Just listen to me. ... (Interruptions) ... Would you listen to me or not?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I am on a point of order, Sir. I want to know whether there is a Vote-on-Account for the entire year because it has been mentioned that it is for the whole year. (Interruptions) Similarly, in my view...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MAHUR: Sir,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): I have not permitted you, Mr. Mathur I have not permitted you. Nothing will go on record.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATH-UR'\*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): I am in the midst of my statement. Please sit down, Mr. Mathur. Please down. Would you please sit down? Mr. Mathur, a senior Member like you, when I am in the midst of giving a ruling, should not interrupt. I was just trying to dispose of the point of order. I said that the Government is entitled to lay before this House the Vote on Account and there is no impropriety in it. Article 112 which has been relied upon does not prohibit the Government from this procedure. In fact, Article 116 of the Constitution is enabling. So, there is no point of order. Now, Minister ... (Interrupthe Railway tions)...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-RA: In protest we walk out.

[At this stage home hon, Members left the Chamber]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAB): Mr. Bhekta Charan Das, please lay Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the year 1991-92, in respect of Railways.

DISCUSSION ON GULF WAR-

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Now, the question is whether the House should take the Special Mention or the Gulf situation. Let us finish the Gulf situation because it is half-way.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maha-rashtra): When is the Prime Minister going to reply to the Gulf situation?

THE VICE-CHARMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAII MASODKAR): Therefore, I ask what is the view of the House

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): Gulf.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Jacob, let us begin with you.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Yes. But at what time the Prime Minister is going to reply?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. M. M. Jacob. (Interruptions)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Ms. Vice-Chairman, when is the Prime Minister going to reply?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): At the end of the discussion,

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: At what time, Sir? How much time it will take?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): It is listed for today.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Today we are continuing the discussion on Gulf situation which was initiated on the last day. I am happy that I have got an opportunity, at least, to express my views on the Gulf situation. I do not intend to again repeat what the leader of my party, Mr. Shiv Shanker, in this House stated earlier or the other hon. Members who participated in the debate spoke earlier. But all of us expected and hoped that the ground offensive will not be started in view of the public opinion raised by the world community in different fora, the initiative taken by dent Gorbachev and the initiative taken from India by the Government and also by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the President of my party. I honestly expect seme kind of sanity to prevail in the international forum. Sir, when we discuss about this, we have else to look back ... (Interruptions)...Answering Mr. Gopalsamy. who is impatient, I must recall, on July 19th Sadam Hussein wanted the countries in the international community to believe that there is a conspiracy between some of the unnamed countries of the Gulf area and the United States to cut the price of oil and control the Gulf under their command. It was on 17th of July. Then at that time, the Prime Minister of this country was another gentleman Mr. V. P. Singh, whom Mr. Gopalsamy supported, who was accusing my leader Rajiv Gandhi of taking the initiative now. Well, Sir, on 18th of July again the Arab League was addressed by the Foreign Minister of Iraq about the same thing and he warned the Secretary General of the Arab League against the possible intentions of the United States and its allies in fostering situation like this. So it was not an unexpected thing. On 23rd July there was a report in the newspapers that 30,000 Iraqi soldiers had marched to the Kanwaiti bonder. The report came even in our television network. Tet

no step was taken by India at that time to find out what exactly was happening in that region 7 mention this because Iraq and Kuwait members of the Non-Aligned Group. As a champion of non-alignment I participated in the discussion on Kuwait earlier and I said that we all expected that this Government would act at that moment when something happened in that region which would ultimately tell upon our interests, our economic interests. our individual intenests, because a lot of Indians were working in the Gulf. Twelve lakhs of Indians are working in the Gulf area and our own economy is so much linked with the Gulf. So to permit any kind of international, glebal, war taking place in the Gulf is always suicidal to our country. Situations arose before also, Saddam Hussein gave enough warning. And when unfortunately he made his army march to Kuwait and he conquested Kuwait world opinion immediately condemned this action and demanded that Saddam Hussein must withdraw from Kuwait. India was a party to it. That means we all stand united that Iraq must withdraw Kuwait, Now the question is: can this matter be internationalised? How can this matter be referred to the United Nations? I accuse the fermer Government of inaction. It was because of the inaction of the former Government, because of the inaction of the Non-Aligned Group, because we did not take initiative in pretecting the interests of the Gulf countries, that naturally the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia or Behrain ar Kuwait or other countries around the Gulf went to the United States. They went to the United Nations and the whole thing was internationalised. Now we are at a piont when the sit. internationalised, uztion has been when the matter was taken to the UN forums, where the majority of the countries present voted for withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait. This is the scenario. My simple question now is. What is to be done in this situation. We thought ground . offensive would not be started. But unfinest-

## [Shri M. M. Jacob]

nately ground offensive has been started and news is not coming out. morning's newspaper In this have read that the effort of President Gorbachev also did not succeed. The former Prime Minister of India president of my party, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, is going to meet the Iranian President. And on his way to Teheran he is making a stopover at Frankfurt. All this shows the anxiety of our people to see that peace is restored, May I remind this House that after the Second World War, no war or battle took place on the soil of Europe or on the soil of America? All the 150 wars and battles since the Second World War took place in Asia or somewhere outside Europe America. So we should have had the foresight to understand these machinations. This is a game by which armament manufacturers can sell their armaments. Most of the armaments of the world are manufactured by six leading countries of the world and 90 per cent of the armaments are sold to Asia, the Middle-East and the African countries. are here we using them now against each other. This the scenario. In a way the imperialists have succeeded. They have succeeded in perpetuating war in region. So, we have to have the foresight to see that somehow this has to be avoided and somehow this has to be pacified. So, every attempt must be made by Indian Parliament, by the political parties in India, by the people of India even now, to see that the war does not escalate any further.

Kuwait must be set free. That is an independent country and it has to be set free. After that, there is no reason to punish anybody, either Iraq or any other country. Any continuance of foreign forces in the Indian Ocean, in the Gulf, is going to be dangerous to the peace and tranquillity in India.

Similarly, during the time of Pandit Jawahariai Nehru, don't you remember what happened in the

Suez Canal? When the Suez Canal crisis broke out, Pandit Nehru Prime Minister of India sent a message all over the world. He said, "Keep your hands off the Ocean and the Persian Gulf. Do not interfere. It is a local issue. We will sort it out". Nehru's voice was heard and respected Nobody from the West came here to have a global fight in the Indian Ocean, and nobody came here to fight a war in the Middle East. So, India had a powerful voice. So was the case when the Iran-Iraq war broke out and Smt. Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister of India. Nobody came to internationalise the war. We were able to contain it. Why? Because the non-aligned countries were active and vibrant.

Some three years ago. I. across an article of Dr. Kissinger in the "Times" describing India as a mini-superpower. That was the cap-When I read the article 1 after all, Mr. Kis-"Why, thought. singer, who is an international expert on foreign relations in America writes like this? Why, should he describe India a mini power in this area, and as a regional superpower? That was a warning given to them that the growth of India as a minipower and super power in this area is detrimental to the interests of the imperialist forces. So, they wanted India to be contained. Mr. Kissinger wanted India to be contained. was a notice given to the "Take care of this, I am Kissinger warning you." The warning understood by the imperialist forces. Those forces connived and they wanted to bring a war to this area. Otherwise why has the same thing hot happened elsewhere? I am asking the question. There are many things like this. Are you asking Syeria to withdraw from Lebanon? Are you asking China to withdraw from Tibet? Are you asking Israel to withdraw from Palestine about, which the United Nations has expressed anxiety? What happened when Grenada was attacked? Is there not any point in Mr. Sad-? ed? is mere now king the question and dam Hussain asking the question asking the question and the question are the question asking the question are the question asking the question are the question asking the question are the q

"What happened to the international community, my brothers, when Grenada was attacked, and nobody came? When Gaza was annexed, nobody came?" Why a new situation arose now, when Kuwait is annexed? am not justifying the attack on Kuwait. Most of our people there. Two lakhs of Indians were there. Several Keralites were there. I know the agonies and miseries of those people. Even now there are various stories coming out agonising letters from the panic-stricken people in the Gulf. We have to say something to give strength and support to these people by voicing our feelings. The agonies and miseries of the people in the Guf, irrespective of their being Indians or non-Indians. to be shared by us. We will only be subscribing to their strength to stay back and work hard and see that the war atmosphere is removed from the area. Sir, I do not want to make a very long speech, because I that there are constraints of time, I can understand if The United States is taking this war to such an extent, if US interests are really involved in the Gulf. Or, is there any US vital interest affected there cept for the possible interest of acquiring control in the Middle-East? What interests has the US got to fight a war here by sending so many people to this area? So, there must be some reason. That is to control the world, because controlling Asia is controlling the world. I hope Mr. Dipen Ghosh must be knowing this. But he is not here at the moment... (Interruptions) ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): He is very much here.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: He has changed sides?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): I am trying to bring peace!

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Before the Communists came to power in the Soviet Union, Peter, The Great, the king in Russia, once made a state-

ment and it appeared in some books also later on. He made a statement that whoever controlled the Indian Ocean, would control the world. So, the Russians at that time thought that they should have to expand themselves and come to the Indian Ocean so that the Indian Ocean could be controlled So, this is an old dictum. The Czar used it in many his statements. The Czar had said that the Indian Ocean controlled the world, that whoever controlled the Indian Ocean would control the world and Mr. Kissinger knew it very well and that is why Mr. Kissinger wrote this article to which I referred earlier. Sir, why do I draw your attention to this at this point of time? It is because people also believe that the Indian Ocean has to be controlled in order to control the world. So, they are trying to control the Indian, Ocean now. They are trying to put as much money as possible and as many men as possible in this region to control this region, Now, I am not touching upon any other aspect, either the aspect of the economic interests of India to be affected or the aspect of the trade interests of India to be affected or the aspect of. our people's interests to be affected adversely. I am not elaborating any other point. I am only pointing to the international dimension of this calamity taking place at our doorsten. But you have failed and the V. P. Singh Government failed at that time to contain it effectively. miserably failed. I am of the honest opinion-even when I was speaking on the subject of the Kuwaiti returnees in this House, I had said the same thing—that this is a dangerous game and that India would have to pay a heavy price. We had to pay a heavy price. Our interests are jeopardized, our global interests jeopardized, and our voice is not heard at all. Now, it is Mr. Gandhi-Mr. Gopalsamy may not agree with me -who has taken the initiative and he had convened an urgent Working Committee session here to discuss the imminent danger of the war escalating there

[Shri M. M. Jacob]

Working Committee of the Congress (I) Party adopted unanimously a resolution even requesting this Government to stop the refuelling facility to the American warplanes on the Indian soil. So, my party fully supported Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and stood loyally with him on this issue because we knew that the vital interests of India were going to be affected. Not only the Congress (I) Party discussed this issue, but Mr.Gandhi also himself has written to many world leaders about the same scenario, about the same situation. and has drawn the attention of the world to the prevailing situation. I wish well of my Party President, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, for having succestoday and sful discussions in Iran also meeting the other world leaders to find an immediate way out of the present crisis. Even if any party leader from this House goes anywhere to find peace there, I will be too happy because this is a vital question concerning us and we cannot allow any escalation of the war in the Middle-East because that would be vitlly telling upon our economic interests, our political interests our social interests. For tranquillity and peace in India, where we have a multlingual and a multi-religious society, tranquillity and peace in that region is a must and tranquillity and peace in India depends on the tranquillity and peace in that region and that region has to be protected the region has to be kept safe against the infiltration by other forces as it has happened now.

Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity I do not want to take much time of the House.

I once again thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this issue. Thank you, Sir.

डा॰ रत्नाकर पाण्डेस (जलार प्रकेस): मननीय-जपसभास्यक्ष जी, मैं दो विनों से सापके स्काह कर रहा हूं। एक अहुत ही महत्त्वपूर्ण मकता है। खाड़ी बुंह तो है ही, सारी दुनिया की समस्या है। उल्का के लोग जिस तरह से.. (समय की घंटी) ठीक है है किन बहुत ही जरूरी है। हमारी पार्टी के लोग मारे जा रहे हैं। हमारे बांग्रेस दल के महासंबी को खुले साम मार कर फेंक दिया गया उन्नान के बाजार में परसों सौर....

उपसमान्यका (बी मास्कार सःनाजी मासोक्कर): श्राप क्या कहना चाहते हैं।

डा॰ रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: मैं बता रहा हूं। एक मिनट का टाइम लूंगा। मानवेन्द्र शर्मा हमारी श्राम पी.सी.सी. के हैं। यह एहः पूरी पार्टी, सबसे बड़ी पार्टी का प्रहुत है कि हमारे पी.सी.सी. के महामंत्री, श्री मानवेनद्र शर्मा को उलका के दो लोगों ने उदान बाजार में मार दिया। ग्रीर कल सिबसायर में महन नाम के हमारे कार्य-कर्ता को मारा है। .... (व्यवश्वाम)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASOIKAR): I am sure the Government is taking note of it.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: कामरूप, नल-वाड़ी घीर डिक्स्गढ़ में अस्तकवादियों का इस तरह से राज हो गया है कि सब कुछ अध्यक्त्य हो रहा है।

मैं आपके माध्यम से इस सरकार से व्हन्त नाहता हूं कि श्री डी. डी. ठाकुर, जो असम के राज्यमाल हैं, वह स्विति की निमंत्रण करने में असमर्थ हैं, प्रापके राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने के बाद भी, इसलिए बत्काल वहां के राज्यपाल को बर्बास्त किया असर्थ और बहां किसी भी वस के कार्यकर्ता हों, उनके जीवन की रक्षा होनी चाहिए।...(स्ववधान)

वहां के राज्यमान को बर्जास्त किया जाए क्योंकि वह वहां नियंत्रण नहीं कर ा रहे हैं। हमारे सब से बड़े दल के, पी.सी. के महामंत्री को खुलेग्राम बाबार में गोली मारी गई है। उलका के लोग आर करके मोटर-साईकल पर चसे गये, जो मासू के सीडर भी हैं, मीर सके बाद बाई सरकार कान में तेल झास मरके पड़ी हुई है।

हक्रारी आंग्रेस के 23 लोगों को इराया गया कि कांग्रेस छोड़ दीजिए।

श्री म हिम्मद सफजल उर्थ मीस सफजल (उत्तर प्रदेश): यह जो सानवेन्द्र सर्माको मारा गया है, बहुत सीरिक्स सामला है। पूरा मुल्क.... (व्यवधान) मैं कहता हूं ... (व्यवधान)

उपलमाध्यक (की मद्मान प्रकार प्रकार मासोदकर): ग्राप दोनों वस्त करेंगे तो की समक्ष में भ्राप्ता?....(अवध्यक्र)

डा॰ रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : इस तरह से कांग्रेस के कार्यकर्तामों की इत्यार्थे न को अर्थे।

उपस्थान्यसः (श्री भारकरं प्रश्नातीः मस्त्रोतकरः)ः पाम्हेय जी, कर्न्डी हो गया ।

डा॰ रत्नाकर पाण्डेय आप सरकार को आदेश दीजिए कि राज्यान को क्खस्ति किया जाए।...(व्यवधान)

भी मोहन्मद प्रशासन उर्फ मीम प्रकार : बेशक जो फाण्डेय जी ने यहां मसला उढाया है, वह तो पार्टी का मसला रहा है, लेकिन किसी भी इनकान की जान इनसान की जान होती है। जिस मक्स को मारा गया है, उससे हमें भी हमददी है कि ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए । लेकिन इनकी सारी कहानी इस बात पर ट्रती है कि गवर्तर को हटा दिया जाए, चीफ मिनिस्टर को हटा दिया जाए । ऐसा लगता है कि पूरे मुहर के ग्रदर गवर्नर्ज को ग्रौर चौफ सिनिस्टर्ज को हट ने के भ्रलावा इस सरकार के पास भौर कोई काम नहीं है। बेह्नतर होग्रत कि भगर पाण्डेय जी यह कहें कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर को हटाया जाए और पूरे मृत्क में राष्ट्र-पति शासन लगा दिया जाए।... (क्यवधान)

डा॰ रत्नाकर काष्येयः ग्रसम गणपरिषद से ज्यादा जो सरकार खतरनारु साबित हो रही है, उस सरकार को व्खरित करिए। THE VICE-CHARMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): I am sure the Government is taking note of it. The Leader of the House is here. The Government will respond at the proper time. You need not worry. Mr. Baby.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Thank you very much for having permitted me to speak on the Gulf War.

At the very outset, while speaking with a heavy heart, I would like to appeal to this august House that we unanimously adopt a Resolution, unequivocally condemning the launching of the ground war by the United States at a time when there was every possibility for a negotiated settlement. Sir, we know that this barberous, inhuman and uncivilzed attack resulting in massive destruction to the great civilization and to thousand and thousands of people, women and children, is being resorted to by the United States and its allies, not because they want to liberate Kuwait. Now, the world knows very well. As far as the queston of the occupation of Kusvait is concerned there are two opinions that justifications Iraq may have, we do hold any brief for that unjust action. But, Sir, we know have that there been any number of similar actions by different countries, not to speak of the long past but even after the Second World War, and in most of such illegal accupations by a second party, second country, in most of the cases the United States of America used to be either directly or indirectly involved in the criminal action of illegal occupation of free people or land. What locus standi the United States is having to protect the independence of a country? Who has given this authority to the United States of America? r say that I speak with a heavy heart because I sincerely, genuinely feel that the world humanity, the peaceloving people of the world are not doing sufficient to protest at the highhandedness of the United States of America. I share many of the senti-

## · [Shri M. A. Baby]

Discussion on

ments expressed by my learned colleague Jacobji. We have to be very much concerned about the future of the world which may emerge out of this crisis. What are the real intentions of the United States of Ameri-.ca? We used to speak about the situation of a neo-colonial exploitation, neo-coonial domination, and indirect domination of imperialism. And some people started saying that we need not have to speak about neo-colonial exploitation and that a world of universal humanitarian consideration is emerging, universal human are emerging and that the old rule of imperialism will not be there in the emerging new world. We used to listen to such pious wishes of some Messiahs in the recent past. But the present day experience in relation to the Gulf has proved beyond doubt that the United States of Americ is aimed at re-established its direct domination -need not be so direct in outward appearance. But in its content, in its essence, the United States of America wants to establish its unquestioned domination over the world That is why, taking the illegal occupation of Kuwait by Iraq, the USA exploiting the situation, sent in its mercenries. Sir, the United Nations used to enjoy importance in international matters. But, unfortunately, new we have to say that the United Nations has importance, with some spelling mistake, in international affairs. wish the leaders of the United Nations understand this. It does not have any strength now, no importance It has been rendered impotent. the United States of America could armtwist the United Nations, and it can get away with whatever it wants. Sir, I do not want to draw any parallels between the plight of the United Nations and the plight of the Chandra Shekhar Government. I do not want to draw any parallel because the United Nations may protest. But this is the situation now.

And what is the scenario here? I would like to mention about the role played by media imperialism in the

whole Gulf question. Throughout the world, an impression has been created that Saddam Hussein is mad, Saddam Hussein does not care for any international law, there cannot be any negotiation, one cannot talk with Saddam Hussein. Such an impression has been created. Now, I do not want to hold any brief for Saddam Hussein. I have already stated that his action of illegal occupation of Kuwait cannot be justified by anybody. One need not repeat it.

