## 1969

# January

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**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

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#### BULGARIA

Prime Minister's Speech at Banquet in Honour of Mr. Zhivkov

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following speech at a Banquet given in honour of His Excellency the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, in New Delhi on January 22, 1969:

Mr. Chairman, We are happy to have you in our midst. Your visit marks one more important stage in the growing friendship between Our two peoples. When I visited your beautiful country a little more than a year ago, I gained a fuller appreciation of the spirit of your great people, of your Own dynamic and purposeful leadership and of the need for strengthening the relations between our two nations. I was impressed by the rapid progress made by Bulgaria in industry, agriculture, in promotion of tourism and in social services.

Much has happened since we last met and the world picture is fast changing. The recent remarkable achievements in space travel have evoked worldwide admiration and wonder. A great knowledge of the universe will enable man to know his world better and we hope that the knowledge gained will be used for the welfare of humanity as a whole and the betterment of the vast numbers of those who are still underpriviledged.

Compared to these achievements, we are far behind in the scientific field. However, in a few months we shall be commissioning the first of our atomic power stations. We believe in utilising atomic energy only for peaceful purposes and to improve the lot of our people. We are striving hard to increase our production and to strength our industrial base.

Your tour of our country will take you to some of our new industrial cities and centres of technology. Little by little great changes are being brought about. Yet, such is the size of our population and the magnitude of our problems of development that we can only claim to have laid the basis of modernization and progress. My father once spoke of ours as a generation sentenced to hard labour. The term of the sentence has still to run out. We must continue to work hard so that we can achieve deliverance from poverty as 22 years ago we achieved freedom from colonial bondage.

Knowledge should lead to greater understanding and tolerance but, unfortunately, we find that outdated ideas of racial superiority and of spheres of influence still persist and economic disparities continue to widen.

The two major problems which confront the world and which we discussed previously, still remain unsolved, i.e. Vietnam and West Asia. We are glad that some progress has been made in Paris and we hope that serious negotiations will now begin for a peaceful settlement within the broad framework of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 of the tragic conflict in Vietnam. We must register our regret at the distress and aggressiveness which continue to plague the situation in the West Asia. The battle of peace cannot be waged by one side making all concessions. We hope that reason will prevail and that

another outbreak of hostilities will be avoided. Our two countries are one in supporting the efforts of the United Nations to find an amicable solution of the problems arising out of the conflict of June, 1967. The U.S.S.R. and France have taken some initiative. We trust that this initiative will broaden the idea of co-operation in support of Jarring Mission.

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In these circumstances, the relevance of the policies of co-existence and non-alignment needs to be re-stated. We believe in peaceful co-existence with other countries irrespective of their social and idealogical systems. We do not covet the territory of others. We believe that non-interference in the affairs of other countries is one of the corner-stones of the policy of peaceful coexistence and that force should not be used as a means for settling disputes. We are ceaselessly striving for meaningful international co-operation. Without such a cooperation, world will plunge into old and new divisions. Suspicions and rivalries will increase and power politics which is basically out of date will have a new lease of life. We are also deeply committed to the policy of non-alignment because we believe that it serves the cause of peace and of economic development.

For the family of developing nations to which we belong, a peaceful world is a necessity. But peace does not merely mean the absence of conflict. Peace stands for economic co-operation between Countries and bilateral assistance programmes, so that people can achieve that economic prosperity and social justice which is their due. Bulgaria and India already have a number of bilateral agreements on trade, cultural exchange and technical and scientific co-operation, and we hope this co-operation will grow and strengthen.

May I propose a toast to the health of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to the strength and prosperity of the Bulgarian nation and to the further blossoming of Indo-Bulgarian friendship. **Date**: Jan 01, 1969

# Volume No

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### **BULGARIA**

Reply by Mr. Zhivkov

Replying to the toast proposed by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Mr. Zhivkov said:

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen, The first day of our visit to India is drawing to a close. Since our very first hour on Indian soil our stay has been filled with interesting and useful meetings and talks. I would like to stress that when political and state figures are guided by the vital interests of their peoples and when they speak the language of peace and friendship, they can soon find a common language. That has been the case today too. Furthermore, your visit to Bulgaria, distinguished Mrs. Gandhi, has already prepared the ground for that.

During your visit to Bulgaria in 1967, You were in a position, although briefly, to get acquainted with our country, to feel the constructive spirit of present-day Bulgaria to come to know the love of peace and friendliness of our people. Having waged centuries-long struggles for their national and social liberation, our people have finally taken the broad path of socialist construction. YOU could personally witness the friendly feelings of the Bulgarian people for the people of India, for their heroic struggle against colonial bondage, for their efforts in building a new life. You could feel the enormous popularity enjoyed in Bulgaria by the inspirers and builders of new India, you

could feel how much alive in the memory of the people are the names of the great sons of the Indian people Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, the name of your worthy predecessor Lal Bahadur Shastri. Your name, distinguished Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the name of an outstanding public and state figure of modern India, a great fighter for peace and friendship among nations, is one of the popular and highly respected names in Bulgaria today. I am certain that during your visit to Bulgaria you could personally become convinced of the sincere friendship Bulgaria has for the Republic of India, for its peace-loving and anti-imperialist foreign policy, for its noble and beneficial role in the world, for the public and state figures of India.

We have come to India as envoys of our people and our mission has only one aim - to consolidate and promote our friendship to

which your visit to Bulgaria gave a strong impetus. Please allow me to express my conviction that our meetings and talks will continue in the same language and in the same spirit of friendship as in Bulgaria, as they have during the first day of our Visit.

The kind words which you, distinguished Mrs. Gandhi, said about the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the hospitality and cordiality with which we have been surrounded, the warm good wishes for the future of our people-all this has deeply moved us and has evoked in us not only gratitude but also confidence in the success of our mission.

We live in two different continents, thousands of miles lie between our two countries. But if once, it took months to cover such distances, today a supersonic plane-such as the Soviet plane TU-144, will take a mere two hours so that we could have the pleasure of meeting and talking. This is the case with friendship too. Unfortunately mankind has gone much further as far as hostility is concerned. The modern means of warfare do not recognize distance, neither do they take state frontiers into account. If a big war breaks out, its con-

flagration will engulf the whole world.

That is why both Bulgaria and India are making efforts to strengthen world peace and to avert war.

The part of the world we live in - the Balkan Peninsula, used to be a powder-keg in the past. Although the times have changed, one cannot say yet that all questions have been solved. For this reason we pay great attention to relations among the Balkan countries and we are persistently, consistently and patiently working for good neighbourly relations and cooperation in the settlement of our common problems.

As a European country, Bulgaria is interested in the preservation of peace in Europe. We are carefully watching the attempts of the aggressive circles to heighten tension in our continent and to use it for their own purposes. Our position is clearcut. Side by side with the socialist and the other peace-loving European countries, we are undefatigably fighting for the consolidation of peace in Europe, for a peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist countries in our continent.

Bulgaria is now engaged in a large-scale. construction program, considering our country's size. But we understand very well that the success of our undertakings is closely bound up with peace not only in the Balkans and in Europe, but also in the whole world. For this reason we are watching the development of events in those parts of the world where war is now going on which can quickly spread throughout the world. I have the. war in Vietnam in mind as well as the situation in the Middle East. It is Perfectly natural and understandable that our sympathies should be with the peoples fighting for their national independence. Our moral and material support is for them, for the heroic Vietnamese people and for the Arab peoples-because their victory is not only a victory of their national cause, but also a victory of the cause of world peace.

Your Excellency, it is a pleasure to note once more that the frank talks we are

having with you are a contribution to our understanding and friendship. I am glad that once again there is similarity in our views on a number of major international problems.

Alongside with our satisfaction with the. present state of relations between Bulgaria and India, I would like to express my conviction that there still exist many unutilized possibilities, chiefly in the field of economy, which can extend and broaden our cooperation. I hope that we shall not miss these good possibilities. Because this is in the interests of our countries and peoples as well as of international understanding and cooperation.

Please allow me, Your Excellecy, once more to express my heart-felt gratitude for your invitation to visit your beautiful country.

I would like to convey my most, sincere good wishes for good health and happiness and for success in your work, distinguished Prime Minister.

To the flourishing of the Republic of India, to the prosperity of the great Indian people;

To the good health and happiness of all present here tonight;

To Bulgarian-Indian friendship;

To peace in the world!

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### BULGARIA INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC VIETNAM

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

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### BULGARIA

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in New Delhi on January 27, 1969 at the conclusion of the visit of the Bulgarian Prime Minister to India:

At the invitation of the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, His Excellency Mr. Todor Zhivkov, paid an official visit to India from the 22nd January to the 27th January, 1969.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was accompanied by his delegation.

The Chairman was received by the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, and witnessed the Republic Day Parade in New Delhi.

During the visit the guests became acquainted with the achievements of India in industry and agriculture, with scientific and educational advancement and with the culture and art of the people of India. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the members of his party had the opportunity to meet and talk with a wide variety of persons in different fields of activity. The people of India warmly acclaimed the visit of the Chairman reflecting the friendly relations between the two countries. The Chairman expressed his deep gratitude for the cordial welcome and hospitality extended to him and his party.

The Chairman and the Prime Minister of India had wide-ranging discussions on current international questions of common concern and also on Bulgarian-Indian relations. The discussions held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding revealed a broad similarity of attitudes and approach to a number of international problems as well as a common desire to

strengthen further the existing friendly relations between the two countries.

The Bulgarian side was represented at the talks by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Ivan Bashev, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Marii Ivanov, Minister for Machine Building, Mr. Yanko Markov, Vice-Chairman of the Bureau of the National Assembly, Mr. Milko Baley. Chief of the Prime Minister's Office. Mr. Ognian Tihomirov, Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade, Mr. Vurban Tsanev, Ambassador, Chief of the Asia Division at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Christo Dimitrov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in India, and Mr. Yordan Stefanov, Ambassador, Chief of Protocol.

The Indian side was represented by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Minister of Industrial Development and Company Affairs, Shri Mohammed Shafi Qureshi, Deputy Minister of Commerce, Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, Shri Kewal Singh, Secretary EA-I, Shri J. S. Mehta, joint Secretary (PP), Shri R. Jaipal, Joint Secretary (UN), Shri Prithi Singh, Joint Secretary (Eur) and Shri K. R- P. Singh, Joint Secretary (ED).

The Chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Prime Minister of India reaffirmed that in the conduct of international relations their countries are guided by the principles of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. The two leaders noted that the task of paramount importance at present is to work actively for the maintenance and consolidation of world peace, and to that end they reiterated their faith in the peaceful resolution of all problems and disputes.

They considered that the cessation of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the commencement of negotiations in Paris constituted a positive, though initial, step in the political solution of the Vietnam problem by peaceful means. They expressed the hope that the people of

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Vietnam will soon find it possible to decide their own future in peace and without interference from any side.

They were of the opinion that the situation in West Asia remained fraught with danger to world peace, and expressed their grave concern at the continuing delay in resolving this problem. They considered that it is necessary for all parties concerned to cooperate fully in reaching a peaceful settlement in accordance with the Security Council Resolution of 22nd November, 1967. They reiterated their conviction that peace cannot be maintained unless the aggressor is denied the fruits of his military conquests.

There was also an exchange of views on the problems of security in Asia and in Europe, and both sides re-affirmed the imperative need in the interests of world peace to solve all questions without resort to the use of force.

Both sides declared that racial discrimination, and particularly apartheid, constituted a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and condemned the racist policy followed by South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, which posed a threat to international peace. Bulgaria and India re-affirmed their full support for the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, and in particular they expressed their sympathy and for the peoples of Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle for freedom and independence.

The two sides considered that the early conclusion of a comprehensive Treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control would be a vital contribution to the maintenance of world peace. They shared the view that the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee, as a matter of urgency, should devote its labours to that end.

They expressed their firm conviction about the necessity of all Member-States making further efforts to strengthen the prestige and position of the United Nations.

The Prime Minister of India outlined the efforts made by India to improve its relations with Pakistan and the various measures proposed for normalisation of relations between the two countries on the basis of the Tashkent Declaration. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria expressed his appreciation of these efforts and hoped that India and Pakistan would resolved all their differences through direct bilateral discussions.

The Chairman acquainted the Prime Minister of India with the situation in the Balkans and explained that his Government's policy was for developing good neighbourly relations and cooperation among the Balkan countries on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in their internal affairs. The Prime Minister expressed the hope that peace would continue to be maintained in the Balkans.

The present state of relations between Bulgaria and India and the prospects of their further development were discussed, and both sides noted with satisfaction that the friendly relations and cooperation between them have made steady progress on the basis of the principle of full equality and mutual respect and benefit. The two sides considered the Agreement on Trade and Payments for 1969-1973, the Cultural Agreement and the Agreement on Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation as a good basis for the further development of their economic and cultural ties. They declared their readiness to continue their efforts for the extension and consolidation of their relations in all fields.

The two sides agreed that mutual visits and personal contacts between Government leaders tended to strengthen not only Bulgarian-Indian relations but also contributed to the establishment of good neighbourly relations among all countries.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria extended an invitation to the Prime Minister of India to visit Bulgaria again at her convenience, which was accepted with pleasure.

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BULGARIA INDIA USA VIETNAM FRANCE SOUTH AFRICA GUINEA ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE ZIMBABWE PAKISTAN MALI UZBEKISTAN

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

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### COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS' MEETING

Final Communique

Following is the text of the Final Communique issued at the end of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting held in London from January 7 to 15, 1969:

Commonwealth Heads of Government met in London from 7-15 January. Botswana, Cyprus, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia were represented by their Presidents. Australia, Barbados, Britain, Canada, Ceylon, The Gambia, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Lesotho, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Swaziland and Trinidad and Tobago were represented by their Prime Ministers. Ghana was represented by the Deputy Chairman of the National Liberation Council; Kenya by its Minister of Finance; Nigeria by the Vice-Chairman of the Federal Executive Council; and Pakistan by its Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Prime Minister of Britain was in the Chair.

This was the largest meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government and one of the biggest consultative gatherings of Heads of Government from all parts of the world since the signature of the United Nations Charter. Heads of Government warmly greeted the President of Botswana, and the Prime Ministers of Barbados, Lesotho, Mauritius and Swaziland, whose countries had become new members of the Commonwealth since the previous Meeting.

The Republic of Nauru has become the Commonwealth's first "special member", with the right to participate in all functional meetings and activities, and to be eligible for Commonwealth technical assistance. The Associated States of the West Indies, having reached a full measure of self-government although not fully independent, also take part in Commonwealth meetings and activities in fields within their constitutional competence. Heads of Government welcomed these arrangements which had been agreed since their last Meeting to enable very small States to participate in the work of the Commonwealth.

### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Heads of Government were aware that they were meeting at a time of some misgivings about the effectiveness of international organisations and associations. They were unanimous that effective international co-operation was more than ever important. Any weaknesses and failures of international machinery were a reason to improve that machinery, not to despair of it. They expressed their continued support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and their wish to contribute to efforts to strengthen the institutions and work of the United Nations, particularly its role in maintaining and promoting peace.

They noted with pleasure the part played by Commonwealth countries in the development of regional co-operation. At the same time they recognised that exchanges of view and consultation within a wider association such as the Commonwealth offered one means by which its members could form a better understanding of one another's problems and attitudes and of their

growing interdependence.

With these considerations in mind, they reviewed some of the major issues and trends in the world political situation.

They were in agreement that the principle of non-interference by one State in the internal affairs of another and of scrupulous 6

respect for the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and political independence of all Slates are the very cornerstone of the structure of world peace.

Heads of Government felt that events in Czechoslovakia, in violation of these principles and of the United Nations Charter, tended to undermine respect for the territorial integrity and sovereign independence of all States, particularly small States.

They considered that events in the Middle East in violation of the United Nations Charter and the Security Council resolutions emphasised the need for the establishment of a durable peace in the area is a matter of urgency. This could be achieved in accordance with the Security Council's Resolution of 22nd November, 1967. The Heads of Government expressed support for the efforts of Dr. Jai-ring, the special representative of the U.N. Secretary-General, and urged all concerned to give him their fullest co-operation. They were encouraged to note the round of consultation now in progress among four permanent members of the Security Council and urged these Governments to persist in their efforts to help bring about a settlement in accordance with the 22nd November Resolution of the Security Council. While the role of major Powers was important, other countries especially those who have an interest in the reopening of the Suez Canal, including Commonwealth members, could contribute towards a settlement.

Recalling the views expressed at their Meetings in 1965 and 1966, Heads of Government welcomed the commencement of the Vietnam talks in Paris and expressed the hope that they would lead to discussions aimed at securing a just, lasting and genuine peace.

It was the view of the majority of Heads of Government that the People's Republic of China has a right and a duty to participate in full in all the world's efforts towards peace. Most Heads of Government expressed the hope that the People's Republic in China would be able to take its rightful place in the international community, although some of them also stressed that this should be achieved without, prejudicing the rights of the people of Taiwan to an independent existence if they chose. However, certain Prime Ministers of countries whose Governments recognised the Government of the Republic of China (Taiwan) reiterated their support of that Government's right to membership of the United Nations.

Heads of Government, recalling the ending of Indonesia's policy of confrontation against Malaysia in 1966, were encouraged by developments towards stability in Indonesia since their last Meeting in 1966 and felt that this would contribute to the general stability and economic development of the region.

The Meeting observed that difficulties between Malaysia and the Philippines arising out of the Philippine claim to Sabah had hampered the progress of regional cooperation in South East Asia. It expressed the hope that these difficulties could be resolved by peaceful means, upholding the right of self-determination which has been exercised by the people of Sabah.

The Meeting also noted with concern and sympathy the difficulties which Guyana was experiencing in connection with Venezuela's claim to more than one-half of Guyana's territory. Acknowledging that threats to the territorial integrity of the State make inevitable the diversion of resources and energies from the constructive tasks of development, many members shared the view advanced by Guyana's Prime Minister that there was an urgent need for an international effort to secure the territorial integrity of every State - and especially of the small

developing countries of the world.

The Meeting expressed the hope that the recent achievement of independence by many small States would bring home to theinternational community the need to introduce special and effective measures to guarantee their territorial integrity.

The Meeting considered that major barriers to progress on negotiated agreements in critical areas and fields would be ovecome by significant progress in achieving detente and in co-operation between the major Powers. It was therefore considered essential that efforts to reduce tension and

extend areas of peace and co-operation should continue.

Heads of Government recalled that at their Meeting in September, 1966, they had expressed the view that events were throwing into ever sharper relief the need for firm and far reaching agreements on disarmament. They considered that the need for such agreements was even more urgent now than it was then, and hoped that the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee would resume consideration of this matter.

The Meeting considered that the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee should, as a matter of priority, explore possibilities of reaching agreement on effective measures designed to bring about a cessation of the nuclear arms race at a very early date. With this end in view a universally binding, comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty was an urgent necessity. In this connection, the British proposal to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee for a phased approach to a comprehensive test ban treaty was deserving of further study. They considered that the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee should also seek to achieve a cut-off of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes. Both these measures could be of great significance in halting the nuclear arms race. Mention was also made of the possibility that the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee

might undertake the study of various proposals made for a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. The Meeting gave particularly strong support to one of the recommendations made by the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States (whose distinguished President was present at this Meeting) and repeated by the General Assembly of the United Nations to the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, that they should at an early date begin their bilateral discussions on the limitation of offensive strategic nuclear weapon delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles.

The Meeting stressed again that effective disarmament must cover non-nuclear as well as nuclear weapons. In this connection the Heads of Government drew attention to the urgent need for action to deal with the threat presented by chemical and biological weapons and welcomed the British proposal to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee for a new convention prohibiting micro-biological methods of warfare. They looked forward to the report on chemical and biological weapons which the Secretary-General of the United Nations had been requested to prepare; they hoped that this would make a valuable contribution to the consideration of arms control measures to deal with these weapons.

Heads of Government recalled that at their Meeting in September, 1966, they had stressed that while there was still time it was imperative to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. A step towards this goal was taken with the opening for signature of the Treaty for the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In so far as the Treaty achieved this objective, most Heads of Government welcomed it. However, some Heads of Government had reservations on certain aspects of the Treaty including its effectiveness and the reliability of security guarantees for non-nuclear weapon States. It was recognised that the Non-Proliferation Treaty would not fulfil all the hopes set upon it unless progress could also be made by the nuclear Powers towards effective measures of nuclear disarmament. It was also recognised that member States which were

subjected to attack or threat of attack by either nuclear or non-nuclear weapons had the right to the protection afforded to them under the United Nations Charter.

The Meeting heard a statement by Britain on the progress of the remaining British dependencies towards self-government or independence. Twenty such dependencies were now left - many of them very small islands - and there had been recent constitutional advances in sixteen. It noted that in the case of British Honduras, the Falkland Islands and Gibraltar, the British Government stood ready to hold discussions with interested neighbouring countries, consonant with its basis principle, which was enshrined in the United Nations Charter, that the interests and wishes of the inhabitants must be paramount.

The Prime Minister of Malta drew the attention of other Heads of Government to the situation arising from the rapidly increasing technological capacity to exploit the

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immense resources of the sea bed, which constitutes nearly three-quarters of the surface of the earth. They considered that the area of the sea bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, for which a precise definition should be sought, should be accorded a special legal status as part of the common heritage of mankind, and as such should be reserved for peaceful put-poses and for the orderly exploration and exploitation of its great resources, by such appropriate international machinery as is agreed acting for the common benefit of all States, irrespective of their geographical location, and taking into special consideration the interests and needs of the developing countries.

The Meeting welcomed the initiative of the Government of Malta which led to the appointment in December, 1968, by the General Assembly of the United Nations of a committee on the peaceful uses of the sea bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, and declared its

#### RHODESIA

The Meeting had a full discussion on the problem of Rhodesia. Heads of Government agreed that there were several reasons why Rhodesia was so important in Commonwealth consultations. The legal authority and the responsibility for the terms on which it would be brought to independence rested with Britain. a Commonwealth member. The attempts of Commonwealth countries adjacent to Rhodesia to establish non-racial societies and prosperous economies were jeopardised by the growing threat of race conflict within the region. But the overriding reason was that problems such as this involved principles of racial justice and equality and the right of all peoples to selfdetermination which are embodied in the United Nations Charter and in the Declaralion of Human Rights. These matters went to the heart of the Commonwealth relationship and were therefore of deep concern to all Commonwealth members.

The Meeting recalled that, for these reasons, Rhodesia had been an important subject of discussion at recent Commonwealth Conferences, and Heads of Government reiterated the principles and objectives affirmed at their four previous Meetings.

They also reviewed developments since their last Meeting, noting that, the illegal regime had continued acts of political repression against the African majority population, and that there were increasing trends towards an apartheid system in Rhodesia.

The constitutional proposals drawn up on board H.M.S. Fearless were discussed. Most Heads of Government emphasised their view that these proposals were unacceptable as the constitution of an independent Rhodesia, and should therefore be withdrawn. They considered that to transfer sovereignty to a racial minority as the result of an agreement reached with that minority would settled nothing, if the settlement was not freely accepted by the people of Rhodesia as a

whole including the four million African Rhodesians and seen by the international community, especially the independent African countries to be so accepted. Otherwise internal strife, and outside support for guerilla activities would increase, with the inevitable risk of increasing instability and eventual race war. They stated that historical experience suggested that once independence was achieved, a minority in power could not be prevented from changing a constitution in whatever way they might wish. The only effective guarantees of political and civil rights lay in vesting those rights in the people as a whole.

