

[Shri N. Selvaraja]

as Officers have to go through a long drawn and time consuming process by first appearing in a written test and thereafter placed on merit. The candidate is then required to appear before an interview board. Thus, as far as the procedure is concerned, it is not very much different from that adopted by the Union Public Service Commission.

However, in the interview more emphasis is placed on the knowledge displayed by the candidate in his field of study instead of the mental inclination and aptitude of the candidate. The Recruitment Board lays emphasis again even in the interview on oral academic proficiency. This is doing injustice to those who have performed well in the written examination and not fared well in the interview. Therefore, the benefit intended for the less fortunate ones do not materialise into reality.

Hence, I appeal for a more rational approach in the selection procedure, by doing away with this practice.

12.15 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (GENERAL)
1983-84

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Then we go to the next item. The House will

now take up discussion and voting on Demand No. 32 relating to the Ministry of External Affairs for which 8 hours have been allotted.

Hon. Members present in the House whose cut motions to the Demands for Grants have been circulated may, if they desire to move their cut motions, send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicating the serial number of the cut motions they would like to move.

A list showing the serial numbers of cut motions moved will be put up on the Notice Board shortly. In case any Member finds any discrepancy in the list he may kindly bring it to the notice of the Officer at the Table without delay.

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 Consolidated 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, 1984 in respect of the heads of Demands entered in the second column thereof against Demand No. 32 relating to the Ministry of External Affairs."

Demands for Grant, 1983-84 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 18th March, 1983		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					
32	Ministry of External Affairs	31,13,88,000	6,33,83,000	155,69,41,000	31,69,17,000

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, yesterday, we discussed in detail the Seventh Summit of the Non-Aligned countries. Sir, today I wish to try to concentrate on the Annual Report of 1982-83 made available to us by the Ministry of External Affairs.

Sir, in the beginning in its introduction, the Report has rightly pointed out the danger that the humanity is facing today, the danger of war, thermo-nuclear war which threatens the very existence of human civilisation. If humanity does not destroy the thermo-nuclear weapons, the thermo-nuclear weapons will destroy the humanity, and in the event of a nuclear war, which will not remain localised, which will be global in its character, the whole humanity will be exterminated. Thermo-nuclear war is not respecter of the victor of the vanquished. It knows no wall, it engulfs the whole area. The United Nations and also the Institutes which specialise in the study and the efforts of thermo-nuclear war, have calculated how in the event of any thermo-nuclear war, directly crores of people would be annihilated within a moment and how its effect will gradually spread all over the world. Sir, we have the experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. What happened when atom bombs were dropped there? But today we have developed the power of killing the whole of humanity twenty-times. This is the power to over-kill and the Report has rightly drawn our attention to the danger of war and problem of world peace. I notice that our Government has taken some initiatives and it has also spoken very firmly for disarmament and world peace in the United Nations. The report mentions like this.

"The erosion of detente and the revival of the cold war atmosphere, intensification of great power rivalry and general deterioration in East-West relations, a new round of the arms race and production of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, continuation of "local wars" and conflict, situations in many regions and, finally the stalemate in global negotiations towards a

new international economic order heightened the sense of concern and anxiety about the future."

It is all good, but as I have been pointing out, the Government of India while enumerating the causes of intensification of cold war, escalation of tension, military preparation etc. has always been trying to mention about the great powers rivalry. I do not know why, when the cold fact is that the United States, the Reagan Administration, is professedly increasing its military expenditure, is telling the people that nuclear war is possible, when they openly say that they are preparing for such a nuclear war, when they are going to deploy Cruise and perishing missiles in Europe, when the NATO powers in their meeting openly say that they are going to increase their military expenditure, when the United States of America, through its concept of strategic consensus is trying to draw the nations in its military arrangement, and when it is making its military presence everywhere, without pin pointing to the imperialists' designs if the Government goes on saying that it is all due to super power rivalry, then what is it actually doing? It is simply blunting the edge of our attack on the war preparations of the imperialists, and also equating the socialist countries, headed by Soviet Union which has been assiduously and consistently trying to bring normalcy, diffuse tension, cut in military expenditure, supporting the force of the non-aligned countries in the UNO towards a general disarmament. By equating the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union which stand for peace and objective interpretation of world politics.

I would like the Government of India to change its analysis in trying to equate the two powers. The report has rightly pointed out that there should be disarmament. You know that the United Nations wanted and there was a session, where Shri Narasimha Rao was himself present, but the whole effort actually came to nothing because of the intransigence and also the unhelpful attitude taken by the imperialist powers headed by the United States of America.

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Today, the whole world, as I pointed out yesterday, specially the developed western countries, are spending enormous amounts on armaments, and it was Dwight Eisenhower who first mentioned about the existence of the military industrial complex in the United States. Since then a host of literature has come out pointing to the danger of this military industrial complex, and how the United States has been spending enormous amount for arms production and how they are exporting to the developing countries armaments whereas the developing countries actually need capital resources for their countries economic development. Sir, you will notice how this weapons culture today is used in the international relations. This weapons culture is the culture of the imperialist countries. They are producing deadly weapons, exporting them to the developing countries and their trade in this field is increasing. I have statistics to show how the imperialist countries are diverting resources for war, preparations and how they are trying to impose military burden on the developing countries. Sir, today we find, as I have mentioned that the international structure political, economic and cultural—was created by imperialism. That structure remains. That structure is based on dominance and dependence—political dominance, economic dominance, cultural dominance, racial dominance. And today this dominance of imperialism is sought to be maintained first of all through military alliances, second through economic organisations like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and also through the multi-national corporations. The cultural dominance is maintained through the intellectual imperialism. Most of the books are published in the imperialist countries and our intellectual world is dominated by the books published in the imperialist countries. This we may say is a sort of intellectual serfdom. We are still the consumer of knowledge, not producer of knowledge. And through these cultural links they try to dominate our mind and propagate their ideologies.

Sir, in the report our Government has mentioned about the new international economic order. But how do you propose

to bring that new international economic order? How do you want to make a decade of development? How do you propose to bring out disarmament?

The policy of our Government, also the policy of the non-aligned countries, is to have declarations, documents, resolutions. Undoubtedly these are very important. This is known as Conference diplomacy and this is what you have been conducting. But do you think that this is adequate? Even the United Nations gave a call in its Second Decade of Development that for the 6 per cent growth of the developing countries, the developed countries should transfer at least 0.7 per cent of their GNP. Have they agreed to it? No. You had appealed to them and they have turned their deaf ear to your appeal. Even the United Nations Resolutions go unrespected, unheeded, unimplemented by the developed countries. It was only the Soviet Union, the superpower you equate, which I remember well, in 1974 brought a resolution before the UN General Assembly that let there be a 10 per cent cut in defence expenditure of the developed countries and the resources thus released should be made available to the developing countries, and this Resolution was accepted by the General Assembly; this Resolution was killed in the Security Council by U.S., U.K., France and other countries. The Soviet Union wanted that there should be a 10 per cent cut on defence expenditure in 1974 and the resources should be utilised for the development of the developing countries. The whole effort was scuttled by the imperialist countries.

On the one hand, you speak of domination of IMF, the World Bank and other financial institutions when you demand restructuring of the international order, when you demand equality in economic matters, but, then, in your practice you go and seek loan from IMF; you invite multinationals; you liberalise your import policy; you invite Western culture. Don't you think that this is contradictory? If you are true to your Declarations, you should implement them in your domestic affairs about which you say in the International Conferences. In International Conferences you decry the conditionality of

the IMF; in International Conferences and Non-Aligned Summits you decry the domination of financial institutes headed by the imperialists. When you demand that the principles of the structure of Brettonwoods should be reviewed and there should be restructuring, at the same time, how is it that our Prime Minister goes to England, to the United States of America and invites foreign capital and says that we have created a very congenial atmosphere for investment of their capital in India for our economic development? Why is this contradiction? You believe that your economic development can be ushered in with the help of the imperialists, but in the International Conference, you say that they are sucking your blood. Is there not a contradiction? I would urge upon the government to gradually extricate themselves from these financial organisations which are nothing but instruments to suck the blood of the third world countries and indirectly to maintain their economic and political domination over the developing countries. This is not a very easy job. But for this demand of self-reliance, you are still a petitioner in the courts of the Western countries. From the position of the petitioner, the developing countries should unite and demand justice which can be enforced only by their collective wisdom and unity. But this is not so easy, because they have military power. We have the man power. The Vietnam war has proved that even a military gnat can be defeated by the united will of the people. But what do you do? You draft resolutions; you attend the Conferences and boldly declare certain principles, but you do not try to mobilise people. You say you are in favour of peace. Have you organised anything in India to make the people conscious of peace, to warn them against the danger of war? You have not done that. We have done it; we, the left part, are organising people, workers and so on. After all, we are going to fight the imperialists with the people, man behind the machine, man behind the plough, man behind the desk, but you are not trying to unite them, you are not trying to raise their living, their consciousness. This is wrong. The second

thing is when you demand radicalisation of international economic structure, why don't you enforce, when you are in power, to radicalise the economic structure or internal economic structure, domestic economic structure? Why you allow the pre-capitalist formations to exist, feudal relations to exist, why do you allow the monopolists to exist which have diverse links with the multi-national corporations, why do you allow the multinational corporations to exploit the resources of our country? If you really mean business, if you really mean what you say, if you really want the radicalisation of economic structure, international economic structure, you should also radicalise the internal economic structure. If you are speaking of the disparities of the developing and developed nations, you should also speak about the disparities that exist between the poor and the rich in India. Without doing your business, without doing radical reform here, without changing the economic relations here, you are trying to change the economic relations outside. This is not possible. The first thing necessary is this self-reliance, not dependence on international financial organisations but to stand on our feet, to manage our resources in a way so that we can produce whatever we need, we minimise our imports and gradually lessen our dependence on the imperialist countries.

I would now come to another part of the report which says about our neighbour. It is good that we are developing our good neighbour relations with Bangladesh. But I would like to draw the attention of our External Affairs Minister to one development in Bangladesh.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have got to complete your speech in another ten minutes.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: Yes, Sir, it means twenty minutes. Thank you. This is very important. From Bangladesh, most probably you have seen the ten thousand soldiers are being sent to Saudi

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Arabia for military training and you know already thousands of Pakistani soldiers are there in Middle-East and they are doing the job of the Americans. Americans today do not employ the Americans directly because they know that the Asian countries, the developing countries, they would protest. Now, they are trying to create an army of the Asians to do the work of the Americans. I just mentioned it because our Government should take note of it that how the Americans are trying to mobilise some of our neighbour for status quo and against the liberation forces, the democratic forces in Asia. That is important.

About Pakistan, it is good that the Government says that the dialogue is continuing. We want friendly relations with Pakistan. But, unfortunately Pakistan is being used as an alley of the United States of America for the purposes which go against the accepted principles of non-alignment and it is a part of American strategic consensus. The report says that the Americans still insist that induction of sophisticated weapons would be there, meaning thereby that they will be endangering the security environment of the sub-continent. I would like to point out another thing. In Pakistan, unfortunately, the military expenditure is rising. Here I have with me the per capita defence expenditure of both the countries. The figures are as follows:

Year	India	Pakistan
1972	4 dollars	7 dollars
1973	4 "	9 "
1974	4 "	11 "
1975	4 "	11 "
1976	5 "	11 "
1977	6 "	11 "
1978	6 "	12 "

I have quoted these figures from the book *Military Balance* published from

London. Why is Pakistan incurring this much of defence expenditure? This is precisely part of American military strategy. I would like the Government to take note of it and impress upon the Government of Pakistan to desist from this high rate of military expenditure. Both the countries should have good neighbourly relations and Pakistan should extricate itself from the American strategic designs.

Coming to the Indian Ocean, which was discussed yesterday, I have reports and figures to show how the Americans have already militarised the Indian Ocean, how there is only a negligible presence of the Soviet navy there, even which they are ready to withdraw in the event of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. Our Government should consistently and steadfastly pursue this policy and try to have the Indian Ocean conference. Even if the United States tries to sabotage this conference, we should go ahead with it. In the case of the Law of the Sea Agreement, while the whole world agreed, only one country disagreed, and that is the United States. While the whole world was on one side, the United States alone was on the other side, and yet we signed the Law of the Sea Agreement. This is the right attitude. We should not be dependent upon them and we should not be afraid of them. We should try to compel them to get out of the Indian Ocean, because they have no business to be there.

Then, what is happening in South Africa? Who is helping the South African racist regime? I must say that racism is the crystallized prejudice of the western imperialism. They are making South Africa a nuclear power, in spite of the Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968. Which are the countries which are helping South Africa to develop the nuclear weapons? It is the United States and the EEC countries. Which are the countries which have financial relations with South Africa? In Asia it is Japan and Israel. Only they have normal commercial relations with South Africa. Virtually, all of South Africa's economic liabilities are in the Western countries and

the two Asian strategic allies of Japan and Israel. It is precisely because of the military and economic help rendered by Japan, Israel and the Western imperialist masters that South Africa has been able to suppress the liberation movement there. It is also because of this strategic military help that the Namibian problem is still there.

Then I come to the Latin American countries. You must have noticed that the United States is trying to make El Salvador another Vietnam. The same policy they are pursuing—indiscriminate killing that is going on—and they are trying to drown in blood the freedom fighters. They are doing the same thing in Nicaragua. They are creating tension all over the Latin American countries and the Carribean. And, Sir, you will see that even today in Cuba they have their military base, Guantanamo. So it is the American imperialism which is endangering the peace and which is trying to destroy the liberation movements everywhere including Latin America. I am glad that in the Report you have mentioned it, but your attitude is a bit soft. You are not directly naming the United States of America, you are not directly condemning the American imperialist efforts to kill, to suppress the liberation movement. You are not directly accusing the United States of America that it is guilty of killing hundreds of people, hundreds of patriots, hundreds of people who are fighting for liberation; you are not directly condemning the United States of America for its open interference in the countries of Latin America; you are not condemning the United States of America for its role in the fighting of Argentina for its sovereign right to the Falklands.

Sir, I would, to conclude, come to two important issues mentioned by our friends—Kampuchea and Afghanistan. I agree with the Government of India, and I oppose those persons who never mentioned the presence of the American army in South Korea and who never are working for the unification of the two Koreas. They concentrate their attack on Afghanistan and on Kampuchea, try-

ing to divert the attention of the world to the ugly attempts of the United States of America.

Sir, in Afghanistan, the Afghan Government agrees that there should be guarantee that there will be no outside interference. Until and unless that guarantee is given, until and unless armed personnel, insurgents are barred from entering, crossing the border, what will happen in the case of withdrawal of the Soviet troops? Will it not be overrun by thousands of insurgents equipped by the United States of America and Egypt using the territory of Pakistan? So, Sir, there should be a political settlement and there should be the withdrawal of the army, but there must be a guarantee that its sovereignty, its stability, its non-aligned nature, should be respected. There must be an international guarantee and solution should be political.

About Kampuchea, I do not understand how the people who talk of democracy elsewhere are trying to bring back a regime which is guilty of genocide. In Kampuchea the Pol Pot regime annihilated almost one-third or more than one-third of the population. The Heng Samrin Government is the legitimate Government of Kampuchea. I am happy that more and more nations of the non-aligned countries have recognised Kampuchea and I also think that the stand of the Government of India is reasonable, rational and is in consonance with the international law.

Sir, in conclusion, I would urge upon the Government that it is now their duty as Chairman of the Non-Aligned nations to carry forward this struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, dominance, military alliances and preparations for war to destroy the humanity. It is the great responsibility which has fallen not only on the Government of India, but also the people of India and I would demand that to discharge that responsibility, you must maintain the unity of the non-aligned countries. You must intensify the struggle against American and Western imperialism. Inter-

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nally, you must also take a lead to make the people conscious of the dangers including the danger of imperialists who are trying to de-stabilise our country, trying to create dissension in our country, trying to encourage the extremist elements in our country. Unfortunately, for temporary political gain you are trying to minimise the danger even sometimes giving a helping hand to the cessationist forces backed by imperialist powers. This policy should go and Government should think about the radicalisation of the economic structure of our country and give a lead to the anti-imperialist movement of our time and try to take an honourable place in the comity of nations.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI
(Patna): I beg to move:

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

[Failure to condemn in clear terms the policy of U.S.A. of arming Pakistan with latest-weapons.] (1)

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

[Failure to adhere to the anti-imperialist policy and to strengthen it.] (2)

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

[Need to play a special role in implementing the decisions taken at the Seventh Non-aligned Conference held in New Delhi.] (3)

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

[Failure to change the policy of equating U.S.S.R. with Imperialist U.S.A. in the name of super powers.] (4)

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

[Failure to condemn U.S. imperialism for sabotaging policy of détente.] (5)

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

[Failure to condemn the designs of U.S. imperialism to incite cold war in the world.] (6)

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

[Need to condemn U.S.A. for inciting arms race and increasing the production of nuclear weapons.] (7)

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

[Need to condemn the policy of USA for not declaring not to be the first to use nuclear weapons as announced by U.S.S.R.] (8)

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

[Failure to condemn the policy of intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan adopted by U.S.A., China and Pakistan.] (9)

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

[Need to take initiative in implementing the policy of making Indian Ocean a zone of peace.] (10)

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

[Need to condemn armed intervention in Afghanistan by Pakistan.] (11)

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

[Need to condemn imperialist designs of inciting Third World War.] (12)

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

[Unsatisfactory progress in implementing the provisions of Official Languages Act, 1963 in the Ministry of External Affairs.] (13)

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

[Undue delay in posting Hindi typists in all the Indian Missions abroad.] (14)

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

[Failure to send all communications originally in Hindi to the States belonging to 'A' and 'B' categories] (15)

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

[Need to lodge a strong protest against the Policy of setting up of Military bases on large scale in the countries of Persian Gulf by America] (20)

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

[Inordinate delay in appointment of Hindi Officers and Translators in office of Ministry of External Affairs for carrying out the provisions of the Official Languages Act, 1963.] (21)

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

[Need to constitute Official Language Implementation Committees in all offices of the Ministry of External Affairs.] (22)

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

[Need to further develop political, economic and cultural relations with socialist countries in order to strengthen friendship with them.] (23)

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

[Need to exert more pressure on concerned countries to restore Diego Garcia to Mauritius.] (24)

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

[Need to check the activities of C.I.A.] (25)

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

[Need to foil the conspiracy of imperialists along with Chinese Government against Heng Samrin Government of Kampuchea.] (26)

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

[Need to extend help to Kampuchean Government in all possible ways.] (27)

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

[Need to further strengthen the machinery of our publicity in foreign countries.] (28)

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

[Need to give harsh punishment to the racketeers involved in procuring passports by forgery] (29)

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): I beg to move:

“That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1.”

[Necessity of earliest possible agreement with Nepal for construction of multi-purpose dams over rivers Kosi, Kamla, Bagmati, Rapti, Kernali and Pancheshwar.] (16)

“That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1.”

[Necessity of early agreement with Nepal for cement industry at Lakshmipur in Saptari district of Nepal.] (17)

“That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1.”

[Indiscriminate lumping together of two super powers despite the fact that the U.S.S.R. is consistently supporting the concept of Indian Ocean as zone of peace.] (18)

“That the demand under the Head Ministry of External Affairs be reduced to Re. 1.”

[Necessity of severing formal links with the Commonwealth.] (19)

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT (Sitamarhi): Our foreign policy has been based on four basic principles:

1. The preservation of the sovereign independence of the country and of strengthening the freedom.

2. Total and complete commitment to non-alignment.

3. Promotion of world peace including peace in Asia, and

4. Our resolve to bring about a new international economic order based on justice and equality to all.

Our record is one of the rare ones in pursuing these objectives with very clear direction and perception. Today the current international situation is grave. I

know the Foreign Minister is very hard working. Through difficult times he is trying to pursue these objectives in a spirit of total dedication and competence. The current economic situation, if I may recapitulate for the benefit of the House as a background to some of the remarks that I may make later on, is full of widespread tension all over—local, regional and general compounded by the lack of progress in resolving major political and economic issues facing the world. There is no progress absolutely on any front to resolve these. This has resulted in the erosion of detente and the revival of the cold war atmosphere. There is confrontation everywhere, even on the very non-controversial issues. On ideology and other things confrontation prevails. Then on practical terms, there is an intensification of the great power rivalry and general deterioration in the East West relations. This has led to a new round of arms race and production of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. This has resulted in conflicts continuation of the local wars. This has resulted in conflicts in many regions. There is threat of a general war and a nuclear holocaust.

On the economic front, to which I will come later, situation is a matter of deepening crisis. There is a total stalemate in the global negotiations. All this has led to an uncertain future which can give rise to great concern and anxiety. Now, the House will well appreciate the fate of Foreign Minister in conducting his country's foreign policy in such a situation. He is carrying on his policy in a very very difficult situation and we are happy to note that he is carrying on very skilfully and ably, to the extent possible, under the situation.

I would like to deal with the first aspect and one of the important aspects—the total collapse of the security environment as a result of arm race—for which the Non-Aligned Conference had given a call for general and complete disarmament including the nuclear disarmament. It is because, according to the perceptions of the Heads of the States, the consensus of the man-kind, this is the problem No. 1. It has been described

that disarmament—general and complete disarmament—is no longer a moral issue but a issue for the survival of mankind and this is the most urgent thing and I would like to deal with it as the first subject.