But the report presented y even a person like De Cuellar who could not establish his credentials throughout the period of crisis proves beyond doubt that President Saddam Hussein was prepared for negotiations. is the position taken by many military experts of United States of America? The unanimous decision of the United Nations to impose sanctions on Iraq would have rendered results. This is what some of those top most officials of Central Intelligence Agency stated that if the sanctions had continued for some more time Iraq's leadership would have been forced to come to terms with negotiation But one fine morning Mr. Bush, without beating about the bush stated, "we have to protect the interests of the world. We cannot wait any more. And once we launch this attack, once we launch this war this would be the last war." What does this mean? What is the meaning of this? We know that United States of America waging has been many wars areas, in Latin and even in far-flung areas. We know what they did in Vietnam . They did not have any business there. The people of Vietnam fought against French Colonialism. And in Bien Phu the heroic Vietnamese people defeated French colonialism. General who spearheaded the struggle recently visited Calcutta. Once the French imperialism was defeated America stepped in with a self-imposed projection of Rambo and Superman rolled into one. . And they learned a lesson from Vietnam. I have a whole list of US interventions, invasions and occupations of different

253 Discussion on countries since Second World War. In different continents all the Third World countries are the former colonies of imperialism. Once the former coloines of imperialism establish themselves as powerful independent devecannot loping countries imperialism In that inhuman, tolerate that! uncivilized onslaught of imperialism you have minor accomplices even holdthe name of Major. They are just falling in line with the imperialist machinations. Therefore, Sir, the whole question has to be viewed in a larger context. Immediately. have to raise our voice against the most unnecessary, unjust and avoidable war unleashed against a hapless people. There were a number of opportunities for a peaceful solution, the latest being two initiatives from Soviet Union supported by several countries. First there was one propostal which President Saddam Hussein agreed to and endorsed. then America says, "no, it is not agreeable to us." Then it was modified. Even Palestinian issue was delinked. Why has the Palestinian question been From 1967 onwards, delinked? occupation has remained and there are hundreds of UN resolutions demanding Israel's withdrawal But America did not show any concern. Everybody knows that unless you resolve the question of Palestine you cannot resolve and crisis in West Asia. One does not need to be a pundit in international affairs to know all this. But America does not want it because his dear nephew is involved in the illegal occupation of Palestinian land. Then there is Turkey which speaks of opening a second front. Turkey has been occupying since 1974 till today about 37 per cent of the land of Cyprus, and the capital of Cyprus, Nicosia, is bifurcated. Apart of it is -under illegal occupation of Turkey since 1974. There have been any number of UN resolutions, but not a single soldier has been sent to repulse the Turkish occupation of a part of' Cyprus-a Third World country, Ame-

rica could have done a similar thing

material interests are confronted, they

So when their

but they did not.

come out in a ramboish form. And I am very sorry to say that through this whole process, the United Nations has been rendered irrelevant; the non-aligned movement has been sought to be rendered irrelevant; the whole world has been rendered irrelevant, and we have been forced to remain only as an onlooker as also the socialist world—I say it with heavy heart-the socialist world with aberrations of different degrees, the countries of the socialist world taken together, which used to be a strong bulwark in support of the non-aligned all movement and anti-imperiapeace-loving list and movements and positions in the international arena, due to problems with in and also due to lack of courage. Unfortunately, even the USSR andthe People's Republic of China could not take a firm position which they should have taken right from the very beginning. If they had given a lead, if they had taken up the leadership in unifying the rest of the world, they could have taken courage to tell the United States of America that it should not twist the UN resolutions and should not take the whole world for granted and should not do whatever it likes as the guardian of the world. Unfortunately that role has not been played and the initiative taken by the Soviet Union is a very insufficient compensaton for what they did not do at the right time. Therefore, at least at this juncture we should realise and declare that this war was inevitable, and that this war is being fought only to protect the long-term political and economical aims of imperialist expansionist design of the United States of America which developing country like India cannot We have been demanding tolerate that Indian Ocean should be declared a zone of peace. But unfortunately our Government has permitted refuelling of warplanes, given them permission to use warplanes from Diego Garcia and Trincomalee to come over here and take fuel to bombard and kill innocent men, women and children in Iraq, bombard and destroy the great civilisation of Iraq. We know

#### [Shri M. A. Baby]

Descussion on

USA did not require Indian airapace or airports and there was no pressing requirement for them: they have managed otherwise; but they did it, only to drag India into this controversy before the world and to announce to the world that a non-aligned country like India has been roped So they have indulged in this sort of machination. Only for that purpose they have done this sort of machination Sir, I am very sorry that our Government did not have the courage to stop it. But it had to request them, perhaps to make an announce? ment that they are stopping. this is symptomatic of the situation that exists in the world today that even a country like India could not take a firm stand. Therefore, Sir, on the one hand, we have to be unanimous in condemning this criminal act of the United States of America in unleashing the ground war when it was totally unnecessary and when there was every pessibility for peaceful negotiation of the whole issue. So, we should demand an immediate cessation of hostilities and ceasefire and a negotiated settlement of the crisis. With these words. conclude. Thank you.

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for providing me an opportunity to speak. Almost everybody has spoken and covered various I will, therefore, submit in brief what I would like to place before the House for its consideration. Sir, the U.S. under the garb of the United Nations has selected a very opportune moment to strike against a friendly Arab country. When China was facing Tiananmen Square tragedy, at that time, the U.S. threatened to boycott China. Similarly there was a transitory phase in the USSR. They were having their own difficulties. and therefore, were not in a position to take the initiative. The USSR was involved in its own difficulties and India was also in a transitory phase, changing horse in mid-stream. So, that was a very opportune moment for the U.S. to fight against a very friendly country, against a nonaligned country, against Arab nationalism and against all the peace-loving forces.

Sir, nobody in the House or nehody in the country or even in the world has justified Iraq's occupation of Ku-But at the same time, they are also concerned that if the U.S. has shown that much of concern on one particular resolution, who it silent on decades-old resolution on Turkey and other immes. Israel, Therefore, this is a very mischievous, very calculated very dangerous and very inhuman act against the peaceloving forces of the world. During the cold war, we were all hoping that if there was a detente between the U.S. and the USSR, the world would But that illusion is over. be safe. USSR should think of it. Detente between the USSR and the USA is no guarantee for world peace, and therefore there should be realignment of the whole world, and the forces of peace and progress should unite against the imperialistic forces of the There is the six-nation There is the effort peace initiative. by the non-alignd movement. Now. Mr. Bush is talking of a new world order. As my party President has rightly said, "It is not a new world order, but it is an order to the world" They have reversed the direction and they have tried to dominate the world. Who appointed the USA as the police-The United Nations, under its charter, has no authority to appoint anybody as policeman for the world. It cannot appoint a particular country to deminate the whole world. I would like to point out here that among the so-called allies, there are For example, France and differences Maly have welcomed the USSR's peace plan. China has also welcomeo₹i£t. Japan has welcomed the India has welcomed it. But the U.S.A. is adamant. It wants to dominate. It wants to have its negemony over the world.

By the time this debate is over, by the time the Prime Minister replies to the debate, perhaps, Kuwait may be Mr. Saddam Hussein had yacated. agreed to withdraw his forces. But we should be more concerned over the post War scenario. As you know, there are conferences in Europe. There are conferences in the U.S.A. They want to have a security plan for the region. Who are these people to draw up a security plan for the region? If this is their meaning of se-God save us! curity, Therefore. should not allow them impose their security plan on the region. We must not accept any such security plan. The Asian, African and Arab countries should, themselves, evolve a security plan against these imperialist forces.

It is now almost certain that Iraq will withdraw from Kuwait, or, it will be evicted from there. But the more important point is, we should forcefully advocate that the U.S.A. should vocate Saudi Arabia and from other places in the region, wherever it has its presence. This should be a precendition. One may say that the Palestinian issue cannot he linked You may link it for hiswith this. torical reasons, or, you may not link What is much more relevant here is the withdrawal of Israel from occupied Arab territories. Of course, the withdrawal of Saddam Hussein from Kuwait is important. But what is much more important and more vital for peace is the withdrawal of Israel.

I have two three points more. We should insist that, simultaneously, the thirty big installations of Pentagon in the region should be dismantled forthwith.

There is another area of concern. We should take note of the proposed American-Japanese military alliance. It will not only endanger China. will endanger us also. Therefore, we must express our concern. must discourage this. We must pro-756 RS-9

test against this. We must lobby against this alliance between Japan and America. This will be much against our security interests.

Today, the whole atmosphere in the world is changing. The Cambodian problem is being solved. Countries in South-East Asia are coming gether. New relationship are emerging in Asia and South-East Asia. We should strengthen such efforts. fact, I would say that this war should be a blessing in disguise. Let there be a realignment of the forces of progress in the world. My friends inside the country should realise this. We say that this is not a political issue, this is not a party issue, this is not a vote-catching device. Just as there is a realignment of forces outside, in the same way, the progressive and peaceloving forces should Then only India can lead the world to prosperity. A new alignment is developing in the world. The guarantee for peace is the coming to-India. gether of China and U.S.S.R. If we want real peace, we should set aside our prejudices and we should stop scoring points over another and real, genuine alignment should take place in the world. (Time Bell rings). I am concluding.

Sir, I am also concerned about what is happening in the world, what is happening in this country. We have seen that the previous Government allowed corridor because of its own compulsions. The present Government allowed refuelling because of its own compulsions. So, we should have a Government which should not only be able to govern but also create situation by joining all progressive and peaceful forces inside country-Shri Atalji also not his party-so as to be able to solve the problems of our country and also of the world.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): Mr. Chairman, Sir I am conscious of the fact to a great extent this discussion has become of academic importance so far as the immediate outcome

#### [Shri Dinesh Goswami]

of the developments in the Gulf War is concerned because whatever views we may express here, it will not have any effect on the United States which has already started the ground war and will continue to trample the voice Ignoring the voice of o! humanity. the United Nations and showing utter contempt to it and being oblivious of non-aligned the demands from the The United States nations. have decided to go for the kill of Iraq, but this discussion may have some relevance to chalk out our strategy for the future in view of the changing political situation in the entire world.

Sir, never before the United Nations looked so important as it was yesterday when it had to adjourn the Security Council's discussions because the U.S. Administration started the ground war. And if somebody is to blame for it. I think the United Nations itself must carry the blame because the Resolution No. 678 was a clear violation of the United Nations United Nations Charter is Charter. a charter of peace, it is not a charter of war but its Resolution No. 678 declared, for the first time, a deadline for war and not for peace. Declaring a deadline for war itself was a clear violation of the Charter. than that, under article 43 of U.N. Charter negotiations are necessary if any country is to help the United Nations in engaging war clause 43 of the Charter clearly lays that all members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its own and in accordance with the special agreement or agreements, armed is that forces. The reason agreement lays down the parameters on which these armed forces can func-Today even India is complaining that the United States have gone much beyond the spirit of the Resolution 678, but unfortunately this Resolution 678 never laid down the parameters for the United States and multinational forces. Therefore, my

view is that the Resolution is totally against the Charter. And I am surprised that India did not voice against the Resolution, rather it took up a position that we stand by the Resolution. The moment this Resolution was passed by the United Nations, we opened a dangerous course in the history or humanity by permitting a country to act as a policeman of some parts of the globe. Would have United States have gone for the liberation of Kuwait if it produce potatoes instead of petrol? It would not have. United have never cared for the freedom and democracy of other countries. they care for the freedom and democracy in Vietnam? Has it ever cared for the freedom and democracy of the people of Palestine who do not have political, social rights in their own motherland? Is it not a fact that those countries who constitute bulk of the multi-national forces, 83 per cent of its armed forces, violated with impunity the resolution after resolution the United οf Nation the question of Palestine or 4.00 P.M. on the question of apartheid in South Africa. fore, the objective of the United States very clear-not really is liberate Kuwait. It has never bothered to liberate a country, it never stood for the defence of freedom and democracy but to take a stronghold in the Arab world, because today world politics is dominated by petrol. A hundred years back, world politics was dominated by gold. Today it dominated by petrol and, therefore, the country must have a domination of the petrol world. Also, the United States policy perspective do permit any third world country to grow, to be militarily strong, and in that view Iraq must be taught a lesson! has been the perspective of the United States. Why does the United States support Pakistan as against democratic India? It is because a strong democratic India is not tolerable to the United States. Therefore, in this context, probably, we in the third world must have

a review of this situation.

Sir; today, for the first time, a unipolar world is emerging. We were very concerned, about the cold war, and then the bipolar world or multipolar world. But we are also seeing, for the first time, the danger of unipolar world. I am totally in agreement with Mr. Baby that we feel let down-I would not like to use strong worlds against a friendly country with whom we have the best of relationsthe Soviet Union, but I for myself expected that the Soviet Union to veto Resolution 678. But global 'scenarios have undergone changes, such changes that the socialist countries have permitted the United States to launch this offensive—not for the liberation of Kuwait but for the destruction of Iraq, for a foothold in the oil world and for a domination of the world politics. And the peace effort of the . Soviets has been treated with contempt, by the United States.

Now the question is, where do we go from here? I also feel sorry-and I am not criticizing for the sake of criticism—that at a time when world's attention is the drawn Gulf, to the time when at а NAM, is making some sort of an effort, we do not have a Foreign Minister to represent India in Non-Aligned Movement, and we have to send a Minister of a lower level to represent this country in the delegation of NAM Foreign Minister What more unfortunate Baghdad. situation can there be? In fact, if the Prime Minister thought of dismissing Mr. Shukla or asking for his resignation-because he was treated as a Member as a disqualified Member. I think he ought to have dropped him much before Mr. Shukla undertook the task of representing India in the negotiations at NAM after ull, can't have these negotiations by just the spot or by just going to the spot. These are long on being negotiations, continuous negotiations where the familiarity of the individuals count, where knowledge of the international situation counts, when your stature counts. Under the protocol of conferences of the international world, a Deputy Minister cannot sit -

r in the same position as a Cabinet Minister does. and it is such a state of affairs, at most serious moment, that we were represented by a Deputy Minister. I am sure. Sir, whatever we may say to see that the United States should withdraw from the Gulf and the Arab world, however much our demand may be for the international conference on Middle-East-an item which has been on the agenda of the United Nations for long and for the implementation of which the United Nations does not do anything but permits the United States to go for a mercenary ride to Kuwait -there is urgent need for a re-evaluation of our foreign policy, particularly in the context of the newly emerging global situation.

The non-aligned nations, today, are a divided house. There was a time when the voice of the non-aligned nations did count in international affairs. We also had a close link and relationship with the socialist world. Maybe we should again have a closer dialogue with the socialist world to see that the danger of a unipolar world can be thwarted at this stage. Otherwise, today it is Kuwait, tomorrow it may be India or any other third world country. Any powerful world country will be a victim of the U.S. machination at a given point of time on one pretext or another. And the greatest danger that we see today is that the United States is in a position to manipulate the United Nations in accordance with the dubious motives. Therefore, a concerted fight of the NAM nations is necessary. A review of India's foreign policy is necessry. I feel that we should re-assess our position, have a closer dialogue with non-aligned nations and a serious indepth consultation with socialist countries so that we can redraw our strategies because the future that we have before us is not what we have had two days back in the past. The global situation global politics and perspectives have undergone drastic changes, and we must be conscious of them.

Lastly, Sir. as I told before this war by the United States is not for libera[Shri Dinesh Goswami]
sion of Kuwait, nobody will support
Iran's annexation of Kuwait. We cannot support annexation of one sovereign country by another country. But
the remedy has been worse than the
disease. And nobody can support the
United States' role of being a policeman of a particular part of the globe
for their own purpose.

Therefore, Sir, I conclude by saying that probably the time has come when in the context of the developments in the Gulf, after seeing what happens in the next few days our international relationship is considered in greater depth and detail than probably what we have done in the past. And the national consensus on foreign policy should be maintained at all costs because if we divide ourselves on that we will only help the adversaries.

Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

थी मोहस्मद ग्रकलल उर्फ मोम ग्रकजलः मोहतरम जनाब वाइस-चेयरमैन सहब. बहुत से फाजिल मेम्बरान ने इस मसले **के बहुत** ही ब्रहम पहल्पर रोशनी डाली है और में समझता हं कि गल्फ पर होने बाली इस डिबेट का जो कांसेसस होना चाहिए था वह इस ह उस में प्रा चुहा है। मैं उन चन्द बद्नसीय याख्यानसीय हिन्दुस्तानियों में से एक हूं िन्होंने बगदाद शहर को जंग शुरू होने के सिर्फ तीन दिन पहले तक देखाँ है। वहां की खुशहाली, बौड़ी चकली सड़कें, बड़े-बड़े पलाईश्रोवर, बहता हुआ दजला, और सुर्ख भीर सफेद मासूम बच्चे, ये सब मेरी नि गःहों के सामने हैं। लेकिन सिर्फ डेढ़ महीने के **बाद** सारा मंजर ग्रीर सारा पश्मंजर बदल चुका है। एक तहजीवयत्पता कीस ने **और एक तहजीवयापता म्हक ने जम्हरियत** क्रीर कान्द्राद्धी के नाम का ढिढोरा पीटते हुए पहले इसम्लक पर श्रासमान से श्राग बरसाई भीर अब जमीन से लोले कल धुबह से बरसाये जा रहे हैं। ऊंची-ऊंची बिस्डिनें मलवे का ढेर बन चुकी हैं, सड़कें - तबाइ हो चुकी हैं श्रीर फूलों जैसे चहरों ंपर बाक उँड़ रही है और किलकारियां **ं भारते वाले ब**च्चे ग्रह्मतालों में पटिटयां बांबें हुए चीखें मार रहे हैं। लेकिन सारी ब्रिया बीकने भीर चिल्लाने के कुछ नहीं कर रही हैं। यह वाकई बड़े ताज्जाब की बात है--दुनिया इसी जगह है कयामत के बाद भी। यह कयामत आ गई है भीर दुनिया देख रही है, लेकिन कोई कुछ कर नहीं पा रहा है। जनाब, कहानी इस जंग की जरूर नई मालूम होती है। लेकिन मैं कहता हं कि यह कहानी नई नहीं है। यह कहानी बहुत पुरानी है भीर यह विस्सा भी बहुत पुराना है। जापान से लेकर इराक तक, हिरोसिमा नागासाकी तक ग्रौर व**ग**दाद से बसरा तक, कर्बलाए महल्ला से नजफ ग्रामरफ तक एक कहानी है, सिर्फ किरदार इसके बदल गये हैं। ट्रमैन की जगह बुश ने लेली है। साम्राज्यवाद ग्रीर इंसा पसंदों के जंन में लोग मुंतजिए हैं कि फैसला क्या होता है ? मोहतरम, 6 अगस्त 1945 को हिरोसिमा के ऊपर भौर 9 भगरत 1945 को नागासाकी पर जब ऐटम बम फेंके गये तो 9 अगस्त की रात में ट्रूमैन ने भ्रपनी एक तकरीर जो नक्त्र की की उसमें जो कहा था उसको मैं कोट करता हुं। देखिये कि ग्राज उसके 45 साल के बद सिर्फ शक्लें बदली हैं ग्रल्फाज नहीं बदले हैं। उन्होंने कहा था कि:

"हम परमात्मा के शुक्रगुजार हैं कि एटम बन में मिला है, हमारे दूरमनों को नहीं मिला। हम दुब्रा करते हैं कि ईश्वर अपने राये हरू में, अपने हसले मकसद के लिए इसके इस्तेमाल में हमारी रहनुमाई करे।" एटम बम का इस्तेमाल करते हुए लाखों जानें लेने के हजारों लोगों को भ्रपाहिज बनाने के बाद, तबाही ग्रीर बरबादी का नगा नाच नचाने के बनद ग्रमने मुनाहों की जो गठरी है, उसको दूरीन ने उठाकर ईश्वर के कंझे के ऊपर रख दिया, उसके सर के ऊपर लाद दिया था । बिल्कुल इसी ग्रंदाज में ग्राज श्रमेरिका भौर उसके 28 संथी मुमालिक ब्रपने गुनाहों की गठरी को खड़ा के सर पर रखने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। हजारों सिविलियंस पर जिस तग्ह से बमबारी की गई है वह पिछले डेंढ महीनें से सारी द्रिया देख रही है। बुग की कार्किदर्शी ग्रीर ग्रमेरिकी सदन के रवैये को देखकर मुझे एक शेर याद झाता है।

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तूर्दारदों का दरिदा भी है ग्रीर इंसान भी है, ग्रादमी में तो तेरे नाम से घबराता हूं।

फिर भी हम उनको आदमी कहते है। जनवंद्रमाली, सारा क्षेत्रहा कुर्वेत से मुरू हुन्ना है । बहुत सारे मुकररीन ने इस मसले पर रोशनी डाली है। मेरा ख्याल है कि कोई भी जो होश इंसान, कोई भी अम्हूरियत पसंद, कोई भी ग्राजाद पसंद कुवैत के ऊपर जो कुछ भी हुआ इराक के जिस तरह उस पर कड़जा किया उसकी हिमायत नहीं कर सक्ता अब करना भी नहीं चाहिये। लेकिन मैं स्नापकी तवज्जह इस तरफ भी दिलाना चाहता है कि जो हुक्मरान अपनी आवाम को बुरे क्कत में छोड़कर भाग जाएं जन्हें वया हुकूमत करने का हक है ? इकतदार सदन भीर अमेरिका जुले खानों के ग्रंदर लाखीं डालर हारने का नाम नहीं है। इकतदार इसलिये नहीं होते कि वे अपने हरम के ग्रंदर दुनिया की खूबसूरत तरीन भौरतों को जमा करें। इस्तेदार है अवाम के सथखड़े होने का नाम । हुक्मरानों का फ़रीका है कि जब झवाम पर बूरा वक्त पने नी वा सीने से सीना मिलाकर, कंछे से कंधा मिलाकर उनके साथ मैदाने- जंग में जब्बोजहद करें। यह नहीं कि कोर्म् अझ्र से हमलावर म्राये तो हवाई अहाज में ब्रैठकर भाग जायं घीर अवास को मंझधार में छोड़ जायं। समेरिका अम्हरियत का दाईत बनता है। वह सारी इतिया के प्रदर जम्हरियत का ठेकेदार बनता है, वह सेल्फ प्रप्वाइटेड कस्टोबियन है मगर वह ऐसे बादमाहों और ऐसे माहों भीर ऐसे बदकिरदार लोगों की हिमायत करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ है। कुछ लोगों को कुबैत की साजादी की बड़ी फिक है। सैने सपनी आंखों से सपदाद के सहकों पर कूबैती मेखों को चार-चार इराकी सौरतीं को ग्रंपनी बगल में लेकर घूमते हुए भगर माज हिन्दुस्तान किसी देखा है की है से मुल्क पर कब्ज़ा कर ले तो यहां पंडिलक प्रोपीनियन क्या होगी ? सोचने की बात है कि ग्राखिर सहाम हुसैन के साथ इराकी पब्लिक स्रोपीनियन में उसकी मुखा-लकत क्यों नहीं की ? वह नफरत थी को जुनैती और सकवी शहुनावों ने अपनी

अय्याशियों की वजह से दूसरे श्रास्त्र मृशाः लिक में प्रपने खिलाफ भवाम के भन्दर पैदा की । इसलिए सद्दाम हुसैन की हिम्मत हुई ग्रीर उन्होंने कुवैत पर कब्जा किया। इसलिए खद इराक के ग्रन्दर स कोई क्रावाज नहीं उठी । मैं पूछना चाहता हुं भीर बात है, जरा कड़ती, लेकिन भगर इसको हम अप्लाई करें अगर हिन्द्रस्तान के कटेक्स्ट में तो हमें जब ब मिल सकता है। ग्रगर सन् 1965 की जंग के **ग्रन्दर** लाल बहादुर मास्त्री जी इस मलक की छोड़ कर हवाई जहाज में बैठ कर धान जाते तो क्या हिन्दुस्तान का आवाम लाज बहादुर शास्त्री जी के लिए जंग कर सकता था? कभी नहीं। सन् 1971 की जंग मैं इन्दिरा नांधी मुल्क को छोड़ कर भाग जातीं तो क्या इस मुलक के भावाम इन्दिरा गांधी के साथ हिमायत कर सकते थे जिस तरह से उन्होंने की । तो उन महनशाहीं ग्रीर बादशाही की हिमायत करने से पहले कुछ वहने से पहले हमें उनके किरदार पर भी नजर रखनी चाहिये। यह देखना चाहिये कि उन्होंने अपने अध्याम को क्या विया ? मुवैत और सऊदी अरब जहां आदमी एक लफ्ज नहीं बोल सकता, जहां बोलने वाला सुबंह नजर महीं माना माज समरीका उत मुर्वेती शहनशाहों की हिमायत कस्ने के लिए खड़ा हुन्ना है डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर। जिस महक में अवाम को डेमोकेसी नहीं वी शई उस मल्क के बादशाहों के लिए यह बाई हुए हैं डेम केसी के माम पर । मोहतरम, इस बात को छोड़ दीजिये, मैं कहता है कि सद्दाम हुसैन ने बहुत खड़ा जुमै किया, क्वैत पर कर्जा कर लिया । लेकिन कुवैत की झाजादी तो आपको अजीज है शिक्ट फिलिस्तीन की सरअधीं पर जो कुछ हो रहा है उसके बारे में ग्रापका क्या क्याब है ? क्या फिलिस्तीनी लोगों की रगों के अन्दर बहने वाला खून कुवैती शहनशाड़ी के खून से ज्यादा पतला है ? क्या बहु खून सफेद है ? जो यह उनकी हिमायत महीं करते ? सद्वाम हुसैन का जुमें ती हम कबूल कर सकते हैं मगर इजरायल का जुर्म कौन कबूल करेगा जो मणरिके वहता का सब से बड़ा नासूर है। इसका अब कीन कबूल करेगा, कोई है दिसाब देते [Shri Dinesh Goswami] tion of Kuwait, nobody will support traq's annexation of Kuwait. We cannot support annexation of one sovereign country by another country. But the remedy has been worse than the disease. And nobody can support the finited States' role of being a policeman of a particular part of the globe for their own purpose.