The Meeting recalled the pledge by the British Prime Minister, following discussion at the Commonwealth Meeting in September, 1966, that independence would not be granted before majority rule was achieved (N.I.B.M.R.). The British Prime Minister stated that although the Fearless Proposals remained on the table, there had been no change in the British Government's policy on N.I.B.M.R. The Meeting welcomed the statement that the British Government's policy on N.I.B.M.R. remained unchanged, but most Heads of Government reiterated their position that. the Fearless Proposals should be withdrawn.

Some Heads of Government reiterated their call on the British Government to use force to quell the rebellion in Rhodesia. The 9

British Prime Minister explained the reasons why the British Government regarded the use of force as wrong and impracticable.

The British Prime Minister said that he had taken careful note of the view expressed by most other Heads of Government that the Fearless Proposals ought to be withdrawn. But he could not himself accept this view since he considered that it would be right, if it proved possible, to give the people of Rhodesia as a whole an opportunity to decide for themselves whether or not they wished for a settlement which would be fully consistent with the Six Principles laid down by successive British Governments. Any such settlement would need to be clearly

shown to be the wish of the Rhodesian people as a whole. If that took place, he would consult his Commonwealth colleagues about the N.I.B.M.R. commitments. He emphasised, however, that a settlement based on the Six Principles would not be possible if it were shown that there could be no genuine test of its acceptability in present circumstances in Rhodesia.

It was agreed that any settlement must depend for its validity upon the democratically ascertained wishes of the people of Rhodesia as a whole. The process for ascertaining their views was the British Government's responsibility, but the test of the acceptability of any proposed settlement would need to be made in a manner which would carry conviction in the Commonwealth and in the international community generally, so that its results would be accepted as truly reflecting the wishes of the people of Rhodesia. Many Heads of Government urged that this could only be carried out through the normal democratic process of election or referendum, and doubted whether adequate safeguards for free political expression and verification of the results could be provided so long as the rebel government remained in power. The Meeting noted the British Prime Minister's statement that it would be open to the proposed Royal Commission to say that in the circumstances prevailing in Rhodesia, no genuine assessment was possible of the acceptability of the proposed settlement to the people of Rhodesia as a whole and that, further, if the Royal Commission felt themselves unable to adjudicate on the acceptability or otherwise of the proposals to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, they would be free to recommend any alternative method, including a referendum, which in their view would adequately test Rhodesian opinion.

The Meeting had before it a review of the working of economic sanctions prepared for it by the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee. The Meeting agreed that the comprehensive mandatory sanctions were having some effect. It was important to strengthen the enforcement of these and other pressures on the illegal regime, and to intensify them wherever possible, in order to bring about an acceptable political settlement. Heads of Government therefore affirmed their support for the Supervisory Committee of the United Nations Security Council and for the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee, which they requested to continue to keep the situation under review.

Notwithstanding some differences of opinion on method, Heads of Government remained unanimous on the ultimate objectives to be sought in Rhodesia. They were more than ever resolved that, whatever the time needed to reverse it, the seizure of power by a small racial minority could be neither recognised nor tolerated. Concerted international action was being steadily built up particularly through the United Nations and the Commonwealth and Heads of Government pledged their continuing support for all efforts to strengthen and extend this and to continue to assist Rhodesian Africans in preparing themselves to take their rightful place in the Government and administration of their country. The special problems encountered by Botswana and Zambia arising from the Rhodesia crisis were recognised.

The British Prime Minister undertook to continue to consult Commonwealth members on the issue of Rhodesia.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Meeting considered other problems in Southern Africa. It reaffirmed the condemnation expressed at previous meetings of the policy of apartheid of the South African Government -- a policy totally abhorrent to world opinion. It expressed serious concern at the continued refusal of South Africa to

10 accept its international obligations in respect of the territory of South West Africa.

The Meeting deeply regretted that Portugal continued to deny the right of self determination to the inhabitants of her colonial territories in Africa and called on Portu-

gal to concede that right without delay. Some Heads of Government felt that the situation in Southern Africa if continued, would endanger peace and security and pointed to the threats which they felt were posed to their countries by the armed forces of South Africa and Portugal.

#### MIGRATION

Informal discussions took place outside the meeting between some Commonwealth countries on certain problems of migration between those Commonwealth countries. The Secretary-General was requested by the countries engaged in these discussions to examine in consultation with representatives of those countries general principles relating to short and long term movement of people between their countries and to consider the possibility, of exploring ways and means of studying this subject on a continuing basis with a view to providing relevant information to those Governments.

The Prime Ministers re-affirmed the declaration made in communiques of 1964 and 1965 that for all Commonwealth Governments it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens.

#### **ECONOMIC AFFAIRS**

Heads of Government held a general discussion on the world economic situation and broadly reviewed recent developments and trends. They agreed that the representative character of the Commonwealth and its tradition of informed and sympathetic interest in the problems of development make it a most valuable forum for constructive discussion and a useful instrument for cooperative endeavour.

They noted that early last year, in New Delhi during U.N.C.T.A.D. II, Commonwealth Ministers had exchanged views on some of the problems affecting trade and development of member countries, and that more recently, Commonwealth Finance Ministers at their annual meeting held in London had a full discussion of the world economic situation with special reference to international monetary problems, development and aid.

Heads of Government were concerned that the gap between the rich and poor was widening, but were encouraged by growing recognition of the increasing inter-dependence of nations. Greater cooperative action was vital to ensure economic progress and prosperity on which stability and peace so largely depend. Postponement of adequate and united efforts would lead to greater political and economic problems.

They took note of the fact that developing countries of the Commonwealth were making efforts to help themselves. They were steadily laying the ground-work of future self-sustained growth by paying increasing attention to agriculture, education, population control and administrative and institutional reforms. It was therefore hoped that if they were assisted by appropriate international measures, they would be in a position during the decade of the 1970's to achieve higher rates of economic growth.

Heads of Government noted the growing movement towards greater regional cooperation among the developing countries of the Commonwealth. This represented a valuable form of self-help on the part of the developing countries.

Heads of Government recognised that the results of U.N.C.T.A.D. II had been very disappointing to the developing countries. While there had been agreement on the need to evolve an international policy for development and a global strategy to implement it, little progress had been made in achieving this. On the other hand U.N.C.T.A.D. II had mapped out certain promising lines of

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They stressed the need to give practical effect to the unanimous agreement reached in principle at U.N.C.T.A.D. II. They expressed the hope that it would soon be possible to conclude successfully the negotiations on a scheme of generalised preference which would be of benefit to all developing countries and which would provide compensation for the less developed countries whose export trade might be adversely affected by the introduction of such a scheme. They agreed that close and continuous consultations among Commonwealth countries would be necessary during the consideration of the scheme of generalised preference. They emphasised the importance of continuing consultation at the Trade and Development Board and other organs of U.N.C.T.A.D. and asked the Secretary-General to maintain close contacts with these and other international agencies in order to keep these developments under review.

Heads of Government agreed that the first Development Decade had fallen short of expectations in achieving practical results. They hoped however, that the experience gained would help in the identification of areas of development and the strategy to which urgent attention needs to be directed with a view to achieving greater concrete results during the second Development Decade.

It was recognised that the terms of trade had moved against some countries of the Commonwealth who depend to a great extent on the export of primary products. More orderly and satisfactory markets for primary products were crucial for Commonwealth countries. Recognising the present unsatisfactory state of major export markets for many primary products, Heads of Government stressed the need for further efforts by Commonwealth countries in international forums to secure improved conditions for international commodity trade, including better access to markets in both developed and developing countries and equitable and stable prices for primary products. They expressed gratification at the extension of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement which has always been of special interest to the Commonwealth producer countries. They welcomed the recent conclusion of the International Sugar Agreement and expressed the hope that those governments which had not already signed it would do so. They further hoped that other commodities of special economic importance to Commonwealth countries would be covered similarly by suitable international arrangements which arrangements would be pursued and be supported by Commonwealth countries.

In this connection, they noted recent developments in the negotiations for the conclusion of an International Agreement on Cocoa. They urged all parties to the negotiations to intensify their efforts so as to reach a speedy agreement, and on the progress of which the Secretary-General should keep members fully informed.

Heads of Government welcomed the liberalisation of trade in respect of manufactured products consequent on the conclusion of the Kennedy Round of negotiations, and hoped that this process of trade liberalisation would be carried further in respect of all products. They regretted however that these negotiations had produced no significant benefits for most developing countries. They expressed the hope that continuing efforts would be made under the auspices of G.A.T.T. and U.N.C.T.A.D. to enable developing countries to secure improved access for their products to international markets with a view to increasing their foreign exchange earnings, while making every effort to increase trade among themselves.

They stressed the dangers of excessive protectionism in a number of Foreign industrialised countries for agricultural products of export interest to Commonwealth countries.

While it was recognised that Commonwealth trade must be seen in the larger context of global trade of which it was a vital part, they agreed there was continuing scope for the expansion of Commonwealth trade and for this purpose there was need to strengthen the well-established links amongst Commonwealth members.

Heads of Government took note of the Secretary-General's report that, in pursuance of an earlier decision, the Secretariat had begun a study on the feasibility of Commonwealth co-operation to assist in trade

12 promotion. They looked forward to the completion of this study.

The Meeting took note of the special difficulties of Lesotho and other African landlocked Commonwealth countries. These countries expressed the hope that all concerned would find it possible to accede to or ratify the international convention on the transit trade of landlocked countries. Heads of Government hoped that all countries concerned would make every effort to provide adequate transit facilities to the trade of such landlocked countries.

Heads of Government reiterated the importance of continuing close consultation by the British Government with Commonwealth Governments in regard to developments of interest to them concerning the British application for entry into the European Economic Community.

In discussing the international monetary situation, Heads of Government stressed the importance of restoring stability in world payments - and of adapting the world monetary system to meet evolving needs. They stressed the need for providing adequate international liquidity for implementing and activating as early as practicable the scheme for Special Drawing Rights through the International Monetary Fund to supplement reserve assets. They regretted that it had not been possible as yet to get the necessary broad international agreement on a special link between international action To increase liquidity and the needs of developing countries. They hoped that further such a would be given to establishing

They expressed the hope that more

liberal trade policies would follow from improvements in the international payments system.

Some Heads of Government felt that Commonwealth countries should call for a world monetary conference, open to all members of the I.M.F., to reappraise the World Monetary System since Bretton Woods and to make recommendations for its improvement, and that there should be a Commonwealth Meeting prior to such a conference. Others while sympathising with these objectives felt that it would be inappropriate to attempt to achieve them through such a conference and that it would be better to continue official discussions through existing channels.

The Meeting discussed international assistance for economic development, and noted with concern that the net transfer of resources from industrialised to developing countries had stagnated at a level which was inadequate to facilitate an acceptable rate of economic development in the developing countries. A critical situation was emerging for a number of countries because of the burden of debt servicing. Heads of Government expressed the hope that countries which had not already done so would. be in a position to signify their acceptance of an early date for complying with the U.N.C. T.A.D. resolution on the target of 1 per cent of gross national product at market prices. They stressed the urgency of the replenishment of the resources of the International Development Association and expressed the hope that all countries concerned would follow the lead already given by some in effecting such replenishment.

Heads of Government noted with approval the recent tendency on the part of some Commonwealth countries to soften the terms of their loans which they were extending to the less developed Commonwealth countries. They considered that Commonwealth donor countries should take the lead in seeking further improvements in the terms of international aid generally, and hoped that donor Governments would view sympathetically in appropriate cases the grant-

ing of more flexible terms.

Heads of Government expressed the hope that the consideration of the scheme of supplementary financing would lead to early results of benefit to developing countries.

They welcomed the appointment of an International Commission by the World Bank to review the total aid experience of the past two decades and to make recommendations for future aid programmes, and were particularly ratified that a former

13 colleague, The Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, was presiding over the Commission's work.

#### COMMONWEALTH CO-OPERATION

Heads of Government reviewed the extensive range of co-operation which exists among Commonwealth countries in such areas as technical assistance, education, science, medicine, law and many other functional fields. Such co-operation is facilitated and rendered more fruitful by the advantages the Commonwealth association offers a common working language, similar traditions in government, administration, educational methods, and the organisation of the professions. With the increasing membership of the Commonwealth and the potentially wider areas of co-operation, they recognised the importance of seeking ways and means of achieving more effective cooperation among members in all fields.

Much was being done through bilateral arrangements between member countries. The Meeting noted that intra-Commonwealth official bilateral assistance, which accounts on the average for about 85 per cent of the total of such assistance provided by Commonwealth members in all developing countries, had increased in 1967 and 1968, and they hoped that this would continue to grow.

They also reaffirmed the value of programmes of specifically Commonwealth effort in certain fields. An example would be increasing application of the principle of

third-party financing, as a useful mechanism for bringing qualified experts and important tasks together quickly and efficiently. Thirdparty financing, by which exports from one country can be financed wholly or in part by another, can significantly enlarge the pool of expertise available for technical assistance arrangements by drawing on skills available in developing countries. These skills, moreover, are often of particular relevance to the needs of other developing countries. The Meeting agreed that early consideration should be given to the extension of the principle of third-party financing to education, training and consultations. This would allow students to be trained in surroundings and under conditions more appropriate to their future employment, and in this way ease the problem of the brain-drain.

The Meeting noted several examples of mutual assistance which had already grown up among developing members of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Programme of Technical Co-operation, established within the Secretariat the previous year and on which the Secretary-General submitted a progress report, was a further step in building on the special advantages which the Commonwealth affords. A number of them underlined the particular usefulness of the Programme to the smaller members. They noted that a review of this Programme is to be carried out later this year.

The Meeting also considered a number of proposals for strengthening Commonwealth co-operation in specific fields.

They agreed that the nature and work of the Commonwealth should be more widely known in member countries. They approved in principle the proposal by Guyana for a Commonwealth Information Programme, and authorised the Secretary-General to appoint an Information Officer and to undertake in consultation with Governments a study of the implications of a programme as proposed.

Heads of Government also welcomed in principle the proposals submitted by

Pakistan on co-operation in the fields of mass communication and education and asked the Secretary-General to undertake studies in detail and in consultation with Commonwealth governments.

The Meeting had before it three proposals by Britain for increased Commonwealth co-operation. The first was for extension of co-operation in the legal field, This proposal involved the establishment of a small Legal Section in the Secretariat, which was agreed; and a conference on legal education, to which further consideration should be given.

The second British proposal was for regional centres for the teaching of English and the teaching of science, which was welcomed in principle, and which it was agreed should be further considered by the Com-

14 monwealth Education Liaison Committee and the Secretariat.

The third British Proposal was for a series of studies on the problems of youth. The Meeting asked the Secretary-General to examine its feasibility, taking into account the work in this field undertaken by other international organisations.

In addition the Meeting discussed proposals for a Commonwealth Book Development, Programme designed to assist developin- Commonwealth countries to obtain books and journals for educational and research purposes. The Meeting asked the Secretary-General to undertake studies in detail in conjunction with the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee, convening expert working parties where necessary. The Secretary-General was asked to include in these studies the implications of the ratification of the Protocol to the Berne Copyright Convention.

Heads of Government took note of the Second Report of the Secretary-General and the Report of the Commonwealth Foundation.

The Meeting also expressed appreciation of the valuable contribution to the strengthening of Commonwealth co-operation and understanding being made by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. As an independent association of Parliamentarians, it provides unique opportunity for the sharing of experience, the discussion of common problems and the development of personal links to the benefit both of its members and of the people they represent.

They expressed high appreciation with the work of the Commonwealth Secretary-General and his colleagues which they thought more than adequately justified the decision to establish the Secretariat.

UNITED KINGDOM BOTSWANA CYPRUS MALAWI TANZANIA UGANDA USA ZAMBIA AUSTRALIA CANADA THE GAMBIA GUYANA INDIA JAMAICA LESOTHO MALAYSIA MALTA MAURITIUS SIERRA LEONE REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE SWAZILAND TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO GHANA KENYA NIGER NIGERIA PAKISTAN NAURU NORWAY SLOVAKIA FRANCE VIETNAM CHINA TAIWAN INDONESIA PHILIPPINES VENEZUELA HONDURAS FALKLAND ISLANDS GIBRALTAR CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SOUTH AFRICA PORTUGAL SWITZERLAND

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

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## COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Shri Dinesh Singh's Address to Consultative Assembly

Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce of India, and President of UNCTAD II, delivered the following address to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe (it Strasbourg on January 28, 1969:

Mr. President and Fellow Parliamentarians, It is indeed a great privilege for me to be here almost at the epicentre of Europe, amidst leaders of men, rich in political experience, and yet free from political Constraints, chosen by the elected represen-

tatives of as many as 18 nations to deliberate on momentous issues and to chart the course of progress for the people who inhabit this part, of the globe. Your Consultative Assembly appears to me to give concrete expression to the struggle of the human spirit seeking an ever-widening political frame to satisfy its urge towards universality.

In inviting me to join in the deliberation of your august Assembly this morning, you have not only done honour to me and to my Government but have also given expression to your growing interest in the 520 million people who reside in my country and over a billion people dispersed in 85 Member-States of the group of developing countries.

It is a fortunate coincidence that I am here on the day when tribute is being paid to the International Labour Organisation on the occasion of the completion of 50 years of its dedicated service to mankind. My

country has been a devoted member of this Organisation almost since its inception. I take particular pleasure in saluting I.L.O. and in recalling to your mind its motto, which runs thus: "Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere".

There is another fortunate coincidence: 1969 is the year of the centenary of the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. Nearly 100 years ago, on 2nd October 1969. there was born a man, the like of whom mankind has not seen for many centuries. It was his mission in life, and I quote him "to wipe every drop of tear form every human eye". The course of history has brought to those who are born in the economic periphery of the world more than a fair share of tears. The Mahatma's mission to wipe them is far from complete. But those who have the good fortune to be born in the economic centres; of the world, are in a privileged position of being able to contribute to its completion.

I venture to view your debate on the Conference held in New Delhi over 9 months

ago, as a step in this process. Your debate also serves to allay the apprehension that Europe may be sinking into a kind of "prosperous provincialism". Some disturbing trends in European thinking have given rise to such an apprehension, but it is difficult to believe that Europe will either deny its history or deprive itself of the role its multisplendoured growth has earned for it on the world stage.

It is not easy to recall a period in which Europe has been regarded by either Europeans or non-Europeans as sufficient unto itself. There are, in fact, no people on this globe who have failed to borrow from others for their advancement or to contribute to the well-being of others. Through the ages Europe has received the fruits of Asian thoughts and labours. Long years of political domination by Europe may, to some ex-tent, distort our view, but it can hardly obliterate the significance of the contribution made by the peoples and the products of Asia to the enrichment of the life on this Continent.

Once again Asia is politically free. It is now struggling to repair the damages inflicted by colonialism, to restore tranquility and to re-establish Asian identity and cooperation.

It is a gratifying fact of history that your concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity helped to erode European domination over Asia. My own country gained its political independence as a result of a hard struggle, unique in the annals of human history because it was based on nonviolence and was devoid of hatred and animosity. We owe to this combination of European and Asian genius that domination by one nation over another has yielded place to political co-operation amongst equal nations.

The nations of the world have still to achieve equality of economic opportunity. In fact, the majority of nations though politically independent are tethered to the economic shackles of a bygone age. Momentous decisions affecting the lives and pros-

pects of billions of people continue to be taken by the fortunate few in the centres of economic power or at Conferences where the feeble voice of the vast majority fails to focus attention on the pressing problems of their poverty. The bounties of history provide Europe with a unique opportunity to use its accumulated treasures of capital, science and technology to free the developing continents from their economic bondage.

The economic progress of developing countries has been arrested for a number of centuries through factors beyond their control. And yet, in their struggle against under-development there is, in my view, no room to harbour either illwill or resentment. The inherited obstacles to rapid progress are many and the legacy of the unfinished task, overwhelming. The problems that face us cannot be solved by apportioning blame: the challenge to mount the effort required to telescope in the lifespan of a generation or two the economic advance which has spread over many generations in the industrial nations has to be accepted by the international community as a whole.

So far as the developing countries are concerned, their Ministers, when they met at Algiers on 24th October, 1967, reiterated that the "primary responsibility for the development of developing countries rests

on them". The Ministers also gave expression to the determination of the developing countries "to contribute to one another's development."

The developing countries cannot, by themselves, restructure international economic relationships which determine the parameters of national activity. A new economic order can emerge only with the active cooperation and participation of the affluent countries. The Conference in New Delhi made strenuous attempts to enlist such cooperation, The attempts were not crowned with success, but the effort goes on in the continuing machinery. I must confess that I was disappointed with the lack of urgency on the part of the developed countries to the

pressing problems of the developing countries. The results of the Conference were, therefore, discouraging, but I have not lost heart. It is my earnest hope that, as a result of your deliberations today, European leaders will become more acutely conscious of the urgency of these problems and the unique opportunity which they have of making a practical and meaningful contribution to the well-being of the world as a whole and to future generations.

Over the last few years feeble attempts have been made to discharge the responsibility imposed by this opportunity, but the initiatives in this vital field of international co-operation have been too little and too late. The net flow of capital for the economic growth of the developing countries falls very short of the modest target prescribed by the United Nations and the terms and conditions for the provision of development loans and grants do not conform to the basic requirements of a comprehensive development programme.

The commercial policies pursued by major trading nations do not make it easy for developing countries to augment their export incomes. While the Kennedy Round of Negotiations produced profitable results for industrial nations, the difficulties of the weaker sections of the community have remained unresolved. The trading system in vogue does not assure to the producers of the primary products a fair and remunerative return for their labours. Items of export interest to developing countries such as jute goods, cotton textiles, coir products, and hand knitted carpets are still to be found at the peak of the tariffs in Europe. Entry into some European markets of some of our products continues to be restricted. Uninterrupted sales of these products could enable us to pay for the capital equipment we need to buy from Europe.

We also suffer from a chronic imbalance in our trade exchanges with many European countries. The obstacles to the opening of European markets to the products from developing countries continue. This has arisen from two misconceptions.

One is the belief that because wages of industrial labour in developing countries are low, the cost of their industrial products too must be lower. The elementary fact that cost is composed of many other factors besides wages is forgotten. A low wage is of course a characteristic of a poor economy. The studies made by the I.L.O. have however shown that the high cost of other elements in the cost structure is equally a characteristic of under-development. Industrial goods from developing countries cannot, therefore, compete on an equal footing with the products of advanced economies.

The second is the fear of market disruption. Those who entertain this fear forget that an underdeveloped economy does not generally have a sufficiency of goods even to meet the modest requirements of its own people. The small quantities such economies may be able to spare at the cost of their domestic consumption will only give them the wherewithal to buy their essential requirements from advanced countries. If, say, 5 billion U.S. dollars worth of industrial products are imported annually into Europe from developing countries over the next decade, it will still constitute a negligible proportion of Europe's import bill. On the other hand, it can help to infuse a spirit of self-reliance in many nations of the world.

