

MOTION FOR ELECTION TO THE RAJGHAT SAMADHI COMMITTEE

THE MINISTER OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT (SHRI ABDUL GHAFOOR):

Sir, I move:

"That in pursuance of clause (d) of sub-section (1) of Section 4 of the Rajghat Samadhi Act, 1951 (41 of 1951) 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 Rajghat Samadhi Committee."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER- Announcement re. Government Business for the remaining part of the Session

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SITARAM KESRI): With your permission, Sir, I rise to announce that Government Business in this House during the remaining part of the Session will consist of:

1. Consideration and return/passing of the following Bills, as passed by Lok Sabha:—

(a) The Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1986.

(b) The Industrial Finance Corporation (Amendment) Bill, 1986.

(c) The Delhi Apartment Ownership Bill, 1986.

2. Discussion on the resolution seeking approval under Article 249 regarding empowering of Parliament to legislate on certain items of State List.

3. Consideration and return/passing of the following Bills, as passed by Lok Sabha:—

(a) The Apprentices (Amendment) Bill, 1986.

(b) The Constitution (Fifty-Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1986.

(c) The Court and Supreme Court Judges (Conditions of Service) Amendment Bill, 1986.

(d) The National Security Guard Bill, 1986.

(e) The Tamil Nadu Legislative Council (Abolition) Bill, 1986.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before we take up Government Motion by Shri Eduardo Faleiro, I want to mention one small thing. This is a non-controversial thing. All of us agree that after the Minister has moved the Motion and Members participated, the Chair will move a Resolution. And as a matter of courtesy to the Muslim Members who want to go to *namaz*, I would request you all to conclude this debate by 1 o'clock.

GOVERNMENT MOTION RE. PRESENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO): Sir, I move:

"That the present situation in South Africa be taken into consideration."

Mr. Chairman, Sir, as the House is aware, the Commonwealth Heads of Government Review Meeting was held in London from August 3 to 5, 1986, in pursuance of the Commonwealth Accord of Nassau on the question of South Africa. The Summit discussed the report of the Eminent Persons' Group and the measures that the Commonwealth should adopt against South Africa for its refusal to heed its call to end apartheid. As per the final communique, known as the "Malborough House Communique" six of the seven leaders agreed to the following measures and commended them to the rest of the Commonwealth and the wider international commu-

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nity for urgent adoption and implementation.

Before I got into the matter, may I, Sir, with your permission lay on the Table an authentic copy of this communiqué which is technically known as the "Communiqué of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Review Meeting held in London from 3—5 August, 1986, I have given necessary notice as also copies of this communiqué.

Sir, the measures which were adopted by 6 of the 7 leaders are: All the measures listed in paragraph 7 of the Nassau Accord namely:—

(i) A ban on air links with South Africa;

(ii) A ban on new investments or reinvestments of profits earned in South Africa;

(iii) A ban on the import of agricultural products;

(iv) Termination of Double Taxation Agreements with South Africa;

(v) The termination of all Government assistance to investment in and trade with South Africa;

(vi) A ban on all Government procurement in South Africa;

(vii) A ban on Government contracts with majority owned South African companies; and

(viii) A ban on promotion of tourism to South Africa.

2. The following additional measures in addition to what was contemplated in Nassau were also agreed by 6 of the 7 leaders namely:—

(i) A ban on all new bank loans to South Africa whether to public or private sector;

(ii) A ban on the import of uranium, coal, iron and steel from South Africa; and

(iii) The withdrawal of all consular facilities in South Africa except for our own nation's and nationals of third countries to whom we render consular services."

Mr. Chairman, Sir, as far as the British Government is concerned, they declared that they will put a voluntary ban on new investment in South Africa. Secondly, put a voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa. Thirdly, to accept and implement any EEC decision to ban the import of coal, iron and steel and of gold coins from South Africa.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, sanctions, economic measures, resolutions are not an end in themselves but a means to an end. The objective is the dismantling of apartheid. Apartheid, as the House knows, Sir, is an elaborate system of laws and rules applied by the Government of South Africa to ensure that a small minority of whites race retains all political and economic powers while the majority of the people, who belong to other races are totally segregated and reduced to living in misery and human degradation, deprived of all opportunities in terms of education, housing, sanitary facilities and, in fact, of any real opportunities in improving their conditions of living. It is the Government which decides who resides where, who will go to which school, who will benefit from which facilities and the determining factor is always the racial group to which a person belongs. This social and political structure is obviously repugnant to all principles of justice, equity or human dignity. As the Eminent Persons' Group has pointed out in its report and I quote "as a contrivance of social engineering it is awesome in its cruelty. It is achieved and sustained only through force creating human misery and deprivation and blighting the lives of millions."

Sir, India has been in the forefront of the struggle against Apartheid, and this struggle has occupied a pivotal place in the thinking of the leaders

of India from Mahatma Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru to Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

From the time the people of India had led the destinies of our country, the process of severing our relations with South Africa in all areas began. Our campaign to mobilise the international community against apartheid, began with the introduction by India as early as in 1946 in the United Nations General Assembly of the question of racial discrimination in South Africa. This campaign has continued in the United Nations, in the Non-aligned Movement, within the Commonwealth and in all the other international forums available. As a result of increased international opinion, there are now very few protagonists of the apartheid system. Yet, some, while admitting that apartheid is in-admissible do lend indirect support to the continuance of that regime. In the United Nations, however, during the last two decades, the number of Governments supporting the General Assembly Resolutions calling for an end to apartheid and for the application of economic sanctions against South Africa has consistently and substantially increased. The Nonaligned Movement remains solidly united in its firm opposition to apartheid. Liberal opinion in all the continents and enlightened Governments all over the world are with leaders like Nelson Mandela and organisations such as the African National Congress in their just and heroic struggle to bring an end to that revolting social and political system.

