

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Madam, that point was slightly confusing; whether it is one-man Commission or it is headed by somebody.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have said 'a Commission'. We have to discuss what will be more effective.

MOTION RE. SEVENTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES HELD IN NEW DELHI—contd.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We now take up discussion on the Motion of Shri Ramakrishnan. Dr. Najma Heptulla.

डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला (महाराष्ट्र) : सर, आज जब मैं इस नान-एलाइंड कान्फ्रेंस की कामयाबी पर बोलने के लिए खड़ी हुई हूँ (व्यवधान) मेरे साथी ने जो यह मोशन हमारे हाउस के सामने रखा है मुझे लगता है कि हमारे सभी साथी इस पर बोलना चाह रहे हैं। यह ऐसा सब्जेक्ट है कि मुझे लगता है कि हमारे हाउस के साथी ही नहीं बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों-करोड़ों वह लोग जिन की आवाज नहीं सुनाई देती वह सब हमारी नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी और हमारे देश की जो इज्जत बढ़ा है उस के बारे में बोलना चाहेंगे। सर, आज जब मैं नान-एलाइंड कान्फ्रेंस की कामयाबी पर बोलने के लिए खड़ी हुई हूँ तो मेरा दिल जज्बात से भरपूर है और सिर फक्र से ऊंचा है। हमारे यही नेताओं ने गांधी जी, जवाहरलाल नेहरू से लगा कर इन्दिरा गांधी तक दुनिया को जीने का नया रास्ता दिखाया है, अमन का और अहिंसा का रास्ता

दिखाया है, जिस पर चल कर दुनिया के बहुत से मुल्कों ने आजादी हासिल की है। तारीख गवाह है इस बात की कि हिन्दुस्तान ने दुनिया की रहनुमाई की है और आइन्दा भी करता रहेगा ताकि इस दुनिया के लाखों-लाख लोग अमन व आशुती से एक दूसरे के साथ भाईचारे से और इज्जत और वकार से रह सकें। इस का खुला सुबूत हमारे सामने है जो नान-एला कान्फ्रेंस की कामयाबी है। नेहरू ने एक कतरा डाला था 22 साल पहले जो बढ़ कर नान-एलाइन्ड के मौजें मारते दरिया की सूरत में आज सब के सामने न सिर्फ़ उन पिछड़े हुए मुल्कों के लिए एक नये मुस्तकबिल की पेशीनगोई करता है और उन की उम्मीदों और आशाओं का सँराब करता है, वहीं वह एक तूफान का भी पेशेखेमा है जो इस बात की तरफ उन लोगों को चेतावनी देता है जो इस मूवमेंट के खिलाफ हैं कि वह तिनकों की तरह अपने सँलाब के साथ उन को बहा कर ले जाने की भी ताकत रखता है। उन तीन नेताओं ने जो मुखालिफन हालत से दो-चार थे, नेहरू, नासिर और टीटो ने जो बुनियाद डाली थी वह एक मुस्तहकम इमारत बन कर हमारे सामने आई है। 1961 से आज तक सिर्फ़ 22 साल गुजरे हैं—कौम की जिन्दगी में 22 साल कुछ नहीं होता। मगर इन 22 सालों में इस मूवमेंट ने एक भरपूर जवानी की सूरत में हमारे देश में दुबारा जन्म लिया है। मेरे साथी ने इस से पहले एक शेर पढ़ा था। वह शेर मैं भी पढ़ना चाहती हूँ और इस बात को बताना चाहती हूँ कि वह शेर कितना सही है। वह शेर है :

“मैं अकेला ही चला था जानिबे मंजिल मगर,

लोग साथ आते रहे और कारवां बनता गया ।”

और आज इस कारवां की सीरे कारवां श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी हैं । मेरा दिल जज्बात से भर जाता है और फछ से ऊंचा होता है यह सोच कर कि मैं हिन्दुस्तानी हूं । इन्दिरा गांधी के मुल्क में हूं और मेरा सिर फछ से ऊंचा हो जाता है एक औरत होने के नाते कि इतने अजीम मुवमेंट की रहनुमा दुनिया की इतनी जईम और अजीम नेता एक औरत हैं जो इस मुवमेंट को एक नया डाइमेंशन और दुनिया को एक नया रास्ता अमन और आपसी दोस्ती का रास्ता दिखायेंगी और उन्होंने यह रास्ता दिखाया है । मुबारकबाद के काबिल हैं हमारी नेता । जिस हिम्मत और भरोसे के साथ इतने कम अरसे की नोटिस पर उन्होंने इस कांफरेंस को अपने मुल्क में करने के चैलेंज को कबूल कर लिया और उसी के साथ हमारे फारेन मिनिस्टर और दूसरे नेता और सैकड़ों अफसर हैं जिन्होंने इस चैलेंज को कबूल किया और इस बात को जाहिर कर दिया है कि अगर हमारी नेता और हमारे लोग जब किसी जिम्मेदारी को कबूल कर लेते हैं तो उस को पूरा करते हैं । दुनिया में ऐसे बहुत से लोग थे जो न सिर्फ हमारी इस कांफरेंस की तरफ शुबा की नजरों से देख रहे थे बल्कि वे इस उम्मीद में थे कि इस में हमें कामयाबी न हो । मगर उन की ख्वाहिश पूरी नहीं हुई और न सिर्फ कांफरेंस कामयाब हुई बल्कि इन सब मराहिल और मुश्किलात और मामलात और मसलों और समस्याओं को भी बड़ी खैर खूबी से हम ने अंजाम दिया और हर मामले में कांसेसस हासिल हुई ? यह जाहिर करता है कि हमारी नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की

सूझ बूझ, दूरदेशी कितनी गहरी है और दुनिया के बड़े-बड़े नेताओं का उन पर कितना भरोसा और एतुमाद है । न्यू दिल्ली मैसेज इस बात का भी सबूत है कि हमारी विदेशी नीति हमारी फारेन पालिसी न सिर्फ ठीक है बल्कि सही डाइरेक्शन में है और हमारे देश के सभी लोगों को अपने पोलिटिकल भेदभाव से ऊपर उठ कर उन का साथ देना चाहिए । आज दुनिया एक अजीब मुसीबत से, एक अजीब एकोनामिक दौर से गुजर रही है और एक सयासी बोहरान से दो चार है जिस में बड़े-बड़े मुल्क एक दूसरे से बाजी ले जाने पर तुले हुए हैं कि कैसे नये-नये खतरनाक हथियार बनाये जायं ताकि दुनिया के उन मुल्कों का खात्मा हो जिन्होंने बड़ी मुश्किल से साम्राज्यवादी ताकतों से आजादी हासिल की है और अब इकोनामिक आजादी हासिल करना चाहते हैं ताकि इज्जत और एहताराम से जिन्दा रह सकें । वह मुल्क इस कोशिश में हैं कि कैसे लाखों को मारा जाय और हमारी यह कोशिश है कि कैसे लाखों का भूख मिटा कर उन को जिन्दा रखा जाय । कैसे मासूम बच्चों को एक नया मुस्तकबिल दिया जाय । एक बार फिर मैं होशियार कर देना चाहती हूं कि हमारी कामयाबी से दुनिया के बहुत से मुल्क खुश नहीं है खास तौर पर इजराइल और अमरीका ने अभी से हमारे मुल्क के खिलाफ अपना प्रोपैगेंडा शुरू कर दिया है । क्योंकि इन्दिरा गांधी वह बाहिद नेता हैं दुनिया की जिन्होंने हर मौके पर फिलिस्तीनियों की हिमायत की है चाहे वह हमारे मुल्क में हों या यू एन ओ में हो या अमरीका की सरजमीन पर हो । उन लाखों दबाये हुए मजलूम फिलिस्तीनियों की आवाज को दुनिया में उन्होंने सुनाया है । मुझे याद है कि जब मैं यासर अराफात साहब से द्यूनिसिया में मिली थी सितम्बर

[डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला]

1982 में तो उन्होंने मुझ से कहा था कि मैं तमाम प्रोटोकॉल की हद्द को पार कर के यह कहूंगा कि इन्दिरा गांधी एक अजीब बहिन हैं जिन्होंने हर मोके पर, हर मुसंबत में हमारा साथ दिया है चाहे वह बेरुत की स्थिति हो चाहे इजराइल की, हर जगह उन्होंने हमारा साथ दिया है। हम ने हर जगह इन्दिरा गांधी को अपने साथ पाया है। आज दुनिया आति-शेफिश के दहाने पर खड़ी है। दुनिया की चन्द वह ताकतें तो तरक्की कर चुकी हैं दुनिया के लाखों-लाख जनता को सतह हस्ती से नेस्तनाबूद कर देना चाहती हैं। आज नान-एलाइन्ड मूवमेंट के अलावा क्या यू० एन० ओ० हम को इन मुश्किलों से मुक्ति दिला सकता है। क्या वह उन की उम्मीदों और आशाओं को पूरा कर सकते हैं जहां पर बीटों का वोट चन्द बड़ी ताकतों के हाथ में हो। यह एक बहुत बड़ा सवाल है जो हमारे सामने है। मुझे एक शेर याद आता है :

“तुम ही कातिल तुम ही मुनसिफ और तुम जल्लाद भी,
अक्रबा मेरे करें, खून का दावा किस पर।”

महोदय, इन अल्फाज के साथ हमारी दिली मुबारकबाद महान नेता, हमारी प्रिय नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को कबूल हो जिन्होंने हमारे मुल्क का वकार दुनिया में ऊंचा किया है। जिस मूवमेंट की बुनियाद उनके वालिद जवाहरलाल ने डाली थी आज उसकी बागडोर उनके हाथों में है। दुनिया की दो तिहाई अबादी की आंखें आज उनकी ओर लगी हैं। उनकी उम्मीदें, उनकी आशाएं इंदिरा गांधी से बाबस्ता है। वं

उस सुबह का इंतजार कर रहे हैं जब वह इज्जत और वकार के साथ पीसफूल को-एक्जिस्टेंस, कोआपरेशन, कोआर्डिनेशन के साथ इस दुनिया में रह सकेंगे। दुनिया की आने वाली नस्लें इस बात को याद करेंगी और तारीख इसकी गवाह होगी कि हिन्दु-स्ता ने एक बार फिर दुनिया को जीने की राह दिखाई है। हमारी शुभ-कामनाएं इंदिरा जी आपके साथ हैं। हमारी दुआएँ आपके के साथ हैं कि जैसी आपको कामयाबी हुई है, आइंदा भी ऐसी कामयाबी हासिल हो। एक बहुत महान बोझा, एकज बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी आप के कंधों पर है और हमको इसका यकीन है कि आपके कंधे कितने ही नाजुक हों, हमको आप पर पूरा भरोसा है, आपमें इस बोझ की जिम्मेदारी उठाने की सलाहियत है। मुझे एक शेर याद आता है—

“चला जाता हूं हंसा, खेलता, मोजे हवादिस से”

अगर आसानियां हों जिन्दगी दुश्वार हो जाए।”

आपने जो तमाम तकलीफों और तमाम मुसीबतों को अच्छी तरह से स्वीकार किया है, हमें उम्मीद है कि आप इसमें इतनी कामयाब होंगी चाहे दुश्मन कुछ करे, आपका बाल बाका नहीं हो सकता। इस पर भी एक शेर है—

“फानूस बन के जिसकी हिफाजत हवा करे,

वह शमा क्या बुझे जिसे रोशन खुदा करे।”

इंदिरा जी हम सब आप के साथ हैं।

The whole world's darkness cannot extinguish a single candle.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I must admit that I am somewhat at a loss to understand the need for such a resolution. I am deeply appreciative of the previous speaker. I don't think the intention was to have a proxy "mushaira", also, equally not a resolution to this effect to eulogise an individual, a person when the movement is much larger than a person, when the theological concept of what we are to discuss is much larger than a person. To my understanding, it is certainly a diminution of the concept; it does not add to it, with due deference to the mover of the Resolution.

- Therefore, I am obliged to oppose it.