I venture to express the hope that these considerations will persuade this august Assembly to insist on a scheme of non-discriminatory, non-reciprocal preferences to be instituted in favour of developing countries without any further loss of time.

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Mr. President, Misers in every country can argue that the smallest transfer of their accumulated treasures will face them with bankruptcy and ruin. They do not realise that the income of one nation accrues from the expenditure of the others. If billions of poor people and scores of poor nations have the capacity to buy what they need and what they want, can it be honestly said that you will not gain from it? If their frustration breeds hatred, and violence

erupts, can you be assured that you will not lose by it?

World peace can remain secure only if all of us can enable the under-privileged to seek the transformation of economic order through peaceful means.

We in India have been committed to it by our traditions of non-violence and our policies of peaceful change. We recognise that it is only through the maintenance of peace that we can transform our economy, exploit our natural resources and build industrial capacity to give to our people a better life. To this end, our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, presented to the international community, a set of five principles, popularly known, as 'Panch Sheel' as a foundation for politico-economic relationships between nations. A decade later, the international community gave itself the machinery of UNCTAD to bring about the needed transformation. The Success of UNCTAD can help to sustain the faith and confidence of developing countries in international co-operation as the means to achieve their freedom from economic bondage.

The disappointing experience in New Delhi is already tending to turn many minds away from international cooperation. The decade of development is being increasingly described as a decade of disappointment. And yet, it seems to me that in this decade something has been done and something has been achieved which should persuade us to persevere in the course on which we have embarked.

In my own country, for instance, we have Succeeded in building up free institutions. We have given to ourselves a Constitution which guarantees fundamental human rights, an independent judiciary to guarantee the rule of law and a Parliament elected on the basis of the exercise of a universal adult franchise by over two hundred million voters. We have had four general elections since independence and about 100 million voters will be going to the polls a few days hence to elect new

Governments in five of our constituent States.

A wind of change is sweeping through our countryside and our farmers have eagerly taken to new agricultural practices. Last vear, we harvested 95.6 million tonnes of foodgrains as compared to about 50 million tonnes in 1947 when we achieved independence. We have now a wide-ranging industrial capacity which enables us to reduce imported inputs in our developmental process and to augment our exports. And yet, the per capita income of our people is barely 72 U.S. dollars as compared with the European average of roughly 1200 dollars. While we have succeeded in adding about 22 years to the life span of our generation, this success has inevitably slowed down the pace of the increase in individual incomes. The progress of planned parenthood encourages us to expect that at not too distant a date we shalt succeed in containing population pressures on the rate of economic growth.

As in India, so in many other developing countries, there are visible signs of progress. But the pace of economic growth has been far too slow for its beneficent impact to be experienced by the masses in their daily lives. Our inescapable duty is to secure as early as possible a significant acceleration in the rate of economic progress.

This duty can be discharged only if, in the words of the Charter of Algiers, "concomitant and effective international action" is taken by the international community.

Europe has had recent experience of the benefits which flow from international action. In June 1947, Secretary of State Marshal announced American willingness to support a masive European Economic recovery programme, a plan "not directed against anyone, but against hunger, chaos, and poverty". In 1948, the Organisation of European Economic Cooperation was established, joining 17 European partners in what came to be known as the Marshal Plan. We see today the fruits of cooperation and of the exertions of the European peoples all round us. War-devastated Europe not only stands on its feet once again, but has acquired a new vigour, a fresh elan and an economic capability sufficient not only to maintain its own momentum but also to participate in the task of building-up the economies which have suffered from centuries of neglect and which have been ravaged by the course of history.

We have perhaps not devoted sufficient attention to the recent history of Europe. Can we not draw valuable lessons from the European experience? If measures of international cooperation on a scale comparable with the Marshal Plan are joined to the exertions of developing nations, would it not be possible for them, one by one, to stand on their feet and also to participate in due course, in the exciting task of working for the common weal?

Conferences have been summoned in the recent past in Europe to solve the difficulties of individual countries. Many meetings have also been held to discuss structural changes in commercial and financial policies. In all these meetings we find that while the immediate problems which worry the affluent nations are at least partially resolved, decisions on problems which concern us are postponed. Until the International Community accords appropriate priority to the problems of development, the resources and markets of the nations situated in the world economic periphery will fail to contribute to the forces of economic expansion.

Mr. President, the people in what has recently come to be described as the South are working to dangerously close deadlines. Time could make the difference between success and failure. There are also competing ideologies-different paths than can be taken to reach the goal.

There is the familiar journey-through persuasion, national consensus, popular par-

ticipation, voluntary cooperation and friendly assistance. Some say there is a shortcut through regimentation and violence. Time presses. We cannot afford to wait endlessly to see the gap between the rich and poor widen; to see fulfilment trail far behind expectation; to continue to live in poverty and misery when there is a great potential for prosperity for all.

The youth in Europe, as also in other affluent nations, is in ferment, seeking to break through the gravitational pull of an industrial society, but unsure of their direction of their objective. The youth in developing countries struggling to transform their stagnant societies is in deep turmoil. It fears that history and vested interests may deprive it of the opportunities offered by science and technology.

I have asked myself whether there is anything common between the ferment and the turmoil. No doubt both have explosive seeds of conflict. And yet, there is an element of complementarity between the ferment in the North and the turmoil in the South

No nation, no people, and no set of values can remain static. Either they move forward or they are pushed aside. Old attitudes must be reformed and renovated to meet the needs and urges of the rising generation. I appeal to distinguished members of this Assembly to play a leading role in setting the pace and pattern for peaceful change.

Mr. President, for want of time, I am refraining from reporting to you in detail on the issues that were debated in New Delhi. I made a report on these issues to the General Assembly of the United Nations last October. I have taken the liberty of forwarding a copy of it for your information.

May I just say that the problem we are considering here is a galloping malaise. The world awaits an immediate remedy.

Let it not be said that we failed to

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### HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

President's Message on Republic Day

The President, Dr. Zakir Husain, broadcast on January 25, 1969 the following message to the Nation on the occasion of the twentieth Republic Day (January 26):

On the eve of the Republic Day, I take this opportunity to greet you and offer you my best wishes for a future of peace, goodwill and prosperity.

We have completed nineteen years of existence as a sovereign Republic. This is undoubtedly an occasion for rejoicing. But it is also a time for calm reflection and introspection, as we are celebrating this year as the Gandhi Centenary year. The great man who won national freedom for us was born a hundred years ago and even after his tragic departure from us enough time has elapsed to enable a whole generation of full-fledged citizens to appear on the Indian national scene without having as much as ever seen him. We shall constantly have to ask ourselves how far we have really tried to understand Gandhiji's message.

Gandhiji believed passionately in equal reverence for all religions, a reverence that would bind people professing different faiths in ties of understanding and comradeship. He dreamed of a social and political order

inspired by sympathy and mutual consideration, an order that would create confidence in minorities and encourage them to participate freely and boldly in building up the life of the whole people.

We are afflicted with labour unrest. student agitations, communal and linguistic conflicts, and generally with an angry discontent. We think of all the things that have not been done for us by others, of all the things done badly by others or not as well as they should have been. Gandhiji's principle and practice was to fight all forms of social evil, but he knew that even success would be of no value unless in fighting against evil he purified and disciplined himself. I would appeal to all, to students, to workers in fields and factories, to employees in Government and private offices to bear in mind, the need for self-purification and self-discipline. At the same time, those who occupy positions of power, in Government or outside, must remember that in the exercise of power they are subject to the authority of the moral law. If and when they are confronted with indiscipline, they must examine how far it is due to their own loss of moral stature and influence.

In this connection, I am most deeply anxious about the spread of indiscipline among students. It is only the symptom of a common disease, but it is most dangerous, because the youth of today will have to shoulder the burdens of life tomorrow and may be found unfit and unworthy. I would, therefore, appeal to the students to remember that they must, in their own interest, learn to give duty the first place in their thoughts and actions. Duty is not dumb obedience, it is an active desire to fulfil obligations and responsibilities. The performance of duty is not dependent upon or subject to the grant of rights. The dignity of the democratic citizen consists not in possessing rights that will counterbalance his duties, but in his regarding the performance of his duties as the highest right and privilege. Our youth must remember that the future of their country depends upon their willingness and ability to fulfil their duty; otherwise any rights they demand and obtain will have no meaning and bring no benefit.

Gandhiji taught us that material progress will result from moral strength. Only

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a nation that has spirit and the courage to take big risks and make great sacrifices can rise to impressive heights. In this year of the Gandhi Centenary we must all pledge out-selves to be bold in action and take all necessary risks. We have before us examples of men who, in mechanisms created by the human mind, have soared into space. encircled the moon, established space station and returned safely to the earth. In this triumph of the human spirit, one salutes the combination of scientific skill, team work and that dedication to an idea which gives one the courage to risk one's all.

We have defined our national objective in terms of a cooperative commonwealth which steers clear of the evils of both capitalism and statism. In our social structure we have assigned an honoured place to private enterprise, state enterprise and cooperative enterprise. As we measure our advance against the goals, we find that the movement for people's cooperation has been lagging far behind. Inevitably, this carries the danger of affecting the character of even the other forms of enterprise, with grave consequences to our society. I would, therefore, appeal for much greater attention to mutual cooperation in the coming years.

Turning to the economic field, we find a new hope in agriculture. Although the erratic monsoons of last year and floods in some parts coupled with droughts in others affected the production of foodgrains and commercial crops, the prospect seems quite favourable. I would, however, like to caution against too much talk of an agricultural revolution being round the corner. We are yet not free from the vagaries of monsoons and there are too many imponderables in the agricultural situation. The formidable problem of agricultural organisation has to be tackled in all its man; fold aspects if we are to ensure continuing

self-sufficiency.

Industrial production has begun to look up after two years of stagnation and export performance has been particularly encouraging. It is a happy sign that there is now an increasing awareness of the need for self-reliance. Our people are now aware of the danger of regarding every refinement of an old technology as a new technology. The craze for import of mere sophistication is receding. If the position of our resources for the plan is still not satisfactory, the only conceivable remedy is an ever greater reliance on the ingenuity of our scientific and technical manpower. Only a greater use of our talent and greater cooperative effort throughout the country can make up for the deficiency in our resources.

Friends, this brings me to the core of our problem. The sole remedy lies in the utmost utilisation. of human material, which demands-let me repeat it-inner discipline and moral authority in every field and at every level. Should so much of our Scant energy be wasted on work at cross purposes? On this solemn occasion, I would appeal most fervently to every Indian citizen to remember the need for cooperation in the honest fulfilment of duty. Individual loyalty to our people and our State alone can give strength to our national purpose and will. JAI HIND.

USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

**IRAN** 

President's Speech at Banquet in Honour of His Imperial Majesty

Following is the text of the speech made by the President, Dr. Zakir Husain at a Banquet given by him, in honour of Their Imperial Majesties the Shahanshah Aryamehr and Shahbanou of Iran, at Rashtrapati Bhavan on January 2, 1969:

The presence of Your Imperial Majesties among us today is a powerful reminder that

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sometime before the second millennium B.C. we belonged to one single family. Among the many peoples and races who have come in contact with and influenced our life and culture, the oldest and most persistent have been the Iranians. The relationship precedes even the beginning of Indo-Aryan civilization. It was out of some common stock that the Indo-Aryan and the ancient Iranians diverged. The Vedic religion had much in common with Zoroastrianism and Vedic Sanskrit and the old Pahlavi closely resemble each other. This ancient ancestry had continued to find eloquent expression in the architecture, music, painting and sculpture of the two countries.

India has produced in the past some brilliant poets in the Persian language while even Ashoka's buildings were influenced by the architecture of Persepolis. The picture of Darius in your museum has the Sun and the Lotus symbols which are common to the whole Indo-Aryan tradition. In the words of the late Prime Minister Nehru, few people have been more closely related in origin and throughout history than the people of India and the people of Iran.

During your last visit to us Your Imperial Majesty was gracious enough to observe that spiritual and worldly relations, together with the political and economic ties between India and Iran, constitutes one of the most pleasing facts of the ancient history of the world and that you were seeking to revive the spirit of collaboration as bequeathed by our ancestors. In this context your Imperial Majesty's visit to us recalls to our minds the famous re-union, at the dawn of our civilization, of two brothers after a similar interval which is

described in our ancient and reversed epic Ramayana. This re-union ushered in "Ram Rajya", the ideal government and administration based on truth and justice, - a concept revived for us by Gandhiji.

We confidently hope that your visit, which is a milestone in Indo-Iranian relalions, will renew not only the ancient ties between our two countries but will also beckon towards a common exercise in the practice of modern ideals of government.

Much has happened in the world and both our countries since your last visit and vast vistas have opened out for collaboration between India and Iran in many spheres. In internatioal affairs we seek no more than friendship with all countries. particularly our neighbours, and believe firmly that our friendship with any country should not be at the expense of any other. Our primary concern continues to be for peace and stability and for peaceful settlement of disputes by the parties concerned without external interference. There is much in common between your Imperial Majesty's "independent national policy" and our policy of non-alignment.

In Indo-Iranian relations we admire and continue to learn from the tremendous progress which has been achieved in Iran under your Imperial Majesty's wise leadership while welcoming opportunities for greater co-operation. Our resources and experience in the development of our economy are at the disposal of our friends particularly those so close to us as Iran.

A significant beginning has already been made in such co-operation between our two countries in various developmental activities and we hope that your visits to our modern temples of industry will reveal new facets of an ancient country and open a new era in an old and traditional friendship.

Internally we seek national cohesion, consolidation of our democratic way of life and rapid improvement in the living corditions of our people. Our policies and efforts are directed towards this end. For

this peace and stability are indispensable although, like you, we welcome constructive change while maintaining steadfast support of our ancient values of wider comprehension, larger charity and greater tolerance for other cultures and beliefs which both our civilizations have displayed through assimilation of whatever is presented to them.

May I also say that we are particularly happy to have your gracious consort amidst us. The ties between Iran and India should not only be as strong as steel but also as soft as silk. May they grow from strength to strength in the interest of peace. prosperity and progress.

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### IRAN USA INDIA

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

**IRAN** 

Reply by His Imperial Majesty

Replying to the toast proposed by the president Dr. Zakir Husain, His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah Aryamehr of Iran said:

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: I was deeply moved, Mr. President, by the warm words of welcome addressed towards the Empress, Myself and towards the people of Iran. You have traced eloquently all the bonds and close ties of spiritual friendship that existed between our two countries. I hope I am not repeating what Your Excellency has said, but to say a few things on that score and

in this respect I would also cite some aspects of our past historical bonds of friendship.

The historical and cultural ties between Iran and India are amongst the most ancient in the world.

In the famous Sanskrit dramas and legends, I quote for example Kadambari, Iran is referred to as Parsikas and mention is also made of the long-standing relations between the two countries.

In Achamenian times and more especially so in Sassanian times relations between our two nations were highly developed. I know that in the famous caves of Ajanta there exists a mural representing the reception of the Embassy despatched by Khosrow Parviz, the Iranian Emperor, to the Court of India. The Haft Peykar of Nizami the famous Iranian poet describes in verse the Indian bride of the Iranian Shahanshah Bahram Gour. During Anushirvan the Just's reign, a mission visited this country in order to copy the famous scientific and literary masterpieces of India. It returned with a copy of the "Panchtantra" which was translated into the Pahlavi language; and later the Persian translation of this work became famous throughout the world as Kalile Va Damneh and has been translated into 65 languages. At this period many Indian scholars taught at the University of Jondi Shapur Which was founded 1700 years ago.

The Buddhist religion made a profound impact on the Iranian Religion of Manicheism, and at this same period as a result of the blending of Indians and Persian Arts a common art came into existence.

During Islamic times intellectual and cultural contacts between Iran and India had developed to such a degree that the two cultures were at times almost inseparable. The most important proof of this close association was the important role the Persian language played in India during the last 1,000 years. According to the research carried out by the late Iranian Scholar Said

Naficy, even before the famous Mughal Dynasty of India, 32 local Dynasties ruled in various parts of India at whose courts Persian was the official language. In Delhi itself five succeeding Dynasties who ruled from 1206 to 1857 used Persian.

Persian Mysticism achieved greater development in India than in Iran itself. Persian Poetry found such a degree of popularity in India that it may be said that the number of Persian speaking Indian Poets was not less than those in Persia. Some of these poets, including Amir Khosrow Dehlevi, may be considered among the greatest in the Persian language.

In addition to poets, there were numerous artists, musicians, architects and calligraphers who came to India from Iran at the time. During the Safavi period a trip to India was practically the aim of many of men of letters and Arts of Iran. I would like to quote here from Saeb, the renowned Persian poet:

Hamcho azm-e-safar-e-hind ki dar har sar hast

Sirr-i-Sauda-i-to dar hich sar-e-neest ki neest

During the course of several centuries many literary works were translated from the Indian languages into Persian and viceversa. Numerous architectural masterpieces in India were inspired by Persian

style. In Persian miniature paintings and Persian poetry a famous school came into existence which was known as the Indian School. In the 19th Century Persian literary works were printed for the first time in India.

Indian libraries possess the largest collections of Persian manuscripts in the world and thousands of Persian documents ace also kept in archives and museums throughout India.

The Persian language and literature is

taught in most of the universities in India at a very high level. The centres of Persian studies in India are among the most developed in the world. I would like to stress that the oldest centre of Persian studies in the world-'The Asiatic Society of Bengal'-was founded at the end of the 18th century in Calcutta.

With all these bonds which linked our people - our literature, the minds of our poets, the imagination of our people, -- it is only but normal that we crossed our present not only on this past round and achievements. but also what lies ahead in the future, what is facing your country, what is facing mine, what is facing our continent and what is facing humanity at large. I am happy to say that our approach to almost all these problems is very similar - attachment to our tradition; but also we have our eyes open to the needs of the present. We can look ahead; we can visualise the future, what lies ahead, what is needed for the societies, the basic elements of dignity and justice, what is needed for the human race, our tolerance vis-a-vis the various interpretation of life, of society, of civilisation, the importance that we attach to the dignity of the human being, the freedom of man and so many other aspects of ours, similarity of views on what is dear to the human mind and character. Thus it is natural that the two countries like ours bounded by these ties of the past and being moved together by the necessity of times, are in the present seeking closer ties of friendship and amity. When I examine those possibilities, I really see that they are various and tremendous. We can and on our part we believe we must seek and develop to the extent possible those ties. India is a great country. India will be even greater country in the future. We have hopes that our country will develop also. We have moral, physical responsibilities not only for ourselves but for the whole region in which we live. Obviously all those countries who believe in the same ideals should try to collaborate should try to offer to those who need it some kind of assistance, some kind of leadership. While this time I have not the pleasure of seeing all our friends and

great people, great statesmen who have rendered such services to their country, I remember the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. The spirit that he created in the country still survives and persists. The movement that he initiated has been continuing. India is becoming a fast growing industrial State. In the field of agriculture, you have also made great progress.

We were happy to be here in this country last year and again this year. On the question of food, you are in a very good position. I hope this will continue. I have been given the opportunity for seeing for myself the achievements that you have made in the industrial field. I know that this will also be continued.

I would like to wish on behalf of my people a continuous prosperity for thepeople of India and success for the Government of this country in the various enterprises.

I now ask the Excellencies and the honoured guests tonight to raise a glass with me to the health of the President of India, to the bright future of this country and prosperity and happiness of the people of India.

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IRAN USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

# Volume No 1995 IRAN Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Com munique issued in New Delhi on January 13 1969, at the end of the visit to India of Their Imperial Majesties the Shahanshah Aryamehr and Shahbanou of Iran:

At the invitation of the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, Their Imperial Majesties the Shahanshah Aryamehr and Shahbanou of Iran visited India from January 2-13, 1969.

Their Imperial Majesties received a warm and cordial welcome from the Government and people of India during their visit. The Mayor and citizens of Delhi held a civic reception in their honour at the Red Fort. They also visited various parts of India, toured historical sites, scientific centres and industrial plants including the Refinery at Madras under construction in collaboration with Iran. Their Imperial Majesties acquainted themselves with the cultural heritage of India in various parts of the country. The spontaneous reception given to them everywhere was a manifestation of the affection and esteem of the people of India and a deep mutual desire to foster close understanding and friendship and active cooperation between the Governments and peoples of the two countries.

Talks were held between His Imperial Majesty Shahanshah Aryamehr and His Excellency the President of India in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship.

His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah and the Prime Minister of India exchanged view on the international situation and matters of common interest and discussed the further development of bilateral relations between the two countries. The talks were held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence and in a spirit of friendship.

His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah was assisted in the talks by His Excellency Mr. Ardeshir Zahedi, Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. M. R. Amirteymour, Ambassador of Iran in India, Mr. Bagher Mostofi, Chief of the Petrochemical Company, Mr. Sadegh Sadrib, Supervisor of the Fifth Political Depart.

ment, Mr. Houshang Batmanghelich, Supervisor of the Regional Cooperation Development Department, and Mr. Hadi Entekhabi, Engineering Supervisor of Technical Services, National Iranian Oil Company.

The Prime Minister of India was assisted by Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad, Minister of Industrial Development and Company Affairs, Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce, Shri Swaran Singh, Minister of Defence, Shri Raghuramiah, Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals, Shri P. C. Sethi, Minister of State in the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Metals, Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, Shri Kewal Singh, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Shri P. N. Haksar, Secretary to the Prime Minister, Shri V. H. Coelho, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and Shri K. V. Padmanabhan, Ambassador of India in Iran.

The two parties recognised the advantage of technical and economic cooperation between the two countries and its impact on raising the standard of living of the people of Iran and India, and expressed their desire for, and interest in, development of mutual cooperation in this regal

Both sides noted with gratification the cultural and literary bonds which have since ancient times brought the peoples of Iran and India into close relationship and they affirmed the need for effective and positive measures to be taken towards further developing and strengthening these bonds.

The two leaders recalled the close traditional and historic ties between Iran and India that have endured through the ages. They noted with satisfaction the renewed efforts to increase further the contacts between the two countries in the economic and cultural fields, enabling both countries to benefit from each other's experience and to cooperate in strengthening their self-reliance and in promoting economic progress in this region.

The Prime Minister of India expressed high appreciation of the all-round progress made by Iran, especially in the fields of social and economic reform, under the wise leadership of His Imperial Majesty Shahanshah Aryamehr. His Imperial Majesty expressed high appreciation of India's achievements in the economic, industrial and social spheres under the able and dynamic leadership of her Prime Minister.

His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah and the Prime Minister of India welcomed the concrete measures taken in the last few years towards industrial and technological collaboration through joint ventures and expansion of mutual trade. The two sides agreed that there were immense possibilities of closer collaboration between Iran and India, especially in the petrochemical field. Wider and more intensive cooperation between the two countries in the fields of science, technology and industry would not only hasten the process of economic growth of the two countries but also contribute to the economic development of the region. In this context the two leaders decided that a joint Commission on Economic, Trade and Technical Coopration headed by the Ministers of the two countries would be set up to plan and implement specific schemes for cooperation through an exchange of technology, joint industrial ventures and the expansion of mutual trade.