The Commonwealth of nations has been increasingly preoccupied with the question of South Africa. Increasingly, Members of the Commonwealth have ranged on the side of those supporting change in that country. The question of apartheid has been a central pre-occupation of the Commonwealth since its decision in Nassau in 1985 to promote dismantling of apartheid, to ask for the release of political prisoners in that country and unbanning of the African National Congress and such other political organisations. The Nassau Accord marked a major advance in the struggle against

apartheid in that the Commonwealth committed itself to bring about the end of the system through persuasion if possible, but through peaceful coercion if necessary. This is the perspective through which we see the Nassau Accord.

As envisaged in the Nassau Accord, an Eminent Persons' Group was formed and an eminent Indian, Sardar Swaran Singh, was a member of that Group. The group worked for the achievement of the task assigned to it which was to promote dialogue in South Africa. The document that the Group produced is a most dispassionate study of the system of apartheid in addition to being the most thorough condemnation of the senseless intransigence of the Botha regime. (*Interruptions*). Sir, I am just giving the whole picture of it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, as the Hon'ble Members are aware, the Nassau Accord comprised a package of measures to be adopted by the Members of the Commonwealth immediately and allowed the Botha regime six months during which it could, in cooperation with the Eminent Persons Group, initiate a process of dialogue and liberalisation which, it was hoped, would lead to the dismantling of apartheid. The Accord then provided for further measures-paragraphs 7 and 8- to be adopted by the Commonwealth, if within six months, the South African Government failed to make any concrete progress towards a dialogue. The Eminent persons Group, reported that it had failed to initiate that dialogue.

At the Commonwealth Heads of Government Review Meeting held in London from August 3 to 5 last, six of the seven leaders came to an unanimous view on further action to be taken by them. The British Government set its face from the beginning against the very principle of sanctions but eventually accepted the principle of some measures though almost insignificant in terms of their economic or political impact.

While regretting the absence of an unanimous agreement at London, we do believe that the anti-apartheid cause emerged

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stronger inasmuch as six of the participants preferred to adopt effective measures against South Africa rather than make doubtful compromises in order to keep up the pretence of unanimity.

The role played by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the difficult negotiations that led to the unanimous resolve of the six in imposing measures, even beyond those agreed at Nassau, was crucial. As the Prime Minister pointed out the Commonwealth is the first international organisation to impose specific economic measures against South Africa. We are confident that the rest of the Commonwealth countries will support and implement the decisions taken in London and the world community must now work towards the larger area of agreement on sanctions so that apartheid is dismantled soon.

SHRI SUKUMAL SEN (West Bengal): Sir, this regime in South Africa and the opposition to it by the black and coloured people of that country is a long historical fact, but in the last few years, the struggle against apartheid by the black and coloured people of that country under the leadership of the African National Congress and its leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela, has developed in such a big way that it has attracted the attention of the international community and it is getting universal support. I am proud that our country is taking a lead in this struggle against apartheid and in favour of the black and coloured people of that country. But at the same time, it is a matter of deep regret that some Governments like the British Government, the U.S. Government and the West German Government are taking a stand which, in fact, encourages the apartheid and encourages the racist regime in South Africa as well as Namibia because apartheid is in existence in Namibia, too. Particularly the attitude of the British Government in the Commonwealth, as has been evidenced in the last London meeting also, is regrettable. They refused to implement even what was agreed in the last Nassau meeting. Their stand actually has given a moral boost to the Botha regime. Not only the British Government, even President Reagan recently gave

a statement that he has to fight against the clamour on apartheid. So these are the Governments who are actually giving shelter to the apartheid regime and are having connections with it. So they have by these actions exposed the character of what imperialism is. We from our party have always been fighting against imperialism. We are trying to expose the character of imperialism. The British Governments, the U.S. Government and the West German Government, by their actions, by their support to the apartheid regime, have shown what imperialism is.

I would only like to say in conclusion that while trying to mount pressure on the South African regime for dismantling apartheid and while lending full moral and material support to the black people of that country, I would like also our Government to take firm action from the Commonwealth platform against the British Government who, as a member of the Commonwealth, is in fact supporting the apartheid regime and encouraging them. Along with it, I would also urge our Government to mount up our struggle against imperialism which throughout the world is encouraging all reactionary regimes like the South African regime.

Sir, in this connection I want to seek only one clarification. There is one news item which has disturbed me. It has appeared in the *Sunday Observer* of Bombay, 3—9 August. It says that a Bombay-based diamond company, Hindustan Diamond Company, is having business connections with diamond companies of South Africa. It is a big news item in the *Sunday Observer*. But our country was the first to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. If these things happen, it is a shame for us. I would like the hon. Minister to look into it and take necessary action. Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Others should follow the excellent example of Mr. Sukomal Sen. Mr. Anand Sharma.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): We always set the pace.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Himachal Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the resolution which has been tabled here....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Where is the resolution?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): No resolution has yet been moved.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Not moved but tabled. I used the word "tabled". I am conscious of the fact that the resolution is yet to be moved.