I went through some past records. I attempted to find a precedent for this. I did so because we have a bureaucratic way of thinking which works on the lines of precedents. Perhaps there was a precedent on earlier occasions and someone wanted to say that, "there is a precedent and, therefore, we are doing it". However, to equate the success or non-success of what has taken place in New Delhi as something revolving round the personality of an individual is both objectionable and limited.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Preposterous.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Two separate consultations are going on in the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You go on. The Minister is hearing. I am arranging the speakers.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: How does one determine the success of a conference like this? As a student of current history, I have yet to come across an international conference which ends up in being a non-success except in a very limited bilateral sense. And therefore, it is a success only in the administrative sense, in the logistic sense, that so many heads of Government collected and safety departed and that everybody had a place to live in and everyone got a

whisky in the evening. Yet it would be an absurd reduction of the problem to say that this is how success is measured. Still the logistics was there and I think it merits attention and it merits reiteration. My eminent colleague, Shri Syed Shahabuddin, has said that the contribution of the Civil Service, the Foreign Service, to making this Conference a success has, without doubt, been exceptional. I have had occasion to say in this House, we do have an exceptionally talented Foreign Service, as good as any in the world, and they worked overtime and they worked exceedingly hard to ensure that the Conference was a success. We would be making a grave mistake, however, if we thought that in a mere shifting of the thought that in a mere shifting of the venue from Baghdad to New Delhi there was success. I think we ought to reflect very deeply that the shifting from Baghdad to New Delhi is in itself indicative of the deeper turmoil within the Movement, it is not indicative of a success. Therefore, when one talks of success of the Conference, the word ought not to be loosely used. At the conclusion of the Conference the Chairperson in a press conference said, that because we did not break up, because so many of us collectively gathered and we did not break up, therefore, that is a measure of success. Deferentially I would again disagree with it. It is not a measure of success. It is merely a negative recognition. It is the positive aspects of what the Conference has achieved or has not achieved, which will go towards determining the success or failure or absence of success of this Conference. Here I think it is absolutely necessary to make a distinction between policy and diplomacy. Evidently nobody can dispute that as far as Indian diplomacy is concerned, this Conference was a success. It was a diplomatic success. But what was the policy content of that diplomacy? We must make a clear distinction between policy and diplomacy and not be confused with the apparent success of one as being necessarily the success

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

of the other. Coming to the policy, and here one comes up—and I have had occasion to mention this on earlier occasions—to the question of determination and conduct of policy. One would have thought—it is an aspiration—that both as a host country now and as the original founder country, founder of the original nucleus round which the Non-aligned Movement has grown, India's major contribution to the whole Non-aligned Movement, more particularly as the host country, would be influence-wielding rather than influence-absorbing. I do not have the time to elaborate on this point, but I have no doubt that the honourable Minister will understand what I am saying, the differentiation between influence-wielding and influence-absorbing. I carry the impression that over the years because of our policy stances India, from an influence-wielding nation, has become an influence-absorbing nation. And that is a matter which ought to be a matter of deep reflection and thought for all of us. On the conduct of policy, I have had occasion to mention this too earlier—here was a major conference that the nation organised, and I have to admit and I have to point out, that in the conduct of the policy, I was personally at a loss, as an observer of what takes place, as a keen observer of current history, I was at a loss to understand where our policy was formulated. I am still at a loss whether our foreign policy is being formulated in the Ministry of External Affairs or where. This fracturing of the origin of the policy and the conduct of the policy, where our External Affairs Ministry is reduced to being spokespeople of a policy being formulated elsewhere, will inevitably count, will inevitably influence the whole conduct. In the contents of the documents—the Minister of External Affairs was good enough to send these to me; I had requested for these documents, and I made a study of them at some length, because the full text was not available. It is a volu-

minous document. The drafting is as capable as the Indian Civil Service drafting and reflects the attempt to put together as many diverse viewpoints as is possible.

I will not go into the theological content of the policy. There are certain premises on which we are working and there is a slight historic aside. That historic aside relates to the success of the movement. When we think of or talk of 1844 when the African nations were carved out by a group of nations sitting in Europe and, when in 1933 the League of Nations had only 34 member countries and when, fifty years hence, in 1983, the Seventh Non-alignment Conference was held with over 100 participants, we begin to appreciate the growth of this movement. In that there is a realisation of where the future is leading us. Where the future is leading or what it points to is a rejection of imperialism and all that it stands for. It is certainly a rejection of any theory which subscribes to the exclusivity of super-power interests. I will subsequently come to this point. The theory of exclusivity of super-power interests, that everything is for their interests, was rejected.

There has been a mention of what the non-alignment stands for. It is often spoken as an alternate strategy of peace. To my reckoning and in my light, I will say what the task before the Chairman is. I do not mean any individual. I mean the country or the institution which runs the foreign policy of the country. I will elaborate this.

The question of criteria for inclusion and exclusion as to who is non-aligned and who is not non-aligned has been a matter of debate and it came up during the recent conference as well. I thought there could be only one criterion and that is sovereignty. I would appeal to the Government to accept this. The countries must be really independent and they must appear to be independent.

Sir, we live in a world as it is, not as it ought to be. And I am adult enough to understand the limitation limit of the world as it exists. I would submit to the Government that in this collection of 100 nations representing almost two-thirds of the world's people, there are many contradictions. These are contradictions of national interest being overlapped by regional interest and regional interest being overlapped by super-power interests. It is because of these overlaps that increasingly we have found that in this Non-Aligned Conference we are beginning to fight proxy battles. Nations have come to articulate viewpoints and interests of super-powers, whichever super-power it may be. And it is this manifestation and its link with the earlier mentioned concept of the rejection of the exclusivity of the super-power interests that I would commend to the hon. Minister.

I would also mention very briefly and caution the Government against problems of institutionalisation. Non-alignment is a philosophy and it is a movement and when we move towards institutionalising it, there are dangers in it. Even the Coordinating Bureau which has now expanded becomes a 66 member body. The fact that there is compulsion now to have the Conference every three years is in itself a sign of institutionalisation of the Conference and one ought to be warned of the dangers of institutionalisation.

The themes of the Conference were peace, disarmament and development and a number of speakers have spoken about them. I will submit that in the wide generality of these consensus the Non-Alignment movement really did not say anything which it had not said earlier. If you look at the resolutions either at Havana or elsewhere earlier, you will see that the same concern was articulated as is indeed articulated at any world body which gathers. There is a point in what I am trying to say. We were unable to articulate these specifics.

And, Sir, we were unable to articulate the specifics, we were unable to come to grips with things because, to a large extent, the credibility of the sermons of the non-aligned movement have lost their punch and the credibility is lost on account of what I would call the conflict of dualities. What are these dualities? The non-aligned and the participants in the non-aligned conference take on a tone of excessive piety. Sir, that excessive piety goes to speaking of a new economic order. But that new economic order is in the face of an existing duality at home. The basic thrust of the new economic order is for the eradication and elimination of duality and our voice for the elimination of that duality lacks the punch precisely because a duality exists on the domestic scene. The road to the new economic order started in 1964 at Cairo, got a new push at Lusaka, at Algiers, at Havana. Sir, very many eminent people have spoken about this new economic order and I sometimes think that there is very little new in what is being spoken of as a new economic order—this is not a discipline in which I can claim to be a specialist—but I do feel that there is very little economics either in that and I do feel that there is very little order in it, it is all disorderly, and that it is a mistake to call it an order. It is completely divorced from the challenge and the task of the non-aligned movement to which I will come in a minute. Sir, it pains me to point out that whereas we have spoken of—and the document has words of stirring clarity—the question of equality of human beings, on the question of mankind being one, on the question of human rights, yet, here again, our voice lacks the punch because in that conference no recognition of the realities that exist is there—and I say this with due deference—in no other conference will you find a collection of as many military dictators as you would find in this conference. We must, therefore, sit up and reflect deeply whether, in the face of this reality, the non-aligned nations' call for human rights

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

will carry the kind of punch which we want it to carry. There was a mention here, Sir, of the document on the new information order which is badly needed and we all support it. We do feel that the information system as it exists in the world now is currently weighted and biased in favour of the existing order and it resists change. So, what is the duality then? On the one hand, Sir, the host country produces this document of brilliant clarity—look at it; it is very inspiring—on the new information order and, on the other hand, during the very holding of this conference, newspapers and periodicals are seized at the airport merely because they expose us, merely because they speak of something which we want to hide under the carpet. This is not the kind of new information order that we are seeking and this reflects the conflict of dualities which I talk of.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please complete it.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will try very hard to finish, Sir.

Then, Sir, there is also the question of disarmament and the document's sentiments expressed on disarmament, peace, and nuclear proliferation, are indeed what they ought to be and they are most welcome. But here again, Sir, we must sit up and reflect, however naive it may appear if I were to make such a plea. Our expenditure on armaments, the expenditure on armaments by the very participants in the non-aligned conference and in the non-aligned movement, is perhaps the highest. We represent the third world, after all. What is our expenditure? How much are we spending on armaments? How much do the countries, who have participated in this conference, spend on armaments? What do they do in the case of disarmament? It is because of this duality that our plea on the subjects thus lacks the needed thrust. It is this duality, the conflict

of dualities, which I am talking of, that takes away the thrust from the non-aligned movement. This is the conflict. We spend so much on armaments ourselves. It, therefore, hardly lies in our mouth to talk to others about disarmament.

6 P.M.

Sir, the question of detente is very, very closely related to our policies with neighbourhood. Unless we are able to demonstrate peace with neighbourhood, on the South-East Asian sub-continent, all our cries and calls for detente abroad will not carry conviction.

I will come now, Sir, heeding your voice to be brief, to what I call the challenges to chairmanship. There are only four or five that, with my limited understanding I can point out, as the challenges that we face. The hon Prime Minister, which the motion seeks to eulogize, has in an apparently satisfying and disingenuous manner said: We do not tilt, we stand upright. Now, this is a sort of statement which appears to satisfy, which appears to explain, yet fails to satisfy. I would say that in international affairs, in international relations, where we stand is largely determined by where we sit. And that is a reality. It is no good disputing it that we are recognized to be sitting in lobbies. If we are recognized to be sitting in lobbies, then that will take away something from the thrust. from the conviction in our voice, of that it is a mistake to call it an very centrally non-aligned? India is the single greatest voluntary friend of the Soviet Union. But we can continue to play a meaningful role, Mr. Minister, as a friend of the Soviet Union or indeed of others only if we as the Chairman of this movement continue to reflect the consensus of the rest, and if we continue not only to be, but actually appear to be, very centrally non-aligned. So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, I do submit that the Soviet Union can win back the position in the Non-aligned movement if it gives up force, and

declares its commitment to the non-use of force outside its territories and it involves itself in the great debate which, I think, is the greatest outcome of this movement, in the great debate which is the North-South debate. There is, in the Documents and in the Resolution adopted in the New Delhi Declaration, I think, an evocative sentence: Great tasks call for wise decisions—as one of the sentences used. It is indeed, Sir, extremely well put. The chairmanship of the Non-aligned movement is a great task and it does call for wise decisions. "And the Earth", as the document says, "belongs to us all". That is also true. Therefore, what do we think about all this? I think this is one of the tasks, because I think the central problem for the Non-aligned movement is now economic. The movement, when it was found 22 years ago, was called the conscience of the world. From being the conscience of the world, there is a certain amount of fudging inevitably because there are now very many; it has acquired several consciences. The new unifying message is very simple. It is the voice of the poor of the world. It is the voice of the "debtors' cartel", a phrase first used by Henry Kissinger.

Now, Sir, the real achievement, the real identity, of the Non-aligned movement has, therefore, shifted from being 'the conscience of the world', from being 'the moral force' an 'alternative strategy of peace', to really a hard-crunch issue, which is economic, which represents the third world. We articulate the views of the third world; it is the field of the third world and they have collected and gathered together in this club. If it is purely economic—it is not purely economic—but if it is largely economic then we are faced with moving away from talk into action, and the need to do something very concrete about finances and trade within the South, within the Non-alignment. And we need to do some-

thing very concrete about Southern financial institutions. I want to quote—a very short quote—from Brandt. It is called, "Common Crisis—Co-operation for World Recovery." It will not take me more than half a minute. In the words of Harry Dexter White, who was in one fashion the American counterpart of Lord Keynes at Bretton Woods; who criticised the United States attitude by saying.

"Where modern diplomacy calls for swift and bold action, we engage in long drawn-out cautious negotiations; where we should talk in terms of billions of dollars, we think in terms of millions; where we should measure success by the generosity of the government that can best afford it, we measure it by the sharpness of the bargain driven; where we should be dealing with all-embracing economic, political and social problems, we discuss minor trade objectives, or small national advantages; . . . we must substitute, before it is too late, imagination for tradition; generosity for shrewdness; understanding for bargaining; toughness for caution; and wisdom for prejudice."

Here, he is talking about the attitude of the United States. Talking about the other Super Power, he said:

"In the Soviet Union and other East European countries there were only limited signs of positive discussion on the issues raised in our Report".—Essentially issues North-South, essentially issues of the poor and the rich of which we now represent the poor—"although it has been translated into Romanian and a Polish translation may still be forthcoming)." This is about the translation of the Report.

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

Sir, I would like to quote: We are placed in a complex world. We are faced by a world which is, by some categorised, as a world in a state of anomy.

Sir, I would like to quote three lines from Tito which he used in Belgrade in 1978:

"We are witnessing attempts to create new forms of colonial presence or new forms of block dependence, foreign influence and domination in vitally important regions of the Non-aligned world . . ."

Sir, these are not my sentiments. These are the sentiments used by one of the founders of the Non-alignment Movement, a contemporary of the late Jawaharlal Nehru. We would do well, Sir, in our Chairmanship of the Non-alignment Movement, a distinction and honour which the country has certainly received, to bear all these things in mind.