His Imperial Majesty/the Shahanshah of It-an and the Prime Minister of India reiterated the need for greater international effort towards alleviating the problems of economic growth in the developing countries and bridging the widening gap between the developed and developing countries. In this context, they noted the aims and endeavours of the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and expressed the hope that continued and determined efforts would be made to achieve the objectives.

The Prime Minister of India welcomed the proposal outlined by His Imperial Majesty Shahanshah Aryamehr for the creation of a Corps of Volunteers for Development and the unanimous decision by the United Nations to approve it for further study.

In regard to the situation in West Asia, they expressed their anxiety and concern over the delay in the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967 and the resultant growth of dangerous tension in the region. They condemned the use of force and retaliatory acts as a means of settling political issues.

The two leaders affirmed that the preservation of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf is the exclusive responsibility of the littoral States and there should be no interference by outside powers.

In regard to Vietnam, they a-reed that the Geneva Accords provided a suitable basis for a peaceful political solution and expressed the hope that the current discussions between the parties concerned would lead to a satisfactory settlement.

The Prime Minister explained to His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah India's efforts to develop good neighbourly relations with Pakistan and India's determination to seek a solution of all problems between the two countries on the basis of the Tashkent Declaration. His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah noted with satisfaction the Indian efforts to resolve all differences with Pakistan in a peaceful manner.

Reviewing the international situation, the two leaders reaffirmed their faith in the United Nations and the principles of the Charter and declared their continued support for the United Nations Organisation as the main instrument for the maintenance of world peace and stability. They agreed that it is indispensable to strengthen this organisation to enable it to discharge its functions more effectively.

His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah and the Prime Minister of India reiterated their belief in nations pursuing independent, policies within the framework of constructive international cooperation. They stressed the need for unqualified respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of nations, and recognition of the right of each country to develop its personality according to its own genius and tradition. They reaffirmed the principle of non-

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interference by one country in the internal affairs of another and emphasised that all bilateral issues should be settled by the countries concerned through mutual discussion and peaceful means. They reiterated their opposition to the use of force to secure territorial gains.

The two sides confirmed that conclusion of a treaty on complete and general disarmament under effective international cotrol and signed by all the Powers would be the greatest step towards establishment of peace and stability in the world.

Their Imperial Majesties Shahanshah Aryamehr and the Shahbanou expressed their gratitude for the warm and cordial hospitality extended to them and to the members of their party by His Excellency the President, the Government and the people of India.

The two sides agreed that exchange of visits of this nature would tend to develop and strengthen mutual relations and expand fruitful cooperation between their countries.

His Imperial Majesty Shahanshah Aryamehr extended a formal invitation to His Excellency the President of India to visit Iran. The President of India has accepted the invitation with pleasure.

IRAN INDIA USA VIETNAM SWITZERLAND PAKISTAN UZBEKISTAN

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

### **NEW ZEALAND**

Prime Minister's Speech at Banquet in honour of Mr. Holyoake

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following speech at a Banquet given in honour of His Excellency the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Keith Holyoake, Prime Minister of New Zealand, and Mrs. Holyoake, in New Delhi on January 28, 1969:

Prime Minister, Mrs. Holyoake, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I once again say what a great pleasure it is for us to have you, Prime Minister and your gracious Lady with us this evening. It is a special pleasure that after not having met for a long time, within a few months we have met three times-in New Zealand, then in London and now. We are glad that you have broken journey in India and are able to spend a very short time with us. Our formal talks this evening were marked by great informality. In fact, I do not remember having quite such informal formal talks before. As you rightly pointed out, there were no arguments between us. We had to look round to see whether we could possibly argue about something.

We are not only members of one family, the Commonwealth family but neighbours in this region of the world. The very thought of New Zealand brings to mind greenary and great natural beauty. Your peaceful islands are like gems set in the Pacific Ocean. By contrast, I think of India in terms of tur-Moil, difficulties and challenge but in your country you have been pioneers in ensuring welfare for your people. And you have made a distinct contribution to human civilisation through the outstanding men you have produced, such as Rutherford and Hillary for example. In India, we have the habit of tracing our origin to sages or as we call them 'rishis'. The fields in which we have made advance since independence

are atomic energy and mountaineering and in both these our progress can be traced to these two outstanding New Zealanders.

Our own great scientist Dr. Bhabha worked under Lord Rutherford in Cambridge and, of coure, we all know what a great part Hillary played in inspiring

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Indians to take to mountaineering. Today apart from all the others who indulge in that wonderful sport, you will be pleased to know that there are a large number of girls and from the part of India which had not been so far interested even in sports-that is Gujarat. We are very glad that mountaineering is now claiming converts all over the country.

A country is judged through its contribution to civilisation. In our own long civilisation we have come to the understanding that mankind can live and progress only through tolerance. In a country of our size, with its great diversity, of religion, in customs, the integrating factors of a national society are shared ideals and respect for one another's beliefs. Tolerance can have meaning only when we have tolerance for other peoples' ways of life.

The forces of science and technology today are making the world interdependent and shrinking distances. Thus, tolerance becomes even more inescapable. The concept of fraternity has to be extended beyond the frontiers of the nation. But unfortunately the world continues to live by formulations of olden times and force is still used as a means of settling disputes and altering boundaries.

We feel that national thinking and the compulsions of modern technology proclaim that there can be no alternative to co-operation. Yet there are numerous impediments to co-operation. Some people still judge people by the colour of their skins and the world continues to be divided into rich and poor nations. New Zealand and India are fellow members of the Commonwealth and, as I have said, neighbours in our region.

Because of our location, we are intensely and directly concerned with two areas of unresolved hostility-West Asia and South East Asia. These areas need peace, peace which is enduring and which will enable the people of both regions to pursue their plans for development and progress. A solution which is one sided or humilating to one or the other cannot be lasting. This evening, after our meeting you saw a photograph of Mr. Gandhi and remarked how small and how peaceful he looked. He was fond of saying that true victory is one in which neither side loses and only peace triumphs. I believe that the friendliness of the people of New Zealand is a guarantee that New Zealand will always be a force for peace. Here in this country, we are endeavouring hard to be on the side of peace, on the side of freedom and of fairplay. We are concentrating all our energies to build up our country and to bring a better life to our people. We knew when we became free that freedom was only the beginning of a very long and difficult journey and the events which followed freedom have not belied the fact forecast. We have seen very many difficulties. But, I believe, that difficulties create their own strength and I think that our people have emerged through each such difficult phase with added maturity and also added strength. We think now that we are emerging out of the woods. We sincerely hope we are, and if we are it is in no little measure due to the people themselves who in the worst of drought did not complain of the drought but asked us whether there was any step which could he taken to prevent such a thing happening in future, so that in the midst of that hardship they were already looking ahead to a better future and planning their own part in it and their own contribution towards it.

During your very brief stay, I hope that you will have some glimpse of new India which is emerging. It is an India of many faces and most people choose the face which interest them most. There are some, of course, who choose the worse side of a thing. But we do not want to hide even the worse side, because we think that whatever we are is made up of the good and the bad and

while we shall always endeavour to fight what is bad, there is no point in shutting our eyes to it, because in that way we cannot even fight it. But it would be a pity if people see only that side and not the other side which is trying to struggle ahead to build and to progress, to take strength from our past and yet to look towards the future, to take a country which is very ancient and burdened with traditions into the age of science and not yet space but well towards it in a way. I do not know whether any of us can escape the various ages which confront the world today. But we must all try to use them in a manner which blends with our personalities, so that

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our personalities grow with them and are not warped into fitting another national personality. I think the danger in the modern world is that in progress we quite often try to shake off what makes our own individuality in trying to be modern, in trying to go ahead. In India we have always believed in taking what is the most difficult path. Of course, it is easy either to stick to the past or it is easy to shake off the past and take to the new. But we are trying to have a blending of the two. It is perhaps too early to say whether it is possible in the world of today but we are trying and we are hoping for success, because we feel that with all the excitement of science and technology, the world would be very dull if all countries were to be the same and all people were to be the same. I certainly hope that India will always remain India. As our ex-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan said a real Indian was not just he who happens to be born in India or who had an Indian passport but he who believed in the ideals for which India had stood through the ages. We are trying to stand by those ideals today and we hope that future Indians will also abide by them.

May I once again welcome you, Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Holyoake, and may I invite all Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen to join me in a toast to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Keith Holyoake, Prime Minister of New Zealand, to Mrs. Holyoake, his gracious companion, to growing Indo-New Zealand friendship and to peace and plenty for our peoples.

### NEW ZEALAND INDIA USA UNITED KINGDOM MALI

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

### **NEW ZEALAND**

Reply by Mr. Holyoake

Replying to the toast proposed by the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, His Excellency the Prime Minister of New Zealand Mr. Holyoake said:

Madam Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, May I first convey to you, Madam Prime Minister, and to your Government and the people of India the warm regards and best wishes of the Government and people of New Zealand.

New Zealand has watched with fascination the efforts of the Indian people to raise living standards, to ensure social justice for all and to develop their country so that it can take its place as a leader among the community of nations.

We admire the resolution with which India has faced its tasks, and the fortitude with which it endured such setbacks as droughts and floods.

New Zealand's Problems are much smaller and very different, but we know something of the difficulties of developing a modern society from a slender base.

The fact that India has chosen to tackle her giant tasks as a liberal democracy adds an exciting dimension to your progress.

Parliamentary democracy has never before been adopted by such a diverse and varied society.

Even if it hadn't achieved what it has in the field of economic and social development, India's success as a democracy would write a new chapter in the history of political institutions.

We must recognise that, in a democracy, there are short cuts which can't be taken, time-consuming procedures which must be followed.

When hard decisions are necessary it, takes longer to persuade the people than to coerce them.

For a country which has set itself high objectives, as India has done, the road is longer and more difficult.

We admire and applaud India's determination and her noble purpose.

It would be stretching credulity to liken New Zealand, a new, small country, to the ancient civilization and vast population that is India.

But I don't believe countries must be alike to have close relations.

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And New Zealand shares with India more than enough to ensure that the continuing development of our contacts will pose no difficulty.

Our Parliamentary systems are closely akin, and our legal systems too.

We are both Commonwealth countries.

Such sports as Cricket and Hockey athletics have provided common interests for our people.

And you make it easy for us by including English among your many

languages.

I'm convinced that trade is one of the best means of enhancing relations between two countries, for it involves day-to-day relationships between people as well as between Governments.

The recent improvement in our trading relations is a legitimate source of satisfaction to both our country, and I'm sure you are as hopeful as we that this trend will continue.

Forty years ago, New Zealand believed it had no neighbours.

But in today's interdependent world we now feel part of the same Asian Pacific region as India, despite the many thousands of miles which separate us.

It's a region which desperately needs social and economic development, and the peace and stability in which such development can take place.

We look forward to joining with India in promoting social and economic progress both within India and throughout the Asian Pacific region.

The beginnings of regional co-operation have been a feature of this area in recent years and we would like to see this trend sustained.

We believe that India, despite its own problems, has the technology and industrial capacity to make a substantial contribution to the progress of the region.

The end of colonialism in Asia, which began with India's independence, awakened the hopes of mankind that the most populous area of the world was entering a new era of peace and expanding opportunity.

Not just Asia but the whole world needs the great talents and energies of the Asian peoples.

We all know there have been some disappointments, that peace has not pre-

vailed everywhere, and that living standards and social progress are still less than we can accept.

But this shouldn't distract us from the great advances which have been made.

My visit to India has shown me something of these achievements.

It has confirmed me in my view that India must continue to contribute to the world's progress, development and enlightenment as she has done since ancient times.

As a small country, New Zealand can expect to make what is, in absolute terms, a modest contribution.

But we shall always pull our weight.

And with the broad interests of the region in mind, we hope to work more closely with India and other countries of Asia and the Pacific.

This is not my first visit to India but Madam Prime Minister, I've been deeply impressed once again by what I've seen so far during my visit to your country.

I've been impressed once again by the antiquity and the modernity that make up India.

I've experienced the warmth and generosity of your people.

The overriding impression I have gained is that this country, the world's largest democracy, has a future as great as its ancient past.

We look forward to playing a part in that future with you.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I invite you to join me in a toast to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, to the Government and people of India, and to increasing friendship and co-operation between our countries.

### NEW ZEALAND INDIA USA

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

### **NEW ZEALAND**

Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued at the end of the visit to India of the Prime Minister of New Zealand, His Excellency Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Keith Holyoake, on January 31, 1969:

At the invitation of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, His Excellency Rt. Hon'ble Keith Holyoake, Prime Minister of New Zealand, and Mrs. Holyoake paid an official visit to India from January 28, to January 31, 1969.

In the course of his stay in India the New Zealand Prime Minister witnessed celebrations connected with the Republic Day and visited the Delhi Milk Scheme. He also visited the city of Agra and the Bhaba Atomic Research Centre at Bombay. During his stay in New Delhi, the Prime Minister of New Zealand called on His Excellency the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain. The Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of India, Shri Morarji Desai called on the New Zealand Prime Minister.

The Prime Ministers of India and New Zealand were glad to have this further opportunity to renew contacts established during the visit of the Prime Minister of India to New Zealand last year and to review the progress made in matters of mutual interest and to have an exchange of

views on recent international developments.

The two Prime Ministers reiterated their faith in the Charter of the United Nations and emphasised their strong belief that as a first priority all countries should cooperate in the establishment of lasting peace in the world. The Prime Ministers agreed that all States must respect national sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States and refrain from interference in their internal affairs. They further agreed that all disputes should be settled through peaceful negotiations and not through the use or threat of force.

The two Prime Ministers recognised the importance of peace and stability for the progress of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions and affirmed their desire to work for the evolution of peaceful conditions in Asia. Reaffirming the joint statement issued at the conclusion of their last meeting in Wellington they welcomed the talks currently taking place in Paris on the Vietnam question and expressed the hope that a just and lasting solution of the Vietnam problem would be found, which would be consistent with the wishes of the Vietnamese people.

The two Prime Ministers considered that the present situation in West Asia (Middle East) constituted a danger to world peace. They agreed that peace in this area needed to be established as a matter of urgency. This should be achieved in accordance with the Security Council's Resolution of 22nd November, 1967. The two Prime Ministers expressed support for the efforts of Ambassador Jarring, Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary-General and urged all parties to give him their fullest cooperation.

The Prime Minister of India explained India's efforts to improve relations with Pakistan and outlined the various measures proposed for normalising relations between India and Pakistan. The Prime Minister of New Zealand reiterated the hope that India and Pakistan will resolve all their differences peacefully through direct discussions.

The Prime Ministers agreed that friendly and cooperative economic relations existing between the two countries should be further strengthened and developed. In this connection the Prime Ministers felt that the scope for further increase in the volume of trade between the two countries should be carefully studied with a view to placing the trade relations between India and New Zealand on a firmer basis. New Zealand's interest in the export of milk powder and wool and India's desire to step up exports of traditional and non-traditional items, such as steel rails, railway equipment, wagons and transmission line towers were noted. To this end India would. in the near future, be sending a delegation led by the Chairman of the State Trading Corporation to New Zealand. The Prime,

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Ministers also emphasised the importance of promoting wider bilateral collaboration in the technical, cultural and scientific fields between India and New Zealand.

The Prime Minister of New Zealand expressed his sincere appreciation for the very friendly reception and hospitality accorded to him, Mrs. Holyoake and other members of the party. Both Prime Ministers agreed that the visit had further promoted understanding friendship and cooperation between India and New Zealand.

NEW ZEALAND INDIA USA FRANCE VIETNAM PAKISTAN MALI CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

### TASHKENT DECLARATION

President's Message on Third Anniversary

The President, Dr. Zakir Husain, issued, the following message in New Delhi on January 10, 1969, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the signing of the Tashkent Declaration:

Today is the third anniversary of the signing of the Tashkent Declaration. Through this agreement India and Pakistan agreed to normalise their relations and to settle outstanding differences between the two countries peacefully through bilateral discussions. The accord generated high hopes of a new era of amity and understanding.

In spite of the meagre response we have received so far to the many initiatives we have taken for the normalisation of Indo-Pak relations, we believe that the Tashkent declaration provides a sound framework for the solution of outstanding issues between the two countries. I am happy to note that many more countries have expressed their belief in a bilateral and peaceful settlement of Indo-Pak problems, which is in accord with the spirit of the Tashkent Declaration.

As the Tashkent Declaration enters its fourth year, I should like to pay homage to the memory of the late Prime Minister Shastri who sanctified this Declaration with his last breath.

I hope that India and Pakistan, whatever their present difficulties, will not forget the welfare of their own people which is promoted not by confrontation but by peaceful cooperation. May both our countries redeem the pledge and fulfil the obligations they solemnly entered into at Tashkent three years ago, in which lies the welfare of both.

UZBEKISTAN USA INDIA PAKISTAN MALI

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

### TASHKENT DECLARATION

Prime Minister's Message to President Ayub Khan

Following is the text of the message sent by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to President Ayub Khan of Pakistan on January 10, 1969 on the occasion of the Third Anniversary of the Tashkent Declaration:

Today is the Third Anniversary of the Tashkent Declaration. This I feel is an occasion for the two countries to rededicate themselves to the pledge taken at Tashkent to bring normalcy in our relations and to establish amity and cooperation. I send to you, Mr. President, and through you to the people of Pakistan our sincere good wishes for their progress and prosperity.

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### UZBEKISTAN PAKISTAN

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

### TASHKENT DECLARATION

Prime Minister's Message to Premier Kosygin

Following is the text of the message sent by India's Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to Mr. A. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, on January 10, 1969 on the Third Anniversary of the Tashkent Declaration:

On this the Third Anniversary of the Tashkent Declaration our minds naturally go back to the pledge taken by India and Pakistan three years ago to normalise their relations and to work towards it cooperative relationship. Despite the lack of progress during the last year we believe that the Tashkent Declaration provides a sound framework to settle Indo-Pakistan differences peacefully through bilateral discussions. Cooperation between India and Pakistan is so vital for the progress of the peoples of the sub-continent that in our view the present impediments cannot last for ever.

May I also take this opportunity to express our sincere wish that Indo-Soviet relations would continue to grow stronger to the benefit of both our countries.

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### UZBEKISTAN INDIA USA MALI PAKISTAN

**Date**: Jan 01, 1969

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**Date**: Feb 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

## HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

President's Address to Parliament

The President, Dr. Zakir Husain, delivered the following address to the Members of the Indian Parliament on February 17, 1969:

Members of Parliament: It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to this joint session of the two Houses of Parliament. It is an appropriate occasion for Government to present a realistic appraisal of the year under review and to delineate the broad features of Government's policies and purposes in the coming year.

A year ago, we were just emerging from the worst period of economic setback in the history of our Republic. The manner in which our people faced the difficulties with courage and fortitude is a matter for pride. Without their sacrifice and cooperation, their hard work, their basic good sense and patriotism, the plans and programmes of the Central and State Governments could not have borne fruit.

The milestones passed on the road to our economic recovery can be easily identified. These are: a decisive upward turn in agriculture, a recovery in a large segment of industry, the relative pi-ice stability and a striking improvement in the balance of payments.

The harvest of 1967-68 has been the turning point in our agricultural production. Foodgrains reached a record figure of 95.6 million tonnes which was 6 million tonnes higher than the previous peak of 1964-65. Commercial crops like jute, cotton, oilseeds, tea, coffee and sugarcane also did well. Despite the damage caused by drought and floods in several States, the overall production of foodgrains in 1968-69 is expected to be as good as in 1967-68. Our farmers are increasingly taking to scientific agriculture. They are also making massive investments in groundwater exploitation for irrigation and in purchase of agricultural machinery. The highyielding varieties programme will spread to 8.5 million hectares during 1968-69 and will be further extended next year. More intensive cropping patterns than prevailing at present are being adopted. An additional area of 6.1 million hectares of gross cropping will be achieved in 1968-69.

Government are supporting the enthusiasm of the farmer by providing sufficient fertilizers even by large-scale Indigenous production is also building tip with commissioning of new plants in Gorakhpur, Namrup and Kota. Next year, fertilizer projects at Kanpur, Durgapur, Cochin and Baroda are expected to come on stream. With the delicensing of tractor manufacture in the country, the production

of tractors is expected to be stepped up. Meanwhile, Government have undertaken to meet the needs of the farmer by imports. Large-scale credit is crucial to the programme. This is being provided by the cooperative movement and the commercial banks under the guidance of the Reserve Bank. The national objective to eliminate reliance on food aid over the next two or three years is well within reach. A buffer stock of 3 million tonnes will be reached in the course of the coming months. 6.4 million tonnes of foodgrains have been procured out of the 1967-68 crops. Government have provided large funds for the preservation and storage of grains. It has been possible to relax restrictions on the movement of foodgrains and to expand the zones for particular cereals.

In Government's strategy of development, the family planning progarmme continues to occupy pivotal importance. The

programme has now been widely extended to the rural population covering even remote areas.

The striking improvement in agriculture during 1967-68 raised national income by 9.1 per cent over the previous year. Quick estimates show that the net national income for 1967-68 amounted of Rs. 16,665 crores (at 1960-61 pi-ices) as compared to Rs. 15,272 crores in 1966-67, recording an increase of Rs. 1,393 crores during the year. Though during the current year agricultural production will be at about the same level as in the previous year, the recovery in industry is expected to improve the national income.

In industry the process of recovery has begun. In the past two years, the agriculture-based industries faced shortages of raw materials. With increased activity in agriculture and an increase in farm incomes, industries oriented towards agriculture have begun to recover. Fertilizers, pesticides, tractors, etc., are increasing output rapidly. Electricity generation and the output of electrical machinery is also in-

creasing. In the consumer goods field, cotton textiles and vanaspati production has been rising. However, the demand for the products of some industries in the machine-building sector continues to be inadequate in relation to the capacity available. The crude index of industrial production (1960:100) for the first nine months of 1968 stood at 159.3 which is 5.6 per cent higher than the level recorded during January-September 1967. On the basis of present trends, an increase of 5 to 6 per cent in the index seems likely during the year.

Growth in agriculture and industry is having a salutary effect on the unemployment problem in the country. We have still a long way to go to offset the effect of the two drought years and to improve on the position, especially about unemployment amongst technologists which is causing serious concern. A modest start has been made with the programme for employment of qualified engineers in a self-employment programme.

The improvement in agricultural production has raised the problem of maintenance of reasonable prices for agricultural produce to the farmer. Procurement pi-ices have, by and large, been maintained at last year's remunerative levels through the effort of the Food Corporation of India. The improvement in industrial production has resulted in price stability. The index number of wholesale pi-ices, which was 211 a year ago, now stands at 205.

The performance in the field of exports and in the drive for reduction in imports has been even more encouraging. Continuing import substitution and reduction of unduly large inventories have brought the import bill for the first nine months of 1968-69 to Rs. 1376.49 crores, that is, Rs. 107.72 crores less than for the same period last year. Our export earnings, on the other hand, amounted to Rs. 1019.04 crores, that is, about Rs. 116.65 crores more than for the corresponding period of the last year. There has been striking progress in the export of engineering goods. The textile industry too has been able to raise its exports

sizeably. We are also now on the way to becoming the world's largest exporters of polished gems.

Our industrial products, particularly steel, steel manufactures, electrical equipment, leather goods and some chemicals, have successfully met international competition and secured substantial gains in the difficult markets of industrial nations and also in the markets of several Asian and African countries. We are beginning to utilise our natural and industrial resources to pay for what we need from abroad. However, international commercial policies continue to inhibit the expansion of export earnings of developing countries.

