

[Shri Ajit Panja]

the Tea Act, 1953 (29 of 1953) read with clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of rule 4 and sub-rule (2) of rule 5 of the Tea Rules, 1954, this House do proceed to elect in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House to be a member of the Tea Board in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Shri Bijoy Krishna Handique from the membership of the Rajya Sabha on the 2nd April, 1986.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Situation arising out of the recent Bombing Raids on Libya by the U.S. forces

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदय, मैं आपकी अनुमति से अमरीकी सेनाओं द्वारा लीबिया पर हाल में की गई बमबारी से उत्पन्न स्थिति की ओर विदेश मंत्री का ध्यान आकर्षित करता हूँ।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. R. NARAYANAN): Sir, I have already circulated the copies of my statement.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Have the copies been circulated to you all?

SOME HON. MEMBERS:
No. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: This time the Minister is excused. But in future he should see that copies of statements are circulated before he makes his statement.

श्री जगबन्दी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : चैंयर-मैन महोदय, यह तो आपका काम है कि सदन के सदस्यों को स्टेटमेंट मिल गया है कि नहीं।

यह उनका काम नहीं है, यह तो आपका काम है।

SHRI K.R. NARAYANAN: Sir, The Government of India is deeply shocked at the recent US bombing raids on Tripoli and Benghazi by US aircraft. We have strongly deplored and condemned this action since it is in total disregard of international law and constitutes an act of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Libya. Besides, it places regional security and international peace in grave jeopardy.

It may be recalled that on alleged involvement of Libya in the terrorist attacks on EL (Israeli Airways) countries at Rome and Vinna airports on 27th December 1985, notwithstanding the latter's denials, the United States reacted by imposition of economic sanctions against Libya, by undertaking naval manoeuvres off the Libyan coast and subsequently by entering the Gulf of Sirte on March 23 ostensibly in defence of the right of freedom of navigation. The entry of the US fleet into the Gulf of Sirte was directly responsible for the ensuing clashes in the region.

With the withdrawal of the US six fleet from the Gulf of Sirte on 27th March it was hoped that tension in the region would decline. This was not to be. Holding Libya responsible, despite the latter's denials, for the terrorist attack on a West Berlin discotheque on 5th April, the USA once again moved its naval fleet within striking range of Libya during the second week of April. Throughout this period Government had repeatedly been urging that precipitate action be avoided and that problems in the area be resolved through dialogue and not through pressure. Totally disregarding all calls for restraint, US carrier based aircrafts as well as US aircraft from British based bombed Tripoli and Benghazi at 5.30 A.M. (IST) on 15th April.

The US aircraft simultaneously attacked 5 well-dispersed targets in Tripoli and Benghazi namely the Al Azizyan barracks, Tripoli airport, Sidi Balil port facility Al Jambhariya barracks and Benina military airport. In addition, Col. Gaddafi's residence was hit and several other civilian buildings damaged including the Swiss, French and Iranian Missions. While Col. Gaddafi escaped unhurt, his adopted infant daughter was killed and two of his sons were injured. The total casualty figures are presently estimated at 40 killed and 93 wounded. The casualties include some foreigners, but no Indians.

The attack lasted 11-12 minutes. In all 33 aircraft are reported to have been used—18 UK based F-III and 15 A-6 and A-7 aircraft from two US aircraft carriers. US aircraft used 500 Pound, 800 Pound and 2000 Pound with laser and precision guidance system. It is estimated that about 100 tons of bombs were used in all.

Immediately following the US strike against Libya, PM made a statement on 15th April strongly deploing the US action and extending NAM's full support to and solidarity with Libya. The External affairs Minister also made a statement on the subject. Separately, the Ministers attending the NAM Coordinating Bureau held an emergency meeting in New Delhi on 15th April under the Chairmanship of the External Affairs Minister and strongly condemned the US action. The Meeting demanded that the United States put an immediate halt to its military operations and that full and prompt compensation be paid to Libya. In addition, it called on the Security Council to take urgent action to condemn this act of aggression and to prevent repetition of such acts. It also affirmed its full support to, and solidarity with Libya.

In conformity with the decision taken at the NAM Foreign Minister's Meeting, External Affairs Minister led a delegation to Tripoli comprising besides himself, the Foreign Ministers of Yugoslavia and Cuba and the

representatives of Ghana, Congo and Senegal to convey NAM's solidarity and support to the Libyan Government. This visit served to demonstrate the unity of the Non-aligned Movement on this question, and the indignation of world public opinion at the US attack on Libya. The NAM delegation thereafter proceeded to the UN Headquarters in New York to apprise the President of the Security Council and the UN Secretary General of the gravity of the crisis and the serious threat it poses to regional peace and stability.

The Non-aligned resolution introduced in the Security Council last week condemning the US raid on Libya and calling upon the USA to refrain from further attacks or threats was not adopted only because of the exercise of veto by USA, Britain and France. It is, however, gratifying that the resolution secured the requisite majority in the Security Council demonstrating the support of world opinion on this issue and the validity of the stand taken by the Non-aligned movement. Accordingly the Government of India hope that there would be no repetition of such acts and that all concerned would refrain from resorting to any action contrary to the norms of international conduct.

I should like to inform the House that on the request of the six members of the Non-aligned delegation headed by our External Affairs Minister, the Security Council is expected to meet today in New York. The members of the delegation will address the Council.

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा : माननीय सभापति महोदय, प्रथम और द्वितीय महायुद्ध के पश्चात् लीग आफ नेशन्स और संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की संसार के बड़े देशों ने स्थापना इस आशय से की थी कि इन विनाशकारी लीलाओं से सबक लेकर आगे इस प्रकार की युद्ध की कार्यवाही न चले बल्कि शान्ति और सद्भाव के साथ संसार के देशों की सार्वभौम और उनकी स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा करते हुए आपस में बातचीत कर मामले को तय कर लिया जाय। मुझे बहुत ही दुःख और अफसोस के साथ

[श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा]

कहना पड़ता है कि जैसा माननीय मंत्री जी ने अपने स्टेटमेंट में बताया कि 23 मार्च को प्रथम बार चार दिन तक और उसके बाद फिर द्वितीय सप्ताह अप्रैल में अमरीका ने अपने हथियारों और धन की शक्ति के आधार पर एक छोटे मुल्क को बर्बाद करने की योजना बनायी। लीबिया ने सन् 1970 से पूर्व जो अमरीका और इंग्लैंड के वहाँ पर बैसेज थे, उनका हटाया था और जितने फारम-बैंक थे, उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण किया था और मान्यवर इसके अलावा आयल इण्डस्ट्रीज का भी राष्ट्रीयकरण किया था, इन सब बातों से अमरीका और अंग्रेज दोनों नाराज थे, इसलिए इस प्रकार की कार्यवाही उसने निर्लज्जता से की। जिन शक्तियों ने संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की स्थापना की थी, वे ही इस प्रकार की निर्लज्जता की कार्यवाही को प्रारम्भ करें, यह और अधिक दुःख का विषय है।

मान्यवर, अकेले लीबिया के ऊपर ही इसने अभी नहीं किया बल्कि इससे पेंटर वियतनाम के ऊपर भी बहुत समय तक, लंबे समय तक आक्रमणकारी बना रहा। वहाँ पचास लाख, जिनमें अधिकांश निहत्थे निर्दोष नागरिक थे, उनकी हत्याएं हुईं और बहुत बेशर्म होकर अमरीका वियतनाम से लड़ता। विली में भी इसने ऐसा ही किया। कांगों में लुमम्बा के साथ भी इसने इसी प्रकार से किया यानी जो भी प्रगतिशील विचारधारा के व्यक्ति हैं, संसार की कोई भी हकूमत जो प्रगतिशील विचारों में एकीन रहती है, उनको अमरीका बर्बाद नहीं कर सकता। निकारागुआ में आज वे क्या कर रहे हैं वहाँ की प्रगतिशील विचारधारा को पतन के लिए आतंकवादियों की सहायता कर रहा है। अंगोला और मोजाम्बिक में भी इसी प्रकार का व्यवहार। साउथ-अफ्रीका में भी उसका इसी प्रकार का व्यवहार है। कितनी ज्यादाती की जा रही है मण्डेला के साथ, कितनी ज्यादाती की जा रही है एशियन के खिलाफ और उन सब की सहायता कर रहा है अमरीका।

मान्यवर, इसी ही प्रकार, अभी नहीं, बल्कि अमरीका ने जिस समय केनेडी राष्ट्रपति थे, उस समय भी क्यूबा को काउन्डाउन् करने के लिए अपनी शक्ति का प्रदर्शन करने

की कोशिश की थी, लेकिन रशिया की सभ्य पर सहायता ने क्यूबा की स्वतंत्रता और सार्वभौम शक्ति को बचाए रखा।