So, Sir, it is for those reasons that I oppose the Resolution. Thank you, very much.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would like to inform that Shri Vishvajit Prithvijit Singh has agreed for the postponement of the Half-an Hour Discussion. That will be taken up later on. Now, Shri Yogendra Sharma. But I would like to inform the hon. Members that there is a long list of speakers. And I think we are having a fairly good discussion. But if you all agree, I would like to call the hon. Minister at 7 P.M. for reply. So, before 7 o'clock, we have to conclude the discussion.

- SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA (Himachal Pradesh): Sir, we should be afforded an opportunity to participate in the debate.

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा (बिहार) : मान्यवर यह शिखर सम्मेलन बहुत दिन चला, बहुत घंटे चला और उसके कितने

डाक्यूमेंट्स हैं, उन पर हमको आपने विचार प्रकट करने का मौका दिया है तो हम समझते हैं कि उसी के मुताबिक आप समय में भी उदारता दिखाएंगे।

श्री उपसभापति : इतना समय कहाँ से आयेगा।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : मान्यवर, अभी अभी हमने अपने माननीय मित्र श्री जसवंत सिंह जी का भाषण सुना कि वे इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध कर रहे हैं और यह भी सोचने की कोशिश की कि क्यों विरोध कर रहे हैं तो इसको सुन कर के हमको आश्चर्य नहीं हुआ, हम तो इसकी उम्मीद किये हुए थे। हमको तुलसी दास की एक पंक्ति याद आ जाती है इस शिखर सम्मेलन के मुतलिक--अभी-अभी जसवंत सिंह जी ने जो भावना प्रकट की है, उस भावना को सुन कर....

श्री जसवंत सिंह : नहीं, सुनाइये साहब, शेर-शायरी।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : मैं तो शेर वाला नहीं हूँ, मैं तो रामायण वाला हूँ।

श्री जसवंत सिंह : आप तो कम्युनिस्ट हैं, रामायण वाले कैसे हुए ?

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : अब सुना रहा हूँ, आप सुन लीजिए--

"जाकि रही भावना जैसी,

प्रभु मूरत तिन्ह देखी तैसी।"

तो जसवंत सिंह जी ने अपनी भावना को प्रकट कर दिया और हम विचार कर रहे हैं इस शिखर सम्मेलन के बारे में, गुट-निरपेक्ष शिखर सम्मेलन के बारे में, तो इनको कम्युनिज्म का भूत सताने

लगा। क्या उनको याद आ गया कम्युनिस्ट मनिफेस्टो का पहला वाक्य 1848 में जो कार्ल मार्क्स ने लिखा था कि—sceptre of communism haunts Europe. बदकिस्मती से हमारे माननीय मित्र को वह भूत अब भी सता रहा है।

खैर इन की बातों का जवाब तो और साहब देंगे, हम अपनी बात कहना चाहते हैं। हम इस गुट निरपेक्ष शिखर सम्मेलन के सफल संगठन, संचालन और समापन के लिए भारत सरकार, भारतीय प्रतिनिधि मंडल और सम्मेलन की अध्यक्षता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को हार्दिक बधाई देते हैं।

सच तो यह है कि दिल्ली शिखर सम्मेलन से हमारे देश की अन्तराष्ट्रीय प्रतिष्ठा और गरिमा बढ़ी है। इस सम्मेलन के दौरान बाहर से आये हुए बहुत से प्रतिनिधियों से बात करने का हमको मौका मिला बहुत से अखबारनवीसों से बात करने का मौका मिला और उनसे बात करने के बाद हम इस नतीजे पर पहुंचे कि हमारे देश की प्रतिष्ठा आगे बढ़ी है और उनमें बहुत से लोग जिनको कि हमारे देश के बारे में कुछ दूसरी ग़लतकहमियां थी, वह दूर हो गयीं और भारत का तेज उनकी आंखों में चकाचौंध हो गया।

तो सच तो यह है कि दिल्ली शिखर सम्मेलन हमारे देश की अन्तराष्ट्रीय प्रतिष्ठा और गरिमा बढ़ी है। क्योंकि इससे गुट-निरपेक्ष आंदोलन की एकता, विश्वसनीयता और सार्थकता को नई शक्ति और सामर्थ्य प्राप्त हुआ है। यह कहना अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगा कि रूप, रंग और गुण इन सब विचारों से दिल्ली शिखर सम्मेलन गुट-निरपेक्ष शिखर सम्मेलन के, इसके पहले छह शिखर सम्मेलन हो चुके थे, यह सातवां शिखर सम्मेलन था, तो अब तक के जितने भी शिखर सम्मेलन हुए हैं, उन तमाम शिखर

सम्मेलनों का यह शिखर है। 101 देशों के राज्याध्यक्षों और शासनाध्यक्षों ने सहज ही इस सम्मेलन को विश्व की अधिसंख्यक जनता तथा राष्ट्रमंडल के दो-तिहाई सदस्यों का प्रतिनिधित्व प्रदान कर दिया। यह मामूली बात नहीं है। यह एक नये युग के आगमन का सूचक है पहले किसी भी युग में यह संभव नहीं हो सकता था कि वह देश जो साम्राज्यवादी जुए के नीचे कराह रहे थे, व इस जुए को फैंक कर के एक साथ बैठते हैं और अपने देश की समस्याओं को मिल करके कैसे हल करें, इसके लिए विचार करते हैं। यह एक नये युग का खोतक है। इस युग में आज हम प्रवेश कर चुके हैं।

मान्यवर, जिस श्रद्धा और सम्मान के साथ निवृत्तमान अध्यक्ष फीडल कास्ट्रो ने श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को अध्यक्ष के आसन पर प्रतिष्ठित किया और नई अध्यक्षता, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने निवृत्तमान अध्यक्ष फीडल कास्ट्रो के पिछले तीन वर्षों में गुट-निरपेक्ष आंदोलन की अध्यक्षता की सराहना की, वह आंदोलन की निरंतरता, कंटिन्यूटी और प्रगतिशीलता, प्रोग्रेसिवनेस के चरित्र का प्रतीक था, वरना यह चीज सम्भव नहीं थी।

मान्यवर, आज हम जिस दुनिया में हैं वह दुनिया कभी भी रसातल में चली जा सकती है। इतने आणविक हथियार जमा हो गये हैं कि उन के द्वारा इस दुनिया को पन्द्रह बार समाप्त कर दिया जा सकता है। ऐसी हालत में हम हैं और ऐसी हालत में अब तक हमने दुनिया को आणविक युद्ध के दावानल में जलने नहीं दिया। इस का एक बहुत बड़ा श्रेय गुट निरपेक्ष आन्दोलन को है। हम लोगों को मासूम है कि पहले महायुद्ध के बाद, पहले महायुद्ध के केवल बाद के वर्षों के बाद दुनिया के साम्राज्यवादियों

[श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा]

ने दुनिया को दूसरे महायुद्ध की आग में झोंक दिया और आज जबकि इतने अस्त्र और शस्त्र जमा हो गये हैं उसके बावजूद दूसरे महायुद्ध को बीते 38 वर्ष हो गये हैं, लेकिन अभी तक दुनिया तीसरे महायुद्ध की, आणविक युद्ध की आग से बची हुई है। इसका बहुत बड़ा श्रेय गुटनिरपेक्ष आंदोलन और उन समाजवादी देशों को है जो आज साम्राज्यवादियों के युद्ध के मन्सूबे को चकनाचूर कर रहे हैं। आणविक युद्ध के सर्वनाश से मानव जीवन और सभ्यता की रक्षा के लिये, राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता और विकासशील देशों के विकास के लिए, राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता के लिए लड़ने वालों की सहायता के लिए—हमारे जसवंत सिंह को कुछ नहीं मालूम—सम्मेलन ने नयी विश्व राजनैतिक और आर्थिक व्यवस्था के जो ठोस प्रस्ताव किये हैं वे वर्तमान युगधर्म के महामानवत तावादी उद्बोधन और व्यापकतम कुशलता के यथार्थवादी कार्यक्रम हैं। जिस हद तक इस कार्यक्रम पर अमल होगा उस हद तक निरशस्त्रीकरण और अनीपनिवेशीकरण की ज्वलन्त समस्याओं को हल करने में मदद होगी। मुद्रा और वित्त की नयी विश्व व्यवस्था को कायम करने के लिए एक विशेष अन्तरराष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन का प्रस्ताव अत्यन्त ही समाजिक और न्यायसंगत है। यह कितनी बड़ी समस्या है वह इसी से हम समझ सकते हैं कि आज गरीब विकासशील देशों की—जसवंत सिंह ने कम से कम यह बात कबूल की और वहाँ पर हम एक राय के हैं कि गरीब देशों के मध्ये पर 540 बिलियन डालर का कर्ज का बोझ है। और यह कर्ज का बोझ क्यों है? इस लिए कर्ज का बोझ है कि हमारे जो कच्चे माल हैं, धिनको हम दूसरी जगह बेजते हैं, इन विकसित देशों के पास बेजते हैं उन की कीमत पूरी नहीं मिलती।

और उनके माल को जब हम खरीदते हैं तो उस को खरीदने के लिये हम को बहुत ज्यादा कीमत देनी पड़ती है। और इससे जो हम को नुकसान होता है उस नुकसान को पूरा करने के लिये उन से हम को कर्ज लेना पड़ता है। तो आज 540 बिलियन डालर्स विकासशील देशों के मध्ये पर कर्ज का पहाड़ है और मान्यवर, 150 बिलियन डालर्स सिर्फ पिछले दो सालों में हम लोगों ने विदेश व्यापार में अपनी चीजों की उचित कीमत न पाने का कारण खोया है। हम लोगों का मतलब विकासशील देशों से है। ऐसी अवस्था है, ऐसी व्यवस्था है। ऐसी वास्तविकता है। जसवंत सिंह जी इस को कायम रखना चाहते हैं। आश्चर्य की बात है। बहुत से संवाददाताओं ने प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी से पूछा कि आपने सम्मेलन में प्रस्ताव किया है मुद्रा और वित्त पर एक विशेष अन्तरराष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन के लिए। आप इस को पास करेंगी? भीख मांगेंगी इन धनी देशों से? क्या करेंगी आप? तो प्रधान मंत्री ने जवाब दिया कि हम भीख नहीं मागेंगे क्योंकि जो अवस्था पैदा हो गयी है उस अवस्था में यदि परिवर्तन नहीं किया गया, रिस्ट्रक्चरिंग नहीं की गयी, विश्व की आर्थिक व्यवस्था की पुनर्रचना नहीं की गयी तो न केवल विकासशील देश बल्कि विकसित देश भी जहलूम में पहुँच जायेंगे। आज जो कर्ज है विकासशील देशों के मध्ये यदि तमाम विकासशील देश दुनिया के कर्ज की किश्तों को चुकाना और सूद को चुकाना बन्द कर दें तो अमरीका के सभी बैंक फेल हो जायेंगे, इंग्लैंड के सभी बैंक फेल हो जायेंगे, फ्रांस के सभी बैंक फेल हो जायेंगे और उनकी आर्थिक व्यवस्था जहलूम में चली जायेगी। तो हम जो माँग कर रहे हैं वह इस लिये नहीं कि हम भीख मांगते हैं। एक ऐसी अवस्था, ऐसी व्यवस्था के

विकासशील देशों को भी अपनी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के लिये, विकास का समान अवसर मिले और वह भी जहन्नुम में न चले जायें इसलिये हम यह कह रहे हैं। नहीं तो वह भी जहन्नुम में चले जायेंगे।

दूसरी बात, यह बताने की आवश्यकता नहीं कि दूसरे महायुद्ध के पहले तक यह 101 देश जो नयी दिल्ली में जमा हुए थे वे साम्राज्यवादी गुलामी की जकड़ के नीचे थे और उन को लूट लूट कर यह पश्चिम के विकसित देश धनी हुए हैं। जब हम मांग करते हैं तो यह मांग करते हैं कि तुम ने हमारी अपार लूट की है, हमारा अपार शोषण किया है। नैतिक दायित्व तुम्हारा है कि उस शोषण का थोड़ा सा हिस्सा हम को वापस कर दो। तुम ने यदि पाँच करोड़ डालर का शोषण किया है तो कम से कम 5 लाख तो हम को वापस कर दो। हम भोख नहीं मांगते हैं। हमारी जो लूट हुई है, हम उस लूट को वापस लेना चाहते हैं। बहुत लोगों ने, खुशकिस्मती से यहां पर किसी ने नहीं कहा, मगर बाहर कई एक अखबारों में लिखा है और कुछ राजनीतिज्ञों ने भी यह बात कही है

विदेश मंत्री (श्री पी० वी० नरसिंहराव): छोड़िये बाहर की बात। जो बातें यहां कही गयी हैं, उनका जवाब दीजिए।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा: उनका सोच है कि भारत टिल्ट हो गया है।

श्री उपसभापति: शर्मा जी, आप आप मंच पर ही कहिये।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा: यहां टिल्ट की बात आ गयी। मैं तो सीधा हूं, वे कहते हैं कि टिल्ट हो गये हैं। कैसे हो गया