Government are aware that transport, shipping and tourism are important and vital elements in augmenting its resources on invisible account. The size of our merchant fleet is in the range of 2 million tonnes GRT with about 7 lakh tonnes on order. The fleet composition is being diversified taking into account the need for bulk carriage. Steady progress has been maintained in indigenous ship-building and it is hoped that in the course of the year, work on the second shipyard at Cochin will be commenced.

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Various schemes have been started to attract foreign tourists and, in particular, hotel accommodation of the right type at important tourist centres is being developed further. Substantial improvements are being affected in our international airports and other airports in the country.

The demand for irrigation schemes and power schemes in the country is large. It is proposed to set up an All India Irrigation Commission to review the development of irrigation in the country and to report on the best programme of integrated development of surface and ground water resources for maximising agricultural production. Though in the last two decades the availability of power has gone up nearly six-fold, demand continues to outstrip the generating capacity in some areas of the country. For

better utilisation of the capacity already created, Government are giving more attention to transmission and distribution schemes and the regional grids for integrated operation of the power systems in each region. Inter-regional tie lines are also tinder construction for utilising surplus power in one region in a neighbouring deficit region. This will ultimately result in an all India grid. Rural electrification which is of direct benefit to the agriculturist for increasing his production, has been given a special place in the power programme.

The Planning Commission is finalising the Fourth Five-Year Plan which will begin its term next April. Our plans would only be indicative of the future without any attempt to shape the future to suit our needs and aspirations, unless they embodied our national will and determination to progressively bridge the gap between the needs of the people and the resoures in sight. Government are determined to make every effort to mobilise our own resources of savings enterprise and managerial ability. The new prosperity in the rural areas will have to be harnessed to promote further growth particularly among the smaller farmers and in the relatively backward regions. While encouraging a greater flow of genuine savings to sustain larger investment both in the public and the private sectors, the situation will have to be utilised to strengthen the financial position of both the Centre and the States.

Government are conscious of the important role which our public sector has to play in the many-sided development of our economy. Consequently, the raising of the efficiency of this sector is engaging Government's close attention. The recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission made in their report on "Public Sector Undertakings" have been considered. Various decisions have been taken to delegate more powers to the management of these enterprises with the object of improving their efficiency and profitability. Steps have also been taken to mobilise managerial resources for these enterprises, including adoption of suitable policies of personnel

and labour matters.

There is considerable uncertainty with regard to external assistance. The burden of servicing the external debt is mounting and amounts to 514 million dollars this years. The re-scheduling of debt payments of 101 million dollars provided by the Consortium countries and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is, therefore, welcome. While we hope that adequate external assistance will be forthcoming, we intend to pursue a policy of a judicious use of credits from abroad and to reduce progressively the dependence on foreign aid by increasing self-reliance.

It is a matter of some satisfaction that India's first atomic power station at Tarapur, in the State of Maharashtra, is expected to deliver 380 MW of electric power from July 1969. India's first Uranium Mine and Mill at Jaduguda (Bihar) have been commissioned and the production of uranium concentrates has commenced. Work has commenced in Hyderabad on the setting up of facilities to process these concentrates into finished fuel elements required for our atomic power programme. Considerable progress has been made in the field of space research. "Rohini" and meteorological rockets, which have been completely designed and fabricated in India, were successfully tested in flight. India has entered the field of Satellite Communications. The first Indian Commercial Satellite Communications Earth Station is under construction at Arvi near Poona. This station is expected to become operational by the end of October 1969.

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Government are conscious that the problems of integrated economic development in the country require political stability. The elections to the Legislative Assemblies of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Nagaland have been conducted by and large in a peaceful and orderly atmosphere. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Chief Election Commisssioner has found it necessary to order repoll or fresh poll in only 28 polling stations out of over

1,10,000 polling stations in the five States in which an electorate of nearly 102 million was recently called upon to cast its vote. However, disquieting reports have been received from certain areas that sections of citizens were subjected to pressures amounting to intimidation which prevented them from exercising their franchise. This matter is receiving Government's attention. Every political party should endeavour to ensure political stability which is essential for rapid social and economic development. In the meantime we hope that, with the cooperation of all the political parties, stable Governments will be formed after the elections which have just concluded. As defections from organised political parties contributed to political instability, a Committee was appointed to examine this problem in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Lok Sabha. The Committee has completed its work. Its recommendations will now be considered by Parliament.

Last year, I referred in my speech to certain disturbing trends in our national affairs. Parochial, regional, caste and communal movements have caused tensions and violence in the country. The National Integration Council, consisting of representatives of the Central and State Governments, leaders of many opposition parties, and other leaders of public opinion, held a meeting in Srinagar in June 1968 to consider problems of national integration, and in particular that of communal tensions. The Council made a number of specific recommendations on which action is being taken by the Central and State Governments. The Criminal and Election Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1968, introduced in pursuance of the recommendations of the Council is before Parliament. When enacted, it will greatly strengthen the hands of the Government in curbing the evils of communalism. However, while legal and administrative measures are necessary, the fight against these fissiparous movements has to be carried to the broad masses of our people. The key to success lies in fostering the concept of Indian Nationalism and secularism in the minds and hearts of our people.

The Country also faces the danger of violence from certain extremist political groups. The doctrines propounded by these groups are clearly subversive of our Constitution and the rule of law, and detrimental to orderly government and progress. There is no place in a democratic society for groups which seek to change the social and political structure by armed insurrection.

As the Hon'ble Members are aware, the Machinery for Joint Consultation and Compulsory Arbitration was set up on a voluntary basis in 1966 with the object of promoting harmonious relations between Government and their employees and the redressal of employees' grievances. Government have full faith that the Scheme of Joint Consultation and Compulsory Arbitration is the only answer to the problem of settlement of disputes with its employees consistent with the imperative need for the maintenance of discipline in the public services and uninterrupted operation of essential services. They accordingly propose to give the Scheme a statutory basis in order to place it on a firmer and sounder footing.

After years of patient deliberations, a formula was evolved last year for the reorganisation of Assam. A Constitution Amendment Bill for conferring necessary powers on Parliament to set up an autonomous State within the State of Assam is already before the House. After Parliament has approved this amendment and it is ratified by the State Legislature, as required under Article 368, Government propose to bring forward detailed legislation to give effect to the scheme.

Travelling beyond the limits of our internal affairs, I should like to refer briefly to external affairs. Government feel convinced of the essential soundness of the broad structure and principles of their

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foreign policy. In the world today, it is difficult to see any alternative to peaceful co-existence among all States and peaceful co-operation for the promotion of peace, economic well-being and stability in the world. Every State must ceaselessly, strive for areas of agreement so that processes of detente can continue unimpeded even in the midst of difficulties and setbacks that may arise from time to time.

There is an all-round strengthening and improvement of India's relations with various nations of the world. It is our firm belief that the stimulated distrust and suspicion of India assiduously spread by Pakistan, and the distorted image of our country which China projects through its ideological prism, will both succumb to the realities of the situation. Government have expressed more than once with frankness and sincerity their desire to have friendliest of relations with both our neighbours consistent with our sovereignty, territorial integrity and on the basis of absolute non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Government's stand on Vietnam, which was always based on a realistic appraisal of the interplay of forces, has stood vindicated. Whatever the difficulties ahead, there must be firm resolve to overcome them through negotiations now in progress in Pat-is. The courageous people of Vietnam who have suffered so much should be able to fashion their own destiny without outside interference. The situation in West Asia demands a most urgent solution of the continuing crisis in that part of the world. There is not much time to lose in implementing the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. Government hope that the consultations now in progress between the USSR, the USA, Britain and France will lead to an early restoration of peace in the area.

The major aim of our policies remains the strengthening of relations and the promotion of international co-operation. This has been the purpose of the visits to foreign countries undertaken by me and the Prime Minister. I visited Nepal, the Soviet Union, Hungary and Yugoslavia last year. Apart from visits to Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore, the Prime Minister visited Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombo,

Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela. The welcome accorded to me and the Prime Minister in all these countries testified to the regard in which India is held by these nations. The Prime Minister addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations and it is a matter of deep satisfaction that enunciation in her address of the basic principles of India's foreign policy evoked a heartwarming, widespread response. The Prime Minister also attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. It provided a welcome Opportunity for exchange of views with the large number of Heads of State and Prime Ministers assembled there

We have been privileged to receive many Heads of State and Governments in our midst. Most recently, Their Imperial Majesties the Shahanshah Aryamehr and Shahbanou of Iran, and the Prime Ministers of Ceylon, Bulgaria and New Zealand were in India.

While Government and the entire country ardently desire peace and are dedicated to promoting peace, we have to be very vigilant in the matter of defence preparedness. Considerable progress had been made in reequipping and modernising our Armed Forces. Our fighting forces are in a good state of training and their morale is high. Some measures have been taken to improve the service conditions of our soldiers, sailors and airmen. Improvements have been affected in their pay scales and in their pensionary terms and the rates of certain allowances. The need for economy in defence expenditure has always been kept in view.

The first frigate built in the country, INS Nilgiri, was launched recently. This is an important landmark in the history of the Indian Navy.

A survey of our internal and external affairs must inevitably include a reference to the legislative and other business which will come up before you.

The estimates of receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the next

financial year 1969-70 will be presented to you for consideration shortly.

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Government propose to bring before Parliament the following legislative measures during the current session:-

- (a) Bills to replace the existing Ordinances:
  - (i) The Limitation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1968.
  - (ii) The Public Works (Extension of Limitation) Amendment Ordinance, 1968.
  - (iii) The Customs (Amendment) Ordinance, 1969.
  - (iv) The Payment of Bonus (Amendment) Ordinance, 1969.

## (b) New Bills:

- (i) Bill to provide Statutory Basis for the Machinery of Joint Consultation and Compulsory Arbitration for Central Government Employees.
- (ii) The Indian Council of Agricultural Research Bill, 1969.
- (iii) The Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill, 1969.
- (iv) The Tea (Amendment) Bill, 1969.
- (v) The Prevention of Water Pollution Bill, 1969.
- (vi) The Delhi Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1969.
- (vii) Bill to extend certain Central Labour Acts to the State of Jammu & Kashmir.

I should now like to conclude this Address by recalling that this year we celebrate Gandhiji's birth centenary. Many ideas, emotions and images rise to one's mind and the whole panorama of the history of our country unfolds itself. We are inheritors of a great heritage. Our country is rich in resources. Our people are skilled craftsmen. Our scientists and technologists are some of the best which any country could boast of. While we can argue with one another within the limits of reason and rationality about the best means and methods to be adopted for reconstructing our society, we can all unite in a purposive effort to build the India of Gandhiji's dreams and to endeavour to wipe every tear from every eye. Only thus shall we be able to serve the common people and fulfil the pledges of the founding fathers of this great Republic. I wish your labours all success.

USA INDIA LATVIA RUSSIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC CHINA VIETNAM FRANCE NEPAL HUNGARY YUGOSLAVIA AUSTRALIA NEW ZEALAND MALAYSIA REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE ARGENTINA BRAZIL CHILE SRI LANKA GUYANA TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO URUGUAY VENEZUELA UNITED KINGDOM IRAN BULGARIA

**Date**: Feb 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Dinesh Singh's Statement in Trade and Development Board

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri Dinesh Singh, President of UNCTAD-II, in the Eighth Session of the Trade and Development Board in Geneva on February 3, 1969:

Mr. President: I should like, at the outset, to thank you, Mr. President, and through you the distinguished members of the Board for your kind invitation to share my thoughts with you this afternoon. The Board, I know, is engrossed in tackling a heavy agenda and I would not wish to distract its attention from the important work before it. I assure you, Sir, that I would

be very brief and would try to give expression to my thoughts within the context of the important task on which the Board is engaged.

I must, nevertheless, take a few seconds to congratulate you on your election to the distinguished office of the President of the Board. It is a matter of great satisfaction

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to me personally that a distinguished son of Ghana and a distinguished representative of Africa is guiding the deliberations of the Board during a year in which we expect many important decisions to be taken to build up the strength of the underprivileged people of the world.

I see many familiar faces in this hall, which brings back to me the memories of our labours in New Delhi. Almost to the date a year ago, we began our deliberations in New Delhi. We made the greatest effort to evolve a practical programme of international action. Unfortunately, we succeeded only in identifying the problems and in defining somewhat more closely than before, the outlines for their solution. The important task of agreeing upon concrete action was remitted to the continuing machinery.

An awesome responsibility rests on this Board. The General Assembly, in its resolution 2402, has urged it to seek the widest possible measure of agreement on concrete and practical action when it considers the issues remitted to it by the Conference.

The Conference in New Delhi was in its concluding stages, acutely conscious of the difficulties the Board might encounter in discharging the responsibility transferred to it. It was was in recognition of these difficulties that the Conference had urged its Member States "to explore urgently ways and means of assisting the continuing machinery to discharge the responsibility now placed on it."

We cannot expect the Board to succeed where the Conference failed, unless and until national governments are able to make up their minds on the contribution they can make to international effort and the obligations they are prepared to assume in a programme of international action. I deem it to be my duty to address through this distinguished Board a special appeal to national governments. I would wish to remind them that they have subscribed to the Final Act of the First Conference in June 1964 and have pledged their determination to achieve the high purposes embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. That pledge has yet to be redeemed. This pledge can be redeemed and our common commitment in the Charter "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" ful-filled only through the adoption of a comprehensive programme of international co-operation. The difficulties encountered in the adoption of such a programme have been examined in New Delhi. We have also agreed in New Delhi on the lines along which these difficulties could be overcome. By now national communities must have been duly apprised of the conclusions reached a year ago. National governments may also have completed their examination of the ways by which they can assist the Board to take practical steps.

To my mind economic co-operation is not a matter merely of give and take in material terms, nor of sacrifice on the part of some nations and gain to others: it is, in my view, the expression of enlightened self-interest and the manifestation of the oneness of the human family, of the indivisibility of peace and prosperity. Without it, no people in the world can be assured of security to enjoy in peace the fruits of their labour and skills. For it, each member state has the duty to make the best contribution it can.

Current difficulties of some industrial nations are often cited as being, responsible for lack of progress. We cannot obviously be unmindful of these difficulties. Nor can industrial nations ignore the vital role of economic co-operation in overcoming their difficulties. Some of the difficulties experienced by the developed countries since we met in New Delhi have been partially

resolved by co-operative action on their part. A wider, universal and more enduring solution to chronic instability in the world can be found only when the Board succeeds in tackling the malaise of underdevelopment. The member States of the Board cannot afford to lose time in reaching bold decisions to adapt commercial and financial policies to the pressing needs of today and the promise of tomorrow.

My heartwarming experience in Strasbourg encourages me to believe that leading men in the member states are now more conscious of their responsibility. The Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe was good enough to invite me to Strasbourg

to address them on the results of the New Delhi Conference. The questions that were put to me after my address convinced me that the members of the Consultative Assembly had acquired to a deep and abiding interest in the problems of developing countries. The contributions made to the debate by the members revealed both their concern and understanding. The Board will be glad to hear that the Council unanimously adopted a resolution urging member governments to proceed rapidly with the work of establishing a general system of preference, to work for the setting up of a supplementary financing scheme, and to achieve rapidly the target set up at New Delhi for the transfer of development capital. The importance of political will in achieving solutions to problems was also recognised and duly emphasised. The resolutions of the Council should fill us wit hope in regard to the contribution from Europe to the success of the work on which the Board is engaged.

Since the First Conference adopted the Final Act, much valuable work has been done. We now have a better knowledge of what is wrong with the world economy and with its financial and commercial structure. We also know, by and large, what needs to be done, how soon and by whom. In a limited field, we have put this new knowledge to some good use. The commodity

markets in sugar, coffee and wheat have been stabilised to some extent through appropriate commodity arrangements; a phased programme for the reduction of import duties has been adopted by GATT; and agreement in principle to provide tariff preferences for imports originating from the developing countries was reached in New Delhi; the aid target of 1 per cent of gross national product has been accepted; a small step to strengthen the monetary system has been taken; developing countries have striven hard to discharge their primary responsibility for their own development and have made initially small but significant endeavours to help one another.

The sum total of our concrete achievements, when measured against what is set out to do in 1964 is, however, very little indeed. The greater part of the new knowledge acquired remains by and large unutilised. The Board has rectified some of its institutional deficiencies and adopted more businesslike methods of work. The emphasis is shifting from deliberation to decision-making. Under your wise leadership, Mr. President, a number of contact groups have been established. I do trust that these will succeed in resisting the temptation to remit important matters under discussions to other committees or group for further studies. May I express the hop that by the 7th February, the 8th session of the Board will have reached concret decisions on at least some of the matters relating to internaional trade in commodities and manufactures and more intensive co-operation among developing countries.

I have had a look at the work programme proposed by the Secretariat. It gives me pleasure to see that it is intended to undertake intensive work during the inter-sessional period on most of the matters remitted by the Second Conference to the continuing machinery. The eyes of the world are fixed on the 9th session of the Board. That will be the last session to be held in the Sixties, which have been christened by the United Nations as the First Development Decade. It should therefore be our special endeavour to ensure that at

that session the unfinished tasks remitted by the Second Conference to its continuing machinery are fulfilled.

In this connexion, I should like to remind the Board that some of the decisions adopted at New Delhi, as for instance the one on the introduction of a system of generalized preferences, were time-bound. There are other sectors of work in respect of which no time limits were set. It was however expected that we will have reached practical decisions in all these sectors before we moved into the Second Development Decade. It is important to ensure that we adhere in our work to the timetable envisaged for it in New Delhi.

Many helpful suggestions are in the air on some of the matters before the Board. For instance, in the financial field if Governments of developed countries benefiting from the increase of international monetary resources that will result from the application of the new system of special drawing

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rights of the International Monetary Fund could accept the commitment of devoting part of such new resources, in their own currencies, it would help to increase the flow of financial transfers to developing countries. No institution is necessary for this purpose because as it has been suggested these resources could be channelled through the World Bank of IDA.

The game of ping-pong between the Conference and its continuing machinery does not enhance the prestige of the Organization or reinforce the confidence of board masses in its efficacy or efficiency. The changes that have taken place in the world since we met in New Delhi lend a new urgency to our problems and (persuade me to caution against) the game of pingpong being repeated at the 9th Session.

During the course of the discussions I had in Strasbourg the other day, it occured to me that the procedures and techniques for employing political will to expedite decision making in furtherance of intra-

European cooperation might provide us in the UNCTAD with some lessons to improve the efficacy of our procedures. We should be grateful to our colleagues from European Governments if they would help us with their experience and assist us in adopting or adapting their techniques to overcome the difficulties which have so far deprived us of the full fruits of our labours.

May I now, look beyond the Sixties to the Second Development Decade. I understand that an intergovernmental group under the able guidance of Ambassador Hussein Khallaf is endeavouring to formulate the contribution of UNCTAD to the drawing up and implementation of a sound and cohesive strategy for the Second Development Decade. Useful preparatory work has already been undertaken by the Secretary General of the United Nations in consultation with the Committee for Development Planning and other organizations in the UN system. UNIDO, UNDP, the specialized agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency and other organizations are engaged in elaborating their contribution.

The Preparatory Committee envisaged by the General Assembly has yet to come into being. Should political difficulties persist in New York, much greater responsibility will devolve on us in the UNCTAD. The timely adoption of a strategy for the Seventies, enunciating within a comprehensive, coherent and integrated framework, the goals and objectives and also the concerted policy measures at the national, regional and interriational levels to achieve them is a matter of the utmost urgency. No political or other difficulty should be permitted to dislocate this important work or delay its completion.

The experience of the international community with the first Development Decade has not been particularly gratifying. It will be necessary for the Board when it devotes its attention to this aspect of its work, to identify the factors responsible for our shortcomings in the Sixties and provide the necessary correctives for them. I feel that inadequate quantification of targets and objectives on major sectors of inter-

national activity deprived us of a yardstick to measure the inadequacy of our effort as well as of a stimulus to spur us to a more vigorous effort. This defficiency will need to be rectified.

In setting our targets it will, to my mind, be necessary for us to think not only in terms of aggregate projections, but also of their implications in terms of individual human welfare. There is a profound interconnection between economic progress and the enjoyment by the people of the fundamental rights enshrined in the Charter. A vast majority of mankind continues to live under conditions which constitute a denial of human dignity and which do not provide a reasonable opportunity for the human spirit to express itself fully and freely. Unless the development policy to be adopted for the second Development Decade gives the assurance for tangible improvements in the conditions in which poor people subsist in the remote villages of Asia, Africa and Latin America it will not enthuse them; it will not enable them to regard themselves as full members of the world community or partners in its progress. Those of us who bear political responsibility and are answerable for our work is the international field to the electorate at home know that the disappointment of the concluding years of

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the First Decade will have stored up trouble for us in the early Seventies. Angry youngmen of today have no use for the institutions we have built up patiently, but which have no relevance to their vision of tomorrow. When we get down to evolving a strategy for the Seventies, we will inevitably be working for a consensus between the caution and hesitation of the few and the aspirations and urges of the many. In this process we must remember that we will put our work in jeopardy it we fail to keep prominently in our mind the fact that the proposed charter of development is not for us, but for youth of today, to whom we will be handling over the responsibility for further work in the field of economic cooperation and progress.

It is a matter of regret that at a time when we needed his services most. Dr. Raul Prebisch, our distinguished and dedicated Secretary General has been obliged, for health reasons, to give up his responsibilities in UNCTAD. His valuable services to this organisation, at the time of its birth and during its infancy, will remain for ever in our memory. I can only recall with a deep sense of gratitude the cooperation he extended to me in New Delhi. All of us art, pleased that despite his physical limitations and the many calls on his time, he will be available to advise the Secretary General of the United Nations on matters relating to the development strategy for the Seventies. We have also the satisfaction that he will be succeeded by another distinguished Latin American, H.E. Mr. Manuel Peroz Guerroro. His long and rich experience of international diplomacy and of the U.N. system will undoubtedly be an asset to us in our work over the coming years. I take this opportunity to extend a wholehearted welcome to him.

Our new Secretary-General will, I have no doubt, bring a new and fresh outlook to bear on our problems and difficulties. Our friends from the industrial nations, will, I expect, do the best they can for the work on which we are engaged. I cannot however, help sharing with you my apprehention that our performance may be dubbed by these for whom we work as "too little and too late". It is, therefore, incumbent on the representatives of the developing countries to search their own hearts and to see what they could and should do in this difficult and disappointing situation. We recognised at Algiers that the primary responsibility for the development of the developing world rests on the developing nations. We also expressed our determination to help one another to the maximum extent practicable. I know that because of our political and economic weakness, we cannot by ourselves transform international economic relationships. I am nevertheless certain that we can do far more than we have done so far. In our own countries, we should intensify the mobilisation of our resources and shift the emphasis in their utilisation

to the social purposes of our economic endeavour. In mutual relations with developing countries, we should search more actively for opportunities of mutual assistance. We should, for instance, try to dovetail our respective production possibilities to meet these requirements which cannot be satisfied by national production. Some of the developing countries like my own have developed skills and capabilities which can be shared with those who are in a position to make good use of them. New needs and requirements have grown up in my country and in other developing countries in a similar situation, which we would like to see met by stimulating production in and export from other developing countries. If we use the machinery of UNCTAD to intensify industrial cooperation amongst developing countries and augment interse trade exchanges, I feel we will have done our part in developing the habit of self-reliance, in making a contribution to a new economic order and in stimulating the will of affluent nations to make their overdue contribution.