It was only very recently, a few days ago, that this House discussed developments in South Africa, the last vestige of colonialism in the world, where people continue to be oppressed, discriminated against and exploited because of the colour of their skin. That was the time when the decision was taken by the Government of India to boycott the Commonwealth Games. We all were then looking forward to the mini-summit at London, waiting for the outcome. Now we all know what has happened there. Sir, they/ apartheid is a crime against humanity has been said by the United Nations itself. It is barbaric, it is repugnant and it is indulging in the most inhuman acts against the people of South Africa, which has shocked the entire civilised world. The people of South Africa have been fighting bravely. They have waged a heroic struggle for the liberation of the motherland and they have undergone untold sufferings. They have faced brutal, barbaric, repression. Countless people have died and the greatest freedom fighter of our times, Mr. Nelson Mandela, continues to languish in jail. Why it is that the Pretoria regime continues to defy the world of opinion with impunity? There has been a ground-swell of support for the freedom fighters of South Africa, those who are fighting for the very human dignity itself. India has always been in the forefront of the struggle. For us in India it is an emotive issue. It is not merely in expression of solidarity. There has been a close link between the freedom movement of India and the struggle in South Africa. It was in South Africa that

Mahatma Gandhi launched his crusade against apartheid. He continued it along with Jawaharlal Nehru during the days of our freedom movement. It was at that time that the freedom movement in India developed close and intimate contacts with the freedom movements in other parts of the world, particularly South Africa. The contribution of the Mahatma who not only founded the Indian National Congress but gave a shape, a direction, to the foreign policy of India, which was, in fact, cheered during the course of the freedom movement; that contribution is unique and historic. This was acknowledged so by Mr. Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC when he was last in India. He said that the footprints of Mahatma Gandhi are indelible on the soil of South Africa. Today we find the Government continuing the same policy which was pursued vigorously by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi. I need not go into details. But it is a fact that India was the first country to impose comprehensive monetary sanctions against South Africa. We were the first one to raise this issue in the United Nations way back in 1946 and subsequently we have espoused the cause of the people of South Africa on all international forums. Last year we had the Nassau Accord. It is unfortunate and tragic that UK which was a party to that Accord, did nothing to implement that Accord. Apartheid continues. The Pretoria regime continues to survive because it is sustained by countries like UK and the United States of America. The reasons may be military reasons, the reasons may be economic; we all know when we consider, when we discuss sanctions against South Africa, UK and Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, her intransigence, shocked the world. She continued to oppose and she continues even till this date to oppose the world opinion and the demands for sanctions because of the bases which they have in South Africa in the Cape of Good Hope which were used during the Falkland War.

To conclude, I congratulate the Prime Minister of India on the stand he has taken. Today Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has become the leading crusader,

the champion for the oppressed people of South Africa. And Britain today stands exposed, ridiculed and isolated. The Commonwealth, with this decision of the Six Nations, has emerged stronger and we do hope that the people of South Africa will continue to receive solidarity and support of all kinds, particularly for the freedom movement of African National Congress in future, and the frontline States which are under constant pressure, will also get the support so that they are not blackmailed or pressurised by the supporters of apartheid.

SHRI M. KADHARSHA (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Chairman, Sir, as my honourable friend, Shri Eduardo Fleiro has pointed out, India has always been in the forefront to fight against racism and imperialism. True to the traditions of our society, Sir, we are moving this resolution today and on behalf of the All-India Anna DMK, I support it.

But, Sir, the moot question to which I am not able to get an answer is this: The Government which is showing sympathy to alien people in a far-off country is not showing the same kind of sympathy and seriousness to the ethnic minority people in Sri Lanka who are of Indian origin.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, no. This has nothing to do with it.

SHRI M. KADHARSHA: The Government should move a resolution in this case also.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, please. Either you speak on apartheid or you please sit down. This is not the occasion for that. Otherwise, nothing will go on record. Why do you spoil the occasion?

SHRI M. KADHARSHA: Sir, I will now come from Sri Lanka to South Africa.

The honourable Minister has said that the economic sanctions have been tightened. Sir, way-back in 1962, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution for sanctions and called upon the member-nations to impose sanctions against South

Africa Now, our Prime Minister, the UN Secretary-General, Mr. Peres de Cueller and the Commonwealth Secretary-General Dr. Ramphal, are all demanding sanctions against South Africa. But it seems that the answer of Mr. Botha is that he is prepared to face sanctions rather than face a national suicide. In this connection, Sir, I would like to know one thing. Whether those sanctions will affect the neighbouring countries of South Africa like Botswana Mozambique and Angola. Sir, the South African economy is controlled by three major countries of the West, namely, the United States, the United Kingdom and West Germany. Their stake is more in South Africa because the whole of the imports and exports are controlled by them. In this connection, I would like to point out one more thing. Whether it is the East or the West, their aim is only their self-interest, their economy. But it is not only the Western countries which are having interests in South Africa, but it is also the Soviet Union which is connected with the business affairs of South Africa. The Siberian diamonds are exported to South Africa and Russia is exporting oil to South Africa. Sir, the major foreign exchange earning of the Soviet Union is from South Africa through direct and indirect channels. We have close relations with Soviet Russia compared to the United States and the United Kingdom. Therefore, I would like to know what steps the Government has taken to influence the Soviet Government to retract from these business transaction with South Africa. (Time bell rings).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Only one minute more.

SHRI M. KADHARSHA: Sir, the United Nations has passed a resolution, No. 485. But even after seven years, the South African troops are still occupying Namibia. This is also to be considered by the Government

Finally, Sir, I would like to state that if the economic sanctions will not

work, then the only alternative will be revolution as it happened in Algeria in 1954 and as it happened in many other countries. So, the only alternative for the African people will be revolution.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: He is also preaching revolution, Sir.