टिल्ट? इसलिए हो गया कि शिखर सम्मेलन में जो घोषणा पत्र जारी किया है; दूसरे दस्तावेज जारी किये हैं उनमें अमरीका का नाम, निन्दनीय उल्लेख के रूप में बीस बार नाम आया है और सोवियत संघ का एक बार भी नाम नहीं आया है। असल में रोना इस बात का है। मगर वास्तविकता क्या है? इजराइल की मदद करने के लिए यदि अमरीका की निन्दा करने के लिए उस क्षेत्र के तमाम देशों ने मांग की तो राब साहब को झुकना पड़ा। इनके ड्राफ्ट में शायद पहले अमरीका का नाम नहीं था। शुरू-शुरू में ओरिजनल ड्राफ्ट में नाम नहीं था। मगर जब रीजनल देशों के प्रतिनिधियों ने कहा नाम दो अमरीका को तो आपको स्वीकार करना पड़ा और आपने स्वीकार किया। इसके लिए आपको धन्यवाद। इसी तरह से बीस बार नाम लिया। क्योंकि रंगभेदवादी दक्षिणी अफ्रीका की सहायता करने और नामिबिया को राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता से वंचित करने का सवाल आया तो अफ्रीका के तमाम देशों ने कहा कि अमरीका की निन्दा करो, नाम लेकर निन्दा करो। राब साहब होस्ट कंट्री के प्रतिनिधिमंडल के अध्यक्ष होने के नाते स्वीकार करने के लिए विवश थे। शायद नहीं भी स्वीकार करते यदि वह लोग नहीं कहते तो। लेकिन आज तो दुनिया के दूसरे देश कह रहे हैं, नई दुनिया तैयार हो रही है लेकिन हमारे जसवन्त सिंह जो पुरानी दुनिया में ही लटे हुए हैं।

श्रीमन्, अंगोला का सवाल आया। निकारागुवा का सवाल आया। एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि आज जब हम बहस कर रहे हैं तो अमरीका निकारागुवा में फौजी दस्त-अंदाजी कर रहा है, हमला कर रहा है। यदि मध्य अमरीका के तमाम प्रतिनिधिमंडल दक्षिणी

[श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा]

अफ्रीका के तमाम प्रतिनिधिमंडल, लेटिन अमरीका के तमाम प्रतिनिधिमंडल मंग करते हैं कि नाम लेकर अमरीका की निन्दा करो तो हमारे राव साहब क्या करेंगे ? उनको स्वीकार करना पड़ा ।

हिन्द महासागर को शान्ति क्षेत्र घोषित करो, इस के लिए सम्मेलन बुलाओ, इसकी चर्चा हम कई बार इस सदन में पहले भी कर चुके हैं । इसका किसने विरोध किया ? अमरीका ने विरोध किया । इसका किसने समर्थन किया । सोवियत संघ ने समर्थन किया । जसवंत-सिंह जी भाग गये ।

श्री उपसभापति : उनको जाने दीजिए, अब आप समाप्त करिये ।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : मान्यवर, हम सब आशा करते हैं कि राव साहब हमको याद दिलायेंगे कि कौन सा वर्ष था, कौन सा समय था, संयुक्त राष्ट्र अमरीका में कौन सा प्रशासन था जिसने कहा था कि गुट निरपेक्ष आन्दोलन अनैतिक है, इम्मोरल है ? कहा था या नहीं ? एक तरफ गुट-निरपेक्ष आन्दोलन को एक होती कहती है कि इम्मोरल है और दूसरी हस्ती क्या कहती है ? हम उसका समर्थन करेंगे । दोनों को एक ही तराजू पर रखेंगे ? जसवंत सिंह जी दोनों को एक ही तराजू पर रखना चाहते हैं ; यह कैसे हो सकता है ?

अभी-अभी, मान्यवर, दो दिन पहले सोवियत संघ के प्रधान मंत्री ने बेग्रेड में गये हुए थे जहां पर प्रथम शिखर सम्मेलन हुआ था और यूगोस्लाविया के प्रधान मंत्री ने उनके सम्मान में प्रीति भोज दिया था । उस प्रीति भोज

में भाषण करते हुए सोवियत संघ के प्रधान मंत्री तिकोनोव ने कहा, मैं कोट कर रहा हूँ —

"We have respect for the non-alignment movement which formalised itself precisely here in Belgrade more than 20 years ago."

जब से इसकी स्थापना हुई तब से सोवियत संघ इसका समर्थन करता है ।

"It plays the growing constructive role in the consolidation of peace and international security, in the liquidation of crisis situations, in the defence of the independence of States and peoples that freed themselves from colonial bondage. We welcome this trend of the non-aligned movement that was clearly manifested at the Seventh Conference in New Delhi".

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, please conclude.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL (Jammu and Kashmir): Is there no time limit?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA (Karnataka): There should be distribution of time, like distribution of resources.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. It is a very difficult job.

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : यह सोवियत संघ का दृष्टिकोण है हमारे शिखर सम्मेलन के बारे में । मान्यवर, इस वास्तविक को न देखना और ओख मूंद कर आज की दुनिया में चलना देश को रसातल में पहुंचा देना है । (व्यवधान)

श्री उपसभापति : कृपया समाप्त करिये ।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : मैं खतम कर रहा हूँ। मैं आपकी कठिनाई को समझ रहा हूँ। मैं बीमार आदमी हूँ ज्यादा बोल नहीं सकता। नहीं तो बोलने के लिये मेरे पास बहुत सी बातें हैं।

मान्यवर, 20 साल पहले गुट-निरपेक्ष आंदोलन की स्थापना की अवधि में दिवंगत पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, मार्शल टीटो और नासिर विश्व के गुटनिरपेक्ष राजनीतिक रंगमंच पर प्रधान नायक के रूप में निखरे। यह इतिहास की बात है। हमारे कुछ दूसरे माननीय सदस्यों ने भी यही बात कही है कि इस सम्मेलन में श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी, फिडेल कैस्ट्रो और अराफात विश्व के गुटनिरपेक्ष राजनीतिक रंगमंच पर प्रमुख रूप से प्रकट हुए हैं। इसलिये हमें अभिमान है। इसका हमें हर्ष है। धन्यवाद।

श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेख (उत्तर प्रदेश): हमारी पार्टी को आप नज़र अन्दाज़ कर रहे हैं।

श्री उपसभापति : आपकी पार्टी को भी बुला रहा हूँ। बारी-बारी से तो बुलाऊंगा।

श्रीमती मार्ग्रेट आल्वा : हमारी साइड के मेम्बरों को नहीं बुला रहे हैं।

श्री उपसभापति : आपकी पार्टी से तीन को बुला चुका हूँ।

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I hope this party will not envy me when my turn comes.

Sir, it is a great privilege and honour to support this Motion. In fact we have been waiting for it with a fervent hope that the time will come when we shall be congratulating our

Prime Minister for this historic achievement. In fact, what I see is, what as Poet Iqbal had said:

अरुह मर्दाए सर्क में खून ज़िन्दगी दोड़ा।

Translated it means, in the dead veins of the East, the life blood is flowing. This world is torn with strife. Especially we see that the non-aligned countries are having internecine warfare. Neighbours are fighting neighbours and there are so many wars in different part of the world which the super powers fight by proxy. 160 countries which are independent, 46 major international wars have taken place and 52 disputes of minor nature are going on today in the world. In this context, when the Heads of State or Government meet, they have different preceptions, they have different systems of government and administration and naturally it is no wonder that there will be some differences of opinion. But the whole matter is resolved when there is consensus.

I think one major aspect of this success is that they met, discussed and came to a conclusion, especially in the economic field. The grave economic plight affecting all mankind was brought into sharper focus by the seventh summit of the Non-Aligned Movement whose membership is 101 this time. Sir, it called for the immediate convening of an international conference on money and finance to restructure the world monetary and financial system to improve the world economic climate. The Non-Aligned Movement urged the Head of States or Government to attend the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly to help find equitable, fair, speedy and just solutions

[Shri Gulam Mohi-ud-din Shawl]
to these issues, eradicate the burden of debts which is crushing all non-aligned movement countries with shrinking markets for their goods. The summit has proposed a series of steps to write off the debts of the least-developed countries, augment food supply and energy, ensure greater access to markets, fair prices for primary commodities and dismantling of the barriers to a freer trade in goods and services. Now, that was the economic aspect of the summit.

As far as the political aspect is concerned, that is more important to us in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The basic trouble was that in our neighbourhood, we in Kashmir have the Russian troops at our door. Russia, a Super Power, has committed that aggression on a non-aligned, independent, sovereign country. Being non-aligned we were very much concerned with it and in that part of the country we felt what this summit will do and we were looking askance as to the result of this meeting. It is gratifying to note that the resolution about Afghanistan called for a political settlement on the basis of withdrawal of foreign troops with full respect for the sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and at the same time, it recognised the intermediary role of the UN Secretary-General and the right of the Afghan refugees—they number millions—who are at this time starving. These refugees have no shelter and are undergoing lots of miseries and sufferings. So it is gratifying that this Non-Aligned Summit has called for all Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. But return in safety and honour will be possible only when the Russian troops withdraw from that part of the world.

Sir, we welcome the Chairmanship of India, and our Madam Prime Minister shoulders the responsibility to

chair the Summit for the next three years. But you know the trouble, as we have seen that two hon. Members while discussing this issue had varied view points on this Chairmanship. However, I think we must realise that this Chairmanship is an uphill task and a great responsibility lies on Madam Prime Minister. India, as Chairman of this Summit, must maintain equal distance between these Super Powers—two or three or whatever their number are. Between these Super Powers we must maintain equal distance so that the critics or even the cynics have not the courage to say that the balance is tilted towards a particular Super Power, because that will frustrate and defeat the very purpose of the Non-Aligned Movement Sir... (Interruptions)... I support it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all right. You have done very well.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: Thank you, if I had a note of dissent, I would have done so. However, I would like to refer to another aspect of this Non-Aligned Meet, I want to say it here—that I welcome with your permission, although this is not a part of the Motion, I welcome the signing of an agreement for Joint Commission between India and Pakistan on 10th March, 1983.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Leave aside that point.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: Please, Sir, only one point, because that is part and parcel of this motion of thanks. As far as this Afghanistan issue is concerned, I hope and pray and plead and request Madam Chairman that the follow-up steps must be such that the question is politically solved in the near future, if not immediately, so that a fully sovereign non-aligned democratic Afghanistan emerges. As

far as this Indo-Pak Agreement signed on 10th March is concerned, we, the people of Jammu and Kashmir, welcome that and I think that this Agreement between India and Pakistan will lead to multi-faceted cooperation between the two neighbouring countries. It will enable the two countries to explore systematically the potential for beneficial relations in a number of agreed fields, strengthen mutual understanding, and exchange in matters of mutual interest and remove those gaps of communication which have interrupted or impeded the growth of trust and confidence. Here I submit, Sir, because the statements were issued on both sides when the President of Pakistan referred to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and there was a sharp and natural reaction from the Government of India.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is a different item.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: Only one point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right; one minute.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: Because it will not harm anybody; it will benefit us. And in that connection, they say so much about the Simla Agreement.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Leave that point. That we can discuss on some other occasion.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: There is Article 253 of the constitution. I have referred to it so many times; and I hope the concerned do not forget it. To article 253, the following proviso was added. "After the commencement of the Constitution applicable to Jammu and Kashmir Order 1954, no decision affecting the dispensation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be made by the Government of India without the consent of the Government of that State", whom I represent in this House.

With these words, I support the Motion and congratulate all the concerned for this noble and historic achievement. Thank you.