To us in the UNCTAD it is important to ensure that our temporary failures do no breed frustration. In this situation, my mind seeks solace and strength in the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our Nation, whose centenary is being observed throughout the world. May, I. therefore, conclude with an observation made by him on economics many many years ago and yet relevant to the problems of the Seventies. He said: "True economics never militates against the highest ethical standards, just as all true ethics to be worth its name, must at. the same lime be also good econo-

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mics. An economics that inculcates Mammon worship, and enables the strong to amass wealth at the expense of the weak, is a false and dismal science. It spells death. True economics, on the other hand, stands for social justice, it Promotes the good of all equally, including the weakest, and is indispensable for decent life."

**Date**: Feb 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Surendra. Pal Singh's Address to Economic Commission for Africa,

Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister of External Affairs and Leader of the Indian Observer Delegation to the Conference of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, delivered the following speech at the Conference in Addis Ababa on February 6, 1968:

Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Distinguished and Fraternal Delegates: It is a privilege for me and my Delegation to be present on this historic occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa. At the outset, I should like, on behalf of my delegation to express our deep appreciation of the warm welcome which we have received in this beautiful city of Addis Ababa. Through you, Mr. Chairman, the Indian Delegation would like to convey to the people of Africa the warm greetings of the President, the Prime Minister and the people of India and sincere good wishes for the success of your endeavours. Permit me also, Mr. Chairman, to congratulate you on your election to this high office of this august Assembly which is distinguished with the presence of many outstanding leaders of the African people, who have gathered here to provide a new impetus, and to give fresh direction to the struggle towards achieving a free, prosperous and economically strong Africa.

Mr. Chairman, the tone of this historic conference was admirably set by the inspiring opening address of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, that distinguished African elder statesman whom we, in common with the rest of the world, hold in the highest esteem. This address reflected not only his intense concern for the problems of economic development in Africa but also his awareness of the global framework within which these, problems have to be considered.

Mr. Chairman, we in India have deep feelings of friendship with this great continent of Africa, born out of our historic association and close ties, nourished by a common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racialism. It would not be out of place to recall here that it was in this continent that the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, first launched a unique struggle against political and social tyranny and against racialism, which, in course of time, developed into a massive movement not only in our own country but in all the freedom loving countries of the world. This non-violent struggle, which called for sacriflee from millions of people, ultimately succeeded in the task of achieving independence for India. My country is justifiably proud to have been among the first to achieve freedom in the post-war years, and equally proud of the fact that our struggle became a part of a common movement for freedom in many areas of the world.

The setting up of the Economic Commission for Africa 10 years ago was a historic step and a step in the right direction. Political emancipation, which we have now mostly attained, though parts of Africa still continue under colonial oppression, is but a means to an end; it is only the first stage towards complete emancipation of the common man whether it be in Asia or Africa. Poverty, ignorance and economic backwardness sap the vitality and destroy the dignity of the individual and weaken the nation. Our first Prime Minister and the principle architect of our political and economic emancipation, Jawaharlal Nehru, once said:

"We talk of freedom, but today political freedom does not take us far, unless there is economic freedom. Indeed, there is no such thing as freedom for a man who is starving or for a Country which is poor; the poor, whether they are nations or individuals, have little place in this world".

In this context, it is particularly heartening to note that soon after attaining political freedom, African nations applied themselves seriously to the task of achieving economic emancipation. The process, as we know from our experience, is not always smooth - often because of factors bevond our control. Centuries of stagnation and neglect cannot be undone in a day or even a decade; foundations for a rapid economic growth require effort, material and human resources which are scarce. Yet time is of the essence and quick results have to be achieved. In today's world, we witness a wide gulf between the extremes of affluent prosperity of the few and the poverty of the overwhelming majority of the rest. To achieve a stable and lasting peace, it is imperative that this gap between the developed countries on the one hand, which possess the necessary concomitants for progress, and the resourceshungry developing countries on the other, should be narrowed down as quickly as possible.

As a developing nation, India has a great deal in common with the countries of Africa, and we have much to benefit by strengthening our economic contacts and cooperation, and bringing order into international economic relations. In the world of today, Sir, when the concept of neighbourliness encompasses the whole globe, efforts such as are being made by the distinguished delegates present here will, in our view, provide valuable guidance for concerted international action.

Trade expansion, economic cooperation and integration among the developing countries are well recognised as important elements in the overall strategy of development. At this moment, when the attention of the international community is directed towards the formulation of measures aimed at a coherent international development

strategy for the Second United Nations development decade, permit me to say, Sir, we look forward very keenly to the views and plans of action which will emerge from this Conference. India has had the privilege to co-operate with the developing countries of Africa in the "Group of 77". The "Group of 77" recognised that the real strength of the developing countries lay in a united approach to the problems facing the developing world. Permit me, Sir, in this connection, to quote from the preamble of the Charter of Algiers, which reads as follows:

"The representatives of the developing countries, assembled in Algiers in October 1967 at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, united by common aspirations and the identity of their economic interests, and determined to pursue their joint efforts towards economic and social development, peace and prosperity ... have decided to chart a common course of action as conceived in the African Declaration of Algiers, the Bangkok Declaration of Asian countries and the Charter of Tequendama of Latin American countries".

From Algiers we move on to the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which my country had the privilege to host in New Delhi. We in India were particularly happy that a Conference of such great significance was held in our country and also- glad that it afforded us an opportunity to extend our hospitality and to welcome many distinguished delegates from all over the world. I shall not say that the Conference fulfilled all the high hopes which were entertained when we embarked on it. At the same time, the Conference did point to directions in which further efforts could and should be made. The President of the Conference, Mr. Dinesh Singh, summed up its work while presenting the Conference Report to the 23rd Session of the U.N. General Assembly in the following words:

"The road to progress and prosperity for all nations and peoples is long, and in our march on it we have had some difficulties and many disappointments. We cannot afford to be daunted by the difficulties and the roadblocks. Neither can we lapse into complacency or lethargy. It is within our power, if we have the will and perseverance, to make prosperity possible not only for a section of the community but for all the peoples of the world. Our Objectives

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are well defined and clear. May our unity of purpose remain firm".

Mr. Chairman, my country has had the privilege of evolving a system of economic planning, of combining economic progress with emphasis on social values. Our experience of planning has taught us many lessons, which I venture to think might be of interest and value to other developing countries facing like problems. One important conclusion we reached is that a country which is setting out to develop its economy must systematically build up the various sectors-agriculture, mineral resources, machinery, power, transport, and the like-which are the foundations on which a nation's economy rests. Another is that one's own resources - human, material and financial - should be exploited to the best advantage. This is what we in India have sought to do, and to such purpose that in many important sectors of production we have achieved a measure of selfsufficiency and are perhaps now able to meet the needs of other countries. We are ready to share with the friendly countries of Africa our experience in diverse fields gained over a period of two decades.

My Delegation has circulated a brochure entitled "India 1969-Some Glimpses" which attempts to highlight the major achievements of India's economy. You will observe that apart from the basic heavy industries, a structure has been created of several economic units, engaged in small scale industries, catering to the requirements of both the consumers as well as the medium and heavy industries. By their wide dispersal they have also helped in raising the standards of living throughout the country. In any pattern of balanced economic

growth, particularly in the initial stages, such industries could provide not only the necessary impetus to industrialisation, but also, because of their production potential, form the basis of more advanced industries. Releasing the importance of the small industries sector, we have taken several special measures for its encouragement. This is a subject which may be of particular interest to the countries of Africa.

However far industrial development may advance, there will still be many commodities and items which cannot be found or cannot be manufactured as economically as they can be imported from other sources. Every country has its own endowment of resources and advantages. It is this great variety and diversity between different countries that constitutes the complementarity of economies and forms the basis of mutually advantageous cooperation. Some of our manufactures could be of interest to the developing countries in Africa, and I am equally sure that there ale several products which Africa could supply to India. Any significant development of a two-way trade, however, requires that there should be some planning in advance, with a view to identifying the products which each country can specialise in and supply on advantageous terms to the other country or countries. We are confident that in the process of drawing up their development plans, African countries will take note of the need to encourage trade exchanges not only with the neighbouring countries but also with all the developing countries.

Such an approach would be fully in consonance with our common objective of mutual co-operation, and the determination of the developing countries, expressed in the historic Concerted Declaration in the Second UNCTAD:

"To make all efforts, between now and the Third Session of the Conference, to negotiate or put into effect further meaningful commitments among themselves within the frameworks of their choice". I have no doubt, Sir, that in their discussions at this Session the distinguished delegates will be deeply conscious of the need to strengthen relations between the developing countries throughout the world.

Industrial development is yet another field in which we shall be happy to share our experience with other developing countries. As the distinguished audience is already aware, India has already extended its cooperation to a number of countries in Africa particularly in establishing industries for the manufacture and production of textiles, pharmaceuticals, light engineering products and the like. India has also developed

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consultancy services in certain fields and our National Industrial Development Corporation whose services have been utilised by the United Nations as well as foreign Governments and private organisations would be willing to render advice and assistance. When it comes to the actual implementation of a project or projects we may be, in many cases, in a position to provide all or most of the machinery required for setting up factories, as well as for providing the expertise required to put them into operation. Within the limits of our resources, we can also offer commercially advantageous terms for the purchase of machinery and capital goods. It would be a matter of great satisfaction to us if in this limited way we could play our part in lightening the task of the African countries in attaining economic self-reliance and in economic regeneration.

Sir, from the time of her independence, India embarked on a programme of economic and technical cooperation with other developing countries with particular emphasis on Africa. As a member of the Colombo Plan and of the Commonwealth, India has been providing technical experts as well as technical training facilities in several institutions. These efforts have been further supplemented by other schemes, such as, the General Scholarship Scheme and our Technical and Economic Cooperation programme. Many hundreds of

African students have already been trained in our institutions, and we shall continue to welcome to India, for technical training and general education at our universities and other centres, more voting Africans who seek facilities for their intellectual advancement in science and technology and other fields. We hope these facilities and opportunities will go some way towards meeting the needs of Africa.

From the very inception of the Economic Commission for Africa, India has maintained close and direct relations with this august body. This has been greatly facilitated by its dynamic and distinguished Executive Secretary, Mr. Robert Gardiner. We recall with pleasure his visit to India in 1964 when the possibilities of extending the field of economic and technical cooperation between India and the member countries of the ECA were identified. Apart from appointing a. Liaison Officer with the Commission we have been glad to have had the opportunity of attending some of its important Conferences. Some specific schemes of technical cooperation involving the loan of experts, training facilities, the supply of machinery etc. have already been worked out and implemented. It is our earnest desire that the field of such cooperation both with the Commission, as also with the individual countries of Africa, would be further extended in the future in the interests of the long-term economic progress and development of the countries of this region. We seek to enlarge our contacts in the commercial, technical and scientific fields with the countries of Africa. We seek to move forward to the concept of fuller cooperation among the developing nations of the world.

Mr. Chairman, the numerous tasks that face the developing world today are urgent, complex and onerous. They call for constant, unremitting labour, the maximum use of available talent and genius, an avoidance of waste and of duplication of effort. The economic development of our countries does not permit any inward-looking attitudes; it calls for a greater degree of joint action, mutual cooperation and collaboration than has been attempted so far. it is

our earnest hope that such cooperation between India and the countries of Africa will grow and strengthen to our mutual advantage.

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INDIA ETHIOPIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC ALGERIA RUSSIA SRI LANKA

**Date**: Feb 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

### **INDONESIA**

Joint Communique on Visit of Dr. Adam Malik

Following is the text of the joint communique issued at the end of the visit to India of the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Adam Malik, on February 24, 1969:

At the invitation of the Government of India, His Excellency Mr. Adam Malik Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, paid a visit to India from the 20th to the 23rd February, 1969, He was accompanied by Mr. Ch. Anwar Sani, Director General for Political Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Ismael Thajeb, Director General for External Economic Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Brigadier General Soepardjo, Chief, Directorate for Asian and Pacific Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Air Commodore Untung Suwignjo of the Indonesian Air Force.

During his visit, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia was received by the President and the Vice-President of India. He had talks with the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Dinesh Singh, and

the Minister for Foreign Trade, Shri B. R. Bhagat. At these meetings and talks, Mr. Adam Malik was assisted by members of his party and by His Excellency Mr. Mohd. Razif, the Ambassador of Indonesia to India.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding and covered matters of common interest. Special emphasis was laid on the further development of mutually beneficial cooperation between India and Indonesia. In reviewing the existing relations between India and Indonesia, the two Foreign Ministers recognised the close cultural and historical affinities of the peoples of the two countries. They reaffirmed the desire of the two countries to take concerted action to enlarge and strengthen relations in the political, economic, technical and cultural fields.

While expressing appreciation of India's past assistance, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia informed the Minister of External Affairs of India of his country's efforts to achieve economic stability and explained to him the five-year development plan, the implementation of which will start this year. He welcomed Indian investment either direct or through collaboration in joint industrial ventures as also increased cooperation in the field of technical assistance. Both sides recognised the need for formulating and adopting practical measures to enhance technical and economic cooperation and to promote increased trade to mutual advantage. They also agreed that further discussions should take place between the two sides to identify areas of economic cooperation including commodity arrangements and to undertake studies in specific aspects of trade promotion and related matters.

The two Foreign Ministers reiterated the need for greater international effort towards alleviating the problems of economic growth in the developing countries and bridging the widening gap between the developed and the developing nations. In this context they expressed concern at the failure of the developed countries to respond in adequate measure to the needs of the developing countries and hoped that continued and determined efforts would be made to achieve the aims and objectives of the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

The two Foreign Ministers recognised the importance of positive cooperation in regional and sub-regional organisations concerned with the development of the region

in economic, technical, scientific and commercial fields. In this context the special role of the recently formed Asian Council of Ministers of ECAFE was underlined.

The two Foreign Ministers reviewed the international situation, in particular the developments in South East Asia. They expressed their firm belief that an independent and active foreign policy was of the utmost importance in preserving the political and economic independence and national integrity of developing countries in their common struggle for the upliftment of their peoples.

The two Foreign Ministers reaffirmed their faith in the principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence as instruments for the prevention of war and preservation of peace, lessening international tensions and developing international cooperation. They deplored attempts at subversion and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and the use of force as a means of settling international disputes.

The Indian Minister of External Affairs explained India's efforts at seeking to develop good neighbourly relations with Pakistan and its determination to achieve a solution to the problems between the two countries in a peaceful manner through bilateral discussions on the basis of the Tashkent Declaration. The Foreign Minister of Indonesia took note of the statement by the Indian Foreign Minister.

They discussed the question of Vietnam and, in the light of the current Paris

talks, expressed the hope that these negotiations would lend to a peaceful political settlement and pave the way for a complete cessation of hostilities, so as to enable the people of Vietnam to decide their future free from foreign intereference.

The two Foreign Ministers expressed concern at the continuing delay in the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. While reiterating the principle that the acquisition of territories through military force can neither be recognised nor condoned they reaffirmed their conviction that an early and honourable settlement should be found on the basis of the Security Council Resolution of 22 November 1967.

The two Foreign Ministers agreed that exchanges of visits between the leaders of the two countries would further develop and strengthen mutual relations and expand fruitful cooperation between India and Indonesia.

The two Foreign Ministers welcomed the opportunity that this visit had given to inaugurate the bilateral discussions at the official level between the two governments. It was agreed that the next round of disdiscussions would take place in Djakarta next year.

The Foreign Minister of Indonesia expressed his sincere thanks and appreciation for the warm welcome and cordial hospitality accorded to him and his party during his visit to India.

He extended an invitation to the Minister of External Affairs of India to visit Indonesia which was accepted with thanks.

INDONESIA MALI INDIA LATVIA USA PAKISTAN UZBEKISTAN FRANCE VIETNAM ISRAEL

**Date**: Feb 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

Joint Communique on Indo-Thai Trade Talks

Following is the text of the joint communique issued in New Delhi on February 23, 1969 at the conclusion of the trade talks between India and Thailand:

Trade talks between the Delegation of India led by Shri B. D. Jayal, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade and Supply and the Delegation of Thailand led by Mr. Nam Phoonwathu, Director-General of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Economic Affairs, were held in New Delhi on February 21-22, 1969. The meeting took place in an atmosphere of extreme friendship and

50 cordiality, and the discussions were characterised by a spirit of mutual co-operation and understanding.

The two Delegations reviewed the flow of trade between India and Thailand over the last few years. They noted with satisfaction the welcome expansion in the volume of trade between the two countries and recognised that in the context of advancement in the industrial and agricultural fields, considerable potential existed for evolution and further expansion in the trade exchanges.

The exploitation of this potential would require closer co-operation between the two countries. The measures should seek not only to strengthen the existing patterns, but evolve new patterns.

The two Delegations identified some of the commodities and items where a potential existed for expansion of mutual trade between India and Thailand. It was recognised that India would increasingly be in a position to export to Thailand a wide range of manufactured products including machinery and machine tools, rails and rail track accessories, transmission lines including towers, aluminium conductors, insulators and line accessories, tele-communication equipment, structural steel, etc. Similarly, Thailand was interested in the export of rice, kenaf (mesta), tin, antimony and fluorspar. The two countries could also co-operate with each other in matters relating to production and marketing of seed-lac and shellac.

The two Delegations recognised the desirability of closer co-operation in trade and economic fields between India and Thailand - both at the Governmental and the trade levels. For this purpose, the Board of Trade of Thailand, and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry will also consider the desirability of constituting a joint Working Group. The Delegation also agreed that the meeting of this nature should be held regularly to review matters relating to expansion of mutual trade.

THAILAND INDIA USA RUSSIA

**Date**: Feb 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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## YUGOSLAVIA

Joint Communique on Indo-Yugoslav Trade Talks

Following is the text of the joint communique issued in New Delhi on February 26, 1969 at the end of Indo-Yugoslav talks on trade and economic co-operation:

A Yugoslav Delegation led by His Excellency Mr. Miran Mejak, Member of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, visited New Delhi from 14th February to 26th February, 1969 for a meeting of Indo-Yugoslav Joint Commission on trade and economic co-operation. The Indian Delegation was led by Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply, Government of India.

The two Delegations informed each other of the economic situation in their countries and reviewed the growing cooperation between the two countries in the trade and economic fields.

A protocol was signed extending the present Trade and Payments Agreement between the two countries for a further period of one year ending 31st March, 1970.

It is expected that in the current year the level of trade exchanges between the two countries will be of the order of Rs. 60 crores. A substantial increase of India's

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exports to Yugoslavia is expected. In addition to traditional items, Yugoslavia is interested in buying several non-traditional items such as commercial vehicles, rolled steel products, castings and forgings, wire ropes, garrage equipment, aluminum products, tork convertors, tyres and tubes, linoleum, transistor radios, rayon cord and other engineering as well as consumer goods. Yugoslavia has shown interest in exporting tractor parts and components, lubricants, ship equipment, and ancillaries, high pressure gas cylinders etc.

The two Delegations exchanged views on promoting industrial co-operation between the two countries and noted that the possibilities existed in fields such as agricultural and crawler tractors, railway equipment, high pressure gas cylinders, food processing machinery, ship building, steel industry, automobile ancillary industries, heavy electrical equipment, technical, engineering and consultancy services.

Ideas were also exchanged as to how the two countries could collaborate with each other in third country markets.

The talks took place in a friendly and

cordial atmosphere and it was agreed that the next meeting of the Joint Commission will meet in Belgrade towards the end of the year.

Today's protocol was signed by Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply, and Mr. Miran Mejak Member of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia and leader of the Yugoslav Delegation.

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**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

### **AUSTRALIA**

Joint Statement on Indo-Australian Talks

Following is the text of the joint state-

ment issued at the end of the bilateral talks between India and Australia in Delhi on March 15, 1969:

The third Consultative Meeting between the officials of the Ministry of External Affairs of India and the Department of External Affairs of Australia was held in New Delhi on the 13th, 14th and 15th March, 1969.

The Australian Delegation consisted of Sir James Plimsoll, Secretary, Department of External Affairs, H.E. Sir Arthur Tange, High Commissioner for Australia to India, Mr. J. C. Ingram, Assistant Secretary, Department of External Affairs, and Mr. K. McDonald, Deputy High Commissioner.

The Indian Delegation consisted of Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, Shri A. M. Thomas, High Commissioner for India in Australia, Shri Kewal Singh, Secretary (EA-I), Shri V. H. Coelho, Secretary (EA-II) and Shri Manjit Singh Director (EA).

The discussions were marked with a spirit of frankness and cordiality. Both the delegations noted with satisfaction the great understanding and the further strengthening of friendly relations between India and Australia and discussed the measures to promote contacts at various levels between the two countries. The two Delegations exchanged views on a wide range of international questions and reviewed the international scene with special reference to developments in Asia. The discussions included Regional Economic Cooperation and also covered bilateral trade, economic cultural and scientific relations.

During his stay in New Delhi, the Leader of the Australian Delegation called on the President, the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and the Minister of Education.

It was agreed that the next meeting should be held in Canberra.

**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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### **AUSTRIA**

Indo-Austrian Agreement on Revival of Austrian Credits to India

Following is the text of a Press Release issued in New Delhi on March 5, 1969 on an agreement between India and Austria for revival of lapsed credits:

Ambassador V. C. Trivedi exchanged Letters with the Austrian Foreign Minister, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, finalising the Agreement between Austria and India to revive the lapsed balances available under the five Austrian Credits given to India between 1962 and 1966. These funds can now be utilised till September 30, 1969. The ceremony took place at the Austrian Foreign

53 Office in Ballhaus platz, Vienna on March 3, 1969. Senior officials of the Economic Division of the Austrian Foreign Ministry were present at the ceremony.

The main features of the Agreement are:

- (a) Balances amounting to approximately \$1.4 million available under the first five credits have been put at the disposal of the Government of India for further utilisation
- (b) The date of utilisation of the above funds has been extended up to September 30, 1969.
- (c) As a special gesture of goodwill, the Austrian Government has allocated a major portion of these

funds \$800,000 for the supply of nitrogenous fertilisers from Austria to India.

The above facilities have been granted apart from the funds available to India under the sixth Austrain credit which was signed in December 1967 which is still in operation.

AUSTRIA USA INDIA

**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

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### **BURMA**

Prime Minister's Speech at State Banquet in Rangoon

The following is the text of speech by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi at the banquet given in her honour in Rangoon on March 27, 1969 by the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Burma, General Ne Win:

Your Excellency General Ne Win, Madam Ne Win, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I should like to say first of all how happy I am to be here this evening. You were kind enough to invite me sometime ago and ever since then it was at the back of my mind how to find time to come here to meet you once again and to renew our friendship which is a friendship not only between individuals but a friendship of two countries.