मान्यवर, मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता है कि लोक-सभा ने 17 अप्रैल को और गूट निरपेक्ष देशों ने सर्वसम्मति से अमरीका को इस प्रकार की निर्लज्जतापूर्ण कार्यवाही की धार निन्दा की है और छह देश हिन्दुस्तान के विदेश मंत्री के नेतृत्व में सुरक्षा-परिषद् में भी पैरवी करने के लिए गए हैं। अमरीका और इंग्लैंड ने संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की स्थापना की, सिव्वा-रिटो काउंसिल की स्थापना की। अगर यह कहें कि हमारे साथ लीबिया ज्यादाती कर रहा है तो उन्हें सीव्वा-रिटो काउंसिल के सामने अपने केंस को पट अप करना चाहिए, यू.एन.ओ. के सामने अपने केंस को पट अप करना चाहिए था, लेकिन उन्हें अपनी शक्ति पर, हथियारों की शक्ति पर, धन की शक्ति पर गुर्र था। उनको यू.एन.ओ. और सीव्वा-रिटो काउंसिल पर कोई विश्वास नहीं था। इसलिए 101 गूट निरपेक्ष देशों के सर्वसम्मति प्रस्ताव को भी उन्होंने वीटो किया। दुनिया को उन्होंने दिखला दिया कि वह अपनी ताकत के बल पर कार्यवाही करेंगे और इस प्रकार की कार्यवाही इन्होंने की। अमरीका का यह कहना कि वह लीबिया से आतंकवाद को समाप्त करना चाहता है कितना अविश्वसनीय है जब वह स्वयं आतंकवाद की ट्रेनिंग अलाबामा में दे रहा है। आज पहला ही प्रश्न था कि हाजीपीर के क्षेत्र में अमरीका की सहायता से आतंकवादियों को ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है। निकारागुआ में आतंकवादियों को सहायता पहुँचाई जा रही है। दुनिया में आतंकवाद का कोई सबसे बड़ा केंद्र है तो वह वाशिंगटन है और रीगन उसका रिगलीडर है। इन परिस्थितियों में गूट निरपेक्ष देशों ने बहुत सही कदम उठाया, भारत ने सही निश्चय किया और दुनिया में अमरीका को नंगा करने की चेष्टा की। मेरा यह भी सुभाव है कि अगर सुरक्षा परिषद् में वह वीटो कर सकते हैं तो इस मामले को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की जनरल सभा में ले जाया जाय और प्रस्ताव पास करके अमरीका के इस प्रकार के रवैये की निन्दा की जाय। वह केवल अपनी ताकत के जोर पर दुनिया को अपने घुटनों के नीचे दबा कर रखना

चाहता है। वह स्वयं आतंकवाद का प्रचार कर रहा है। यही हाल है यू.के. का। इंग्लैंड ने अपनी बेसज्ज अमरीका को दी है। वहाँ से चल कर अमरीका के हवाई जहाजों ने लीबिया पर आक्रमण किया।

[उद्सभाधीन महोदय पीठासीन हुए]

हिन्दुस्तानियों के खिलाफ, भारत सरकार के खिलाफ उस देश में योजनगुण बनाई जाती है। और ये दोनों कहते हैं कि हम आतंकवाद को मिटाने की कोशिश करते हैं। सारे अरब देशों के खिलाफ इजराइल को समर्थन देने और अतबाग्निया के टुकड़े करने आदि की सारे संसार में उनकी योजनाएं चल रही हैं। फिलिस्तीन की पैरवी भारत सरकार ने संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में की, लेकिन अमरीका उसका किसी प्रकार स्वतंत्र नहीं होने देगा चाहता और उसकी मूखालिफत में अरब देशों के विरुद्ध वह इजराइल की सहायता कर रहा है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अमरीका के इस व्यवहार की कड़े शब्दों में निन्दा करता हूँ और माननीय मंत्री जी से यह अपेक्षा करता हूँ कि यू.एन.ओ. की साधारण सभा में इस प्रस्ताव को लाया जाय और अमरीका की निन्दा भारी बहुमत से संसार के सारे स्वतंत्र देशों से कराई जाय।

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I hope and believe that the entire House will join me when I rise to express unequivocal protest and condemnation against the most naked aggression committed by the United States of America on Libya, a free sovereign country and a member of the non-aligned movement.

Sir, I am happy to note the contents of the statement made by the hon. Minister which has given in details how the aggression took place. From the statement made available to us, it appears that this attack was an attack fully planned and prepared for, and this is not only the statement which bears this out but the action of President Reagan is also a witness for the pre-planned

and pre-meditated attack. The House knows that there were repeated threats against Libya. There was violation of Libyan territorial waters in the Gulf of Sirte by the U.S. Fleet. The result of this attack is likely to be that the regional security and international peace will be in jeopardy. I am very glad that the Prime Minister of this country has put across the country's point of view in this regard very succinctly, and I quote from the speech which he made before the NAM meeting:

"As we gather to review the recent developments and prepare for the Eighth Summit of non-aligned countries, one of our fellow members, Libya, has been attacked in violation of international law; its sovereignty has been transgressed; its integrity impinged. We cannot but condemn this. At this moment of crisis, Libya has the full support and sympathy of all our colleagues in the Non-Aligned Movement."

But the most important turn of events has been the killing of the NAM resolution in the Security Council. That is a very important and significant turn of events. But the most important is the fact that a member of the Security Council commits aggression on a free and sovereign country and it is that member of the Security Council in collusion with other allies that defeats the condemnation motion of the members of the non-aligned movement which constitutes a vast majority of the membership on the United Nations. That is very important. And, Sir, this very fact makes the United Nations, a wholly peace-keeping body, more fragile, and I hope I would not be wrong by the history that is does not hold that prospect of its ultimate extinct. It is to be noted that this triple veto--United States, Great Britain and France together applied or rather excised their power of veto in 198

[Shri Chitta Basu]

in order to defend the apartheid government in South Africa. This combined action in 1981 and their voting together in 1986 hold out a pattern and conspiracy, I hope, the Government of India will take note of it. What did the NAM resolution say? It was a mild statement, I would say. I do not know why the NAM resolution, draft resolution, in the Security Council, had not been cast in a much stronger language. Of course, there are reasons for it. I would not like to dilate upon them. I would not like to go into the reasons. The resolution merely said that the attacks were in violation of the United Nations Charter and in violation of the norms of international conduct. This is a very simple statement. The draft resolution also called upon the U.S.A. to refrain forthwith from any further action. This is equally mild. It merely called upon the Secretary-General of the United Nations to take appropriate steps to restore and ensure peace in the Central Mediterranean. This is a very innocent and simple statement but even this was voted down, or, rather vetoed down by them. Sir, I am sorry to see the statement made by the hon. Minister. He says, accordingly, the Government of India hopes that there will be no repetition of such acts and that all concerned would refrain from resorting to any action contrary to the norms of international conduct. I hope, all hon. Members will take note of it. Sir, this is over-optimism. This statement is born out of the idea that India is not in a position to speak out against the U.S.A. Time has come when we should speak out against the U.S.A. Facts also indicate otherwise. What are the facts? I will mention only two facts. Only on April 22, in an interview to the Associated Press, Reagan announced and I quote: "Some U.S. allies suggested a coordinated and all-out military attack against Libya to force a change of Gaddafi's policy of exporting terrorism". This is again threat. I do not know whether the hon. Minister knows about it. He might be knowing

it. In spite of this statement made by the President of the U.S.A. how does the Government of India feel and express the hope that the situation will not be further complicated? Again, President Reagan says—I quote—'There were some indications that the allies going to the Seven-Nation Economic Summit in Tokyo next week have been thinking of increasing action'. This shows, he is working for a planned action against Libya. A fresh assault is anticipated. These two statements clearly indicate the mind of Reagan [(Time bell rings) Sir, I will take only two more minutes. Sir, this makes the situation more grave. But the statement of the hon. Minister does not reflect the Government's awareness of the seriousness of the situation. I accuse the Government on that count. Sir, Reagan says that Libya is exporting terrorism; he talks about export of international terrorism. Why should he speak tongue-in-check when everybody knows in the world today that it is not Libya, but it is the U.S.A. it is President Reagan who has unleashed a course of international terrorism. India should have the courage to tell the U.S.A. and tell it boldly and loudly. It is the U.S. President, Mr. Reagan who has embarked on the course of international terrorism, gangsterism. Evidence, are available there all over the world, I do not want to add anything more.

Lastly I have got only two suggestions to make to the Government. Now the situation can be defused if the United Nations General Assembly takes a positive role, if the United Nations General Assembly and the Non-aligned movement works in the way so that the United States of America may be forced to withdraw all its forces for the Mediterranean. Unless the forces are withdrawn from the Mediterranean, the prospect or possibility of a fresh, planned, coordinated and orchestrated attack on a free country will remain there. India has got a role to play. May I know from the Minister whether India as the chairman of the Non-

aligned movement would take initiative to hold consultation and plan coordinated action among the members of the Non-aligned movement to force the United States of America to see reason and withdraw all these forces from the Mediterranean so that peace can be ensured and normacy can be restored?

DR. SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the world is almost at the brink of a global crisis and the period can be compared to the one which we saw during the days of Chamberlain when he visited Munich to discuss about the fate of 5 million Sudetan Germans and Hitler wanted to take over Czechoslovakia because the Germans were there. Chamberlain had to come back with his umbrella on his head, peace with honour. India, as the president of the NAM, is in the same situation, may be, umbrella in hand, peace with honour. I must congratulate the young Prime Minister for having led the NAM against the imperialist domination of the world and the imperialist thrust on Libya and I must also congratulate our Minister of State who has experience of both the worlds.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Chamberlain had an agreement with Hitler.

DR. SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA: What agreement is behind the scene is very difficult to know. Here I must say that the only super power which has come forward in this affair against Americans and in favour of Libya is Mr. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader. He has written a personal letter to Gaddafi pledging complete support and support of the socialist world. Initially we thought that probably Reagan was all along and European powers were not with Reagan, but later it came out that the planes took off only from the points of the United Kingdom and then we saw France has cast its lot. I do not know the relation between the Prime Minis-

ter Chirac and President Mitterand, the great socialist leader, who used to proclaim for the socialist world but France, is with the United States of America. Mr. Kohil who is coming here is bound to be with the United States Plutocratic countries can never be with the socialist countries. Now in the NAM conference with all the fanfare and bamboozling the unvary people of the country are saying that we have done a lot. What precious little have you done, Sir? You have not been able during the last five years to bring two friends Iran and Iraq together. How much have you done in this direction, Mr. Minister of States? What has happened to Kampuchea? The non-aligned nations are not one way. Then what is happening to Nicaragua Like Gaddafi, the young leader Danial Otega of the small country of hardly 30 lakh of people is fighting against the might of the United States and what have you done excepting passing a few precious resolutions? Sir, might is right and this world is for the strong and never for the weak. All the non aligned nations are divided among themselves.