Therefore, Sir, I conclude by saying that probably the time has come when in the context of the developments in the Gulf, after seeing what happens in the next few days our international relationship is considered in greater depth and detail than probably what we have done in the past. And the national consensus on foreign policy should be maintained at all costs because if we divide ourselves on that we will only help the adversaries.

Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

श्री मोहस्मद श्रकतल उर्फ मीम श्रकजलः मोहतरम जनाव वाइस-चेयरमैन सहब, बहुत से फाजिल मेम्बरान ने इस मसले के बहुत ही ग्रहम पहल्पर रोशनी डाली है और में समझता हूं कि गल्फ पर होने बाली इस डिबेट का जो कांसेसस होना चाहिए था वह इस ह उस में प्राच्छा है। मैं उन चन्द बद्नसीब या खुशनसीब हिन्दुस्तानियों में से एक हूं ि नहोंने बगदाद शहर को जंग शरू होने के सिर्फ तीन दिन पहले तक देखाँ है। वहां की खुशहाली, बौड़ी चकली सडकें, बड़े-बड़े पलाईग्रोवर, बहता हुमा दजला, भीर सुर्ख ग्रीर सफेद मासूम बच्चे, ये सब मेरी नि गःहों के सामने हैं। लेकिन सिर्फ डेढ़ महीने के बाद सारा मंजर ग्रीर सारा पश्मंजर बदल चुका है। एक तहजीवयापता कीस **भौर एक तहजीवयापता मुल्क ने उपहरियत** कौर माजादी के नाम का दिखोरा पीटते हुए पहले इसम् तर पर श्रासमान से श्राग बरसाई और अब जमीन से लोले कल बुबह से बरसाये जा रहे हैं। ऊंची-ऊंची बिस्डिनें मलवे का ढेर बन वुकी हैं, सड़कें तबाइ हो चुकी हैं और फुलों जैसे चहरों **ंपर बाक उंड़** रही है और किलकारियां **आरमे वाले ध**च्चे ग्रस्पतालों में पट्टिया बांबें हुए चीखें मार रहे हैं। लेकिन सारी बुमिया चीकने भीर चित्लाने के कुछ नहीं कर रही हैं। यह बाकई बड़े ताज्ज्ब की बात है--दुनिया इसी जगह है कयामत के बाद भी। यह कयामत आ गई है भीर द्निया देख रही है, लेकिन कोई कुछ कर नहीं पा रहा है। जनाब, कहानी इस जंग की जरूर नई मालूम होती है। लेकिन मैं कहता हूं कि यह कहानी नई नहीं है। यह कहानी बहुत पुरानी है ग्रीर यह विस्सा भी बहुत पुराना है। जापान से लेकर इराक तक, हिरोसिमा नागासाकी तक ग्रीर वनदाद से बसरा तक, कर्बलाए महल्ला से नजफ प्रशरफ तक एक कहानी है, सिर्फ किरदार इसके बदल गये हैं। ट्रूमैन की जगह बुश ने लेली है। साम्राज्यवाद ग्रीर इंसा पसंदों के जंन में लोग मुंतिजर हैं कि फैसला क्या होता है ? मोहतरम, 6 ग्रगस्त 1945 को हिरोसिमा के ऊपर भौर 9 अगस्त 1945 को नागासाकी पर जब ऐटम बम फेंके गये तो 9 ग्रमस्त की रात में दूर्मन ने भ्रपनी एक तकरीर जो नक्त्र की भी उसमें जो कहा था उसको मैं कोट करता हं। देखिये कि ग्राज उसके 45 साल के बाद सिर्फ शक्लें बदली हैं ग्रल्फाज नहीं बदले हैं। उन्होंने कहा था कि:

"हम परमात्मा के शुक्रगुजार हैं कि एटम बस में मिला है, हमारे दश्मनों को नहीं मिला। हम दुब्रा करते हैं कि ईश्वर अपने राये हरू में, अपने हसले मकसद के लिए इसके इस्तेमाल में हमारी रहन्माई करे।" एटम बम का इस्तेमाल करते हुए लाखों जानें लेने के हजारों लोगों को भ्रपाहिज बनाने के बद, तबाही ग्रीर बरवादी का नंगा नाच नचाने के बाद ग्रमने मुनाहों की जो गठरी है, उसको ठूमैन ने उठाकर ईश्वर के कंझे के ऊपर रख दिया, उसके सर के ऊपर लाद दिया था । बिल्कुल इसी ग्रंदाज में ग्राज भ्रमेरिका भौर उसके 28 संधी मुमालिक ग्रपने गनाहों की गठरी को खदा के सर पर रखने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। हजारों सिविलियंस पर जिस तग्ह से बमबारी की गई है वह पिछले डेंढ़ महीने से सारी दुनिया देख रही है। बुश की कारिकदर्गी ग्रीर ग्रमेरिकी सदन के रवैये को देखकर मुझे एक शेर याद झाता है।

है मौर दूसरी तरफ म्रपना दलाल बना रखा है, यह कमाल की बात है।

श्री मोहम्मद श्रफजल उर्फ मीम श्रफजल : मैं ग्रहलुव लिया साहब का बहुत शुक्र-गुजार हूं । उन्होंने बड़ी म्रच्छी तवज्जह दिलायी । वह सी० माई०ए० की कैंद्र में फंसा हुआ है तभी यहां पर मामलात तय करने के लिए ग्राया ग्रीर भूझे कहते हए शर्म ग्राती है ग्रहलुवालिया साहब कि ग्रापके लीडर (राजीव गांधी) ने भी उनसे मुलाकात की । नहीं की है तो बताइये। ग्राप्के लीडर खड़े हो हर बयान हैं। वजीरे भ्राजम बतायें कि क्या उन्होंने भ्रदनान खशोगी से खफिया मलाकातें नहीं की । इसको गवर्नमेंट डिनाई करे। हमारे म्ल्क में जो हि यार बनते हैं उसका उन्होंने जायजा लिया । इसके पीछे सीवमाई०ए० की सोची अमझी साजिश है। हमारे मुल्क के हनमरान ग्रीर वजीर इस साजिश में शरीक हैं यह मैं इल्जाम लगाता हूं। वजीरे श्राजम हां पर खड़े होकर इसका जबाव दे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Please conclude now. Your time is over.

श्री मोहस्मद श्रफजल उर्फ मीम श्रफजल : में दो मिनट में अपनी बात खत्म करूंगा। रिपयूलिंग इन्होंने बंद कर दी हैं चाहे श्रवाम के प्रेशर में की हो या घबड़ाकर की हो। इमारा गुनाह तो ये बहुत बताते हैं कि बी॰ दी॰ सिंह ने मुशाहिश किया। बी॰

पी० सिंह साहब ग्रब तक 6 बार इसकी डिनाइ कर चुके हैं । कोई सबूत सरकार की तरफ से पेश नहीं किया गया है कि बी० पी० सिंह ने रिपयलिंग का मग्राहिदा किया था । मैं इससे भी भागे जाकर कहता हूं कि राजीव गांधी ताहब पर भी इल्जाम लगाया गया । मैं इन्ताफ पसंबी को सामने रखकर कहता हूं कि राजीव गांधी साहब हों या बीठ पीठ सिंह साहब हों, पहली बात तो यह मुआहिदा हुआ नहीं ग्रौर श्रगर हुआ तो पीस के दौरान कोई मुग्राहिदा करना ग्रलग बात है ग्रीर जंग के जमाने में तेल भरना अलग बात है। हमारा एक शिष आज तक इराक के ग्रंदर खड़ा हुन्ना है । म्राधा सामान उतर चुका है ग्रीर भाधा जो भरा हुआ है वह सङ्रहा है। ग्राज तक हमने उस सामान को उद्वारने की इजाजत नहीं दी । इस दवाइयां नहीं भेज सकते, हम लोग बच्चीं का दूध नहीं भेज सकते लेकिन हम लोग रिफ्य्लिंग कर सकते हैं उन जहाजों की जिनके बारे में हमारी इतनी हिम्मत नहीं कि हम उनसे यह पूछ लें कि इन जहाजों में खाने पीने का सामान है कि हथियार हैं। मुझे सरकार के नुमाइंदों ने यह बात कही कि हम इसका जवाब नहीं दे सकते कि उनके भ्रंन्दर क्या सामान था । यकी-नन उनके अन्दर हथियार, बम थे। मेरा जायजा है कि उनके ग्रंदर बम थे भीर आपने रिफ्युलिंग की और हिंदुस्तान की मुस्तनत खारिजा पालिसी के साम विश्वास• घात किया ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Please resume your seat. (Interruptions). Please conclude.

भी मोहम्मद धफकल उर्फ मीच अफजल:

मैं यह बात कहना चाहता हूं कि इन्होंने
अपने जुम का इकबाल कर रेपयूलिंग बंद
करना इनके जुम का इकबाल कर रेपयूलिंग बंद
करना इनके जुम का इकबाल है, इस बात
को कडूल करना है कि इन्होंने जुम किया
था; लेकिन इनको सजा नहीं मिलती है।
जुम कडूल करने से सजा नहीं मिलती है।
जीर सजा तब होगी, जब यह सरकार
इस्तिका देगी और मैं अपने कांग्रेस के
बाइयों से भी कहता हूं कि आप ही की
मदस से और आप ही के प्रोपेगेंडा से
और आप ही के लड़ने से थोड़ा सा असर
इसा इन पर । जुम तो आपने कबूल
करवा लिया, सजा आप कब देंगे इनको ?

आखिर में मैं कहना चाहूगा, और अभी कहा भी गया है कि यह पूरा जो हमारा बेस्टन भी किया है, इसने सद्दाम हुसैन को एक ट्रेटर के अप में जाहिर किया है, एक डिक्टेटर बना कर के पेश किया है। मैं दाबे से कहता हूं, मैंने इराक को अपनी भांखों से देखा है। जिलनों हमोनेसी मैंने इराक में देखी है, किसी अरब मुल्क में नहीं देखी और यह उसको एक डिक्टेटर बना करके पेश कर रहे हैं। सद्दाम ने पहले दिन कहा था कि मैं कुमैत खाली कर कूंगा, पर फिलीस्तीन खाली कर दिया काए।

इन्होने इस इशु को साई ब्ह्रैक किया और अब यह युवारा बही कर रहे हैं। इसी बुद कहा कि मैं कुबैत साझी करने के लिए तैयार हूं, लेकिन उसके बावणूद जमीनी जंग शुरू की गई है। मैं एक मिनट में अपनी बात खत्म कर दूंगा।

में श्राखिरी बात कह रहा हूं भीर इस हुक्सत से दर्खास्त करूंगा, बस्तबंस्ता गुजारिश करूंगा—हमारे यशवंत सिन्हा जी यह बैठ हैं, उनके जरिए से मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर को यह मैसेज पहुंचाना चाहता हूं कि हम श्रापके दुश्मन नहीं हैं, जेंकिन पूरे मुल्क को पूरी दुनिया के सामने शर्मिन्दा मत कींजिए 1

[उपसभाव्यक्ष (श्री एम० ए० वैंबी) पीठासीन हुए]

खुदा के वास्ते आप माफी मांग लीजिए, जो कुछ आपने किया है, सौर इराक की खुल कर हिमायत कीजिए। रेफ्यूलिंग कर चुके, अगर आप में हिस्मत है, तो थोड़ी सी दवाइयां भी हिंदुस्तान की तरफ से उन लोगों को पहुंचाइये, जो जब्मी हों अस्पतालों में पड़ हुए हैं।

भीर आखिर में मैं यह भी कहूंगा कि युनाइटेड नेशंस, जिसकी अमरीका ने अपने घर की लोंडी बनाकरके रखा हुआ है, अपर वह कुछ काम नहीं कर सकती, तो हमको युनाइटेड नेशंस का आयकाठ करना चाहिएं। शुक्तिया।

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+ [ مغرى عدافضل بوت م - انقل (الترمرداني): محترم مناب والسما چرمین صاحب - سب سے ماضل الول نے اس سٹیلے سے بیٹ سی اہم بیلومیں مرروشي دالي عد اورس سمحتامون كر تطف بر سونے والى اس دسيط كا حوكا نسيسس موما ملسيخ شما ده اس الميس سي أحكاس سي ان مند رهي باخوش لفسيب بندمتنا بول الإسامة مين ونبول نے لغداد شیرکو منگ شرع ہونے ہے حرف تیں دن بیلیے من ومليل و على الى فوستمالى وفدى ممرس شرے سے ملالی اوور بتياموا وجله اوريشرك ادرسفي وتحقوا بيج يرسب ميرى لعَّاسِ لَكَ سل مَنْسِ كتين هرف ولره ميس يے ليد سارلنظر اورساراك نظرىدل جاع -آي تهنيب ياندة توم في اوراكيب تنبيب مانية مكت في جميعييت اور أدادى سے نام کا کم جفیدور ایستے ہوئے بیولس مك مراسان الماك الدرسالي أدر ال زمين سے شعد كل جمع سے مرسك

يس اور عدل مس عبرون سرماك الدريم عدد الوركلكاريان ماسك ولك ي استناول س سادا ما د علام معن مار ربيعس مسل سادى دنيا مسعه جعن ارتقب كري ہے۔ یہ واقعی شے سی لعم کی مات بعددناالى مديدهاست للد م تيانت آلي م - اوردسا د اوري مع من کن کھیں کرباری ہے۔ صاب كمانى اس مثل كى فنرودنى معلى ئونى بىر كىلان مىكىتابول سركها ئى بى س م اسلال منت سرال بع اود بر عدم من سوسرانا بع سابان سے تعليريد إقى كيب بسيره شيماسين ناكاما محت العداد سي لصرة تلت كريسة معل عالم الشروف تل الدين الكالل يعد مرف مردار اسك مال كيمسيا -المالة عبل طري من المقول من الم واداليرالصامف لسندول ك متكسي للى نىنىلىس كى مىلىكى كى المارى الله المارم والست ١٩٥٥ ومعروفها . معلوم الدو السنت ١٩٥٥ كو ما كاسكى سع المروب الشم بم مقلق كا ل و السبت كا داش من شرومين اي

فيطيرين كليس يسترس تباه بهجلي

ماريدس ارى ارى ملاكس ملدكا

تقرمرس حولشرك كئ متى اسميس مولما من السّلومين كوث كرنّا مون وكيهي له آج استع عمسال بدحرف شكس مدلیس الفاظیس مدلے ہیں اسول نے التيم مم مم ساملاس بهاري دستمون م موسن ملاسهے۔ سم دعا كر اتے س كمالشور الين دلت مق س لين معول متعد كيليك أستف استعال من عارى سارى كريه ـ" اللم مم كا استهال كرتيمية للفول حاس ليف ك لعد - مزارون کوگوں کد ایا بھے نانے سے بعد ۔ تمامی اور سربادی کا ننگا ناج ناچینے کے لبد ليع تنامول كى حج كمعشرى بيداسكو مروس فالمقائر الشورك كندمه مع اومر رکھ دیا استے سرے اومراد د دُياتُهُ سب ماكفل اسى اندادين آج امرَقه اور اسك ٢٨ سائق ممالك این گنامول کی گھٹری کوخدا کے سر يرد كه كاكونشش كرر بيدس. مزارون سولیسی برحی طرح سدماری كي تني بعده محفي د شره ميند سے شاری دنیا د کھے رسی ہے۔ کسٹس کی کام

Discussion on

نردی اور امریل صدر کے وجری کودیا گر محصالکس شعرباد آثاری .. ا تد در مهون کا در مده می سے اور السان می سے . ا دی میں تو متیرے نام سے گھراتا کھیرمیں سم آنلو آ دی کینے میں۔ مذاب مألى سارا فحكالم كومت سع شروع أيا ہے۔ست سارے مقروب نے اس بر مروشني لحال سے مسرا منال سے لم كوئ لمَّى دُى سِوشَى السان \_ كُولَى بِي عبندست لسند كوفئ مى آزادى لسند سرست اوسر حوالموسى سوار مراق في السيد السير قد عدد كا اسك مايت مبني كرسكت اوركرنا مى سب ملية يكنس آبك كالدهم اسارف معى دلاما حاشا مون كره و كليران اميي عوام كوللره وقت س حبور كريماك والله ابن كما حكومت رفي كا حق مد. اقتدار لندن اورامرتنس ويصفاون سيدالدر للكعول فحالر عدف كانامس ہے۔اقتدار اس سے سی سوتاکہ اپنے صَرِم کے اندر دنیا کی خولصورت ترس عدرتوں کو جمع کرس۔ افتدار سے موام کے ساتھ لھرے سرنے کا نام کی ال

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Discussion on

بخالفت کیوں س کی ۔ وہ لنرت می

فوكوشي امرسعودى غبنراد وب نيام

كاذرلفيه ي كرجب عوام ير سراد قست، مسالحكون كى وجديك دومسرت عوي عرب لدده سنة سي سنه سلاكر مالك س لي خلاف عوام محاندسا كذيع سي كندها ملاكر آيل ساتھ كى اسلة مدام ميس كيعت سوفي ادد مدان منگ س دود در ارس - رس النبه فأكدنت مرتعفه كيارا سلطخود كالكركوني ما مرسع عداً وراكم أو المالي عطونك الدركولي آوارس المقي س جازس سموكر سأكس اورعوام يونيها ماعناس اور مات سے دراكري محد عدارس فوظ ماس المركبين لكن الد اسكوابلائي كرمن أكر منيدوستتان مادال نتاب وه ساری دنیا کے سي تنتكسنك سي توسمين مواسعل سكف المندجهوية كالحفكدارينا عصده مع الروالية كي هنك الدواء معلف الماسد كسودس سي الد ببادرنشاستري كالس ملك كوهبوركم موه الس مادشتامون أ ورا لس ستامون وال مازس سور رساك ما في الله ادرالس مدكروار كودن كي حاست منيعهشان كاعوام لالسادر نشاستري كبيف كيليخ كفرا بولهد كيولوكون كم يعط مملك تركيل شاركي بس مسن كست ك آزادى كى كرى مرب دس رد ای منگ س اندا کاندهی سکت في اين ا تكون سع لنداد كى سفركون وللمرسال عاش توكه اس ملك مركوش مشخول كدجا رجار للملى يولول موام الدا كالدهى كي ساعة ماست كر مواین لغل س سکرگھویمتی ہمسے دکھیا ہے گاری مزیدستان کسی حقولے ورن منتنسون اور مادشا مون كالماء ملك برسف كرسالية لدميان سلك الينوا Eliment states کی میرکی ؟ سرجے کی باشدہے کرآ غیر كدارسمى لنار الدالى ماسية - سرد كمعنا ومدام مسنء سيت برقعفه كوف بالله كدا المول نے اپنے عوالم كوكما ديا كون مع لعد عداتى يسك المستين فاسكى اورسسودی قرب حباب ا دی انگیالند