We are neighbours; but neighbours who have had close relations for a very long time and neighbours who have been friends for a very long time. And today, I bring

to you the greetings and the good wishes of the Indian people. We are both in our countries trying to solve problems which crop up from day to day and yet I think we are both also trying to do them in a way which safeguards the basic and eternal values and I think this is perhaps the most difficult of all tasks.

We know it is easy to throw the old and to take something new and perhaps it is easier still to stick to the old and disregard the new. But we know that neither of these paths can bring progress to our country. Therefore, we are trying to find this third path which is the most difficult but in the long run will be most satisfying.

I remember here the visits which you have paid us Chairman and Madam Ne Win. You have come for very short visits but you have brought warmth and wherever you have been, you have created friends for yourself and for Burma.

Our friendship has been enhanced by the understanding which you have shown to our own problems and the help which you have given. We have passed through extremely difficult years and in those trying days in spite of your own difficulties you

came to our rescue with increased quantities of rice. And as you yourself mentioned we have been able to curb some of our misguided and hostile elements on our Eastern border because of your vigilance. For this we are grateful.

I remember also today my very first visit to Rangoon. It was thirty years ago. It was the time when you and your illustrious comrades were laying the foundations of Burma's independence. We were involved in our own struggles for freedom and that is why we admired the idealism, the courage, the tenacity of the young leaders of your nationalist movement.

How much the world has changed in the sense how many of us who were in bondage are today free. Yet we find that many of the old attitudes persist, though some masquerade in new garbs. We value our freedom and that is why we feel we must be prepared to defend our frontiers. But freedom can be threatened in other ways also. Through outside interference and subversion, through ideas of spheres of influence, through belief in violence and belief in the use of force to change established frontiers or to solve other problems.

We believe as you do that problems must be solved by peaceful means, by discussions and negotiations. We believe in the individuality of nations. Every country must choose its own form of development and progress. It must choose whatever system it thinks is best for its forward march. And this means that we must live by side peacefully. How can this happen Unless we agree not to interfere in one another's internal matters? But, apart from this, freedom must also be safeguarded by internal strength, by economic progress an welfare by social justice. It is only in this manner that a country can have a firm foundation and can face the many challenges of today's changing world.

India is making a tremendous effort to try and achieve these things. We are taught when we became free that problems were solved by the very fact of being independent. At each stage we thought that the next stage would be an easier one and as difficulties were removed, problems were solved, life would be easier and better. But we find through experience that each stage brings a new set of difficulties. No longer is one problem solved, there are ten new problems in its place. But we found also that as we go along we have the strength to face these problems and to find solutions for them. We have had difficulties created by nature, we have had difficulties created by men but we have been able to face them and I think we have faced them with confidence and in so doing a feeling has developed in the Indian people that they cart be selfreliant and that they should all work together, whatever their differences in the field of politics or in economic methods that they should all work together, for selfreliance.

We know that under your leadership, the people of Burma are engaged in a similar effort. We know because of our own experience that it cannot be easy to raise the standards of living but to change the attitudes of a whole nation. To make new attitudes, new methods acceptable to them is only one of the challenges which we face. But we know that you are also progressing and as you march ahead so will your capacity to go faster increase.

The world has always changed but today the changes seem to press upon us. We are glad that though we may not agree on every single point we have similar responses to many problems and specially to some of the international problems. We value the support which this common purpose has given us in international problems such as the United Nations and the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference, to name only two. As the world shrinks with the growth of technology and science it is important for us to remember that more and more stress has to be placed on cooperation and understanding between peoples and nations. We feel that you, Sir, are working towards this.

I should like once more to thank you for giving me this opportunity of coming here and of exchanging views with you and your colleagues. As I said there are so many changes in the world that even though one may know each other it is necessary to renew this acquaintance and to share each other's knowledge and experience so that we are in a better position to understand what is happening in different parts. We have cooperated together but there is need for still closer cooperation.

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May I, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, request you to join me in a toast wishing the Chairman long life, and good health, happiness and success. I should like also to give my good wishes and the good wishes of the women of India to Madam Ne Win. We know how she supports and helps the Chairman; I don't know whether

he admits it or not. And to this toast may I add my good wishes to the people of Burma for their progress, their prosperity, and friendship with India.

### BURMA INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

### **BURMA**

Joint Communique on Prime Minister's Visit

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on March 30, 1969, on the occasion of the visit of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to the Union of Burma:

At the invitation of His Excellency General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, Her Excellency Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, paid a goodwill visit to the Union of Burma from the 27th to 30th March, 1969. Her Excellency Shrimati Indira Gandhi was accompanied by Foreign Secretary, Shri T. N. Kaul, Vice-Admiral R. D. Katari, Ambassador of India, and other high-ranking officials of the Government of the Republic of India.

Her Excellency the Prime Minister of the Republic of India and the members of her party were accorded a warm welcome by the Government and the people of the Union of Burma.

The Chairman and the Prime Minister availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the visit to hold talks on bilateral and international matters of common interest. These talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship, cordiality and mutual understanding.

The Chairman and the Prime Minister were of the view that the maintenance of international peace and security would be greatly facilitated by all States respecting one another's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and refraining from interference in one another's internal affairs.

The Chairman and the Prime Minister were of the view that the difficulties inherent in the processes of development of the developing countries are sometimes made the occasion for outside interference and pressure. They agreed that successful national efforts on the part of the developing countries themselves to promote their rapid Socio-economic and political advancement, free from outside interference, would not only strengthen those countries but would also improve international relations.

The Chairman and the Prime Minister expressed deep concern over the situation in West Asia and hoped that the efforts of the United Nations and other parties concerned to avert a major conflict in the region and to work out a peaceful settlement will be continued and bear fruit.

The Chairman and the Prime Minister reiterated their belief in a peaceful political settlement of the Vietnam question and expressed the hope that the current expanded peace talks will result in an early settlement within the broad framework of the Geneva Agreements.

The two leaders reiterated their faith in the Charter of the United Nations and emphasised their strong belief that all countries should cooperate in the establishment of lasting peace in the world. They agreed that force or threat of force should not be used in the settlement of international disputes and that such disputes should be settled only through peaceful means.

The two sides also discussed the various problems that have arisen concerning citi-

zens of India in Burma and other people of Indian origin who have not yet become citizens of Burma, and exchanged views on ways and means of solving them. They agreed that these matters should be resolved early through further mutual discussions.

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Both leaders agreed that there was considerable scope for further expansion of trade between the two countries and expressed the firm desire of their Governments to expand mutual trade and commerce.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of India expressed to the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma her sincere thanks for the friendly welcome and hospitality extended to her and the members of her party. The Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, on behalf of the people of the Union of Burma, expressed great pleasure at the visit of the Prime Minister of the Republic of India. The Prime Minister of the Republic of India extended, on behalf of the President of the Republic of India, an invitation to the Chairman to visit India. The invitation was accepted with much pleasure.

BURMA INDIA VIETNAM SWITZERLAND USA

**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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### FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Joint Statement on Indo-German Bilateral Talks

Following is the text of the joint statement issued at the end of the Indo-German bilateral talks in Delhi on March 20, 1969:

A consultative meeting between the representatives of the Ministry of External Affairs of India, led by Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, and the representatives of the Federal Ministry of External Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, led by Mr. Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz, Secretary of the State, was held in New Delhi from 18th to 20th March, 1969.

The two sides reviewed and exchanged information on bilateral questions and the broad spectrum of global matters of mutual interest. They discussed the past performance and future prospects of co-operation between India and the Federal Republic of Germany in economic, industrial and commercial domains. It was agreed that there was need and possibility of strengthening and extending it. Both sides welcomed the signing of the Cultural Agreement between India and the Federal Republic of Germany on 20 March, 1969. and hoped that cultural, educational and scientific ties which already exist between the two countries, would be further strengthened.

The consultations which were conducted in a spirit of friendliness and understanding were found useful by both sides. It was agreed that the next meeting would be held in Bonn on a date to be mutually agreed upon.

GERMANY INDIA USA **Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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### FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Indo-German Cultural Agreement

Following is the text of a Press release issued in New Delhi on March 20, 1969 on the Cultural Agreement signed between India and the Federal Republic of Germany:

A cultural agreement between India and the Federal Republic of Germany was signed at New Delhi on March 20, 1969. The agreement was signed at a special ceremony by Shri S. Chakravarti, Secretary, Ministry of Education & Youth Services, on behalf of the Government of India, and Mr. G. F. Duckwitz, Secretary of State,

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Federal Ministry of External Affairs, on behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The agreement seeks to strengthen and develop the existing cultural contacts between India and the Federal Republic of Germany. It provides for cooperation between the two countries in the fields of education, art, culture, mass media, sports, medicine and libraries. Exchanges of personnel and materials in these fields would now be regulated under the provisions of the agreement.

The agreement envisages the setting up of a joint committee consisting of representatives of the two countries to advise the Governments concerned on measures to plan bilateral cultural exchanges on a regular basis and to review the working of the agreement from time to time.

**GERMANY INDIA** 

**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

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### FOREIGN TRADE

Shri B. R. Bhagat's announcement of Import Policy for 1969-70

The Union Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply, Shri B. R. Bhagat, announced in New Delhi on March 31, 1969 the Import Policy for 1969-70, over the All India Radio. Following is the full text of the Minister's broadcast:

We are on the threshold of the Fourth Five Year Plan. It will be our endeavour during the period of this Plan to impart a new impetus to economic progress, to build up self-reliance, and to reduce visibly the gap between export incomes and import expenditures.

Foundations for the effort during the Plan have been well and truly laid during the financial year which comes to an end today. The trade statistics available for the ten months ending on January 31 are heartening. Our exports have touched the peak figure of Rs. 1135 crores. Imports have been reduced to Rs. 1519 crores. The gap between the two figures is of the order of Rs. 384 crores.

In the year which begins tomorrow, the emphasis on import savings will continue, and yet we expect to be able to provide for all the imports necessary to maintain and expand production. The requirements of all priority industries for imported inputs will be met on the basis of the domestic needs and overseas requirements of their end-products. The policy hitherto followed to meet the requirements of non-priority industries will also be continued.

### **BANNED ITEMS**

There has been heartening growth and diversification of industrial production in the country. It has, therefore, been possible to ban the import of as many as 316 items: these include boot and shoe grindery, ball bearings, garage tools, several motor vehicle parts, components of equipment, chemical intermediates, several drugs, some sophisticated types of machine tools, and a wide range of machinery and also some iron and steel items. The import of dye intermediates,

textile machinery, other chemicals and seamless tubes has been heavily restricted.

Quotas of Established Importers have been further cut and as a result of saving-of Rs. 1.25 crores has been effected. A large portion of the Established Importers' quotas is devoted to the import of spare parts required for maintaining equipment and machinery imported in earlier years. We propose to make a special effort to see whether a portion of this requirement cannot in future be met from domestic production.

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The Director-General of Technical Development is endeavouring to reduce imports by increasing the domestic production of machinery, components and intermediates. A high-level Committee has been appointed by the Ministry of Industrial Development to identify new areas, especially in raw materials, for import substitution.

Special care has been taken in regard to the import requirements of small scale industries: in fact it is proposed to give larger initial licences to small scale units which may be started in the priority sector in the coming year.

### IMPORTS FROM PREFERRED SOURCES

Import policy has been further geared to reinforce export production and sales. About 100 units in the priority sector and 200 units in the non-priority sector have exported 10% or more of their production in the year that has gone by: these units will be eligible to obtain their import requirements from preferred sources. A sizeable amount of free foreign exchange has been earmarked for the purpose. I have every confidence that many more units will be attracted by this carrot to increase the proportion of their export sales so that they too may be able to obtain their import requirements from preferred sources.

A new scheme is being introduced to strengthen recognised Export Houses in

their efforts to penetrate overseas markets and to provide better services to manufacturers whose products they market abroad. Under this scheme, registered Export Houses, exporting non-traditional products will be given, in advance, some import licences so that they may be able to build up a small ready stock of essential industrial requirements to meet the needs of manufacturer-exporters from the shelf. This new service will be of particular value to enterpreneurs in the small sector.

### EXPORT CONTRACTS

A scheme for registration of export contracts involving deliveries extending over a period of not less than 12 months has been instituted. Exports against registered contracts will be eligible to facilities in force at the time of conclusion of such contracts.

Even though the import requirements of priority industries are met in full, a large number of industrial units in this sector have made a negligible contribution to the export effort. I would make a special appeal to these units to explore the possibilities of building up export markets for their products.

Out of 59 priority industries, it was expected that industrial units in at least ten industries were in a position to export at least 5% of their production. The import quotas of units which have failed to fulfil their obligation will be cut in the coming year.

There are of course many industrial units in the country which have acquired genuine interest in developing the export of their products but are unable, without additional production facilities, to meet the demand they have managed to create. A special cell has been created in the Department of Foreign Trade to study the difficulties of these units and to secure financial and managerial assistance, to enlarge their licensed capacity, and to obtain import licence for machines, components and raw materials needed by them.

There are many other industrial units which have not yet been able to win laurels in overseas markets but which are keen to follow the example set by other successful entrepreneurs. Such units are invited to develop phased programmes of export production and approach the Department of Foreign Trade for assistance in implementing them.

We have been conscious of some of the difficulties which continue to worry our exporters and manufacturers. The complexity of procedures in regard to refund of import and excise duties has been a source of long-standing complaint. These procedures are being streamlined and I expect that within a month or two all genuine difficulties will have been overcome.

### **EXPORT CREDIT**

The difficulties experienced by exporters obtaining financial credits and resources have been reviewed and the Reserve Bank of India has organised a special cell to give attention to them. A series of pamphlets

59 advising exporters of facilities provided by commercial banks will be issued soon.

Our exporters have succeeded in winning the confidence of foreign importers in the quality of our products and of our capacity to deliver them in accordance with the terms of sales contract. But the mistakes of a few of them have jeopardised in some markets the gains made by the efforts of most of their colleagues. It has therefore been decided to withhold from persistent defaulters the import and other facilities provided in export promotion schemes.

### S.T.C.'s ROLE

You are aware of the role of public agencies like the State Trading Corporation in organising exports and imports and in building up our commercial strength and competence. It is proposed to expand this role in the coming year. The import of

some industrial raw materials will be canalised through the S.T.C.: so will the export of cement and woollen and mixed knitwear. Actual Users of many other industrial raw materials will be able to obtain their requirements from stocks imported by S.T.C.

The S.T.C. will also make special efforts to penetrate foreign markets and organise the export of railway wagons and equipment, fresh fruits and vegetables, an some chemicals intermediates.

On their part, Government are doing all they can to build up an environment to facilitate export production and increase export sales. I am grateful to the farmers, workers, entrepreneurs and businessmen for the effort they have put into the export drive. I would like to tell them that much more needs to be done by them, we wish to maintain the momentum of our development without avoidable foreign assistance. We cannot win the battle for economic independence without determined and patriotic efforts on the part of millions of our citizens. Only then can we provide what foreign countries need from us and sell our products in competition with those of other countries.

The targets set for us in the Fourth Plan are high if they are to be measured against past performance. But the export potential of our economy is very considerable. There is plenty of work for private and public agencies to handle. If we work together and hard, we can more than fulfil these targets.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA

**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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**FRANCE** 

Joint Statement on Indo-French Talks

Following is the text of the joint statement issued at the end of the second round of Indo-French consultations held in New Delhi from March 6 to 8, 1969.

The second Indo-French consultations took place in New Delhi from the 6th to the 8th March 1969. The delegations were led by the Deputy Minister, Shri Surendra Pal Singh on the Indian side and by H.E. Mr. Jean de Lipkowski, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the French side.

The consultations were held in a very friendly atmosphere reflecting the cordial relations which exist between India and France. A wide range of subjects was discussed, including matters of particular interest to India and France. It was gratifying to observe the remarkable identity of views on major international problems. A

useful exchange of views was also held on bilateral relations between the two countries with a view to strengthening them. The two sides were convinced that cooperation between the two countries could be increased in many diverse directions and new fields of fruitful collaboration could be explored.

Both sides agreed that the next consultative meeting will be held in Paris on a date which will be fixed later by mutual agreement.

FRANCE INDIA USA **Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

### Indo-French Trade Protocol

Following is the text of a Press Release issued on the Indo-French Trade Protocol:

A Trade Protocol providing for increased quotas for some of the Indian products still subject to quantitative restrictions in France was signed in New Delhi on March 17, 1969 by representatives of the two countries. It has also been decided to renew the trade arrangement between the two countries for one year from January 1, 1969.

This follows the meeting of the Indo-French Joint Economic Commission in New Delhi from March 7 to March 11, 1969. The Protocol was signed by Shri B. N. Swarup, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Supply on behalf of India and Mr. Jean Daridan, French Ambassador in India on behalf of France. Under the Protocol, quotas for dried mushrooms have been increased from 1.5 million Francs in 1968 to 2.0 million Francs in 1969, for articles of woollen hosiery from 200,000 Francs in 1968 to 220,000 Francs in 1969, for clothing other than cotton from 650,000 Francs in 1968 to 720,000 Francs in 1969, for Tennis and basket-ball shoes from 660,000 Francs in 1968 to 800,000 Francs in 1969, for fairs and exhibitions from 750,000 Francs in 1968 to 800,000 Francs in 1969, for miscellaneous products from 600,000 Francs in 1968 to 650,000 Francs in 1969.

All quantitative restrictions on imports of onions into France have also been abolished for the period March 1 to May 15, 1969. It has further been agreed that imports licences for the articles made of coir fibres into France will henceforth be visaed by the Indian Embassy in Paris.

In order to promote trade exchanges between the two countries, a Trade Delegation comprising French importers, exporters, manufacturers and bankers will visit India towards the end of 1969.

The French Government has agreed to receive two experts from India for identifying the specific items in the non-traditional field and studying the measures that may be necessary with a view to promoting their exports to France.

The Protocol also provides for special programmes, depicting India's industrial and export potential, to be put on the French Television. Besides, purchase teams from the French undertakings like the Railways, the Renault etc., would be visiting India shortly.

The Indo-French Trade Agreement concluded on October 19, 1959, has since been renewed from time to time. The Trade Arrangement expresses the common desire of the two Governments for the expansion of trade between the two countries. The Trade Arrangement also provides for a Joint Economic Commission comprising representatives of the two Governments to take steps to widen the trade and economic relations between the two countries. The Joint Commission has been meeting every year.

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**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

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### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Dr. Sarabhai's Statement on Outer Space

Following is the summary record of Dr. Sarabhai's statement in the meeting of

the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee of UN Outer Space Committee on 17th March, 1969:

Dr. Sarabhai (India) congratulated the Chairman of the Sub-Committee and also the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic which had achieved great space successes.

He wished first and foremost to stress the role that Committee on the peaceful uses of Outer Space and the United Nations could pay to enable all countries to benefit from space applications. He thanked France, the United States and the Soviet Union for having collaborated in the work of the Thumba Equatorial Sounding Rocket Launching Station. Thanks to that assistance India had been able to make steady progress and in February 1969 had launched the first two stage rocket of Indian manufacture. The sponsorship of the United Nations had been a very important factor at the meeting of countries which had given the Thumba Station their support.

The combination of bilateral arrangements and multi-national activities under United Nations auspices offered the developing countries great opportunities to advance. It should not, however, be foregotten on that account that the developing countries own efforts remained the essential factor. India itself had carried out a Sounding Rocket Launch Programme and was on the point of implementing a major project using Synchronous Satellites for direct television. That application of television would help to improve understanding of the problems connected with agriculture, education, family planning and the like problems common to all the developing countries. The project had had the benefit of United States collaboration and of the studies carried out by UNESCO and the United Nations and would make it possible to stimulate national development. It was a typical example of what multinational and international co-operation and initiative ought to be.

In his capacity as Scientific Chairman of the Vienna Conference, he had had the

impression that in addition to Meteorology and Telecommunications another Satellite application was of great interest the remote sensing of earth resources. Many countries could-give valuable assistance in that sphere in order to improve the conditions of development.

No resolutions had been formulated at the Vienna conference and the participants had mainly noted the problems raised and the views expressed at it. Accordingly, it was now the Sub-Committee's task to coordinate the various proposals made at the Conference and to translate them into concrete measures which the United Nations might take.

His delegation wished to refer to the specific proposals it had in two documents submitted to the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee (A/AC.105/C.1/L.24 of March 6, 1969 and ADD 1 of 14th March) concerning the initiative which the United Nations could take in the sphere of Outer Space. It would be for the Sub-Committee to consider the advantages and disadvantages of the various solutions proposed. At the present time there were two types of international organisations, those which were not part of the United Nations family, such as the Committee on Space Research (COSPAR) and the International Astronautical Federation, and those which were, such as the Committee on the peaceful uses of Outer Space and its two Sub-Committees. He wished to refer to the special role played by COSPAR. The, Interational Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) was the parent body to which were attached various associations specializing in different fields (Geodesy, Physics, Astronomy etc.). With the increasing importance of space research it was found necessary to

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set up within ICSU a new Committee which would comprise representatives of various Scientific Unions and representatives of other organisations. That Committee, COSPAR, did not overlap with the other Unions and its work had fully justified its establishment. Within the United Nations, various specialized agencies had of course been set

up to meet the needs felt in such spheres as Meteorology, Food, Education and Telecommunications. Outer Space was a new area of activity some of whose aspects concerned each of the existing specialized agencies. It was in the light of that fact that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space had been established. Care must be taken to ensure that the activities undertaken by the United Nations in consequence did not duplicate those of the specialised agencies but effected an integration at a high level of all efforts in that sphere. The Committee should carry out general surveys and establish a long term plan. It was for the specialised agencies to take technical initiatives in their particular fields. The Committee must be careful not to strip them of their responsibilities but on the contrary must support them. The execution of, a Project to launch Communication Satellites affected simultaneously the fields of Radio, Television, Meteorology, Education, etc. A project of that kind required the co-operation of all the specialized agencies concerned. A second problem was the choice to be made between two kinds of action within the framework of the United Nations. The first alternative would be to establish a new specialized body, comparable to the International Atomic Energy Agency, while the second would be to establish an organ inside the Secretariat itself, on the model of UNIDO. It was generally felt that the proliferation of new agencies was costly and made it more difficult to integrate activities at a high level. His delegation was of the opinion that it was better not to establish a new specialized agency, the United Nations should try to define the objectives for strengthening those activities and making them more specific. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space did not seem to be the most appropriate organ to conduct such technical discussions. For that reason, his delegation thought that it would be useful to establish an advisory group of experts which could study the political, economic and social repercussions of the activities to be undertaken in space, after taking note of Outer Space and its Sub-Committees.

The Group would be composed of spe-

cialists who were in the forefront of technical progress in that field and who would give the United Nations the benefit of their experience for a period of six months or one year. Such short term appointments would make it possible to avoid the setting up of bureaucratic structures to carry out specialized activities. With regard to survey missions, it was essential that political leaders and economists in all countries should recognize the economic importance of the potential applications of space techniques. An example of that was the study which IAEA had made on the application of nuclear techniques to the problem of desalination. It would be possible to carry out such studies bilaterally, but it was clearly more advantageous for the smaller countries to act through United Nations bodies. The report of the Survey Missions could help the Member countries concerned, to take decisions in that field. The United Nations could not itself provide the essential technical data and would have to call upon the more advanced countries for that. But it could create an auspicious political climate and draw up financing projects which would make it easier for the international financing institutions to take part.