SHRI M. KADHARSHA: Sir, as the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Mugabe, has said, military action against the Pretoria regime for dismantling apartheid is the only solution as Mr. Botha will understand only the language of the gun. He said: "A bullet for a bullet. The more of them you kill, the nearer you get to your goal." The African National Congress President, Mr. Oliver Tambo, said that *apartheid* will one day end and in advance we convey our best wishes for the African nationalists.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Sat Paul Mittal. Only 5 minutes please.

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL (Punjab): Sir, I will not take more than 5 minutes, Mr. Chairman. Sir, I rise to support the Motion. The Motion is very timely. The whole country and all the political parties in India have supported the stand of the Indian Government on the issue of *apartheid*. Therefore, it was very necessary that such a Motion should have been brought to reflect to the whole world that both the Houses of the Indian Parliament representing the Indian people are fully supporting and backing the Government of India's stand on this.

The whole history of *apartheid* has been contained in the Motion in the briefest possible manner. I won't like to go into it except that it was not in 1948 that it was officially made the policy in South Africa. It was over a hundred years ago that this process was started and the worst of indignities have been heaped on the African people. Worst of inhuman actions have been taken against the black natives of South Africa who constitute more than 72 per cent of the

population. In order to perpetuate their rule and in order to perpetuate their hegemony over the black people who are the real nationals of the land, only 15 per cent white minority have introduced this system. Hundreds and thousands of them have been uprooted from their homes and taken to unknown destinations, hundreds of miles away. The extent of discrimination being meted out to them has been repeatedly referred to in the report of the Eminent Persons Group. I need not go into it.

Sir, the U.S.A., the U.K. and West Germany are the three countries in the world who are supporting the Botha regime for economic gains. It is a pity that a country like the U.S.A. who lost one of its eminent Presidents because of the fight against slavery, is today supporting the Botha regime who wants to perpetuate slavery in South Africa. It is a pity that the Great Britain which has been known in the history as the promotor of democracy should deny today the people of South Africa the right of one man one vote. It is a pity that all this is taking place simply because of their economic interest. India took this position as far back as in 1946. We took this position even when we had not got Independence. In 1944, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, we applied comprehensive mandatory sanctions although we know that it was to our great disadvantage in terms of economic losses of 8½ per cent. But we continued. Similarly, we fought the battle of those people who are struggling for their independence way back in 1961. It was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the apostle of peace, who built up a pressure in the Commonwealth to such an extent that South Africa had to leave Commonwealth. It was because of the initiative taken by the Government of India, leadership of India and Shrimati Indira Gandhi later on that the United Nations and the Security Council passed several resolutions to this effect that *apartheid* is a heinous crime against humanity. So, it is in

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the fitness of things that a Resolution should have been brought, and I congratulate the Minister for bringing this Resolution. The whole country is at the back of the Prime Minister whose role in the recent Mini-Summit, as it is called, in London is historic and he will go down in the history as one of the greatest crusaders of his time for the rights of the oppressed for the rights of the suppressed, for the rights of those who are languishing in jail, who are maltreated in the worst possible manner (*Time bell rings*). Today we see Mandela entering his 25th year of his imprisonment.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Bapu Kaldate.

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL: Thank you, Sir, I support the Motion.

डा० बापू कालदास (महाराष्ट्र) :
सभापति महोदय, दक्षिण अफ्रीका...
(अवधान)

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL: Sir, it was not given even half minute more.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I can enforce discipline on you better than on the other side.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Is it not a compliment to them, Sir?

डा० बापू कालदास : सभापति जी, दक्षिण अफ्रीका भारतीय जीवन का एक अविभाज्य घटक है। जब हम बच्चे थे, जब आज़ादी की जंग की सारी कहानियाँ महात्मा जी से जुड़ी हुई थी तो यह दक्षिण अफ्रीका से शुरू हुई थी। महात्मा जी ने पहली बार सत्याग्रह का प्रयोग दक्षिण अफ्रीका में किया और जिसका बलशाली और समर्थ प्रयोग हमारे देश की स्वतंत्रता की जंग में किया। इस दृष्टि से दक्षिण अफ्रीका की आज़ादी की लड़ाई उस हद तक हमारा एक अंग है।

जब हम दक्षिण अफ्रीका के सवालों को देखते हैं तो हमें पता चलता है कि

उनकी स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई को हम अपनी स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई, ऐसा समझ कर उसके साथ रहते आए हैं। हम इस बात को मानते हैं कि जब तक दक्षिण अफ्रीका मुक्त नहीं होगा तब तक हमारी जो आज़ादी है वह भी अधूरी रहेगी। इसके लिए हमारी आज़ादी को पूरा करने के लिए हम सर्वशक्तिपूर्ण प्रक्रिया चलाएंगे ताकि दुनिया में अमानुषता, अनैतिकता और बर्बरता का जो घणामुद्र उदहरण दक्षिण अफ्रीका के रूप में दिखाई देता है उसको दुनिया से मिटा कर ही रहेंगे। इस के लिए शक्ति के साथ हमें प्रयास करना चाहिए। सभापति जी, आप जैसे बुजुर्ग लोग आज़ादी से जुड़े हुए हैं। हम उस वक्त नवजवान थे, हम इस बात को जानते हैं कि आज़ादी की ज्योति दमन से दबायी नहीं जा सकती है, आज़ादी की ज्योति दमन से नहीं बुझाई जा सकती है। आज़ादी की ज्योति दमन से और भी प्रज्वलित होती है और समर्थ बनती है और वह इतनी शक्तिशाली और इतनी समर्थ होती है कि उसकी जलन से आज़ादी को रोकने वाले खत्म हो जाते हैं और देश में एक नया प्रकाश और नई आशाओं की किरण दिखाई देती है जो सारी दुनिया में छा जाती है। इस लड़ाई में हमारी टकराहट तीन देशों से है। एक शक्ति है युनैटेड स्टेट्स ऑफ अमेरिका और दूसरी शक्ति ब्रिटेन है। कमनवेल्थ में मध्यम शक्ति के साथ कोई अन्य देश नहीं है। मैं हाल ही में इंग्लैंड गया था। मैंने खुद वहाँ पर देखा कि वहाँ का जनमानस उनके साथ नहीं है। आज की सरकार की इस संबंध में जो नीति है उसके पक्ष में वहाँ का जनमानस नहीं है। इस बात को खुद मैंने महसूस किया है। दूसरी बड़ी शक्ति जो है वह दोहरी नीति पर चलती है। यह वही अमेरिका है जो लीबिया के संदर्भ में बन्धन की बात करता है। यह वही अमेरिका है जो निकारागुवा में जो वहाँ पर लोकतंत्रीय सरकार है उसको खत्म करने के लिए जो लोग उसको मदद करते हैं उन्हीं लोगों की सहायता कर रहा है। वह वही अमेरिका है जिसने विगत म में एक पालिसी चलाई और दूसरी जगहों में दूसरी पालिसी चलाई। हमें एक ही

