरबफ़ब का इस से बहुत बल मिला है और शक्ति प्राप्त हुई है। हमें विश्वास है कि इसका परिणाम निकलेगा और फिलिस्तीनियों का अरब राज्य कायम होगा।

इसके साथ ही फिलिस्तीनियों को भी यह मानना पड़ेगा कि इजराइल एक अलग स्टेट है। ये दोनों ऐसे प्रश्न हैं जिन से शांति कायम हो सकती है। अगर यह समस्या सलभ जाती है तो एशिया में शांति कायम हो सकती है।

हमें यह भी देखना है और हम यह चाहते हैं कि सेक्यूरिटी कौंसिल और



यू. एन. ओ. का बह हाल न हो जा कि लोग आफ नेशंस का हुआ था। अगर ऐसा होता तो दुनिया में शांति के लिए कोई भी विकल्प नहीं रहेगा। यही एक, ऐसी आरगनाइजेशन संसार में है जो कि निर्णय कर सकती है और मामलों को सुलझा सकती है। यही हमारे लिये और विश्व के लिए एक सहारा है। इसलिए हम यह जरूर कोशिश करें कि यू. एन. ओ. मजबूत हो और यू. एन. ओ. के फैसलों का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन हो। अगर उसके फैसलों का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन होगा तो शांति कायम होगी और यह हमारे देश और दुनिया के लिए बहुत उचित होगा।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं इस चर्चा का स्वागत करता हूँ।

SHR CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh): We are discussing Israeli aggression on Lebanon. This time, the entire Lebanon is in flames, and one of the most beautiful cities of the world, viz. Beirut is partially destroyed.

It is a great tragedy of the 20th Century that the Israeli aggressors have made the entire world helpless. To-day, the United Nations is helpless, the non-aligned movement is helpless and all those big Powers who have sympathy and who support the cause of PLO are helpless. This is the biggest tragedy, and this is posing a great question before the world community: "In such a situation, what will the world do?" The world must find an answer to it. Otherwise, "Might is right" will be the law which will prevail in the whole world.

As Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee said, perhaps there does not seem to be a ready solution. One is baffled with the present international situation. I feel that there is no way except to mobilize and consolidate world public opinion, and condemn and isolate this kind of forces. Ultimately, world public opinion will win. No power on earth which dares to defy world public opinion and act against the counsels of humanity will survive for a long time. May be, to-day Israeli ag-

gressors do not see light, and they are not able to understand the wisdom behind such counsels. But they must remember that some years back, they were the wanderers all over the world. To-day, they want to make PLO to have the same fate. I am glad that at least a section of the Israeli people have started realizing it; and for the first time on the Israeli soil, a voice for peace, a voice against aggression is raising itself. It is one welcome feature. I do not know. The Foreign Minister will perhaps tell us what were the results of the Non-aligned Bureau's last meeting which he rushed to attend and very rightly. On this point, I would like to say that the Government of India has done its moral duty, humanitarian duty, international duty; whatever was possible in the most difficult situation has been done; and the Government of India has flown the flag for peace, flag against anti-imperialist policy, flag against any naked aggression committed anywhere in the world; and this has been appreciated and I am glad that at least PLO people have words of praise for the Government of India's stand; and we feel a sense of pride; and I am glad that Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee also said that we are one on this issue in condemning the Israeli aggression. I would like to know from the Foreign Minister whether they have really said anything against the real culprit. Does the whole world not know that it is the US imperialism which has conspired, which has encouraged it, which is supporting the Israeli aggressors with all its mighty weapons, the most modern weapons; and the conspiracy was hatched a few weeks back in New York and in Washington before Israel started their aggression? What about that? Are we going to say, expel Israel, ban Israel, isolate Israel? What are we going to say about the US imperialist power which is today holding the real imperialist forces in the whole world? Are we going to say anything about it or not? I can understand that sometimes due to diplomatic relations you do not have to name anybody. Sometimes may be the individual country may not name it because of certain reasons, but collectively now this is the time at least I would expect

[Shri Chandrajit Yadav]

that our Government will take initiative in the non-aligned movement and we must tell the US administration about it. I am not blaming the United States people. They have shown their wisdom at the time of US aggression on Vietnam. Actually, the young people from the United States of America have rebelled, resented; they raised their voice. Almost more than 8,00,000 people, a million people demonstrated on the soil of America against the US policy of armament. When the people all over the world are raising their voice, peace loving people, it is time that our Government should take initiative and should name the United States of America that its administration is heading towards that policy, it is taking us towards a third world war. I would blame clearly and state powerfully that it is the United States of America which is responsible for this kind of thing. If the third world war will take place unfortunately may be that the human civilization may be finished; may be there will be no human life on the earth, because of the kind of weapons which are now being manufactured and are in operation. But the entire responsibility for his disastrous policy, imperialist policy is that of the United States of America; and this is the time that we must tell them what are the main issues.