I was a personal guest of Gaddafi, a very young, charismatic and charming leader I have seen, as the General Secretary of the Congress. I was sitting next to him. Two million people were there in Tripoli and he was addressing the crowd. As if a snake charmer was having his sway on the people, the people were dancing to his tune. Great leader Hardly 38 or 39 years old. You can count on such young people, including Rajiv Gandhi, dominating the world scene. But Gaddafi is an unpredictable person. I was in Egypt in 1973 as a guest of President Sadat when Libya and Egypt had a union. I told President Sadat that this unpredictable person would go away in six months' time, and it happened. Now he has joined Syria, another union. And you know what is the fate. He also believes in international terrorism and it has paid back in his own coin. I am

[Dr. Shyam Sunder Mahapatra]

for Gaddafi but I am telling, one must have a reasonable concept of world politics. What are the Libyans and the French doing in Africa? I don't believe in this United States' statement that Libya is supporting the secessionist forces of Punjab. I don't believe it; there may not be an iota of truth in it. But the fact is that Gaddafi believes in all these activities. Sir, I take my hats off to the Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, who also sends his troops but sends troops on some cause—fight against imperial forces, against capitalist domination but not like this. And this Gaddafi also gave refuse to Idi Amin, a carnivorous political personality in his country. So, I say, Gaddafi must see reason. And what was the Libyan Embassy doing here the other days? I have a paper from America, *India Abroad*, which says they were going to offer over 2,000 dollars to persons of Indian origin or Indian citizens who will join the armed forces in Libya. I must congratulate the Minister who rapped the Libyan Ambassador; Mr. Venkateswaran, Mr. Jain and others who called the Libyan Ambassador and said he cannot certainly recruit mercenary forces from our country. The Ambassador is not a child. He advertised in a Urdu paper that they want people for the Libyan army. Why Urdu paper? Why do you believe that the Muslims will go there? Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Jains—all—in the cause of socialism, against imperialism, will fight for Libya on Libyan soil if need be. But what I say is, Arab countries must see reason. On one side Gaddafi, on another side Saddam Hussain, on one side Iran and on the other side the King of Jordan—the whole Arab countries are divided. They are divided because of imperialist design, but why do they fall prey to imperialist design? I know what type of attitude Libya had for your Government of India—and Mrs. Gandhi had to go to Tripoli. I know all the

internal politics. Gaddafi was running away from India because India had support for Iraq. The Baath Socialist Party of Iraq and the Indian National Congress had signed a protocol. For the last 40 years the Baath Socialist Party of Iraq and the Indian National Congress are one ideologically. So what I intend to tell is, we are against American imperialism; we will not allow even an inch of Libya to be taken over by the American soldiers through their Sixth Fleet or Seventh Fleet. Whether they send 200 planes or anything, by imperialist might no country can be subjugated. It may be a matter of a few months. The British might could not also conquer Argentina.

Sir, I must congratulate the Minister at least for voicing the opinion of the people—the popular upsurge—and mobilizing popular support against U.S. hegemony. But the fact is that unless the NAM Conference becomes a united front, becomes united against imperialist domination, it will be very difficult to fight the imperialist forces. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA
(Himachal Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the motion which this House is discussing is one of utmost importance not only concerning Libya or peace in the Mediterranean but also concerning peace all over the world. The action of the Reagan Government in the Mediterranean on 15th of April which resulted in the bombing of Tripoli, Benghazi, Sidi Balil and other areas has shocked the entire world. The world has rightly reacted with shock and anger, disgust and alarm. Alarmed we all are because we are being slowly pushed over the precipice. We shudder at the very thought that I like the United States of America if the other super powers also feel threatened, it will eventually lead us to a nuclear holocaust.

Sir, this is one issue on which we all are together, condemning this act of aggression which has been very strongly condemned by the government of India, particularly our Prime Minister who is also the Chairman of the NAM. His prompt reaction, strong condemnation mobilised opinion within the Non-aligned Movement, and as such the Non-aligned Movement also denounced it. Ironically, Sir, it is unfortunate that this attack was made on the eve of the Coordinating Bureau meeting of the NAM, which was due to begin in Delhi. This American act is not to be viewed in isolation. Nor is there any justification for any provocation whatsoever to which some references have been made. They cannot justify this act of aggression.

America is a member of the United Nations. It is a permanent member of the Security Council. It is one of the mightiest military powers. As such, the Government of America has added responsibility of maintaining peace in the world, not endangering peace. Their attack on a small country like Libya is not a question of how many lives were lost. We know innocent people have died. We know that the 16-month old daughter of the Libyan leader, Col. Gaddafi, also died. We know that a large number of bombers from the American bases in the United Kingdom took off.

The Minister has given the details in his statement. But today the question is who the aggressor and what at stake is. At stake today is peace in the world, Sir. This American reaction is a culmination of all their acts in the recent past. Particularly when people the world over have been pleading for disarmament, pleading for destroying the huge stockpile of nuclear weapon, when the Soviet Union announced unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, the Reagan Government demonstrated, it showed the contempt which it had for the voice of sanity, the disregard which it had for all these resolutions by going in not only for nuclear tests, not only by rejecting the offers of peace made

by the Soviet Union but by not only threatening but in reality extending this danger of nuclear holocaust or war from our planet to the space itself.

Sir, today what has been violated is not the territorial integrity of Libya. The U.N. Charter itself stands violated by this act. And also it is against all norms of established international behaviour. The U.N. Charter is for respecting territorial integrity and sovereignty of other nations. It also calls for non-interference and non-intervention. So, these all stand violated today. We all have to see what all we can do, not by indulging in rhetorics, not by decrying the NAM or what the NAM has achieved. The NAM is not expected to launch a similar invasion against the United States of America. What we have to do is to mobilise the opinion, to speak for the Non-aligned Movement, to denounce this act and to ensure that people are aroused, people all over the world are informed about the evil intentions and designs of the regime which is threatening peace all over the world. This is exactly what NAM has done. Today the justification which the Government of America has given for this act, which is the most reprehensible act, and the manner in which they have gone about it, is shocking. The justification which they have given is that it was in retaliation to the bombing in a discotheque in West Berlin. This is strange. Prior to that they had been conducting exercises in the Gulf of Sirte saying they were in international territorial waters. These are all matters which are to be decided by the United Nations. The United States of America does not have any authority or any justification to act with this impunity. There was no evidence linking Libya with that bombing in West Berlin. The Americans have claimed that they have irrefutable evidence, whereas interestingly the Government of FRG itself has denied it. This is not the first time when such statements have been made by President Reagan when he was plead-

[Shri Anand Sharma]

ing in the House of Representatives for American aid of £100 million for those mercenaries, those contra-rebels in Nicaragua. He had said the Sandanista regime was threatening stability in the entire region and that they were training Brazilian revolutionaries. Promptly this statement was not only questioned, but also denied by the Brazilian Government. It clearly proves that to justify their acts, they are indulging in lies. These lies have shocked the entire world. It does not lie in the mouth of President Reagan or for that matter the US Allies, who have connived and joined the US in launching this attack.

To talk of terrorism, it is well-known that America is not only for State terrorism, but it has actually supported the Government of Israel in attacking the PLO Headquarters and also elsewhere for killing innocent people all over the world. It is well-known for its support to the racist abhorable regime in South Africa. It is manifested in its refusal to join the rest of the world in enforcing sanctions against South Africa, whereas on the other hand it talks of sanctions against the Soviet Union. It has imposed sanctions against Libya, but it has no courage to impose sanctions against South Africa. Their designs are clear.

When they talk of terrorism, I would like to say we are against all forms of terrorisms in all their manifestations. We have suffered at the hands of terrorism. India has paid a heavy price. But where are the training schools of terrorists? Where is the Frank Camper school, where they are giving degrees to terrorists to kill innocent people in my country? There are also training camps across the border. It is clear CIA is behind it. It has been supporting it. From where are those sophisticated weapons coming in Punjab? Who is behind all this? There they are talking of bombing in a discotheque of which they have no evidence. Here we have suffered. There was a bombing of one of our planes, Kanishka, where

more than 300 innocent Indians had died. It does not lie in mouth of the American Government to talk of terrorism. This is no way of tackling terrorism. If they had any evidence, they should gone to the United Nations and not acted in this manner.

I must say this act cannot be viewed in isolation. We have to go back as to what they did in Chile. What they have done in Grenada; what they did in Guatemala; what they are doing today in Angola by supplying the most sophisticated weapons to Unita guerillas. And now they are organising a reception for that rebel leader Swambi in the United States. The Reagan administration is giving help and support to the contra rebels in Nicaragua. His administration, is playing an international game of destabilisation, international blackmail and intimidation. Sir, this has to be checked, resisted and fought with all might.

Sir, before I conclude, I would like to quote a person who has represented the U.S.A. at the United Nations. He was in India recently and he very rightly summed up the behaviour of the American President, Mr. Reagan. What we are condemning is not America as a nation, but the Reagan administration. There are people in that country also who are totally opposed to the Reagan administration. There are people in that country who are for peace. Now, I quote what Mr. Andrew Young has said :

"Reagan behaves like a heavy-weight boxing champion who enters a Kindergarten and beats up a child to prove his manliness. It is not manliness, but evidence of a sick mind."

He has further said :

"Reagan is brazen-faced in inventing allibis for his acts of brigandage. Every time he suffers a set-back he acts like a maniac running amuck on international stage. The American

matter of

reverses in Lebanon spurred U.S. President to display his manliness by raping Grenada."

