

16 20 hrs

\*DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1978-79  
—contd.

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House will now take up Discussion and Voting on Demand No. 31 relating to the Ministry of External Affairs, for which five hours have been allotted.

Motion moved:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue

Account and Capital Account shown in the fourth column of the Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidate Fund of India to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1979, in respect of the head of demand entered in the second column thereof against Demand No. 31 relating to the Ministry of External Affairs.

*Demand for Grant, 1978-79 in respect of the Ministry of External Affairs submitted to the vote of Lok Sabha.*

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on account voted by the House on 16-3-1978		Amount of Demand for Grant submitted to the vote of the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
1	2	3	4	5	6

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

31	Ministry of External Affairs	18,92,88,000	2,46,38,000	94,64,40,000	12,31,89,000
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\*Moved with the recommendation for the President.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Banatwalla, Shri Jethmalani, Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena and Shri Sudheeren have tabled Cut Motions to the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of External Affairs. I would like to know if they are present in the House and desire to move their Cut Motions.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Ponnam): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1."

[Increasing number of restrictions being imposed upon persons going abroad, especially to Middle

East countries, for employment and the consequent hardships faced by them. (1)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for a Regional Passport Office in District Malappuram (Kerala). (7)]

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Bombay North-West): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to denounce the Palestinian raid on Israeli territory and the massacre of innocent Israeli citizens including children on March 12 this year (2)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to stop continued interference by Officers of the Ministry with Indian citizens going abroad in search of employment to the total detriment of individual and the country alike. (3)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to sign and ratify the 1966 United Nations Human Rights Covenants known as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights together with the Optional Protocol. (4)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to denounce the continued violation of the democratic rights of the people of Pakistan and the people of Bangladesh and lending international respectability to and thereby perpetuating the dictatorial regimes ruling the two countries. (5)]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Prof. Saksena and Shri Sudheeran are not present.

Now, Shri M. Satyanarayan Rao.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO (Karimnagar): Madam Chairman, before I speak about the Ministry of External Affairs, I should pay a compliment to Shri Vajpayee. You know, Madam, that before he became a Minister, he was here with us. He was sitting with us for about six years....

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE): For twenty years.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: All right, for twenty years. But for six years he was sitting with me.

As an Opposition leader he was never irresponsible. Of course, there were so many people who were irresponsible—I should not mention their names—but he was the only leader who behaved so well though, wherever criticism was necessary he used to criticise. He was a gentleman to the cadre, no doubt. But, unfortunately, although for one year after he became Minister he was all right and there was no controversy about him, of late I do not know why he is entering into such controversy. Recently he also made a statement saying that Mrs. Indira Gandhi has entered into a secret agreement with Mr. Bhutto. I do not know what was the provocation; probably Mr. Subramaniam Swamy was the provocation. I was surprised and many of the Members were also surprised on seeing his statement because, as I have said, he was a very responsible Opposition leader. Similarly, we expected that he would be a responsible Minister of External Affairs too, but, unfortunately, he has said that he should not have made that statement. There cannot be a secret agreement between two Heads of Governments. Anyhow, it is up to him to prove whether there was any secret agreement or not.

Today also, when Mr. Lakkappa was putting some question, he intervened and made a very angry statement, saying 'Yes, this is a bomb-shell' and he mentioned Madam's name. You know he was one of the great admirers of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. In 1971, when Bangladesh was liberated I think he paid compliments to her. (Interruptions). Certainly, whenever anybody made a mistake, he used to criticise but, if any good things were done, he used to appreciate also. He admired her and I think he used the term 'Durga Mata'

[Shri M. Satyanarayan Rao]

or something like that. In the House, he used to praise her; there is no doubt about it.

Anyhow, it is not my intention to drag him unnecessarily into these controversial matters. But, he should not unnecessarily make certain allegations against Mrs. Indira Gandhi. There is no problem for him at all. Daily—whether it is the External Affairs or Home Ministry or anything else—he always says something about Indiraji. Please forget her and try to solve your own problems. This is not going to pay you. This is my sincere opinion and advice to the Minister for External Affairs because he happens to be my good friend. He also used to come to my rescue when I was not getting a chance to speak. I have great regard for him. It is really astonishing and is unfortunate that such a statement should have come from him. I would not be surprised if such a statement is made by Dr. Subramaniam Swamy; I would be surprised if he did not make such a statement.

Now, coming to the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs, it has been mentioned in the report itself that so far as the foreign policy is concerned, there is no controversy; there is no difference of opinion. I would like to read the relevant portion from the report:

“While burning domestic controversies dominated the election, it was noticed, both within India and abroad, that foreign policy had not been a matter of controversy in the campaign. This was possible because, during the years immediately before independence and subsequently when India played a dominant role in the political process of decolonisation, a consensus on foreign policy had developed within the country cutting across party lines. Against this background, it was only natural that on frequent occasions, during the months after the formation of the new govern-

ment, the basic continuity of India's foreign policy was re-asserted in no uncertain terms.”

We must pay compliments to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, who is responsible for evolving this foreign policy, particularly the non-alignment policy, which has stood the test of time. Some people are there, who criticise him also for this policy. At that time, America and some other western countries and people like John Foster Dulles and Dwight D Eisenhower were criticising him for this kind of policy. They wanted India to be with those countries. From the very beginning, it was only Russia who has appreciated our policy. Not only has it understood and appreciated our policy, it has also come to our rescue when the need arose. We should not be ungrateful to any country, whether Russia or any other country, which has helped us in our crisis. For example, but for their help, Kashmir would have been with the other country. There was a lot of pressure of USA and other western countries. It was Russia alone, which exercised its veto in the Security Council many times on the Kashmir question. It also came to our rescue when we wanted to liberate Goa. The same thing happened during the liberation of Bangladesh, while other countries like USA, England, China and others were, as a matter of fact, thinking, how to cause harm to us and stab us. This is the situation. That country has been consistently with us; it has not only appreciated our policies, it has helped us in economic and other fields. We have so many projects with the help of Russia. I do not say that Shri Vajpayee is ignoring that country or is not anxious to improve relations with that country, but somehow some impression is there not only in Russia but in other countries also that he is not giving due importance to this country and he is giving more importance and attention to USA and other countries. This is rather unfortunate. This kind of impression, if at all there is any, should be removed.

With regard to our relations with neighbouring countries, Shri Vajpayee is really very fortunate, very lucky. When he became the Foreign Minister, we had no problems with our neighbours. There are no major problems in the world also; there is no tension. There are small problems like the problem between Israel and West Asian countries or some problems are there in Africa, otherwise there is no such tension which used to be there earlier. He is, therefore, lucky in that sense. So far as improvement of our relations with neighbours is concerned, I would like to tell him that it is a test for him. Before he became the External Affairs Minister, we were having very good relations with our neighbouring countries, China and Pakistan.

AN HON. MEMBER: No, no.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: You might have differences but we are having good relations with our neighbours. The only thing is that after you became Minister, you have continued it and to some extent you have improved it. There is no doubt about it and I admit it. I am not a person who will say unnecessarily that you have not improved. You have done and that is why at the outset I have paid my compliments to you.

No doubt you have improved the relationship. But the real test is that there are two problems confronting our country not only now but since independence. The Kashmir problem is there which has not yet been solved and the border problem with China is the other one. Unless these two problems are solved, you are saying that we have good relations with our neighbours and we have improved our relations with China and Pakistan is not sufficient and it is not going to convince anybody. Because of these two problems, at any time there is a danger of a war between these two countries. So, try to solve these problems.

Now you have improved the relationship with China. You say. All

right agreed. Recently when a delegation came here from China, we had a talk with them. What transpired at your meetings we do not know. But the Prime Minister and you yourself have given an impression that they are also very much anxious to solve the border problem. If that is the case, you should take immediate steps and also, if necessary, go there. Not only yourself should go but you may send Dr. Subramaniam Swamy to China. There is nothing wrong in sending him. Since you have not sent him, he is angry with you. I will request you to let him go there, but let him not create more problems. Take some steps and visit that country. Not only you visit but it is better if you also send some Members of Parliament in a parliamentary delegation. There is nothing wrong and that can also improve our relations. The China problem is there and the Kashmir problem is also there and if these two problems are solved, we will have no problem with our neighbours.