Regarding disarmament, it has been said in total and clear terms that the race of arms is so much of geometric progression. It was stated that in 1980, the total bill for armament was 450 billion dollars. In two years, it has become 650 billion dollars. The United States of America has an arms budget of 1.5 trillion dollars during the next five years. It is an astronomical figure and instead of talking about arms reduction, they are talking about strategic and security perceptions and that leads them to a conclusion that they must have an overall superiority in every field of nuclear armament. What this has led to? This has led to a colossal arms race which recently—a week ago—I just read that five former Defence Ministers of U.S.A.—Mr. Mc. Namara, George Bundy, Syrus Vance and two others—have issued a statement that the proposed Budget of the President Reagan is dangerous and it is not going to serve the security interests of the country. Apart from leading to an arms race and leading to what is called, the balance of terror, it does not provide any security environment for any country. But it is going to affect the economic interests of the country. They have suggested a cut as much as 89 billion dollars in the Budget and they have pleaded with the Congress to cut the size of the Budget and create a feeling for a general negotiation of talks with the Soviet Union.

Similarly, on the one side, arms race is going high and going speedily in one-super-power and on the other side, the General Secretary and President of U.S.S.R., Shri Yuri Andropov called for talks on the arms race when he took over as the President from Shri Brezhnev. He also called for limitations of arms and reduction of arms. And in this situation, the call by the Non-Aligned Summit,

here is a call for the survival of mankind.

13.00 hrs.

There is a comprehensive programme of disarmament that would chart the course towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. That was the goal of the Conference.

In this respect, I would like to recall the message which our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, sent to the Special Session of the General Assembly on Disarmament. This is very relevant here. She suggested very practical and concrete measures for disarmament. First is the non-use of nuclear weapons, that is, those who have nuclear weapons will not use them. Let there be no use of them. There should be an agreement on this that nobody will use nuclear weapons. Secondly, towards eventual reduction in the existing stockpiles, there must be a freeze on nuclear weapons. There should be no more production of nuclear weapons. There should also be cut in the production of fissionable materials for producing nuclear weapons. For the immediate future at least there should be no more production of such material. Thirdly, there should be an immediate suspension of all nuclear weapon tests. The final and ultimate objective is to have a treaty on general and complete disarmament. That is the concrete programme which Mrs. Indira Gandhi gave to the Special Session of the United Nations.

These are the ethos of the recommendations of the Non-Aligned Summit that we must work towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

Another aspect, a very important aspect, is the nexus between disarmament and development. That has to be realised. That has been worked out in the Delhi Declarations categorically. It has been said that the astronomical dimensions of arms production eats into the developmental needs of not only developing countries but also developed coun-

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

tries themselves. I read a very interesting article as to how the distortions in the perceptions of certain powers have gone on and to what extent they can go. That article says that the United States is stepping up arms production to a stage that it feels that if the Soviet Union, the other Super Power, tries to follow up as a sort of balance in arms race, it is going to hurt them desperately and to that extent their economic development and their assistance programme to other developing countries for which they want to acquire power over the area, as they think, will be very much limited and curtailed. If this is one of the reasons for having an arms race, it is just like cutting one's nose to spite the other.

In bargain, what happens to the vast mass of humanity in the developing countries? It has been said that if the arms race goes on, it will use up a vast amount of the resources available for the development of developing countries. Not only that. This brings me to the other aspect, the economic crisis. The world economic crisis as has been described in the Economic Declaration, is gloomy. I say, it is an exercise of moderation. The situation is so grim; it is so desperate for the developing countries. It is grim for the developed countries also. If I quote the Second Report of the Willy Brandt Commission, it talks about the common economic crisis. This economic crisis is not only for the developing countries but also for the developed countries. The First Report is about the North-South programme, the programme for survival and inter-dependence between the North, that is, the developed countries and the South, that is, the developing countries. Their fate is inter-dependent on each other and it is that programme for survival that led to the Cancun Conference which unfortunately did not produce any results. But I would like to quote a few lines from this new book that has come out under the Heading "The Common Crisis." In the first report it said that there has been increasing economic hard-

ship to the industrial countries and little short of disaster to much of the developing countries. In this report, it says:

"The prospects are now even darker. The international recession which could deepen into depression in 1983, the massive unemployment in the North and the threat of economic collapse in parts of the South, the acute dangers to the world financial system and the growing disorder in international trade etc."

This is a report by some of the developed countries, the thinkers in the developed countries or the erstwhile leaders of the developed countries.

But if you examine the economic declaration of the New Delhi Summit, it is realistic but it is an exercise in moderation because they want to achieve results. They are for cooperation. Their main purpose is to find a solution to these basic economic and critical issues. What are those issues? If you see in any form, the international monetary system, the international trade arrangement throughout the GATT, the longterm assistance through the World Bank or the Official Development Assistance provided by these countries or the strategies of the international development decade, the first decade, the second decade and now the third decade, all this has led to a situation in which the present world finds itself. I do not say that some of the directions there were not correct. The point is that the whole objective was what it led to. The international monetary and the banking system. That it led to. It was the development of capitalism in the developing countries. It was the development of growth through import substituted developmental strategy and through export of their goods to the other countries in the market. This has benefited some of the smaller economies in Asia and other parts. But, this has led to a situation that in the North because there is vast unemployment, unutilised resources and in the South that is the developing countries the market is getting restricted because they are losing their foreign exchange. The Delhi declaration gives a figure of 200 million dollars worth of foreign exchange earnings of the developing world having been eroded as a

result of the trade practices, the collapse of the commodity prices and compounded with the fall in the Official Development Assistances and the concessional long-term assistance by IDA and others, the situation is such in many of these developing countries like Mexico which has such huge oil resources and Brazil. But we should not talk of the countries of which are in a very desperate economic state. They are not able to pay their debts and the result is that it is debt trap. It has led to the entire collapse of the system. There are nearly about 80 to 90 billion dollars debt which are not paid. Then the entire international system, the IMF and the international comity is going to collapse. This has led even persons like the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of America Mr Ronald Reagan to say "Yes. Now we have recognised the need for reform of the monetary system." Because he knows that the objective is reform.

If you come to the history of the global negotiations in Paris on October 5 and the several meetings in between, in Manila, in Lima and in other places, you will find that the history, unfortunately, is a total frustration. It is not a question that the problem cannot be solved, they are insolvable. They are solvable. But there is a total lack of will on the part of developed countries, industrialised countries, although they face a situation which is grim. A Commission like the Willy Brandt Commission says that the depression is not a cyclical problem, that it goes up and down, it is an integral problem now, it is a permanent phase; recession is going to become a permanent depression, far worse than the Depression of 1930 when Roosevelt brought the New Deal and the whole Europe suffered because of that. And we all know what it led to. This is a lesson to the present generation. The Second World War the result of the economic depression and acute unemployment all over Europe and the collapse of the economic and other systems which led to a person like Hitler to rise and give a chauvinistic slogan and which led to War. A similar situation is there now. If you see the language of some of the countries, you will find that they talk in the same colonial language. Colonialism is dead in the political form, but they want to have a neo-colonialism, they want to have control

over the economies of Africa, Asia and other countries without the political trappings of colonialism, they want to control the economy through the entire arrangements of GATT, commodity prices, etc. They get cheap commodities and they produce costlier goods, and their manufactured products are not allowed. See what is happening. Everyday hundreds of children are dying in Africa because of malnutrition and starvation. There is a critical situation. The economies of many of the developing countries are in a state of bankruptcy. If those countries want to bale some of the difficult countries out of their difficult situation, they can have complementary relationship of trade and economic practices, but they do not want to, they only want to tinker with it, they want to bring about certain limited adjustments. I am happy the Delhi Economic Declaration puts the things in a proper perspective; it is the neo-colonialism that they want to end, it is this imperialism in this new economic form that they want to end; they want a new Economic Order based on equality and mutual benefit—yes, 'mutual benefit'—and not based on exploitation which has been going on. Therefore, this is a serious problem. The global negotiations should start.

In a big multilateral conference of this kind, what is important is this. Obviously you cannot have a secretariat. The Conference takes place every three years. It cannot be held earlier. It all depends on the Chairman. The Chairman has to be strengthened with certain facilities.....

AN HON. MEMBER: Chairperson.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: 'Chairman' means 'Chairwoman' also. I used it in that sense.

Certainly in an organization like that, you cannot provide for a secretariat although some people talk of a secretariat—I do not think it is right. Of course, follow-up action is very important. Certain steps of follow-up action have already been provided, I think. I would like the hon. Foreign Minister to spell them out when he replies because these are very vital issues facing the mankind. There is a ray of hope coming from the New Delhi Summit; in fact, there is a lot of hope.

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

Yesterday we passed a Resolution expressing our appreciation of the Prime Minister's contribution. In these big movements, individual also play a very crucial role. You see the situation. If you agree with the analysis I have given, the grim international situation, the economic crisis, the political crisis and the steps the Delhi Declaration, the Delhi message wants to take. The Prime Minister as the Chairperson has to take the lead and I am very happy that she has started. A dynamic person she is, she cannot sit idle. She has taken the lead already. There is a call to the Heads of the Delegations to gather at the General Assembly meeting a few months later. There is a proposal to have another meeting of the Heads of the Governments to chalk out various other things. The Group of 77 has been asked to take up certain measures for global negotiations. In this let us be clear about it, because even the Willy Brandt Commission has been saying many good things; it says compromise to these industrialised countries. What is the harm in talking on individual issues or limited issues if there is no agreement on general issues of restructuring? The general issues are for restructuring the international economic order, bold restructuring and evolving correct trade practices so that it may not lead to the collapse of the commodity prices, transfer of resources, monitoring, etc. . .

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Therefore, I am happy that the Delhi Declaration talks of universal negotiations in the framework of restructuring a new international economic order. A limited negotiation will only mean tinkering with some of the problems or some of the urgent ones which hurt them also badly, but that is no solution and we may lose sight of the general and the big objective, that is, the international economic order. Therefore, I am happy that our vision is clear. Our perception is clear.

If we come to the bilateral relations— I will take only a few minutes, Sir. In bilateral relations I see the same clear perception and precise directions guided

by our basic principles of foreign policy. So far as our relations with our neighbours are concerned, what has been the approach? The approach has been a Co-operative relationship, whether it is Pakistan or any other country. With Pakistan we have some difficulty. Because Pakistan is a neighbour, we are trying to have good relations. The talks are going on. There have been a few talks and exchange of visits. The difficulty about Pakistan is that it is a part of a global strategic alliance. The nuclear arms, the sophisticated weapons in that region are destrabilising the whole region. It has changed the quality of the international relations and unless there is a change in that—Pakistan has attacked us several times and we cannot forget it—this is an unfortunate situation and basically this is the reason. We may try, we may have ultimately a friendship pact, but unless and until Pakistan is delinked from the global strategic arrangement, our relations may not improve. We should not deceive ourselves.

Similarly with China We are happy that our relations with China are relaxed.

We call it a relaxed relation. We are having talks. But unless the border question is solved—we are having talks. But unless the border question is solved—we may have talks, we had two rounds of talks and we are having exchange of delegations—railway delegations, petroleum delegations or diary delegations, we may have any amount of delegations, but unless the basic question, the border question is solved, there cannot be any improvement of relations. But it is a good thing that we are talking and there is no talk of any confrontation. We are talking on a very important thing—that is, developing the relations. We are prepared and I think the House should be prepared to wait even aggressor. It must vocate it. We will talk, talk and talk till this area is vacated and therefore we should not be in the euphoria that we have developed very good relations, a happy relation with China. It cannot happen. With other countries, with Nepal, with Bhutan and Bangla Desh, we are happy that the relations are growing well and it goes to the credit of the Foreign Minister that he has pursued it assiduously and carefully enforcing a hap-

py relation But ultimately, on that front also, the South Asia Cooperation comes, Delhi Summit talks and the Cooperation of the regional, sub-regional cooperation come, so that this must be a new element of 'cooperative relations' in South Asia where various talks have taken place, the Secretary-level talks have taken place. We hope soon that various steps are undertaken that leads to the Foreign Ministers' talks and there ultimately, through the basis of equality and mutual benefits and inter-dependence, this sub-region co-operation comes into the beam. And, therefore, Sir, to conclude, we are passing through a very difficult time, the whole world is passing through a very difficult time. In our region, the Indian Ocean region and in Asia, the threat is more even. The economic situation is grave. But we are happy, thanks to the very correct leadership direction and personal interest taken in this direction. The Prime Minister herself went to the United States during this year. She went to the USSR, France, Mozambique and Maui as trying to build up this new spirit, new climate for cooperation and develop an understanding and remove misunderstanding wherever it is. This is the only way. The Foreign Minister is almost every day in the plane going over here and there and trying to build up a new climate and we are in a happy position. I congratulate them for conducting the foreign affairs of the country in a very difficult situation but with a very clear objective as to the basic principles of our foreign policy. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I may inform the hon. Members that 8 hours have been allotted for this Ministry I find that Lok Dal Janata, B.J.P and D.M.K. parties have not given any names to take part in the debate. Now, we have got six hours today for the discussion of this Ministry. Tomorrow there will be two hours when the Minister's reply and the voting would take place. Therefore, I would suggest that the leaders of the various political parties may give their names at the very beginning before the discussions start.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh): I think that they are not taking

any interest to take part in the discussion today.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: They must give their names in the morning. When the Demand of the other Ministries is taken up, the hon. Members belonging to various Parties may give their names in the morning itself.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN (Adoor): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we are discussing the Demands for Grants of the External Affairs Ministry in the background of the successful holding of the Seventh Summit of the Non-Aligned countries. Yesterday, we had a fairly exhaustive discussion on the Non-Aligned Summit held recently in New Delhi. Therefore, I do not want to repeat whatever has been debated already in the House. I also join the other Members in expressing happiness over our having held the Seventh Summit in New Delhi successfully. I should say that it was a landmark in the history of non-aligned movement. Momentous decisions have been taken by the Summit on all vital questions facing the mankind today, and also issues particularly affecting the Third World countries. As has been mentioned yesterday by several hon. Members, the decisions of the Seventh Summit will go a long way, will go to a great extent, in further unifying and further expanding the activities of the non-aligned movements. In this connection, I would particularly like to mention the decision which the Summit has taken on the most central task that is fate of human civilisation. I am not at all belittling the significance of the economic declaration of the Summit, and I should say that this economic declaration had been very concrete, very comprehensive, as has been mentioned by the hon. Minister yesterday and has been well received all over the world, except those quarters which do not want the developing countries to develop on a self-reliant basis, on an independent basis.

As I said, I am not belittling the importance of the economic document at all; it is very important. But all these proposals regarding the restructuring of the present

[Shri P. K. Kodiyan]

day international economic order which is inequitous and exploitative, will come to a naught if a thermo-nuclear holocaust is allowed to take place. Therefore, I say that this task of average the thremo-nuclear war or threat of such a war and saving the entire mankind from total annihilation has been properly taken up by the New Delhi Summit and it has called upon banning immediately the use or even threat of the use of nuclear weapons. It has also given a call for banning the production, testing etc., of these nuclear weapons. It has also called for immediate negotiataions on disarmament. One significant aspect of this political declaration is that the Summit had given so, much importance and urgency to these problems, that it has characterised 1983 as a very crucial year for nuclear disarmament. Therefore, this decision in regard to the Central task facing the mankind i.e., averting the thermo-nuclear war has to be taken up seriously and followed up. Then various other decisions are there, but I don't want to go into them as these were already explained yesterday.

Now, I want to say that one of the biggest achievements of the New Delhi Summit was that despite the efforts made by certain quarters, particularly by the US imperialists through their client States, to drown the entire Summit in the endless discussion on Afghanistan, Kampuchea and other issues, which would defeat the entire movement, the New Delhi summit had been successful to preserve the unity of the Non-aligned movement. I consider this as one of the greatest achievements of the New Delhi summit.

After having failed in their attempt to disrupt the Summit they have started the propaganda saying with the Chairmanship going to India and the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi taking over the Chairmanship of the non-aligned movement for the next three years, the Movement has now come to saner hands. The way in which began at Havana has been corrected. This sort of propaganda or rather disinformation is taking place, not

only outside the country, in quarters which are hostile to the Movement but in some of the media in our country also. This has two aspects. One is an allegation on the previous Chairman, Dr. Fidel Castro that he was trying to tilt the Movement. Everybody knows, and even the Heads of States and Governments who assembled in New Delhi had recognised, the valuable services, rendered by Dr. Fidel Castro to the non-aligned movement and our Prime Minister also had paid him high tributes for his excellent stewardship. What has happened is that despite his ideological perception and his closeness with the Socialist block of countries he had tried his best to preserve the unity of the Movement, to take the Movement on the basis of consensus, a common understanding. Let us not forget that.

Another aspect of this kind of propaganda is that the New Delhi Summit decisions are a retreat from the Havana Decisions. As had already been mentioned by our Hon. Minister yesterday and those who have followed the history of the Movement, from the beginning and especially from Havana onwards upto the New Delhi Summit and the decisions taken at the New Delhi will realise the fact that the New Delhi decisions are far more radical on many issues than the decision taken at the Havana Summit. The New Delhi summit has taken a forthright stand, particularly on the economic problems. Never had the Non-aligned Movement adopted such a comprehensive document with concrete proposals for restructuring the international economic order.

After having held this successful Seventh Summit in Delhi and after having taken over the Chairmanship of the movement for the next three years, the greatest burden has fallen on India to implement the decisions of the Conference. We all know that implementation of the decisions of New Delhi Summit will be extremely difficult particularly in view of the fact that there is a deliberate attempt on the part of the U.S. imperialists to see that the decisions are not implemented. What is happening at the moment? The disarmament talks are going on Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union. At

the same time, the United States is insisting on deployment of "pershing" and other types of nuclear missiles in Western Europe, which would certainly jeopardise the prospect of any understanding in the Geneva talks. The Soviet Union has already warned that if the United States persists on deployment of missiles in Western Europe, they will be forced to take counter measures in order to protect the interest of the Soviet States and also the States of the Warsaw Pact.

Take, for example, the position of Indian Ocean. A call was given by the Summit for returning the Diego Garcia to Mauritius. Everybody knows that America had been from the very beginning sabotaging all the efforts made by India and other littoral countries to implement the U.N. Resolution on Indian Ocean i.e., to convert the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. It was after the U.N. had adopted the Resolution on Indian Ocean that the United States had embarked upon a more extensive programme of developing Diego Garcia as one of the biggest military bases in the region. First there was Soviet-American talk about disengagement in the Indian Ocean region. That talk was unilaterally stopped, that is, America unilaterally withdrew from that talk with the Soviet Union. The Conference on Indian Ocean was scheduled to take place in Colombo some time back but America did not show any interest to participate in this Conference. On the other hand, it had made it clear that it would not participate. Now, even at the time of the New Delhi summit, reports have come that further developmental works are going on in Diego Garcia and the run-way of the military aerodrome is being widened in order to facilitate the operation of the D-52 bombers which carry nuclear bombs. So, it is being developed not only into military and naval base, it is also being developed as a nuclear base and perhaps it will be one of the main centres of rapid deployment of force which the United States is developing in this area. Yesterday, a mention was made by some hon. Members here that more than two lakh American troops are already recruited and kept ready for this rapid deployment of

force. Yesterday, the hon. Minister was explaining to us in reply to the criticism made by Professor Satyasadhan Chakraborty regarding delinking of Diego Garcia from Indian Ocean. He said that, that was done in deference to the wishes expressed by Sri Lanka which is to host the international conference to be held at Colombo, they feared that any such linking of the military base and the Indian Ocean Conference will antagonise the United States and United States would take it as an excuse not to associate itself with the Conference.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Kодиyan, you can conclude in a few minutes.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN: I should say that United States is not going to participate in the Colombo Conference. If they are to participate in the Colombo Conference, then they should come prepared to agree to the demand to be made at the Conference by various participants including India, to de-militarise the Indian Ocean region which they are not. Diego Garcia is the main base which they are developing for intervention in this region. Therefore, the implementation of the decisions of the New Delhi Summit is an extremely difficult task. But that does not mean that we should retreat, we should hesitate; no. The only point which I want to emphasize is, in view of the persistent stand taken by the US imperialists to sabotage all attempts to convert the Indian Ocean into a peaceful area, we have to be more vigilant, we have to be more active in mobilising public opinion, in mobilising the support of both littoral and hinterland countries in order to put pressure on America on this particular issue. Even if the United States does not participate in that Conference, the other littoral countries should go forward with the Conference and it should be held irrespective of what USA is going to do.

Here I want to point out that within a short period India is going to host another conference, and that is the Commonwealth Conference. After having held the Seventh Summit of the non-aligned countries in New Delhi, we are called

[Shri P. K. Kодиyan]
upon to host the Commonwealth Conference. In the company of whom? In the company of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher....

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: It is peaceful co-existence.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN: Then we know the performance of the representative of Singapore in the New Delhi summit, Sri Lanka and Malaysia will be present. Mr. Rajaratnam and company, **will be there Mrs. Margaret Thatcher is opposed to most of the decisions taken in the New Delhi summit, whether it is a political declaration or a declaration in relation to economic matters.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): Sir, is it proper on his part to refer to the representative of a foreign country **

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I will go through the record.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN: I was referring to Shri Rajaratnam. He is not the Head of the State.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think he is a Minister.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN: I did not refer to him **

I said **

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That is why I said that I will go through the record.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN: What is India going to do in the Commonwealth Conference? After having achieved a good consensus in the New Delhi summit of the non-aligned countries, a consensus on the most vital problems affecting the developing world, the problems affecting the mankind as a whole, what is going to be the consensus in the Commonwealth Conference? It is Mrs Margaret Thatcher who unleashed the colonial war, an aggressive war, on Falkland against Argentina. So, I want to raise this issue particularly.

Now, Sir, a number of Latin American countries have joined the Non-aligned Movement and they are moving along

with us. I do not understand what consensus we will make in this Commonwealth Conference. For what purpose it is being held? And I don't understand what is the purpose in remaining in this Conference.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is a *tamasha*.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN: What are you going to do in the Commonwealth?

(Interruptions).