من بولستنا جبال لدي والاهم للم

بعية نا آج المرعدان كوي شنبشام

كى عامت كرف كلية لمعلم الموات م عدام كه ديمو وليسي سن دي كي اس ملا وموكولسي عام بر- محترم ال سعد رات كوجو لم مع سكاته من المعدام مست المراحرم كما يكوس يرقعف كردا - كن كريث كي آزادي لواكب كوعنوسري اللن فلنسلن كاسررس برعركي مدرع سے اس سے برے سی آمیکا تعاضا ( بید ک مسلسن کے لوکوں کی سالف س بيئ والافن أوس سنست نوں سعد ہے ؟ جوم الليء ارث سن كرتے وسدام مسين كاعترم لو بعفول كرسكة بس ككراسراتيل كا عُرِم كون تبعل كريم كا رومنسوق لي كا سيست سيع شرا نا تسوريه استا فرم كون تعلى رسيًا كوليه عساب دي والا . ألروا لله را وے آداکے لئے عربین۔ میراشین ن يشراك ساليس ما اسلا اعس بو اگراسرائیل و

مري قواستعري ليك ماس وسوماور ہے۔ شرم آل واشے ان کوکوں کو۔ تنسيلين اوركوب كيليظ لضامنك ير دو بملي اقوام متحده كايمن في عرفي ترتى سارهم كونس اقوام مخده کی شان میں مڑے معیدے بڑھتے ہی للكن اس مار الركوكس المرح الع استال ماراب مسارى دنيا دكم رلیجایدے ۔ خدامی عاتی ۔ مامیرک مادشانو ببهت سوري سے لامقوري مي اندول ا اللا مائے۔ م تسری دیا دیے اس کے مع فترس تان الأن موقعلت المتد س بعارا رمل است افدركديد اسك مى دىلمى كى مرودت بى . مىسى مىدى مىد هے شی تعصل بس اس پرروشی ڈالی۔ ایم آرے ہی صاب نے دنسش گاہلی ی در می مردمای جرماک سے س زمادہ لفصل سيس ما ناها شامر سي ومن المراكسية رى وولكات كى كمي سار مان يسيع المتامون لأمين في والق ك الدر عدا في حوام س سبعد ستنا يوا ليلي عدوى د كلي سعد ود محدث دكلي یے : حوکسی مرسب مللس سے اس کا ملوی : مهمال فرندستسل درست تقاج

مرموقع برمهارا سائف دياركوني البساشل ملك تباغي حدر كشمر مسلم مرعراق كى لمراسي مهارا ساتھ شاتہ استانه مهارى سائق لحفرت سولر دناج أنامهم اس قال بس روكية بن اس رى نىولگىت لىدكە كىرسىلىن كەسم ميندستاني متباحث ددستسساس سسرکارنے ہاری ناک کو ادی ہے۔ المستعمل الوالمنتسس والم سفع مامره لرراب أنس أودعابده المون في الليد وسن كان حدث کے تخلید ایک کروڈ روپے کے سعودی عرب نو مجيم رسيس وه سكال سي ان تك رك معد من الله سى كي آئي الم سے تولوں اسك و مرکابولے یہ جوٹے کے تھیلے مُلك من استمال مدن كليك عاش مح. محورمسط واس وس كرشياسي ے اس منگسے دور مس سعودی تحديب سعه حديث كمملول كالكرود رديسهما كارعبار كيس كيار ان تقوي س رست مفری مائے گی۔ اور الکا دی تسرهد يرستيدرلي كيليع استعالى

مائے گا۔ یہ کتک سی میدوستان کی بلا

وَالْسَعْمِ مَوْفِلِت عِنْدِ أُورُ السَّوْرُكُنَّا مُعَلَّتُ كُلُّ مِن لَمْ جَادِي المُعَامِدُ اللهِ ا أَنَّى الْمُ الْفُسِينِ لُونَ كُلُوْرِي نُولِنًا كى ميكتها بون س مركانام الع مع للأكليلة بس كى معفوريه أنك أدير الزام فكاللبع . يه السالزام به ، بان - امرون نے رئی منوانی اسلامی كراس سركوني المركية الداسراتيل كالكيث في من الم ك أراد كيراس كبيب أفاد كام الموقايل الموالرم الرق بوقية الممنس كردك شارون كالكا والل عدمان خلالى كمد تسافع أس مثلث يم وزمراغكم اوراس ملك عيد منتلس اور دوسس كوب مجلكر كمانا مركانا. لي اور دُنر نَهُ لرف اور اسكى بلسي النابعة سي لم الله الله الماد عدالة مشرم معتم به - الم عدمات مشرى اس كل س آیا میں سرامرید میں آن سرمقدیم مِلْ مَا ہے۔ مسلی تہناروں کی دلالی اوری دیا کو معتوم سے اس مدنان صرفي في سنا تع مهارسة ورس علم ملانا

مهيب يعادي منسترس آتل شان س تعيدے برهيں يشرم أن ماسخ سمكر مناسائل سآب رسا ا عاشاس كهمدنان خنوكى بيان بر در ليؤكيك كعاما كعاف مسلط بين الما تعاديدان منترک سی۔ آل کے کے کہنے سے اس الله ملك. مس آياتها . عدنان فلتوكى مقر ک تمسی سارک اورسعودی الرس سے شاہ منبدے اشاب سے ایرادراند كين عداس مكت يس أياننا . المرى مسرم يرميت سكه المواليس (42) انفل مرانفلوس انفل من الم مامس المسركزاريول-النولات فرى المي توجيه دلائي وه سی ال کے کی تبدس میسا ہوا يد يتمن بيان معاملات في كرك كييك آيالور يجدكية بيسة شرم الخامه \_ آباليه مباعث كراب يجليد رأ فيوسحا رحىسة مى السيط ملائمات كار س كديد أدسّاسية أست الدركوري سور بيان دي . وزيرامنلم شاش كوك ابغلهت عدنات خنفوكى عد خند ملاما رمین که راسکو گورنمندشد و ناکی کسید

مشرى فدافضل عرم افعنل: س ده منت مس این مات فیم کرونگا . ری فیوکنگ ا میوی نے مند کردی ہے۔ عبه عوام کے میرنشرس کی ہو یا گھوا كركى مبورها والكنآه تدبيبيت شاخيس کروی کی نے معامدہ کیا۔ وی کی کی کھ معاصب 🔰 مرثع است تل اسکوتر دید كتريكي من كون متحدث سسركاركي لمرث سے بیش سن ساکیا ہے کہ وی کی . ستكعب في رى ميعولنك كانحامه كالم تھا۔س اسسے میں آگے مائر کہا مول كراجو كانوهى صاحب يرالزام كالمار مسالعيات لينتك كسلط رلیم کرکشا سون کر راجنگا ندهی سماریا

دی بی رسنسکد یون بیلی باشت توم "

مرك ماده واس س الرهاده و وس سے دوران عامرہ کرنا الگ مات سے اور حَبُلُس کے زمانے میں تعل معرنا آلگ ماشاسه به مارا آلیب بنسب آج تكب عراق كالدر المتراوا يد . آدهاسامان أثر مكايد ادر آدها فومعرا موليه وه سرر ريد: کے تکب ہم نے اس سامان کوا تاریخ ك اعازت بن دى - سم دوانتيان مين مجع سكلة - مم لدك بجود كا ومعدد من بحيع سكة يكن بم لوك ري معوللك الرسيكة من ان و عدارون کو مکلے مارسے میں ممارسے الغد التي بمث بهن كومم ال سع يه الدهديس كه حوال جادول من كعله سين كاسامال يد رسارس ؟ هد سرارے ما تندوں سے یہ بات کی کریم اسكا والب من دس سكنة كركن الأو كي سامان مقة. لِيَّيِنَ الْنَهَ الدَّرِ تَهِيل بم من مدا مائنره به كراك الله م من اور آب نے دی نیولنگ کی الد مندوستان كي مشتهد خارجم باليس ر میساند و شواس گھات کیا ۔ و

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR)
Please resume your seat. (Interruptions). Please conclude

والسُّن چيرس" ستري بيماکشولخط وسعدكر"؛ (الكلتي) إسترى عدامعل عرب م اختل میں یہ مامشہ کمینا چاہتا ہوں کر اسوں نے ابيه غرم کا انسال کرایا ، ری میونگ مد کرنا ل کے قرم کا انعال ہے اس مامت كولبول كرناس كراسون فيعرم كه منا كتين آنو سرابس ملي يه . قرم کرسا سا سنرا ملن بید ـ اود مسرا نتب موكى عبب أم سركار استنى دكي ا ا درس لميد ما تركيس سع معافيد ل عد می کہتا ہوں کہ آپ کی مدد سے اور اب س کے بروسیکندہ سے امراب سي لرف سع مقول سا اثر سوايد ان بر حرم تواب في منول كروالها سنراكب كس منك . آنك ؟ أخرس من كمنا عابدنكا ادر المي كما لكي تعليه دم لدرا و وليطون میڈیا ہے۔ اس نے مدام حسن کو أكيب بترميرك روب س طابركمايع آمسالی کشیر شاکرسٹیں کیا ہے ۔ پس دعم المين المينا سون كرس في وراق

كوامي أنكعون سط دكمعاس \_ حبى

لم محکرلسی سے عراق س حکمی

یدکسی مرت متعدمین مین دیمیو، اور

یه اسکو آلیب کی کشیر خاکرسیش گردی پس ـ صدام نے بسے دن کما مثنا کرس کوریت خالی کر ددلے بر ملسلین

کوریت خالی کر دول م خالی کردیا حالتے۔

البناية اس التوكوسانة

کیا اوراب به دوباره وسی کردیجیمی ا میفیود که کرس کویت خالی کرنے

کیلئے تیاد سی کی گئے اوقعد زمین منگ شرع کی گئے ۔ میں آج مینٹ

سی این مات فعیم کررنج میں۔ پین آور میں آفری بات کہ رہ ہوں آدر

اس محدیث سے درواست برملگا. دست بست گذارش کرو لگا بهارے

وست بسم لذارش كرو نفا بهاري ميشوندت سينا بي سال ميان بيان ميان الك

درائیے سے س برائے مسٹر میادب کو یہ بیسی بہت کیانا جاتا ہوں کہ ہم کیکے دنتین میں ہیں۔ سین بدرے ملک کو لیدی دنیا کے سلط شرمندہ

چه درانیا به بنستان له فرف

كالمارية المارية الما

سالان سيالىدا داية ن المناجية جيوا رخی مالات من استال من برد رخی مالات من استال من برد میت من -بین آخر من برکنا مابردگاد دو انتشار میشن میو امری به لین گو کی دری ناکر که دکا موابع می مرود ا

کیچکام میں کرسکی ٹوم کدی ناشلیڈ نیفنس کا بائیکانٹ کرنا جا میٹے ۔ مشکرہ نہ ]

भी सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह शहनुशासिया :

उपसभाव्यक्ष जी, हम खाड़ी युद्ध के बारे
में जो यहां पिछले मुक्तवार से चर्चा कर
रहे हैं। लोगों के वहन में यह बात माती
हैं कि इराक में मगर बमबारी हो रही है,
तो भारतीय क्यों इतना चितित है। बहुत
सारे लोग कानाफूसी में लगे हुए हैं कि
इस देश में काफी मुसंबतें हैं। उसके
बावजूद हम इराक के बारे में क्यों सोच
रहे हैं? उसके पीछे एक सांस् तिक
कारण हैं, एक सामाजिक कारण हैं, क्योंकि
इर.क का इतिहास हमारी भारत की
संस् ति के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है, हमारी
भारत की सामाजिक व्यवस्था के साथ
जुड़ा हुआ है मोर मास्र से नहीं, जड़े

मुझे इराक की बात करते हुए बाद ज्ञाता है नह करजना का मैदान, जिस करक्ता के नैदान में इसन ग्रीर हुसैन ने बानी दी और भाज भी इस हिंदुस्तान का

जनान से जुड़ा हुआ हैं।

बारह करोड़ मुसलमान मुहर्रम के दिन छाती पीत कर हाय ससन, और हाय हुसैन के नारे लगा कर चिल्ला-चिल्ला कर अपना प्रदर्शन करता है। यह वह करजला का मदान है, जहां धर्मयुद्ध लड़ा गया, जहां हसन और हुसैन ने एक नीति को जन्म दिया, जहां हसन ने और हुसैन ने एक इतिहास को जन्म दिया और वह एक ऐसा इतिहास था जो खून के अक्षरों, से लिखा गया था।

उसके साथ-साथ वह इराक का जो के पिटल बगदाद है, उसके साथ जुड़ा हुआ हैं एक ऐसा धर्म, जिस धर्म से मैं श्राता हैं। गुरु नानक भ्राज से कई सौ साल पहले बगदाद पहुंचे और वहां जाकर, उस गुरू नानक ने, जिसने सिख धर्म चलाया, सिख धर्म को स्टार्ट किया, उस गुरू नानक ने जाकर मस्जिद में अजान लगाई, मस्जिद में नमाज पड़ी ग्रीर वहां के मौलवियों को श्रचंभित कर दिया । श्राज उसका जीता-जागता उदाहरण बगदाद शहर के बीच में ही एक वह मस्जिद श्राज तक गुरुद्वारे के रूप में खड़ा है। हम तो यहां मंदिर और मस्जिद की लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं वहां एक मुस्जिद को गुरुद्वारा बनाकर दिखाया गया है कि हिन्द का पीर गुरू नानक यहां श्राया था । उसने नमाज पहीं भी ग्रीर उसको मेनटेन वहां की सरकार करती है। इराक सरकार उस गुरुद्वारे को चलाती है भीर भगर ग्राज हम सोचें, ग्राज मैं जिन लोगों के वक्तव्य सून रहा था, भ्रगर भ्राप यू.एन.ग्रो. के रेजील्यूशन पढ़ें, इन वक्तव्यों को सुनें, उन डेर्ल ब्रेशंज को अर्च्छ. तरह से पढ़ें भ्रौर समझने की कोशिश करें तो उपसभाष्यक महोदय, यह सैक्युरिटी कांसल का 660 वां पहला रेजोल्यूशन था जो यू.एन. सैक्योरिटी काउंसिल में पास किया गया और उसमें भी कहा गया था: 756 R. S.-10

"..calls upon Iraq and Kuwait to begin immediately intensive negotiations for the resolution of their differences and support all efforts in this regard and especially those of the League of Arab States."

यह पहला रेजोल्यूशन पास किया
गया था । उसमें यह बात कही गई थी ।
आज यह कहते हैं कि हमने ये बातें नहीं
की श्रौर 28 मुल्क एक तरफ श्रौर वह
भई का बच्चा सहाम हुसैन एक तरफ ।
मुझे याद श्राता है यह शेर श्रौर मैं
पढ़ना चाहता हूं

"फिर लक्करे शिमर बगदाद की जिन्हि बढ़ा है,

हुसैनी करबला से फिर एक हुसैन उठा है।"

सर जमीने करबला से यह कहा सद्दाम ने,

"सर कटा सकते हैं,

पर सर झुका सकते नहीं।"

यह सद्दाम हुसैन की बात है और यह सद्दाम हुसैन कह रहा है। यह ऐसी संस्कृति से गुजर जुड़ा हुआ है। मैं सिख हूं, सिख धर्म को मानता हूं। जहां गुढ़ गोविंद सिंह ने मुझे बताया है कि.

तो मुझे रोस न ग्राहे,

"जे सकता सकते को मारे

जे सकता भीम को मारे

तो मैं खढ़ग उराऊं।"

श्री सरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहल्वालिया]

यही बात एक पहलवान के साथ है। प्रगर एक पहलवान की कुरती हो तो कोई उसमें रोक नहीं लगाता। पर एक पहलवान को मारने के लिए 28 पहलवान प्रगर मैदान में उतर जायें तो वह बड़ी शर्मनाक बात हुई और वह शर्मनाक घटना इस खाड़ी युद्ध में हो रही है।

महोदय, जब यह रेशेल्यूशन इन्होने पास किया और लास्ट इनका जो 678 रेजोल्यूशन नम्बर है उसमें भी यह

बड़े घ्यान से कहते हैं

"..mindful of its duties and responsibilities under the Charter of United Nations for the maintenance and reservation of international peace and security."

फिर अथोर इज मैम्बर्ज इसके,

"..authorises member — States co-operating with the Government of Kuwait unless Iraq on or before 15th January, 1991, fully implements, as set forth in paragraph one above about the foregoing resolutions to use all necessary means to uphold and implement resolution Nos. 660,1990 and all subsequent, relevant resolutions and to restore inter-national peace and security in the area."

श्रमर यही पीस एंड सैक्यरिटी प्रिजर्व श्रीर रेस्टोर करने के लिए ये श्रमरीकन ये माफिया, ये भाडे के गुँडे मसन्रीज, ये कौन हैं, इनकी तुलना माफिया से की जातीं है तो मेरा सर शर्म से झुक जाता है, उस वक्त जिस वक्त 21वीं सदी में हम ग्रमरीका के बारे में सोचते हैं कि इतने पढ़े-लिखे हुए त्यमैन राइट्स के चेंपियन बनने वाले विद्यान लोग जो 21वीं सदी की बात करते हैं वे वैता व्यापार कर रहे हैं जैसा कि 13वीं सदी में माफिया लोगों ने इटली और सिसली में किया था 13वीं सदी में इटली और सिसली में जो माफिया ग्रुप बना था उनका काम क्या था ? उनका काम स्नार्गेनाइण्ड वह एक सिंडिकेट या जो आर्गेनाइज्ड वे में काइम कता था ग्रीर बड़े-बड़े लैंड-लाडर्ज को मदद करने के लिए उनके लिए गंड-गर्दी करता था । महोदय, आपको यह सुनकर

श्राभचर्य होगा यह इटली श्रीर सिसली से जो माफिया लोग जाकर श्राखिर कहां बसे, 17-18-19 वीं सदी तक यूरोप के डिफोट पार्टस में श्रीर यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स श्राफ अमेरिका में जाकर बसे । श्राज ये वहीं लोग हैं श्रीर उहीं को यह जार्ज बुश रिप्रेजेंट करता हैं । ये जार्ज बुश ने सारी दुनिया को नेपाम बम से लेकर न्यूक्लियर बम दिखाकर श्रातंकित करने की कोशिश की है । उपसभाव्यक्ष महोदय, यह करबला की भूमि है जो जार्ज बुश को सारी दिखाकर रहेगी।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): When is the Prime Minister coming to reply?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): He is coming.

SHRI T. R. BALU (Tamil Nadu): Will the Prime Minister give a reply or not?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The debate can continue. Not that we don't want to listen to Mr. Ahluwalia. We just want to know when the Prime Minister will reply.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI YASHWANT SINHA): The debate is not yet over. The Prime Minister will be here at 5.15. If the debate is over by that time, he will give his reply or he will reply as soon as the debate is over.