Of course, I am very happy that you have entered into an agreement with Pakistan over the Salal project. Nepal Prime Minister also is here and our Energy Minister Shri Ramachandran and the Nepalese Prime Minister have reached agreements over projects concerning the two countries. Anyhow, with Burma, with Nepal, with Bhutan, with Sri Lanka, with Afghanistan and Pakistan good relations are there. At the same time we must have good relations with the West Asian countries also, particularly, Iran, Saudi Arabia and...

AN HON. MEMBER: Also with Israel.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: Yes, if you want to have some friendship with Israel, there can be no objection at all. As a matter of fact I was also pleading for that. Nothing wrong in it. The only thing is that problems with Israel and West Asian countries are there and President

[Shri M. Satyanarayan Rao]

Sadat also, you must appreciate, has taken the initiative and has gone to Israel and had bilateral talks. You must encourage his efforts. If that problem is solved, there is nothing wrong in having friendship with Israel also. We must see that the problems between them are solved immediately and if any help is required, then we should not hesitate to extend that also.

We are following a policy of non-alignment. But that does not mean only keeping quiet whatever may happen in our neighbouring countries. Always Panditji used to say that our non-alignment policy means dynamic neutrality. Neutrality does not mean that whatever happens in our neighbourhood, you must keep quiet. If you keep silent and remain quiet, it will affect us. Dynamic neutrality must be maintained. For example, take Pakistan. I may tell you about Bhutto's death sentence China and Arab countries and all countries except India have written to the Martial Law Administrator in Pakistan that this is very bad, you should not do it, you should abandon it. You say that we do not want to interfere. Why?

AN HON. MEMBER: The matter is with the Supreme Court.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: We know what is the Supreme Court and the High Court there?

You yourself say what happened in emergency. Now you say about the Supreme Court and the High Court there. If you feel that this is not good, you think over it. That is what I would like to say.

Recently, we have improved our relations with Japan. Previously, unfortunately, we had been neglecting Japan for a long time. It is a very powerful country economically. We should not have neglected it. I appreciate that Shri Vajpayee is taking

some steps and economic and other relations are being maintained with Japan and South Asian countries.

I would like to warn you about America. You see the history of America. With whomsoever it was friendly, ultimately it stabbed that country on the back. CIA is a very bad agency. I must warn you. I know your provocation—because Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that CIA has some connection with you, that is why you came out with all this. There is some misunderstanding. I warn you in your own interest, whether it is Janata Party Government or that of the Congress Party, CIA is very dangerous, be careful about it.

Recently, President Carter visited India. At that time you thought that he was a good man. But after his meeting with the Prime Minister, what remarks did he pass? He used some words—he is cold headed or cold blooded man.

You take the case of Uranium supply. In your report you have said that they have agreed to release it. But in the paper day before yesterday it appeared that they were not prepared to send that. They are always interested in their own. That is the difference between Russia and the U.S.A. I am not saying that you should stop relationship with Russia. You should not neglect a friend who has been helping us in economic and other matters but you should be careful while having any business with America. I think Shri Battacharyya agrees with me.

I am glad that you are having some interest in African countries. There you are raising your voice about racial discrimination, imperialism and colonialism. In the case of South Africa you are not saying that it is their internal affair and they should try to solve their problems.

I come to the passport problem. In your report you have also said that this power has been given to the Members of Parliament. You have unnecessarily thrown burden on us. You have created a problem for us. I would like to bring to your notice that there are agents. They are earning lakhs of rupees. They are plundering the poor people. They bring 200, 300 passports and ask us to sign. We cannot say 'no' to anybody. We cannot say whether he is a right or a wrong person. We sign without knowing the consequences. Please see that something is done in this regard. Please see to this difficulty of ours.

I would like to say something about our foreign missions.

About our foreign missions, I wish to say that I had been to Australia and other countries in connection with our Parliamentary Delegations. We have seen the functioning of our Ambassadors there. They have got certain vested interests. These so-called officers are being appointed as ambassadors. Now of course you have appointed Mr Goray and Mr. Palkhivala—you have changed the policy. But what I say is that you should see that at least a majority of these Ambassadors are from non-officials from this country. This is my request to you. We find that these officers are not up to the mark. It is not only my view but it is the view of those who have visited these foreign countries.

Now my last point is about the Indian Ocean.

Sir, I am happy that some talks are going on between the USA and the Soviet Union with regard to this. This is a very important problem for us. If these big powers are there, it will be very difficult for us to keep peace. There will be war in our next door. And, they are not fighting in their own territory but they are fighting in our territory here! Have some talks in this matter with the littoral coun-

tries like Australia and New Zealand; they are also concerned about it. They are also requesting the two big powers to keep away from the Indian Ocean and to keep it a zone of peace. This is my request.

With these words I conclude my speech.

**डा० सुरजी मनोहर जोशी (धलमोडा) :**  
सभापति महोदय, मैं विदेश मंत्रालय के अनुदानों की मांगों का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ ।

सब से पहले मैं भारत की विदेश नीति के सफल संचालन पर विदेश मंत्री और जनता सरकार को बधाई देना चाहूंगा । संभवतः मेरे प्रतिपक्षी मित्र ने भी अपने 22 मिनट के भाषण में इस विदेश नीति के संचालन की भूरिभूरि प्रशंसा की, उनको केवल 2 बातों का अफसोस था । एक तो यह कि विदेश मंत्री जी ने शिमला सम्मेलन में किसी गुप्त धारा का उल्लेख क्यों कर दिया और दूसरे यह कि श्रीमान भट्टो महोदय के ऊपर जो पाकिस्तान में कार्यवाही हो रही है, उसके बारे में अभी तक कोई भर्त्सना क्यों नहीं की गई और उसे पाकिस्तान का आन्तरिक मामला क्यों बताया गया ?

अब या तो शायद इसलिये कि श्रीमती गांधी और उनके दल को इस बात का संदेह हो कि यदि कभी श्रीमती गांधी पर कोई कानूनी कार्यवाही इस देश में हो तो विदेशों में उसी प्रकार से आवाज उठाने की कोशिश की जाये और उसी प्रकार से कार्यवाही हो और उस कार्यवाही का विरोध करने के लिये विदेशों में ऐसे मंच का प्रयोग किया जाये, शायद उसकी पेशबन्दी आप पहले से करना चाहते हैं

[डा० मुरली मनोहर जोशी]

श्रीर इसलिए कोई पीरेलजिम्प शायद श्रीमती गांधी श्रीर श्री भुट्टो के मामले के लिए इडा जा रहा हो इस मामले में बरना तो यह साधारण तौर पर पाकिस्तान का अन्दरूनी मामला है, इसमें हस्तक्षेप नहीं करना चाहिये। जिस समय हम मीसा में बन्द थे और मानवीय अधिकारों का हनन किया गया था उस समय भी किमी राजनीतिज्ञ ने मानवतावश यह कह दिया कि भारतवर्ष में अन्वयाय हो रहा है, लाखों लोगों को मरताया जा रहा है और किमी गैर-सरकारी राजनीतिक मंच ने भी कह दिया तो उस समय की सरकार के पेट में दर्द भयानक रूप से उठने लगता था कि यह क्यों कहा जाता है और कहा जाता था कि उस तमाम आन्दोलन के पीछे विदेशी ताकतें काम कर रही हैं और उनको विदेशों का सहारा मिल रहा है। शायद श्रीमती गांधी और श्री भुट्टो में कोई ऐसी साठ-गाठ हुई हो कि जब ऐसी चीज हो तो तू मुझे बचाना और मैं तुझे बचाऊंगी। उससे आप यह सिद्ध कर रहे हैं कि वाकई में कोई न कोई गुप्त धारा शिमला समझौते के समय हुई है। लेकिन फिर भी उन्होंने विदेश मंत्रालय के कार्यकलापों का समर्थन किया है। इसके लिये वह धन्यवाद के पात्र है। ठीक उसी तरह से जैसे कि श्रीमती गांधी ने उस समय बंगला देश में कोई अच्छा काम किया तो उस समय हमारे विदेश मंत्री ने क्या कहा होगा, यह तो मैं नहीं जानता क्योंकि मैं उस समय संसद् सदस्य नहीं था, लेकिन यदि बंगला देश में श्रीमती गांधी के तत्त्व के लिये उन्होंने कोई प्रशंसा की तो मैं समझता