I think the world public opinion should assert itself that the Palestinian people must have a homeland. Any solution cannot work unless these people are given their own State, their own homeland; and for this, there should be no compromise. Our Prime Minister did say yesterday only that the Government of India supports, the Government of India feels that the Palestinian people must have their State; must have a place for themselves because they must live like sovereign State; and this is where I think the non-aligned countries have to take a clear stand. I think the Soviet Union and

other socialist countries will give a very serious thought to it. I can understand that the Soviet Union perhaps may be avoiding the risk of the third world war; may be disaster will take place if also they also send their army. I know that sending of weapons will not work there, because, the experience of last wars had shown that many modern weapons sent by the Soviet Union fell into the hands of Israeli aggressors in different parts there. They do not want to expose them. They have a reason to do that and they do not like to send their army at the moment. But in spite of all these things something has to be done and I think this is the time, the socialist world, the non-aligned countries, they must together take a stand that no compromise will be acceptable unless the Palestinians are given their homeland. This is the most important thing.

Another thing I want to say. After this conference and these meetings the Government of India should not keep quiet. We hope that the Prime Minister will usefully and gainfully utilise her visit to the United States of America. I would also not like her to cancel her visit because it will be unwise on the part of the Prime Minister of a country to cancel her visit; but rather she should talk very frankly with Mr. Reagan, that every time when they give their arms, they say that "we are giving them for defensive purposes. We are giving for the defence of the countries are receiving arms". Every time American arms have been misused they have been used for aggression. This has happened when they supplied arms to Pakistan. This is happening whenever they gave most modern computerised military, arms to Israelis which are being used today and they are saying "We did not give Israelis these arms to use against the Lebanese and other people. We gave them for self-defence." They always say this when their arms are used for aggression, and they have to be told frankly in a friendly way that they must change their policy because their policy of supplying the latest American arms is responsible for this kind of thing.

One small thing I would like to say. My friend Mr. Faleiro, I know perhaps he did not mean that, perhaps it was a serious lapse on his part when he said that, because some of them are—he is not one of these who use words very carelessly, some of them are in the habit of bracketing the super powers and everytime saying 'Soviet Union and America'. He said that in the Lebanon war and Israeli aggression, both the super powers, the Soviet Union and America are testing their weapons; perhaps this is a testing ground for their arms. This is an unfortunate remark. I hope he is not going to advise our Government, that our Government should send back our MIGs and Soviet equipment and everything to Soviet Union, because in case Pakistan attacks, or unfortunately if anything happens—I am not saying that Pakistan attacks—if any war takes place, at that time he will say that the Soviet arms and other arms are being tested in India in this war. It is an unfortunate remark. I hope that he did not mean it.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: I am afraid, sir,—I may give a personal explanation—my friend has not listened properly to what I have said. I have not said that the super powers are testing them. But I have said that as a matter of fact it so happens that weapons from both the sides are being used there and the ultimate fact is that it become a testing ground.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: Exactly. That what I said. That is what I explained. After your explanation also I confirm my view.

With these words I would like conclude, that the Foreign Minister—I am glad that when our Permanent representative at New York was really helpless what to do, the Arab countries themselves were not able to make up their mind, everything was going on, at that time he sent an urgent message to our representative; that "whatever comes, the only thing is that you must stand by the P.L.O. whatever the PLO says you have to stand by that". That was the message sent to them, and I think that

the message really symbolises the expressions, the desire and the support of the Indian people.

With these words, I hope that the world opinion will ultimately prevail, and Israeli aggressors will have to vacate. I suggest that if the Foreign Minister feels it fit and if the House feels it fit, we may pass a unanimous resolution in this House that Israelis must withdraw and the PLO, the Palestinian people must get their homeland. Unless this is done there should be no compromise.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The discussion will continue after 6 p.m. Mr. Chitta Basu and Shri Ram Singh Yadav will speak and then the Minister will reply. Now Papers to be laid on the Table.

15.30 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE—contd.

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER CUSTOMS ACT

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA): I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of Notification Nos. 184/82-Customs and 185/82-Customs (Hindi and English versions) published in Gazette of India dated the 22nd July, 1982 together with an explanatory memorandum regarding reduction of customs duty on iron or steel blanks to forty per cent ad valorem when imported for the manufacture of industrial gas cylinders of given specifications, under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962.

15.31 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. RELEASE OF A FURTHER INSTALMENT OF ADDITIONAL DEARNESS ALLOWANCE TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES AND RELIEF TO PENSIONERS AND FAMILY PENSIONERS

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUHERJEE): Mr. Speaker, Sir. under the existing scheme of Dearness Allowance for Central Government employees, sanction of an instalment of Dearness Allowance is considered after every 8