We agree with this. These acts of Reagan cause much alarm to all of us. When we condemn the acts of Reagan administration, at the same time we must also condemn Mrs. Margaret Thatcher and her Government in the U.K. for allowing the use of bases in U.K. First of all the Prime Minister of U.K. makes a statement that they are not with Reagan and they don't permit the use of bases in their country. But within a few hours of this statement those bases are used. Therefore, we must condemn both U.S.A. and U.K. not only for the attack on Libya but also for encouraging state terrorism, supporting Israeli aggression on P.L.O. and for imparting training to the terrorists to destabilise India.

Sir, this House must demand immediate withdrawal of the American Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean. We should not stop at that stage, but we must also demand withdrawal of American forces from the Indian Ocean and implementation of the U.N. Resolution declaring Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. We must also demand dismantling of their bases in Diego Garcia which are posing a direct threat to us.

Sir, I feel that this House must join the other House which has passed a Resolution condemning this act and reiterate our solidarity with the Libyan people. We must also reiterate our solidarity with all those who are fighting against the imperialism, and against all such forces who are acting against the U.N. Charter.

With these few words, Sir, I thank you for giving me this time to speak on this situation.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : Sir, his suggestion is acceptable to us. Will the Minister draft a resolution ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
Yes the Minister is here. He will reply to it later.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE :
Sir, a resolution must be passed by this House unanimously.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, we all support him. Let the Minister draft a resolution so that we can pass it unanimously in this House. Then we can all go and meet the American representative here and present the resolution expressing our sentiments.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
Let the discussion be over first. When the Minister replies then you can react.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE :
We are requesting him to draft a resolution which we will pass unanimously.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA :
After the reply there cannot be any resolution.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, since the 1st World War, I do not think, there is any parallel to this incident when a big power acted so recklessly and shamelessly on an issue which is not directly linked with its own national security. Rightly, the world has reacted with great indignation at the American action against Libya. It is pure and naked aggression against a sovereign nation and America has resorted to State terrorism. The action was so blatant and reckless that hundred tonnes of bombs were thrown in just 10 to 12 minutes. Mostly on civilian targets killing a large number of people and there was a deliberate attempt to kill Col. Gaddafi also. Sir, this is nothing but a display of imperialistic arrogance on the part of the United States of America. What was the provocation ? A bomb explosion in a right club in a third country

[Shri Parvathaneni Upendra]

killing an American soldier and his girl friend and President Reagan justified it by telling them that the Club frequented by American soldiers was bombed at the instigation of Libya. Sir, there are so many joints which are frequented by Americans around the world and if tomorrow, something happens in a massage parlour in Bangkok, or a night club in Seoul or in Tokyo, are they going to take similar action against any other country? A super power, which has a direct responsibility of maintaining peace in this world, has acted so blatantly, so packlessly against all canons of international law and the U.N. Charter and Sir, no words are enough to condemn this naked aggression of the United States. The President of United States of America, I am sorry to say has proved himself as a trigger happy politician thirsting for the blood of the people, wherever it is possible. I do not know whether he is reminded of his filmy role in Wild West pictures where he could shoot at everybody and at every time. It creates such a bad precedent because we can understand tensions being built up in a country over issues relating to them and nationals reacting to them. But this is such a silly thing on which a super power has acted with great deliberation. It was not an impulsive action; also much preparation has gone into it. Therefore, it is necessary to condemn it with all our might and with all the emphasis that we command.

Sir, there are one or two peculiar aspects in this also. I can understand a war-monger President rushing for this kind of an action but the great American people, the great nation, is silent on such an incident and there is no reaction in the entire country. The press, the television, all shades of public opinion are silent over this issue and they have condoned the President's action. Not only condoned, but they have supported it and that is the greatest danger which I perceive. Such a powerful nation where the

public opinion is so silent that it cannot assert itself against the blatant action of its own President, what safety can you expect from such a nation and what protection can you expect from such a nation? Secondly, as Mr. Anand Sharma just pointed out, the more reprehensible is the behaviour of the British Government 1.00 P.M. in this incident.

And while all the friends of the United States in Europe have refused to cooperate, Mrs. Thatcher has come forward to give her bases to the United States to launch this attack. By this action once again she has proved that she does not care for the opinion of the Third World countries, which include the Commonwealth countries. She had done it once in the CHOGM conference where, when the entire conference wanted to condemn South Africa, she came to its rescue and vetoed a strong resolution. And now again she has proved it. Therefore, it is necessary to re-examine and review our relationship with Britain and our continuance in the Commonwealth. I do not say that the Commonwealth is not necessary. But perhaps we can do without Britain in the Commonwealth. We can even think expelling Britain from the Commonwealth. We need not bother for some concessions in the form of visas and tariffs. This kind of behaviour on the part of the British Government cannot be condoned.

Sir, world opinion has already condemned this act of the United States. The NAM conference was very quick in reacting to this incident. Even before the conference formally started, they assembled and passed a resolution condemning this aggression. A NAM delegation also went to Libya to express the solidarity of the non-aligned movement with the Libyan Government. They have also gone to the United Nations and today the Security Council is meeting once again. And so reprehensible and so unfortunate is the action of the super powers in the Security Council itself that in spite of two-thirds of the members supporting a resolution, three

Western powers have vetoed it and killed a resolution, a resolution which was innocuous and very harmless.

Now, I do not know what the Government is thinking. It is necessary—and the time has come—that this issue has to be taken to the General Assembly and a resolution condemning the US action, as also the action of its accomplices, should be passed in the General Assembly. That action must be taken quickly. I do not know whether that will have any effect on the United States because lately the United States has been trying to kill the effectiveness of the United Nations itself by tightening its purse-strings and not contributing its due share to the UN fund. Therefore, for whatever it is worth, we should take the matter to the General Assembly and also take the initiative in passing a resolution of condemnation against the US action. Thank you.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while joining my other colleagues in condemning the US act of aggression on Libya, I particularly join my colleague, Mr. Anand Sharma in requesting the Minister of State for External Affairs to place a resolution on behalf of this House at the end of this discussion today.

SHRI K.R. NARAYANAN: I will be placing a resolution.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Thank you.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Sometimes the Government is very considerate.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: We are happy that in the statement itself, the Minister of State for External Affairs, on behalf of the Central Government, has come out with a forthright statement condemning this act of aggression, though I am not happy at the way the Calling Attention motion has been framed. I do not know why it has been framed

that way. What were the inhibitions? Why has it been framed in such a way as to say only "bombing raids on Libya by the US Forces". It is not simply a question of bombing raids on Libya by the US Forces. It is transgression of the sovereignty of a nation. I am drawing attention to this particular aspect because of the fact that it betrays a bent of mind in a section of the people of our own country. And for that, too, the ruling party cannot absolve its responsibility in making such a bent of mind whenever the forthright question comes to say who is wrong and who is right and to condemn the US as the villain of the piece as in this particular episode, The Reagan Administration has been taken the plea that for the purpose of containing the export of terrorism it has acted like that, as if the US has become the champion of international policing and discipline. If there is any State in the world today which has institutionalised extremism and terrorism—I repeat, if there is any State in the world today which has institutionalised acts of terrorism and imperialism—it is the US. Who has given respectability, State sponsorship, to the acts of terrorism and extremism? What business had the US to interfere in Vietnam and commit genocide there? What business had the US to go to Cuba and plan for killing Fidel Castro, not once but many times, in the past? What did it say in the case of Grenada? At that time masked by the fig leaf of protecting the American citizens in Grenada the US invaded it. Now masked by the fig leaf of protecting the American citizens outside of Libya they have transgressed the sovereignty of Libya. Have we, particularly the members on the other side, realised the gravity of the danger? Today we are discussing the Libyan issue in Rajya Sabha. The other side has a strength of perhaps 147 or 148. But how many of them are present now? How many of them are showing interest in taking part in this

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

discussion to condemn the US? Is it only the property of the Prime Minister, for that matter, the Government, contained in a resolution passed by NAM or some other forum? What was the target of this attack? Who was the target of this attack? Col. Gaddafi, President of a country; the President of a country was sought to be killed by another State. And would you not like to equate it with the assassination of our Prime Minister here? Is there no relationship between the two? When a particular Administration, when a particular method of running the country, does not suit the purpose of American imperialism, then they try to assassinate, they create machinations to assassinate, the head of the Government or the head of the State. And in the case of Libya they have done it directly by sending planes and bombing the palace of the President, they have tried to kill the President. This is the danger. If we allow US imperialists to justify this action, then it will set a dangerous precedent, it will mean and it will amount to giving a clean chit to the US Government to wage war against any nation fighting for freedom and emancipation from capitalist, imperialist, exploitation. Naturally, therefore, the time has come not only to condemn by passing a simple resolution, but by rousing the people, organising the people, telling the truth to the people. Who is doing this and for what purpose? I have gone through the statement, the three-page statement. What is missing in it? There is a condemnation in it in no uncertain terms. But what is the thing which is missing in it? In the last two sentences, what is there? "We hope..."—that is one thing. There is another thing: "The members of the delegation will address the Council." But how to fight the US imperialism? How to fight the US imperialism on the Indian soil today? Has not the time come to fight the US imperialism on the Indian soil today? Where is that

statement? The entry of every single US multinational into the Indian territory is fought with the danger of exposing our country to the imperialist manoeuvres of the US. Do we realise that? Passing a resolution in the NAM is good; sending a delegation to Libya is better; and asking the Security Council or the UN General Assembly to pass a resolution condemning the US act is still better. But how to fight this US imperialism? By saying that the US indulges in such acts of aggression and the next day by going with a begging bowl to the IMF and the World Bank and to the US for developing our economy, for inviting them to our country to invest money here, not only in the private sector, but also in defence, in telecommunications, and so on? Is this the way to fight the US imperialism? Haven't you learnt anything from the history of Latin America? Why is the US trying to cow down Libya? It is because the Arab nations have brought their oil wealth outside the sphere of the imperialist manoeuvres. This is the question, Mr. Anand Sharma. This is the perspective of the fight against the US imperialism. If you have to fight against the US imperialism, you have to fight for an independent, self-reliant economy. You have to fight for self-reliance and for the independent development of our economy. Without fighting for a self-reliant and independent economy, without fighting against the entry of Western multinationals, without fighting against the penetration of the IMF and the World Bank, you cannot fight the US imperialism. So, the time has come now for this. Yes, you say that you are not compromising. But the other day you had got the Taj Palace Hotel vacated and you invited 400 foreign industrialists, scions of US industrialists and you were having a conference, a closed-door conference. For what? To explore the possibility of investing US dollars in India. (*Time bell rings*).