हूँ कि वह कोई आपत्तिजनक बात नहीं थी। यदि आप इस बात के लिए तैयार हैं कि बंगला देश के मामले में श्रीमती गांधी की प्रशंसा विदेश मंत्री ने की तो आप इस बात के लिये भी तैयार रहें कि काश्मीर और चीन की समस्या, जिसके लिये आपने उल्लेख किया है, वह भी श्रीमती गांधी के स्वनाम धन्य पिता जी की ही देन थी और उनकी निन्दा और भर्त्सना के लिये भी आपको तैयार रहना है।

माननीय सदस्य ने कहा है कि केवल दो समस्याएँ ही ऐसी हैं, जिनका निराकरण कर देने पर विदेश मंत्रालय को निवृत्त भविष्य में आस-पास के क्षेत्र में किसी अन्य समस्या का समाधान करने की जरूरत नहीं होगी। मैं उनका ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि ये समस्याएँ भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री के जिनके लिए उन्हें बहुत अधिक प्यार है, जिनके प्रति उनकी आस्था है, पिता जी के द्वारा ही, देश के भारी विरोध के बावजूद और उन की सरकार तथा दल के बहुत से माधियों की राय के विरुद्ध जा कर पैदा की गई थी। उन्होंने ही काश्मीर समस्या को जन्म दिया—जो समस्या नहीं थी जो समाप्त हो नहीं थी, जिसका निराकरण भारत की सेनाएँ कुछ ही दिनों और कुछ ही घंटों में कर लेती, उसको उन्होंने बनाया रखा। इसके लिये उन्हें साधुवाद दिया जाये या उनकी भर्त्सना की जाये? वह अब इस विश्व में नहीं हैं, और दिवंगतों के विषय में कुछ कहा जाये, यह भारतीय परम्परा नहीं है।

लेकिन मैं माननीय सदस्य को ध्यावधान देना चाहता हूँ कि हमें अपने विदेश मंत्री के नेतृत्व पर, उन की डिप्लोमेसी और नीतिमत्ता पर, देश के प्रधान मंत्री और जनता सरकार पर और उनके द्वारा विदेश नीति के सफल संचालन पर, इतना विश्वास है कि ये जो दो समस्याएँ हमें विरासत में मिली हैं, वे इन दोनों समस्याओं को भी शीघ्र हल कर देंगी।

इस बीच में हमारे विदेश मंत्रालय ने आस-पास के तमाम पड़ोसी देशों के साथ सम्बन्धी सुधारें हैं। आज से कुछ साल पहले तक अपने तमाम पड़ोसी देशों के साथ हमारा झगडा था। कभी कभी गांव में कोई बुढ़िया भीरत होती है, जो किसी भी पड़ोसी के साथ झगड़े सम्बन्ध नहीं रख सकती, हर एक को टोकती रहती है, हर एक के साथ लडती रहती है, जहाँ कोई झगडा न हो, वहाँ भी वह खोज खोज कर लडाईं के लिए कोई बात निकालती है। आज से कुछ साल पहले हमारे देश की भी यही दशा थी जिस देश के साथ कोई झगडा नहीं था उसके साथ भी सम्बन्ध अच्छे नहीं थे। हमारा कोई भी पड़ोसी देश हमसे मनुष्य नहीं था। हर एक पड़ोसी देश हमें आशंका और डर से देखता था। हर एक पड़ोसी देश के साथ हम झगड़े के सम्बन्ध स्थापित किये हुये थे।

लेकिन यह सौभाग्य की बात है कि अब पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध मधुर हो रहे हैं। बंगलादेश के साथ फरक्का का मामला और सीमा-विवाद हल किया गया है। आज-कल हम देख रहे हैं कि नेपाल के साथ हमारे कई प्रकार के आदान-प्रदान हो रहे हैं। नेपाल और भारत के शासन आर्थिक तथा अन्य क्षेत्रों में मिल कर काम कर रहे हैं। इससे हमारी बिजली की समस्या हल हो जाएगी और नेपाल का आर्थिक विकास होगा। श्रीलंका के साथ भी हमारा आदान-प्रदान हुआ है। और बर्मा के साथ भी हम आपसी समस्याओं पर विचार कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने आश्वासन दिया है कि वे भारतीय मूल के निवासियों की नागरिकता के सवाल को शीघ्रतापूर्वक हल करेंगे। हमारे राज्य मंत्री बियतनाम गये थे और हमने उस देश के साथ 80—90 करोड़ रुपए का समझौता किया है, उनको सहायता दी है और उनके साथ सम्बन्धों में एक नया अध्याय शुरू किया गया है।

अभी हाल ही में दुनियां के कई देशों के शासनाध्यक्ष और राजनीतिज्ञ इस देश में आये। वे भारतवर्ष के साथ अपने सम्बन्धों

को बहुत मधुर, स्थायी और स्थिर बनाने के लिए सचेष्ट हैं और हम उनके साथ बराबरी के आधार पर आदान-प्रदान की प्रक्रिया में भाग ले रहे हैं।

माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि हमें डायनामिक न्यूट्रलिटी, गत्यात्मक गुटनिरपेक्षता, अपनानी चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी गुटनिरपेक्षता गत्यात्मक होने के साथ साथ वास्तविक भी होना चाहिये। हमारे विदेश मंत्री ने इस गुटनिरपेक्षता की वास्तविकता को आधार दिया है। अब हमारी न्यूट्रलिटी केवल डायनामिक ही नहीं है, बल्कि रीयल भी है। पिछले दिनों में पूछा जाता था कि रीयल नान-एलाइनमेंट क्या होती है—फकत नान-एलाइनमेंट होती है। अगर किसी को रीयल नान-एलाइनमेंट समझ में नहीं आती है, तो फिर फकत नान-एलाइनमेंट भी हमारी समझ में नहीं आती है। चीनलो नान-एलाइनमेंट क्या होती है, उसका मतलब क्या होता है?—एक बार इस को गाली दो और एक बार अमरीका को गाली दो, एक पांच एक नाव पर रखो, और दूसरा पांच दूसरी नाव पर रखो, और वे नावे चलती रहे, तो वह गत्यात्मक न्यूट्रलिटी है। उसमें कोई गत्यात्मक न्यूट्रलिटी नहीं है। उसका कोई मतलब नहीं है। खुद ही डूब जायेंगे।

दुनिया से अगर इस बारे में किसी को सदेह था, तो वह दूर हो गया है। लोगों ने जका प्रकट की थी कि श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी विदेशी नीति के कर्णधार हो गये हैं, वह बड़े संजु किस्म के, बहुत शक्तिनिष्ठ किस्म के आदमी हैं, उग्र राष्ट्रवादी हैं, क्या हैं, क्या नहीं हैं, किधर चले जायेंगे। लेकिन आपने देखा कि आपकी वह सारी आशंकायें निराधार हुईं। एक बहुत ही यथार्थवादी, गतिशील और बहुत ही ठोस आधार पर आज देश की विदेश नीति को स्थापित किया गया है और सारे दिक्मंडल में शांति की स्थापना के लिए जैसे बहुत पहले भारतवर्ष से लोग निकल कर जाते थे, आज उसी प्रकार फिर



[डा० मुरली मनोहर जोशी]

से सारे विश्व में शान्ति और स्थायित्व की स्थापना के लिए भारत की विदेश नीति सक्षम है और उसके लिए प्रयत्नशील है।