काम करना है कि हम दुनिया को आगाह करें अगर दुनिया का मानस एक बलशाली मानस बन जाये तो ये शक्तियां कुछ नहीं कर सकती हैं ।

जहाँ तक हमारे देश का सवाल है, जैसा अभी हमारे सम्मानित सदस्य ने भी कहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान की एक जाइन्ट सेक्टर कम्पनी हिन्दुस्तान डायमंड है, डी बीयर कम्पनी के साथ डायरेक्टरी नेगोसिएशन करती है और दक्षिण अफ्रीका में डायमंड के संदर्भ में उनके साथ व्यवहार करती है । इसको तुरन्त बंद कर देना चाहिए । मैं तो इस हद तक भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो मल्टीनेशनल कम्पनियाँ हैं और जो इस संदर्भ में दक्षिण अफ्रीका से जुड़ी हुई हैं । उन सारी मल्टी-नेशनल कम्पनियों के साथ हमारे जो रिश्ते हैं वह हमको खत्म करने चाहिए । No company which is directly or indirectly dealing with South Africa should be allowed in this country. It will have the desired effect. I am saying as far as Commonwealth is concerned. इसमें गोरे लोगों का प्रभाव बहुत कम हो गया है और हमारे जैसे जो देश हैं, जो अपनी स्वधीनता के लिए लड़े और आजाद हुए ये सारे मूल्य इसमें शामिल हुए हैं और अब इसमें मैडम यैचर अलग पड़ गयी है । हम यह नहीं चाहते कि हम लोग उसको छोड़ें । हम यह प्रयास करें जिससे उसको यहाँ से निकाल दिया जाये ताकि सही मयनों में आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ने वाले देशों का एक कामनेत्य इस दुनिया में खड़ा किया जा सके । भारत इसका टार्च बियरर हो सकता है । इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार इस दिशा में प्रयत्न करे । धन्यवाद ।

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, even before our Independence, Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our Nation, had roused the conscience of the world against the policy of Apartheid and we fully support the sanctions against South Africa. Sir, it is strange that British Government has not fallen in line with other countries

of Commonwealth. The British Government has taken a different view. Still Mrs. Thatcher wants to continue its relations with South Africa. So we want that the full Commonwealth Conference should take place and the British Government should be persuaded to change its attitude. We should deplore the attitude of the British Government in this regard. Sir, not only the conference of Commonwealth countries should be summoned, but, at the same time. India being the leader of the Non-Aligned Movement, we want that non-aligned countries should also be summoned and a non-aligned conference should take place and they must take firm decision against South Africa and we must have a policy whereby we can influence not only the Commonwealth countries but also the non-aligned countries and the member countries of the United Nations Organisation so that we can exert greater pressure on Britain. Today these three countries, namely, the USA, West Germany and Britain are actually supporting South Africa. And we must see that these countries change their policies. At the same time, Israel is also supporting South Africa at the behest of the USA. Sir, here I would like to mention one more thing, namely, that there are some front-line States which are finding themselves in a difficult position. If South Africa takes any action against those front-line nations then they may suffer economically. So, it is our duty to see that all non-aligned countries, Commonwealth countries and other countries which are actually supporting the African people's struggle against Apartheid give help to these front-line States in the form of money and material. The Government of India should play an active role in this regard.

Lastly, Sir, an hon. Member of this House has said that the Diamond Trading Corporation of India has got some relations with a company which is known as De Beer which is based in London. The Government of India and the Indian company must sever

[Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy]