I am only pointing out this by way of an example. I am with you, we are all with you, in fighting against the US imperialism. But you have to fight the US imperialism not by passing a resolution alone, not by sending a delegation, but by fighting the US imperialism on the Indian soil, by fighting against the penetration of US capital in India, by fighting against the penetration of US capital *via* the World Bank and the IMF and by fighting against the penetration of the Western multinationals. That will be the real fight against US imperialism. I hope the other side will respond to us, Sir, Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
Yes, Mr. V. Gopalsamy.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY :
Sir, I rise to condemn in no uncertain terms the most diabolical attack on Libya. No explanation offered by the United States or the U.K. could justify the air strikes at dead of night which killed many innocent persons also, Sir, it is most painful that the 15 month old adopted daughter of the Libyan leader, Col. Gaddafi, named Hanna, also got killed. But, Sir, we should not have the impression that the United States and the U.K. are totally isolated. I was shocked to read the news that the European Economic Community has passed sanctions against Libya, and in the land of Abraham Lincoln where human rights were respected, the public opinion is totally supporting the action taken by Ronald Reagan. Of course, on the day of the strike hundreds of children and adults stood on the footsteps of the White House carrying placards condemning the attack on the innocent people in Libya. But the Congress supported it. Democrats have supported it. And the worst of it is that a Resolution passed by NAM, one-third of the mankind was totally blacked out in the U.S. Press. They speak about free Press and freedom of expression. The news was totally blacked out,

and it is most shocking that thousands of Americans have cancelled their vacation trips to Western Europe and they are going to boycott French products because France refused the American planes to fly over their territory. But the United States has forgotten the lesson they had in Vietnam. On the day of the air strike it was clear that the attack was to liquidate Col. Gaddafi. His headquarters was attacked. But, Sir, they failed. They could demolish cities even in Tripoli, Benghazi, the buildings, they could kill thousands. But they could not crush the will of the people of Libya. This is the lesson in Vietnam. For how many days, months and years the war was going on in Vietnam, But what a humiliating defeat they got there. Even then they have not learnt a lesson from this. Mr. Reagan said that the attacks in Rome and Vienna airports and Disco Club in West Berlin justified this air strike. If Mr. Reagan had got proper evidence, why has he not produced it before the world community ? For days the CIA fabricated the evidence. I condemn individual attacks, terrorist attacks on individuals, killing people. One assassination started the World War in 1914, after the Hungarian Government started war against Serbia and Russia. Thus the World War-I came. Mr. Regan wants to try Rambo diplomacy. He has not forgotten his role in the Hollywood films. That is why when the film 'First Blood' was released in the United States, he declared that he would have Rambo diplomacy. He has tried Rambo diplomacy, but he will fail. At the same time, we should not forget the writing on the wall. This time the United Kingdom permitted its air bases for the U.S. planes to strike Libya. The very same United Kingdom is sending mercenaries and commandos to Sri Lanka to massacre Tamils. Nowadays, the United Kindom has become a war-mongering regime headed by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher. That is why they are sending commandos and S.A.S. mercenaries to Sri Lanka to carry on the

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

genocide there. It is the United States which permitted Israel to open its special interest section in their own Embassy to start a Mossad operation in Sri Lanka. It is the United States which permitted them to have a special interest section in their Embassy in Sri Lanka. Mr. Reagan says that he wants to curb terrorism. Everyday, hundreds of kids are killed in Sri Lanka. For that purpose, the most-dreaded Mossad is operating in Sri Lanka with all assistance and help from the United States and also from the United Kingdom. I said that we should be prepared to see the writing on the wall. The Seventh Fleet is having fuelling facilities in Trincomalee and in Karachi. We are encircled on both sides. They are using Karachi as well as Trincomalee. Leave alone Diego Garcia. They are going to use Trincomalee as their base. We should not think that the U.K. has permitted her bases to operate the American warplanes to strike the third world countries. Now, the danger is at our doorsteps, i.e. on one side Karachi and on the other side Trincomalee. Therefore, we should mobilise public opinion throughout the world against this diabolical design of the United States and the United Kingdom to destabilise the third world countries and to liquidate even the Heads of the States. Therefore I express our full solidarity and support for this Government to condemn the naked aggression of the United States on Libya.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADA-SWAMY (Karnataka) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, my hon. friend, the External Affairs Minister, has disclosed in his statement that as a result of air attack by the United States on Libya, 40 people were killed and 93 people were wounded. He has further stated that the raid lasted about 11 minutes and nearly 100 tonnes of bombs were used. The raid was provoked by an incident which took place in a discotheque

in Berlin where an American soldier was killed along with his Turkish girl friend. There have been versions and versions about the cause for the explosion in the discotheque. I have got a cutting here of the news which appeared in the *Statesman* yesterday. Because of lack of time, I do not want to go through that. The press has said that the explosion might have been caused by drug traffickers or by a rival discotheque. The American bombing took place on the ground that this terrorism was caused by Libya. And they seem to base their theory on the interception of a transmission of a broadcast on the Libyan radio. It is such a thin ground on which the Government of America has launched such a severe, serious attack on Libya.

Sir, I am reminded of a historical parallel. In the 19th century, a British merchant called Jenkins who visited Greece, committed certain violations which appeared to the Greek Government of the day very serious. And what did the Greek Government do ? He was only a merchant. The Greek Government cut off his ears. As a result of this the British Government declared war against Greece. It was called the War of Jenkins' Ear. It was a small act, maybe a mistake made by the Greek Government against a British trader in Greece. This caused the declaration of a war by the Government of England against Greece. It was a silly affair. The Great Britain was a great empire at that time. It wanted to show its might against a small country like Greece. They declared war on Greece because the ear of a British citizen was cut off by the Greek Government and Greece was humbled. Similarly, Sir, here, according to the United States, Gaddafi and his Government were at the back of this explosion in a West Berlin discotheque.

AN HON. MEMBER : Are you defending ?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA-SWAMY : I am not defending. I am attacking it. I am saying how silly it was, and on doubtful evidence it has said that Gaddafi was at the back of this explosion. It was not proved, according to the press. . . (*Time bell rings*) Sir, I think, you have to allow me a few more minutes. The might of the Government of America was brought on a small country.

Sir, we have heard in the past how the Great Powers conducted their diplomacy in the 18th and the 19th centuries. The cult of tooth for tooth eye for eye was pursued by these powers for their own aggrandisement. We are in the later part of the 20th century. We are at the close of this century. It is beyond me to imagine that a small incident like this is sufficient to cause the attack on the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that country. Sir, the step the NAM has taken is right. It has been said already by my colleagues. It was also right that a delegation of NAM countries has visited Tripoli to express the solidarity of Non-Aligned countries with Col. Gaddafi and his Government. It is also right, Sir, that this matter is being raised in the Security Council today. I know what will happen to the debate in the Security Council. We are all aware of this. But it will do one thing good. It will mobilise international opinion against such acts of a power which has transgressed all its civilised behaviour. We have known the law of the jungle which prevailed in previous centuries and the law of the jungle has been brought back to the latter part of the 20th century. Therefore, Sir, it is necessary to stir up the conscience of the world, to condemn this act of aggression against Libya by the United States and it is right that we should discuss this matter in the United Nations; if need be, I may suggest, that India as the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Nations should take the initiative

to get a special United Nations Conference, a special session, to discuss this matter. The United Nations Special Sessions have been held in the past to discuss disarmament and very vital issues. This is a very important issue. This is not a matter confined to just a small territory like Libya. It is a matter which refers to international relations and how they are conducted. This has upset the peace and stability in the region. It has violated human rights. It has violated the sovereignty and integrity of a nation. It has brought back again the concept that might is right in the international relations and all the rules of international law and justice and all norms of civilised behaviour have been flouted, and the attack by the U.S. on Libyan territory is simply vicious, vile and villainous.

I am glad that my friend, Mr. Narayanan has agreed to have a Resolution passed in this House condemning this act of aggression and appealing to all the peace-loving people of the world to stand up together to see that such things are not repeated again and again in future.

Sir, finally I hope and trust that the people of the United States will assert themselves against this kind of behaviour, uncivilised and atrocious behaviour, of their Government. I hope some sanity is still left in the people of the United States and they will rise against this kind of acts of aggression against small non-aligned countries. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now, there are still four more speakers left. Do you want me to continue?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Sir, we will continue after lunch.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House adjourns for lunch and we will resume at 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirtyfive minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirtytwo minutes past two of the clock, [Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.]