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: If there is no wealth, it is called 'Commonwealth'.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN: Whatever wealth is there, Margaret Thatcher and other leaders of the developed countries are not prepared to share with any of the members of the developing world. Therefore, please explain to us what is the purpose of this Conference. Is it not time for us to part company with this meaningless alliance, meaningless sort of Commonwealth? (Interruptions). I think it is time to quit.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAY REDDY: Pakistan is trying to join some one else.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN: I am concluding in a few minutes. Only two points.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: How many minutes you want?

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN: Only five minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Agreed.

(Interruptions)

13.52 hrs.

(Shri R. S. Sparrow in the Chair).

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN: Our Prime Minister has already sent a message to

the United Nations Committee on Apartheid in connection with that dark day in South Africa where 66 black American freedom fighters were shot dead by the racist regime several years back. Now, this day is celebrated every year as a day against racism. On this occasion the Prime Minister had sent a message in which she had called for effective economic sanction against South Africa. Now, what steps we are going to take in order to follow up this message of the Prime Minister against the racist regime in South Africa which is behaving like a barbarian in this modern age? What action is being contemplated in order to ensure that this racist regime is isolated, exposed, and very effective sanction is imposed against it through the United Nations? And, what are we going to do in order to persuade other countries outside the United Nations which have got still diplomatic relations — some of the developing countries also have some relations with them — to see that such diplomatic relations are completely severed?

Lastly, I want to raise a problem which is affecting my own people. The hon. Minister of State will be knowing fully well about this problem—the problem of Kerala Immigrant workers who are being repatriated from the Gulf countries. From Abudhabi we have got information that a number of Kerala people have been sent back on the ground that they were not having valid documents with them. Of course, we cannot make any criticism for their being sent back. The point which I want to bring here is that they have been sent back in launches across the sea which is very dangerous. In 1973 a group of people were sent back in these launches. They were drowned in the sea. Therefore, whenever the Government of Gulf countries have to return such Indians they may be sent back either in plane or by ship. If no such assurance is given by them because of the expenses involved, there are voluntary organisations of Malayali immigrant workers over there which would give finance and help these people return home safely. Government should explore the possibilities of utilising

such assistance. In any case Government should see that none of the Indian repatriates is sent in launches. I would, therefore, request the hon. Minister to look into this question with particular care.

With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO (Karimnagar): Yesterday we devoted about 5-1/2 hours on the Motion moved by Shri Kamal Nath and other friends regarding the Non-alignment Movement Conference, its declarations and its achievements. I could not have an opportunity yesterday. That is why I would like to congratulate our Government, particularly the Prime Minister and also our Foreign Minister for successfully conducting this great Conference.

Before his Conference was convened the Western countries had misgivings about its success. They were expecting that this Conference will be a failure because of the inherent defects in it, because of the different ideologies and also different systems which the participating countries are having. But in spite of all this, ultimately it emerged as a very successful Conference. Not only it emerged but after good deliberations it has adopted many declarations which are very useful not for the developing countries but also for the whole humanity. There is no doubt about it.

About our foreign policy, I do not think, there is any difference of opinion in our country, Shri Jethmalani may say that there is no genuine non-alignment. He may differ on some of the aspects of our policy.

14.00 hrs.

But so far as the broad policies are concerned, there is no difference. In fact, this policy was formulated even before our independence. If you remember the writings and the speeches made by one of the great personalities, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, he was also saying, after we achieved our independence what would be

[Shri M. Satyanarayan Rao]
our foreign policy and what would be our contribution towards the establishment of world peace. Because, without peace, there cannot be any development and without peace, particularly for developing countries, it will not be possible to achieve any progress. That is the philosophy which he profounded even before our independence. Just I would like to quote him:

"When assuming the reins of Government in 1946, that is before our independence itself though informally it was declared, Jawahar Lal Nehru declared India's determination to keep away from the power blocs or groups aligned against one another which has led in the past to world wars and which may gain lead to disaster on even a vaster scale."

Later he explained:

"Once foreign relations go out of your hands into the charge of somebody else, to that extent and in that measure, you are not independent. So, our policy will continue to be not only to keep aloof from alignment but trying to make friendly cooperations possible. We approach the whole world on a friendly basis."

This is the thing which he has said and I am happy that we still continue the policy which was given to us by one of our greatest personalities and of the world. We are, in fact, very happy that our Prime Minister in her address to the Non-Aligned Conference in Delhi described what is the definition of Non-Alignment.

"Non-Alignment is national independence and freedom. It stands for peace and avoidance of confrontation. It aims at keeping away from military alliances. It means equality among nations and the democratisation of international relations—economic and political. It wants global cooperation for development on the basis of mutual benefit. It is a strategy for the recognition and preservation of the world's diversity."

This is the thing which we are pursuing and I am very happy that the whole House agrees with this policy. There is no difference of opinion. Yesterday when we debated this motion on the Non-Aligned Conference and its deliberations and declarations almost everybody agreed with this policy. As a matter of fact, it is a very happy thing what we have adopted a motion here thanking the Heads of the Governments and also the Heads of the States who were present in this Conference and for their contribution to this Declaration.

Now the greater question not only before our country but before the whole humanity is the question of war and peace. We know, after a decade of detente, now we have entered into a decade of confrontation and this is really a very unfortunate development in the world. Now, the super-powers are competing with each other. They are building up armament. I do not equate both the super-powers. But it is a fact that both the blocs are manufacturing this kind of nuclear weapons.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): it is for self defence.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO:
Whatever it is whether it is or offence or for defence once you have something with you, it will kill you also. It is just like sleeping with a snake in your bed. You say, it is to defend yourself that you are keeping this snake and in order to attack another snake. But that snake will attack you and finish you in your sleep. I do not believe in this kind of theory that in order to defend oneself one should possess this kind of nuclear weapons. It not only destroys the other countries but it is likely to destroy the possessor-country also. That is why, it is a very dangerous situation. It is really unfortunate that a competition is going on between two blocs and for this purpose, I am very happy that about 101 countries which were present here, have put it very seriously in their deliberations and appealed to both the super-powers not to stock-pile nuclear arms and weapons. This is ultimately going to exploit not only European and

other Western countries but the whole civilisation. There will be no victim and victor.

In fact, this Non-Aligned Summit conference tried its level best to at least make them realise the danger of stock-piling of nuclear arms. That is why I say, it is a great success. Whether they agree to do or not, it is for them and, ultimately for the people of those countries.

Last year, when I was in Europe, I saw huge demonstrations in Germany, in London, in Paris, and in Amsterdam also. Thousands of people were there. Here, you can have thousands of people without any difficulty. But in European countries, it will be very difficult to see hundreds of people. But there were thousands of people in the bazars and on the roads demonstrating against their own Governments for the deployment of this kind of so-called missiles, the Persian missiles, all kinds of missiles because the people have bitter experience about the Second World War. They are afraid as to what will be the holocaust, what will be the destruction, in those countries.

During the Second World War, such weapons were not there. Now, they have developed not only atomic bombs but hydrogen bombs and even neutron bombs. All kinds of weapons are now there. They know and realise that one day they are going to be destroyed by the very same weapons that they are producing. I am very happy that they have resisted their own Governments, their own Prime Ministers and Presidents. But in spite of this, I do not know what is going to happen. Somebody propounds a theory that there can be the possibility of a limited nuclear war...

SHRI CHITTA BASU: That is a deception. **SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO:** That is a deception. It is really very unfortunate. It is not only ordinary persons saying this. The head of the State, the head of the Government, the head of a great Power, propounds a theory that there is the possibility of a limited nuclear war. Once the nuclear war starts then there will be no end to it.

Now-a-days, one need not carry the weapons. They have developed a missile system. Through those missiles, they can attack from anywhere, from Washington or New York or Moscow. Such weapons have been developed by these countries which are likely to destroy the whole humanity. That is why it is very necessary that we make declarations but we follow them also. Simply adopting declarations will not be enough. Yesterday, the hon. Member, Shri Indrajit Gupta, and other friends were also emphasizing the point that it is very necessary that in our own country we should mobilise the public opinion against this kind of danger in the world.

I am very happy to see that the people will be ready for this purpose and they want peace. We need peace very badly. Not only we but all the developing countries need peace. After all, we are now passing through the greatest economic crisis. Unemployment problem is there; illiteracy is there; health problem is there. Therefore, in order to eradicate all these things, we want to develop ourselves economically. We got Independence 35 years ago. But other countries in Africa and Asia have got Independence only recently. They are very busy in developing their own countries. They need economic assistance also. Instead of giving economic assistance the so-called Super Powers, particularly, the Western countries, are concentrating on manufacture of nuclear weapons. This is ultimately going to destroy everybody. It is not going to benefit them also.

I would like to say one thing about the problem which are confronting our world, the globe. It is really unfortunate that Iran-Iraq war is going on constantly. In spite of our best efforts and in spite of the efforts put in by almost all the non-aligned countries, we have not been able to solve the problem. Even in this Non-Aligned Meet, when those countries' representatives were here, almost all the heads of Governments tried to persuade and tried to convince them about the futility of this war which will ultimately destroy their country economically and otherwise also. But in spite of our best

[Shri Chitta Basu]

efforts, we were not able to convince them about the futility of the war which will ultimately destroy their economy. This is really a danger. I know, some countries are behind it. It is not as if they themselves are doing it. They are doing it at the instance of certain powers. Certain powers are behind it and they want to destroy these countries. This is always their strategy. This is not the first time that is happening. We have read the world history. That is what often happens. These big powers are always interested in instigating these countries to go against each other and the same thing with regard to our own country. Now we have got the problem with Pakistan. What is happening? In Pakistan, although the people of Pakistan are very much eager to solve the problem, whatever problem we have got with that country may be the Kashmir problem or may be other problem, but because of these powers' interference, because of their instigation the Pakistan Government is not coming forward to solve this problem.

I am very happy that there is at least that kind of atmosphere which is prevailing even though the problem with Pakistan could not be solved.

But in spite of all this we are worried that the big power, particularly USA which is giving military aid, the sophisticated weapons to Pakistan which is going to encircle our country and further we will have to be prepared and we are compelled also to do something in order to meet that danger. This way they are destroying our economy because they know that once these countries become very strong, it will be very difficult for them. We will not be dependent on them. They do not want us to be economically strong. That is why, to weaken us, they are supplying these sophisticated weapons to our neighbour, particularly Pakistan. I am very happy that our Foreign Minister is making every effort to see that such a situation does not arise in future.

Regarding the Afghanistan problem, it is also a problem created by the so-called

imperialists. When we came to power in 1980, Afghanistan problem was there. The Janata Party was there. They could not do anything. They did not do anything. But when we came to power in 1980, this problem arose immediately and it was really the greatest problem faced by our Government. In spite of all this, we were cool enough and we adopted such a policy ultimately which proved to be very correct. Now it is appreciated by all. We always emphasised that only through peaceful means, through negotiations, this....

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): When we were in Power, the Russians did not dare to enter Afghanistan,

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: At that time only it happened. Immediately we came it was already there.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: By that time, it has arisen. After Shri Charan Singh, it came.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: Mr. Unnikrishnan was very much with Mr. Charan Singh. You may claim that you were not there. But Shri Unnikrishnan was there. These people were with the coalition Government.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: Why attack me?

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: It is just for information's sake. I am not criticising you for that. This problem is there. But ultimately our approach is appreciated by USA. USA was very much perturbed that we are siding with one super-power against another. It is not so. We always decide all issues on merits; whether it is this super-power, or that super-power, it does not matter. In the beginning when we formulated this non-alignment policy, there were misgivings from all super-powers. It is not only American bloc but Soviet bloc also. There were some misgivings in the beginning. But, later on immediately it was appreciated that this non-alignment movement is good, their philosophy is very good and we will have to support

them. They were supporting it and consistently they were supporting. There is no difference of opinion on this issue. As a matter of fact, they are helping us economically and whenever we are in difficulties, military also they are helping us. We cannot forget the help given by the Soviet Union whenever we were in a crisis whether it was a question of Kashmir or Bangladesh. Whenever we were in difficulties that country came to our help and we are definitely grateful to that country for whatever help it has given not only militarily but also economically. We got it.

Now the other problem is China. With China, we are having this problem. It was our country which took up the cause of China in UN. We always said that the Mainland should be given its right place in the Security Council and not Formosa. Some countries used to condemn us for this kind of policy. But now they have become our great friends also. It is really a strange thing. When we were Students we used to read all those things—'Voice of condemnation against our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru'. But we consistently supported and consistently took up the cause of China in spite of the aggression committed by that country on us. That is our policy; that is on principles only. Our policy is always based on certain principles and it is not changed because of some situation.

I will now come to the West Asia problem. I am very happy that our country and Government are supporting the cause of the Palestinian people and their rights. We have condemned the aggression committed by Israel not only on the Palestinian people but also on other Arab countries, particularly Lebanon, its atrocities on the helpless Palestinians and the Lebanese people. In spite of so many Resolutions passed by the UNO, it is not prepared to vacate the aggression and it is not prepared to leave the places which it is illegally occupying. I request our Foreign Minister to see that some strong steps are taken in this regard. I do not know what steps he is going to take. It is no use only passing Resolutions con-

demning Israel and asking Israel to vacate the aggression. I think, some more action is necessary. What steps should be taken, he alone knows, and in consultation with other countries, I think, those steps should be taken immediately. By that way only we can help them and not by giving mere slogans; that will not serve any purpose.

About the Indian Ocean, although the UNO passed Resolutions to keep it a zone of peace, in spite of all those Resolutions, there is still rivalry between the big Super Powers and they are establishing bases in the Indian Ocean, in Diego Garcia.... (Interruptions). The Soviet Union has no base, but it has got its naval ships there in order to meet the U.S. aggression. Under some pretext or the other both the Super powers are having.... (Interruptions) When you want to keep it a zone of peace, it cannot be one-sided; it is a two-sided business. I am very happy that the Soviet Union is ready not to have any nuclear ship there provided the USA also withdraws. That condition is there. But they will not withdraw. That is the difficulty. And they say, when the Soviet ships are there, why should we withdraw from the Indian Ocean? And this goes on. Ultimately we are the sufferers, the littoral countries are the sufferers. It is very necessary to make them realise the dangerous situation in which we are placed. I hope that, in future Conferences, the UNO and other Conferences, not only Resolutions will be passed but some more steps will be taken to see that the Super Powers vacate the Indian Ocean.

Now I will come to a subject which is very important. Yesterday and today also you have heard in the radio that the Soviet Union has threatened the USA that they would also deploy missiles to America because the USA is deploying missiles to Europe. This kind of warning is going on, and if it goes on, I do not know what will happen ultimately.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please try to conclude.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: I am concluding. That is why I have said

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that the question before us is survival of the humanity or the destruction of the humanity. It is very necessary to see that at least the two big Powers do not compete with each other in deploying the missiles and in manufacturing nuclear bombs and all those things. Ultimately these things are going to destroy the whole world. In stopping this, India has to play a big role. You will remember what happened when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was there. In Sixties this kind of situation was prevailing and everybody was afraid that there would be a Third World War, everybody was saying that the Third World War was imminent. But it was the towering personality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which prevented the Third World War. I am very happy that our Prime Minister is the Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement. I do not say that we never claimed that we are the leaders. She herself said that we are not claiming any leadership, but she has got a great responsibility as the Chairperson of this Nonaligned Movement. That is why the great responsibility is there to see that this kind of a situation is averted; otherwise, there will be complete destruction.

One minute more, I am concluding, by saying one thing. I do not know—but we believe that after death also our forbears will be seeing what is happening in this world from the heavens. Sir, had Panditji been alive, he would have been very happy. It is he who started this Nonaligned Movement with five members only—himself, Nasser, Nkrumah, Sukarno and Tito and the membership increased from 5 to quarter of a century during his life time. But during his own daughter's regime, she has made a century. He would have been very happy over this and more so as it was held in Delhi. New Delhi message is there. Through this message, I think, the world will be saved from the nuclear holocaust.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): I think everybody would agree that the foreign policy or the international relations

of a country should be and can be framed only on the basis of proper evaluation of the situation in a given period of time. Unless we do take into account the existing realities around us, the formulation and shaping of a foreign relation policy cannot be effective and useful. Therefore, when we are going to discuss the External Affairs Ministry, it is necessary for us at this particular point of time to look around the world and evaluate the situation in proper perspective.

Everything is clear to us and it is known that the international situation has further deteriorated and it is marked by the intensifying arms race, the escalation of tensions to newer and newer areas and renewed bids of the warmongers to unleash war in this world. This war to-day as we visualise is not going to be a conventional war which we have seen earlier. It would be a thermo-nuclear war which means the destruction of the entire humanity irrespective of their size, irrespective of their population and irrespective of their military might. The danger is the danger of the destruction of humanity and its civilisation.

Never before was the danger of war so imminent and so real as it is to-day. There has never been the possibility of a nuclear war so imminent and so real as we find today. This is exactly the situation in which we have to frame our external relations policy.

You would also know that there has been a consistent attempt on the part of the United States of America and their imperialist allies to unleash a war. They have already sited missiles in the European countries directed against the Soviet Union and their socialist allies. They have even gone to the extent of nuclearising the outer space bases so that the outer space also could be converted into theatre of nuclear war. In this way there has been a total drive towards armament and particularly, nuclear armament.

Coming closer to our country, Diego Garcia has been and is being increasingly militarised and also it creates a security problem for us. It is posing danger to our national independence and security.

Therefore in this particular circumstance the holding of the Seventh non-aligned Summit in India has got particular relevance and significance. In such circumstances surcharged by that kind of war psychosis, the declaration adopted by the Summit conference is of global significance and naturally we are proud of it.

It is necessary for us to recapitulate the appeal made in these declarations which have been adopted in the Conference. I will only mention 4 or 5 aspects of this Summit declaration which will convince the House about the relevance of these declarations in this particular point of time.

The Summit has called for immediate prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons by all nuclear-weapon States and a comprehensive treaty banning the testing of nuclear weapons and further production and deployment of such weapons.

Sir, such a declaration is necessary so that humanity can avert the catastrophe and holocaust of nuclear and thermo nuclear war which is the greatest danger to humanity.

The Summit also emphasised the need for thorough restructuring of the international economic order based on justice and equality.

It also emphasised the need of a new financial system which can replace the Bretton Woods system.

It also criticised condemned and also made certain observations regarding the conditions associated with the International Monetary Fund and its loans and all the other global financial institutions, which have, instead of helping the developing countries, created certain conditions by which these developing countries after accepting such debts themselves get entrapped in the debt net. So, this is a very significant declaration.

It has also outlined a comprehensive programme for South-South cooperation and development of collective self reliance among the non aligned nations.

Lastly, another important declaration says that the protectionist policies of the developed countries should be reversed so that the developing countries can also take advantage of their exportable surpluses.

By and large, these were the important declarations adopted by the 7th Summit.

Anybody who is a patriot in the world, who is conscious of the danger of the holocaust of a thermo nuclear war, anybody who is in a developing country, who wants the uninterrupted scope for utilising indigenous resources for developing his country, anybody who wants to live in peace, and to work for peace and prosperity, cannot but share these views.

Naturally we in this House should feel proud that these are the important and significant declarations which have been adopted in the 7th Summit. We should feel proud of it.

I should also sound a note of warning and caution. These are all positive achievements—there is no doubt about that. But there are certain weaknesses also; there are certain negative aspects also. If we remain oblivious of the negative aspects... if we remain oblivious of the weaknesses inherent in it and if we are really carried away by those achievements, than the Movement shall not gain strength and momentum. Now, what are those weaknesses? I would only mention a few of them, which generally constitute the negative trends, which generally constitute the weaknesses. Sir, this Summit could not fully accomplish the task of identifying the real source from which the war danger emanates. Today there is no clear identification of the source from where war dangers emanate. It also did not, rather could not identify the source from which stems the threat to National independence, to security, development and self-reliance. It could not also identify the source which is really the main reason for nuclear holocaust. It could not identify the source which is working round the clock to ignite war flames in different parts of the world. It could not fully reflect the spirit of the Managowa Declaration, regarding the Central American State. To be very short and brief, I would therefore

[Shri Chitta Basu]

reiterate that these are the weaknesses, these are the shortfalls, these are the shortcomings and these also constitute a negative trend. While I appreciate the positive gains and success of the Non-aligned Summit, at the same time I would also point out that these together also constitute a negative trend which does not strengthen the Non-aligned Movement as I visualise. Is it very difficult to understand? Is it very difficult to know where lies the source of all these evils? Anybody in the world who wants to identify the source would say that it is the United States of America which constitutes the main source of danger to the humanity, which constitutes the greatest danger for the war, for the holocaust, which constitutes the greatest threat to national independence, security and self-reliance. What is known cannot be said and written in the documents. This is the main negative trend. As a matter of fact, in today's world context, the USA happens to be the villain of the peace. But we have not been able to point out or identify that. It is the greatest enemy of the whole humanity and it will be the duty of all of us who want to live in peace and work towards prosperity, to defeat the conspiracy unleashed by them. But there comes the silence. We expect that this truth is to be told bluntly. Instead of telling this truth bluntly, they have taken a position by which the edge of the Non-aligned Movement has been blunted. I know the obvious reasons for it. The obvious reasons are many. There are a number of US imperialist Trojan Horses within the Movement. Many of them, although they claim to be Non-aligned, are not at all Non-aligned. In the case of India, it is non-aligned in the non-alignment. Although many participants claim themselves to be non-aligned, they are not in reality non-aligned and India is non-aligned in the non-alignment. You cannot serve the purpose by having that role of non-alignment in the non-aligned, when humanity faces the dangers of war which emanate from imperialism. If we are interested in strengthening the non-alignment in our country, the basic, fundamental policy stance should be that non-alignment movement is based on anti-imperialism. There

cannot be any non-aligned movement sufficiently strong and adequately equipped unless a firm anti-imperialist stand is adhered to. There are vacillations, there are hesitations and these vacillations and hesitations constitute the negative aspects, the negative trend. I would urge upon the Government that if they are really interested to strengthen the non-aligned movement, it is necessary to call a spade a spade, and it is necessary for us to have a firm anti-imperialist position in so far as the question of war and peace is concerned. And in that way alone, we can strengthen the movement for non-alignment.