श्री प्ररेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुबालिया: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सभी माननीय सदस्यों ने स्कूलो में राँबिन हुड की कहानी पढ़ी होगी। हम जानते हैं कि राँबिन हुड कीन था। राँबिन हुड ग्रपना एक प्रायवेट ला चलाया करता था। उस जमाने के कानूनों का पालन न कर के वह ग्रपना कानूनों का पालन न कर के वह ग्रपना कानून चलाया करता था। ये राँबिन हुड की घरती के लोग ग्राज जार्ज ब्रा के साथ खड़े हैं श्रीर जार्ज ब्रा भी उसी माफिया की तरह श्राकर सऊदी ग्ररब श्रीर कुवैत के नाम पर ये लड़ाई लड़ने की कोशिश कर रहा है। उपसभाष्यक्ष महोदय मेरा सीधा सा सवाल है कि ग्रगर कुवैत

में तेल के कुन्नों की जगह खजूर होते तो क्या ये भाडे के गुन्डे, माफियां, श्रमेरिकन जार्ज इश कुर्वेत को आजाद कराने आता ? कभी नहीं श्राता । उपसभाष्यक्ष महोदय, ये तेल के कुंए उनको खींचकर लाए हैं। अगर यही बात थी, अगर ह्यूमन राइट्स का इतना ही चैंपियन बनना था तो ये उस वक्त कहां थे जब दलाई लामा को उठाकर तिब्बत से बाहर फैंक दिया गया था और वह इंटरनेशनल कम्युनिटी को कहने लगाथा कि कोई मेरा तिब्बत ग्राजाद करो । उन्हें पता था कि उस तिब्बत में जंगली बेर ग्रीर हबेल मैडिसिन रट्स छोड़कर कुछ नहीं मिलेगा। लेकिन तेल पावर है ग्रौर उस पावर पर कब्जा करने के लिए उन्होंने यह सारा रचा है। उपसभाष्यक महोदय, इनको सेक्यरिटी काउंसिल रिजोल्यूशन इच्पलीमेंट करना था तो वहां यू० एन० श्रो के नीले झंडे क्यों नहीं लगाते ? क्यों वहां अमेरिका, फांस और यू० के० के झंडे फहरा रहे हैं ? क्यों नहीं शांति का प्रतीक वह नीला झंडा दिखलायी देता । ये चितकबरी टोपियों की जगह वह नीली टोपी, ब्लू हैलमेट ग्रीर ब्लू फ्लैंग क्यों नहीं दिखता है ? क्योंकि इन्होंने जबदंस्ती सेक्युरिटी काउंसिल के इस रिजोल्युशन को श्रपने स्वार्थ के लिए हाईजैंक किया है। उपसभाष्यक्ष महोदय, इस लड़ाई में उनका साफ मकसद यह है कि कीमती माल्टेन गोल्ड पर करजा है। अगर ये हायुमन राइट्स के चैम्पियन हैं तो जब अपाथिइट के खिलाफ हमारे काले बंध लड़ाई कर रहे थे, उस वक्त वे कहा थे<sup>े</sup>? साउथ अमेरीका के खिलाफ इक-नोमिक बैं लगाने के लिए कितनी रिजोल्युशन यू०एन०ग्रो० ने पास किया, लेकिन वहां पर "वीटो" लगाकार ये उन रिजोल्यू शन को रोकते रहे। तब क्यों नहीं इनके दिल में मानवीय प्रधिकारों की बात उठी ? क्यों वे सो रहे थे ? क्योंकि यु०के० ने वहां भ्रंगीकार कर रखा था श्रौर वहां तोने की खानों से सोना निकाल रहा था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, 1967 से फि:क्स्तीन का मसला चल रहा था ग्रौर ग्रराफात हिंदुस्तान के पुराने साथी हैं। 1967 से लेकर इस बात पर जोर दिया जा रहा है कि वह जगह खाली की जाए। और उसके ऊपर हर वक्त अमरीका का बीटो लगता रहा है। क्यों लगता रहा है वीटो? क्योंकि वह चाहते थे कि वहां पर भी अपनी एक जगह बना ले।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्रीर तो श्रीर भ्रभी कुछ दिन पहले की बात है, वर्ष 1988 में भी रिजोल्यूशन पास किया गया, 1990 में भी रिजोस्युशन पास किया गया । ग्राज तो यह कहते हैं कि सिक्योरिटी कोंसिल का रिजोल्य मन रिजेंक्ट किया है ईराक ने, इसलिए हमने हमला किया है। यहां 25 दिसम्बर, 1987 को इजराइल रिजेक्ट्स यू०एन० कौंसिल बोट, बहां पर जो भी डिसीजन उसको रिजैक्ट किया। तो उसके खिलाफ क्या लगाया इन्होंने ? उसके खिलाफ श्रमना वीटो लगाया भौर वीटो लगाकर उसको रोका । जिस दिन हम इसमें सक्षम हुए, सारे विश्व में हमने, ग्रराफात के दोस्तों ने यह आवाज बुलन्द की थी धौर प्लस्ताइन की जगह इजराइलों के हाथों से मुक्त कराने का रिजोल्यूशम सिक्योरिटी कौंसिल ने पास किया। वह रिजोल्यूशन द्राजतक इम्पलीमेंट क्यों नहीं **ह**न्ना। यह सौतेलापन क्यों यू०एन० ग्रो० के रिजो-ल्युशन के साथ होता है। इसलिए होता है कि एक तरह यह इजराइल इनका दोस्त है धौर दूसरी तरफ वह इनके तेल के कुन्नों पर इनका ग्राधिपत्य खतम करना चाहता है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह सुनकर समं उस वक्त प्राती है जबिक हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार, 2 प्रगस्त, 1990 को जब यहां बी०पी० सिंह की सरकार थी, उस दिन बी०पी० सिंह मूकदर्शक बनकर बैठे रहे। ग्राप उनसे पूछें कियू०एन०ग्रो० में हिन्दुस्तान के जो रिप्रेजेंटिन ये उनका क्या रिएक्शन या वहां पर ? ग्रापने ग्रमरीका के साथ एक एग्रीमेंट किया 2 ग्रगस्त, 1990 के बाद, जब एक बार लाइफ सिचुएमन किएट हो गई थी ग्रीर इस बार लाइफ सिचुएमन के किएट होने के बाद ग्रापने

[श्री स्रेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहल्बालिया] एक मोपेन कोरीडोर सिस्टम पर साईन किए ग्रमरीका के साथ । इसके पहले तो यह नियम था कि स्रमरीका के., जो हैंड ग्राफ दी स्टेट कोई भी ग्राता है तो वह उतर कर जहाज लेगा, हम भी लेते हैं। एप्रीमेंट होते हैं, हर देश के साथ होते हैं। ग्रमरीका के साथ भी ऐसा एग्रीमेंट हमारा था। परना भ्रोपेन कोरीडोर का एग्रीमेंट यानी किसी भी, तरह का जहाज, कोई बाइलोजिकल वीपन या कोई कैमिकल वीपन या कोई न्युक्लियर वीपन बंबई सहार एग्ररपोर्ट पर उतरेगा। अब कोई बम ब्लास्ट कर जाए, कैं मिकल वीपन ब्लास्ट कर जाए तो हमारे द्विन्द्रस्तान की जनसंख्या पर, हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों पर कितना खतरा पैदा हो सकता ंइसको नजरग्रन्दाज करते हुए बी०पी० सिंह की सरकार ने अमरीका के साथ एक ऐसा एग्रीमेंट किया ग्रीर द्योन रिकार्ड करता हूं कि ऐसा हुन्ना । . . (व्यवधान)

Discussion on

श्री मोहम्मद ग्रफजल इक्फाल: बिल्कुल गलत है। वी० पी० सिष्ट साहब ने बांकायदा डिनाई किया है कि इस तरह का कोई एग्रीमेंट नहीं किया गया है। उन्होंने बाकायदा रिपयुज किया है। ग्राप इसको करैक्ट कर लीजिए।... (ज्यवधान) . . .

क माननीय सदस्य : ग्रापके कहने से क्या होता है ?

श्री मोहम्मद ग्रफ्जल उर्फ मीम ग्रफ्जल : हमारे कहने से नहीं, बल्कि खुद वी०पी० सिंह साहब ने करैक्ट किया है। ग्रापको पता होना चाहिए ।

भी सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुवालिया : उपाध्यक महोदय, यह चितकबरी टोपियां, यह चितनबरी हैलमैंट जो माफिया गुप 28 कंट्रीज का, सुनकर आश्चर्य होता है कि उन्होंने अपनी प्रेमिकाओं और बीवियो की चिट्ठयां ग्रपनी टोपी में छिपा हैं, जिसको यष्ट शुभ मानते हैं। यह जींसस ऋाइस्ट कन्ट्रीज के लोग, जिसको इस दुनिया के मानवाधिकार का

ग्रच्छा, एक सही मसीहा होना चाहिए, ग्राज उन्होंने इस तरह से हमारे दोस्त राज्य के साथ इतनी बड़ी गहारी की है। यह बद्दाश्त नहीं की जासकती।

Gulf War

यु ०एन० भ्रो० की बात जब आती है, महोदय, युनाइटेड नेशन का अटिकल "एक" कहता है --

"The first purpose of that Orgamaintain international nization is to peace and security and to develop friendly relations among and to take proper measures strengthen universal peace."

पर यह कौन सी पीस देना चाहते हैं? कौन हैं यूनिवर्सल बदरहुड की बात रहे हैं और इंटरनेशनल सिक्योरिटी बात कर रहे हैं ? सारी दनिया इन्होंने एनसिक्योर कर दिया है इस लड़ाई के कारण

उपसभाष्ट्रयक्ष महाँदय, जिस वक्त हमने

फैसला किया, कुछ एम०पीज० ने फैसला किया ग्रौर फैसला करके कहा कि उस इराक की भूमि के लोगों को हम करना चाहते हैं। जब हमने पूर्तगालियों के हाथ से गोवा छीना था तो यह वही इराक है जो हमारे पास क्राकर खडा हुआ था ग्रौर उसने कहा या कि गोवा हिंदुस्तान का हिस्सा है ग्रीर हिन्दुस्तान ने अगर उस पर कब्जा किया है तो वह सही है। यह वह इराक है, उन इराकी जख्मी भाईयों के लिये हम कुछ एम0 पीज0 ने फैसला किया कि हम खुन कलेक्ट करेंगे, हम दवाईयां कलेक्ट करेंगे ग्रौर हमने उनके ग्रंबेसडर से संम्पर्क स्थापित करके उनको कहा कि ... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Now, please conclude.

थी पुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहल्यालिया :

I am concluding.

हमने कहा कि एक लाख बोतल हम सद्दाम हुसैन के लड़ते ग्रीर जूझते हुये उन नौजवानों के लिये देंगे, जिन्होंने ... (व्यवधान)

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एक सम्मानित सदस्य : क्या-क्या ?

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुवालिया : खून-खून, जो दिखायी नहीं पड़ता म्रापको (स्यवधान) आपको कुछ ग्रौर नजर ग्रा सकता है। बोतल के साथ ग्रापको कुछ श्रौर ही नजर श्राता है ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक लाख बोतल खून उन जुझते हुये नौजवानों को देने का फैसला किया। उनके श्रंबेसडर ने हमें लिखकर बताया ग्रौर कहा कि ग्रभी भी वह लोग जो जख्मी हो रहे हैं, उनकी माताएं जिस वक्त इन ग्रमेरिकनों ग्रौर माफिया ग्रप के बम के गोलों से जख्मी हो रही हैं, जब वे समझते हैं कि मरने सगेतो वे लिखकर कह रहे हैं मरने से पहले भी मेरा खुन निकाल दो कि **भा**ने वाले इराकी लोगों के काम श्रा सके, अभी हमें खून की जरुरत नहीं है।

श्री मोहम्मद श्रफजल उर्फ मीम श्रफजलः यह सरकार भी इजाजत देगी वहां खून अभेजने की ।

भी पुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुवालिया : मेरा खुन भेजने की इजाजत देगी, में खुद . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री मोहम्मद श्रफ्जल उर्फ मीम श्रफ्जल एक लाख बोतल भेजने की इजाजत सरकार से ली है... (व्यवधान)

्था सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुबालियाः जपसभाष्ट्रयक्ष महोदय, उन्होंने कुछ दवाईयों की पेशकश की । उन्होंने कहा कि

"I would like to share with you all my high appreciation for the donation of blood that you would like to send. In fact, till now, I have received no request Iraq for the blood. So, I assure you that I will come back to you when I receive such a kind of request. Regarding the medicines, you please advise the donors send those medicines that may not expire during the transit period. The producers could kindly have a look at the list of medicines this regard."

उन्होंने काफी लम्बी-चौडी दवाईयों की लिस्ट भेज ग्रीर उसके बाद हिंदुस्तान के लोग भी जो बहादुर हैं, इस मामले में ग्रौर अपने दोस्तों को पहचानते हैं, वहां जोइंट कांसिल ग्राफ फर्मासिटिकल इंडस्ट्री एंड ट्रेड में खुद लिखकर भेजा कि इराक के उन जुझते हुये जवानों को जितनी भी दवाई चाहिये, जितने इंजेक्शंस चाहिये, जितने भी सर्जिकल इक्टिपमेंट चाहिये हम देने के लिये तैयार है और इसकी एक कंसाइंमेंट हमारे प्यारे नेता राजीव गांधी जब यहां से इरान गये हैं, उनके साथ दवाईयां भी भेजी गयी हैं भ्रौर दबाईयों के साथ राजीव गांघी जी जब मि० गोबच्यिव से मिलने गये ग्रौर मि० गोर्बाच्योव के छ सुन्नी प्रोग्राम पर चार घंटे डिस्कशन हुई हैं ग्रौर उस चार षंटे की डिस्कशन का मसौदा यही है कि यु०एन० में, सिक्योरिटी कांसिल में यु०एन०ग्रो० ने अमरीका को ऐसा कोई मेंडेट नहीं दिमा था कि तुम कोई ऐस माफिया का ग्रुप बनालो ग्रौर उस ग्रुप के हैड बनकर तुम जाकर वहां लड़ाई घोषित करो ग्रौर यह लड़ाई ग्रन्याय है श्रौर इस लड़ाई को रोकन की हर को किश की जारही है।

उपसमाध्यक्ष (भी एम० ए० बेबी ) : प्लीज कांक्लुड।

भी मुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुपालिया उपसभाष्ट्रयक्ष महोदय, भाज राजीव गांधी जी तेहरान में हैं ग्रौर सम्भावना है कि वहां से वह बगदाद सद्दाम हुसैन मिलने जायेंगे और मैं कहता हूं, मेरी गुजारिण है इस सदन को, इसकें सा<del>थ</del>-साथ जो हम इस बहस को कर रहे हैं, दिल से हम साथ देते हैं। एक तरफ हम यह भी फैसला करें ग्रौर प्रेयर करें उस सद्दाम हुसैन की लम्बी उन्न के लिये और उस सद्दाम हुसैन की फतह के लिये जो सद्दाम हसैन वह मर्द का बच्चा है जो कि सैकेंड वर्ल्ड वार में भी करीब एक लाख सोटिज, एक लाख हवाई हमले कहीं नहीं हुये थे, पर भ्राज की डट में इस इराक के ऊपर एक लाख हमने कर दिये गये श्रौर सैकेंड वर्ल्डवार में जितना बम, बारुद यूज किया गया दा उतना श्रकेले एक दिन में उन्होंने ज कि यथा था।

# श्री सुरेन्द्र जीत सिंह ग्रहसुवालिया]

जससे 26000 गुना ज्यादा असिंनल अमरीका ने जमा किया हुआ है सिर्फ ईराक को खत्म वरने के लिए, उस ईराक को, जिसकी पापुलेशन सिर्फ एक करोड़ सत्तर लाख है। इतनी छोटी सी पापु लेशन को खत्म करने के लिए इतना आसिंनल, इतने बम और इतना गोला बाहद इकट्डा किया गया है। नैकेंड वर्ष्ड बार में जितना जमा किया गया था, उससे 26000 गुना ज्यादा जमा किया गया है। यह शर्म की बात है।

महोदय, इन्होंने ज।पान को इसी तरह खत्म किया था, इसी तरह वियतनाम को खत्म करने की कोशिश की थी
और इसी तरह से ये और मुल्को पर
आधिपत्य जमाने की कोशिश करते हैं।
इस माफिया के खिलाफ, इस माफियागैंग
के खिलाफ एक जेहाद की जरूरत है और
उस जेहाद की शुरूआत हिंदुस्तान से होनी
चाहिए।

. उपसभा ध्यक्ष महोदय, ईराक में सिफं 5 लाख लैंड ग्रामी है लेकिन उसके खिलाफ 10 लाख से ज्यादा लैंड झार्मी लेकर ये लोग वहां इकट्ठा हुए हैं। ईराक के पास अपने वार प्लेन्स कैवल 530 हैं जब कि ये लोग डेढ़ हजार वॉर प्लेन्स लेकर वहां पहुंचे हुए हैं। ये नहीं चाहते कि क्वैत की उसके हाथ से आजाद किया जाए बल्कि ये चाहते हैं कि उस इलाके के जितने तेल के कुएं हैं, उन पर से मुसल-मानों का ग्राधिपत्य खत्म हो जाए, वहां के लोगों का भ्राधिपत्य खत्म हो जाए भीर ये गोरी चमडी वाले उन पर भ्रपनी मिल्कियत जमाना चाहते हैं। इस मिल्कि-यत के खिलाफ उन लोगों को लडना चाहिए। में फिर भ्रपने गुरु ग्रंथ साहब की बात कहता हं---

"सूरत सो पहचाहिए जो लड़े दीन के हेत, पुज-िपुज कट मरे, कबहुं न छाड़े खेत"

तो यह सद्दाम हुसैन जिसने इनको पाठ सिखाना हैं, हो सकता है कि वह इस चड़ाई में मारा जाए, शहीद हो जाए, श्रमर हो जाए पर उसके श्रमर होने से पहले यह पालि।यामेंट एक प्रेयर करे और यह प्रेयर सारे हिंदुस्तान में की जाए कि उसकी लंबी उग्ने हा ब्रार ईराक की फतह हो ब्रीर ईराक-भारत में की फतह हो।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Mr. Gautam, not here, Shri Abdulla Koya, not here. Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTA-CHARJEE (West Bengal): Vice-Chairman, I think at this stage the aspect of the Gulf war should receive our greatest attention is the aggression on Iraq bу gang of 28 led by the US imperialism. It has been so from the very beginning and it is more so when the US President out of hand rejected the 8-point or the 6-point peace plan of the Siviet President. Mr. Gorbachev. Now this rebuff for Mr Gorbachev was, perhaps, due to the acquiscence of the Soviet Union to the US game plan by supporting Resolution No. 678 and not remaining content with that, by supporting the US-led military action also, thereby making clear to the USA that they have nothing to fear and there is nobody to challenge their authority. They were really the monarch of all they surveyed and, this time, none to dispute. The Soviet Union could have vetoed this later Resolution, Resolution No. 678. It did not do it. China, though it did not support, abstained, and, later on, sang to the tune of the United States America. This has been the sorely-disappointing, aspect of international polity in postthe Second World War scenario. Such an utter contempt was never shown to the Soviet Union before in the comity of nations. It is not just an insult to the U.S.S.R. Even those who are looking to it as the bastion of socialism must hang their heads in shame in this development.

At the present moment, what is happening? The role of India has been disappointing. What else could it be. Not only the combat planes of

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the U.S. Air Force were refuelled here, but as it came out, the dangerous U.S. planes were also refuelled here. They came from Diego Garcia to India and were refuelled at Madras Airport. at Airport in Bomby, and elsewhere. Still, our Prime Minister could talk of humanitarian acts. Never before in the history of the world, perhaps. the term, 'humanitarian' has used in such a perverse manner. The refuelling of the combat planes of a belligerent country by a neutral country could, i nno way, be termed as a 'humanitarian act', and it does speak very ill of him.

Discussion on

Our role in activating the aligned movement is better not ferred to Now, our youthful former Prime Minister is on a global mission to bring about peace. He had a fourhour talk with President Gorbachev. But it seems so to me that his arrival was a signal to the United States' ground action against Iraq. It more or less like that. It may be that the de jure Prime Minister is there to compliment what is done there by the de facto Prime Minister. We do not know what position the Government took in respect of his tour.

A point was made by Mr. Dinesh Goswami. The United Nations has never been so misused, in spite of many shortcomings, many shortfalls, organisation. This in this second time that Big Power have been allowed to intervene in matters of another nation. The earlier instance was in connection with Korea, in 1951, when the Union was boycotting the Security Council and, therefore, could not exercise the right of veto against that Resolution. Even in Korea, the American GIs were donning U. N. badges. But this time, this gang of 28 has usurped the power of the United Nations. When an individual nation takes any action against another nation, there is aggression. This is what has been done by the devout Christian, Mr. Bush, and Mr. John Major, who was Britain's Iron Lady's minor and now in the apron-strings of the

U.S. President. Mitterrand tried to show some independence . . but ultimately has fallen in line and was the first to enter 5.00 P.M. into Iraq. My submission would be, we cannot for all our lapses. I call them lapses without calling them a 'crime' if from this House we are able to accept a resolution condemning the U.S. led aggression on Iraq even after Iraq agreed to withdraw its army from Kuwait in terms of the Gorbachev peace plan, first of 8-points and then of 6 points. We should call upon Iraq even now--it may be redundant but that is necessary to show that we do not approve of the occupation Kuwait, whatever might be our argument against Kuwait as the stooge State—that the Iraqi army should vacate Kuwait. At the same time. the U.S.-led multi-national forces should also be evacuated from the Gulf region. Both these evacuations can be supervised by a U.N. team comprising non-combatant members of the U.N. Naturally, the team cannot include all

the members of the U.N. The total

membership is 154 and even if we re-

duced 28 plus 1 members, there would

be 125 members. So, a small team has

to be comprised who would observe

these evacuations. That would be in

keeping with the tradition of the

United Nations United Nations can

also utilise the services of powers

which are not major.

Before concluding I must mention one point regarding the future of the United Nations. The League of Nations had an unholy demice because of the refusal of the then big powers. Britain, France and the United States, to take the challenge of the fascist powers. That brought the end of the League of Nations: There were certain constitutional lapses also. This time there may be a very indecent burial of the United Nations if the supercilious imperialist aggression of various countries in the name of the U.N. cannot be put a stop to. That is but there is the moral aspect of the not always a military affair public opinion all over 303

[Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee] the world. We should take that into account and try to save the U.N. Really, that is an instrument of peace, not of war or aggression.