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA:

Sir, I associate myself with the opinions and sentiments of the House expressed from all quarters. Rarely we speak in the same language in this House but this is such an occasion today that the Indian Parliament is speaking in the same voice, voicing the sentiments of the millions of the people not only of India but may be of the entire mankind. Therefore, it is a great occasion we witness today here and now in this House. Let us, therefore, in one voice condemn the savagery, the aggression, on Libya of the Reagan brand, of the striking down of Gaddafi's house, of the killing and murder of his infant daughter and many such innocent people on the streets of Libya. Let us, therefore, denounce the violation of the United Nations Charter by one of the Permanent Members. Let us, in one voice, denounce the aggression on a weak nation, Libya, by one of the mightiest powers of the world.

Sir, in my opinion, this is not only an aggression committed against Libya; this is a move to bring the world to the verge of a third world war. And may I remind you about the timing of the aggression. The aggression is taking place at a time when American imperialism has decided to resume thermo-nuclear tests. The aggression takes place at a time when conspiracy is being hatched to let loose another wave of aggression against a number of States in the world. Therefore, it is not only a question of aggression on Libya alone in isolation. It is part of a total global plan by American imperialism

to push the world to the holocaust of a thermo-nuclear war. Again, Sir, I would say, it is not only an aggression against Libya, but it is also a threat and an act of blackmail on the newly-independent countries. The philosophy of Mr. Reagan and American imperialism is that one who is not with them is against them. Therefore, they are out to terrorise the world, to make them slaves and in their bid to become a predominant power, they are resorting to such actions, as we see today in Libya.

Sir, I, on behalf of my party, share the sentiments expressed in the House and hail the action that NAM has taken, under the leadership of Government of India headed by our Prime Minister. There is no question of discussing the negative, positive and so many other factors. But it remains a truth that the non-aligned movement and Indian foreign policy remains important and strategic in building up a broadest united front against imperialism in the world today. And the unity shown in this House today only proves the possibility of the broadest anti-imperialist front which we are capable of building up. Sir, I oppose or at least I differ from those who say that the situation today is just like the situation before the Second World War. No. The world cannot be conquered, the people cannot be conquered, sought to be conquered the way Hitler could try to do. The strength of the people, the might of the Soviet Union, the aspirations of the masses, the strength of the toiling people is strong enough to prevent a Third World War.

What do we see today? Soviet warships are near the shores of Libya. Not only that. A delegation representing the non-aligned countries visiting Libya to express solidarity. Therefore, Sir, the situation is not like that. Sir, if we accept the pretext of terrorism to unleash war, then, let me say, we can send our Army

just to strike at the bases in Pakistan, from where the Sikh insurgents are being trained. We can send our Vikrant and even Hercules, which we have purchased yesterday, to the shores of California just to torpedo the centre which is being run by the American imperialists. We can send our paratroopers to pick up Chauhan from the soil of England. But if we do that, it will be a mad action. Therefore, this is only a pretext on the part of American imperialism which is resorting to such actions. American imperialism is the greatest conspirator against peace, the greatest conspirator against freedom and liberation. The worst enemy of freedom now speaks of terrorism. The greatest terrorist speaks of terrorism. Sir you will not mind if I say that the plea of terrorism now being given by American imperialism is just like the question of chastity being spoken of by a prostitute. American imperialism speaks of terrorism just like a prostitute speaks of chastity. Sir, who does not know, who killed Mosaddeq? Who killed Lumumba? Who tried to poison Castro? Who is trying to destabilise India? There are many such instances. What happened in Chile? What they wanted to happen in Afghanistan? I shall not make the list long. But it is known to all that all through, American imperialism happens to be the greatest terrorist and Mr. Reagan happens to be the ring leader of the greatest terrorist movement in the world today. Therefore, Sir, the point is, the most important point before us today is, we must prevent it. It is not a question of passing a resolution only, Resolution is very important. Sending a delegation to the United Nations is important. But it is more important to be more positive, to be more affirmative, to be more materialistic in our endeavour, in our militant mass endeavour to prevent American imperialism. May I remind you, Sir, what happened when Hitler was rising his head? Many people protested, the whole world protested, when Hitler was invading country after country? But only

protest was there. The world could not unite to prevent the advance of the tyrants. It is not a question of protest, it is a question of building resistance, positive resistance in every way against American imperialism so that they are not successful in their bid not only to unleash a war but to trample down the freedom and liberation of the small countries, so that America is prevented from black-mailing newly independent countries so that America is prevented from sending its sixth fleet to the Mediterranean, so that America is forced to withdraw the fleet from the Indian ocean, so that America is forced to withdraw its support to Jayewardene in Sri Lanka who, under their patronage, is liquidating thousands of Tamilians there. Therefore, it is not a question of passing a resolution only. Therefore, I would like to make one request to the Hon. Minister to consider. They have given a slogan of boycott of Libya. Well, gentlemen, will you kindly think whether it is possible to give a slogan 'boycott America'? Let us boycott America for some time, let us not purchase any goods from them, let us put embargo, let us see how America can live alone in the world. We are stronger, we are greater in number and the whole world public opinion is against them. It is quite wrong to say that America belongs to Reagan. It is quite wrong to say that Britain belongs to Thatcher. Thousands of young people are marching in the streets of America and Britain protesting against Reagan and Thatcher. Therefore, the world does not belong to them. It is time to build up bridges of friendship with the hundred and thousands of anti-imperialist Americans, hundreds and thousands of anti-imperialist Britons. And for that, let us boycott them for some time at least.

Secondly, Mr. Deputy Chairman, can we send our delegation to give not only our good wishes but also to send medical mission to Libya? India is a poor country, we know it, but even poor country has a

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

great heart. Let the Indian Government consider sending a consignment of building material to them. They can reconstruct some of the houses destroyed by the American imperialists there. Let us send a consignment of blood plasma. Let us send medicine to show solidarity of the great Indian people headed by Mr. Gandhi. Let us show to the world that India is not just after passing a resolution. I hope the hon. Minister will consider this.

Lastly, Sir, I call upon this House, all of us who are here, let us speak in one word, let us say, resist Reagan, let us say, push back Reagan, let us say, defend liberty, let us say, protest against the manoeuvre, let us say that freedom is not safe, we must unite to save freedom.

Lastly, Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is time to put the rearing animal into a cage. It is time to shackle the enemies of freedom. Let the Indian nation, let the Indian Parliament take this stand. Let us not be in the rear but in the forefront of the new marching world which is raising its voice against America and its aggression is Libya.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would find it difficult to match this impassioned plea of our previous speaker. I am also somewhat stymied of the fact that I am the last speaker. Am I or am I not ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
Not at all.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Well, in the debate I am at the virtual tail end of the speakers and, therefore, it is somewhat more difficult for me to say what has not been said earlier. I shall endeavour not to repeat any of the things which other speakers have already said. I am bound both by the parliamentary propriety as also the desire

of not wanting to bore the hon. Minister for External Affairs who has heard this debate both in this House and in the other House. I do believe that this debate is not about recounting the chronology of events that resulted in the second U.S. strike against Libya. It is also not for merely reiterating our strong condemnation of the US action which on behalf of the BJP and on my personal behalf I join. I submit that our condemnation will be lacking in teeth if it did not either understand or attempt to understand the deeper import of the action that the Government of United States has unleashed against Libya. I am content to do that or intend to attempt to do that outside of the contextual limitations of the current incident. I will attempt to examine US attitudes outside of the contextual limitations of US action on Libya. I think the first fundamental issue of substance is the increasing colonial attitude of the Government of United States of America. The present Government of the United States of America clearly exemplifies that what the Government of United States of America wants, what the Government of United States of America needs, the Government of United States of America shall get no matter what the price. This is an echo of the sentiments of later 15th and early 16th centuries which resulted in the colonization of near about three quarters of the world and which indeed also resulted in the colonization of India. We therefore, in India have to be extremely cautious, extremely apprehensive and extremely understanding—not understanding in the sense of granting an understanding to, but cognizing what this present attitude of the Government of United States represents. I take strong objection to the present Government of United States arrogating itself the role of a world policeman. It is both ironical and sad that a Super Power of the Status of the United States of America, because of an incident that takes place in a discotheque in west Germany, should find

it necessary to strike against Libya. I find it both absurd and ironical, and the irony is heightened by the fact that an act to isolate, to weaken Gaddafi of Libya, in fact results in the very opposite and results both in not isolating Gaddafi and has a diplomatic consequence of isolating on the other hand deservedly so, the Government of United States of America.

I will raise some questions because all these things have been mentioned by all the speakers that have preceded me. My first clarification from the honourable Minister of State for External Affairs relates to a somewhat laboured and tortuous legalistic exercise that the Government of United States is presently indulging in, seeking shelter behind article 51 of the UN Charter. I don't have to tell the distinguished academic and distinguished former diplomat as to what the implications of article 51 of the UN charter are. Within the provisions of article 51-- the right to retaliate, the right to strike --the Government of United States is seeking shelter under that. I would like to know as to what the Government of India's reaction to that is.

My second clarification relates to terrorism. Earlier during the day I asked this question and the question was sincerely meant and it was a question of substances, but because it was the question hour I did not press for indefinitation of what I had sought to be defined. I believe, Sir, that unless there is a definition of terrorism which the international community subscribes to, we will continue to have repetitions of the sort of incidents that are currently taking place, that have just taken place in Libya. It is indeed well known to the Government that the United States itself has not defined what terrorism is. It finds it difficult to define terrorism, yet it is able to act against Libya. It calls the Libyan action as a terrorist action. We refer, and rightly so, to the U.S. action against Libya as State terrorism.

This is a kind of tearing apart of the International community. A reference was made to the two-thirds support of the Security Council which the Non-aligned resolution was able to muster. I would, whilst applauding the Non-aligned Movement for doing that, like to simultaneously mention that a country like Venezuela did not support the NAM resolution and a Country like a France which had certainly earlier forbidden the U.S. plans to overfly it, found it necessary to exercise its veto. I believe that at the root of all this is the failure of the international community to arrive at an agreed definition of terrorism. I would, therefore, request the hon. Minister of State to elaborate a bit more on the Government's thinking on this particular subject. It is a subject which deeply concerns us domestically in India. It is a subject which will keep on coming up whenever we of the Indo-Srilankan relations. It is a subject which will come up in the context of Afghanistan. Unless, therefore, the Government of India is clear in its mind about where it stands on the subject of terrorism, this kind of resolution - passing will be lacking in teeth.