Off and on, a theory is repeated, and that is the theory of super power rivalry. This myth has to be exploded. There is one camp which is preparing for war, there is one camp which is existing on the exploitation of other nations, there is one camp which is inimical to socialist block. And, there is another camp which is for peace, which is for disarmament, which is for national independence and self reliance. How can you bracket them together? Their effort has been to bracket them together under the convenient slogan and theory that all the ills of the world tension emanate from the super power rivalry. There is antagonism, there is no question of rivalry. You will agree, that there is antagonism, there is irreconcilable contradiction between their intentions about war and peace, there is antagonism and irreconcilable contradiction between imperialism and socialism. There is contradiction, irreversible and irreconcilable antagonism between the forces of socialism and forces of capitalism. Therefore, you cannot bracket them together always under the convenient theory of super power rivalry. This is one of the weaknesses of the Government of India's policy, in the international affairs.

We are glad when we heard the Prime Minister saying in reply to Pakistan President's reference to Kashmir in the non-aligned summit that Pakistan should vacate the occupied territories of Kashmir. Will the House be assured that this would be the position of the Government with regard to Kashmir for all times to come? Sir, would the Hon. Minister take the House into confidence and tell us what is the exact position in relation to our propo-

sal for treaty with Pakistan for peace and friendship; and their proposal regarding No-War Pact? At what particular stage does the dialogue rest now? These points I want that the Hon. Minister should make clear.

There is one ticklish point in our part of the country. Tin Bigha. I do not raise any objection when the Government of India to took up a position for improving the relations with Bangladesh. We are for improving our relations with the Government of Bangladesh. But the domestic policy pursued by Bangladesh should also be taken into account. Sir, there is not much time to explain what is happening in Bangladesh, but the Government of West Bengal has made certain proposals and certain conditions. If Tin Bigha is to be handed over to Bangladesh, I would only request the Government to completely fulfil the conditions suggested by the Government of West Bengal. Tin Bigha should not be handed over to Bangladesh unless those conditions are fully fulfilled.

And in regard to the dialogue with China, it should continue. Our efforts should be there so that we can normalise our relations with the people's Republic of China and solve the border dispute based on equality, legitimate honour, the commitments made by the Government to the people and based on good faith and good understanding. I hope the Hon. Minister will reply to these points while he rises to answer.

श्री मनीराम बागड़ी (हिसार) :
सभापति जी, मैंने नियम 388 के तहत एक चिट्ठी दी थी कि श्री राम प्रसाद की बहन....

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will straightaway point out to my hon. friend that the Speaker has not yet permitted it. Therefore, you cannot be allowed to raise this. Kindly understand it.

श्री मनीराम बागड़ी : राज शहीद दिवस है। सरदार भगत सिंह को श्रद्धां-

जलि दी जा रही है और श्री राम प्रसाद विस्मिल की बहन.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: You may speak to the Home Minister directly.

श्री मनीराम बागड़ी : सभापति जी, आप तो इनकलाबी की कदर करते हो। आप तो क्रान्तिकारी हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have given you the right suggestion and what is the right way to do. Kindly accept it.

श्री मनीराम बागड़ी : मैं आपके हुकम को मानूंगा। यदि और कोई होता तो नहीं मानता। यह राष्ट्र के लिए बड़े शर्मा की बात है.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: He cannot raise it now. Before you speak my dear friend, Mr. Jadeja, kindly use the time judiciously as best as you can so that the time allotted is fruitfully used by all. Of course it is a very important subject and the speeches are beautiful. So, we have to adjust to come to the brass-tacks and conclude within the limit that is accepted.

SHRI DAULATSINHJI JADEJA (Jamnagar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the demands for grants for the Ministry of External Affairs.

I have, over the years, on more than one occasion, spoken underlining the need for forging closer relations with the countries of distant latin America and the Caribbean. Today such a need has become almost imperative—imperative more so, on account of the immense responsibility that India has been assigned by the great nations of the Non-aligned world to shoulder, to charter and to give leadership and direction to a Movement that brings into its fold almost two-thirds of the nations of the world.

The task, no doubt, is a challenging one. Tireless and steadfast, as we are in our pursuit for world peace, committed deeply, as India has traditionally been to the great

[Shri Daulatsinghji, Jadejā]

objective of a just world order, there is no gainsaying the fact that India, under the able leadership of our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the "distinguished daughter of a distinguished father of the Movement"—to borrow the very apt description that the President of Guyana gave to our Prime Minister at the plenary meeting of the Non-aligned Summit—India would discharge its role and responsibility fully, commensurate with the faith and confidence reposed in us by a hundred and more countries of the non-aligned world.

It is that faith and confidence that we should cherish and carefully nourish. For, after all, it is that faith and confidence of these countries that will, in the coming years, enable us to infuse the much-needed strength and vigour to this truly international movement of Non-Alignment.

More than before obviously, it calls for, on the part of India, an active and imaginative role in international affairs. To quote, in this context, the leaders of the delegation of a young non-aligned country—Belize—India's leadership would make the non-aligned movement emerge as a 'political, economic and intellectual force in the world'. Other members of the non-aligned movement had repeatedly reiterated these very sentiments when they said that in India alone there exists the necessary climate, atmosphere, leadership and goodwill' for the non-aligned world.

Such being the warm sentiments with which India has been greeted and chosen as the leader of the movement, it calls for, more than before, on our part to carry the great traditions and the spirit of India's noble objectives to all the parts of the developing world.

In this effort of ours, we cannot afford to ignore any more the distant lands of Latin America and the Caribbean. The largest number of delegations both as full Members and Observers of the non-aligned movement came from these region of Latin America and the Caribbean, to the New Delhi Seventh Summit. With the exception of only two or three countries, as we all know, all the other countries of

Latin America and the Caribbean have been, and are associated with the non-aligned movement, to which we have currently been assigned the leadership role. The three countries which joined the non-aligned movement, just on the eve of the Seventh Summit, bringing the total membership of the movement to a record of hundred and more, were all from Latin America and the Caribbean. And in the coming years, I am confident more and more of these countries which are associated with the non-aligned movement as observers and guests, are likely to enlist themselves as full members.

The fact that more and more of these countries of Latin America with enthusiasm and conviction are joining the non-aligned movement at a time when India has assumed the leadership role, is a testimony not only to the increasing relevance of the philosophy of non-alignment, a philosophy and principle that had been evolved by the great leaders of India; it is equally a testimony to the goodwill and confidence that obtains for India and its great leaders in the Western Hemisphere.

No wonder, therefore, did the President of Guyana, while speaking on behalf of the non-aligned members of Latin America and the Caribbean, epitomize their sentiments in one short and crisp sentence to our Prime Minister by thus saying: 'You can rely on us from Latin America'.

If that be the assurance given to us, should we not reciprocate and give them the assurance that we can be relied upon? Should we not, therefore, show greater concern and interest, more than before, in the happenings in Latin America and the Caribbean? Should we not step forward and strengthen our bonds of friendship with the great people of these regions?

Obviously, all these call for a more involved relationship with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. In this connection, I am very happy to note that our Government has already taken the necessary initiative in establishing diplomatic relations with countries such as Belize, Dominican Republic, Honduras and Haiti in Central America and the

Caribbean. Giving this information in the Lok Sabha, our Minister of External Affairs Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao told us that diplomatic relations with these countries will be established as soon as possible. Along these lines, I am sure, in time we will establish diplomatic missions in other countries where we still do not have such missions. What is more, for these very reasons, we must strengthen further and expand considerably the already established diplomatic missions in this part of the world.

Strengthening political and diplomatic relations by themselves do not suffice. Underlying such relationships are the intangible relationships that are emotional rather than rational, and certainly not related to day-to-day problems.

In promoting such intangible but nevertheless important relationships and forging close links, I should say the countries of Latin America, more than India, have taken over the years a number of very significant initiatives. In the past, many of the Latin American countries have been celebrating with great fanfare some of the important Indian national days. During the last year, to cite a few such instances under the auspices of the Institute of Oriental Studies at the University of El Salvador in Argentina, an "Indian Week" function was held and rich tributes were paid to Maharishi Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. Similarly, Gandhi Jayanthi was celebrated in the Republic of India School in Santiago, Chile and also at the Chapultepec Park in Mexico City in the vicinity of the inspiring statue of Mahatma Gandhi attended by leading intellectuals and personalities of Mexico. In Havana, Cuba, Kingston, Jamaica and Montevideo, Uruguay, "India Today" photo exhibitions have been held which attracted large number of the people of these countries.

Presidents of the Senates of the leading democratic countries of Trinidad & Tobago and Colombia with their delegations paid courtesy visits to India bringing along with them the good-will of the people of these countries last year.

These events and activities, no doubt, are of special gratification to us. Equally gratifying it would be for me and many

of my colleagues in the Parliament, if we in turn reciprocated these sentiments of the people and the leaders of these countries.

In this connection, I would like to remind the House that way back in 1974, the Latin American Parliament had asked India to convene an Afro-Asian Latin American Parliament.

Again, when Dr. Rafael Caldera, former President of Venezuela and President of Inter-Parliamentary Council visited India last year at the invitation of our Honourable Speaker of Lok Sabha, he too made a similar request to us.

Until today, I very much regret to say that we have taken no initiative whatsoever—an effort which I am sure you would agree with me, if it is revived will bring the Parliamentarians of all the three continents to come together and, in the process, foster the tradition of parliamentary democracy to which all of us are wedded to. Again in the same spirit, just as I had stated last year, it is time that we sponsored a parliamentary delegation visiting as many Latin American countries including those from which similar delegations from Latin America had visited over these years.

In response to the Latin American and Caribbean peoples' effort and initiatives to observe and celebrate Indian national days, I am of the firm opinion that we should reciprocate by organising important national days of individual countries of the region.

In this regard, during the current year we should organise a celebration commemorating the two-hundredth birth anniversary of Simon Bolivar, the great liberator, freedom fighter and one who had devoted his life and energies in the fight against colonialism and imperialism. Simon Bolivar, though a Venezuelan by birth, his mission had transcended far beyond the physical confines of that country, and in the process, he has become truly a symbol of the aspirations of the people all over the world fighting against colonialism and imperialism. To that galaxy of great world leaders, Latin

[Shri Daulatsinhji Jadeja]

America's contribution is not Simon Bolivar alone. There are other great leaders and visionaries whose ideas and life are to be remembered and honoured.

That brings me to yet another matter, initiative over which, I regret to say, has not been taken at all so far by our Government. That relates to the establishment of an academic centre for promoting Latin American studies in India. Although, recommendation to this effect was made by the Ministry of External Affairs in the wake of our Prime Minister's historic visit to Latin America in 1968, so far, to the best of my knowledge, no concrete steps on the part of our Government are in sight to promote Latin American studies in our country.

We have, as a consequence, scant knowledge of contemporary Latin America. And we have no knowledge of its past.

It is indeed redeeming to know that the Mexican Embassy, under the stewardship of a scholar-diplomat has just recently opened a library and a study circle primarily to cater to the needs of those students, scholars and general public who want to acquaint themselves with Mexico and Latin America in terms of history and current developments. The library is named after Alfonso Garcia Robles, a renowned Mexican diplomat and statesman who has devoted his life and career to world peace and disarmament.

Other than this, in India and in New Delhi, the Jawaharlal Nehru University has the only one but a modest programme of study and research relating to Latin America, in existence for years, thanks once again to the initiative and interest taken by some forward-looking faculty of the School of International Studies.

Needless to add, none of these efforts suffice. Before long, steps need to be taken to strengthen and consolidate at least the on-going programme of Latin American Studies of Nehru University, so that we can claim some credit for ourselves for organising Latin American studies in India.

In this connection, permit me to say that even a cursory study of the Chinese print and broadcast media indicate extensive coverage of Latin America affairs by correspondents who clearly seem to possess substantial first-hand knowledge of Latin American countries. Obviously, it only indicates that China does indeed possess significant knowledge of Latin America which is not possible without a strong and systematic programme of study and research of contemporary Latin America.

As I had stated earlier, in view of our important role and responsibility as the leader of the non-aligned movement, we cannot anymore ignore the need to get to know more about these distant regions. In addition to our normal diplomatic channels, we should encourage studies relating to Latin America by our scholars and specialists on such aspects of relevance of contemporary Latin America.

Finally, in view of the deteriorating global economic situation, the worst victims of which are the number of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, in the spirit of 'South-South' cooperation, an ideal we share with the countries of Latin America as members and participants in the non-aligned movement, we should extend our cooperation to these countries. Steeped in huge foreign debt and experiencing the worst runaway inflation, many of the countries of these regions are re-orienting their economic policies and strategies in fighting their problems of economic underdevelopment. Many of these countries are looking for new technologies and new products to meet their needs at substantially reduced cost.

The visit of Argentina's Vice Minister for International Economic Relations in August last year, and the interest he and his delegation evinced in India's economic development processes, is indicative of this trend. As we all know, Mexico too has signed last November an agreement providing for economic cooperation between India and Mexico. Some months ago, I read in an Indian newspaper excerpts of a letter that Cuba's President Fidel Castro has written to our indus-

trialist Shri G. D. Birla inviting him to visit Cuba, 'an occasion' as the Cuban President writes, which 'would serve to consolidate the relations' between India and Cuba.

I am saying these things at length only to under-score the goodwill and confidence with which we are treated and received by the people and their leaders in Latin America and the Caribbean. Our approach towards these countries, therefore, should be no more on the belief that these countries are only of marginal importance to us in our international inter-actions. Rather, they are increasingly seeking to identify themselves with our national and international objectives. That is the reason why, the Vice-President of Panama, while commending India's leadership role in the non-aligned movement, quoted an ancient Sanskrit verse which, translated into English, reads in short: 'Common be our prayer and purpose; common be our desires and deliberations; and unified be our hearts and united be our intentions.'

Let us hope, in the years to come, that our Government will take the necessary initiative very much along the lines of this ancient Sanskrit saying, and pave the way for mature partnership with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.

15.00 hrs.

SHRI JAIDEEP SINGH (Godhra): Mr. Chirman, Sir, we are going through the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of External Affairs. I feel that it is a very opportune opportunity to draw the attention of the Government to some important matters.

The world is going through a very difficult period indeed, a period of turmoil, a period of insurgency and war. Therefore, under these conditions, it is very difficult to conceive of economic development. But, nevertheless, in international diplomacy, I believe, that there are only two courses that a country can take. One is of receding in its own shell, not doing anything and not involving itself in anything. The other is of coming forward, of taking the lead in whatever respect it can and showing the way to many countries what can

be done and what should be done. India is a very large country and as such, I do not think, it can take the first alternative at all. It can only take the second alternative of coming forward. I feel that in the recent years, we have taken great strides. Our Prime Minister has vigorously pursued the foreign diplomacy and has made her mark felt, made the name of India also important in the world forums. That is why, all the more so, when the Non Aligned Meet was decided to be held in India, we all felt that it was the step in the right direction, because we were going to be saddled with responsibilities and those responsibilities our Prime Minister

15.03 hrs.

(Shri N. K. Shelwalkar in the Chair)

Minister was quite capable of taking. We saw what happened. We have managed the whole conference well. I think, it has been acclaimed all over the world. Now, the onus of leading all those countries into world forums and expressing a joint will has fallen on us.

The non-aligned debate that I was listening to yesterday. I have felt that one of the major breakthrough that we have been able to do in this respect is—of course, the question of getting so many Heads of different countries to come here and so on is there—that the leadership of the non-aligned has fallen with a country, which is taking a centerist view in all these forums. I always feel that to take an indoctrinated view, whether it be the right or left, will never be very good, because it cannot muster maximum support. Having the position that we are in, we have been able to get maximum support from all the countries. That is a major step in the right direction. I hope, in future the same traditions will be maintained. There are many problems that we are facing internationally. There are countries which are interested in seeing that we do not make progress. There are countries which are interested in seeing that trouble is created in this country so that we are kept busy trying to quell them and so we will have to have a very strong attitude towards interference of this type. I would like to ask the hon. Minister as to, what steps are being taken when people

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who are openly exploiting the idea of having say, Khalistan, in India, are being harboured by United States of America? Merely raising protests, I feel, is not going to suffice. We will have to do much more diplomatic drive to see that such encouragements are not given, otherwise it is almost an open hostility that is being levelled on us.

People talk of arms race. I feel that no amount of resolutions regarding the arms race is going to be of any help at all, all this is happening because there is a lot of tension in this world. We must pass resolutions, we must say that there should be no arms race but merely saying so is not going to help anybody. I think the very important role we can play in this is that we should be able to ask ourselves more to see that the various kinds of troubles that are happening all over the world are lessened and the result of lessening of tension of these types will, I think, automatically make countries, who are spending a lot of money on arms, themselves realise that it will be futile to waste money like this. So, I hope effort to that effect will be made in the near future.

I was rather surprised the other day to read that an attempt by some countries was made to see that the right of vote in the Security Council be taken away from those countries and I am given to understand, if I am wrong I stand corrected, that we have not supported that stand. I am really very surprise, because in the first place, I think even the composition of the Security Council on a permanent basis like this, is not really correct for a democratic set-up, if United Nations claims to be so, and if these few nations who sit in this Security Council permanently have the right to vote, then I feel they will scuttle, that they have done in many cases in the past many good ideas which could not go through simply because one country did not like it. I think we should support the stand that the authority of vote in Security Council should certainly be taken away, if we cannot propose any other change in the composition of the Security Council.

We shall require very clear thinking now onwards in various matters that we have been seized of at various instances. Take, for example, the Arab-Israel conflict. We have sided with the Arabs against the Israel but I feel that whenever this sort of incidents arise, we take a stand which is not very convincing to the countries with which we are supposed to align. I have definitely felt on many occasions that the Arab countries have felt that we only give them lip sympathy. After all, such a conflict took place, almost a war took place, and what did we do? We only agreed to send them a few doctors, a commodity which perhaps they do not really require and, therefore, no amount of effort of this type is going to be of any help unless we are more forth-right in exactly what we mean by supporting one or the other. The same is the case with Afghanistan and Kampuchea, as in the case of *apartheid*, which is being practised by South Africa and the question of the independence of Namibia. We are not as forthright as we should have been. We have been fairly mild in our efforts. I think we should have made more vigorous efforts in all these matters.

Now the African countries are the most numerous in the whole world. We have to create confidence in them all that we are their friends, that we stand by them, that we want to be of help to them. I think the stand that we have taken up till now is not sufficient.

Talking about the Indian Ocean, everybody is interested in keeping it as a zone of peace. We have denounced the arms build up in that region. But I am not sure whether we have sought the complete support of all the littoral States, who are also equally concerned about it. I have always felt that we have not fully utilized the diplomatic channels towards this end. To give an example, a country like Oman would be interested in this, but we have not sought their co-operation. There may be other oil-producing countries, but I mentioned Oman because it is on the periphery of the Indian Ocean. We should have developed closer and better ties with such countries to join their support.

Coming to border disputes with China and other countries, we go on negotiating with them. Are we so gullible to believe that by mere negotiation we are going to get back all those territories, which have been held by those countries for many many years now? There was a chance that we could have persuaded China with the help of Prof. Chakraborti, but he now seems to have left that side. So, we have lost that chance of negotiation. What are we going to do to get those place back? This is what we definitely want to know. At the moment, when negotiations or talks with China are held regarding the borders, I do not think anybody takes it seriously any more, because as everybody knows, no results come out of such talks. So, I feel it is necessary to think of evolving some result-oriented talks. Every such means must be explored. There are diplomatic channels and so many other methods which can be used.

For example, when the United Kingdom took back Falkands, they did not negotiate with Argentina. When Argentina occupied it, they got it back by force and now negotiations are taking place on whether it is Argentine or British territory.

SHRI * SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South): Is that the policy of your party? Because, the Government of India protested against the action of the British Government. Are you justifying it?

SHRI JAIDEEP SINGH: I know what I am talking about. In fact, I was listening to your speech very carefully. Most of it was devoted to convincing us that there should be a Socialist Government in India. I may tell you that it has made no impact on our minds.

A lot of suggestions have been made as to what should be done in different areas. It was mentioned that our presence in some of the areas is not sufficient. Our Missions in all these areas must be made more effective. There is a complaint frequently made that our Missions do not perform some functions and the reply given is constraint of resources. I have travelled far and wide and I have seen the

working of some of the Missions very closely. I feel that perhaps, for some unknown reasons, our Foreign Minister has not been able to press for more funds to provide more facilities to these Missions. I feel that in the new areas of Africa and South America our Missions will have to be increased, our Missions will have to be supplied with necessary equipments to be able to deal with the situation more effectively. There are many constraints and I am sure the Minister is aware of them. We make political appointments now and then. Those political appointments, I am sorry to have to say here many times, are not made on the basis of competence. I feel that in such a critical sphere as foreign affairs, particularly diplomacy, it is very important that competent people should be sent, and not somebody who is well-known or who is important to us. What is his capacity to do this kind of work that is important. This should weigh more and this should be taken into consideration. That, I believe, is not being done which I personally feel should be considered sincerely.