डा० ग्रबरार ग्रहमद (राजस्थान): माननीय उपसभाष्यक महोदयं, ग्राज जब मैं लंच के समय घर गया ग्रौर दो बजे वाले समाचार सून रहा था तो टी ब्वी ० में समाचार इस प्रकार से ग्रा रहे थे कि दोनो तरफ से घमाशान लडाई चल रही है। इराक के ग्रंदर 5 हजार लोग महामारी से मर गए। जड़ाई में लोगों का मरना मान्य है लेकिन जिस प्रकार से वहां तबाही हो रही है, जिस तरह से लोग मर रहे हैं एक ही दिन में 5 हजार लोग महामारी से मर गये, हैजे की बीमारी से मर गए उसमें बच्चे, स्त्रियां, पूरुष सभी शामिल हैं-उसकी हम चर्चा ही कर सकते हैं, बात कर सकते हैं लेकिन उसका दुख तो वही स्त्रीबतासकती हैजो विधवाहो।

इस दुख को वहीं मां बता सकती है जिसकी गोद से उसका बच्चा चला गया हो, इस दुख को वही बच्चा बता सकता है जो यतीम हो गया हो ग्रीर जिसके सिर से मां-बाप का साया छिन गया हो ग्रीर जो बिना मां बाप के ग्रपनी जिन्दगी बसर करने को मजदूर हो। अगर यह लड़ाई अमेरिका की घरती पर लड़ी जाती है तो मैं यह मान कर चलता हं कि ग्रमेरिका रशिया के संधि प्रस्ताव को कभी नहीं दुकराता । चूंकि यह लड़ाई अमेरिका की धरती से बहुत दूर है और उसकी धरती पर श्राग नहीं बरस रही है, उसकी धरती पर गोले नहीं पड रहे हैं, म्रमेरिका की माम्रों के बच्चे नहीं छिन रहे हैं इसलिए उस संधि प्रस्ताव को जिसको सद्दाम हसैन ने मान लिया था, जापान ने मान लिया था, जिसको भारत ने मान लिया या प्रगर जिसको दुनिया के बहुत सारे देशों में मान लिया था उसको उसने ठकरा दिया और जमीनी लड़ाई ब्राह्याहन कर दिया। बिना यह कि इस जमीनी लड़ाई से कितना नर-संहार होगा, कितने इंसानों का नुकसान होगा, जमीनी लड़ाई शुरू कर दी है। अमेरिका यह लड़ाई इसलिए नहीं लड़ **प्हा** है कि क्वेन को खाली कराना है।

इस लड़ाई का उद्देश्य मान्न यही है कि संसार के अन्दर जो विकासशील देश हैं. जो ग्रपना विकास स्वयं कर रहे हैं ग्रीर श्र<sup>पने</sup> पांचो पर खड़े होने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं. उनके विकास को रोका उनका विकास समाप्त किया जाय । विकासशील देश कहां से तेल लेते थे ? इन खाड़ी देशों से ही वे तेल लेते थे। श्राज उनका तेल बंद हो गया है। ये विकासशील देश विभिन्न पकारकी मदद भी इन देशों से लेते थे. श्रायात-निर्यात करते थे। ये सब बंद हो गए हैं। ग्रमेरिका का एकमात उद्देश्य विकासशील देशों के विकास को रोकना या ग्रीर उनको भिखमंगा बनाना था ताकि वे अमेरिका के सामने हाथ फैलाते रहें। अमेरिका अपना वर्डस्य इन देशों पर कायम करना चाहता था। श्राज अमेरिका अपने इस मकसद में सफल हो गया हैं। भारत की फ्राज जो ग्रर्थ व्यवस्था चरमरा गई है, इसका भ्रान्तरिक हैं तहीं हैं, इसमें सी अपाई । ए० ग्रौर ग्रमेरिका का भी बहुत बड़ा हाथ है। वह हमारे देश के ग्रंदर गडबड पैदा करने करता रहा है। भारत जिल ग्रागे बढ़ रहा है उसमें सी० ग्राई० ए० के एजेंट गड़बड़ी पैदा करने की कोशिश करते हैं। भारत जिस तेजी के साथ विकास कर रहा है ग्रीर भारत में जिस तेजी के साथ उत्पादन में बृद्धि हो रही है वह अमेरिका को फूटी आंख भी नहीं सूहाता है। वह भारत की श्रर्थ व्यवस्था को अर्बाद करना चाहता है। एणिया महाद्वीप के अंदर अमेरिका भारत को श्र4ने लिये खतरा समझता खाड़ी में ग्राज जो हो रहा है यह उसी का परिणाम है। असेरिका भारत की शक्ति को और मैन्याबर को आगे नहीं वढने देना चाहता है। इसलिए वह खाड़ी में इस प्रकार के अवरोध पैदा कर रहा है। वह भारत को पीछे घकेलना चाहता है ग्रीर खाडी में प्रधना वर्षस्व कायम करना चाहता है। पैट्रोल को वह सोने की

शक्ल में रखता है ग्रीर उसको ग्रभ हाथ में रखना चाहता है, ग्रभनी मुट्ठी में खना चाहता है। कुत्रेत तो उसके लिए एक बहाना है। एशिया में वह ग्रभनी. फौजों को रखना चाहता है। दियागी गाशिया में हम उसकी फौजो का विरोध करते थे लेकिन ग्राज ता उसकी फौजे सारे एशिया में फैल चुकी हैं ग्रीर हर देश की तस्वीर उसके सामने है। यह एशिया के देशो की हर गतिविधि को देख रहा है ग्रीर किसी समय उनको नुकसान पहुंचा सकता हैं। ग्रस्ल में श्रमेरिका का मकमद एशिया में ग्रभना बचेय्य जमाकर ग्रभनी धाक जमाना है ग्रीर इसीलिए यह वह लडाई लड़ रहा है।

उपसभाष्यक (श्री एस॰ ए॰ बेबी)ः भ्रव समाप्त कीजिए ।

डा० ग्राइरार ग्रहमद : मैं काफी दिनों से प्रतीक्षा कर रहा था इस विषय पर बोलने के लिए।

महोदया, यहां पर रीपयूलिंग की चर्चा चली। इस बात में दो राय नहीं हैं कि कांग्रेस पार्टी का इस सरकार को समर्थन है। लेकिन <sub>रु</sub>मारी पार्टी के नेता राजीव गांधी ने बात स्पष्ट कही है कि गुण और दोष के आधार पर इस पार्टी को हमारा तमर्थन है । रीफ्यूलिंग की बात जब भी स्नाई तो पहले ही दिन कांग्रेस पार्टी के ग्राप्यक्ष श्री राजीव गांधी ने इस का विरोध किया था ग्रौर साफ कहा था कि रिषयूलिंग की सुविधा नहीं होनी चाहिए। इस सदन के भ्रंदर कई माननीय सदस्यों ने इस बात को उठाया माननीय भ्रटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी इस समय यहां नहीं हैं उन्होंने इस प्रश्न को यहां उठाया । उन्होंने उदाहरण दिया कि पहले भी यहां रीपयूर्तिम हुई है। उन्होंने कहा कि इराक-ईरान युद्ध के समय भारत में रीपयूलिंग हुई है। अटलः बिहारी वाजपेयी जी नहीं हैं, मैं श्रापके माध्यम से उनको बताना चाहता हूं कि किसी भी इराक या ईरान के जहाज की भारत में रिफ्यूलिंग नहीं हुई हैं। उस ऐसे मुल्को के जहाजो की रिफ्यूलिंग की गई थी जिनका लड़ाई से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं था । उन्होंने इस रिफ्यूलिंग

**संबंध** में कहा कि जब राष्ड्रीय दलों की मीटिंग हुई ग्रीर प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह संकेत दिया कि वे रीफ्यूलिंग बंद करने वाले हैं तो पार्टी के महासचिव गुलाम नबी श्राजाद ने श्रल्टीमेटम दे डाला । मैं श्रटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी को यह बता देना चाहता हूं कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने राजनैतिक दलों को जब यह संकेत किया तो उन्होंने इस बारे में भ्राटेश क्यों नहीं दिया ? उसके बाद भी कांग्रेस पार्टी ने इस रोपयुलिंग का बंद करने के लिए सतत प्रयास किया । पहले ही दिन राजीव गांधी कर रहे थे कि यह रीफ्यूलिंग बंद होना चाहिए। उसके बाद कांग्रेस के लोगों ने प्रधान मंत्री के निवास पर धरना दिया, डिमोन्स्ट्रेशन किया और ग्रंत में यह घल्टीमेटम दिया । जसके बाद भी जिस तरह से यह रीफ्यूलिंग बंद हुई, एक तरफ तो यह समाचार निकाला कि रीपयूलिंग बंद होने के प्रादेश निकाल दिए गुए हैं और दूसरी तरफ समाचार था कि समेरिकाने दुबारा ईंघन नेने से मना कर दिया है ? मैं माज तक कन्भयूजन में हुं कि ग्रीर प्रधानमंत्री जी से यह जवाब चाहूंगा कि यह भारत ने बंद किया है या **अ**मेरिका ने लेने से मन। किया है । इस बात को वें स्पष्ट करें। यदि भारत ने कोई अदेश निकाल। है तो वह किस भाषा में रीक्यूलिंग की बंद करने का **भादेश** निकाला है, उस भादेश के ग्रंदर क्या लिखा है, इस बात को वे सदन के श्रंदर स्पष्ट करें। अगर् अमेरिका न जैसे कि समाचार-पत्नों में छपा है, मना किया है, तो वह इस बात को भी सदन के ग्रंदर स्पष्ट करें। मुझे इस बीच ग्रंदर नियत में एक शक नजर आरता है। श्रमेरिकाको यह बोला गया कि ऊपर रिफ्यूलिंग बंद करने का दबाद पड़े रहा है। इसलिए उन्होंने अपना अपर हैड रखने के लिए इस प्रकार की घोषणा कर दी, ऐसा समाचार पत्नों में श्राया है । मै चाहंगा कि इन दोनों बातों का उत्तर यहां प्रधान मंत्री जी दें कि रोप्युर्लिंग बंद करने का **श्रादेश** किस भाषा में निकाला और द्रजर ग्रमेरिकाने मनाकिया तो किस तरह से किया ग्रौर कब किया !

इसके साथ-साथ में यह कहना चाहूंगा

# डिं अबरार महमद ]

Discussion on

कि ग्रमेरिका की सोई हुई भावना जैसे में श्रभी कह रहा था वह क्वेत के संबंध में कैसे जगी? इराक ने जब क्वैत पर कब्जा कर लिया, तो वह एक ऐसी शक्ति है जो विश्व में किसी देश के ऊपर किसी श्रीर देश का कब्जा नहीं देख सकती। श्रभी बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने यहां कहा ग्रौर में भी इस बात को दोहराना चाहुंगा कि जब इजराइल ने फिलिस्तीन पर कब्जा किया तो उस समय उसकी ग्रन्तरात्मा कहां थी। २स समय वह क्या सोचकर चुप बैठा **हम्राथा** ? यह उसका दोहरा मानदंड का एक प्रत्यक्ष उदाहरण है। इसके साथ-साथ मैंने ग्रखबार के ग्रंदर बुश की एक लाइन पढ़ी कि सहाम हुसैन की मत्यु हो जाय तो अच्छा हो। यह बुशा की इच्छा है। महोदण, ऐसी बात किसी देश का राष्ट्रपति या किसी देश का प्रधान मंत्री किसी दूसरे देश के नेता के लिए कहे कि उसकी मृत्यु हो जाय यह बहुत ही कायरताएण बात हैं। चाहे कितना ही बडा शत्रु क्यों न हो, लेकिन मर्द उसको कहते हैं जो चाहते हैं कि वह ग्रंतिम क्षणों तक जीवित रहे और ग्रामने-सामने लडता रहे। लेकिन यह सोंचना जाय कि वह बम से मर जाए या किसी प्रकार और से मर जाय यह कायरतापर्ण है श्रीर भीर मुझे नहीं लगता कि संसद का कोई नेता किसी देश के नेता के लिए ऐसा चाहता हो।

महोदया, ग्राज जिस तरह से लड़ाई चल रही है, उसके ग्रंदर सुरक्षा परिषद्, यह कहा जाता है कि सुरक्षा परिषद् के प्रस्तावों के अनुसार लड़ाई चल रही है। लेकिन मैं ग्रापके माध्यम से कहना चाहूंगा कि जिस तरह से वहां सिविलयन के अपर बमबारी की गई. जिस तरह से इराक के ग्रंदर खून-खराबा किया जा रहा है, क्या यह सुरक्षा परिषद् के नियमों को तोडना नहीं है ? इतना सब कुछ होने के बाद क्या जो भावना ग्राज के पहले किसी भी देश के नागरिक की संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के प्रति थी वह बची रह गई है ?

संयुक्त राष्ट्र को तत्काल इंटरवीन करना चाहिए; तत्काल हस्तक्षेप कर के युद्ध को रोका जाना चाहिये । (सक्षय

**की घंटी)** मैं केवल इतना कहते हुए समाप्त करुंगा, बोलना तो मैं बहुत चाहता था लेकिन माननीय सदस्य काफी बोल च्के हैं, प्रधानमंत्री जी भी जवाब देने के लिए ग्रा गये हैं, मैं ग्रापके माध्यम से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जिस प्रकार का खुनखर.ब। हो रहा है श्रीर जिस प्रकार से श्रमरीका ग्रपनी दादागिरी चला कर अपना स्राधिपत्य जमाने के लिए इराक को कुचलने का प्रयास कर रहा है इस संबंध में इस सदन के माघ्यम से यह भावना जानी चाहिये कि हम इसके सख्त खिलाफ हैं ग्रौर किसीभी प्रकार का खूनखराबा नहीं हो। जैसे मैंने गुरु में बताया श्राज सब से पहले जब टीं बीं में समाचार सुना कि पांच हजार लोग महामारी से मारे गये हैं, इस प्रकार का खनखराबा म्के । धन्यवाद ।

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): The Gulf war has taken a serious turn in the last few days, particularly since yesterday, when the ground attacks have started and the United States and its allies in utter disregard of the world opinion are trying to occupy Iraq. The United States is acting as an international policeman and the statement emanating from its leader smack of arrogance of power and also utter contempt for the third world countries. The main intention of the Americans rushing to the ground war is to frustrate the Soviet Peace Plan at the stage when it was about to succeed. Iraq has ac cepted it. A number of allies of the United States also accepted it and there was a ray of hope that the war would be ended. In fact, the difference between the peace proposals put forward in the Soviet initiative and the American conditions was not substantial to warrant this kind of escalation of war. The United Nations itself has been made a captive organisation of the United States and its allies. Even in the Security Council full debate was not allowed to take place and the countries which advocated peace had to leave the meeting in disgust. In fact, what is happening in the Gulf today is beyond the scope of the

Security Council Resolutions. The Security Council resolutions authorised any action to get Kuwait vacated, but this is going much beyond that. It is not only a move to get Iraq vacate Kuwait, but to destroy Iraq industrially, militarily and economically. A full scale unprecedented war has been going on and the Allied forces have entered both Kuwait and Iraq This is not a war by the United Nations or on behalf of the United Nations. It has been made amply clear by the Secretary-General himself that it is not a United Nations' war, but some countries have taken upon themselves this responsibility of teaching a lesson to Irac. In fact, we did condemn, all of us condemned Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. That was unwarranted and we all demanded that Iraq should vacate Kuwait. But the United intention does not appear to get Iraq vacate Kuwait. As I mentioned, this wholesale destruction of Iraq is being attempted and large scale casualties are taking place. All industries have been damaged. Ports have been damaged. We do not know what will be the final outcome, what will be the number of casualties in this war. Particularly our heart goes to which has always been a friend of our country and which has stood by us on a number of occasions, supported our cause in many respects.

Much has been said about our Government's own reaction or lack of reaction at the initial stages of the war. In fact, we have lost the initiative in making an effort towards peace. The reaction has been belated and very half-hearted. In fact, the Congress party takes credit that only on the οf pressure their party Government has moved: otherwise the Government was sleeping, it was not taking any action. I do not know the fact but it has been a belated reaction. India should have taken the initiative much earlier through NAM and international fora.

Much also has been said about the refuelling facilities given to the American warplanes at the Indian airports.

Here again the Prime Minister has given a very ambiguous reply when he was asked about the refuelling facilities. He said "refuelling was not stopped but is stopped automatically." He said:

'बंद किया नहीं गया, बंद हो गया।

That means it stopped on its own. In fact, it is the United States which has stopped using refuelling facilities. It did not stop at the bidding of the Indian Government. Probably they have seen the embarrassment of this Governments. I do not know whether some friends like Dr. Subramanian Swamy must have worked behind the scenes for this. But somehow the American have saved the face of this Government.

There was also a charge that the previous Government headed by Mr. V.P. Singh gave permission for refuelling. I categorically deny that No such permission was given... (Interruptions)...I am not yielding. In fact, in September a specific request was received by the Government for this kind of refuelling but it was rejected by the then Prime Minister.

Mr. Jacob also said that even when Kuwait was occupied and when war was threatening, the National Front Government did not react, did not take initiative. But I would like to remind the hon. House that it was Mr. Gujral as the External Affairs Minister, who was the first man to visit both Kuwait and Iraq and met

[Shri Parvatheneni Upendra] both the Kuwait leaders and Iraq leaders and tried to evolve a solution. He did move the United Nations also at that time. In regard to the plight of the Indians also 11 lakh Indians were evacuated at that time which was unprecedented in the world's history. Therefore, it is not correct to say that the previous Government had not reacted properly.

Much has been said about the visit of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi also to the Soviet Union and Iran. In fact, we should welcome any leader making any effort towards peace. But the only awkward thing in this entire arrangement is that when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, as ex-Prime Minister, was going to negotiate or talk to the world leaders, he should have been authorised by this Governshould have ment. He gone as a representative of this Government, Otherwise... (Interruptions)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : राजीव गांघी सो विश्व नेता के रूप में बोलने के लिए गए हैं। उन्होंने चार घंटे तक गोर्वाचेव सें बात की है।...(व्यवधान) उसी से विशव शांति होगी । वह वर्ल्ड का युनैनिमस लीडर है । . . . (व्यवधान)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEN-DRA: I do admit what Ratnakar Pandeyji said. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has got wide contacts and a lot of penchant for foreign relations and for everything foreign. In fact, I had the occasion once to comment that we welcomed him on his occasional visits to the country becase every ten days, he used to make a foreign trip. That is why he has a penchant for foreign relations. I agree, to that extent he has wide contacts. My only point is, he should have been authorised. He should have been sent as a representative of the country by this Government. Otherwise, today there is very awkward situation. In Teheran, there are two delegations, one led by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the other by Mr. Digvijay Singh. And I do not know who is negotiating on behalf of

this country and who will speak on behalf of this country and what commitments they will make. And what is the value of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's talks and his commitments? Will this Government which is managed by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, accept everything that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will do there. I do not know what will happen to that? (Interruptions). This is a very peculiar situation which has arisen. And-I do not know-the Prime Minister must have a part. (Interruptions). I am finishing in two minutes. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was preoccupied with the... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Jadhavji, please wait. Your leader will be speaking now.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEN-DRA: Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was preoccupied with the Gulf crisis for the last more than one month. We all know that. In fact, the Congress people know it much better because whenever they wanted an appointment, it was said that he was busy with the Gulf crisis. (Interruptions)

SHRI M. M. JACOB: I have objection to the manner in which... (Interruptions)

PARVATHANENI UPEN-SHRI DRA: I am just telling you that he was preoccupied, he was devoting so much time, he was working hard. (Interruptions). And imy information was, he was very closely monitoring the war through the CNN telecast. That also he was doing throughout the night burning the mid-night oil. It is all right. It is only off the way I said that. My point is, he should have been authorised. On that, probably the Prime Minister thought that even if he was away for one day, he could save himself from the withdraletter. And in fact. Chandra Shekharji is a good friend of mine. I would advise him to send Rajivji more often to foreign countries on delegations of this kind. Our experience was also there. We sent Tauji

to China for a long trip. But he immediately cut short the visit and came away. That is the only pitfall. Otherwise, in his own interest, I would say that he should send Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to foreign countries more and more, if not authoritatively at least informally.

Sir, laughter apart, we have now reached a very serious situation in the world. India should be very active. We should take more initiative and condemn the American action. In fact, I suggest that we should pass a resolution condemning the American ground action, and occupation of Iraq and our good wishes should go to Iraq and its leadership and we should see that Iraq maintains its independence. At the same time, we should also see that Kuwait is liberated. Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): There is also a widespread feeling expressed in the House that there should be some unanimous resolution. Now Mr. Chavan is there. I hope that when the Prime Minister replies, this feeling will be taken into consideration.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): We should send a message which will be heeded to.

े **श्री राम ग्रवधेश सिंह (**बिहार**) :** मेरा नाम नहीं बोला ।

उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री एम॰ए॰ बेबी) : भ्रापका नाम बोला है। भ्राप यहां नहीं थे।

श्री राम श्रवधेश सिंह: मैं तो यहां बैटा हूं।

उपसभाष्यक्ष (श्री एम॰ए॰ बेबी) : ग्राप एक मिनट में समाप्त कर देंगे ? स्त्रीज, बी बीफ ।

श्री राम श्रवक्षेश सिंह : सब के समय में ब्रीफ नहीं होंगे श्रीर मेरी बारी में बीफ हो जायेंगे । उपसभाष्यक महोदय,

इस लडाई में महाभारत का एक दश्य सामने आता है। जब पछा गया भीष्म पितामह से कि जब द्रोपदी का चीर-हरण हो रहा था, इतना जुल्म हो रहा था तब श्राप मौन क्यों थे तो उन्होंने कहा चंकि दर्योधन का मैंने नमक खाया था इसलिए म्झको इतना अनर्थ सहना पड़ा । आज जो इराक पर जुल्म हो रहा है श्रौर इराक पर जल्म के माध्यम से म्राने वाले थर्ड वर्ल्ड कंट्रीज के ऊपर जुल्म होने का जो संकेत हैं इसकी भ्रोर म्यान देने पर हम लोगों को यह समझ में बात श्रा जाएगी कि कितना खतरा श्राने वाला है। श्चमरीका अपनी नदागिरी दिखाने के लिए यह सारा काम कर रहा है। यह युद्ध के पीछे बहुत लंबी साजिश है। जितना में इस युद्ध के लिए अमरीका को जिम्मेवार समझता हूं उतना ही रूस ग्रौर जो सैनयरिटी कांसिल के 5 मैम्बर हैं जिनमें चाइना भी है अगर ये डटकर कह देते कि आप रेजोल्युशन नं० 678 के संबंध में जिलना सजग हैं उसके पहले पैलेस्ती नियन रेज्योल्यशन के बारे में ग्राप क्यों नहीं हैं और दूसरे जो रेजोल्यशन हैं उनके बारे में क्यों नहीं हैं, थोड़ी कड़ाई से बोल सकते थे तो वह मामला हल हो सकता था । लेकिन रुस को भी भ्रमरीका से पैसा चाहिए था, चीन को भी उसने पैसा दिया ग्रौर जब यह पैसा दिया तो भीष्म पितामह की तरह यह भी मौन हो गए और उनके मौन के कारण भ्राज श्रमरेका को इतना साहस हुग्रा कि उसने हमला किया । सच्ची बात तो यह है। ग्रगर वह रूस या चीन भ्रीर खास कर ग्रगर हिन्द्रस्तान भी बोलता तो भ्राज यह स्थिति नहीं रहती । मैं यह कहना चाहता हं कि भारत सरकार की श्रालोचना हो रही है मौज्या सरकार की री-फिलिंग के बारे में ग्रीर कांग्रेसी बंध लोग ग्राज बहुत जोर-जोर से इस मौजुदा सरकार की श्रालोचना कर रहे थे, मझको ब्रंसी ग्रा रही थीं। ये केछ दिन पहले . . . (क्यवधान) . . . सच्चाई सुनिए, मृह देखी बात नहीं कर सकता हो सकता हैं किसी को तकलीफ हो जाए लेकिन मैं इसकी परवाह नहीं करता । एक बात यह कही शुरु में कि वी०पी० सिंह सरकार ने समझौता किया, श्रगर श्रमरीकी श्रथारिटी

श्री राम ग्रवधेश सिंह ]

Discussion on

नहीं कहता कि 1984 ग्रीर 1987 में कांग्रेस पार्टी के इंदिरा गांधी और राजीव गांधी के दौर के समय यह समझौता हुआ था, यह लडाई बहुत लंबी चलेगी ग्रौर कांग्रेसी लोग वी०पी० सिंह सरकार को ही ज्यादा दोषी मानते, अब कहते हैं कि चन्द्रशेखर की सरकार दोषी है। यह कैसे दोषी हो गई यह बेचारे तो ... (व्यवधान) ग्राप सरकार नहीं बना पाए .. (व्यवधान)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : इनको मिनिस्टर बनवाइये।

श्री रामग्रवधेश सिंह : हमको ग्रापके कहने से नहीं बनना है, हम तो लाइन ही दूसरा लिए हुए हैं।... (व्यवधान) धीरजं रिखए । कांग्रेसी लोग यह उपकार जताना चाहते हैं कि ग्रल्पमत की सरकार बना कर हम इनको भ्रोब्लाइज किए हुए हैं। लेकिन अगर ये राजीव गांधी सरकार बना सकते थे, ग्रगर उनको क्षमतः होती तो ये एक दिन भी दूसरे को नहीं बनाने देते...(समय की घंटी)...कांग्रेस के लोग सत्ता रूपी पानी में मछली की तरह रहते हैं ग्रीर बाहर तड़फड़ाने लगते हैं। ...(व्यवधान) ...ग्रब इनको तकलीफ हो रही है कि छोटी संख्या के लोग सरकार चला रहे हैं ग्रीर ये सत्ता रूपी पानी से बाहर रहकर मछली की तरह नडफडा रहे हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): You started on Gulf and now you are going to Congress-I. Please conclude now.