श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेख : जनाब, बगदाद के बजाय दिल्ली को नान् एलाइन्ड सम्मिट को होस्ट करने का मौका मिला और इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि थोड़े वक़्त में जिस आर्गनाइजिंग कैपेसिटी का सबूत हमारे आफिसर्स ने और दूसरे दोस्तों ने, जो मुत्सवा दोस्त थे, दिया यह प्रशंसनीय है। मांसिबाय कुछ एक छोटी मोटी कमियों के जैसे सेक्युरिटी के लोग दिन भर काम करते रहे, शाम को घर पहुंचाने का इंतजाम भी नहीं था। छोटी-मोटी बातों को छोड़कर बाई-एन-लार्ज इंतजाम करने में कोई कमी नहीं रखी, यह बात मैं मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ। लेकिन यह कोई इतना बड़ा काम भी नहीं था, हिन्दुस्तान के लिये कोई कठिन काम नहीं था। आखिर कोलम्बो ने, इजिप्ट ने, युगोस्लाविया ने, अल्जीरिया ने, तमाम छोटे-छोटे मुल्कों ने सम्मिट कामयाब किये हैं। हमारे इतने बड़े देश के लिये कोई ऐसा बड़ा काम नहीं था जो न होन वाली चीज़ थी। इसके बावजूद भी मैं कहना हूँ, इंतजामिया सलाइयत रखने के लिये मैं इस बात को अप्रिसियेट करता हूँ कि गो यह मंहगा जरूर पड़ा लेकिन जिस ढंग से खूशअसलूवी अंजाम दिया, क्योंकि इसमें सेक्युरिटी रिस्क था। आखिर सैकड़ों मुल्कों के सरबराह यहाँ आये थे, उनकी सेक्युरिटी का इंतजाम में ढील नहीं की जा सकती थी। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसमें सादगी जरूर लाई जा सकती थी। हमारा देश गरीब है अगर वहाँ द्रव्यों पर मेन्ट न छिड़कते जैसा कि अफ्रिकन कंट्रीज के डेलीगेशन ने कहा कि रिच कंट्री है। साहब यहाँ

[श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेख]

तो विज्ञान भवन के दरखतों से भी खुशबू आ रही है सेंट की। अगर हम उनके घर पर हैं, कमरों में शराब न रखते, खुर्ची नालाब की हर पालिसी से हम इख्तलाफ करते हैं लेकिन अगर उन्होंने अपने मुल्क में शराब पीने पर पाबन्दी लगाई है तो उन्होंने कहा है बाहर से भी कोई अगर आएगा तो उसको भी हम शराब नहीं पिलाएंगे, इस तरह से हम इसको सादा ढंग से कर सकते थे। उनके लिए जहाँ झुग्गी-झोंपड़ियों पर पर्दा कर लें ताकि वे न देखें यह सब चीजों की गद्दी, इसके बावजूद भी इसको मैं काबिले एतराज नहीं समझता। मुझे जो आपत्ति थोड़ी सी है जिसको मैं समझता था कि इसको बेहतर ढंग से निभाया जा सकता था वह अहम है और दूसरी तरह की है प्रोसीजर भी है, कन्वेंशनल भी है। पंचसाल के तौर पर यह तो हैड्ज आफ स्टेट्स का सम्मेलन था और हैड्ज आफ स्टेट्स में बादशाह भी थे, राष्ट्रपति भी थे, प्राइम मिनिस्टर भी थे और अगर राष्ट्रपति कहीं अबेलेबल नहीं थे जैसे जनरल सुहारटो अगर चुनाव लड़ रहे थे नहीं आ सकते थे, उनका अगर फारेन मिनिस्टर या प्राइम-मिनिस्टर रिप्रेजेंट करता तो बात समझ में आ सकती थी लेकिन हैड्ज आफ स्टेट्स का सम्मेलन हो और मेरे क्वाल् में यह कितना ही बेहतर होता कि हिन्दुस्तान के हैड आफ दी स्टेट हमारे राष्ट्रपति ज्ञानी जल सिंह उसका उद्घाटन करते। बेशक हमारी काबिल प्रधानमन्त्री अपना डेलीगेशन लीड करतीं। लेकिन इसके लिए जरूरी था कि हैड आफ दी स्टेट को ही इस सम्मेलन का उद्घाटन करना चाहिये था राष्ट्रपति जी को करना चाहिए था यह कायदे के लिहाज से जाब्ते के लिहाज से एक लेकूना है, एक कमी है और मैं समझता हूँ इसके लिए गवर्नमेंट को सोचना

चाहिए कि इस तरह की कमियों को हमारे मुंह पर भले ही कोई न करें लेकिन चर्चा होती है। अगर हमारे राष्ट्रपति तमाम विदेशी डेलीगेट्स को, डिप्टीगैट्स को हवाई अड्डे पर रिसीव कर सकते हैं, सब कुछ है, ही इज बरी मच इन दी कैपिटल, वे बाहर भी नहीं थे तो वे इस सम्मेलन का उद्घाटन न करें यह एक अजीब बात लगती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह चीज हम को खटकी है।

दूसरी बात जो हम को कहनी है वह यह है, इसमें जो कमी रही है गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से कि हर मुल्क के डेलीगेशन ने, मेजोरिटी मुल्कों के डेलीगेशन के लीडर्ज ने जो तकरीरें की उन्होंने अपनी भाषा में तकरीरें कं। वे ट्रांस्लेटर्ज अपने साथ लाए थे। लेकिन हमारा डेलीगेशन जो होस्ट डेलीगेशन था उसमें अपनी भाषा में नेशनल लेग्वेज में हिन्दी में या किसी हिन्दुस्तानी भाषा में तकरीरें करने के बजाय अंग्रेजी में तकरीरें की, यह एक चर्चा का विषय है। क्या यहाँ पर हिन्दी ट्रांस्लेटर्ज की कमी थी, अंग्रेजी ट्रांस्लेटर्ज की कमी थी? हम होस्ट मुल्क थे, हम हर इन्तजाम कर सकते थे। जहाँ हम इतने बड़े इन्तजाम कर सकते थे वहाँ क्या ट्रांस्लेटर्ज का इन्तजाम नहीं कर सकते थे? लेकिन बाहर के विदेशी डेलीगेशन जो हैं उन्होंने अपनी-अपनी भाषाओं में तकरीरें की और उनका अनुवाद भी हुआ मगर हमारा डेलीगेशन जो है उसने अंग्रेजी में तकरीरें कीं। यह बहुत मायुब बात थी और इसका सुधार होना चाहिये था। यह मेरी नज़र में कमी रही है।

हमारा मुल्क अंकि होस्ट मुल्क था तो हमारी प्रधान मंत्री को तीन साल के लिए चेयरमैन बनने का शरफ़ हासिल हुआ है।

यह अच्छी बात है। इसमें कोई कम्पीटीशन और इलेक्शन नहीं था जिसको बहुत बड़ा चढ़ा कर भेजा जाए, पेश किया जाए। यह तो एक कन्वेंशन है कि जो भी मेज़बान मुल्क होगा वह आइंदा के लिए तीन साल के लिए चेयरमैन होगा और चेयरमैन बनने के बाद अब प्राइम-मिनिस्टर के जिम्मे एक ऐसी जिम्मेदारी है आइंदा के लिए जिस स्पीरिट से इसका आगाज़ हुआ था नेहरू जी, टीटो, जमाल अब्दुल नासर, सुकारनो, एनक्रूमा ने जिन मकासिद के लिए इसका आगाज़ किया, था उन मकासिद को आगे बढ़ाना है इसका बोझ आज इन्दिरा जी के कंधों पर आ गया है। तब तो बहुत लिमिटेड मुल्क इस के अन्दर थे। यह ठीक है कि अब भीड़ इकट्ठी हुई लेकिन इस भीड़ के अन्दर डेमोक्रेटिक कंट्रीज़ भी हैं, इसमें फंजी हुक्मरान भी हैं, इसमें शख्सी बादशाह भी हैं, इसमें तानाशाह भी हैं और इसमें दूसरी तरह की कई सिस्टम आफ गवर्नमेंट जिनकी अपनी अपनी है वे हैं और इतनी बड़ी क्राउड में जहां आपसी इंटेस्ट प्लैश करते हों, जहां सिस्टम डिफ़ेंट हों, वहां इस सम्मिट को आगे बढ़ाना जो है यह इतना आसान काम नहीं है हम इस बात पर ज्यादा इतराएँ कि चेयरमैनशिप मिली बहुत अच्छी बात हुई लेकिन अब इसको उसी स्पीरिट में आगे बढ़ाना है जिसमें हम ने इसका आगाज़ किया था। इसके बारे में मेरे दोस्तों ने कहा है लेकिन इस सम्मिट के अन्दर उपलब्धियाँ क्या हुई हैं इसमें शक नहीं है कि बहुत अच्छे रेजोल्यूशंस हुए, नाइसलीबर्डेड रेजोल्यूशन हुए। जो इकोनॉमिक डिक्लेरेशन हैं, दूसरी डिक्लेरेशंस हैं उनमें किसी तरह की नून में नुबना निकालने की बात नहीं है लेकिन एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि नान-अलाइंड मूवमेंट शुरू करने वालों का जो कन्सेप्ट था वह कन्सेप्ट अब

काफ़ी हद तक बदल गया है। इन 20-21 सालों में 1961 से लेकर 1983 तक क्या प्रोग्रेस हुई है, क्या एचीवमेंट्स की गई है मासिवाय इसके कि ज्यादा संख्या में इकट्ठे हो गये हैं लोग लेकिन इससे जो नतीजे निकलने चाहिये थे वह नहीं निकले। हमने रेजोल्यूशन कर दिया। क्या हमारे रेजोल्यूशन से कम्प्यूचिया सेवियतनाम की फौजें गई, क्या अफ़गानिस्तान से रशियन फौजें गई, क्या वियतनाम से इज़रायल की फौजें गई? तो लोग कहेंगे साहब नहीं जाते, हमने तो अपनी बात कह दी। तो क्या हम सिर्फ कहने के लिए बैठे हैं। क्या कोई इफ़ेक्टिव स्टेप लेंगे नान एलाइंड कंट्रीज़ के सम्मेलन में ताकि आपने जो स्टैंड लिया उसको मनवा सकें दुनिया में। अगर मनवा नहीं सकेंगे तो हर बार तीसरे साल रिजोल्यूशन करते जाइये। इससे उपलब्धि क्या होगी। तो आप इससे आगे बढ़ करके जो चीज़ें आपके सामने काम करने की हैं, वे कीजिए। उनमें यह है कि न सिर्फ एक नयी सम्मिट हो, उसमें एक नया रिजोल्यूशन हो जाय कि जो स्टैंड बना है हाऊ टु इम्प्लीमेंट इट, इसके बारे में आप क्या बेज एण्ड मीन्स अपनायेंगे इस पर बहुत चीज़ें डिपेंड करती हैं।

इसी तरह से इक्नामिक डिक्लेरेशन जो हैं वह बहुत अच्छा हैं लेकिन उसमें सिसियरिटी कितनी है। इन नान एलाइंड कंट्रीज़ में बहुत सी कंट्रीज़ ऐसी हैं मैं नाम नहीं लूंगा क्योंकि वे हमारे फ़ेडली मुल्क हैं, जो दौलत से मालामाल हैं। खास तौर पर आयल प्रोड्यूसिंग कंट्रीज़ जिनका बहुत सा ख़या अमेरिका, यू० के० और फ्रांस के बैंकों में जमा है या कुछ अन्य एंडवांस्ड कंट्रीज़ में, अगर सिसियरिटी है तो क्या कोई ऐसा फाइनेंशियल इंस्टीट्यूशन बनाने की बात आई क्या उन्होंने आफ़र किया कि हम अपना

[श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेख]

दिया उन बैंकों से निकालकर इन गरीब और अनडेवलप कंट्रीज के लिए खर्च करेंगे। ऐसी बात करने को तैयार नहीं हैं। केवल यहां आकर अपने जो अंदरूनी अगड़े हैं उनके लिए इस नान-एलाइंड मूवमेंट के प्लेटफार्म को एक्सप्लायट करना है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह इस मूवमेंट के साथ ज्यादाती है। क्या हमने ईराक-ईरान वार को बन्द कराने की जो अपीलें की वे किसी ने सुनी? जब हम किसी चीज को इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं करते तो रिजोल्यूशन के ऊपर कल को दुनियां हसेगी और लोग कहेंगे कि यह बहुत कीमती तमाशा होता है। लेकिन इसके आगे लोगों को दुनियां को फायदा नहीं होता है। इसलिए मेरी गुजारिश है कि हम पाजिटिव डाइरेक्शन में कुछ आगे बढ़ने के लिए इस तरह से लाइक माइंडेड कंट्रीज को ले आयें जिससे हम इन उपलब्धियों के बारे में कुछ प्रेक्टिकल स्टेप उठाये। (समय की घंटी) मैं मुश्तसर में खत्म करने वाला हूं। तो जैसा मैंने अर्ज किया कि चेयरमैन बनने के लिए मैं आपको बधाई देता हूं कि आप रिवायती तौर पर चेयरमैन बन गये हैं। लेकिन आपके सामने एक बहुत बड़ा टास्क है। मुझे सिर्फ आपत्ति इतनी है कि इस चीज को आप मास मीडिया के जरिये और दुनियां भर में जिस तरह से प्रचार कर रहे हैं उससे ऐसा लगता है गोया हाइली कम्पटीटिव इलेक्शन जीतने के बाद आपने चेयरमैनी हासिल की हैं। चेयरमैनी हासिल करने के लिए आप कई जगह पर हिन्दुस्तान की तारीफों के लिए विदेशी डेलीगेशनों के सर्टिफिकेट भी पेश करते हैं कि उन्होंने हमारी तारीफ की है। आखिर इस्लाम है कि अगर हम मेजबान हैं तो कोई हमें गाली तो देकर जायेगा नहीं। जो होगा कुछ न कुछ हमारी प्रशंसा में भल्फाज कहकर जायेगा। इसलिए इन