its relations with De Bear and all these companies which have directly or indirectly relations with the South African company. De Bear must sever their connections with it. We must give active support to all those front-line countries which are fighting against the policy of Apartheid.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (मध्य प्रदेश) : सभापति जी, भारत की स्वाधीनता के साथ जिस साम्राज्यवाद के अंत का आरम्भ हुआ था, वह साम्राज्यवाद आज दक्षिण अफ्रीका में अपनी अंतिम सांस ले रहा है। पिछले सौ साल से दक्षिण अफ्रीका के मूल निवासी स्वतंत्रता और समानता का संघर्ष लड़ रहे हैं। अब यह संघर्ष एक निर्णायक दौर में पहुंच गया है जिसमें उनकी विजय सुनिश्चित है, उनकी सफलता अवश्य-भावी है। उनके इस संघर्ष में सारा देश उनके साथ है और सारा सदन एक स्वर से उनका समर्थन कर रहा है। सभापति जी, प्रिटोरिया सरकार जिन पश्चिमी देशों के बल पर टिकी हुई है उन्हें यह बात अच्छी तरह से समझ लेनी चाहिए कि अगर शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से दक्षिण अफ्रीका और नामिबिया में सत्ता का परिवर्तन नहीं होगा तो वहां भयानक रक्तपात होगा। उनकी लड़ाई गुरिल्ला युद्ध का रूप धारण कर सकती है। यह लड़ाई केवल अफ्रीका तक ही सीमित नहीं रहेगी वह और भूखण्डों में भी फैलेगी। उस रक्तपात में रंगभेद और नस्लवाद तो डूब जायेंगे मगर पश्चिमी देशों के आर्थिक हित भी सुरक्षित नहीं रहेंगे। पश्चिमी देशों को दीवार पर लिखे हुए को पढ़ना चाहिए। वक्त की आवाज पर कान देना चाहिए। जिस साम्राज्यवाद में सूरज कभी डूबता नहीं था वह सूरज के देखते-देखते डूब गया तो उस साम्राज्य का भगनावशेष नहीं बचेगा। दुनिया की कोई ताकत प्रिटोरिया सरकार को बचा नहीं सकती है। सभापति जी, मुझे खेद है कि लंदन में जो बैठक हुई थी उस में राष्ट्र मण्डल के देश ब्रिटिश प्रधान मंत्री को नसाऊ के फैंसलो के साथ चलने के लिए तैयार नहीं कर सके। श्रीमती थैचर को रंगभेद

और राष्ट्र मण्डल में से एक को चुनना पड़ेगा। अगर राष्ट्र-मण्डल टूटता है तो उसको जिम्मेदारी ब्रिटेन पर होगी जो अपने इतिहास से भी कुछ सीखने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। मेरा सुझाव है कि भारत को समूचे राष्ट्रमण्डल की बैठक बुलाने में पहल करनी चाहिए। यह मामला दिसम्बर, तक नहीं टाला जा सकता। प्रिटोरिया सरकार ने जवाबी कार्यवाही शुरू कर दी है। जाम्बिया के लिए, जिम्बाबवे के लिए, मारीशस जैसे देशों के लिए प्रिटोरिया सचमुच कठिनाइयां पैदा कर सकता है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारा विदेश मंत्रालय इस संबंध में योजना ले कर तैयार है और हम अन्य देशों के सहयोग से अफ्रीका के प्रभावित देशों की मदद के लिए आगे बढ़ेंगे। एक शब्द में दक्षिण अफ्रीका में बसे हुए भारतीयों से भी कहना चाहता हूँ। उनके पासपोर्ट का रंग कोई भी हो वे वहां पर भारतीय मूल के निवासी के रूप में जाने जाते हैं, वे गोरी सरकार के षडयंत्र का शिकार हो रहे हैं। गोरी सरकार बांटो और राज करो की नीति पर चल रही है। नये संविधान को अश्वेत लोगों ने ठुकरा दिया है मगर वहां के भारतीय उस में सहयोग दे रहे हैं। यह परिस्थिति खतरनाक है। वहां के भारतीयों को समझ लेना चाहिए कि उन्हें काले लोगों के साथ रहना है, गोरे उनकी मदद कब तक करेंगे और वे कब तक उनकी सहायता के लिए आएंगे। जैसे मैंने कहा रंगभेद और नस्लवाद यह मानवता के माथे पर कलंक हैं। यह विश्व सभ्यता के शरीर पर कोढ़ के सफेद दाग हैं यह दाग मिटना ही चाहिए। सन् 1893 में एक गांधी ने दक्षिण अफ्रीका में विरोध की एक मशाल जलाई थी अब वह मशाल दूसरे गांधी के हाथ में है, देखना है वह मशाल मंजिल तक पहुंचती है या नहीं।

श्री वीरेंद्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मान्य वर, संसार से उपनिवेशवाद समाप्त हो चुका है। किन्तु दुर्भाग्य यह है कि संसार के चित्र पर दक्षिण अफ्रीका का काला धब्बा अभी भी शेष है। दक्षिण अफ्रीका लोग जिनका वह देश है वह आज अपमानित हैं। उनका कोई अधिकार नहीं है।