श्री राम ग्रवधेश सिंह: ग्रब येकोई-न-कोई इल्जाम लगाना चाहते हैं क्योंकि जब 18 तारीख को प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने तमाम विरोधी पार्टियों की मीटिंग बुलायी तो क्या राजीव गांधी को मालूम नहीं था कि रिफ्युलिंग के लिए मैंने कहा था ग्रौर रिफ्यूलिंग के लिए वह आएंगे तो यह सरकार क्या रेगी? 18 तारीख को सब विरोधी पार्टी के लोग थे, वाजपेयी जी भी थे, इनसे पूछा जाय कि राजीव गांधी जी ने क्या कहा?

उन्होंने कुछ बात नहीं कही बल्कि उन्होंने भ्रपने दल का जो प्रस्ताव रखा, पार्टी मीटिंग में उसी को दो-चार शब्द इधर-उधर घुमाकर कांग्रेस पाटी प्रस्ताव पास किया गया । अब कांग्रेसी लोग प्राज अंचे स्वर में कह रहे हैं कि ये सरकार दोषी है। अरे भई तुम अपनी कालिख दूसरे के ग्रांचल में क्यों पाँछना चहते हो । . . (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please conclude. You are digressing to other topics.

श्री राम प्रविधेश सिंह: मान्यवरः यह लडाई का कारण दीर्घक्कीन है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please conclude. Pleas conclude your speech.

श्री राम ग्रवधेश सिंह: यह ग्रमेरिका की इकानोमी को ऋषा करने वाली है। ... (व्यवधान)... 1987 की अक्तूबर को वाल स्टीट न्युयार्क में डालर 22.60 परसेंट कैश किया, गिरा । इसलिए कि सारा कंजूमर्स गुडस उसको बाहर से खरीदने पडते हैं। उसकी जनरल मोटर्स कंपनी की दो फैक्ट्रियों में तालि पड़े हुए हैं । तो अपनी इकानोमी को आगे चलाने के लिए वह युद्ध कर रहा है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): You don't have any time. Please conclude now.

श्री राम ग्रवधेश सिंह: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि श्रमेरिका ने जब एटम अम बनाया तो उसकी लड़ाई सबसे ज्यादा जर्मनी सेथी। लेकिन एक गोरी चमडी वाले नेता ने गोरी चमड़ी वालों के इलाके में बम नहीं डाला । उसने जाकर हिरोसिमा और नागासाकी में डाला जबिक वहां सरेंडर की तैयारी हो गयी थी।

उपसभाव्यक्ष (श्री एम॰ ए॰ बेबीः) : भ्रव कंकलुड करिए।

श्री राम प्रविधेश सिंह: वह बताना चाहता था कि हम ज्यादा ताकतवर है

भौर हम से डरा करो। इसीलिए गोरी चमडी वाले ने गोरी चमड़ी वालो पर एटम बम नहीं डाला बलिक रंगीन चमडी वालों पर डाला । स्राज पश्चिमी एशिया में लड़ाई (समय की घंटी) इसलिए हो रही है क्योंकि वह अपनी इकानोमी को सुधारना चाहता है । मान्यवर, मैं बताने जारहा हं कि...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please conclude now.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh): The Prime Minister is sitting here. He has to make a speech. What he talking is totally irrelevant, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Your time is already exhausted. Ram Awadheshji, have already spoken for more than five minutes,

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर का समय नहीं ले रहा हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): You don't have more than three minutes. You now conclude. Your time is over.

श्री राम ग्रवधेश सिंह : श्राई कंकलूडिंग। ... (व्यवधान) ... रूस ने कहा है कि सबसे सस्ता युद्ध यह है क्योंकि केवल 14 परसेंट इस खर्चे का हम को लगता है ग्रौर बाकी भरब देशों, जापान, टर्की ग्रीर सऊदी श्ररब से ले रहा है। इसमें प्रतिदिन युद्ध का खर्च है 3700 करोड़ रुपया । उसमें से 3188 करोड रुपया प्रतिदिन वह अरब से वसूल रहा है। इसलिए उसको सस्ता पड़ रहा है . . (समय की घंटी) . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please conclude now. Your time is over.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: I am concluding, Sir.

VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): This is not a question of impatience. Please conclude.

भी राम ग्रवधेश सिंह': ग्रच्छा, एक मिनिट में कहता हूं, जब श्राप इतना कहते हैं तो । मुझको दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि ग्रमरीका को दादागिरी दिखानेका मौका रूस और ग्रमरीका की चर्ची ने दिया और मैं यह कहना चाहता है कि थर्ड वर्ल्ड, जो ग्रफरीकन कंट्रीज है, लेटिन-अमरीका है, एशिया है, इनके साथ भावी दिनों में जुल्म होने वाला है। जैसे भारत सरकार ने कल साफ कहा कि रूस के पींस-प्लेन को नहीं माना तो हमको खेद है, दुख है, मैं चाहता कि मौजूदा सरकार श्रौर प्रधानमंत्री जी श्रब कुछ साहस से कहें, बोलें और इसमें रूस से या जिन-जिन देशों से बात करनी हो, वह बात करके कुछ ऐसे कदम उठाएं कि श्रव जितनी हानि हो चुकी है, आगे न हो और मानवता को भी बचाया जा सके। धन्यवाद ।

Gulf War

VICE-CHAIRMAN THE M. A. BABY): Mr. Prime Minister.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, I have ... (Interruptions) ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): You have already spoken.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY I am on a point of order. (Interruptions)

(SHRI VICE-CHAIRMAN THE M. A. BABY): Please sit down.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): There is no point of order.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): There is no point of order. On what subject you are raising the point of order?

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): There is no point of order.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I cannot understand. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please sit down.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is a very important point of order.

SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Is it connected with the Gulf situation?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN M. A. BABY): What is the point of order?

DRRATNAKAR PANDEY: Why are you disturbing the whole day? ... (Interruptions) ...

VICE-CHAIRMAN M. A. BABY): Please, please...

SHRI V GOPALSAMY: We are very keen to listen to the reply of the hon. Prime Minister now. A terrible blood-bath is going on in the Gulf... (Interruptions) ... I am coming to point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please come to the point directly.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: India has committed an unpardonable crime by permitting refuelling facility for American Air Force planes to decimate the population in Iraq and the Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, is solely responsible for it ... (Interruptions) ...

VICE-CHAIRMAN THE (SHRI M. A. BABY): The Prime Minister Please sit will be replying now. down.

GOPALSAMY: SHRI V. Chandra Shekhar has permitted... (Interruptions) He is a man of conscience. (Interruptions)... He has no moral authority... ( Interruptions) ...

VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI THE M. A. BABY): Mr. Gopalasamy, please sit down. (Interruptions) ...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: ... He has put India on the dock in the comity of nations...(Interruptions) . . . He has brought down the honour and dignity of India . . . (Interruptions) . .

VICE-CHAIRMAN M. A. BABY): You have made your points... (Interruptions)... Please sit down. (Interruptions) ...

It is no point of order. Please sit down. Now, the hon. Prime Minister.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR): Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, first I shall like respond to the suggestion given by you. My colleagues in this House and in the other House suggested today we should pass some resolution expressing our concern about the developing situation in the Gulf area. This afternoon I consulted leaders of various political parties and we came to the understanding everyday the Parliament should not pass Resolutions, but with their consultation I made a statement in the other House on the recent Gulf problem and I shall like to make statement in this House before I take up the matter that has been taken up in this debate. With your permission. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I read the statement.

"As the hon. Members are aware, all the efforts made by the Security Council on 23rd February to stop the war and to restore peace in the Gulf region proved to be of no avail. The ground war has been started and has been going on for the last two days. consequences are going to be really devastating. Iraq and Kuwait may be destroyed almost beyond recognition. Hundreds of thousands of people of these two countries are likely suffer to and many more thousands of innocent lives are likely to be lost. use of weapons of mass destruction, which I have already characterised as a crime against humanity, cannot be ruled out. In the Security Council meeting which was convened at the initiative of the Soviet Union and where the Gorbachev proposals were submitted, the Indian delegation tried every possible means to seek reconciliation between the differing positions of the parties to the conflict and prepare a framework for bringing the war to an end. The majority of the countries accepted our suggestion to prepare a paper as the basis for achieving this result. In fact, at one stage the President of the Council

even thought of entrusting the task of preparing a draft to India. and Austria Unfortunately on account of the rigid position taken by a few members of the that for the present the Council had no role to play, it became impossible for the Council to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter. The Council stands paralysed since then. We have approached Governments of the member-countries of the Council in their capitals to send instruction to their representatives in New York to activate the Council so that it can play its due role. We are awaiting their response. In the mean time we are getting in touch with all the representatives of the member-countries in New York to see what the Council can do. The immediate task it to bring about a cessation of hostilities on the basis of total withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait within a timebound framework. The Security Council should without further waste of time, take in hand the pursuit of peace."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we feel grave concern about the situation. When I came to this House, the latest message I got was—which is not yet confirmed—that out of 200 oil-wells in Kuwait, almost a hundred were on fire If this is the situation, we do not know where the war will lead humanity to in the coming few days. This is the total situation.

I would like to share the information with the honourable Members that in spite of all handicaps, all the stubborn positions taken by various groups, India has been pursuing and even now is pursuing every possible way to see that we find some opening in order to establish peace in that area.

One honourable Member, my friend, Mr. Upendra, was very much concerned as to who was representing India in Teharan, whether Shri Digvijay Singh or Shri Rajiv Gandhi. He knows that at least, that Government of India is represented by the Ministers there. But in the other House I

said two days back that any honourable Member who could contribute something in order to bring peace in that region would always be welcome. Shri Rajiv Gandhi has gone there on the invitation of Iran and also has met the the USSR, Mr President of Gorbachev, in order to find ways whether something can be done to establish peace, to bring peace in that area. On the same day I suggested that if my friend, Shri Gujral could contribute something, he would be welcome to do so. The same invitation I extend to my friend, Mr. Upendra. If he can contribute something in this situation, we don't go on prestige, we don't go on formalities. Anybody who can contribute something for bringing peace in that area will be welcome from the side of the Government. I think on that we need not make an issue of this type of formality. This is what I wanted to make clear.

The other thing is my friend was very much agitated that I was solely responsible for permitting the refuelling facility to America. In the other House I said—I shall not go into the. past, I would not like to, apportion blame to anybody else—the decision. to allow American planes to refuel in India was that of the Government of India of which I am the Prime Minis. ter today and I take the full responsibility without finding any alibi from any other source. But there are certain things which should not be distorted. I would not like to go into the past, I would not like to go into the record as to who did what. But one thing I should make quite clear in order to keep India's position intact and clear in the world opinion, that at no time was there any agreement signed, whether at the time of Indira Gandhi or Rajiv Gandhi or even Vishwanath Pratap Singh, for refuelling or for overflights. I would like to make it? clear to my friend Shri P. Trendra on one point. I shall like to correct you. The position is that, according to international norms, it we allow any aeroplane to fly over our are space, it is the practice that there should be a

[Shri Chandra Shekhar]

Discussion on

landing. Transit landing is compulsory because then the country can use her sovereignty to inspect wha it is carrying. This is not done when the aeroplane is flying a VIP, Head of a Government or an Army General. This is the practise not only in India, but also aff over the world. I do not know what Mr. Upendra has to say He must be knowing about his Government's performance at that time. I shall not say a word about what they did at that time, but, let us not get confused whether overflight is justified or not. Overflight is more serious, when you allow overflight over your territory. Then, after landing, refuelling is a normal practice and refuelling is not something special. If the plane lands at a particular airport, refuelling is done and it is done all over the world. Mr. Vice-Chairman, even today, to this day while I am talking in this House, normally, in 16 or 20 countries our Air Force planes are flying with all these facilities. I shall not go into these details.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD: I would like to have a clarification. The hon. Prime Minister said that the Head of a State is permitted without any inspection and the same is true even in case of Army Generals. What does that mean? There are hundreds and thousnads of army generals in the world today and their number is increasing. So, is there any category of army generals and is that category defined or anybody calling himself an army general... (Interruptions) ... is treated like that?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: By 'army general' I mean Army Chief. After my speech, you can ask.

Sho, Sir, it was for the first time, that the Government of India got a estegorical assurance from the Government of the United States of America that they will not carry any lethal weapons or any war material, and it will be used for humanitaries purpares...(Interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Was the inspection made?

SHEKHAR: SHRI CHANDRA Inspection is not made generally,

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: How do you know that they are not carrying weapons?...(Interruptions)...

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Indian ships have been searched in the Gulf. How do you know that lethal weapons are not being carried? How do you know that? We have made a compromise... (Interruptions) . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI M. A. BABY) Please sit down.

SHR CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Fortunately, international norms are not guided by the norms established by the DMK in Tamil Nadu... (Interruptions) ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): If all of you stand up, how is it possible?...(Interruptions) ... Please sit down ... (Interruptions) . .. Let there be one Menther speaking for all of you; not all of you should speak at the same time... (Interruptions)... If all of you speak, nothing can be heard... (Interruptions) ... listen... (Interruptions)... Please Please sit down . . . (Interruptions) . . . Please sit down. I am on my legs. All of you, please sit down...(Interruption)... I am on my legs. Please sit down.. (Interruptions)... Just a minute. All of you, please sit down... (Interruptions)... Please sit down... (Interruptions)...I am on my legs...(Interraptions) ... You please sit down. This is not right... (Interruptions) ... No one is listening to what you are saying...(Interruptions)...If all of you speak together, who can hear you?... (Interruptions) ... Please sit down ... (Interruptions) ... I am on my legs. So, all of you, please sit down... (Interruptions)...How is it possible to hear if all of you speak together .... (Interruptions) ... If all of you speak together, how is it possible to hear?...
(Interruptions)... Kindly listen...
(Interruptions)... If all of you speak
together, nobody will listen to what
you are saying...(Interruptions)...
Mr. Gopalsamy, you please speak for
your party...(Interruptions)... Please
sit down...(Interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, Mr. Chandra Shekhar should realise that we have not been behaving like the agents of America... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): All of you, please sit down... (Interruptions)... If all of you speak together, nothing can be heard and nothing will be audible... (Interruptions)... Nobody can listen to you (Interruptions)... Please listen listen now to the veteran Member. Shri B. A. Anand... (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I would like to know whether any inspection was made of the warplanes... (Interruptions)... I am asking a specific question... (Interruptions)... I am asking a specific question whether any inspection was made of the war planes... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please sit down. Let the Leader of the House speak now... (Interruptions)...Let the Leader of the House speak now... (Interruptions)... Mr. Gopalsamy, let the Leader of the House speak now. Please sit down... (Interruptions)... Mr. Balu, you please sit down... (Interruptions)... All of you, please sit down. I am on my legs... (Interruptions)... Just a minute. Let the Leader of the House speak now... (Interruptions)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for two days we have listened to this debate in peace. A number of points have been made which have been extremely unpleasant and painful to all of us, to the Government in particular. But we have

not responded and we have not retorted. The Prime Minister is speaking and may I, with folded hands, appeal to the entire House that we must give him an opportunity to say what he has to say?...(Interruptions)...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yea, yes... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please sit down, all of you... (Interruptions)... This is not proper... (Interruptions)... Let the Leader of the House complete... (Interruptions)... Let the Leader of the House complete... (Interruptions)... Please sit down... (Interruptions)... Let the Leader of the House complete what he has to say... (Interruptions)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, may I,... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Let the Leader of the House Speak. (Inter-ruptions).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-RA: Sir, you also ask the Prime Minister not to make provocative statements...(Interruptions)...Why should he provoke them?...(Interruptions)..

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, we have the right to speak... (Interruptions). We have the right to speak and we have the responsibility also to listen,... (Interruptions)... and if that capacity is not there, then it is a very unfortunate thing. You, Mr. Gopalsamy, in particular have made the most uncharithle kind of remarks. And we have not protested. Even now he is making them. But we have not protested. He may also have the capacity to... (Interruptions) He must learn to listen. (Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-RA: No, no, let him explain what is the DMK stand. Why did you refer to the DMK stand? Hs is unnecessarily... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please listen for a while.

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Please take your seats. Please listen to what the Prime Minister wants to say. (Interruptions) Please listen for a while. Kindly listen for a while,

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I really do not understand what offensive language I have used. Because I said ... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please listen for a while. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: At least let me complete the sentence. What I was trying to refer to is that in the civilized behaviour, in the international world these types of inspections are generally not held. there is some doubt, the country has the sovereign right to inspect. is what I asid. But our own planes are not... (Interruptions) Unless and until there is a very worthy doubt about it, we normally do not do it. That is what I was telling. (Interruptions)

. THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please take your seat. Mr. Gopalsamy. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR. am just telling the fact. I am not asking you to agree with it. You may have your own reservations. Members have the right make any comments. But any abusive language is not going to change the situation. And this is not the situation that has been established by the Government of India. What I say is that it is the international norm, it is the international behaviour. But what I say is that no sooner I saw that there was some objection to the refuelling facility being provided—as I told you earlier, refuelling is a normal thingwhen war took place there was. section of political opinion in this country which said that this should not have been allowed. I said at that time, when the House was not in session, that on international questions I shall not like the country to get

divided, and if the country so feels we can ask them not to refuel their planes here. I did it. And before the Parliament came to session, it was accepted by all that there is no refuelling facility being provided in this country to the US planes. That was the end of the matter. Before that I had discussions with all the leaders of political parties.