अणु प्रसार निषेध की जो संधि है उसके बारे में और अणु अस्त्रों के बारे में एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण और बहुत ही ठोस कदम उठाया गया है। शायद पहली बार इतनी बहादुरी के साथ और इतनी साफगोई के साथ ये बातें कही गई हैं कि हम अणु प्रसार निषेध नीति पर क्यों हस्ताक्षर नहीं कर रहे हैं, उसके पीछे क्या कारण हैं? आज जो बड़ी अणु शक्तियां हैं उनको हमने अपने मन्तव्य से बिल्कुल साफ-साफ समझा दिया है और आज उसका जितना अधिक एं प्रसिद्धान है, आज जितनी अधिक उसके बारे में प्रशंसा है मैं समझता हूँ कि वह शायद विश्व में कभी नहीं थी। मैं समझता हूँ कि अपनी विदेश नीति से हम लोग इस और पहल करवाने में सक्षम होंगे कि सुपर पावर्स, बड़ी शक्तियां जो अणु शक्ति की ठेकेदारी करना चाहती हैं, जो अणु अस्त्रों की होड़ को बन्द नहीं करना चाहतीं, शायद किसी एक समय-बद्ध कार्यक्रम के अनुसार उनसे हम अणु अस्त्रों के प्रसार पर रोक लगवा सकेंगे और जो तमाम दुनिया में अणु अस्त्रों का निर्माण है उसको बन्द भी करवा सकेंगे। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि विदेश मंत्री जी ने कि वह इस और बहुत सक्रिय रहें और सतर्क रहें क्योंकि यह अणु अस्त्रों के प्रसार का निषेध हमारे लिए बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। हम अणु नीति के संचालन में भी मेरा ऐसा विश्वास है कि वह बहुत ही कुशलता के साथ इस और कदम उठावेंगे।

हिन्द महासागर और अफ्रीका के श्रृंग की समस्या पर हम ने बहुत ही यथार्थवादी दृष्टिकोण अपनाया है। मैं इस बात के लिए भी आप को बधाई देता हूँ कि आप ने बार-बार इस नीति को स्पष्ट किया है कि आप हिन्द महासागर में किसी भी प्रकार के विदेशी अड्डे को नहीं सहन करेंगे।

अफ्रीका का श्रृंग एक बहुत ही विस्फोटक स्थिति को जन्म दे सकता है। यह कहना बड़ा कठिन होगा कि आज वहां सब चीज बिलकुल शांत हो गई हैं। उस और पूरा ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। भारत के अस्तित्व के लिए भारत के तमाम आर्थिक और राजनैतिक हितों के लिए आवश्यक है कि अफ्रीका में शांति स्थापित हो और आप वहां जिस प्रकार की नीति का संचालन कर रहे हैं वह सराहनीय है। अरब देशों से आप की मंत्री है जो बरकरार है और और पुष्ट हुई है। वहां पर जो वर्ण-संघर्ष है उस में जो आप ने रुख लिया है और जिस प्रकार से आप ने खुले शब्दों में यह कहा है कि रोडेिशिया की समस्या में यदि आवश्यकता पड़ेगी तो हर प्रकार से आर्थिक ही नहीं सामरिक तौर पर भी उस की सहायता करने के लिए हम तत्पर रहेंगे, यह एक बहुत बहादुरी का वक्तव्य है और भारत के उद्देश्यों को, भारत की विदेश नीति के मुद्दों को बहुत साफ करने वाली चीज है।

विदेश व्यापार भी विदेश नीति से सम्बन्धित रहता है और हम ने देखा है कि इस वर्ष भारत के विदेश व्यापार में काफी संतुलन आया है। उसमें कुछ ऐसे मुद्दे उमड़ कर सामने आए हैं, जिससे हम यह आशा करते हैं कि स्थायित्व के साथ हमारा विदेश व्यापार बढ़ेगा और ऐसे अनेक द्विपक्षी समझौते होंगे जिन से हमारे आयात निर्यात की स्थिति ठीक होगी और हो रही है। जिस प्रकार से वाणिज्य प्रतिनिधि मंडल इधर से उधर जा रहे हैं उसको देख कर यह लगता है कि विदेश नीति का परिणाम हमारी सारी व्यापारिक गतिविधियों पर पड़ रहा है और व्यापारिक गतिविधियों से वह हमारी सारी औद्योगिक गतिविधियों पर प्रतिबिम्बित होगी। स्वाभाविक है कि इस तरह देश के आर्थिक विकास के लिए भी हमारी यह जनता सरकार की विदेश नीति सहायक होगी।

आप ने पास पड़ोस के देशों के प्रति जो अपना रुख रखा है मैं समझता हूँ कि वह भारत की प्राचीन विदेश नीति की परम्परा में है। मेरे बहुत से मित्रों ने यह कहा कि भारत की इस नीति के लिए जो आज की नीति है, हमें जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी का आभार प्रकट करना चाहिए, उन्होंने इसका सूत्रपात किया। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कहना कि उन्होंने ही सूत्रपात किया यह तो कोई बहुत ठीक बात नहीं होगी। भारत की विदेश नीति परम्परा में यही रही। हमारे विदेश मंत्री ने उम नीति को, भारत के जीवन दर्शन को, भारत की जो एक जीवन की फिलास्फी है उसको प्रक्षेपित करने का प्रयत्न किया है। भारत ने बहुत पहले यह कहा कि—

एक मद् विप्रा बहुधा वदति ।

यानी अपने विरोधी को, जिस का हित हम में बिलकुल विरोधी हो, जिस का दृष्टिकोण हम से बिलकुल विरोधी हो, उसकी बात को भी सुनना चाहिए, वह भी मच बोल सकता है, उसमें भी कोई न कोई तथ्य हो सकता है, उस को एग्जिस्ट करना चाहिए, उसको समझने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। जो दूसरा प्रतिपक्षी है उस के ऐंगिल आफ थाट को देखना चाहिए, उसको समझने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। इस देश का दार्शनिक स्तर यही था। इसने हमेशा अपने जीवन दर्शन में अपनी सम्मता में, अपनी संस्कृति में अपने पड़ोसियों से अपने संबंध में इस आधार पर ही चर्चा की कि हाँ, यह भी ठीक कह सकते हैं। उनका मन्तव्य भी सही हो सकती है उस में भी दम दो सकता है, उसमें भी वजन हो सकता है, इसलिये उस को देखने की कोशिश होनी चाहिये। इसलिये महिष्णुता, सद्सम्बन्धत्व मन्वय-यै तो भारत की प्राचीन परम्परा रीतिकले है, हमारे सम्बन्ध इण्डोनेशिया से लेकर ईरान तक और बेबीलोन से थे, दमिश्क में थे और अरब देशों से थे, मैक्सिको से थे। उन सारे सम्बन्धों में भारत के व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध थे और सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्ध थे। भारत ने कभी

शोषण नहीं किया। साम्राज्यवाद में विश्वास नहीं किया। भारत के अधिकांश शक्तिशाली होने के बाद भी, सामरिक दृष्टि से, नौसेना की दृष्टि से, अस्त्र-आयुधों की दृष्टि में, सभी प्रकार में शाकार में बड़ा होने पर भी, हम ने केवल यही कहा कि हमारा उद्देश्य इस मानवता को अपने अनुभवों में परिचित करना है—

एतद्देश प्रमृतम्य मरणाद् अग्रजन्मन.

स्वं स्वं चरित्र शिक्षण पृथिव्या सर्वं मानवा यह था—जीवन दर्शन। केवल इस कारण से कि इस मर्यादा की श्रृंखला में हम एक या दो दिन पहले आ गये हैं तो जो हमारे पास अनुभव है, उसको हम सारे विश्व में वितरित करें, सब के साथ मिल कर उसको शोध करे, महभाग के साथ, महिष्णुता के साथ और सहयोग के साथ। सहयोग, सम्पर्क, सहस्रस्तित्व और सहिष्णुता—ये भारत के जीवन दर्शन की देन है, जिस को हम ने हर जगह उतारा है। भारत ने इस बात को मान्य किया कि यह फिलास्फी केवल पुस्तक लिखने की चीज नहीं है . . . .