Now and again, voice is raised about matters which I do not think important at all. Very recently, I remember, we had a Committee which went round seeing how much Hindi is being used in our foreign Missions. Tell me, Sir, when we are not able to use Hindi entirely in our country, how are we going to press our Missions abroad to use Hindi. I can understand using Hindi in their correspondence with India. But I believe there have been even demands made that our Ambassadors and our high officials are unable to make conversation in Hindi and that even in foreign countries you must ask Hindi to be an accepted language. It is a very tall order and I do not think we should waste our time and energy and money on such things. It is not a question of slighting Hindi as a language, but has been seen that a translation can never be as good as the original. So, if our envoys, if our Ministers and if our people who go abroad are able to converse fluently in English or in other foreign language where it is necessary, the impact of whatever we talk will be much more than through Interpreters. It is all right for

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some countries to demand that. But basically we are a country where many languages are spoken by our leaders and I do not think we should worry about such petty questions.

I would like to say that I have raised some pertinent points which I hope you will take into consideration and give a reply. We have done well up till now and I think we are going in the right direction and I think if we continue this way, we will come out finally very well in the international and diplomatic field.

SHRI R. R. BHOLE (Bombay South Central): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think the foreign policy of our Government has support from all the quarter of the House. The reason is, they are following a very correct and a right policy, and that policy is to try to keep peace around India in the neighbourhood, in the neighbouring countries and in the world at large.

Sir, India has a vested interest to fulfil the aspirations of feeding 700 millions of our population. We have to give them enough meals so that they can lead a good and happy life. We have to give them houses. We have to give them education. We have to give them opportunities to develop fully so that they could be of some use to the nation at large. To meet this end it is necessary that we should live in peace. If we do not live in peace we will not be able to develop our economy; we will not be able to raise the standard of our life. From this point of view, our goal should be to preserve peace around our continent. I am glad that we are supporting U.N. activities. We are also making a very serious attempt to see that there is disarmament and this obnoxious race for armament should stop. We are also trying to persuade through the U.N. Assembly the Security Council and our great non-alignment movement to see that the super powers do not manufacture nuclear weapons and also do not heap them in large numbers in different parts of the world. When we do all these things it is also very necessary that we must be strong at home. Unless and until we have our internal strength,

the capacity—moral and others—will not be as effective as it will be if we are strong. The super-powers naturally would follow their own compulsions even if they go against the interest of their allies and friends. They naturally estimate our strength and also the strength of our political Institutions. They also desire that we should weaken ourselves in our capacity to resist the tension which the super powers are creating all over the world. We have seen what strong lobby these powers had in the recent Seventh Summit at New Delhi. They want to project their own view points so that our war the war of the non-alignment against these nuclear powers does not get momentum. I thought it therefore, very necessary that we must as quickly and as ruthlessly as possible come down heavily on the violent movements which are started by some fifth columnists in Assam and in Punjab. Sir, I fail to understand how a temple, a worshipping place, could be still a temple or a worshipping place when it harbours persons who commit offences.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Criminal offences.

SHRI R. R. BHOLE: ...criminals who run away after committing offence and take shelter. I wonder how even the custodians of these temples could be spared from the clutches of the Law. They are abetting the offence by harbouring these criminals and we are trying to negotiate with such people. Sir, I am afraid we are going too far. I quite understand that we must try as much as possible to do it in a way that more trouble is not created in this country. But there is a limit for our tolerance and there is also a limit for us, and at that point, we must stop and come down heavily both on the persons who are trying to create trouble in Punjab and the persons who are trying to create trouble in Assam. It is necessary, therefore, that unless and until we effectively and very quickly pull down the citadels of violence in these two places, we will not be as strong as it is necessary for us to seek peace and security in the world.

Sir, our worries are many—our worry of the Indian Ocean, worry as a result of the supply of F-16 planes and sophisticated

weapons to Pakistan. Our worry is also because Saudi Arabia is advancing large sums of money, perhaps 200 to 300 million dollars to Pakistan for purchasing these sophisticated weapons.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: They are manufacturers of Islamic bomb.

SHRI R. R. BHOLE: There is also in the air what is called the Islamic bomb. We must try to see and persuade our good neighbours that going in this direction is not in their interest and it is not in the interest of others also. We want to create the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The Super Powers want the epicentre of world tension to be spread over all the places in the world. They specially want this epicentre not in their own continent, but in Asia and Western part of Europe and that is the reason that these Super Powers are making a very serious attempt to build up military and naval presence all over the world, specially in Asia and Europe. And also in the Indian Ocean there are bases, there is rapid deployment of forces; Deigo Garica has the biggest military build up in Indian Ocean by the United States. The United Nations with the assistance of a large number of nations have passed resolutions to see that this Indian Ocean of ours is a zone of peace. But it is our misfortune that the super-powers have disregarded that call, not once but several times. Sir the detente has also been suspended since February, 1978. The dialogue also appears to have been almost frozen. The Non-Aligned countries are trying to see that there is a dialogue between these powers who are trying to spread tense atmosphere all over the world but we have still not succeeded. In this connection, I must say that our Non-Aligned Movement will be very effective to resist the attitude of these super-powers. It is quite possible because these two powers are so powerful, they have all the technological might, they have all the destructive armaments and the therefore they are not in a mood to listen to the counsel of different countries. But I thought that it would be better if this Non-Aligned Movement also spread in the shape of a people's movement. I am glad that the people in the United States, people in

England, people in Canada, people in Western Europe and people in India have appreciated the movement and the movement of the people is gathering momentum. People are demonstrating against this atrocious attitude of the super-powers. And I think, if people take up this movement along with the Non-Aligned nations, it will resist the attitude of the super-powers who are today going in the wrong direction and trying to create tensions all over the world and manufacturing weapons which perhaps would destroy the whole of the humanity. Therefore, Sir, I think, the Non-Aligned Movement is a very important movement and I am glad that we have hosted the Summit only recently. I have no doubt and our country has no doubt that our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi who is now chairman of the Summit would do her best along with the assistance of the 101 nations all over the world to see that all the nations in the world live in peace and security. I think, we are following a very right path by our attitude towards Afghanistan, by our attitude towards PLO and by our attitude towards Kampuchea, India has always deplored Soviet move into Afghanistan. But we have refused to accept that it can be said as Soviet expansionism. Our attitude towards Afghanistan, our attitude towards PLO and our attitude towards Kampuchea is now being adopted by some other nations also.

We see that the China's attitude is also being gradually diluted. The Aseans who were attacking us are also now beginning to understand that the regime of Pol Pot was genocidal. There is a lot of evidence accumulated how to show that they were committing heinous crimes and violence against all its people. Prince Sihanouk has also suggested the replacement of Vietnamese troops by UN personnel. We, therefore, see that our point of view is gradually being appreciated by other nations also.

I think, our policy is a right policy. We are carrying with us all the nations that have become free very recently. We want to live in peace and develop ourselves as much as possible. The cost of armaments which the Super Powers are

[Shri R. R. Bhole]

manufacturing is so much that if they do not manufacture at least half, perhaps the developing countries would profit immensely. They would be doing service to humanity if they stop manufacturing such costly and dangerous weapons. Our hon. Minister of External Affairs is doing very well. He is travelling all over the world. He is trying to see that peace is there in the world so that we can all develop. We all wish him success in this great effort.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think, foreign policy had never acquired that much importance as it has today because the world has now come closer. The development of science and technology, communications and the economic interdependence between different countries have all given added importance to the foreign policy of every country and, particularly, to a country like India which is a big country, a country with great history, a country which has made valuable contribution to history. During the last 50 to 60 years, India's contributions were great when many countries in the world were fighting for their freedom. Therefore, its foreign policy and the initiatives by External Affairs Ministry have acquired great importance. I think that there are two major objectives of the foreign policy. One that our foreign policy should be able to take care of our national interests and should project our policies properly in the world and equally important task of the foreign policy is its human and international commitments. We, as a Member in the comity of nations, have to perform our international duty also. I will say that Indian foreign policy also has a history. It was the great fortune of the country that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru became our first Prime Minister, a man with a great vision, a man with a good understanding of history. He was able to give the right kind of direction and the formulation of the Indian foreign policy. I would say that, by and large, we are carrying forward that tradition. And this is good. Therefore, Indian foreign policy basically remains the policy of peace and international cooperation.

I would like to draw the attention of the Foreign Minister to an important aspect of our foreign policy. Everybody will agree that our domestic socio-economic policies are highly linked with our foreign policy. What did we do in the Seventh Non-aligned Conference in Delhi? The NAM said that the one major challenge that the developing countries are facing today is that they continue to be exploited by the developed countries. There are many countries with colonial approach and policies. There are countries with imperialistic policies and they continue to exploit the under-developed countries for the third world countries or the developing whatever we call. NAM has again given a call for a new international socio-economic order. It has given a call that the colonial powers and the developed countries must stop exploitation of the developing countries. We want a proper share in the world capital because historically we have been exploited. It is all good and it is very correct approach on a global level. But then when we look at our own socio-economic policy internally, a person feels highly disturbed. I feel that our domestic socio-economic policies have not been able to do justice to 80 per cent of our population. When we talk of certain highly developed countries socially and economically exploiting the developing countries, then what do we do at home? We see that only 20 per cent of our population is becoming richer. The major fruits of development are going only to them. 80 per cent of our population continues to be socially and economically exploited. This is a contradiction. It is high time that the Government, instead of only giving a call on international level should do something at home also. Otherwise we will not be able to enjoy moral authority and will not be able to inspire the people. It is high time that after 35 years of our independence, Government must give a serious look to re-fixing of our economic priorities, and re-orientation of policies. Our respected Rangaji, I think from his very young days,—I have read in a book written by a foreigner a lady professor, while praising Mr. Ranga's role said, that a young Ranga coming from a rich peasant family raised the voice of common peasants. I

would like to know what is happening to the 80 per cent of our population living in our villages. They continue to be socially and economically backward, they still suffer from discrimination, they still continue to be exploited by the vested interests in our society. Therefore, if you want to conduct our foreign policy with dignity, with confidence, with honour, then we have to be a strong self-reliant country. I am not saying that India has not done anything towards self-reliance. India has gone a long way towards establishment of a self-reliant economy. We have acquired self-reliance in economy to a great extent. But at the same time we have greatly contributed to building a capitalist society in our country. In the light of the New Delhi NAM Message and the Political and Economic Declarations the Government of India must give a serious thought to our socio-economic policies at home.

I hope the Foreign Minister will educate his own Party Members on Foreign Policy though he has made it clear many times 'that they do not bracket the Super Powers'. But some of his Party Members go on saying things without understanding the role of the major powers in the world. I was going through the Report of the Ministry of External Affairs where it says about disarmament. In the Second Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly our Foreign Minister made a brilliant speech stating the position of the Government of India regarding peace and war and disarmament. The report state that the Prime Minister sent a message saying that the 'Session should negotiate a binding convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons'. This was the first point she has made in that Message. How does one go on equating the Soviet Union and the U.S.A.? The Soviet Union was the first to declare, it was late President Brezhnev—and its present President has reiterated time and again—who sent a special message to the second special Disarmament Session that the Soviet Union would not be the first to strike, would not be the first to use nuclear weapon. Let this guarantee be given by the USA and other nuclear powers. Had they come forward with that, there would have been no danger of destruction of the world today.

U.S.S.R. has given this assurance time and again. India and the Soviet Union have worked together on several occasions for disarmament and on such occasions they have had almost the same approach. When some of the ruling power Members bracket the Super Powers, they condemn their own Government also because they do not understand their own government policy.

AN HON. MEMBER: They do not mind it.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: I would not say that they do not mind it because the patriotic sense of Congressmen is very high. That is one great tradition. I do not question that. It is out of ignorance that they do. Perhaps, they do not understand.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: How can a judge be an ignorant person?

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: India today has acquired a historical position. History has given to it a great position. I should say that it is a coincidence of history that India got this position. Out of modesty many times it has been said that India does not want to be the leader of the non-aligned movement. But we have got the leadership because the Prime Minister of India now happens to be the Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement. You may not call yourself the leader out of modesty, but people will look towards you as leader of the Movement and, therefore, you have to play your role as such. This is what is needed today that India, as a great country, as the leader of the Non-Aligned Movement, has to play a great role for world peace, for disarmament, and a great role against all the manipulations of the imperialist, colonial and racist forces, has to sometime call a spade, a spade and has to tell the United States of America, 'Look here, stop your interference, what you are doing in most parts of the world in Indian Ocean—in Latin America, in the Arab world and everywhere.' Sir, it gives us a great feeling of pride that India is being supported by Yasser Arafat—the entire Arab world in spite of the religious affinity they are trying to build, in spite of the fundamentalist forces working in the Arab

[Shri Chandrajit Yadav]

world. Most of the Arab world today look to India as a friend, as a sympathiser and as a country fighting for their cause. India today has this historical opportunity. I would like our Government play a major role and take the initiative whether it is in the United Nations or any other forum. Prime Minister gave a call that at the next General Assembly session all the Heads of States and Governments must meet and discuss the major world problems threadbare. This is a good initiative and I hope that when the next General Assembly session meets you should see, Mr. Foreign Minister, you should please try to persuade the Heads of States that they respect the call of the Prime Minister of India and the Chairperson of the Non-aligned Movement, they attend the session. Our Prime Minister, I think, did a right thing by going to the United States of America and the Can Cun conference, trying to persuade them to understand and see the problems. But this report does admit that this North-South negotiations were virtually paralysed and there was an erosion of the spirit of multilateralism. Who paralysed this North-South negotiations? Is it not the United States of America who paralysed this? After Can Cun Conference USA does not want to act because they have a definite policy. Who is supporting Pakistan, giving it the latest armaments and trying to create tension in this area? Who is he? The culprit must be named—that this is the culprit and I think the time has come and the culprit has to be named. It is no use go on saying that all the big powers are there as they have their own interests and they are manipulating. Is it not the fact that Soviet Union says that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace? Is it not the Soviet Union which was the first country which said, 'Yes, Indian Ocean must be a zone of peace.'? They support this idea. But who is not supporting it? The USA, and other powers. The Foreign Minister said that not only these two powers but there are more than two powers whose presence is there in the Indian Ocean.

They are not accepting Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Who is violating the decision taken in the UN General Assembly that the Indian Ocean should be treated

as a zone of peace? Is it Soviet Union or USA?

Therefore, I am saying that there is a need for educating our people. There is a need for educating our Ambassadors and our representatives also. I want to say a word about that. I normally do not speak against them. I would say, Mr Foreign Minister, you should have a fresh look about your Embassies working abroad. I am glad that one committee has been formed. I do not yet know what will be the scope of that committee and how far they will suggest, whether they are going to suggest only on the financial aspect or they are going to say something about the entire functioning of our Chanceries and Embassies abroad. We have got some brilliant officers in our Foreign Ministry. They are capable of implementing our policies.....

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Hear, hear.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: But it is also a fact that some of our Ambassadors and High Commissioners are sitting in our Chanceries as little lords. They sit pretty well without much bothering about projecting our image. We see in Delhi some of the Ambassadors, how they do public relationship, when some important persons from their countries come, how they try to see that they meet maximum number of people, talk to them. I have not found in any of our ambassadors when some important Members of Parliament or important leaders of the country go abroad — though they are good in inviting for lunch and dinner — but rarely they invite important people, MPs, journalists, professors and academicians where they can get an opportunity to talk to them and say something on behalf of their country. This approach is lacking in most of our Chanceries. I would request the hon. Foreign Minister not to take all the burden on his head. You have done a good job. You had established good personal contacts with many of the Foreign Ministers of many countries which has contributed quite a

lot to the strengthening of our relationship. Some of our Foreign Secretaries did a good job before this Non-Aligned Summit but it is only occasionally. It should be a part of the system; not that when we are going in for an important occasion only then our Foreign Ministry is activated and then after that they start taking it easy. That should not be allowed. It was really a surprise to me today that for the first time I see that in the Officers' Gallery neither the Foreign Secretary nor the Secretaries of your Ministry found time to come and listen to what the Members have to say here. I am sorry for this. Though these things look small yet they are big things. That shows their approach. They do not bother. Some officers will send some report and they will read it sitting in their offices and let the Foreign Minister sit here because he has a duty to perform. So, I think, certain things have not only to be corrected but also they have to be told to behave properly and do their duty properly.

15.56 hrs.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

Sir, I was looking into this Report and, I think, at one place it has been mentioned that you led a delegation to some country. Mr. Speaker, I must say you did quite a good job for the country not only as Speaker but also as representative of our country on many occasions and, as such, a little more mention should have been made. I think it would have been proper when the Speaker of the country who has a position is going and doing certain things it should have found proper mention in the Report. The method of writing the Report should not be bureaucratic and routine.

Sir, I will say our embassies abroad have to be more dynamic. They need a second look. In certain prestigious assies like London, Paris, Washington embassies people want to go there but embassies in Latin American countries, African and Asian countries are down graded. They do not have even proper staff, proper resources and many of the do not have proper buildings and furniture.

I think these things have to be done and this committee which has been appointed will give necessary attention.

16.00 hrs.

I know one or two embassies where the ambassadors say, where do I meet the Indian people? When this embassy was established the Indian population was 1,000; all of a sudden during the last 10 years it has gone up to 60 or 70 thousands, even lakhs in many Gulf countries and other countries. Buildings remain the same, small buildings; staff increase is one here or two there; some people are sent there. Another important point that I would like to say is this: When ambassadors are posted, perhaps they represent us less and they represent that country more where they are posted. Very often they speak the language of that country. They go on Supporting that Government; what is the Government of India's stand, they are not even aware of that. I am not identifying a particular person. Just for example, I am saying, a man posted at Baghdad will speak the language of Iraq. He will make out a strong case for that country. A man posted at Teheran will make out a strong case for Iran. But they will not care about the approach of the Government of India.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO): They have never been at war!

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: They may not be at war; I am not saying that, they are might be at cold war.

I want to say a word about the next Commonwealth Conference in New Delhi.

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR: What about the treatment given to the Indian people? Please say something about that.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: I have said about it. The Indian people are highly dissatisfied because they feel, it is very difficult to get access to a proper person in the embassy; they will be lucky if they go up to Enquiry or Reception. This matter needs a serious look. Please

[Shri Chandrajit Yadav]

do not try to evolve a consensus in Commonwealth meeting; otherwise you will find an odd situation. Speak out your mind, I am sure that you will do it. I am just giving advice. Don't try to reach a consensus because you will be in an odd company I do not see much relevance of India being in the Commonwealth today; there was a time when we had big trade and business relations; we thought that in the beginning that we should not sever our relations with the Commonwealth. I will not demand it today because you are a host country; you have to hold that Commonwealth conference; let the conference be held; then you give a thought whether it is necessary that you should continue to be in the Commonwealth.

Then there are one or two matters regarding which I want the Foreign Minister to tell us the correct position. I asked this question also last time in the Foreign Affairs Consultative Committee. He promised us that he will let us know. We had read about American plans for de-stabilisation in India...

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: Balkanisation.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: Well, we know that Americans had not been happy. They have never been happy with India becoming a stronger country. We know what America did before this 7th summit. What did they do? They tried their best that this conference should be disrupted; they tried their best that there should be division in the non-aligned movement. They tried to whip up the people who came to speak for them that they should take this stand; although they tried many things, they failed because of the maturity of the movement because of the care taken by India. Because of that they failed. But we have to be careful. I would like to know what our Government is doing in this respect.

I have with me a magazine *New Times*. There is a item regarding the Assamese chauvinist group's violence

in Assam. Giving some facts, the New Delhi correspondent says:

"The Indian press has repeatedly observed that the aggressive rampage of the Assamese chauvinist groups could not have assumed such a scale where the extremist leaders not connected with US special services, which are out to give effect to the plan worked out long ago in the US for disrupting India's national unity and territorial integrity. The plan, code-named Brahmaputra Project, is aimed at breaking away from India a number of strategically important areas in the northeast of the country."

This is an important magazine of Soviet Union. They are not irresponsible to say such things and they, as friends, have been pointing out to certain forces which are trying to weaken our country. I would like to know from the hon. Minister what is his report? Most of the people in this country feel highly concerned. Now, I would like to know what steps the Government is taking to see that these forces do not indulge in such kind of anti-Indian activities and if they do indulge then the Government has a patriotic duty to tell them that this is not their business. So many things have been said earlier that the representative of the USA in UN has some scheme and others have some other schemes and, therefore, we feel concerned and would like to know from the Foreign Minister what steps are being taken in this matter?

Sir, I would like that the Foreign Minister should pay a little more attention to the Latin American countries. A new upsurge is coming in that part of the world and many new forces have come on the scene. They are important forces. They look toward India as an important country and, therefore, I would like that in our relationship we should pay more attention to the Latin American countries and the newly liberated countries where progressive governments are coming in existence and they are becoming part of the non-aligned family also.

Further, Sir, our Economic Counsellors or Economic Ministers in our Embassies have to play a major role now because economic issues have become very important issues—World Bank and IMF role. As the Prime Minister said in her press conference they are demanding pound of flesh and she said we will not accept that. But saying is not enough unless you have a strong economic base.

Sir, sometimes the dangers do not come from outside. The dangers come from within and the reactionary forces try to take advantage when there is economic distress. This is what is happening in our country. Many a time it is said that there are foreign forces working in Assam. Will the hon. Minister ask the US Department how did they dare to give visa to Mr. Chairman who is claiming to the leader of Khalistan? How BBC gave him 40 minutes on television? He was shown there as President of Khalistan currency was shown on BBC. Their flag was shown on BFC TV. When Mrs. Thatcher is coming to attend Commonwealth Conference I think a word of explanation from her could be asked as ernment is doing? She can easily say it is an independent agency. They are a democratic country and therefore they do not interfere in BBC. The BBC has become the spoke-agency of the British Government. Therefore, in conclusion, I will say that, as I said in the beginning, basically, I think, India's foreign policy is right. India's foreign policy the policy of peace, India remains anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist.

It is in the fitness of things that when we are fighting for a New International Socio-Economic Order, we must have a new Socio-Economic Order within our country also as decided by Congress at Bhubaneshwar and other places. With these words I conclude.