चंद आदमी सभी गोरे बाहर से गये हुए आज उनके हाथ में हकूमत है। इस अन्याय के विरुद्ध बीसवीं सदी के प्रारंभ में राष्ट्र-पिता महात्मा गांधी जी ने संघर्ष किया था, जागृति की थी, अपना जीवन लगाया था और सन् 1946 में जब देश आजाद भी नहीं था माननीय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू देश के प्रधान मंत्री बने उसी समय अफ्रीका में इस रंगभेद नीति के विरुद्ध और इस नस्ली व्यवस्था के विरोध में भारत सरकार ने उस समय भी ठोस कदम उठाया था। तो हमारी सरकार की कोई आज की नीति नहीं है, बहुत पुरानी नीति है। मान्यवर, पहली दफा गत वर्ष नासाऊ में और इस वर्ष केवल 7 देशों ने लंदन में जो ठोस कदम उठाये हैं वे इस मूवमेंट में बहुत सहायक होंगे। मान्यवर, यह संसार का दुर्भाग्य है कि संसार के कुछ साम्राज्यवादी देश आज भी संसार के गरीब छोटे देशों के ऊपर हावी होना चाहते हैं। यह भी दुर्भाग्य है कि हिन्दुस्तान के समीप के कुछ देशों और दूर के कुछ देशों ने अपनी स्वतंत्रता मार्ट गेज की हुई है। वे स्वतंत्र हैं लेकिन उनकी स्वतंत्रता मार्टगेज है संसार की उन बड़ी शक्तियों के पास इसलिए वे स्वतंत्र रूप से कार्य नहीं कर सकते हैं। सभापति महोदय, मेरा आपके माध्यम से भारत सरकार से यह निवेदन है कि जो रिजोल्यूशन उन्होंने नासाऊ में गत वर्ष और इस वर्ष लंदन में इस संबंध में पारित किया है, यह प्रयास किया जाये कि नान एलाइंड देशों में सारे 101 देश, कामनवेल्थ के सभी 49 देश एकाध सड़े हुए देशों जैसे इंग्लैंड आदि को छोड़कर और यू०एन०ओ० के 159 देश, एकाध को छोड़कर, तथा अमेरिका की डेमोक्रेटिक पार्टी के नेताओं, रूस, संसार के सभी 159 देश हैं उनमें यह कोशिश होनी चाहिए कि ये अधिक से अधिक संख्या में इस मूवमेंट में साथ दें, इस अन्याय के खिलाफ आवाज उठावें। अमेरिका में अब्राहम लिंकन ने इसी प्रकार की बात से लड़ने का खातिर आवाज उठाया थी और उनको अपने जीवन का वलिदान देना पड़ा था। मैं सरकार के इन कदमों का हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ जिनके द्वारा इस संबंध में न्याय प्राप्त करने के लिए न्याय दिलाने के लिए उप-

निवेशवाद समाप्त करने के लिए कोशिश की जा रही है।

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : Sir, I have nothing much to say. Many friends from this side and that side have given support to the efforts and policies adopted by our country towards removing the evil of apartheid. In support of the Motion. Sir this country has historic links and we have to maintain that high tradition which we have inherited from Mahatma Gandhi:

Sir, Mr. Vajpayee has eloquently spoken in his chaste Hindi and as a poet, he has really given a good account. But I think, the efforts made by our Prime Minister deserve special attention in this regard. The Prime Minister was responsible not only for bringing the leaders together at the mini-summit but he was pragmatic and mature-enough to keep the Commonwealth intact because there are many benefits which flow out of it. I hope the Prime Minister will carry forward the torch as Mr. Vajpayee has mentioned.

The other point—this has been mentioned by some friends here—which I want to bring to the notice of the Government is, whether the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela was discussed and whether the mini-summit expressed any opinion on this. The great leader of Africa is languishing in jail and it is necessary that this Government should be in the forefront in making efforts to secure the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela.

My last point is—we have to take a pragmatic view in this—there is a mention here, particularly, about the Hindustan Diamond Company. I received one or two letters from Bombay. They say, why this double standard on the part of the Government. I think the young Minister will not avoid to reply my straightforward question. What is there in diamonds? 81 per cent of the people are not interested in diamonds. If it is for export...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh) : 99 per cent.

SHRI VIRENDRA VERMA : 99.9 per cent.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : But whatever is required for export, USSR has got the same quality of diamonds and I do think the Government will take note of the feelings of the Members, particularly about the company with which we have got collaboration and other multinationals. Please not the ramifications of your Resolution. There are other multinationals in the USA and European countries which are trading with South Africa directly or indirectly. The Government, in principle has to take a stand and should not get money as a criterion while evolving a policy on this matter.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) : सभापति महोदय, यह हम सबों के लिए अत्यंत ही गौरव की बात है कि दक्षिण अफ्रीका की आजादी की लड़ाई के लिए और नस्लवाद के खिलाफ हमारा देश शुरू से ही संघर्ष करता रहा है।

आजादी के पहले भी और आजादी के बाद जितने भी हमारे प्रधान मंत्री हुए, सबों ने इस सवाल पर शानदार भूमिका अदा की है। यह भी गौरव की बात है कि हमारे युवा प्रधान मंत्री, जिनको आजादी के आंदोलन का तो अनुभव नहीं है, लेकिन अभी जो वह भूमिका अदा कर रहे हैं, दक्षिण अफ्रीका की आजादी के लिए, यह अत्यंत ही सराहनीय बात है।

चूंकि समय कम है, इसलिए मैं और इस पहलू पर नहीं बोल कर कुछ और बातों की ओर सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा। वैसे मुझे इस बात का दुख है कि एक माननीय सदस्य ने बिना अवसर के सोवियत संघ जो हमारा एक दोस्त देश है, उसके बारे में बहुत ही अनावश्यक कहा है... (व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Thank you for your intervention. I will now ask the Minister to thank all the Members. (Interruptions). No time. You only wanted to associate yourself and I have given you time.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : About that diamond..

MR. CHAIRMAN : Everybody has said about it.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : About the cigarette company also the Minister should make a thorough probe. (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, no. Please sit down. Yes, Mr. Minister.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Mr. Chairman, as per your suggestions and in fact, it was in my mind—all the things which have been suggested, I think, are very timely—that I must thank wholeheartedly the Members from all sections of the House who spoke, for having expressed their total opposition towards the racist regime and support for the Indian stand on this matter. Before I sit down, permit me to touch upon this question of trading with South Africa. We were the first country in the world, as early as 1946, the first in the point of time, to cut all trade links with South Africa. We have continued in this policy. I may assure the House that we will continue with this policy and stringent actions will be taken against all those who directly or indirectly trade with South Africa. I do not have the facts regarding this company but I may inform the House that so far we have taken action against 26 exporting companies who knew that they would not directly export to South Africa but did indirectly export to that country through Mozambique and other countries. So, we will pursue in this policy. As far as the coordination with the countries of front-line and other African countries is concerned...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Mr. Faleiro, some of our defence equipment like tanks, were sold as a scrap to a middleman in Europe and sent to South Africa.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is what he has said.