MR CHAIRMAN You should try to conclude, your philosophy will help you to do so

डा० मुरली मनोहर जोशी : श्रीमलिये शक्ति मन्तुलन की नीति, बैनम आफ पावर डम पर विदेश नीति को आधारित न करने हुए विदेश नीति को दर्शन शास्त्र देने की कोशिश की गई। मैं समझता हूँ—दर्शन शास्त्र में आप को कोई एगर्जी नहीं होनी चाहिए। यदि हे तो डम में मेरा कोई दोष नहीं है, कभी कभी हाँ करनी है।

MR CHAIRMAN I was only trying to point out to you your philosophy and asked you to cooperate.

डा० मुरली मनोहर जोशी : हमारे विदेश मंत्री ने, हमारी जनता सरकार ने, इस जीवन

[डा० मुरली मनोहर जोशी]

दशैन की जो परम्परा से भारत का जीवन दर्शन है, उसका विदेश नीति के क्षेत्र में व्यवहृति करने का एक उपक्रम किया है अभी शीगणेश है, एक वर्ष हुआ है, लेकिन मुझे बहुत सन्तोष है और समाधान है कि इस नीति का बड़ी कुशलता से आप ने संचालन किया है ।

अब केवल एक अन्तिम वाक्य निवेदन करना है कि जो हमारे अधिकांशी राज विदेश प्रचार विभाग में और विदेश प्रकाशन विभाग में काम करते हैं, उनको पुनर्विन्यास किया जाना चाहिये । भारत के सही स्वरूप का परिचय विदेशों के नागरिकों को, विदेशों के बुद्धिजीवियों को करवाना आवश्यक है । भारत केवल ताजमहल और कोणार्क ही नहीं है, भारत केवल अजन्ता और कुतुब मीनार ही नहीं है, भारत का जीवन दर्शन, भारत का विज्ञान, भारत का प्राध्यात्म, भारत का सहस्रस्तित्व, भारत की विविधता, भारत की भाषाये—इन सब के बारे में विदेशों में जानकारी कराना यह हमारे विदेश प्रचार विभाग का परम कर्तव्य है । मेरा निवेदन है—आप इस ओर भी ध्यान दें ।

इन शब्दों के साथ इन अनुदानों का पूरा समर्थन करता हूँ ।

**SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA (Kaliabor):** It is a matter of satisfaction that the foreign policy has been taken to be the continuation of the country's foreign policy, the outcome of certain geopolitical realities and the Foreign Minister and the foreign ministry had been saying that this country would follow the policies enunciated earlier. As they have stated that was not an election issue. There were certain apprehensions about the sea-change in India's foreign policy to the detriment of the interests of the country, more so when Mr. Vajpayee with all the views he had expressed earlier had come to the stewardship of this minis-

try, it was expected that he would be like a bull in a China shop and distort everything and would disturb our relations with all our friends without making the enemies more inclined towards us. We are happy that this has not happened because it is not a question of having a sigh of relief, it is a national question and it is a good thing that it has not happened. I think we should continue with certain major policies that have been continued. I should like to say that first of all there are certain inevitabilities like our South African policy, policy with regard to Namibia, or Rhodesia—they remain. We can be a bit more tough with reference to this. Then there is the question of relations with the USSR which other speakers also referred to. It is good that we have maintained our good relations; it was expected that these relations would be disturbed.

17 hrs.

Not in the interest of USSR. but in the interest of our country, we need to maintain the closest relations with the USSR, not only because USSR was of help to us, a persistent and close friend to our country, but also because USSR had something to do with our economic development and the USSR also had the same experience that we had USSR had no conflict of interests and we have no bilateral problems with the USSR and the USSR is a super power and our long term interests appear to be similar; our security and our development are closely related to good relations with USSR. I had some doubts that the Government may be because of certain prejudices or pressures, deviate from the policy, which would be disastrous for us because this would lead to a situation where this country may find itself friendless, so far as our security problems are concerned. Although things have improved very much—not because of the Janata Party, but because of the situation as

it is such—I will give the Janata Party certain credit for improving the relations with our neighbours—I think this security problem will dog us and we can never depend on the smile of any of our neighbours, whose intentions alone could not be a justification for relaxing ourselves. I am also glad that in our relations with the Arab world, there is some significant change in the policy of the Government, but I do not think that they are basic changes, but there are changes. I would like to reiterate on behalf of my party that the Government must continue to support this policy and that any settlement in the Arab world must be acceptable to the Arabs and the Palestinians and so long as the Arabs and the Palestinians do not come to a settlement, we should not back other reactionary forces that are operating in that area disrupting the world peace.

It has been claimed that our relations with USA has improved. There is no doubt that it has improved, despite of the irritants which the USA is capable of applying almost all along the line the irritants are there, they are not as big as the presence of the Seventh Fleet and the famous Nixon tilt, but all the same the irritants would be there. The Foreign Minister knows well that on Tarapur, under the shelter of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, they are delaying a matter which should not have been delayed, which was their commitment to this country. These irritants appear to be part of the US policy towards our country. I think it is mainly because of their global commitments and their relations with the people around us, which we do not expect to change easily, nor do we want them to change. But I think it is more so due to the US refusal to recognise India as an important power in the world. I do not mean that India should strive to be a super power, which it is not and whatever little options we had about being counted as a nuclear power, we have abdicated and I am sorry to say this. While the nuclear explosion is

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essential for taking the country into a Nuclear Club, I do not mince words in saying that India by her status, by her geography, by her position, by her population deserves to be a member of the Nuclear Club. But now the US position is that India's arms can be twisted, but not China's.

Why not the same position be taken in regard to China? They have reconciled themselves to the Chinese nuclear explosions and nuclear weaponry, but not ours. Not only that, President after President, the Senate and all power complexes in the United States have taken the position that India has no right to even peaceful nuclear development. A member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has gone on record saying that the best way to twist the arms of a country like India without mentioning India, is to refuse supplies of even essential costly electricity producing plants. The idea is, even with Tarapore, they would play politics. They would try to pressurise us even when it is a mere electricity producing plant. These are facts which we all know. I would be the last man to say that we should have no good relations with USA. USA is the biggest power in the world. It is a military power. It is an economic power, it has a dynamic society and excellent people. That does not mean that even if they would not accept us as a country worthy of the respect due to us, we should cringe. What is really happening is, we have given a guarantee about explosions. Attempts have been made to slur over one fact. I do not think the word 'guarantee' has been used, but no explosions means, you will not be considered a member of the nuclear Club. In 1974, the world press said, India was a member of the nuclear club. After the Bangladesh war after the removal of the constraints that were built around our country by the machinations of big and small powers, India leapt into an era of comparative freedom from the world powers' pressures. Our Government took advantage of this

[Shri Bedabrata Barua]

situation to go ahead. It was the age of Aryabhata. We launched the space satellite after the Bangladesh war; we had the nuclear explosion and we integrated Sikkim. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister does not see the significance of this integration in terms of our position, in terms of democracy, in terms of progress and doing away with that obsolete protectorate status that Sikkim was supposedly enjoying! We have got today into a position in which because of the United States' commitment, they would pressurise us. We have made concessions without achieving anything. I can see the possibility of the U.S. Administration finally announcing that 7.5 tonnes of enriched uranium would be supplied, a week before the visit of the Prime Minister. And, we would look sheepish and obliged that they have made the concession. It may be their style: I do not know.

So far as our neighbours are concerned with Pakistan we are glad we have been improving relations. With Bangladesh, bilateral issues appear to have been solved. With Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka, our relations are improving. But in spite of that, may I say that my party feels and I feel that we are adopting too much of non-interventionist policy to the extent of being blind to the emerging forces around. It is not only the governments of Bangladesh and Pakistan that we are friendly with it is also with the people. I will not dilute on what has happened to the patriots of Bangladesh who took shelter in our country; I do not have the time. But about the immediate issue of the possible execution of Mr. Bhutto, who with all his defects, represented the people against military rule, I would like to say something. The Janata Party is committed very much to liberty. I do not see how and when the world is speaking out, for fear of being called interventionist, the Government has kept a very great silence. This is not the way to foresee events. Mr. Bhutto, dead or alive, is going to

rule Pakistan. I have no doubt about it. This is the same with Nepal. We do have good relations with the King of Nepal. But they are all emerging forces with which our equations have gone down, I am sorry to say. I would like to know from the Foreign Minister—I hope he would reply, he has been making allegations that the former Prime Minister had entered into a secret clause in the Simla Agreement.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE.  
Secret understanding.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: Yes, secret understanding. And Mrs Indira Gandhi has denied it. Now, Mrs Gandhi can deny it. It is not for her to prove it. But we as the people of India, and I would include people of Pakistan, are not entitled to know as to what really happened. When the Government makes an allegation when the Foreign Minister makes an allegation, it must have a basis. We are entitled to know as to whether really our leaders in those days, heads of the Government in those times, really entered into understandings without the knowledge of the people of the sub-continent.