But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I shall like to emphasize one point. International politics is the politics of hard reality. It is the politics of the possible. Hon. Members are very much exercised. I would like to share with them this fact which is nothing secret. Today India is asking reconvening a meeting of the Security Council so that the proposal of the USSR is implemented and we are not getting support from anybody, including the USSR, China and others. This is the hard reality of life. The people may be exercised over it. I understand your feelings. I also have the feeling of agony over the disaster and devastation that are taking place. am glad that Members are so much sensitive about the human suffering. But we can avoid human suffering only when we are able to understand the objective situation as it is operating today. Many Members have made an accusation that India was sleeping, in slumber. My friend, Mr. Upendra said that we did not take the initiative. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with all humility, I would like to emphasise that before war took place, I wrote letters to President Bush, to President Gorbachev and also to the President of Yugoslavia, who is the Chairman of the NAM. And at that time I told them, at least postpone this day so that war does not take place. I got a response. I am not expected to share the messages that I got. People are stubborn. Nothing is possible. What should we do? Some Indians have got the tendency of self-condemnation that we are helpless, we have not been able to do anything, we have been relegated to the background. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what happened to China? What happened to Iran? What

happened to the USSR? What happened to the other Non-aligned countries? What happened to the countries which are round about the area, in the theatre of war? What happened to all the Arab countries? Everybody was helpless. And that helplessness is shared by India also because some people are very stubborn. It is not a fact, it is not correct to say that we did not take the initiative. Even today, when the war is going on, we are taking all possible initiatives in order to see that there is cessation of war because in war, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the victor and the vanguished, both meet the same fate. It is humanity that suffers. And if humanity suffers, its implications are there for a long time. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have good relations with the Arab countries. When I talk of Arab countries, I mean all the Arab countries. Some people say that we have compromised our position on Palestine. Who says it? We have said time and again that we stand for the liberation of Palestine. But it does not mean that we should support the subjugation of Kuwait. I do not understand this logic. Nobody in the world has said that in order to support the liberation of Palestine, we should support the subjugation of Kuwait. (Interruptions)

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): Nobody has said it. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: This is what I say...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEN-DRA: Will you please yield for a minute? Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what we meant by a greater Indian initiative is this. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has gone on a mission. We would have wished the Prime Minister himself had gone on a similar mission. Particularly when there is no Budget or anything here, he should have gone and made those efforts instead of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi going there. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very grateful to my friend, Mr. Upendra, for making a very positive suggestion. In the course of his speech also, he made a suggestion. He said that his leader, when he was the Prime Minister, sent Tau to China in order to get some breathing time and that I should also follow the same practice. Unfortunately, that is not my value-based politics, and I am not going to follow it. (Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEN-DRA: Daily you are dismissing the State Governments and you are saying value-based politics.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to assure this House that we are doing everything possible in order to see that war does not continue in that area. But the problem is that some people have taken a stubborn position. And I shall not like to accuse people. Some people said that we should condemn the USA. One of my friends was saying that I am an American agent. And I was my very good told that some of friends were very much annoyed. Specially, I was surprised and shocked that my very good friend, Mr. Shiv Shanker, for whom I have great respect, said that I should apologise to the nation for what I did. I am ready to apologise if it makes the war position better in that country. But, I did not take it seriously, Mr. Shiv Shanker's speech sounded to me like a song being sung by a computerised instrument which was programmed a little earlier. (Interruptions). Vice-Chairman, Sir, I do not take exception to his words. Sometimes people speak without meaning it. And I am quite sure that Shiv Shankerji ... (Interruptions)

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR (Uttar Pradesh): I know you are a friend of Mr. Shiv Shanker but you must also know that he is the Leader of a party here. I think you should not have mentioned this thing.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, that is why I am not taking his remark seriously.

Discussion on

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: You need not take him seriously.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am taking him seriously, not his remark. The other friend was Mr. Chaturanan Mishra. Unfortunately he is not here. He also questioned me about... (Interruption). He also asked apology. I seriously tell you, Mr. Vice-Chairman if apology serves any purpose, if it makes the situation better, I have no hesitation. But unfortunately, I don't share the universalised patriotism of Mr. Chaturanan Mishra. I see India's interest And that is why my limitations there. I don't think that I can do something in the spirit of serving the whole humanity without taking into consideration the interest of my own mother land. There are certain possibilities with which we can go along but beyond possibilities, if we go into the realm of fantasies I don't think we are doing a service to this country. I am glad that there was a lone voice, but very effective voice, and that of my Gurudev, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who at least has expressed confidence in me that I cannot be sold away to any nation. There are people... (Interruptions).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEN-DRA: Atalji said that you cannot be sold to foreign interest but you can be sold to Indian interest.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am already sold to this. I have no hesitation to say because Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I don't want any certificate about my patriotism from anybody. I am a very small man but I have also done something for the country. have also a track record in politics. I may lack anything but I don't lack courage. If I do a thing, I do it openly and I say it openly. I do not hesitate. I am not a person who goes on saying one thing and doing another thing. (Interruptions). You may not agree

That is with me. (Interruptions). parliamentary democracy. (Interuptions). I shall beg the hon. Members, they may differ with me. (Interruptions).

श्री मोहम्मद प्रकाल उर्फ भीम चफजल: मैं एक बात पूछना चाहता हं.... (व्यवधान) ... सीनियर मेम्बर बोलते हैं तो प्राइम मिनिस्टर जवाब देने है मगर जब जनिकर मेंस्बर पीछे से बोलना च'हते हैं तो उसको भ्राप जबदंस्ती बिठा देते हैं ....(व्यवधान) ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please listen to your Leader.

श्री मोहम्मद प्रकलल उर्फ श्रफक:: मैं इति। देर से यह रहा हं कि म्रापने इल्जास लगाए है . . . (ब्यवधान) . .

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I just inform you that the situation is getting serious everyday. We feel concerned and we feel more concerned about the postwar situation. We think that security of that region should be the concern of the powers in that region. Any outside power should not take the responsibility or the authority to do the police work. It is the responsibility of the Arab people to see that that region is secure. I hope and trust, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that a new situation will soon emerge, that Arab nationalism will assert itself and they will use their good offices to stop the war and they will together try to see that no foreign power interferes in future for the security of that area, because that is a mater of concern to all of us, because all the developing nations of the world, all the poorer and weak nations of the world feel concerned about it. . The mightier people may try to interfere in the affairs of smaller nations. It is unfortunate that a situation has developed where that possibility has become quite obvious, has become a reality. So that this possibility should not become a reality, all the developing nations, specially the countries of the non-aligned world should join together. We are making an endeavour in

that direction and I assure you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and through you, this nation that India has never deviated and will never deviate from the principles of non-lignment, and India will always stand for the integrity and dignity of the smaller nations. India has always said that we shall browbeat any smaller nation, and also we shall never be browbeaten by any powerful nation. This is the crux of non-alignment, and this is the crux of India's foreign policy. We have pursued this policy, and in the given aituation, with all the limitations. India has tried to bring peace in that area and we shall continue to make an effort in that direction. I hope that the days of darkness will be over and a new era of hope and confidence will emerge very soon and India will always play a meaningful and peaceful role in that direction. Thank you.

Discussion on

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister as to when the Goverament of India gave an air corridor to USA, in which month and on which dete, and when the refuelling were provided. I also want to know whether this air corridor has been given so to USA only and if in diplomatic parlance, iŧ would mean that Government of India has made a bilateral understanding, a bilateral agreement with USA. Under the United Nations Security Council resolution. It is said that the allied forces are fighting war against heroic secople of Iraq. In case it is so, \* then why was a multilateral understanding or agreement not made and why only a bilateral understanding or agreement, and if it is a bilateral sgreement, I would like to know whether this agreement will continue in future also and what were the compalsions for the Government of India to make such a bilateral agreement with the USA.

Then, the Prime Minister said that a section of Indian public opinion was against refuelling. I may tell the Prime Minister that it is not a section of the Indian public opinion; it is the

unanimous opinion of the Indian people not to get associated in war efforts either on behalf of the allied forces or on behalf of the USA in the Gulf. Our impression is that the USA compelled or approached the Government of India to give these facilities only to tell the non-aligned world that it is India which is participating in war efforts against Iraq so that India's voice of sanity for peace and ahimsa and Panch-sheel is not heard in the non-aligned world. I want a clarification from the Prime Minister this point. The second and the last point I would like to make is the Prime Minister had made certain remarks in a very light way. I may tell my friend on the other side that Shri Rajiv Gandhi has not gone there as the representative of the Government of India to Iran. I should say, this time, he has also not gone there even as the representative of the Congress (I). Shri Rajiv Gandhi has been invited either by the President of Iran or by the President of the Soviet Union Mr. Gorbachev .... (Interruptions)...as a true inheritor to the legacy of Gandhiji and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru... (Interruptions) ... Who stood for Ahimsa and non-violence because India's voice was heard everytime in the chanceries of the world, This was the first time that India's voice was not heard when it should have been heard in the world. you must congratulate the President of Iran and Mr. Gorbachev for having invited the Indian leader to participate in the discussion for bringing peace in the Gulf. (Interruption)

Gulf War

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEN-DRA: He has not been invited by them but he had invited himself there.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether Shri Rajiv Gandhi had been invited by the President of Iran, because of his being one of the world leaders who stand for peace.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHEE M. A. BABY): Now let Shri Belsum speak. I request the hon. Members (Interruptions). Please listen for a

minute. There was an extensive dis-Prime Minister has cussion. The replied covering almost all the points. Now we cannot initiate another discussion. Even Fotedarji had taken a little more time than he should have. So please be brief so that two or three more members may also put questions.

Discussion on

SHRI N. E. BALARAM (Kerala): The Prime Minister in his reply, to my understanding, was trying justify the arrangement being given to the American war-planes for refuelling in the Indian airports. But told that there ws no agreement between India and America or with any other country the auestion on of giving facilities for transit and refuelling αf the warplanes. Am I to unerstand that there has been no such agreement or understanding between India and other countries during the war and and the war-planes can come and they can be given fuel in the Indian airports. do not understand whether these facilities are given on the request made each time. What is the real procedure? What is the real state of affairs? The country is very much worried because America is fighting a war and India is supporting the war. When the American warplanes coming to India for transit and refuelling facilities, people are understanding that the country is deviating from the foreign policy. What is the real state of affairs? What is the real state of affairs? Can he explain that? If agreement or underthere was no standing, how did the U.S. planes come here?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, the Prime Minister, in his interview to Pressmen at Kathmandu Airport, said We have not stopped the refuelling facility, but it is not taking place'. I would like to know whether we have taken a decision to stop giving this refuelling facility or not? He tried to justify the facility already given to the U.S. warplanes, saying that it was done on humanitarian grounds. Can the Prime Minister enlighten us as to what does he mean by humanitarian

grounds'? Thirdly, I would like to know whether the air corridor facility was being given from 1980 onwards from the days of Madam Gandhi, continuously?

Gulf War

SHRI RAJ GANDHI MOHAN (Uttar Pradesh): The Prime Minister was pleased to say that overflying was a more serious thing and that allowing the planes to stop over and get refuelled was a comparatively minor extension of a large facility. My question to the Prime Minister is this. request for refuelling came after the ultimatum by the United States to The permission for refuelling was given after the ultimatum war was likely to start. when the When the refuelling permission was after the threat of war and when it was continued even after the started, does not the Prime Minister see in this a serious departure from our foreign policy?

**JAGDISH** SHRI PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh): The Prime Minister said that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, certainly, has not gone there as the representative of the Government of India. Mr. Fotedar says that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has not gone there as the representative of the Congress (I), but as an individual. would like to know from the Prime Minister whether he, or the Government, is having direct contact with him as to what he is doing there? I am not using the words, 'monitoring the activity'. My question is, the Government having a daily-contact with him?

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: The Prime Minister said that when he came to know that a section of the public opinion in the country was opposed to the refuelling he decided to stop it. Sir, only two days before the Parliament was to meet, there was a news-item that the United States had decided not to get their planes refuelled in India. I would like to know whether the Prime Minister issued the orders for stopping the refuelling before the U.S. Government to do so? If so, what was the date on which

the Prime Minister issued the orders? Did the U.S. decide earlier, or, was the order issued earlier? This is my question.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTA-CHARGEE: I have two points. One is, it has ben stated that weapons of mass destruction should not be used. In that context, I would like to know whether the use of the napalm bomb is permitted? The second point is in regard to refuelling. I asked this earlier. The question is whether a neutral country can adopt this approach in relation to a belligerent country, during war? Another point which has been raised here is, what does it mean when you say 'There is no refuelling now? What exactly is the position of the Government?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: The Prime Minister announced that refuelling had been stopped. But even after this announcement, there were reports that some U.S. planes came here and were refuelled. How did it happen? Did the Government send the orders to all the authorities so that it did not happen?

I would like to know whether the Government is going to make enquiry about how it happened.

भी मोहम्मद अफबल उर्फ मीम अक्रवल : मि० वाइए चेएटपैन, के क्यारे धाजम से दो धातों की कलैर फिनेशन चाहता हूं। भे पने फर्माया कि कुछ लोग कुषैत की प्राजादी को प्रजाहिदा रखने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, मेरा ख्याल है यहां दो दिन में बहस चल रही है किसी ने भी जुवैत पर इराक के कब्जे को मही नहीं कहा है। सब ने उसको किटिसाइज किया है। बृतियादी सवाल हिन्द्रस्तान कर फारेन पारिसी का है। फिरिस्तीन हैं महले पर हमारे खले हुई पासि है कि फिलिस्तेन झाजाद होना चाहिए झेर फिल्स्ते ियों को मिलता चाहिए । यहां मसना यह है कि फिलिस्तीन क्रवेत का मसला एक हैं साथ डिसकस होता चाहिए, एक ही साथ हल होता चाहिए या पहले कुर्वेत का मसला हल होता चाहिए और फिल्स्तिन का बाद में । मैं यह कहना

चाहूंगा कि वजेंदे आजम साहब इसकी पण हत करें कि मौजूदा सरकार की पालिसी क्या यह है कि दोनो मसलो को एक साथ डिसकस किया जाना चाहिए और दोनों को एक साथ हल करना चाहिए या यह कि कुर्वत महले और बाद में फिल्स्तिन ? सैकंड क्लै फिक्सिन एवाउट अदनान खशोगी...(व्यवधान) छशोगी के बारे में सदन में सवाल उठाया गया कि वह किसी के इशारे पर यहां आए थे। वजिरे अ जम साहब को इस पर वजाहत करनी चाहिए?

†[غری مصند انقل عرف م-انفل (اتر يدديش): مستر والس چهرمهن ماهب - مهن وزير اعظم سے دو ہاتوں کی کلیدیفکیشن جاھنا هين - آب تر فرمايا که کچو لوگ کریسا کی آزادی کو ملیحدہ کرلے کی کیفعی کو رہے۔ میں - میرا غیال ہے یہاں دو دی ہے بصف چل رهی هے - کسی لے یونی کریت پر مراق کے تبقے کو مصیم انہیں کہا ہے - سب آن امکو کریٹی سائز كيا هرَّ - يلهاني سوال هلبوسعالي كن فازير بالهشي كا هي م فلسطهن کے مسئلے ہو ھماری کہلی ھوٹی يالهسن هي سيكم فلسطهين أواد هونا جاهنے - لور فلسطینیوں کو ملنا چاهلے - پیش مسله یه ه که فلسطهي أور كويت كا مسئله أيك هي ساتو قسكس هونا جاهله - ليك هي ساتو عل هولا جاهه - يا يبل لويب كا مسئله حل هونا جاهك أور فلسطين لا بعد مين - مين ية كيفا جاهدا هول که وزير اعظم ماهب

ایگ اسکی وضاحت کویں کہ موجودہ

دونوں مسئلوں کو ایک ساتھ تسکس

دونوں مسئلوں کو ایک ساتھ تسکس

کھا جائے - اور دونوں کو ایک سانھ

حل کھا جانا چاھئے - یا پہلے

کویت اور بعد میں فلسطین سیکلڈ

کلیویدکھش ایوٹ عدنای محصولی

دستاخات کے بارے میں

سدن میں سوال اٹھایا کھا کہ وہ

کسی کے اشارے پر یہاں آئے تھے 
وزیر اعظم کو اس پر وضاحت کوئی

جاعئے -]

SHRI M. M. JACOB: My question is very important because according to the reports our Embassy in Baghdad has been closed down. The Kuwait Embassy had been closed earlier. There are Indians in these countries even today. Has the Government made any arrangements to strength the existing Embassy in Iran or is there some other arrangement? What is going to happen to the Indians there? Is there any mechanism to look afer the Indians in all those countries?

**बा॰ रत्नाकर वाण्डेय :** सर, मैं शुरू क्ष बोल रहा हूं 1... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Only one sentence to wind up the questions.

हा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: महोदय, इस सदन के सदस्य राम जठमलानी जी,\* के रूप में मान्य हो ब्के हैं ग्रौर उनकी गितिविध खाड़ी युद्ध के बारे में है क्या सरकार ने उस पर ध्यान दिया है या नहीं ? भगर नहीं दिया है तो खाड़ी युद्ध के लिए... (अववधान) असका ध्यान किया जाए... (अववधान) मोर माननीय प्रधान मंती जी, प्रधान मंती होने के पहले उनके साजिश के तहत ग्रापके निवास

स्थान पर इनके कार्यकर्ताओं ने इन्हें हूरा-हूरा मारा वा उस पर जरूर बात को जाए। मैं राष्ट्र के हित में कह रहा हूं, वह के बादमी हैं उन्हें सदन में न भाने दिया जाए जब तक खाड़ी बुद्ध समाप्त नहीं होता है।...(अरब्दान)

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): How can you allow that to go on record?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): How can you allow? It is a very unwanted, objectionable remark made about Shri Jethmalani: I would pour you to expunge it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): A reference by Panditji to an hon. Member won't from part of the record. That allegation won't form part of the record.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I shall like to answer some of the questions that have been raised. Some of the questions I have already tried to answer in my speech, My friend Fotedar asked me one question.

AN HON. MEMBER: He asked three questions.

CHANDRA SHRI SHEKHAR: Three? Out of them two were irrelevant. About the one question, it is in the knowledge of the Government that Shri Rajiv Gandhi was invited by the President of Iran and he went on his invitation. On his way to Tehran he went to Moscow and had discussions with Shri Gorbachev. Some friend asked me whether he is reporting daily or not. I do not say there is no question of daily reporting, but I am in constant touch . . . And I know what he is..... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Silence, please, please keep quiet... (Interruptions) ...
Please sit down.... (Interruptions)
Please sit down. This is too much, (Interruptions)...

<sup>\*</sup>Expunged as ordered by the Chair

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Prime Minister is not jealous of people going outside as other Members seem to be jealous about it. If Rajiv Gandhi is doing something, why should object to it? Mr. Fotedar said that I said it in a lighter vein. It is not true. I said it in all seriousness. If any other Member has got any contact with any person who can contribute something to peace, I would welcome his initiative also... (Interruptions) ... They say it is not my concern, but how did Mr. Fotedar say that I said it in a lighter vein? No. I have not treated Rajiv Gandhi's trip in a lighter vein. This much I want to make clear.

Discussion on

A question was raised about corridor. I am sorry that I do not feel free to say everything on what had happened in the past. But my friend, Mr. Raj Mohan Gandhi and some other Members asked whether there was not a departure from the Indian foreign policy when the President of the United States declared his intention to go to war, and he wanted to clarify hat earlier when the corridor was allowed by the previous Government there was no intention to go to war. But, in order to refresh his memory, I should like to say that on August 8, 1990 President Buush said: "We are not ruling any options in, but we are not ruling any options out." This is one statement. On September 4 he said, "USA has the necessary political, military economic instruments at her disposal to catalyze a successful collective response by the international community." On September 11 he again said, "Our prefrence is to resolve the crisis peacefully. However, we are determined to see that this aggression ends, and if the current steps fail to end it we are prepared to consider additional ones, consistent with the UN Charter. We must demonstrate beyond any doubt that aggression cannot and will not pay."

PARVATHANENI UPEND-RA: What is all this?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: This is what he said. And, after that, the previous Government gave this facility, and I would not like to go into if...(Interruptions)... I am not accusing anybody. Again, it is international practice that a transit half is compulsory unless and until the aeroplane carries VIPs and it is known to the host country, the country which allows her air space to be used. This departure was made. Why it made I do not know, nor do I want to make any comment on it. It is in that respect that I said that. I did not say whether it was serious or not, but in international parlance it is considered to be a more serious and more objectionable attitude in allowing Air Force planes to use our air space. That much I say.

The other thing that my friend, Mr. Fotedar, and many other friends asked was whether there was an agree. ment and what happened to the agreement. I have said it categorically in the other House also, and at the beginning of my speech that there was no signed agreement there is no greement. It is the international practice and aeroplanes are allowed a flight-to-flight basis. It is not a blanket thing. My dear friend, Mr. Upendra, will be satisfied to know that the blanket corridor was given only in his regime. I don't want to say anything more than this... (Interruptions)...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-RA: We wanted to know whether such a blanket permission was there from 1980. You have not answered that was such a permission given from 1980 onwards? You have answered that.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I don't want to go into the past history.

PARVATHANENI UPEND-SHRI RA: Why? ... (Interruptions) ...

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SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I say without any fear of contradiction that never in the history of India was a blanket corridor given but in August, 1990. (Interruptions)

Discussion on

Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, I keep quiet. It does not mean that people can go on making any remark with full immunity.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-RA: Place all the papers on the Table of the House from 1980 onwards.

SHRI MOHAMMED AFZAL alias MEEM AFZAL: He is misguiding the House. He is misleading the House.

SHRIMATI MIRA DAS (Orissa): We demand that the papers should be laid on the Table of the House.

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA (Bihar): Kindly let us see the record. Place it on the Table.

SHRI MOHAMMED AFZAL alias MCEM AFZAL: Lay them on Table. You are misleading the House.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: have not taken any exception or made any objection. It was for that Government to take the situation at that time into consideration and take a decision as it thought correct. But these matters are not matters of political controvery. This I have been emphasising time and again. But if certain people think that by loud voices I shall become apologetic, they mistaken.

I want to say, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, that the situation is grave, and not only India's interests but the interests of all the developing world are at stake. We should try to reate an atmosphere of credibility, cohesion and unity. If we are not able to create an atmosphere of unity

cohesion in our country India cannot give inspiration to the developing world that we can create a cohesion among their functions.

With this spirit, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have maintained the utmost restraint, and I shall beg of all the Members to keep that restraint, Loud voices and brave words do not give more capacity for India to play a meaningful role. But a meaningful role can be played by asserting our value that have been established in the course of the history for a long time.

Thank you.

VICE-CHAIRMAN THE (SHRI M. A. BABY): Now I want to seek the opinion of the House. (Interruptions)

We have special mentions listed today. If the House is in a mood to take them up ...

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: Tomorrow.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: (Madhya Pradesh): Tomorrow.

VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI THE M. A. BABY): So, we will take them up Tomorrow.

So, the House stand adjourned till 11.00 a.m.

> The House then adjourned at forty-thrice minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 26th February, 1991.