सर्टिफिकेटों को हम पार्टी एंड्स के लिए किसी परसोनेलिटी को प्रोजेक्ट करने के लिए, इंदिरा गांधी को बड़ा चढ़ाकर पेश करने के लिए इस्तेमाल न करें। यह इंदिरा गांधी जी की चेयरमैनशिप का इम्तिहान नहीं है। आज तो बैठे बैठाए वे होस्ट कंट्री के तौर पर चेयरमैन बन गयीं। यह इनकी कोई काबलियत नहीं है। काबलियत हम तीन साल के बाद देखेंगे कि तीन साल के बाद क्या उपलब्धियां होंगी, कितना आगे जायेंगे। मैं एक शब्द कहकर, चूंकि मेरे दोस्त ने रेफरेंस दिया है, खत्म करना चाहता हूं। वह यह है कि मेरे एक दोस्त ने जनरल जिया साहब की तारीफ की थी। श्री महापात्र जी ने कहा था कि देखो कितने अच्छे ढंग से उन्होंने यहां किया। मैं इतना कहना चाहता हूं कि जो सब हमारे मेहमान थे उनकी खातिर स्वागत हमने किया है, लेकिन कायदे और कानून से बाहर जा करके कुछ मुल्कों ने इस प्लेटफार्म पर आकर भी हमको टीज करने की कोशिश की। जनरल जिया-उल-हक साहब ने काश्मीर के मसले को ताश्कंद के एग्रीमेंट और शिमला के एग्रीमेंट की स्ट्रिट के अगेंस्ट जाकर उसका यहां फिर से जिक्र किया। मुझे खुशी है और इसके लिए मैं मुबारकवाद देता हूं फिर अपनी गवर्नमेंट को इस बात के लिए कि हमारे नुमाइंदे ने, हमारे तर्जुमान ने फौरन यह कह दिया कि हिन्दुस्तान का इंटेग्रल पार्ट काश्मीर है और अगर कोई झगड़ा है कोई बातचीत होनी है तो वह आकूपाइड काश्मीर के बारे में होनी है जो पाकिस्तान ने हमसे छीनकर नाजायज तौर पर अपने कब्जे में कर रखा है। यह स्टैंड लेने पर मैं उनको मुबारकवाद देता हूं और यह एक अच्छा स्टैंड है।

अंत में मैं फिर एक बार आपका धन्यवाद करते हुए यह कहूंगा कि चेयरमैन बनने के बाद ज्यादा जिम्मेदारियां

आई है। हम इसके प्रेक्टिकल इम्प्लिकेशन कुछ उपलब्धियों के लिए कोशिश करें वरना अगर हमें तीन साल के बाद फिर रिजोल्यूशन और यही चीजें रिपोर्ट करनी हों- तो उसका फायदा कुछ नहीं होगा। यह कहकर मैं इस रिजोल्यूशन में शक्सियत परस्ती की बातों को आपोज करते हुए बाकी रिजोल्यूशन की ताइद करता हूँ।

(व्यवधान)

श्री जे० के० जैन (मध्य प्रदेश) : ये भूल गये, शक्सियत की बात बता रहे हैं। नाक कटवा कर आये, विदेश मंत्री बने थे... (व्यवधान)

डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला : कुर्सी यही थी।

श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेख : आप तारीफ कीजिए, आपकी सीट पक्की है।

डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला : हमारी सीटें तो यों ही पक्की हैं आप फिक्र मत कीजिए।

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the hon. friend, Mr. Jaswant Singh, has used this resolution to attack the Prime Minister. He has used this resolution to attack the declarations of the Non-aligned Movement made at Delhi. He has attacked the composition of the Non-aligned Movement. He has attacked the leaders of this Movement and he has attacked the Soviet Union and its policies. I respectfully submit it has been very disingenuous on the part of Mr. Jaswant Singh not further to add that he and his party are opposed to the whole Movement of Non-alignment and all that it represents, because that follows as the night the day, that if he attacks all this, it necessarily follows that he and his party are

opposed to Non-alignment and they stand for alignment with the United States. The speech of the honourable friend is nothing but an exposition of the attack made by the United States right from the beginning on the Movement of Non-alignment. He has attacked the declarations made at this Conference. The New Delhi declaration says: "The heads of State or Government believe that international relations have entered a phase where decision-making on issues of vital concern to all countries of the world can no longer be the prerogative of a small group of countries, however powerful they may be. The democratisation of international relations is an imperative necessity of our times which will lead to the realisation of the unfettered development and genuine independence of small States." Let the people of this country know that the BJP which is represented by Mr. Jaswant Singh is opposed to all this. The BJP does not stand for the equality of nations in matters of economics based on justice and fairness but the BJP, which is represented by the honourable friend stands for concentration of economic power in the hands of a few small powers, namely, the United States because he is opposed to the Soviet Union. The New Delhi declaration further declares: "Durable peace can only be assured through a restructuring of world economy with a view to establishing a new international economic order and bridging the economic gap between developing and developed countries." Let the people of this country know that the party which is represented by Mr. Jaswant Singh is against the bridging of gap between the developing and the developed countries. Then the New Delhi declaration declares: "The phenomenal rise in expenditure on armaments in recent years has accelerated inflation, produced high budgetary deficits and a further cutback in the already dwindling scale of economic aid to developing countries. Recessionary condi-

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

tions in the developing countries have led to increasing protectionism; the economic and social consequences of the arms race have reinforced the negative trends and militate against bringing about the new international economic order." By attacking the declaration the BJP has attacked the whole concept of a new international economic order which calls upon the big powers to remove the barriers of protectionism and give access, a fair and just access, to the economies of the developing countries.

7 P.M.

Then, the New Delhi Declaration says:

"It calls for a new World Order based on respect for independence, equality and co-operation and the fulfilment of the aspirations of all peoples for justice, security, development and prosperity in place of the present Order in which wealth continues to be concentrated in the hands of a few powers to the detriment of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world."

I am amazed that a national party or a party which poses to be at least a national party today in this House is represented by an honourable friend who speaks on its behalf by attacking this Declaration. He attacks the whole concept contained in this Declaration which stands against the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few countries.

Mr. Jaswant Singh has also attacked the criterion laid down for membership of the Non-Aligned Movement. The criterion which has been laid down and which is very relevant and important for our purpose is this:

"The Heads of States or Governments reiterated the principled commitment of non-aligned countries not to be parties to take any action which would facilitate great power confrontation or rivalry or strengthen the existing military

alliances and inter-locking arrangements arising therefrom, particularly through participation in military arrangements or through the provision of military bases and facilities for great power military presence conceived in the context of great power conflicts."

This is an advancement on the previous Declaration made by the Non-Aligned Movement. It calls upon the members not to provide any facilities of any kind to any big power on their soil. I respectfully submit that Pakistan is also a party to this Declaration. I submit that this is one of the greatest achievements of Mrs. Gandhi for having secured the consensus of all the non-aligned countries including Pakistan to this advanced definition or criterion for membership of the non-aligned movement. By attacking this criterion, I take it to mean that if the United States is given military facilities in Pakistan, the BJP will bless it.

Mr. Jaswant Singh said he is a student of history . . .

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Why are you replying to him?

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Will Durant, the famous philosopher, once wrote that the story of man is the story of river with banks. In the river the man fights, quarrels and kills, but on the banks the man sings songs, builds homes, talks of peace and struggles for creating a better and more beautiful life. If the history of the Twentieth century comes to be written of human civilisation, this will be remembered as the struggle of man to break off all the shackles of slavery and to create a new world Order based on equality, justice and fairness, and in this history, Non-Aligned Movement will occupy the most glorious chapter because it has become the spirit of the present age. It represents the finest elements of the present day, namely, aspirations for peace and New Economic Order.

It has been said that the resolution identifies Mrs. Gandhi with the Non-

Aligned Movement. It is perversity of the resolution. I do remember having said this. But I would submit, Sir, at the end that there are times in the history of the world when great movements and great events come to be symbolised by outstanding personalities and individuals. When India was fighting for its independence, the whole Indian people were fighting for their independence. But the people's urges and fights and struggle for independence were symbolised by one outstanding personality, that is, Mahatma Gandhi. Similarly, when the whole world stood up and fought against the forces of Nazism, that struggle of the people also came to be symbolised by two outstanding individuals, Winston, Churchill and Stalin. We today, Sir, are on the cross-roads of world history and we are trying to create a new world order through the non-aligned movement and it is our honour and privilege that the leadership of this movement has been given to India and, Sir, who in India, I respectfully ask, would possibly be in a position to symbolise this whole movement apart from Mrs. Indira Gandhi?

Sir, the declarations made at this conference bear the imprint of her personality and her spirit, her courage and her fearlessness, her sense of independence and her understanding of the equality of nations, and, above all, her life-long struggle to make the lives of the poor better, nobler, more dignified and more beautiful. Therefore, Sir, I support this Resolution. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think the honourable Minister may intervene now.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: Sir, Mr. Mitra is to be given the chance. Many Members have spoken and why don't you allow him?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is only intervening and he is not replying.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: You should give him the chance to speak, Sir.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Sir, let the Minister speak now. But we will continue the debate tomorrow also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I said that the Minister is only intervening and he is not replying. Yes, Mr. Minister.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, eleven honourable Members have spoken so far and there has been almost all-round support to this Resolution. I see that for Mr. Ramakrishnan there will be little to reply to and for me there is even less to intervene and it is in the fitness of things that it should be so. Sir, a nation rises to its full stature not only when it can make use of dissent and difference of opinion in finding a thrust for the future, but also when on certain issues on which there has never been any real dissent, it should rise to the occasion and accept that on such issues which the whole nation has to stand like one man. This has happened by and large and I am happy about it. Therefore, I would not dilate on any individual speeches or points raised. But I feel that I do have one or two responses which the honourable Members perhaps expected of me while they were speaking.

In the first place, Sir, I would like to remind the honourable Members that this non-aligned summit was not just meant for enhancing our prestige and you all know how it came to us. came to us, not because we wanted it but in spite of the fact that we were very reluctant to have it. It came to us because there was only one way of saving the movement or keeping the movement going. It had come to a grinding halt in the sense that the venue of the Seventh Summit decided upon at the Sixth summit

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was not in a position to host this conference—not only not in a position to host this conference, but it would have reflected very adversely on the movement, because the host country itself was, and still is, engaged in a war. So the real measure of this shift of venue is not just because we are able to do what they are not able to do. In fact, they were also able to do this. The very great expenditure which the Government of Iraq had already incurred, on the arrangements, on the building for accommodation, etc., shows that it is not merely the accommodation—not merely the fact of the logistical arrangement—it is not merely calling people and making them feel at home—these are mundane matters; they are important in themselves—but there is another dimension to this, and that dimension is a substantive one. What would have happened to the movement if at that crucial time when many, many Heads of State thought that maybe it would be a good idea to shift the venue somewhere else? They did not 'say' so; that is why I said they 'thought'. Let me repeat that they never said so. Not a single Head of State or Government said openly that he or she is for a change in the venue. In fact, all their public postures, all their public statements, including ours, were in favour of Baghdad as the venue for the Seventh Summit. But looking at the overall atmosphere, President Saddam Hussein himself, after making his own consultations, came to the conclusion voluntarily, that there was a case for a shift of the venue, and when he looked around he found that Delhi would be a fitting venue in substitution of Baghdad. So he sent his Deputy Prime Minister here. Meanwhile, the then Chairman also had certain consultations, and all opinions converged on Delhi. That is what happened. So it is not as if we were after the summit just to enhance our prestige. This is the point which I want to make. But it so happened that not only the summit was successfully held here, but in a very real

sense it led not only to the enhancement of India's prestige but the enhancement of the prestige of the movement as a whole. This is one thing which should not be lost sight of. Now, this is not merely a statement of self-adulation; it is not so, because I am saying the first thing about the movement as a whole. And it is not because of Delhi or because of the Seventh Summit having been hosted by us but because the international situation today is such that a successful summit, a summit which takes place smoothly, without any difficulty, without any dissent, without any danger of getting split, such a summit would go to enhance the prestige of the movement and its effectiveness in the years to come. So when I say 'prestige', it is not just the etymological meaning of 'prestige' that we have to understand; we have to understand the whole future of the movement.

Without prestige this Movement cannot go forward. If it is taken as a down and out entity, an entity which is dying out, an entity which cannot really hold its own, then this movement cannot go forward, cannot really discharge any of the great responsibilities which have been placed on it squarely by the force of circumstances or by mankind as a whole, expressly or impliedly. Therefore, it is not merely a country's prestige but the entire Movement that has got a shot in the arm by this Summit. This is what one has to understand about this Summit.

Then, Sir, the question of leadership which has been mentioned in this Motion. Now, I could say briefly that this Motion, as was the Motion in the other House, is a model of under-statement. Much more could have been said. But, perhaps, it was meant as something of an LCM, the least common factor for all sections of the House and all sections of the people to accept. Perhaps, it was drafted from the point of view of that consideration. I have not drafted it. So, I cannot speak for Mr. Ramakrishnan. But that is how I understand it. The leadership of Mrs.