श्री दिलीप सिंह भूरिया (घाबुआ) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे विदेश मंत्रालय की मांगों पर बोलने का समय दिया। मैं इन मांगों का समर्थन करता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने और हमारे विदेश मंत्री जी ने निर्गुट सम्मेलन का आयोजन कर के जो कार्य किया है वह बहुत ही महान् कार्य है। उस कार्य के लिए यहाँ धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव भी पारित किया गया।

हमने यह सम्मेलन आयोजित कर के पुनः एक बार फिर सारे विश्व को बता दिया है कि भारत जो कि महात्मा गांधी का देश है, वह हमेशा शांतिप्रिय देश रहा है और आगे भी रहेगा। उसने सदा 'जियो और जीने' दो के सिद्धांत का पालन किया है। हम जितने भी हमारे पड़ोसी देश हैं उनको भी यही सलाह देते हैं। हम किसी भी देश से झगड़ा करना नहीं चाहते हैं। हमारे देश की 70 करोड़ की आबादी शांति से रहना चाहती है।

परन्तु विश्व के कुछ बड़े बड़े देश, जो कि धनी देश भी हैं, वे भारत को एक तीसरी शक्ति के रूप में उभरते हुए नहीं देखना चाहते। उन्हें भारत का इस प्रकार से उभरना अच्छा नहीं लगता। वे किसी न किसी प्रकार से हमारे देश में आन्तरिक विवाद खड़ा करने अथवा पड़ोसी देश से हमारा झगड़ा करवाने की कोशिश करते रहते हैं। मगर इन देशों को अपने मन्सूबों में कभी सफलता प्राप्त नहीं होगी।

ये देश पाकिस्तान जैसे देशों को एफ-16 विमान देने की बात करते हैं। ये क्यों देते हैं? ये इसलिए देते हैं ताकि इन देशों का पैसा विकास कार्यों में न लग कर हथियारों पर, उनके जमा करने पर खर्च हो। इस तरह से अमरीका जैसा देश दुनियां के गरीब और छोटे देशों का पैसा इकट्ठा कर के और अपनी सामरिक शक्ति को बनाये रख कर दुनियां पर राज करना चाहता है। अमेरिका चाहता है कि बड़े बड़े

[श्री. दिलीप सिंह भूरिया]

हथियारों की जो शक्ति है उसके द्वारा वह हमारे जैसे देशों की मैन पावर पर शासन करे और हमारे जैसे देशों के धन से उसके देश के लोग आराम की जिन्दगी व्यतीत करें। वह चाहता है कि बाकी के लोग गरीबी में अपना जीवन व्यतीत करें और आपस में लड़ते-झगड़ते रहें और वह सब पर राज करता रहे। यह उसकी पालिसी है। लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि यह कभी सफल होने वाली नहीं है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो निर्गुट सम्मेलन हुआ, इसमें 101 देशों ने भाग लिया। यह निर्गुट सम्मेलन प्रारंभ में केवल 25 देशों से आरंभ हुआ था। जो विदेश नीति हमारे पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने तैयार की थी। आज दुनियां के सभी लोग उसकी तारीफ कर रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं विदेश मंत्री जी से कहना चाहंगा कि हमारे जो प्रचार के माध्यम हैं, वे बहुत कमजोर हैं। विदेशों में हमारी बात जितनी ताकत के साथ, जितनी प्रबलता के साथ जानी चाहिये, वह नहीं जा पा रही है। अभी यादव जी कह रहे थे कि हमारे यहां की छोटी-सी बात भी बी०बी०सी० बढ़ा-बढ़ा कर पेश करता है और दुनियां में हमें बदनाम करता है। हमारा प्रचार तंत्र भी बी०बी०सी० की तरह का एक सशक्त तंत्र होना चाहिये। इस पर अगर और भी धन लगाने की आवश्यकता हो तो वह लगाया जाना चाहिये। मुझे भी विदेश जाने का मौका मिला है। हमारे राजदूत चाहे जापान में हों, ब्रिटेन में हों, अमरीका में हों, चुपचाप बैठे रहते हैं। उनको शक्तिशाली बनाने की आवश्यकता है। कई बातों का पता हमको विदेशों के समाचार पत्रों से पता चलती है। खालिस्तान के नोट छप जाते हैं हमको पता नहीं लग पाता। इसलिये हमको विजिलेंस

व्यवस्था को भी शक्तिशाली बनाने की आवश्यकता है। इसके बारे में आप क्या प्रबंध करने जा रहे हैं ?

हमारे यहां के लोग दूसरे देशों में नौकरी के लिये जाते हैं। लाखों की संख्या में लोग जाते हैं। एजेंट्स उनसे हजारों रुपया ले लेते हैं और आगे नौकरी की कोई गारंटी भी नहीं होती। कई बार तो उन लोगों को वहां पर ले जाकर छोड़ दिया जाता है। कई बार सिर्फ रोटी और कपड़े पर उनसे काम लिया जाता है। सरकार की तरफ से इस तरह की कोई व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये कि जब ये लोग बाहर जायें तो इनके बारे में पूरी जानकारी होनी चाहिये। जिस कंपनी में काम करने के लिये जा रहे हैं उसकी जानकारी भी सरकार को होनी चाहिये। इन लोगों के शोषण को रोका जाना चाहिये।

अभी जयदीप सिंह जी हिन्दी के बारे में कह रहे थे। मैं हिन्दी स्टेट का रहने वाला हूँ। साउथ की तरफ के लोग भी जब मिलते हैं तो हिन्दी सीखने की इच्छा व्यक्त करते हैं। अगर जापान का आदमी आता है तो अंग्रेजी जानते हुए भी अपनी भाषा में जवाब देता है। अगर हम भारतीय हैं तो अपनी भाषा का विकास करना चाहिये। अपने कल्चर का विकास करना चाहिये। महात्मा गांधी जब एक कॉन्फ्रेंस में भाग लेने के लिये गये तो उनको लंगोटी पहन कर जाने से रोका गया लेकिन वे उसी वेश में गये। अगर हमें अपने पिछड़ेपन को दूर करना है तो अपने कल्चर को अपना होगा। विदेशों में भी हमें अपनी भाषा, रहनसहन और कल्चर को बड़ी ताकत के साथ रखनी चाहिये। तभी हम अपने आपको सच्चे भारतीय कह सकेंगे।

अभी जो नान अलायंड कॉन्फ्रेंस हुई, इसके बारे में म कल नहीं बोल सका। आज

इस देश के नौजवान और सारी जनता यह समझ गई है कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जैसी नेता देश में तो क्या पूरे विश्व में नहीं है। हमारे गरीब देश में इतनी बड़ी कॉन्फ्रेंस हुई, एशियाड हुआ, इससे हमारे देश का सिर ऊंचा हुआ है। हमारे देशवासियों ने आज दिखा दिया है कि हम किसी भी काम को पूरा कर सकते हैं। हमारे देश के लोग इतने मेहनती हैं। इसके बावजूद अगर कुछ पार्टियां और नेता लोग देश की जनता को गुमराह करें तो यह बात गलत है। भारत के लोग बड़े शांतिप्रिय हैं, शांति के साथ रहना चाहते हैं। दुनिया के जितने भी देश हैं, वे यह मानेंगे कि अगर हमको जिन्दा रहना है तो लड़ाई-झगड़े से नहीं बल्कि शांति से रहना है तभी वे तरक्की करेंगे और उनकी ताकत बढ़ेगी। मैं अधिक वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता, सिर्फ माननीय मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ। जिस तरह से मंत्री जी ने विदेश मंत्रालय का काम किया है और जिस प्रकार से हमारा भारत विश्व शक्ति के नाम से आगे बढ़ रहा है, यह बहुत खुशी की बात है। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI N. E. HORO (Khunti): Sir, I do not propose to condemn the big powers. We in our country have a trend that everytime whatever forum we get we start condemning the imperialists without rhyme or reason. If we are not to praise, we do not have to condemn. Only then in true spirit of non-alignment can we be fair in our dealings with these countries. Sir, what has happened sometimes is, that we in our dealings in foreign policy have often shown as if we favour or particular country and we deny the other. Sir, we, emerging as a leader of the non-aligned countries, should be very fair in our dealings and not become partisan. Take for example Afghanistan. Afghanistan is suffering under foreign intervention, but we have not condemned the USSR in the same terms and in the same tone as we have been condemning

the USA. How can we get the credibility of countries when we become partisan but call ourselves non-aligned, how can we exercise our moral strength in bringing the countries together for peace? We should be very temperate in our language in our dealings and in our attitude. That was only can we really become true leader of the world.

Sir, we are a democratic country. Our system of Government is based on parliamentary democracy. In this respect we are close to the Western countries. There is no denial on that ground. In our attitude, in our actions, we probably are showing that we are a heterogeneous policy, something of socialism, something of communism, something of Western democracy. Our Constitution very clearly shows that we have opted for Parliamentary democracy. Is it not our duty to strengthen the principles which our founding fathers have provided in the Constitution? We should strengthen the democratic forces in the international field.

Sir, we are very much concerned about the trouble that is taking place and has taken place all these years in the Middle East. Now, the entire world has condemned Israel and we should condemn it for its atrocities. But this is not sufficient. If we want to bring peace, if we want to give our contribution to that area, then I feel we have to recognise Israel. Our government has taken a stand regarding Israel to which many will not agree. We have not so far taken any steps towards giving it recognition. We have not established any diplomatic relations with them. What are the reasons? How can we, as leaders of the non-aligned countries, influence Israel morally and otherwise? Why should Israel listen to us? We have gone out of the way in condemning it; not only that, we have gone out of the way in supporting the PLO. Sir, PLO must have its own homeland. Israel also must have its own homeland, but if the Arab countries and others say that nothing doing, Israel should be completely wiped out from the face of the "Earth" then there will not be a meeting point and no end to the strife. Philistines should get their homeland,

[Shri N. E. Horo]

If we want to bring these two countries together, we must equally say that Israel must have the right to exist, and the PLO must also have the right to have its homeland. Can we not have a review of our attitude in this respect?

I feel that if we recognize Israel and have diplomatic relations with them, then we will have the moral right to tell the Israel and the PLO 'Your attitude of refusing to talk is not correct. You should come to the negotiating table'. Otherwise, our words will be empty ones.

In dealing with the Super Powers we have tilted towards the USSR, we have boldly said that we are very straight. But, in the world looking at us? We are the biggest democracy in the World. Others are looking towards us for guidance. It is our duty to be able to tell the world that we are credit-worthy. It seems to me that so far, we have not sufficiently shown this strength. The Minister of External Affairs should consider having a new international outlook. It seems that in our foreign policy, there is too much of an element of subjective consideration. Sometimes, I feel that our foreign policy is based on subjective considerations, that it is not according to the conditions and situations available in the world; it is not according to our philosophy or ideology. Our foreign policy should be pragmatic and that we should be credit-worthy. We should act in such a way that the people of the entire world cannot point any accusing finger towards us, but will praise our moral and political strength.

Finally, Sir, we accuse several countries for practising colonialism and apartheid and frightly so. But are we not doing the same things in our country? Let us look at ourselves. Professing is something and practising is another. We have been condemning imperialist countries for practising colonialism and we have been condemning South Africa for its apartheid. But in our country, are we ourselves not practising colonialism in some form or the other, and suppressing people—those who

are struggling for their emancipations, and for their identity? There are regions in the country, specially in tribal areas, and other under developed places where the people want to establish their identity. They have a desire to establish their identity within the framework of our Constitution. What is happening in our country? We should be ashamed of it.

Let us be strong and true to our profession. Let us call a spade a spade. With these words, I close my speech, and I appeal to the Government to reconsider the question of giving recognition to Israel, so that in that area, viz. the Middle East, we can be effective in bringing about peace.

श्री एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी:
(निजामाबाद) : अध्यक्ष जी मैं विदेश मंत्रालय की मांगों पर देशी भाषा में बात करना चाहता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष नहोदय : क्या बात है।
आप बड़े स्वदेशी लगते हैं।

श्री एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी : बहुत से भाषण हुए सब अंग्रेजी में हुए सिवाय एक के। तो मैं दोनों विदेश मंत्रियों को बघाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है। नान-ऐलाईड मूवमेंट के बारे में कल जो सदन से प्रस्ताव पास हुआ है उसमें मैं एक चीज और जोड़ना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि यह बड़े बड़े नेताओं को तो मुबारकबाद देना ही चाहिये अगर कामन मैन जो पुलिस के जवान के रूप में 24 घंटे दिन रात काम करते रहे हमारे सैक्योरिटी अफसर काम करते रहे कैमरा मैन होटल के बीयरर्स खाना पकाने वाले काम करते रहे उन सब को हमें बघाई देना चाहिये क्योंकि वह भी पार्ट और पार्सल रहे हैं इस समिटि कानफरेंस को सक्सेसफुल बनाते हैं। हमारी राजधानी में रोजाना 1 लाख आदमी आते हैं...

16.29 hrs.

[DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI in the Chair]

उन्होंने भी बहुत अच्छा डिस्प्लन रखा है। हमें यह भी मालूम है कि बड़े-बड़े देशों के जो नेता यहां आये हैं, उनके बहुत से विरोधी भी होते हैं। उनको विरोधियों से बचाने का बहुत बड़ा काम है। इसमें हमारे सैक्रेटरी साहब ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है और हमारे दूतावास ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है क्योंकि उन्होंने अच्छी फिजा तैयार की है।

इसमें हमारे विदेश मंत्री ने भी अच्छा पार्ट किया है। हमारे विदेश मंत्री जहां जाते हैं, जैसे जलता हुआ शोला भी ठंडे पानी में गिरने से बुझ जाता है, उसी प्रकार कोई भी टेंशन वाला मामला वहां हो, उनके जाने के बाद वह डिफ्यूज हो जाता है खत्म हो जाता है। यह उनकी किस्मत है।

उनका पोलिटिकल कैरियर 1938 में शुरू हुआ है। तब नागपुर में वह और मैं साथ-साथ पढ़ते थे। श्री रवि शंकर शुक्ल ने उस जमाने में हमको दाखिला दिया। हम लोग 1200 विद्यार्थी हैदराबाद छोड़कर नागपुर में पढ़ने आये थे। उसी जमाने से त्रिपुरा कांग्रेस हुई, जहां पर श्री सुभाष चंद्र बोस अध्यक्ष थे। वहां पर हम गये। हैदराबाद देशी रियासत थी, वहां से पहले कोई नहीं आ सकता था लेकिन हम 1200 लड़के पहली बार वहां आये। इधर आने के बाद हमें बड़े-बड़े नेताओं से मिलने और उन्हें सुनने का मौका मिला और त्रिपुरा कांग्रेस में हमने वालेंटियर की हैसियत से काम किया।

आजकल एटम-बम की बहुत चर्चा चल रही है। राजाजी ने कई बार कहा है कि घर में हिफाजत के वास्ते हमको कुत्ता रखना चाहिये, शेर नहीं। अगर शेर को रखेंगे, तो जब तक शेर पर बैठे रहते हैं,

बड़ी खुशी होती है लेकिन जब शेर के नीचे उतरते हैं तो शेर के पेट के अन्दर चले जाते हैं। इसी तरह से जो एटम-बम की तैयारी करना चाहते हैं, वह वैसे ही एटम-बम से खत्म हो जायेंगे। इसलिये हमारी प्रधान मंत्री की जो नीति है वह पूरे देश को ही नहीं, पूरे विश्व को शांत रखने की है। यह काफी बड़ा काम पीछे हुआ है, इससे उनकी बड़ी इज्जत बड़ी है।

पासपोर्ट के बारे में भी मैं जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ। पासपोर्ट मिलने में पहले बड़ी कठिनाई होती थी। एक एक आदमी को 300—300 और 500—500 रुपये खर्च करने पड़ते थे। अब 51 रुपये किसी भी पोस्ट आफिस में जमा कीजिये और फार्म भरकर भेज दीजिये, 21वें दिन पासपोर्ट घर पर आ जाता है। इससे बड़ी आसानी हो गई है। इससे लोगों को बाहर जाने का मौका मिल रहा है।

बाहर हमारे दूतावास भी बहुत काम कर रहे हैं। जितनी लेवर यहां से जाती है, वह उनकी देखभाल करते हैं। फारेन एम्बेसी के लोग जब तक वह कांट्रैक्ट क्लीयर नहीं करते, कोई नहीं जा सकता है। यह बहुत अच्छा है। उनकी निगरानी का अच्छा काम हो रहा है। इस बारे में मैं उनको बधाई देता हूँ।

अपने दूतावासों के एम्बैसेडर्स के बारे में कभी-कभी कहा जाता है कि वह अच्छा काम नहीं करते हैं। श्री इद्रजीत गुप्ता जी ने ही सही कहा है कि हमारे बहुत ब्रिलियेंट और अच्छे लोग हिन्दुस्तान के हैं, हो सकता है कि उसमें कोई थोड़ा-बहुत वैसा हो, सारे तो अच्छे नहीं हो सकते। इससे पहले मैंने अपने विदेश मंत्री को कई बार पत्र लिखे हैं उस जमाने के साठे जी और सिंह जी को भी पत्र लिखे हैं, क्योंकि

[श्री० एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी]

हमारे एम्बेसेडस के वच्चों की पढ़ाई का कोई इंतजाम नहीं था। मगर अब हमारे विदेश मंत्री ने बड़ी मेहरबानी कर के उन वच्चों की पढ़ाई का इंतजाम कर दिया है। क्योंकि कोई 3 साल अमेरिका में रहता है, अरब कंट्रीज में रहता है रूस और फ्रांस में रहता है तो कौनसी जवान में उनको शिक्षा दी जाये। अब उसका अच्छा इंतजाम हो गया है। क्योंकि इससे बड़ी तकलीफ थी अम्बेसी के लोगों को। बाहर शिक्षा का बहुत मूल्य देना बपड़ता है, जैसे अपने देश में थोड़े से पैसे में आदमी पढ़ सकता है, वैसे वहां नहीं हो सकता है।

हमारे एम्बेसेडस के स्टाफ को वहां पर ठहरने का अच्छा इंतजाम होना चाहिये इसके अलावा यह बोलना कि वहां लोग बड़ी मोटर में बैठने हैं यह ठीक नहीं। वहां पैदल या रिक्शे पर चलना मुनासिब नहीं है। वह देश का नुमाइंदा होता है। इलैक्शन के वक्त वोट के लिये बोलना चाहिये, लेकिन पार्लियामेंट में बोलने की जरूरत नहीं है। वह हमारे देश का सिम्बल होता है, आदमी की वहां प्रेस्टीज होनी चाहिये।

साउथ ईस्टर्न कंट्रीज में मैंने देखा है कि यहां के लोग वहां जाकर कहते हैं कि साहब हमारा पासपोर्ट गुम हो गया है। मैं फलां गांव का हूँ, फलां हूँ। फौरन अपना अम्बेसेडर वहां उसको पासपोर्ट देता है और उनकी तकलीफ दूर करता है। रिपोर्ट में भी लिखा गया है कि वहां लोग स्ट्रैंड हो गए, उनके पास पैसा नहीं था तो अपनी गवर्नमेंट के पैसे से उन्होंने उनको हिन्दुस्तान वापिस भेजा। इस तरह से हम देखते हैं कि बड़ा अच्छा काम हो रहा है।

मैं मंत्री जी को बहुत धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ। मंत्री जी बड़े ब्रिलियन्ट रहे हैं और खुशकिस्मती से जब पार्लियामेंट में आए और विदेश मंत्री बने तो और भी ज्यादा ब्रिलियेंट हो गये हैं। वक्त के साथ साथ उनकी ब्रिलियेंसी बढ़ती जा रही है। नागपुर में गए तो वहां उन्होंने मराठी सीख ली, कहीं और गये तो वहां की जवान भी सीख ली। फ्रांस और स्पेन की भाषायें सीखना भी अच्छा है। मंत्रीजी जब जवाब दें तो वे अंग्रेजी में जहूर बोलें लेकिन साथ साथ थोड़ा सा हिन्दी में भी बोलें।

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): I am glad to have this opportunity of congratulating our Ministry and the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the success they have helped our Prime Minister to achieve during this recent NAM. It was a brilliant week, a historic week in the history of the city and also for our country. I have seen the Minister as well as the experts at work from, more or less, close quarters, just as you have done. We were fortunate to be included in our Indian delegation. Anyhow, I did not do one-fourth of the work or spared one-fourth of the time for the work which they have put in while they were at work and at duty. Till very early hours of the day they were on their feet. So was our Prime Minister. And we know the result. The result has been satisfactory not only for India but for whole of the world.

India has always stood for peace. India did not aim at leadership. When I was as young as my friend, Mr. Chandrajit Yadav, I used to tell Jawaharlal Nehru to give a lead in the name of India, as he was giving a lead to India after Mahatma Gandhi, in international affairs also. But now today, I am inclined to agree with what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to say to us that we should not go about saying that we are aiming at leadership. This excites the jealousy of other people. Instead of making more and more friends, we create a number of new opponents, enemies or rivals. That is my answer to my hon. friend, Shri Chandrajit Yadav, when he made a passionate

appeal to the Government of India and Parliament: that we should be prepared to call a spade a spade when there is a need for it. We know now, the world knows and also the people who were responsible for it, know—they have got their own parties; all parties know it—who is responsible for the disturbed conditions in the Indian Ocean, Gulf area, West Asia and who is responsible for trying to create trouble within the NAM itself during the recent weeks. Yet it is not discreet, it is not wise to go about saying that you have done it, because it does not serve our purpose. On the other hand, the Prime Minister had displayed a tremendous lot of courage. When she went to Cancun and then sought interview with Mr. Reagan she talked to him and made him realise that India is not after all so bad a country and Indira Ji is not such an impossible person to get on with, with the result she was invited to America. She was good enough, brave enough to go to America and she succeeded in softening the feelings of these in the State Department and possibly some of those in the Pentagon also, and their leader pointed out the role that is cast upon India by historical conditions in the present day world. That is my apologia to the sincere plea placed before this House by Mr. Chandrajit Yadav.