DR. SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY  
(Rombhav North-East): It is a surprise what they did.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: I hope he will make the issue clear, and let this House know, in the first instance, about what actually happened. We welcome the developing relations with all those other countries—Burma, Vietnam and Afghanistan. About Burma, I am very glad that he made a visit to Burma. Burma is neighbour to India. Burma is suffering from insurgency from all sides. I am afraid, even after getting our help and I think insurgency in Burma is very much related to insurgency in India and other places. It could have a very deep projection into our country's future so far as the eastern area is concerned and India should be able to collaborate with Burma and it is the

test of Chinese good intentions whether they would object to this type of a thing or not. As to whether Burma would be agreeable, I have no doubt that the Burmese would like us to help putting down the insurgency. But at the same time they would not dare to do it because of the fear of China. Since we are improving relations with China, I hope the bilateral problems would be solved. Unless they are solved, our security problems will remain. Our security problems cannot be solved unless we have got firm friends. I don't consider USA as a friend as far as security problems are concerned. It could be a friend in economic matters. When the multinationals would like to come, they could be very friendly. And I do not envisage any situation where India finds things much different from what they are today. We do not have any other effective friend except the USSR. I would say that these frozen postures could be deteered. This is the right time. I hope China may respond. I also hope that in Asian matters, in matters of Asia where we have been taking a back seat, our government will take more interest, our country will take more interest with all this foreign exchange advantage we need trade. Even there the European community today is following a strict protectionist policy. In fact, they have become more protectionist than in the past. We have to face the situation that with all the goodwill that they have shown to get into our country and start companies without possibly any capital sometimes, they are not prepared to purchase goods that are produced by our factories.

India had a great time, as I said, when we liberated Bangladesh, when we exploded the nuclear bomb, when we transformed Sikkim from a Protectorate to shared citizenship with the people of India and when we had Aryabhatta hovering over as a satellite. I hope all these gains would

be remembered and the Government will continue to assert its independence, not the type of kow-towing—I know it is a strong word, but I am advisedly using it—to the United States who have been trying, in spite of our concessions, I think it is a very major concession which hurts our self-respect that this country would not go in for nuclear explosions. And without explosives, you cannot have any nuclear development, even if you don't have the bomb. After that also, we find that they are more inclined to twist our arms. Is it because Government has shown some weaknesses, or because Government of India has become weaker? I would like Government to take a strong stand in this respect, consistent with our self-respect and dignity.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU): Mr. Chairman, Sir, It is my great privilege to participate in this debate on behalf of the Government for the first time. My burden has been very much lessened, because what I find is that there has been a great deal of praise for the foreign policy which this Government has pursued.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH (Hoshangabad): Others have not spoken yet.

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: I have found it to be so, far I know Mr. Kamath will be very critical.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: It will be constructive criticism.

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: Mr. Kamath belongs to the Janata Party. With all love he says this, of course.

I will touch on some of the aspects of our foreign policy, as my esteemed colleague Mr. Vajpayee will deal broadly with it, while replying to the debate. I remember, Mr. Chairman

(Shri Samarendra Kundu)

Sir, how eye-brows were raised by some persons and parties, when the present Government assumed power last year, and some people said that India would end up as a quasi-satellite of some Super Power and that it would heavily lean to one side—like the leaning of the Tower of Pisa; we were particularly told that in West Asia particularly, we would falter and flounder; and that our neighbours would not be kind to us. I am happy to say today that all these have become day-dreams. We have not only emerged from the fire, but have emerged unscathed. And I am proud to say today that India's prestige in the international arena is sky-high. This is the impression I got after my trip to the West as well as to the East, and also after a short visit to the UNO. I am happy to convey my impressions to the hon. Members.

The Janata Party which was voted to power by an over-whelming public opinion in the March miracle has, in the past one year, followed a foreign policy of genuine non-alignment; and under the new, dynamic dimensions of this policy all the cobwebs of contradictions have been removed. We have vigorously pursued a policy of genuine non-alignment, under which we have judged various issues strictly on the basis of merit, and in accordance with the U.N. Charter. The basic premises of our policy have been to save mankind from the danger of nuclear war, halt the arms race, ensure the elimination of force or threat of force, safeguard the sovereignty of nations, and to follow a strict policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and to avert or stop conflicts. In spite of all this I am sorry to say it is a tragedy that some leaders belonging to some opposition parties refused to be guided by reason and see the light and go on accusing us, whenever they get an opportunity, of being subservient to some super-power. They are as

blind, I am sorry to say, as the four blind men trying to identify the elephant.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: Six blind men.

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: Two more are added.

Sri Barua, while making a very good speech with a whole lot of constructive suggestions, said that we should not take a back seat in Asia. I can assure Shri Baura that we are not going to take a back seat in Asia. May I say that we have at long last, under the Janata Government, begun to take concrete steps for strengthening our ties with countries of Asia and South East Asia. We have realised that this region, with which we share many cultural values and with which we had a long history of spiritual and material inter-action, must receive high priority and a place of its own in our thinking. We have decided to impart fresh vigour to the existing point of contact, as well as develop new areas of understanding and co-operation. We share the same aspirations and, to the extent that our problems are similar and we have common elements in our cultural ethos, any exchange of experience between us can only be a valuable contribution to the process of development.

Let me hasten to add that we are conscious of the fact that our resources are limited. We do not begin with illusions. We are not in a position to launch a massive programme of aid, but we are keen to build ties of mutual beneficial co-operation on as wide a horizon of human endeavour as possible. I would like to add that in line with the world trends, there is consciousness of the importance of regional and sub-regional economic co-operation in this region. To my mind, regionalism or sub-regionalism do not militate either against nationalism or against internationalism. We appreciate the legitimacy of this new urge,

which is manifest even in the ASEAN, which we have welcomed and supported. I hope you will appreciate this is the point of view which my Ministry holds.

In our dealings with South East Asia, we are prepared to co-operate not only bilaterally with the countries thereon but also institutionally with such groupings as ASEAN. We are convinced that ASEAN is an instrument of economic co-operation and not a military alliance. However, this does not mean that we have any desire to joint such groupings as members. In fact, we cannot, if the membership is strictly limited to the South-East Asian countries. But we do hope that the whole of South-East Asia will come within the compass of such a grouping, so that the region can have a new accretion of strength, a new sense of solidarity and can add a new dimension to inter-State relations by creating ties of economic inter-dependence among them, and thus pave the way for harmonious and friendly cooperation, which is more than peaceful co-existence. We just do not want to live in the term "peaceful co-existence"; we want to look beyond that.

Our support to economic co-operation in South-East Asia does not in any way detract from our vision of Asian solidarity. We are determined in our own humble way to protect, as far as possible, Asian personality, which was unfortunately forgotten during the last many years. Our national movement contributed to the concept of Pan Asianism and was in turn enriched by it. Unfortunately, Asia, the most populous continent and the cradle of ancient culture and civilisation, has lagged behind in the crystallisation of a regional ethos. This may be due to the fact that we are a heterogeneous continent, but it would be a betrayal of our Asianhood if, engaged in the task of national development of building sub-regional or regional ties, we are to

lose sight of our Asian personality. I hope all the Members will bless us so that this Government will have adequate strength to building up the long-cherished Asian personality.

**SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH:**  
Indian personality also.

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:**  
Without Indian personality, there cannot be an Asian personality. You know that, you have told us so many times for the last 30 years and taught us also.