I, therefore, make a recommendation, Sir. Now that the Security Council debate is Virtually over, and the NAM delegation is going to address it, why does India not consider either through the forum of the NAM or as a national assertion of its own concern about terrorism international terrorism to call for a special session of the General Assembly and seek or attempt to move even half-a-step forward towards an internationally acceptable definition of terrorism ?

Just two final questions or clarifications, Sir. One is, I would like to know from the Government of India its views on the contemplated Federal laws which are currently in the U.S. Congress, and I am given to understand that there are Federal laws which are going to say that an attack on a U.S. citizen anywhere in the world shall constitute a Federal

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

offence as far as U.S. laws are concerned. I would, therefore, be happy if the hon. Minister of State would clarify that.

I would like to leave a word of caution to the House. And this was occasioned by the reference to the Gulf of Sirte in the hon. Minister's statement. Here, I would not repeat what the hon. Minister has said about the Gulf of Sirte.

With your permission, I will wait because this is a substantial point involving Indian national interest.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
You can continue.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH . . .
to get his undivided attention. There is perhaps my own ignorance on the subject. Your statement refers to the Gulf of Sirte. We are signatories to the Law of the Sea Conference which does not recognise the limitation that Col. Gaddafi has placed on that sea, on that Gulf, of his own. If we once recognise it in the context of the Gulf of Sirte, it will have implications about our maritime territories as well. Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister that merely because the House is impassioned about this act of blatant piracy the United States Government we ought not to forget the deeper implications of this and about bilateral issues of Indo-Libyan relations. Only a fortnight ago the Ministry of External Affairs was embarrassed enough. They had to summon the Ambassador and talk to him about recruitment of Indian personnel for their army. Therefore, when you refer to the Gulf of Sirte, as you have said in your statement, what exactly do you mean as a signatory to the U.N. Law of the Sea Conference ?

Finally, Sir, we must recognise and assert categorically on every

occasion, not merely as an articulation of our commitment to non-alignment but as an articulation of the deeper civilisational concern that India is, that any thesis which asserts over the world that it is the national interests or self-interests of the super powers alone that count and that the smaller countries' or regional countries' national interests otherwise do not count, any thesis which promotes the exclusivity of the super-power interests, India must reject categorically on every occasion.

Thank you.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir) : I rise to express my solidarity with the Government of India on the stand they have taken on the Libyan issue. The nation is indeed grateful to our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, for the bold stand he has taken in the NAM Conference. I also know that the hon. Minister for External Affairs and the Minister of State for External Affairs had been burning mid-night oil for several days together in drafting the resolution and since the resolution was passed our External Affairs Minister is on his legs till now to tell the world that this naked aggression against Libya is extremely condemnable. Since other hon. Members have already covered all the points, including the points on aggression and the United Nations Charter, I would like to ask only two specific questions.

The stand we have taken is indeed laudable, but we have to take this stand to its logical conclusion. And what is the logical conclusion in this context ? America considers itself to be a super-power and indeed it is a super-power ? But India is currently the Chairman of the Non-aligned Nations comprising 101 nations. I would like to know from the hon. Minister, if this thing can be brought to its logical conclusion by the mere act of isolation of America. Now, how can

that be done ? I would like to say that a special session of the United Nations must be called by India, as Chairman of NAM, and an overwhelming majority of the Members must condemn USA so that it feels it is isolated and it considers itself that it has really been isolated by the entire world by this act. This is very essential because by condemnation alone, nothing will happen. We have to isolate America. Shri Dipen Ghosh and other friends have stated that we have to fight America in other forums in India itself, but right now the forum available to us is the United Nations.

Now, I would like to put forward my second point. Shri Jaswant Singh has very correctly stated that France did not allow the planes to be flown from their bases to attack Libya but France is the country which is also a co-participant in the Veto in spite of their earlier stand. This was an unprecedented Veto in the sense that there were three Vetoes to kill the NAM Resolution. I would like to ask the hon. Minister whether India as the head of the NAM will take initiative right now to do away with the Veto system. This Veto system had been incorporated in the Constitution of the United Nations 38 years ago, but it is no longer valid now. We can take up this issue in a special Conference of the United Nations that is to be convened and a formula. . .

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar) : One point, I would like to ask. If a right of Veto was not there, what would have happened to Kashmir ?

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO : It does not matter. If the world opinion is with us, one or two powers would not matter. I would like to know whether the hon. Minister would consider my suggestion that in the next meeting of the United Nations a special resolution is sponsored by India for going away with the system of Veto

because after all the number of countries that were there 38 years ago has gone up considerably and the large number of countries that comprise it now are the developing countries. So, I would request the hon. Minister to clarify this point so that we may be able to know as to what positive steps the Government is proposing to take to bring to its logical conclusion the stand taken by the Government of India in the NAM Conference.

3 P.M.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to associate myself with the strong sentiments expressed from different quarters of this House in condemning in unmistakable terms the naked aggression of U.S. imperialism perpetrated against freedom-loving and progressive Libyan people. India's role as the Chair-person of the Non-aligned Movement is of paramount importance because it condemned the imperialistic designs of U.S. bombing of Libya. There have been countries in the world which has termed the U.S. bombing as an attack. There have been countries, leaders and newspapers even in this country which have stamped this kind of U. S. bombing on Libya as a skirmish. With due respect to their semantics, hair-splitting and niceties I would like to submit that India is the first country as Chair-person of the NAM which condemned the U. S. bombing on Libya as naked aggression. So I congratulate our Honourable Prime Minister for taking a bold initiative in condemning as well as in containing this kind of imperialistic designs of the U. S.A. This kind of international terrorism is being condemned by all the international communities. Peace-loving people throughout the world have been in the fore for the last three decades. It is because of the dullest theory in military science to fight the enemy at the third door that Americans have been destabilising democracies and those countries which have enunciated that kind of

[Shri Valampuri John]

freedom and liberty for the whole world to see and practise in the last three decades. It is in pursuance of the dullest theory of fighting the enemy at the third door that in the name of containing Chinese expansion in Vietnam, they forced a war on freedom-loving people of Vietnam. Even today we can see how the U.S.A. is getting involved in a concealed fashion to destabilise democratic countries. It is the same America which is arming Pakistanis to fight against India. It is the same Uncle Sam—the Americans—which has been supplying arms and ammunition to the Jayewardene Government to see that the whole Tamil race is wiped out from the map of the world. This is one such example where it has become an open gunboat diplomacy to commit naked aggression on the freedom-loving people. We not only condemn this aggression, but also raise our banner of revolt against this kind of naked aggression on Libya. We congratulate the people of Libya and their Government for the rare courage they have displayed at the time of peril and the time of a great war around their nation. It is all the more sorrowful that the United Nations has been reduced to shambles because of the imperialistic designs. The NAM resolution has been vetoed by the U.S. imperialistic designs. A great forum itself has been reduced to a small forum for ventilating grievances. After this veto I am compelled to say that the United Nations is like an air necessary to breathe, but not enough to live on. We stand at the hour of peril with Col. Gaddafi and Libya people in order to put up a strong stance against this kind of U.S. imperialism. Some people say that we are going to have a Third World War. But I would like to differ because the Third World War has already started. The first two World Wars have been fought in whole, but the Third World War has been fought in parts because of the U.S. imperialism. It is another Third World War wherein the world is already witnessing, while India has taken this

kind of strong and bold initiative in condemning the United States of America's imperialistic design perpetrated on the freedom loving people of Libya, we do associate ourselves with this and on behalf of my party, I strongly condemn this kind of naked aggression on a freedom loving people of Libya.

SHRI K. R. NARAYANAN :
Hon'ble Mr. Deputy Chairman and hon'ble Members of the House, I want to thank the House for the forthright manner in which it has expressed what I consider to be the voice of the nation. The unanimous manner in which you have lent support to the stand taken by the Government on the Libyan question is really heartening and it is something for which the Indian Nation can be proud of. The unanimity was really impressive. Sir, this country has always stood for not only peace but for fight against colonialism and imperialism and for the rights of small nations, indeed, of every nation to develop in its own way and assert its principles and its personality. The whole concept of non-alignment has arisen out of this approach to politics and to international relations. It has been not only a strategy for peace but a device by which the freedom, independence and integrity of newly emerged nations and small nations could be protected in a world of power politics. Sir, the action taken by the United States of America in dealing with Libya has very far reaching consequences. It is not just merely an act of bombing but it has far-reaching political significance. I was asked whether Article 51 of the United Nations would apply in this case. I have no doubt that this Article, by no stretch of imagination can be made to apply to the arbitrary action taken by the United States in bombing Libya. It is not a legitimate right or a legitimate act of retaliation. The whole meaning of this action is that a great power has the right to take law in its own hands and punish another country because that country is not strong enough to stand up to it at the moment. We have been

told there is evidence of Libyan complicity in the event which took place in West Berlin. I would submit Sir, even if there is evidence, no power has the right to take up in its own hands the international law and act upon it.

Further, we have not been given any evidence by the United States on this question. But it is not at all a question of evidence. It is a question of legality, of how a nation operates and functions in international relations. We have absolutely no doubt that if any such action took place against which a country wanted to complain, they should have taken it to the United Nations, rather than taking the law into their own hands.

The idea of punishing a nation is a new concept which has cropped up recently in international relations. I think this is a very dangerous concept because you would get utter anarchy in international relations if every power thinks that...