Gandhi which has been brought into the Motion is not merely a party's obsession to praise its leader. We do not have to do that. We had no wish of doing that nor Mr. Ramakrishnan because, as far as I know, he does not belong to our Party.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Correct.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Sir, the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi was not merely the act of sitting in the chair and conducting the proceedings. Let me share with this august House that the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi was not only brought to bear on most of the issues, contentious issues that cropped up during the deliberations, but it was felt everywhere. And I have no doubt that the visiting dignitaries returned with the confidence that the future of this Movement is in safe and capable hands. I am not exaggerating this when I say this. I know those nocturnal meetings, nocturnal wranglings that we had. This beautiful New Delhi Message and this voluminous Declaration as it is handed out, as it is read by the whole world, give you no indication of what had gone into their preparation—how much had to be spoken on every concept, how much had to be really discussed amongst those who had definite ideas on each of those concepts. When it came to the venue of the Eighth Summit, we had almost a stalemate. There was an impasse. It was just not possible to make any headway. Not only between Iran and Iraq, but in the Movement in general, the arguments and counter-arguments that we had, is anybody's guess. But finally what prevailed is the persuasive power of Mrs. Gandhi. In this also I say there is no exaggeration at all. These are bare facts which I am stating before you. It was about 3.30 a.m. before we were able to come to an agreed formulation on the Eighth Summit. Eighth Summit is not merely a question of finding a venue. It is again a question inextricably

bound up with the Iran-Iraq war. It was said that the conditions which were responsible for the shift of the venue of the 7th Summit from Baghdad to Delhi continue to exist. So, how could you decide on Baghdad again as the venue of the 8th Summit?

On the other hand, the other arguments was that there was a clear understanding, not only a clear understanding, but there was an overwhelming majority of countries which wanted the venue of the Eighth Summit to go back to Baghdad. So, there was a clash. There was a clear difference of opinion, clear cleavage, between these points of view and it was only Mrs. Gandhi who had to convene almost an emergency meeting of the Bureau of the Conference, talk it over with all the concerned parties and propose the formulation which she herself made in the Plenary. In this process, Sir, the summit was extended by one day. In the earlier process of finding a formulation for Kampuchea, for the seating of Kampuchea, the conference was extended by one and a half days. This is not generally known outside, because everything was completed on the 12th. So, what went into the wranglings within the movement, and for valid reasons, on both sides, on all sides, it was not just vexatious, it was not frivolous, the whole discussion was substantive, was serious and free, but nobody outside knows all this. Any country which wanted to speak on any subject was allowed to do so. When the discussion was becoming desultory, when it was becoming repetitive, it was suggested to me, I was presiding over the Foreign Ministers' Conference, that I should apply a closure after 10, 12, 15, 20 representatives had spoken, and what was the point for everybody else to speak? I said, no, each country is a sovereign country, and the fact that one country has spoken is no reason that other countries who want to speak, should be debarred. Therefore, Sir...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But, please do not extend that argument in this House.

AN HON. MEMBER: Why not?

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA: Sir, in future we shall quote him.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: In fact, we took the cue mostly from you, Sir. So, there was a free, fair and complete discussion and the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi was very much in evidence and it is, therefore, as a statement of fact that this sentence occurs there, not just because someone really wants to eulogize her *for the sake of eulogizing her.*

Then, Sir, I come to one speech, which always leaves me a bit dumb-founded, Mr. Jaswant Singh's speech.

AN HON. MEMBER: Do not mention the name.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: The point is that it is not just that somebody is getting importance, it is not that. The point is that we have to look inwards; yes, I agree that we just cannot be euphoric all the time. As Mr. Shahabuddin said, where do we go from here is an extremely important question and equally important is the question what did we come here? Did we come here to stop the Iran-Iraq war? Did we come here to actually, on the spot, stop the arms race? Did we come here to get all the foreign presences, military presences out of the Indian Ocean here and now? What did we come here for? So, when you talk of performance, when you talk of achievements, when you talk of results, you will have to start with why you came here? You did not come here with a few nuclear weapons in your armoury or in your suitcases. You came here as a moral force and this is what it has been. You come here to assert that moral force and you did it very well indeed. And, therefore, if any moral force can become effective in these international problems, about

which many cynics think that they cannot, then the result will have to be awaited.

I feel that this Summit has brought humanity closer to disarmament, closer to peace. How close—would depend on how far we were. So, it is relative. I will not say the disarmament is coming in the year 1985, or 1986 or 1987 or 1984; but I would say that if 101 countries want peace, not only 101 countries, but all the people of other countries also put together, except the Governments who have their own compulsions not to fall in line, if the whole humanity wants peace, *peace cannot be denied.* It is just not possible to deny it. And it is for this reason that the non-aligned movement has been termed as the largest peace movement in the world.

Today it has become a peace movement. It was a yesterday decolonisation movement; it was also a movement for better international economic relations, more equitable relations but today it is basing its authority mainly on the call for peace which it has given, and I have no doubt that conditions will go shape themselves that peace must come, disarmament must come.

Therefore, I have no doubt that looking inward is very important; we did do a lot of heart-searching. We know that a movement cannot become strong and effective so long as it continues as a house divided against itself. And that is why Mrs. Gandhi has taken some special kind of responsibility on the question of ending the war between Iran and Iraq. It is not just a resolution that has been passed. A burden has been placed on her shoulders, and she after consulting everyone and finding that this is something which is being placed on her shoulders not merely because she is the Chairperson, but because everybody thought that she can as herself shoulder that responsibility because

of these factors, she accepted it and only after she accepted and made that statement, the question of the eighth venue was solved. Until then, it was not.

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA: Is it a fact that because of the persuasion of Mrs. Gandhi, one of the parties in Iran-Iraq war desisted from its previous position to launch full-scale invasion?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: This is something which is speculative in its nature. I would not claim that; I would not assert that. Everybody knows that there were rumours to that effect. I cannot say that we stopped it. But I cannot also say that it has nothing to do with what happened in Delhi. It is something for others to consider, to understand. It is not for me to claim that in so many words.

Sir, there was another crucial point raised by Mr. Jaswant Singh. I agree that it is crucial about India. He said, once upon a time India was an influence-wielding country; now it has become an influence-absorbing country. I would very respectfully submit that this is absolutely incorrect. India or any one country for that matter can neither only wield influence nor only absorb influence. The movement is something like a cooperative movement, a movement where meeting of minds takes place on every issue. And therefore, it is not fair to say that India had been throwing its weight about in this movement or throwing its weight about and influencing all and sundry until yesterday but today it is taking influence from all sides and becoming the receiver of influence.

This kind of dichotomy is not correct and again. I would say that to pose the question on these lines is not good for the movement. India has never said that it is influencing the movement. Again, nobody has said that India is not exerting any influence on the movement. Both state-

ments are wrong. It is a question of inter-action and this inter-action has been taking place in a very healthy and friendly atmosphere in the movement and it has culminated here in Delhi in something which is really unheard of, because, here, it culminated in a total confidence, implicit faith, being reposed in the Chairperson. Again, the question arises that since the responsibilities increase to that extent, where do we go from here? This is a valid question. To this, I would like to respond by giving you a very short, very brief, account of what is being contemplated by way of follow-up.

Sir, the normal thing is, after the conference, that we send the documents of the conference to all the countries. First, of course, we are sending these documents to the countries, to the Heads of countries who came here and adopted these documents and then, we are also sending them to the nuclear weapon States, to industrialised countries and others outside the non-aligned movement in order to obtain the support and the cooperation of these States on specific suggestions contained in the documents. It is they who have to implement. Therefore, it is our duty to address them. So far as the Ministry is concerned, I would like to tell the House that the headquarters as well as our permanent mission in New York are being suitably strengthened by posting hand-picked extra staff so as to cope with the work of the non-aligned movement. This is important because, in its present form, the existing staff will not be able to handle this extra burden. As Chairperson of the movement, India will have a respond to the requests of Member-States on issues affecting them. That is, for convening of meetings of the co-ordinating bureau in New York and participation by Members of the non-aligned movement in meetings of the Security Council. These are the consequential arrangements that will have to be made because India as the Chairman will have to participate in several meetings at several levels and,

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therefore, this will have to be looked into with immediate effect.

On the economic side, follow-up of decisions will have to be taken up at various international meetings on economic issues including the G-77 meeting at Buenos Aires beginning next week, UNCTAD VI in June, 1983, etc. I may also inform the House that, normally, it is the Commerce Minister who attends the meetings of G-77 on behalf of our country. But this time, since the output of non-aligned movement has become one of the inputs in the G-77 meeting, it has been decided that apart from the Commerce Minister, I should also visit Buenos Aires so that I would represent the non-aligned movement at the G-77 meeting in order to see that proper decisions are taken and the political thrust necessary for the decisions is imparted on behalf of the movement. We are initiating consultations on the suggestion that the Member-States of the U.N. should attend the 38th U.N. General Assembly Session at the level of Heads of States or Governments. As you know, Mrs. Gandhi had given this clarion call, which is not. Not only symbolic but also substantive in the sense that if all the Heads of Governments congregate at New York during the 38th Session of the U.N. General Assembly, that would again be an unprecedented gathering, unprecedented occasion, when all the important problems facing the world can be discussed, can be focussed upon.

That will be something which leads to certain decisions being taken, and certain momentum being imparted for the solution of these problems. Again, on Iran-Iraq, as I said, Mrs. Gandhi had to take certain responsibility and she did promise to take certain steps. Those steps are being discussed. But the time-frame remains undecided because we just do not want the Chairperson to take any step except at the appropriate time. Therefore, we are engaged in consultations through diplomatic channels in order to see and feel our way to

find the appropriate time when the Chairperson could take the steps that she is contemplating. So, that is being taken care of. A political committee at the Heads of State level has been set up under India's chairmanship to work with the seven member Arab group for a just, durable and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Steps are being taken for initiating consultations for achieving the objectives of this machinery. Now we have to consult the Arab group and once we consult them and we decide on what is to be done by whom and how, then concrete steps will ensue. That consultation is being undertaken. The Asian Regional Meeting preparatory to the international conference on Palestine will take place in Malaysia in May. We shall take part in this meeting at ministerial level and similarly we shall attend the Conference at the appropriate level in Namibia at the end of April in Paris.

Now we have all these problems on our hands Namibia, Palestine, Iran, Iraq, of course the other questions of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, etc. and the Latin American problems, not to speak of the stupendous, innumerable problems on the economic side, notably the holding of a conference on money and finance which brooks no delay because it is one of the short-term measures that have to be taken and several other short-term measures apart from the long-term effort that has to be made for bringing about global negotiations and the ushering in of the new international economic order. No one is very clear as to what precisely has to be done at the moment. Let me take this House into confidence and say that we do not have any cut and dried solution for these problems, do not have any cut and dried methodology for this, but as we go along, it is our sheer effort and sincerity that will show us the way. We are hoping that the response from the industrialised countries in which there has been a little progress—who cannot say that there has been no progress at all—will

make a little more progress as we go along. This is all that I can hope for, but the point is, we cannot give up, we cannot abandon the idea, the concept of global negotiations after pursuing the idea for so many years. We will have to persevere in this and steps will have to be taken.

These are in short some of the steps that are being contemplated as a follow-up and I think we have not lost any time after the conclusion of the summit in pursuing these matters.

Now, Sir, there was another point raised in regard to institutionalisation. I would respectfully submit that there is no intention of institutionalising the movement. There is not going to be a secretariat, there is not going to be a headquarter, there is not going to be a secretary-general and all the rest of it. This is not being contemplated by the movement, but to the extent of coordinating the activities of the movement some machinery has to be set up and the general rule is, general method is, that the country which has hosted the Summit and which becomes the chairman of the movement, takes care of all these matters. That is being done.

In a very general and sweeping manner, it was said that nothing terribly new has been said in the document. Now the fact is that nothing terribly new has happened. If anything the crisis is deepening. Therefore, the response to a deepening crisis has been very much there in the document. We have responded to the crisis as it has deepened during the last three years. All economists agree that during the last three years, the plight of the developing countries, the debt burdens, the crippling manner in which they have been squeezed—all these have become much more intolerable than in 1979 and because this has happened, we have come up not only with the long-term proposals of the new economic order and the global negotiations but several immediate measures and

those measures will have to be undertaken with immediate effect.

Now, Sir, the most important thing, according to many observers and perhaps according to many within the Movement, is the fact that an action programme of the economic co-operation among developing countries has been adopted. And this programme is so comprehensive that even if we are able to take it up in the next five years, I think the developing countries will be helping themselves to a very large extent. I shall only read the areas of cooperation that have been identified in this document. I will not go into details of what is being proposed under each of these items. But the items themselves will give the House an idea of how wide the thinking has been. Sir, the items are these: raw materials, trade, transport and industry, monetary and financial cooperation, insurance, scientific and technical development, technical cooperation and consultancy services, food and agriculture, fisheries, health, tourism, trans-national corporations, sports, research on information system, role of women in development, peaceful uses of nuclear energy, telecommunications, public enterprises, solidarity fund of the non-aligned countries for economic and social development. . . Some Members raised this question: are the affluent nations within the Movement in a position to really pull out some money from elsewhere and put it in this fund for you? Now here is the fund which is coming up. I am not able to promise on behalf of the affluent nations what they are going to do. But I can certainly promise that there is going to be a fund here and to the extent any nation wants South-South cooperation to prosper, to be properly financed, to be taken care of, that nation, that government will feel impelled to look at this fund. That is enough for me because as we go along, money will certainly come. Then international cooperation for development, housing, education and culture, standardisation of measurements and quality

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control. Now you can see that these items almost cover the entire gamut of economic activity, even social activity, cultural activity. Therefore, this programme, if implemented, even partially or by stages, is going to have a great impact on South-South co-operation and this is how the Non-Aligned Summit has addressed itself not only to the long-term problems, not only to the philosophy part of it, not only to the theology part of it, but also to the immediate problems facing mankind, both political problems and economic problems. This is the achievement of this Summit.