However, we cannot hope that the continental edifices of Asian co-operation would be constructed overnight or in one big jump. We have to make a beginning, each State in Asia, through bilateral and sub-regional co-operation in our immediate neighbourhood. Once sub-regional groups sprout, take shape and acquire life in various parts of Asia, they will have mutually beneficial interaction with each other, and I am convinced that in course of time these will come together in one form or other and join hands to form an Asian cooperation stretching from one of the continent to the other. That will be the dawn of the Asian personality which will be a factor of international life, a force for peace and co-operation and a synthesis of the great values that originated in Asia and have today become the common heritage of mankind.

**SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Ponani):** The statement should be laid on the Table of the House.

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:**  
Ultimately it will be laid, and you can read it when you go back to your home.

Shri Banatwalla perhaps knows that I had visited Vietnam as the leader of the economic delegation, and I can say that I have come back enriched with a lot of goodwill which the people of Vietnam repose in the people of India. It was a very successful trip. This shows that we have widened our contacts in Asia. We have earned a very good friend, Viet Nam. For a humble man like me, it was



[Shri Samarendra Kundu]

an extremely good gesture for the Prime Minister of Vietnam to walk down all the steps of the Presidential House to embrace me. It is because we said that it was our moral duty to go to the help of the Vietnamese people to heal the wounds of war. Not only did we say that, we also proved it. Later, the Prime Minister of Vietnam came and visited us here. We proved it through the small steps that we took. All the Members know that I do not want to dilate on that point.

I am really amazed at the pragmatism of the Vietnamese people. I can tell you a story. I hope the Members would love to listen to it. I was accompanying the Prime Minister of Vietnam at the Taj Mahal at Agra. Somebody in the delegation recited an Urdu couplet, and the Prime Minister wanted its translation. It was translated. It said: you see that this Taj Mahal has been built with the tears and sweat of a lot of people. Naturally, I thought that a Communist Prime Minister would clap. But you know what he said. He said that without love this monument cannot be built. So, I only appeal to my CPI friends particularly to understand this pragmatism that has been developed in this part of the world.

During this period, cultural agreements have been signed with Thailand, Malaysia and Vietnam and our maritime boundary with Thailand and Indonesia has been finalised. Our trade, our cooperation in the field of industrial development, education and culture with the South East Asian countries has shown a measurable increase. The process, I am sure, will gather momentum.

Mr. Chairman, when you were there on your seat, you so kindly referred to non-alignment. You said that non-alignment is not meant for keeping quiet. I can assure you, Mr. Chairman that we do not believe that non-alignment is non-involvement. We

do not believe that non-alignment is neutralism and if anybody has given a concrete shape to this idea that non-alignment, is not neutrality, it is the Janata Party by pursuing a dynamic non-aligned policy.

The hon. Members would recall that within hardly a fortnight of taking over reins of office, the Janata Government hosted the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-aligned countries. The Conference served to reinforce India's commitment to the policy of non-alignment which has been the corner-stone of our foreign policy since Independence. For India, as indeed for all the other non-aligned countries, the policy of non-alignment flows from our struggle for freedom from colonial rule. The policy is inspired by the ideals of our freedom struggle and reflects the deep desire of our people to preserve complete independence based on our national interests and independent judgment of international issues on their merits without being influenced one way or the other by outside forces.

The Government has not only declared at the earliest opportunity its resolve to continue non-alignment but has in the course of one year endeavoured to restore to the policy its original positive thrust. When I attended the 32nd session of the UN General Assembly last year. I found that our stress on genuine non-alignment and our decision to pursue the policy with vigour and dynamism had been understood and appreciated by the world community in its proper perspective. Consistent with non-alignment we have maintained that our faith is in genuine and not tactical peaceful co-existence. We adhere to the policy of promoting non-military and non-ideological bilateral relations with all countries regardless of their social systems. Our emphasis has been on cooperation and not confrontation. We have stood for preservation of peace and international stability,

elimination of the remnants of colonialism and the monstrosity of racial discrimination and apartheid.

May I add that it is not a concept of ideology of a narrow grouping of States but a positive and indispensable factor even in a fast changing multipolar world for strengthening, the forces of peace and for the promotion of cooperation among nations on the basis of equality and justice to usher in a new international economic order. Our endeavour will continue to make the movement purposive, dynamic and independent so that it will effectively represent the hopes and aspirations of the millions of people belonging to this movement.

I shall take only 5 minutes to refer to a far off continent that is known as Latin America and South America. While developing warm relations with our neighbouring countries, please do not for a moment think we are oblivious of our friends in distant places in South America. In October last year, when I went to New York to attend the UN General Assembly season. I took the opportunity of visiting some of the countries in the region. Unfortunately, because of shortage of time, I had to confine my visit only to Trinidad & Tobago and Guyana I was indeed moved by the warmth of friendship showered on me during the visit by many leaders of these countries, including Acting President, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and others.

There are some 20 odd Republics in this part of the world. The total area of the region is over 8.5 million sq. miles and the estimated population is about 270 million. The population is likely to reach the 400-million mark by the year 2000.

The economic growth rate of some of these countries is equally impressive. Brazil's volume of annual trade is over 22 billion dollars and this country which has an area of 8.5 million sq. kms. and a population of 110 million is gradually assuming

the status of the colossus of the South America. Argentina is the other leading nation in South America which exports large quantities of food-grains, meat and milk products. The average per capita income of these countries is around 1000 dollars.

**SHRI VAYALAR RAVI** (Chirayinkil): There is no democracy in that area. They are killing all national freedom movements. I want that Government to express solidarity with the people, not with the military regimes in South America.

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU**: It is also gratifying to note that there is a great respect and admiration for Indian philosophy and culture in most of these countries. The names of Indian leaders, like, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindra Nath Tagore are household words in many of these countries. There is no doubt that all these countries are interested in developing closer relations with India, particularly after the new Government, the Janata Government, has come.

I am fully convinced that after the peaceful revolution of the last general elections with the show of maturity and wisdom of our people to defend values of democracy new hopes of co-operation have been aroused in these parts of the world.

We are making every effort for expanding our economic and cultural cooperation in the fields of dance, music, art, trade and commerce, agriculture, industry, science and technology.

Now I will take you to the field of economic activity in West Asia. The other matters will perhaps be dealt with by my senior colleague. Mr. Vajpayee. The resources of these rich countries have embarked upon an unprecedented programme of economic development. Till date in the West Asia and North Africa region, Indian parties both in the public sector and in the private sector have been awarded

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projects as prime contractors or sub-contractors of the value of Rs. 1500 crores. Out of this, during the last 12 months, India secured contracts to the tune of Rs. 740 crores—when our Government, when Janata Government came to power—which is almost 50 per cent of the total value of contracts so far secured by us. This has been possible only because those people have trust and confidence in us. What we say they believe. Now these people act on it. We do not believe in diplomatic talk in these matters—to speak with tongue in the cheek. Sir, this is not all. As of date, Indian parties are in various stages of processing and negotiating offers and tenders for projects valued at approximately Rs 2500 crores. These figures appeared staggering but considered in the context of a planned expenditure during the next five years of roughly about US \$ 400 billion by the major oil exporting countries in the WANA region, this is insignificant. Therefore, Mr Chairman, Sir, we are aware of the new responsibilities and my Ministry is doing everything possible to see that this part of the world gets support and encouragement and through cooperation of all our activities are developed in this part of the world and are also strengthened.

Now I come to the passport and immigration. Immediately, after the new Government came to power and restored democracy, it tried its best to translate into action the fundamental right and desire of the people to travel freely and hopefully. It is indeed unfortunate and sad that during the dark days of emergency, dark days of tyranny, there was serious curb on this valuable right of the citizens. And on unsigned and unidentified slips supposed to have been given by the police travel documents were not issued. This is what we discovered when we came to power. No sooner than the new Government introduced liberalisation of issue of

passports it faced with unprecedented inflow of passport applications, etc.

During the year 1977-78, the output of passports was 9,06,061 as compared to 5,73,527 in 1976-77 which represents an increase of nearly 60 per cent. In one year, there has been a tremendous increase—60 per cent. I hope the hon. Members will realise and appreciate this. Mr. Ravi will realise and appreciate this because I had been to Ernakulam, and he knows what I have done. Members will realise that a new spirit of enthusiasm we have released among the people; they feel that they are free; not only do they feel free but they want to translate it into action by trying to acquire passports. And this Government is determining to give all of facilities to these people and see that all those who want to have passports get the passports at the minimum possible time ...