SHRI CHATURANAN MIS-
HRA : This concept is an old one, now revived.

SHRI K. R. NARAYANAN :
Well, I am talking about punishment.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA:
May we call it the resurgence of Hitlerism ?

SHRI K. R. NARAYANAN :
I am referring to the objective content of this. I do not like to use manner of phrases. I am just saying that the idea...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA:
You do not like to call Reagan a Hitler ?

SHRI K. R. NARAYANAN :
But there is no question of Hitler here. I am in the modern world today. (Interruptions)

Sir, Mr. Gurupadaswamy referred to the war of Jenkins's Ear. I think it is an interesting parallel from old history. Sometimes I wonder, if it were not so tragic an event and if it had not such serious consequences, whether the future historians might probably think of this Gulf of Sirte incident as the "War of the Berlin Night-club". Well I would like to come to our own initiative in this matter. It has been stated that we have been rather tardy in our reaction to what happened. I think there is absolutely no reason to think in these terms. In fact, India has been one of the first countries which gave utterance in a forthright manner on the dangers involved in what was happening in this crisis over Libya. I can read out to you the number of statements we have made cautioning the United States, warning the United States, trying to restrain the United States when this crisis was brewing. As early as January 13th, then on March 26th, April 14th and on April 15th, just on the eve of the American attack on the Libyan cities, we issued statements cautioning and warning the United States about what it had threatened to do in regard to Libya. And it was India which took the initiative in organising the emergency meeting of the NAM ministerial conference. And the resolution adopted was a clarion call, I think the first call, by an international conference of nearly 101 nations, condemning this action of the United States and giving support to and expressing our solidarity with Libya. And you are aware—and you have all mentioned it with approbation — of the action we have taken in organising this high level delegation to Libya, which is now in the United Nations headquarters itself. I think such speedy, such forthright, such bold action is not something to be criticised. I think we have been on the forefront. We have not been behind anyone. In fact, we have been in the forefront of the whole movement supporting Libya and opposing this action. What

[Shri K. R. Narayanan]

next, is the question. Many suggestions have been made with regard to what we can do from now on. We are all aware that the United States is a great power. We need not be afraid because it is a great power. But we have to consider methods of influencing this power—by organising world public opinion, in the Non-Aligned Movement, within the United Nations system, everything that is possible for organising world opinion, in order to restrain the United States and to bring it to the path of a dialogue if it has any problems with Libya. It does not mean that we can always produce immediate results. It has been mentioned that the American public opinion has been silent. That is a noteworthy phenomenon. I believe—I have lived some time in the United States—that US public opinion has a way of expressing itself. Maybe, it may begin in a tardy way but when something fundamental happened, I would not say that US public opinion will not assert itself. But in order to make it assert itself, the world public opinion has to demonstrate the power of feeling of the entire world so that we may affect and we may help in arousing American public opinion itself. I read the other day a statement by the former President of the United States, Carter, on the subject. He said, it may be his was a lone voice. But there is a way in which a lone voice sometimes multiplies in that country. Therefore, whatever we do, whatever we say, we have to bear in mind the idea of arousing US public opinion itself in order to be effective in our actions. Now, as I mentioned, the Security Council is meeting today and we will have to await what comes out of this meeting. A suggestion has been made that we should take the matter to the General Assembly or call a special session of the General Assembly. There are certain procedures laid down for that. If a matter discussed in the Security Council is to be taken up in the

General Assembly then you have to get nine votes again on that specific suggestion in the Security Council. Therefore, I cannot at the moment say what would happen. But this is a procedure laid down for calling a meeting of the General Assembly. We know that there has not been a complete agreement among the allies of the United States in the action it has taken. Some of the great European countries have acquiesced themselves afterwards in this action. This is, I suppose, a reflection of the facts of the alliance and the facts of power in the modern world. But if the Non-Aligned Movement stands together....

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA:
 Great Europe or big Europe ?

SHRI K. R. NARAYANAN :
 Take some of the small powers like Greece. But it is a great European country and Greece has come out with a very encouraging statement and a very bold statement on that. Let us not imagine that this action taken by the United States has strong support even from those countries which have, for their own reasons, because of circumstances, acquiesced in it, in that act. As time goes on, I have no doubt that the public opinion in all these countries will tell itself on the Government and even on the United States of America. What we are really trying to do is to, first of all, demonstrate the intensity and force of public opinion in the non-aligned world and we want to demonstrate it in strong terms, but in dignified terms at the same time, and I am very happy that what has been said in the House has been said in this spirit. The speeches have not only been just vehement, but I think they were reasonably worded and they express the core of Indian nationalism and almost the soul of it, India's opposition to the display of power by a great power against a small one.

Some pointed questions have been asked. Mr. Jaswant Singh asked once

again about the definition of terrorism. I think, maybe, we can attempt to arrive at such a definition obviously because it is a phenomenon posing such a danger to the world and we have to clarify our own concepts. From that point of view, I would welcome his suggestion. But I would also appeal: Let us not mix this issue, if there is a General Assembly meeting or any other meeting of an international body, and give it the duty of defining this concept in the midst of this crisis because we might be led astray in this process. I think it is a somewhat long-term proposition which we might like to attempt to do, but not introduce at this time when we are trying to avoid a critical situation and not trying to logically define the concept.

There was a proposal about the withdrawal of the American Navy from the Mediterranean or making the Mediterranean a zone of peace. As you all know, the NAM has adopted a declaration and in this declaration there is a paragraph with regard to the conversion of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace. We are dedicated to this concept. India and the other non-aligned countries have been working towards this to make this ancient cockpit of conflicts in Europe and in the world, the Mediterranean, a zone of peace and that would, of course, have great relevance to the issue which has cropped up with regard to Libya. That is, as I said, something which we are trying to do in association with our non-aligned friends.

Now, Sir, the difficulty with regard to this debate is that we are all so much united and, therefore, there is nothing in what I say which is by way of rebutting what any particular Member has said, but it is only by way of accepting the main thrust of their arguments. All I would like to emphasize is that we do agree with the necessity for concrete action, realistic action and immediate action which would affect the situation.

It has been said that our condemnation lacks teeth. I do not know what sanctions we can build into this condemnation, except the sanction of organised action by the non-aligned world. There is nothing more powerful an instrument than the non-aligned movement in dealing with this question. There are of course many countries of the world which have condemned this action.

I want to mention, Mr. Deputy Chairman, one more larger issue. This attack on Libya has had an immediate impact on the general international situation. The international situation had been very gradually, very painfully, improving ever since the Geneva summit between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachyov. Now, we have all read how the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union has suddenly said that he is not willing to meet with his counterpart, to visit the United States, because of this situation created by the American attack on Libya. I think this is the first set-back which has come about as a result of the action taken by the United States. What we are really concerned with is the long-term consequence of this action in retarding the detente which had been very, very gradually and faintly coming about in the world. And so, our entire effort should be to prevent the repetition of the situation and to introduce a peaceable process in dealing with the crisis which has arisen, so that we do not lose sight of the general relaxation of tensions, the great task of disarmament and the great task of getting along between the great powers, which is required for the future of the world.

So while we are talking about this, we are condemning it, we appeal to the powers, especially to the United States, to adopt a peaceable attitude rather than the attitude of retaliation or of stalking the law into its own hands. We are not talking a very small crisis in the Mediterranean. We are also thinking about the future

[Shrs K. R. Narayanan]

shape of peace in the world and the future of great power relations in the world. And of course, we are thinking of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right of smaller countries to develop in their own way and to pursue their own interests and the interests of the world peace as they see it.

I want, Mr Deputy Chairman, to thank the House on behalf of the Government for the powerful support they have given to the policy pursued by our Prime Minister in this crisis.

Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
Before we conclude the discussion, I would like to place the following resolution before the House:

RESOLUTION

'THE HOUSE—

DEEPLY shocked at the recent bombing raids on Libya by U.S. aircraft and the attempt to bomb the headquarters of the Head of the State;

CONVINCED that this U.S. action is an act of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Libya, that it poses serious threat to regional security and international peace;

NOTING that the Government of India and the Non-aligned Movement have repeatedly been urging over the last few months that precipitate action should be avoided and the situation be resolved through dialogue and not through threat or pressure: Now, therefore,

(1) UNEQUIVOCALLY CONDEMNS the U.S. bombing raid which is complete disregard of the norms of international conduct and constitutes a breach of International Law.

(2) DEMANDS that the U.S.A. desist from a repetition of such violent and hostile acts against Libya;

(3) REGRETS that the United Kingdom has chosen to abet this act of aggression by allowing the U.S.A. to use its airforce bases for the attack;

(4) DEPLORES the veto of the resolution presented on this issue to the U.N. Security Council by the Non-aligned members;

(5) EXPRESSES complete support for, and solidarity with, Libya in its hour of trial;

(6) ENDORSES the collective stand taken by the Non-aligned Movement at the Emergency Session of Foreign Ministers and Heads of delegations at the Ministerial level meeting of the Coordinating Bureau in New Delhi on April 15, 1986;

(7) CALLS UPON the United Nations to make sustained efforts to prevent the perpetration of such acts which violate the U.N. Charter and endanger international peace and security; and

(8) APPEALS to world public opinion to mobilise itself against such actions."

Do I take it that the Resolution is assed unanimously by the House?

HON. MEMBERS : Yes, yes .

DISCUSSION ON THE WORK- ING OF THE MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCES—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
Now we take up discussion on Water Resources. Prof. Lakshmananna.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA
(Andhra Pradesh) : Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to raise certain points regarding the working of the Ministry of Water Resources. In the first place, what was previously irrigation Department or Irrigation is now renamed as Ministry for Water Resources. I do not want to be cynical