Madam, yesterday I did not have the opportunity to say what I say now, that the recent Conference was the biggest peace move in the world which has taken place till now. There were earlier moves also. There was Arthur Greenwood. He organised a peace move. Myrdal, Bertrand Russell and others also had made their own contributions. Noel Baker also made a move like this and he was hailed by the Nobel Prize Trustees as a Nobel Prize winner. We are not asking for any such prize. But the biggest prize that India would like to have is to see the day or the days when there would be peace between Iran and Iraq.

In regard to Palestinians where the national home of Palestinians comes to be recognised in the United Nations by America and by Israel herself, when Kampuchea will come to be recognised by all the nations and when America will make

a proper response to the repeated calls made by leaders of Soviet Russia that they would not be the first to use the nuclear force and when further tests in regard to these abominable nuclear weapons will be stopped? When would it come? It would come in the manner and with the speed with which the NAM nations will agree to work with unity among themselves and try to argue with their respective friends in the South as well as in the North to down their own arms against each other, to soften their own feelings towards each other and to agree to let the whole world live in peace. It is not only America which is the threat to the present day world, it is Russia also, it is China also, all these countries which are taking pride in being masters of nuclear arms. Other Western countries are also there. All of them are today a threat to the world peace. But all of them have got to come to reason. When would they do it—when their people and ours in NAM come to realise this threat of nuclear arms is so much a menace that it affects our peace, it affects the growth of our personality, it affects the humanity as a whole. In order to be able to do that, to carry on this kind of educational propaganda, humanitarian propaganda, NAM has come to be the biggest platform, the biggest power today in the world. That is why I welcome this NAM. I express my gratitude to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for having heeded the advice of India, for having taken courage, for having gained strength from this Parliament, in this hall, during all those years when he was the Prime Minister, in giving shape to this NAM.

One friend yesterday was echoing the spirit of Nazism and Fascism. I felt very unhappy. I admire his eloquence, but I should say it is very difficult to say an appropriate word to condemn the manner in which he has expressed his ideas of Fascism, Nazism, racism add what not. I hope and trust that his party will take the earliest occasion to disavow itself from that kind of attitude and the sentiments that he has expressed, because we stand for peace, we have always stood for peace.

[Prof. N. G. Ranga]

We stand for peace between race and religion, between region and region between country and country. This caste and caste, between religion and religion, between country and country. is a message that has come down to us from the ages of our *rishis*, from Budha and Mahavira right down to Mahatma Gandhi, and now Jawaharlal Nehru has passed it on to us. We are proud of this heritage. We stand for peace.

In order to maintain peace, we have to protect ourselves also, and that is where Indrajit was able to play a very important perspective role during her talks with President Reagan, explaining that by the supply of arms to our neighbours, in the manner they have done, they have done a great disservice to themselves, not to speak of disservice to ourselves. They have forced us to spend so many hundreds of crores of rupees on our defence forces, not because we are in love with them, as they seem to be in love with them, but because they have made it inevitable for us to waste our resources like this, when we need not only this sum, every rupee of it, but ten times of it, in order to help our backward classes, harijans, the down-trodden people, people below the poverty line, people without any social status at all in our country, whom we want to help to gain social status and social stamina and, on top of it, enable them to exercise their political rights as free citizens.

We need more money, and there I agree with Shri Chandrajit Yadav. It is no good for us to preach gospels in other countries, while poverty is stalking our land. When the NAM potentates were here in Delhi, there was beggary everywhere, squalor everywhere and deaths due to poverty. This is not one day's experience, it is every day experience. It has been like that. It is becoming worse? I do not think it is becoming worse. But it is bad enough, cruel enough. We do not feel as if we are really civilized human beings. But we are really civilized human beings. Yet we put up with it. Why? Because, we do not have sufficient stamina,

economically, socially and politically; we do not have the political will either.

Only this morning, Sir, you will remember, there was a question about scavenging and what was the helpless answer that our Prime Minister was able to give? The answer is that we are not able to provide alternative employment for them. That is the cross that she is carrying, each one of us is carrying. Not that we are proud of it; we are ashamed of it. We are trying our level best to lift it from our shoulders and throw it away in the gutter. But we are not just able to do it. Would it be possible for us to do it? Yes, but only when there is world peace. This is what I said 30 or 37 years ago when I wrote about the "Bases of India's foreign policy." It is because of his anxiety to remove this poverty from our country that Mahatma Gandhi, first of all, wanted political freedom for our country and he supported Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Babu also while he was pleading for socialism in our country and all the three of them, have bestowed on us the National Planning Commission. The Planning Commission has been doing its best, but we are not able to raise this terrible cross, this burning cross, from over ourselves and that is why we want peace. I want all friends who were associated with the NAM to realise the significance of this terrible passion and fervour with which we are standing for peace, not because we are anti-American, not because we are anti-white people or anti-West or anything like that, but because we want peace in our country so that we can raise or lift or ennoble our masses to become real, full-blooded citizens. We want peace, and so we want them not to continue to indulge in their mad race, in their suicidal race, for nuclear arms. It is in this, atmosphere that I hail the leadership of Indrajit.

I was not quite happy that some of our friends on the Opposition side were not prepared to side with us as whole-heartedly as we would have liked, but I do not mind because politics is like that, Parliament is like this; we are on different sides and therefore, sometimes people are obliged to act in a partisan manner, but left to them-

selves, I am sure, when they are at home with their families, they would be able to confide to themselves that Indiraji has done a splendid job and through Indira we are able to provide the proper guidance to the NAM countries. Therefore, I wish to congratulate her. You have congratulated us, the Indian Delegation, and I was fortunate enough to be a Member of it; so were you, Madam.

16.54 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

But I wish to congratulate all the Members in this Parliament because Government was good enough to accept my suggestion that all the Members of the Consultative Committee for External Affairs should be invited, all Chairmen of the Committees of Parliament and leaders of all political parties should be invited to every general reception, banquet and so on on that occasion when all the international leaders gathered here, and they were all associated with the Conference. Therefore, it is but meet that Parliament should have placed on record yesterday—our Party had placed at on record a few days ago—our satisfaction with the leadership that has been provided by our Government, by our Prime Minister to Our country is making this conference such a success, and I hope it would become a beacon for the greater efforts and nobler efforts, and more successful efforts, that will come to be made during the next three-and-a-half years.

Lastly, I wish to congratulate India, Congratulate this Parliament and congratulate myself also that for the next three-and-half years at least there will not be a World War as a result of that, there will not be a war on India from any side, from any neighbour, and there would be peace. Three years of peace is in itself a glorious chance for India, or for that matter for any country, and I am glad this NAM has bestowed on us this gift of at least three and half years of peace, thanks to Indiraji's clarion call that "this is the biggest movement or world peace" during this season, this contemporary period.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Let it not be a time-bound peace.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Three years is a big enough time.

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM (Tiruchendur): In support of the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs, I would say a few words.

Yesterday, seven or eight hours debate was held on the 7th Summit of Non-Alignment Movement. Except my friend Shri Jethmalani all the Opposition Members unanimously supported this policy. Of course, my friend Shri Jethmalani belongs to the old party which is responsible for the killing of Mahatama Gandhi. It is, therefore, not a surprise for me if he did not support our non-alignment policy.

At the very outset I would like to pay my humble tribute to our hon. Prime Minister not only for having become the Chairman of the Non-aligned movement but also for spending 36-hour day during the 7th Summit in order to ensure that India gains the honour and prestige in successfully holding the Summit. Many people talked about the fact that the heaviest burden of leading the Non-aligned Movement has been put on the slender but stout shoulders of our Prime Minister. I wish to point out that she was living on just two sandwiches a day for 7 days of the Summit. This shows her determination to make a success of whatever she takes on.

I have no doubt that this Angel of Peace will save the world from complete destruction. She has been unanimously chosen as the leader of two-thirds of human race for the next three years. She has given the clarion call to Super Powers to desist from any dastardly act of war. We should thank one Super Power at least for having responded favourably to this call.

I should also pay my tribute to the band of officials of External Affairs Ministry, who have worked day in and day out to make the 7th Summit a grand success. They have brought laurels to the country.

[Shri K. T. Kosalram]

I also welcome the commitment of Non-aligned Movement to the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. We have to strive hard through international forums for getting the homeland for Palestinians.

My friend, the Foreign Affairs Minister is well aware of the fact that Sri Lanka, our neighbour, once upon a time was the administration of a British Governor of Madras Province. At that time a few lakhs of people were taken to Ceylon from Tamil Nadu with their sweat and blood they converted the dense mountainous forest regions of Ceylon into tea gardens, coffee plantation, rubber plantations, which are today the main-stay of Sri Lanka's economy. By 1947 the population of the workers of Indian Tamil origin had grown to 10 lakhs. At that time they were given universal franchise and they had elected their 7 representatives to the Senate of Ceylon. But the original settlers who are called Sri Lanka Tamils or Jaffna Tamils did not want equal status to be given to these workers of Indian Tamil origin.

17.00 hrs.

So, there are two types of Tamils. One is Jaffna Tamils and the other is Tamils of Indian origin. It is the Indian origin Tamils who went from Tamil Nadu to Ceylon. Jaffna Tamils are the real people of Ceylon. So, don't mix the two Tamils.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Like Non-Alignment and genuine Non-Alignment.

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM: There were about 10 lakhs of Indian origin Tamils. All of a sudden, Shri G.G. Ponnambalam, who was the Minister of Cabinet rank and also a Jaffna Tamil, brought forward a legislation removing 7, the representatives of Indian Tamils in Parliament. He not only removed their 7 Parliament Members but also removed one million Tamils of Indian origin from the voters list. It is Shri G. G. Ponnambalam, a Jaffna Tamil who brought about this legislation. I would not name the Sinhalese. The Jaffna Tamils were responsible for remov-

ing the Tamils of Indian origin from the citizenship of Sri Lanka. So, the hon. Minister is well aware that all of them are now scattered.

There were agreements. Sirimavo-Shastri agreement was there. Afterwards, there was Shrimati Bandaranaike—Mrs. Gandhi agreement. But both the agreements have lapsed. There is no agreement now. You see, 6 lakhs of people are Stateless there. It is not just 1,000 or 2,000 or 3,000 people but it is 6 lakhs of people who are Stateless. So, I have gone to Sri Lanka thrice. I met President Shri Jayawardene even before he was elected in the recent Presidential elections. He was kind enough to assure me that after the elections, he would consider this issue sympathetically. He said that "we cannot carry on with the Stateless people for ever."

Now, the Hon. Minister may be well aware of it. I welcome the recent statement made by the Sri Lanka President, Shri Jayawardene when he was in New Delhi for the 7th Summit. He has stated categorically that the problem of stateless people of Tamil origin in Sri Lanka is an internal problem and the Government of Sri Lanka would soon find a solution to this issue. Of course, I may not agree with him that it is an internal problem because as long as they are stateless, they are our people, they are Tamils of Indian origin also. But I am not disputing the statement because he has given the assurance that the Sri Lanka Government would soon find a solution. It is a very categorical statement. He told the Press people that he would find a solution. He also added that the 'statelessness' of these 6 and odd lakh people could not be continued indefinitely. He has asked his two Ministers to prepare a comprehensive report for implementation so that this problem is solved for ever.

I met Mr. Tondaman who is a Cabinet Minister in the Sri Lanka Government and who is preparing everything regarding this report. So, I would request the hon. Minister to take it up with the Sri Lanka Government also.

The hon. Minister is well aware that the Estimates Committee has also submitted a report on this issue. We said, no person of Indian origin should be taken from Sri Lanka. They should be granted citizenship there. I may place this information before the hon. House that in the year 1980, Indian citizenship right has been granted to 80,000 people of Indian origin. Indian Passports have been given to 80,000 people but their legitimate financial dues have not been given. It only means that Sri Lanka wants that those people should work in Sri Lanka. It amply makes the position clear because gratuity and other financial benefits have not given to them. Still now they are stateless people. This is the thing about which the report has been submitted by the Estimates Committee. I was the Convenor of the Committee. We submitted to Parliament a very elaborate report. My hon. friend, Mr. Rahim, is from Kerala and my hon. friend, Mr. Narasimha Rao, is from Andhra. Both the Ministers are south Indians. A number of Malayalees are there; a number of Telugu people are there; not only Tamilians. All these people should get Sri Lanka citizenship. They are the Ceylonese people; they are the citizens of Ceylon. I appeal to the Government of India to take interest in that and try to help in finding the solution of the problem of 6-1/2 lakhs Stateless people in Ceylon. I have seen the hon. Minister twice or thrice. He has assured me that he will do something about it. I hope, he will keep up his assurance.

Another thing that I want to bring to the notice of the House is that there is the Trincomalle harbour, a natural beautiful harbour. Nobody knows about such a beautiful harbour. The British people had developed it. In this harbour, more than 100 giant tankers are currently getting rusted. Our High Commissioner in Sri Lanka has sent a certain proposal regarding the setting up of a oil refinery in Sri Lanka for the utilisation of more than 100 giant tankers currently getting rusted near Trincomalle. I have also written a letter to the Prime Minister as well as to the External Affairs Minister in this regard. It must have been forwarded to the concern-

ed Ministry. I have visited the Trincomalle harbour and seen these giant tankers. The Sri Lanka Petroleum Corporation would like to have collaboration arrangement with the IOC for setting up of a refinery in the Joint Sector. Such a collaboration arrangement will bring closer the two neighbouring countries. I would like to know whether any steps have been taken in this regard. Both the American people and our people have tendered. You make a note of it. The Americans are keen to take over this strategic harbour and they have also tendered for this thing.

Another thing that I suggest is that the External Affairs Minister should immediately convene a Conference of our Ambassadors and High Commissioners in these 101 countries who are members of the NAM and give them a directive for expeditious implementation of the declarations passed at the NAM. This is my humble suggestion and, I hope, he will consider it.

My hon. friend, Mr. Chandrajit Yadav, has explained elaborately how our Embassies and High Commissions are behaving with the ordinary citizens of India, whenever they go there. I need not elaborate more on that. Whenever Members of Parliament go there, everything is all right and they will arrange for lunch, dinner and so on. But when ordinary Indian citizens go there, they will not care for them.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Not even a breakfast.

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM: They will not treat ordinary Indian citizens continuously. That is my experience. In the year 1960, as a Member of the Legislative Assembly, I went abroad and I have got my experience. But when as I go as a Member of Parliament everything is arranged there. But ordinary Indian citizens are not respected by our Embassies and High Commissions. I would request the hon. Minister to kindly tell them that they should also treat the ordinary citizens of India properly.

SHRIMATI JAYANTI PATNAIK (Cuttack): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me the opportunity to speak on the Demands for Grants

[Shrimati Jayanti Patnaik]

relating to the Ministry of External Affairs. When we discussed the External Affairs Ministry's budget in this House, any Indian feels proud about the position of this country in the comity of nations. India is today the leader of non-aligned nations, a well-knit group with a powerful voice. All of us have been proudly watching the deliberations of the Seventh Conference of the Heads of States and Governments of non-aligned countries held in New Delhi. It is perhaps the largest gathering of the Heads of State and Government in living memory.

Some people have made some criticism but it is useless to join issue with them since the significance of the non-aligned movement is well known to every one and it has been proved that the unity among the non-aligned nations is being well maintained and positive contributions have been made by the non-aligned countries for the promotion of international peace and stability and a new economic order.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the founding father of the non-aligned movement along with the President Tito and President Nasser and the mantle of leadership has now fallen on his daughter who is our beloved Prime Minister. The world now looks forward to India today for leadership and guidance in the midst of threat of war and anarchy and economic disorder.

This has been the basic value of India inculcating the non-aligned movement from the very beginning and India is of the opinion from the very beginning that humanity is to balance on the brink of a collapse of the world economic system and annihilation through nuclear war. No nation wants tragedies to occur and if tragedies do come, no nation can escape from its clutches. So in the world of interdependence we have to depend on one another. If there is any trouble in any part, the other part is also going to be affected. So our Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi has rightly said in her address to the non-aligned Summit that we cannot ~~not~~ ^{not} pluck a flower without troubling the star.

This international outlook was a part of India's struggle for freedom, that India's future will be conditioned by world events and, in turn, India will condition the world affairs. It was the essential element of Nehru's thinking even in the pre-independence era. Soon after independence, India extended her support and friendship to all the nations who were still striving for their freedom. On India's initiative, an 18-Member Conference at New Delhi called upon the United Nations to take steps for the independence of Indonesia. India under Nehru extended full support to the people of Indo-China to free themselves from French rule. It was India which condemned the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt. It is our positive support both within and outside the United Nations which contributed towards the final settlement of the problem resulting in withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt and recognising its sovereignty over the Suez Canal. At the time of independence, the major Powers had developed a rigid attitude towards each other, and the international situation was charged with tensions.

In the midst of cold war, India had adopted a policy of non-alignment to promote international peace and to lessen tension among major Powers. India did not take sides during the Korean crisis in 1950, and its impartial approach was recognised by all. As a result of that, India was chosen Chairman of the U.N. Repatriation Commission in Korea. The Commission did commendable work.

India suggested a standstill agreement for the cessation of tests of all nuclear weapons. When the partial Test Ban Treaty was signed by the Soviet Union, the USA and Britain in 1963, India was one of the first countries to sign the Treaty in the same year. The U.N. Secretary-General has said that India and other non-aligned countries helped in bringing about this Agreement.

Even though China did not adhere to the principle of peaceful co-existence and committed aggression on our country and occupied illegally large areas of our territory, India has taken the initiative to

work for normalisation of relations with that country. After about 15 years, Ambassadors were exchanged in 1976.

India has signed a boundary agreement with Burma in 1967 and a maritime boundary agreement with Sri Lanka in 1974. India has also signed a 25-year Treaty of Peace and Friendship with Bangladesh. All these show that India desires to have friendly relations with its neighbouring countries and also other countries. It is because the basic ideals of friendship have been ingrained in the Indian blood.

The world looks forward to India today for leadership and guidance. It is not because we are merely 'an important non-aligned nation away from the power blocs but also because we are the second most populated country in the world where democracy has survived, grown and flourished. When nations have passed into the hands of dictators one after another and democracy got buried, India is perhaps the only important model in the world where democracy, secularism and socialism have made a determined headway. I congratulate our Prime Minister for ably steering our country in the midst of global problems.

Throughout the last decade, India has followed a steady foreign policy. This policy of preserving our sovereign independence, maintaining the freedom of judgment and action as the essence of nonalignment, promoting international peace and stability, reducing world tension and fashioning a more equitable structure of international economic cooperation based on justice and fairplay has stood the test of time. This has also helped us in strengthening our economic base, our self-reliance and our development without external pressures. We are well aware of the fact that the political and economic scene in the world today is in a state of flux. There has been rapid deterioration in East-West relations. The epicentre of world tension has really shifted from Europe to Asia. Tension between the two power blocs has also increased due to progressive arms build up by the USA and the USSR and the proposal to deploy deadly missiles in Europe. And

because of this proposal, the Super Powers are threatening each other. The growth of science and technology have added to the fears of destruction instead of reducing poverty and hunger. The war among the Gulf countries, the problem in Afghanistan, the woes of Lebanon and the strifes in many developing countries in Asia, Africa and South America have a potential of engulfing all of us in a global conflict. In the economic front, there is chaos and disorder. There have been four consecutive years of stagnation and decline in the world economy. Unemployment in developed countries is now exceeding 10 per cent of their labour force. In developing countries the situation is worse. Their balance of payments deficits and their debt burdens have doubled during the last four years. Their export earnings have gone down considerably and commodity prices have collapsed.

Disparities between developed and developing countries have widened. There is a growing feeling that unless the nations work consciously for a new global economic and political order, the mankind would be submerged in an unprecedented chaos leading to disastrous consequences.

The United Nations and its affiliates are no longer able to control the deteriorating situation as in the past. The collective wisdom of nations should find ways to deal with the problems in a more determined way. The non-aligned countries who represent the collective voice of the poor should play a very meaningful role in this context and India as the leader has a great responsibility on her shoulders.

India's growing role to-day casts a heavy burden on our representatives abroad. Our embassies should be in a position to project our policies and image in a more efficient, effective and adequate manner. Cultural exchanges should be cultivated purposefully so that the opportunities given to us can be fully taken advantage of. Economic ties and trade relationship with the non-aligned countries should be carefully cultivated. It requires a fresh look at the possibilities of re-

[Shrimati Jayanti Patnaik]

newed trade and commercial relationship with these developing nations.

Secondly, India must take the leadership of strengthening the United Nations and influencing the effectiveness of this organisation through the combined strength of the non-aligned nations. This requires constant consultative efforts. We must make the power blocs feel that peace and security in the world are not merely confined to their interests but the vast number of countries outside the power blocs have also a stake.

The Prime Minister has rightly called for an international conference on money and finance for development to appreciate the urgent needs of the developing countries. Their economic policies, programmes and problems should no longer be a subject at the whims and caprices of international financing organisations funded and influenced largely by the developed countries. A way has to be found out to mobilise adequate funds for investment in critical areas of food, energy and industrial development in the poor countries.

In view of the arms build up across our borders by Pakistan and the unfortunate reference to Kashmir made by its President, we have to be careful about their intentions. This might require a fresh thinking about our political and economic relationship in the global context...

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Hear, hear.