MR CHAIRMAN: You have already taken about 35 minutes. Your senior colleague is going to take about one hour. Then what will be the time left out for the members? Please do not yield to the other Members.

SHRI SAMARENDR KUNDU: Nevertheless, in spite of this increase, the inflow of applications also recorded an increase of nearly 65 per cent. While in some offices such as Bombay, there are hardly any arrears, in other offices such as Ernakulam there are large arrears. May I add here—Mr. Ravi knows about it; I had been to Ernakulam—that there are more than two lakhs of applications in backlog there, and I have said that, by the end of this year, all the backlog will be wiped out and people will start getting passports within 35 to 45 days.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Are you making any arrangement for it?

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:**  
Yes. We do not sleep. What do you think?

**SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKTA** (Andaman and Nicobar Islands): In Port Blair, they have stopped issuing passports because you have introduced a Bill here to increase the fee upto Rs. 50 and you have instructed that, till it is passed, either Rs. 50 may be collected or the issue of passports may be stopped....

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:** No.

**SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKTA:** I have seen personally. You inquire into it.

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:** It cannot be so.

All passports issued earlier are converted to liberalised endorsements system on application, and it is estimated that over 700,000 passports have now been validated on the basis of the liberal policy.

It has also been decided to open Regional Passport Offices in Rajasthan and Karnataka as well as Sub-Regional Passport Offices in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Jammu and Kashmir and Calicut.

In Bangalore, Jaipur and Calicut, accommodation has also been arranged and other ancillaries such as furniture, telephones, etc. are being moved into position, so that they will start functioning early in June, 1978.

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR** (Gandhinagar): Please strengthen the existing passport offices also in terms of personnel because delays are increasing—more applications and more delays. Please look into that aspect also.

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:** I am very much thankful to you for pointing this out. We are very much concerned about this. We have increased the strength, and we will still increase the strength and will see that all backlogs are cleared by certain fixed periods, and then, we can assure you, every applicant can get the passport in 35 to 45 days.

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR:**  
Every day we get dozens of applications for passport and we sign them. We do not mind it. But having signed them and having given the clearance, we find that the passport offices take many more weeks. Then what is the point in burdening us with this and not improving the passport offices?

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:**  
This will be streamlined. I can give the assurance that, as far as possible, it will be streamlined. Our passport offices are working on a war-footing.

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR:** We strike off the line if we do not know the persons concerned for more than two years. Naturally if I do not know a person for more than two years, I have to strike off that line. The Passport offices sometimes refuse those applications. You must see to it that, when the signature of M.P. is there, even when we strike off that line truthfully—to say that we do not know the person or persons concerned for more than two years—that application should be considered as valid.

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:** It cannot be considered as valid. In that case, you should not sign.

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR:** How can we know so many people?

**THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE):** Then do not sign.

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR:**  
This is a serious point. If Members are given the right to sign,—after all, Members represent their constituencies—they cannot afford to displease as many people.... (Interruptions)

**AN HON. MEMBER:** You can, if you change your constituency.

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR:** In all seriousness I suggest that, after having given the right to MPs to sign, Government should think in terms of eliminating this requirement of two-year acquaintance. That is more honest. Do not make us sign something by being false to ourselves. We want to be truthful our conscience and also serve our countrymen.

**AN. HON. MEMBER:** Once we say that we are satisfied, what is the necessity of requiring an acquaintance of two years?

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR:** Yes, Kindly consider this suggestion.

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:** Certainly we will consider the suggestion with all sympathy ....

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR:** Don't make us liars.

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:** We are suggesting that in those cases where you are not sure that you know the applicant for two years, you can direct him to sign an affidavit and file it. We have introduced new methods whereby he can sign an affidavit and file it. We will give due consideration to your suggestion. Instead of two years, we can make it one year, but you must know the person for a certain period.

Now, the dissemination of passport application forms through Post Offices was introduced in Delhi and has been extended to Punjab, Gujarat, Kerala, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. It is expected that this system will gradually cover the whole country and application forms will be made available at Head Post Offices in the various States.

Coming to the immigration point, lots of doubts ....

**SHRI CHITTA BASU:** He says that you should take away the right you

have given us to sign on the passport application. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:** How can I venture to take away rights given to a Member of Parliament ....

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR:** You remove the sentence regarding two years' acquaintance.

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:** We will consider it (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** Why? You are getting an opportunity to meet so many people!

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:** Now, regarding immigration, I would however like to draw the attention of the Hon. Members to the fact that in issuing passports we also have to bear in mind that we have a duty to see that Indian citizens and specially those belonging to poorer and weaker sections of the people are not lured by unscrupulous agents into travelling abroad either with false expectation of work or on terms and conditions which would be exploitative. It is in this context that we are all aware that the immigration Act of 1922 is somewhat outmoded and an examination is currently under way in order to overhaul this legislation and bring it up-to-date. The Ministry of Labour, in collaboration with us, is actively engaged in this case.

We fully realise that there is still scope for improvement in the functioning of our passport office. Every member of the public has a right to receive courteous attention in these offices. It shall be our endeavour to do so. I may add here that we have promptly looked into the complaints whenever they have come to us and we would like to assure the people that we will welcome and look into any complaint on transgression of these norms.

To end my speech I will refer briefly to the 'Haj' matter. Thousands

of Muslims go to do Haj and, on that also, we have taken some sort of a revolutionary decision.

The Government has paid special attention during the last year to improving the facilities for the members of our Muslim community to go to Saudi Arabia for Haj and to other Muslim countries for Ziarat. The Government have agreed to release foreign exchange for 20,000 Haj pilgrims in 1978, a record figure. The amount of foreign exchange has also been increased. The Haj Committee and the Central Haj Advisory Board have been re-constituted and are actively engaged in identifying the problems and in suggesting solutions for them. The Government will consider their recommendations with sympathy.

The Government are considering the replacement of the present Haj Committee Act by a new enactment which would democratise and broadbase the composition of the Committee and streamline the Haj machinery. The Government have also decided to strengthen the Haj Wing of the Embassy of India, Jeddah so that it can look after the welfare of pilgrims more effectively. This year, for the first time, we hope to send a medical mission of 14 doctors and 14 compounders as against ten each in the past years. Government is in touch with Government of Saudi Arabia for the restoration of Indian Rubats for the use of Indian pilgrims during Haj season and the problem has become particularly urgent because of the high cost of accommodation. Last year, they were asked to pay about Rs. 800 for less than 2 sq. metres of floor accommodation. This is indeed unfortunate. As I said earlier, we will do everything possible to see that life's cherished desire of a pious muslim to do Haj is realised.

**SHRI VAYALAR RAVI:** There is a complaint from the people of Kerala that they are put to a lot of difficulties because of the Immigration Rules.

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:** You always think of Kerala and Ernakulam; you never think beyond that. You should think beyond that.

In spite of the Immigration Act, we are trying to liberalise the conditions. We have given instructions that the genuine people who go abroad for jobs or otherwise should not be obstructed. But at the same time, you must agree with us that the people who go should not turn out to be destitutes and bring shame to us. In order to keep the prestige of India very high and also for the food of these people, it would be in the fitness of things if some restrictions are there. But we have also said that genuine people who have some sort of documents with them can always go.

**SHRI VAYALAR RAVI:** In the West Asian and Gulf countries, you are not putting important people as ambassadors. That is the main complaint. They are not able to look after the interest of the country nor are able to improve our relations with them. You must see that these embassies are suitably strengthened... *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH:** This is a bachelor Minister's maiden speech in the House.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** That is why I gave him forty-five minutes, while his senior colleague is going to take one hour. Nothing is left perhaps.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** There is no need for Shri Vajpayee to reply.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Have you anything else to say, Mr. Minister?

**SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU:** No, Sir.

18 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, April 18, 1978|Chaitra 28, 1900 (Saka).*