We go ahead from here. Wherever, we go, we will go in the right direction with the amount of confidence that has been generated by this Summit and that will stand us in good stead for a speedier implementation of what we have decided to implement at the Summit. Thank you very much.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, shall we conclude the discussion or is there any Member to speak?

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Tomorrow, after five.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Tomorrow we can't take it up. If anybody wants to speak, I can call him now.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: Mr. Mitra wants to speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Mitra.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA (West Bengal): Sir, the hon. Foreign Minister has rightly said that the Non-Aligned Movement is a moral force and is the largest peace movement in the world today. As a moral force and as the largest peace movement... (Interruptions)...

ओ जे० के० जैन : बताइये तो सही फैसला क्या हुआ ।

ओ उपसभापति : इन के बाद रिप्लाइ होगा । श्रमी पाँच मिनट में खत्म हो जाता है । ... (Interruptions)...

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA: Now I am really shocked that the chance has gone to another male. (Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Minister has kindly assigned a role for you. Why should you go? (Interruptions) ... Please hear him.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Sir, in fairness to the speakers, either let the Members listen in peace, or let them go away... (Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Have some patience, please.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA: Sir, the hon. Foreign Minister has rightly said that the Non-Aligned Movement has become a moral force and is now the largest peace movement in the world today. As follow-up steps he has stated that there can't be any cut-and-dried formulations but there has to be co-ordination of activities of the Movement itself.

Sir, I want to raise one point which has not been raised as yet by any of the hon. Members in this House. It is well known that international law is a synthesis of binding principles of international affairs. The Non-Aligned Movement, to my mind, has made a decisive impact on the Eurocentred structure of international law, by rationalising and universalising international law. As a method of co-ordination it is now necessary to have some kind of a research to codify the views of non-aligned countries, at least on common issues, to evolve fundamental concepts of the new international jurisprudence—(a) for perfect equality between States (b) for maintaining world peace, and (c) for saving the world from nuclear cataclysm. I find from the hon. Minister's statement that elaborate follow-up steps have already been taken on the economic side.

My own view is that, howsoever much we may expect, a fruitful, effective North South dialogue is not possible unless and until the non-aligned countries can speak from a position of economic strength. Therefore, it is necessary to lead the Non-Aligned Movement into a movement of self-reliance and mutual co-operation of non-aligned States. Then and then alone will the richer countries, one-third of the world, would speak to us and would be in a mind to negotiate with us on equal terms. The immediate tasks of the Movement would have also to be tackled. I wish the present Leader of the Movement all success in tackling these immediate tasks and I express the hope that she would receive the unstinted support and cooperation of the member-States.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ramakrishnan will reply. But be very formal.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Yes, Sir. Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to all the Members for having taken part in this substantive Motion on the Non-Aligned meet. (Interruptions) I am really grateful...

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA: What about the drop-outs and left-outs?

PROF. (MRS) ASIMA CHATTERJEE (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we deeply appreciate the leadership provided by our Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, to the Seventh Conference of Heads of States or Government of Non-Aligned countries. Mrs. Gandhi must be complimented for playing positive role at the Non-Aligned Summit, 1983 would be recorded in history as a glorious year for the world as well as India. As mentioned by our hon. Foreign Minister, the Non-Aligned Movement has been a model force and will be considered as a world peace movement—not only a peace movement but a world peace movement.

Now, due to time limitation, I will just try to highlight important points, emerging from the deliberations at the Non-Aligned Summit. Now one of the important points which I would like to mention is the equality of women in society and their role in the development of nations. In unequal societies women have willingly shared burdens and sacrifices for just causes. And it was gratifying to note that the women must be given opportunities to exert their abilities to function as equal fellow human beings.

There is a wide disparity amongst the developing and developed nations and the Great Powers with economic avarice, military might and technological advantage have enslaved many peoples. This has created turmoil in the world. Our world is increasingly turbulent, the gravity of the situation being evident in the intensification of the arms race, in great power involvement in regional conflicts and in the threat of a world-wide nuclear catastrophe.

In order to avoid the precipitation of the world crisis, the deliberations in the Conference were particularly emphatic and focused on peaceful existence, independence, disarmament, and economic development. Nations participating at the New Delhi Summit, though politically, economically and ideologically diverse, had expressed the opinion which was unanimous that they belong to the international family, a global community, for peace and peaceful co-existence and to help our brothers and sisters who have been deprived of their legitimate claims, it was necessary to provide them with the minimum needs for their survival and sustenance. This philosophy, "Unity amidst Diversity" will enable us to attain the goal for the welfare of the mankind, and this would certainly narrow down the gap, the political and economic gap between the developed and the developing nations because racism and colonialism negate the oneness of

[Prof. (Mrs.) Asima Chatterjee]

human race, thus defying human dignity, human rights and sense of equity, endangering peace and peaceful co-existence. And the philosophy that I have already mentioned will really save the world from disaster.

One of the most important resolutions was the adoption of a new system for fund allocation in order to avoid the world economic crisis which will not only affect the developing countries but the developed nations as well. For this purpose a new international economic order was discussed to restructure the existing one which is out of date, inequitable and inadequate, considering the change in the circumstances, it was proposed to hold an international conference on money and finance for development, with universal participation to help the developing countries in critical areas particularly food, health, education energy needs and also for industrial development and for the development of science and technology and technical know-how. This will bring self-reliance the basic component for economic growth. It will not be difficult to attain equality if all the nations, developing and developed, co-operate with a sense of comradeship and team spirit. For healthy economic growth, nuclear arms should be banned for destructive purposes. The danger arising from the blast of nuclear bombs will lead to radioactive fall-out to such an extent that it would affect not only the present generation but the generations yet to be born.

President fidel Castro described the barrowing story of infant mortality in many developing countries because of the dearth of food, medicine and other essential commodities. He stated that 40 million children die each year due to malnutrition and dehydration and nine out of every ten children in the developing countries did not even receive the basic health care in the first year of life. In this connection it deserves to be mentioned that when there is such a harrowing

situation in one part of the globe, in the other part huge expenditure is being incurred on the arms race. A nuclear aircraft carrier costs \$4 billion which is more than the GNP of 53 countries. There is need for drastic reduction in global military expenditure which is 20 times the total official development assistance. If that can be reduced, the amount saved can be utilised for the development of the developing countries. (*Time bell rings*) Just a few minutes more.

I have already mentioned that through achievement of self-reliance, it is possible to narrow down the gap between the developed and the developing countries.

Lastly, I would like to mention. Sir, that the 101 nations assembled at the Summit gave a clarion call under the banner of our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and I am confident that this call will not be in vain, that the people throughout the world will certainly respond to his call, and that the formulations which have emerged out of the deliberations of the Non-aligned Summit would be successfully implemented under the dynamic leadership of our Prime Minister who should be congratulated for her contribution as the Chairperson of the Non-aligned Summit.

8 P.M.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir it is always the vote of thanks which gets the bad part of a bargain. But anyway I am thankful to all the hon. Members who took part in the debate on the substantive motion brought by me today before the House on the non-aligned meet. I am really grateful to the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, for his timely intervention. His speech was not only forthright but also very informative and he has made my task of replying to the various speakers very easy.

Sir, even critics, two or three of them, who were objecting to this motion are not here now, and that shows that they were criticising for the sake of criticism. I would only reply to one point of Mr. Syed Shahabuddin. Sir, Indians are always fond of using metaphors. He objected to my saying that this was a water-shed in the history of India. He wanted that it should be called a milestone. I do not mind whether it is called water-shed or a milestone, but definitely history will say that we were at the cross-roads today.

Mr. Shahabuddin was rather uncharitable when he made the other point. He said that there was a time when Indira was called India and India was called Indira, and he objected to our overidentifying it with her or overruling her. But it is a known fact that in every movement, in everything there is one person who will be the moving force behind it, and even Mr. Narasimha Rao has very clearly enunciated the great role she has played. In fairness to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as soon as she took over the Chairperson of the conference, she said:

"We are partners. Among us there are no leaders and followers. The idea of leadership has caused enough harm. The desire to dominate has been and is the root cause of the world's ills."

This shows her greatness and her clarity of vision. I am not saying this just for the sake of praising her. Mrs. Gandhi also said:

"The non-aligned movement is history's biggest peace movement."

Whether Mr. Shahabuddin would like it or not, it is a fact that history and posterity will record that this non-aligned summit was a grand success largely due to the untiring efforts made by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Sir, my friend, Mr. Jaswant Singh, belonging to the BJP, like a person who does not want to see, has criticised . . .

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): None of them is here.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: . . . for the sake of criticism. I would only remind him of one thing. He was saying about the different forms of Government in the various countries which participate in this movement Sir, Alexander Pope said:

"For forms of government, let fools contest, whatever is best administered is best;"

Mr. Jaswant Singh said that whatever has been stated in the documents is only re-statement of facts. There are several important things, particularly on the economic front and this has been acknowledged by all the Heads of State. So his saying that this merely a re-statement of facts is just being uncharitable to the whole thing.

Finally, Mr. Abdul Rehman Sheikh said that there should not have been so much ostentation. He was so petty as to talk of some whisky bottles being kept in the hotel rooms. I do not know why they cannot rise above these small things. Our Prime Minister rose above petty, parochial considerations, when she spoke in English, though it is not the official language of India. She addressed the conference in English so that the prestige of India could go up. I congratulate her for this bold step. I once again commend the motion for the acceptance of the House. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think I can put all the amendments together to vote because none of them is present here.

The questions are:

[Mr. Deputy Chairman]

"That in the Motion:—

(i) for Paras 1, 2 and 3, following be substituted, namely:—

"This House notes with satisfaction that the Seventh Conference of the Heads of States or representatives of Non-Aligned Countries was held in New Delhi, our Capital. This House places on record its appreciation of the efficiency and care which went into the arrangements for our distinguished guests and the holding of the Conference meetings and sessions. This House records its gratitude to the various visiting Delegations who by their presence lent significance and prestige to the meeting. While India has been assigned the responsibility of chairing the movement, this House hopes that the movement will grow in strength."

(ii) In Para 4, lines 7—10, the words 'and believes that these have strengthened the hands of all those who stand for independence, peace, disarmament and development.' be deleted."

2. "That in the Motion, at the end of Para 3, the following be added, namely:—

"The commitment of the people of our country for peace and non-alignment will be the guiding spirit in our endeavour."

3. "That in the Motion:—

(i) in para 1, line 5, the words 'the unity and' be deleted;

(ii) in para 2, lines 4 and 5, for the words 'and positive contribution, ensured the success of', the words 'made a positive contribution to the deliberations of' be substituted;

(iii) in para 2, for the words 'and the leadership' the words 'under the leadership' be substituted;

(iv) in para 3, line 1, for the words 'India has been given the', the words 'As India now has the' be substituted; and

(v) in para 4, the following words be added at the end:—

"in close cooperation with all Members of the Movement."

4. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"But regret that by raising the Kashmir issue there was the violation of the Summit Convention by Pakistan President Shri Zia-ul-Haq in his speech to the Conference."

5. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"But regret that there was the violation of the Official Languages Act and the Indian Constitution by not making proper arrangement for the translation from and into the Official Language Hindi."

6. "That in the Motion, Paras 2, 3 and 4 be deleted."

The motions were negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now I shall put the Motion moved by Shri Ramakrishnan to vote.

The question is:

"That this House notes with satisfaction and pride that the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in New Delhi has concluded its deliberations successfully. The New Delhi Summit has reinforced the unity and the international role of the Non-Aligned community.

This House requests the Government of India to convey its thanks and appreciation to the Heads of

State and Government and leaders of various delegations who, through their presence and positive contribution, ensured the success of the Summit. It also places on record its appreciation of the work of the Indian delegation and the leadership provided by the Chairperson Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

India has been given the responsibility of chairing the Movement. This House believes that our country will be able to discharge this responsibility in the best traditions of anti-imperialism and self-reliance of our national movement.

This House welcomes the Declaration adopted by the Summit and the 'New Delhi Message', which has called for an end to the production and stockpiling of nuclear arms as

also for more purposive efforts to launch a North-South dialogue, to enlarge South-South cooperation and to usher in a New International Economic Order, and believes that these have strengthened the hands of all those who stand for independence, peace, disarmament and development."

The motion was adopted.

श्री उपसभपति : सदन की कार्यवाही
कल प्रातः ११ बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की
जाती है ।

The House then adjourned at five minutes past eight of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 25th March, 1983.