SHRIMATI JAYANTI PATNAIK:

Sir, Pakistan has used force against India thrice to detach the State of Jammu and Kashmir from India. India by signing the Simla Agreement in 1972 demonstrated its peaceful intentions towards Pakistan. In view of the changed situation after the development in Afghanistan India has maintained a dialogue with Pakistan's President that India really wants friendship with that country. Pakistan need not have any fears from India as regards its security.

Sir, it goes without saying that the people of Pakistan and India come from the same stock and they are and they will live as brothers. It is in our interest to

see that Pakistan remains stable and if Pakistan falls our borders will be connected with the most sensitive areas of the world. But such sentiment of India is not reciprocated by Pakistan. Gen. Zia is trying to please USA, his own people and India in three different manners. For instance, Pakistan's attitude towards Afghanistan is pro-USA and the issue of Kashmir is pro-Pakistan. People and not allowing the base for USA is pro-Indian. This is not a consistent policy. If Pakistan Government is really genuine about reducing tension towards India let there be free exchange of culture and there should be more trade for mutual benefit.

Sir, about Bangladesh, I must say, India only hopes that there would be stability in that country because instability only encourages other powers to fish in the troubled waters. India has the necessary power and resources to go ahead and create Brahmaputra-Ganga link but India believes in the development and partnership. India, therefore, looks forward to Bangladesh for cooperation in this field.

Sir, the situation in Afghanistan and the war between Iran and Iraq poses a threat to the world peace.

India has held consultations with neighbours and the non-aligned countries and also USA and USSR. These consultations have prevented harsh actions by major powers and helped in creating understanding of various issues involved. India has expressed regret and concern at the war between Iran and Iraq and has tried to promote solution through dialogue.

The military influences in the ocean around India and other non-aligned countries also requires a careful strategy to safeguard our interest. India must take the leadership in upgrading the level of science and technology in non-aligned world. The developing countries are at present fully dependant on the powerful interest groups in the developed countries for borrowing science and technology at a greater cost. The situation may call for establishment of a new organisation for accelerating the growth of modern technologies in the poorer countries. Our

Prime Minister has rightly stressed South-South cooperation. India can offer technical-know-how to many African countries which need technology. The OPEC countries can help Southern countries with oil and financial assistance. Unless economic order is re-restored in the spirit of partnership and on the principle of inter-dependance there cannot be any lasting solution to international tensions and conflicts.

Our experience has been that although we have maintained excellent relations with both powers without being involved in their mutual conflicts we are not able to get the desired support from some of them at the time of need.

The nuclear fuel issue is a living example. Similarly, in the matter of protecting the interests of Indians in different foreign countries particularly the UK, we have often come across attitudes which are not very favourable. All these require reassessment of our policies of mutual relationship in respect of these countries and in taking the firmer line when suitable opportunity arises.

I congratulate the Minister of External Affairs for completing another year of eventful international relationship and I hope that in the coming year, India would continue and enhance her effective role in the world events.

With these words I support the Budget proposals.

श्री चंद्रपाल शैतानो (हाथरस) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं माननीय विदेश मंत्री जी द्वारा विदेश मंत्रालय से संबंधित अनुदान मागों का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

श्रीमन्, हमारा देश भारत सदा से ही शांतिप्रिय देश रहा है। हमारे देश की नीति सदा ही अपने पड़ोसी देशों और दूसरे देशों से अच्छे एवं मधुर संबंध बनायें रखने की रही है। आज से करीब दो हजार साल पहले बौद्ध युग में जब

यातायात का कोई साधन नहीं था तो यहाँ नालन्दा और तक्षशिला जैसे विश्व-विद्यालयों में विदेशों, जैसे चीन, तिब्बत मिश्र, इंडोनेशिया आदि सुदूर के देशों से विद्यार्थी भारतीय सभ्यता, संस्कृति, धर्म का अध्ययन करने के लिये आते थे तथा यहाँ आकर शिक्षा-दीक्षा ग्रहण करते थे।

आज भी हमारी नीति गुट निरपेक्षता, तटस्थता के सिद्धांत पर आधारित है। स्वतंत्रता के बाद भी भारत ने इसी नीति को स्वीकार किया। आधुनिक भारत के निर्माता स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने, आज मुझे यह कहते हुए अत्यन्त हर्ष और गौरव हो रहा है कि, जिस नीति को स्वर्गीय मार्शल टीटो और स्वर्गीय नासर के साथ मिल कर जन्म दिया था, आज भी हम उस नीति और आन्दोलन के न केवल समर्थक ही हैं बल्कि उस आन्दोलन का भारत आज नेतृत्व भी कर रहा है। यह बड़े फख्र और गौरव की बात है कि इस आन्दोलन का नेतृत्व भारत के हाथ में आया है।

श्रीमान सारा संसार जानता है कि इस महीने 7 से 12 तारीख तक भारत की राजधानी, नई दिल्ली में गुट-निरपेक्ष राष्ट्रों का शिखर सम्मेलन हुआ जिसमें 101 राष्ट्रों ने भाग लिया। इस सम्मेलन में हमारी महान् नेता, देश की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की सर्वसम्मति से अध्यक्ष चुना गया। हालांकि पंडित नेहरू के जमाने से ही इस आन्दोलन ने जोर पकड़ा था और जिस वक्त इस आन्दोलन का पहला सम्मेलन हुआ था तो उस समय राष्ट्रों की संख्या बहुत कम थी। परन्तु दिन-प्रति-दिन निर्गुट राष्ट्रों की संख्या बढ़ती गयी और सातवें सम्मेलन तक जो कि नई दिल्ली में हुआ, आते-आते इस की संख्या बढ़ कर 101 हो गयी।

[श्री चन्द्रपाल शैलानी]

श्रीमान् पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने संसार के देशों को सद्भावना, मैत्री और सहयोग जैसे सिद्धांतों पर चल कर विश्व शांति स्थापित करने का आह्वान किया था। हमारी स्वतंत्र विदेश नीति है और यही नीति विश्व शांति के हित में है।

श्रीमान्, हमारा देश और हमारी सरकार उपनिवेशवाद और रंगभेद की नीति के विरुद्ध है। सोवियत रूस हमारा अभिन्न मित्र है। रूस ने हमारा सुख-दुख दोनों में साथ दिया है। उसने हमारा साथ ही नहीं दिया बल्कि हमारे विकास कार्यों में भी हमें भरपूर सहयोग दिया है। हम और हमारे साथी जो इस सदन के सदस्य भी हैं, और बाहर भी हैं, वे सभी अपने पड़ोसी देशों से मधुर संबंध बनाये रखना चाहते हैं। हमारे कुछ विरोधी मित्र कहा करते हैं कि भारत किसी का पिछलग्गू है। हमारी नेता ने इस बारे में कहा बार-बार कहा है और मैं आज इस सदन के माध्यम से पूरे देश को बताना चाहता हूँ कि भारत का इतिहास बताता है कि भारत हमेशा से नेतृत्व करने वाला रहा है। भारत किसी का पिछलग्गू नहीं रहा है। जिनके दिल में यह ख्याल है उन्हें अपने दिल से इस बात को निकाल देना चाहिये।

हम अपने पड़ोसी देशों से अपने संबंध अच्छे रखना चाहते हैं। हमारे संबंध मधुर हैं। फिर भी हमारे कुछ पड़ोसी देश आधुनिक हथियार इकट्ठे करने में लगे हुए हैं। अभी पिछले दिनों ही अरब-बारों में पढ़ने को मिला कि पाकिस्तान, चीन और अमरीका से हथियार खरीद रहा है। ये पड़ोसी देश हमारी उन्नति को देख कर खुश नहीं हैं। इन हथियारों का इस्तेमाल भारत के खिलाफ हो सकता है। पाकिस्तान

के इरादे नेक नहीं हैं। पिछले दिनों चीन के कुछ लड़ाकू विमान पाकिस्तान के बड़े में शामिल हो गए हैं। ये लोग अपनी सारी शक्ति हथियार खरीदने में व्यय कर रहे हैं और अपने देश के विकास की इनको कोई चिंता नहीं है।

जहां तक पाकिस्तान का सवाल है मैं उसको विदेश नहीं मानता। कल तक पाकिस्तान हमारे ही देश का अंग था। आज भी हजारों लोग यहां से वहां और वहां से यहां आते-जाते रहते हैं। पाकिस्तान की जनता आज भी भारत के साथ भाई चारे की भावना से रहना चाहती है। लेकिन वहां के तानाशाह शासक भारत को हमेशा नीचा दिखाना चाहते हैं। भारत से युद्ध करना चाहते हैं। मैं यह कहे बगैर नहीं रहूंगा कि हमारी सेनाएं सशक्त हैं और दुश्मनों का मुकाबला करने में वे पीछे नहीं रहेंगे। अगर किसी देश ने हमारी तरफ टेंढ़ी नजर से देखा तो उसको मुंह की खानी पड़ेगी।

हमारी नेता श्रीमती गांधी और हमारी सरकार चाहती है कि ईरान-ईराक संघर्ष समाप्त हो। मिस्र-इज्राइल के संबंध सुधरें। हम चाहते हैं कि कंपूचिया, अफगानिस्तान, लाओस और वियतनाम की समस्याएं हल हों।

एक बात और मैं अपनी राष्ट्र भाषा के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। जिस देश में अपनी भाषा से काम नहीं लिया जाता वह देश ज्यादा तरक्की नहीं कर सकता। हमारे देश में हिन्दी राष्ट्र भाषा घोषित की गई। यह बड़े अफसोस की बात है कि आज देश में और विदेशों में जो भारतीय कार्यालय हैं मिशन हैं, वहां पर कहीं भी हिन्दी में काम नहीं होता। 1980 में संसद की राजभाषा समिति ने अनेक देशों का दौरा किया था। कहीं भी भारतीय दूतावासों में, हाई कमी-

शनों में हिन्दी में काम नहीं होता है। जहाँ पर हिन्दी को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाना चाहिये। किसी भी राष्ट्र में उसकी भाषा का बड़ा महत्व होता है। आजादी के 35 वर्ष के बाद भी हम अपनी भाषा को अभिन्न अंग नहीं बना पाये हैं। विदेशी भाषा भी एक तरह की गुलामी है। आज दूसरे देशों को देखिये। वे अगर अपनी भाषा को नहीं अपनाते तो कभी इतनी तरक्की नहीं कर सकते थे। आज चीन, जापान, जर्मनी इस अवस्था में नहीं होते। वहाँ पर सारा काम उनकी अपनी भाषा में होता है।

जब भी किसी दूसरे देश का राष्ट्राध्यक्ष हमारे देश में आता है तो वह अपने ही देश की भाषा में बोलता है और बाद में यहाँ की भाषा या अंग्रेजी में उसका अनुवाद किया जाता है। मेरा माननीय विदेश मंत्री जी से अनुरोध है कि वे विदेशों में काम कर रहे अपने मिशन को हिन्दी में काम प्रारंभ करने का निर्देश दें। मैं यहाँ यह उल्लेख करना भी आवश्यक समझता हूँ कि हम "जीयो और जीने दो" तथा "बहुंजन हिताय बहुंजन सुखाय" के सिद्धांतों में विश्वास करते हैं। हालांकि, हम स्वयं एक विकासशील देश हैं और हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत अच्छी नहीं है। फिर भी, हम अपने गरीब पड़ोसी देशों को समय-समय पर आर्थिक, टैक्नीकल तथा अन्य प्रकार की सहायता देते रहे हैं। नेपाल, भूटान, श्रीलंका तथा म्यांमार के आर्थिक विकास में भारत सरकार का भरपूर योगदान रहा है।

जब मैं 16 वर्ष का था तो यहाँ 1956 में एक अन्तरराष्ट्रीय मेला लगा था। वहाँ बड़े-बड़े बैनर लगे थे कि "हिन्दी-चीनी भाई भाई" उस समय भारत के प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू और चीन के चाऊ-एन-लाई थे। चीन

और भारत का हजारों साल से बहुत ही नजदीकी संबंध रहा है। लेकिन चीन ने सन् 1962 में अनायास ही भारत के ऊपर आक्रमण किया और तभी से हमारे संबंध बिगड़ते चले गये। यही नहीं सन् 1962 से पहले चीन ने एक स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र तिब्बत को हड़प लिया और वहाँ के धर्मगुरु दलाई लामा अपना देश छोड़कर भारत आए तब हमारे देश ने उनको राजनैतिक शरण दी। श्री दलाई लामा और उनके लाखों अनुयायी आज भी भारत में हैं। अब चीन से धीरे-धीरे हमारे संबंध सुधरते जा रहे हैं। विश्व शांति की स्थापना में भारत का सदैव से ही बड़ा भारी योगदान रहा है और आज भी है।

मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि आज के समय में हमारी महान नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में गुट-निरपेक्ष आन्दोलन दिन दुनी-रात चौगुनी तरक्की करेगा और इस आन्दोलन के अधिक से अधिक राष्ट्र सदस्य बनेंगे जिससे कि विश्व शांति और भ्रातृ-भाव की भावना को बढ़ाने में योगदान मिल सके। भारत जिस तरह से हजारों साल से संसार का नेतृत्व करता चला आ रहा है उसी तरह से आज भी मुझे विश्वास है कि वह अपनी नीतियों, परम्परा और सहृदयता के कारण संसार का नेता बना रहेगा। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI A. T. PATIL (Kolaba): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am much obliged to you for permitting me to express my views on the demands of the Ministry of External Affairs and the policies adopted by our Government in respect of foreign affairs.

So far as the Ministry of External Affairs Demands are concerned, there is a general consensus in this House as well as outside the House, and if at all there is any opposition, whether real or supposed, that opposition is expressed only to express

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it. The supposed opposition, as I may submit, is supposed and not real. And if at all anybody thinks that the opposition is real, then that may be based on an improper understanding of the policy itself, and therefore, although it may be real to them, it is unreal again.

My submission is that ours is a foreign policy which is based on a definite firm principle. Our forefathers have given us a motto:

यद्भूतहितमद्यन्तम् तत्सत्यमिति धारणा ।

What is our Lharana? What is our belief? What is our faith about Truth? We have taken up the Motto—*Satya Meva Jayate*; but, what that Satya? and then our forefathers say:

यद्भूतहितमद्यन्तम् तत्सत्यमिति धारणा ।

That which is in the interest of the beings, is truth. That is the firm philosophy given to us by our forefathers and it pervades all over our actions in any department of the activity of the Government. Therefore, in the activity of the external Affairs Ministry, our relations, our role towards our friends outside in the world is based on this and is, therefore, firm. We need not depend to formulate our policy, on the views and opinions of somebody else. We have not to dance to the tune of others; but we are told it is inherent in our blood, that we stand erect on the basis of that philosophy inherited by us and followed by our forefathers. therefore, we are not dependent on others. Our policy that way is totally independent. dependent only on the philosophy which we have inherited. Therefore, it is strong.

Our role today in the world politics is supreme. I use the word 'supreme'. It is not just an adjective that is being used, but it is supreme in various senses. We see now the two power blocs and the third is the Movement. It is not a bloc, it is supposed to be a Movement—a Movement of the non-aligned countries, called the Non-Aligned Movement. Now the force behind th't Non-aligned Movement is the opinion o* the peoples of the world. Just as

in domestic affairs, public opinion always prevails and what we do is to create public opinion to enforce the will of the people, we go on taking some sort of programmes, activities and so on, similarly in the world politics it is the world opinion that is the most important. It is not the strength of the weapons, but it is the strength of the world opinion that ultimately prevails. And if anybody thinks that it is the strength of the weapons that will prevail, I think they are dwelling somewhere else, not in reality. Therefore, so far as the world opinion is concerned, India has been now clearly exhibited that India has taken the leadership of this world opinion. More than half of the world is following the leadership of India today. Therefore, in that sense, I may say that with this mighty force of world opinion, India has assumed the position of supremacy before which even the power blocs have to bow themselves. Therefore, there is a greater responsibility on this country. It is not with a sense of pride that we say that we have assumed that position, but with a sort of humility that we have to say that we have a greater responsibility to discharge towards the world politics. Therefore, Sir, it is not for the purpose of having a leadership, it is for the purposes of discharging the duties—duties based on the philosophy which I have already stated—a firm philosophy—that it is necessary to achieve the maximum good of the peoples of the world. That is the philosophy. And with that philosophy, we have to go ahead.

Sir, you will appreciate that this has been vindicated by at least two instances to-day. The philosophy that the world opinion is supreme, is vindicated at least by two very visible instances. One is the Non-Aligned Movement's Summit held in Delhi. There is yet another instance to which I should make a reference: that is the successful conclusion of the Convention the Law of the Seas.

It was thought that seas and oceans were supposed to be the domain of powerful countries in the world. To-day, by the successful conclusion of this Convention on the Law of the Seas, India and the rest of the nations who signed this

treaty in Jamaica have successfully vindicated that it is the world opinion that plays the most important role and which assumes the most important power in world politics.

Under its foreign policy, India desires that world nations should visualise the future and act accordingly. War is not the ultimate weapon or ultimate end. During the Great October Revolution of USSR, the leaders of that country then had said that they wanted peace. They genuinely strove for peace. They were ignored for years. But ultimately history taught a lesson to those who tried to ignore this call for peace. Ultimately, the latter had to accept them and follow suit. Thereafter, within a short period of a week, ten days or 20 days many countries followed suit.

This is the reality. This is the 'Satyam' I spoke about earlier. This is the 'Satyam' because it is in the interests of the people. This alone is in the interests of the people. So, India desires various nations and power blocs to see this truth; war is not truth. It is peace which is truth, because peace is in the interests of the entire world. So, India desires that we should end this psychosis of war.

Right from the day we attained independence we have been wanting that there should be peace. Efforts have been made by us towards this end ever since then. India's voice of peace has been heard in almost all international forums. For instance, in respect of the conflicts in Middle East, Africa, the Pacific region and at all other places, you will see that India's voice, i.e. the call for peace, is respected.

It is not as if chair-personship has been given to India by fluke; or that it is because it has to be given to somebody, it has been given to us. It is not so. It is both by deliberate thinking and by intuition, i.e. intuition developed by deliberate thinking over a long period that they decided that India and India alone could lead the non-aligned movement, on a progressive or a progressively successful path. It is out of that faith that India got that leadership.

Our Prime Minister got that leadership. It is no use speaking about our Prime Minister's qualities or otherwise, because they are beyond now expression, beyond description. There is no necessity of anybody to say that our Prime Minister is such and such; it is not necessary; it is better that we should not speak about our Prime Minister because the world recognised her. Where is the sense of our speaking and making such expressions about our Prime Minister? Therefore, it is better to keep ourselves silent and follow faithfully the path paved by our Prime Minister. A few may or may not accept this fact, but it is accepted by the rest of the world and the whole world.

So far as India is concerned, India desires from the nations of the world to visualise the future and act accordingly and renounce war. India has made every effort in that direction and successfully too. India's concern over the militarisation of the Indian Ocean has been shared by almost all littoral States. Nobody wants Indian Ocean to be turned into a military zone. We want peace; we do not wish war to be brought at our doors; we do not want war; and this is the war unfortunately which is a dangerous war, which will destroy the entire humanity. It is not a simple war; it is a nuclear war which has the capacity to destroy 20, 50, 60 lakh times the capacity of ordinary atomic weapons. If a war begins, it is not necessary to continue it for three years or five years or 10 years or more. Within one day or one hour, that means, within the shortest possible time, the war will be over and the entire world will be engulfed in it. Warring nations, warmongers should visualise this. It is not only the rest of the world that will be destroyed but they themselves will be destroyed. It is just the *Bhasmasur*. It starts demolishing or destroying everybody.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: In such a war, there would not be any victor or vanquished.

SHRI A. T. PATIL: Everybody will be vanquished. There is no question of any victor at all. That is the position. Therefore, it is better that the world appreciates India's concern over the enuncia-

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tion of war and removal of the Military bases in the Indian Ocean.

It is necessary to make one more submission by which India arises above the rest of the nations, without disrespect to them, and that is the willingness of India to share the scientific and technological resources with the developing countries. Now this necessity or desire to share them with the developing and under-developed countries is in consonance with our basic philosophy, which we had enunciated initially, that is, truth lies there where there is the well being of all people. With the extension of our researches or knowledge with regard to science and technology to these under-developed and developing countries, to those so-called backward nations, we are bringing them up; we are doing something for achieving the well being of these people and thereby also achieving our own well being. (*Interruptions*) This is our study. That is what I said, it is in consonance with our tradition; it is because of that that India has achieved a peculiar distinction in being the first and the only nation among the developing nations, in having reached the Ocean bed, in finding or searching on the nodules.

18.00 hrs.

India is the only one nation among all the developing nations, which expresses its desire to share its technology with the rest of the underdeveloped and undeveloped countries. Similar is the case with the Indian experiments in Antarctica. India is prepared to share these researches with the under-developed and developing countries. That makes India dear to the hearts of our other brother nations in the

world, which are under-developed and undeveloped. This is how today, India has assumed a supreme position in the world politics. But with that, India has assumed great responsibilities to be discharged with the rest of the world especially the under-developed and developing world. We doubt, there are problems-problems with our neighbours. My hon. friend has said something about the problem of Tamilians in Srilanka. There are problems with Bangladesh, to some extent, with Nepal, Pakistan, China. But we are sincerely making efforts to solve them. It may appear that we are taking some some time. But it is not an act of a single individual or single party; it is a bilateral matter. Unless the other party comes forward with the sense of understanding and the same spirit of urgency, the matter cannot be solved with urgent effect. But I urge upon the Government to take note of this and to see that the problems are solved at the earliest.

With these words, I support the Demands of the Ministry.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The discussion will be completed tomorrow and the Minister will reply to the discussion tomorrow itself.

The House now stands adjourned to meet tomorrow at 11 o' clock.

18.03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, March 24, 1983/Chaitra 3, 1905 (Saka).