SHRI DIPEN GOSH : One information only about the Hindustan Diamond Company.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He will look into it.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH : Government of India holds majority shares of that company.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : I will look into it but our policy...

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Minister has categorically stated that he will take action on those who are even indirectly dealing with South Africa. If this case comes under it, he will look into it. He will also see whether it has escaped his notice.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : As I have submitted, all the cases have been of indirect dealing with South Africa without knowing all the facts of this case. I may however immediately submit that I do not think it possible. The evidence with me at the moment does not at all suggest that a public sector company has any links with the South African company; it just is not possible.

On the question of assistance to the African countries, we are giving assistance under several programmes. We will continue doing that. Due to lack of time I will just mention this that apart from long-term technical and other assistance, recently we have made a gift of Indian wheat to Africa under the emergency programme in pursuance of the statement made by the Prime Minister on the 23rd of November 1984 regarding assistance to countries in Africa more seriously affected by drought and famine. We have gifted to African countries 100 thousand tonnes of wheat as an emergency measure. After that we gave 10,000 tonnes of wheat further to Mauritius and we will continue in this cooperation.

As far as Commonwealth is concerned, this is not the most appropriate time to ask for breaking of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth has emerged much

stronger. Six of the leaders voted for not only the measures contemplated at Nassau but went further. Commonwealth has been the first international organisation to decide on economic sanctions against South Africa. Now if Britain has not followed the others, Britain loses its leadership because leadership is not a question of history or geography or even economic power; it is a question of being able to articulate the feelings of the rest and giving a sense of direction. The Commonwealth has definitely emerged stronger and has proved to be a very valuable organisation of nations cutting across North, South East and West for solution of problems at the highest level.

Once again, many I thank you...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : What about Mandela?

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Sir, there is one thing. Not only those six but even the British Government asks for release of Mr. Nelson Mandela. Everybody is unanimous on this. The difference is that the British Government has not done what we think is necessary.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : But this has not come in the press. That is what I want to point out.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I wish to associate myself with the excellent sentiments expressed by all sides of the House. We all know *apartheid* is a slur on our civilisation and we have been trying our utmost to see that *apartheid* is dismantled and that too as quickly as possible. It is indeed a great credit to the House and parliament of India that it has taken up this great task of projecting the view of Government of India in respect of a matter with which the entire world is greatly disturbed. Now I would like to place before the House the Resolution for your unanimous acceptance:

The House unanimously resolves to:

1. Condemn the inhuman policy of *apartheid* of the racist regime of South Africa;

[Mr. Chairman]

2. Express the solidarity of the Indian people with the brave freedom fighters of South Africa and to support their just struggle for human rights;

3. Denounce the obstinate refusal of the South African authorities to enter into meaningful negotiations with the African National Congress and other political organisations to dismantle apartheid;

4. Deplore the action of governments which provide moral and material encouragement to the racist government of South Africa;

5. Strengthen the efforts made by the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, to mobilising world opinion in support of the heroic battle of South African people for freedom and human dignity;

6. Welcome the forthright stand taken by Indian and five other countries at the seven-nation Commonwealth Summit to impose mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa;

7. Express its deep regret that Britain has not adopted the full range of measures agreed upon at Nassau;

8. Appeal to all the freedom-loving forces of the world to remain steadfast in the historic movement against apartheid;

9. Call upon all governments to impose comprehensive, effective and mandatory sanctions against South Africa;

10. Call for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other freedom fighters of South Africa and for the removal of the ban on the activities of the African National Congress and other political organisations;

11. Appeal to parliaments of the world to use all moral and constitutional means at their disposal to persuade governments and other authorities all over the world to take effective action against the South African authorities; and

12. Call upon the forthcoming meeting of the Heads of Governments and States of the non-aligned movement to redouble efforts to secure the liberation of the people of South Africa from the unmitigated crimes and tyranny of apartheid.

I take that the House accepts it unanimously.

HON. MEMBERS : Yes, yes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House will now stand adjourned till 2-35 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty six minutes past two of the clock—
The Vice-Chairman (Dr. Bapu Kal-
date). in the Chair.

RESOLUTION RE. SETTING UP OF A SPECIAL DEPARTMENT BY STATE GOVERNMENTS FOR DEVELOP- MENT AND MANAGEMENT OF GREEN PASTURES PRODUCTION OF FIRE-WOOD AND PROMOTION OF BIO-GAS AND GOBAR GAS USAGES

ठाकुर जगत पाल सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश):
माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय जहाँ तक चारागाहों का सवाल है आप जानते हैं कि दूसरे देशों में बहुत बड़े-बड़े चारागाह बनाये गये हैं और यह भी एक मुख्य कारण है कि वहाँ के जानवरों की तन्दुरुस्ती बहुत अच्छी है। मैं सुझाव दूंगा अपने माननीय मंत्री जी को कि रेकार्ड के अंदर अपने देश में जो चारागाह दिखाये गये हैं उन का भौतिक सत्यापन होना चाहिए। ऐसा होने पर आप को मालूम होगा कि उन चारागाहों की जमीन खेती में आ गयी है। इसलिये हम को इस ओर खास ध्यान देना होगा। जहाँ तक जंगलों में जो चारागाह बने हुए हैं उन का सवाल है वह उस लिये हैं क्योंकि आज चारागाहों के लिये जगह नहीं है