Where fellowships were concerned, the programme relating to research in Outer Space could be based on the programme of fellowships adopted by IAEA in the field of atomic energy. In 1965, IAEA had spent \$ 462,000 on the experts and teachers who had been invited to take part, \$ 207,000 on equipment and \$513,000 on the fellowships, or more than \$ one million for the year. In 1967, IAEA had financed the work of seventy two experts (256 man months) and had granted 173 fellowships (1,119 months of study). IAEA had also organised in 1967 forty two meetings of study groups on specialised subjects at a total cost of \$ 180,000, the study Groups had averaged ten members, one-half of them from European countries. In the view of his delegation, it would be useful to organize two meetings of Working Groups each year to appraise the various options that were possible and to choose the various

technical parameters. The number of meetings might later be increased to four a year. It was particularly important to the developing countries that they should be able to base their decision on detailed information. The Working Groups could study the various resources or various applications, in collaboration with the specialized agencies which would prepare basic documents. The fellowships that were granted should be liked to the objectives pursued by the various States and to the particular applications they wished to study. For example a programme relating to communications Satellites had been established in India with assistance from UNDP and ITU. Two training courses had been offered, and India had granted six fellowships (.) More fellowships had been requested they might be granted by the specialized agencies of the United Nations. but care should be taken to ensure that they supplemented the bilateral fellowship programmes, such as that of the United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) which covered only the teaching costs, but not travel and subsistence expenses. His delegation hoped that other delegations would make proposals and that the two Sub-Committees would produce positive recommendations with a view to achieving positive progress towards the intended goal.

INDIA USA FRANCE RUSSIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC AUSTRIA PERU

**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Sen's Statement on Southern Rhodesia

Shri S. Sen, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations made the

following statement on the question of Southern Rhodesia in the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to colonial countries and people on March 19, 1969:

The question of Southern Rhodesia was discussed at considerable length in the Fourth Committee at the last session of the General Assembly. The results of those discussions are to be found in resolutions 2379 (XXIII) and 2383 (XXIII) which were adopted by an overwhelming majority. The first of these resolutions dealt with the limited question of independence not being granted to Southern Rhodesia unless it was decided by the establishment of a government based on free elections by universal adult suffrage and on majority rule. My delegation fully supports the provisions of this resolution. The fulfilment of this demand of the General Assembly by the administering Power amounts to nothing more than honouring the NIBMAR pledge. The continuing commitment to NIBMAR was reflected in the joint communique issued after the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London in January of this year. It was in keeping with this general approach that the Prime Minister of India in an intervention at the meeting called for the withdrawal of the British proposals for the settlement of the Rhodesian question contained in the White Paper of 15 October 1968. It has been obvious to the international community that the proposed constitutional changes involving a complex system of "A" rolls and "B" rolls and grossly inadequate representation of the African population would, if implemented, result in the perpetuation of white supremacy and the conferment of legality on the white racist minority in Southern Rhodesia. The fact that the Smith regime turned down these proposals does not in any way point to the conclusion that they represent an equitable approach to the problem of constitutional advance in the territory.

Resolution 2383 (XXIII) embodies the wishes of the international community in regard to the urgent steps to be adopted with a view to securing the transfer of

effective power, based on free elections by universal adult suffrage and on majority rule to the people of Zimbabwe. Operative paragraph 16 of that resolution called on the administering Power to report to the Special Committee on its actions in implementation of that resolution. The Committee has the right to expect therefore that that report will be made without delay. This urgency arises out of the rapidly deteriorating situation in Southern Rhodesia. The reign of terror persists and the policy of denial of basic human rights by arbitrary arrest, detention and torture of innocent freedom fighters in Zimbabwe is being constantly intensified. The most blatant recent example has been the extension of

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the sentence of imprisonment on the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole on obviously trumped-up charges. Notwithstanding the universal condemnation of the application of the policy of "separate development" to the territory, the illegal racist regime is proceeding to perpetuate the effective domination of the African population by the enactment of new legislation. Even Mr. Percy Mkudo, a moderate African leader, has been constrained to describe the new draft constitution put forward by the Smith regime as "nothing but apartheid". These developments are serious and call for urgent action.

The administering Power has been furnishing one excuse after another for refusing to apply the only solution which can put an effective end to this deplorable situation. It has instead pleaded for acceptance by the international community of economic sanctions as a remedy for the ills of the territory. I need hardly recall at this stage the prediction of the British Prime Minister made over three years ago that the application of sanctions would lead to the downfall of the Smith regime in a matter of weeks. This has not happened. It is clear today therefore that even the sanctions provided for in resolution 253 (1968) of the Security Council have failed to make any substantial impact on the Rhodesian economy. My delegation had the honour to preside over the Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) of the Security Council during the first three months of its effective existence. The report of that Committee, contained in document S/8954, bears out only too clearly not only that the sanctions envisaged in that resolution are inadequate but also that blatant refusal on the part of South Africa and Portugal to implement that resolution has made the machinery established incapable of delivering the desired results. We are convinced that continuing reliance on this hopelessly inadequate resolution will amount not only to a grievous evasion of international responsibility but will also tend to aggravate the growing threat to international peace and security in the area which we can ignore only at our own peril.

I have confined myself to a brief summary of the dimensions of the problem. We reserve the right as the debate proceeds and particularly in the light of such statements as might be made by the administering Power, to intervene at a later stage on the course of action this Committee should take.

Before I conclude I should like to add to this statement a few other reflections which are not directly related to the resolutions on the Rhodesian problem as such. The fact is that time is acting in favour of the illegal Rhodesian Government. For some reason or other we have not been able to implement the various resolutions that we undertook to implement. Meanwhile a kind of passivity, bordering almost on indifference, has set in and more and more Powers, I am afraid, are falling victim to this kind of tendency. In this statement, South Africa and Portugal can give limited encouragement to the illegal Rhodesian Government, and that Government in turn can victimize a large number of African citizens. It is the earnest desire and hope of my delgation that somthing be done about this with a sense of urgency.

Therefore, our deliberations today are not merely meant to go over the ground that has been covered over and over again, but to give our discussion a sense of urgency so that this lethargy can be discarded and so that we can move on to the next step with a degree of fortitude and hopefulness, which have been lacking up to now.

INDIA USA UNITED KINGDOM ZIMBABWE PORTUGAL SOUTH AFRICA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Dinesh Singh's Message

Following is the text of the message of Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of External Affairs, for the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on March 21, 1969:

The Security Council in describing apartheid as "a great threat to international peace and security" recognised the serious situation that had been created as a result of the continuing violation of human rights in South Africa. Long years ago, Mahatma Gandhi lighted the torch of the struggle against this inhuman practice. He employed the instrument of non-violence and peace-

ful non-cooperation. It represented a unique example of the affirmation of our faith in the dignity of man.

The struggle was taken to the world community when the United Nations took it up among the first questions to be considered by it. By recommending severance of trade and diplomatic relations with the perpetrators of the hateful policy of apartheid, the General Assembly gave expression to the shock and anger felt by people all

over the world.

Unfortunately, the appeals of the United Nations and the world community to the South African Government to cease their crimes against humanity and the universal condemnation that these crimes attracted. have been ignored by the Government of South Africa. The invasion on human freedom and negation of everything that the great philosophies of human civilisation have taught us, continue unabated. We have to take note of this contemptuous disregard of the will of the UN by the Government of South Africa and renew our resolve to fight for the eradication of apartheid. As the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for the restoration of their fundamental human rights and freedoms gains momentum, external pressure through trade and diplomatic boycott of South Africa at all levels and in all forums must be intensified.

On this International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, let us recall the courage and supreme will of those martyrs who sacrificed their lives 9 years ago in Sharpeville in South Africa in defence of their fundamental rights, and rededicate ourselves to the task of liquidation of apartheid from the face of the earth.

INDIA USA SOUTH AFRICA

**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# ITALY Indo-Italian Credit Agreement

Following is the text of a Press Release issued in New Delhi on March 10, 1969 on

the signing of an agreement between India and Italy:

An agreement for \$ 5.5 million (Rs. 4.13 crores) was signed in New Delhi today (March 10) between the Governments of India and Italy. This amount had been pledged by Italy at the Consortium meeting held in May 1968 as its share of debt relief assistance to India for 1968-69. The agreement was signed by Dr. Maurizio de Strebel, Ambassador of Italy, on behalf of the Government of Italy and by Dr. I. G. Patel, Special Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, on behalf of the Government of India.

The Credit is repayable over a period of 12 years in half-yearly instalments with the understanding that there will be no repayment for the first three years. The rate of interest including the credit insurance will be four per cent.

India has been receiving assistance from Italy since 1962-63, the total aid received so far being \$ 204 million (Rs. 153 crores). Of this \$ 202 million (Rs. 151.5 crores) was by way of Suppliers' Credits and \$ 2 million (Rs. 1.5 crores) as a Government Credit for the purchase of fertilizers.

Suppliers' Credit is utilised mainly for the import of equipment, machinery etc., for fertilizer plants, power projects, oil production equipment, oil pipeline, textile machinery, machinery for aluminium production, printing machinery and so on and also for import of components required by Indo-Italian joint ventures for the manufacture of motor cars, scooters, teleprinters, etc.

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ITALY INDIA RUSSIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

### UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

### Indo-UAR Protocol for Collaboration in Agriculture

A protocol for promoting closer technical and scientific contacts, cooperation and collaboration in the agricultural field between the Government of India and the Government of the United Arab Republic was signed at New Delhi on March 19. Dr. Hassan Ali El Tobgy, Under Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, U.A.R. and Shri B. R. Patel, Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation, Government of India, signed the agreement on behalf of their respective countries.

The cooperation envisaged covers a wide range of fields and includes crop and animal protection, soil and water management, agricultural credit, cooperation and community development, land reclamation and settlement and agrarian reforms. The Protocol provides for the setting up of a Joint Advisory Committee of experts and officials, including a Chairman, from both countries which will meet at least once a year alternately in New Delhi and Cairo to review and formulate specific programmes. The Chairman on the Indian side would be the Director-General of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and his counterpart would be the Under Secretary of State and Chairman, Permanent Research Committee, Ministry of Agriculture, U.A.R.

The collaboration will take the form of exchange of technical and scientific information, experts, research scholars, technical training facilities, breeding material, improved varieties of crops and superior breeds of animals. The promotion of contacts between the National Seeds Corporation of India and similar bodies in U.A.R. has been specifically mentioned in the Protocol.

**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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### **UNITED KINGDOM**

India-U.K. Agreement on Food Aid Formalised

Following is the text of a Press Release issued in New Delhi on March 6, 1969 on formalisation of India - UK Agreement on Food aid:

Britain is giving India & 2.7 million (Rs. 4.86 crores) for the purchase of wheat, principally from Argentina.

This agreement was formalised in New Delhi today (March 6) by an exchange of letters between Sir Morrice James, British High Commissioner, and Dr. I. G. Patel, Special Secretary, Ministry of Finance.

This sum would pay for about 118,000 tonnes; of wheat, of which 112,000 tonnes has already been shipped.

The British gift fulfils part of the obligation accepted by Britain, as a signatory of the 1968 Rome Food Aid Convention, to provide 225,000 tonnes of grain, or the cash equivalent, each year for 3 years as aid to developing countries.

Speaking on the occasion, Sir Morrice James described India's achievements in agricultural production as impressive. Bri-

67 tain, herself being a food importer, was finding it rather hard to assist India directly in the matter of food supply. However, the

1968 Rome Food Aid Convention had enabled Britain to find means of assisting India in this field.

Dr. Patel, in his reply, said the Government and the people of India were highly appreciative of the British assistance, and the spirit in which it had been extended. The agreement was yet another sign of goodwill and friendship between the two countries. India, he added, had achieved a breakthrough in agriculture and, in about four years' time, was likely to do away with food imports altogether.

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**Date**: Mar 01, 1969

# **April**

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**Date**: Apr 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE IN LOK SABHA

Shri Dinesh Singh's Reply to Foreign Affairs Debate

Following is the text of Foreign Minister Shri Dinesh Singh's reply to the Foreign Affairs debate in the Lok Sabha on April 8, 1969:

I am conscious of the tremendous responsibility that has been placed on me in the conduct of the affairs of the Ministry of External Affairs, which has been presided over for nearly two decades by our first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Then his successor, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri presided over the affairs of this Ministry. Again, his successor, our present Prime

Minister, presided over this Ministry.

I shoulder this responsibility with the hope that I shall continue to receive the advice, assistance and cooperation from all sections.

Foreign Affairs is the concern of the nation as a whole. In a growing measure the question and the problems relating to foreign policy of our country, as of other countries, have come to acquire very direct relevance to the every-day life of its citizens. The lives of common people all over the world have become even more inter-twined. Today the strength of a country is no longer limited to its military capability. In international affairs, the strength of a country is also its economic strength, its industrial development, its inventive genius, the strength of its science and technology, the strength of the better organisation of its human resources and the strength of the people to resist pressure and their capacity to stand steadfast to the cherished principles. It is the totality of each country's national life that is relevant today.

A new generation of Indians is now on the move. Born and nurtured in an independent India, they are all exercising their franchise and taking responsibilities in all fields of our national life. Their lives are far more affected by the results of our foreign policy, by the efforts to build the bridges of friendship, than those of their fathers and their grandfathers. I welcome this growing interest that is being taken in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

## FOUNDER OF FOREIGN POLICY

After the entry into the comity of nations as an independent country, India has made mark for itself, not on the basis of its military strength or even its economic power, but on the basis of its initiative to strengthen peace to promote international understanding and to champion the cause of the underprivileged who constitute the overwhelming majority of population in the world. If one man can be singled out from amongst his countrymen to receive this honour for the

conduct of our foreign policy, it can be none other than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the founder of our foreign policy. And yet, he was reflecting the values cherished by our people, and the principles which have deep roots in our history and our tradition. Ghandhiji's dream of cooperation between man and man irrespective of his nationality, his teachings of peaceful persuasion as opposed to subjugation by force, and his concern for the downtrodden are all part of our national life, and tenets of our international behaviour. We continue to be guided by them.

### WORK FOR PEACE

We have consistently worked to preserve peace because we are convinced that our own development can take place only in an atmosphere of peace. History has taught us that peace cannot co-exist with political

domination. We are opposed to all kind of colonial and racial discrimination. Having suffered under foreign rule and having waged a struggle for independence, it was only natural for us to extend full support for the liberation of people under foreign domination.

Whether it is the question of the independence of Angola, or Mozambique, or South West Africa, or any other colonial territory, it will be our endeavour to direct our foreign policy to achieve their liberation, to accelerate the pace of decolonisation. It is equally our belief that all people must enjoy equality irrespective of their race.

Even before our independence we raised our voice against the inhuman policies of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa. We shall continue to support moves in the United Nations and elsewhere against racial discrimination in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia or wherever else it may exist.

#### **DISPARITY WIDENS**

We are equally convinced that there

could be no lasting peace in the world unless there is equitable sharing of prosperity. Wide disparities between the rich and the poor will inevitably lead to tension and conflict. We are assisting in the crystallization of the idea that it is equally in the interest of the rich countries to assist in the economic development of the poor. When the first UNCTAD met in 1964, the member-States expressed their determination to seek a better and more effective system of international economic cooperation whereby the division of the world into areas of poverty and plenty may be banished and prosperity achieved for all. We cannot say that in the years that followed the world community was able to translate these ideas into action. After 45 sessions of the Economic and Social Council and two sessions of UNCTAD and despite all the promises that were held out in the United Nations development decade, the developing countries are normally expected to take, according to projections made, more than a century and a half to double their per capita income. After 150 years this will mean no more than four rupees per day. In my report to the United Nations General Assembly in my capacity as President of the Second UNCTAD, I had pointed out that the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia had missed the industrial revolution through no fault of theirs and they are now asserting their rights to alter the socioeconomic situation they inherited from their colonial past.

While matters of interest to developed countries have been tackled through multi-lateral negotiations, measures in support of the social and economic efforts of the developing countries have eluded agreement. In fact, the greater the effort made by the developing countries to improve their lot, the more numerous constraints they have had to encounter.

#### ECONOMIC COOPERATION

To my mind, economic cooperation between nations is not merely a matter of transfer of goods and services, nor a sacrifice on the part of one and gain to the other. It is an expression of the convergence of

interests of both the rich and the poor. It is time we recognised that in most cases what is commonly known as aid today is hardly anything more than export promotion scheme of the donor countries, although it may be necessary for our development.

While success has been limited so far, it will be our sincere endeavour to seek international cooperation for rapid development of developing countries. We shall render all assistance in the formulation of the programmes of the next development decade so that it does not meet with the same fate as the first one which turned out to be a decade of development for the developed.

International economic cooperation is an important. aspect of our foreign policy. Such cooperation helps us to consolidate peace, to provide economic content to the struggle for decolonisation, to reinforce in particular the national independence of countries recently freed from colonial yoke, to build on old foundations new strands of friendship based on mutual interest and thus to transform the confrontation between power blocs into a worldwide effort to build a new world order capable of helping each member-state of the comity of nations to realise for its citizens the fundamental freedoms enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

Bilaterally too we have strengthened our relations with Asian countries, specially

our neighbours. With Ceylon we have concluded an agreement for economic cooperation which envisages the participation in it of other developing countries of this region. I shall be going to Iran early next month to explore the possibility of closer cooperation with that country.

It is my intention to infuse greater economic content in the conduct of our foreign policy. We have in the Ministry an Economic Division which is paying special attention to the problem of our economic relations with other countries. We have been assisted in this by other Economic Ministries of the Government of India and it will be

our effort now to strengthen this Division to undertake the new tasks that are being assigned to us.

### SHARING EXPERIENCES

It is our fortune that we find ourselves in a position to share with our friends in developing countries the experience we have acquired in applying modem science, technology and management to the social and economic problems bequeathed by colonialism. Our trained manpower is already taking part in the development of many developing countries and it will be our endeavour to try to offer as much assistance as we can release from our own economic development.

Each nation, we are convinced, is in a position to receive and transmit growth impulses. It is the task of the international community to weave them into a developmental cycle so that national endeavours are coordinated to provide for maximum advantage to memberstates and also the world community as a whole.

#### **VACUUM THEORY**

There is a feeling that Britain is withdrawing from the area of South-East Asia and, as Britain withdraws, India must rush to take the position that was occupied by Britain. I thought it was the entire negation of our policy. Here we are not suggesting that one power should replace another. The whole system by which there had been a thinking that it was necessary for Britain to be present in South-East Asia, is no longer valid. There was a theory that Britain's presence in India was necessary for the stability of Central Asia and of South-East Asia. Twenty years of Independence of this country, after the departure of Britain from India, has established that Britain's presence was not necessary for the stability of this area. What matters today is not the replacement of Britain's naval power in this area, but sufficient support to these countries to build up their economies in which their independence can have a real meaning to the overwhelming populations of these

countries. It is not going to be met by force of arms, but by our policy to develop sufficient resources to resist aggression from outside.

What we need to build is the economies of these countries to be able to resist aggression, and not to plant a few ships here and there to be able to say that we also have a presence. Of course, we have a presence in the Indian Ocean and we are vitally interested in the preservation of peace in the Indian Ocean. But that is to be preserved by the national effort at home in developing countries and not by putting a few ships. here and there.

#### **PAKISTAN**

I had said very clearly, in unmistakable terms, that there has been in Pakistan widespread expression of democratic urges and the people of Pakistan have been demanding changes in the political system which would result in greater popular participation in the Government of the country. I had also said that with the people of Pakistan we have ties of history and culture and that we are close neighbours, that we are naturally interested in stability, peace and progress of Pakistan and that we wish Pakistani people well.

Much has been said about Soviet arms supply to Pakistan. I thought that, on a number of occasions, we had made it quite clear that we had spoken to the Government of the Soviet Union that the arms support that they are giving to Pakistan beyond the normal requirements of defence of Pakistan could only create a mood in Pakistan which could make them more intransigent, which could create more difficulties for us here. I think, we have made our point quite clear to the Soviet Union. They are aware of it.

May I say that we have been rather concerned about the arms position in Pakis-

71 tan. In Tashkent, when Pakistan declared that it would adopt an attitude of peaceful settlement of our differences, we had accepted that Pakistan had finally come to realise that use of arms would not produce any result for them, that they could not force a decision on us by use of arms and that it would be their desire now to normalise relations and engage in a peaceful dialogue in which we could try to find solutions to some of the differences. But, unfortunately, this has not been done by Pakistan.

Despite the Tashkent Declartion, they have not attempted to normalise the relations in which it would have been possible for us to engage in a meaningful dialogue. It is our hope that the Pakistan Government will realise that it is not possible for them to force a settlement on us by use of arms and that they will, sooner rather than later, agree to discuss our differences in a peaceful manner, so that we can come to their solutions. And I can assure you that it will be our sincere effort to find the solutions with Pakistan to problems that have worried us all these years.

#### **CHINA**

Much has been said about China and also that there was perhaps some change of policy or there were differences; all sorts of insinuations were made.

Today all eyes are focussed on China. Big internal changes are taking place there which are of tremendous interest to the world outside.

The Red Guard movement, the so-called Great Cultural Revolution, and the struggle for power and succession, have now culminated in the holding of the 9th Party Congress. We must await the news which will trickle down and will have to be pieced together to make our assessments.

However, our policy towards China is based on certain fundamental principles which have to be applied to situations as they arise and as they affect our national interests and the interest of peace in this region.

Our policy is based on friendship and cooperation. We do not wish to interfere in

the internal affairs of others.

We are for rapid changes. China is for changes too. But she wants changes by violent methods. She does not exercise the restraint of not interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. She believes in a perpetual revolution and is committed to exporting such movements to other countries.

Here is the difference. Development and progress by peaceful methods or by violent methods, interference or non-interference, willing cooperation or compulsion and regimentation.

We are convinced that the people, not only in our country but in all other countries, are with us. In our own country we are moving forward, perhaps too slowly at times. But in China revolution after revolution has become necessary to compel people to the dictates of the governing group. Party cadres have yielded to military organisations. And yet uncertainty surrounds the future of their methods.

We have no enmity with the people of. China. We wish them well. We also do not wish to interefer in China's internal affairs. But where China violates the recognised norms of international behaviour and threatens our security, or when China attempts subversion in our country, we must be ready to meet them.

China's recent attempts to prepare some of our misguided elements for subversion in the country, such as the group of hostile Nagas that went to China for training, have been effectively met by us.

The policies of China will have to change one day. China is sailing against the winds of friendship and cooperation blowing all over the world. We cannot say when this will happen, but we can say that when it does happen we shall not be found wanting in responding to it adequately.

We believe that even the preset rulers of China cannot ignore the feelings for

national independence specially among the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. Their attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of some countries have met with stiff opposition and rebuff.

We do not wish to adopt Chinese methods even in dealing with China. We

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have a long frontier with China. We would like to reduce tension along this frontier. But it cannot be at the cost of our national honour, prestige and integrity. We would wish a peaceful solution of any difference with any country and are prepared to discuss any matter with China, including trade. But we must be equally prepared to defend our borders. Large Chinese forces are poised against us along the entire length of the frontier and we must be willing to bear the burden of having adequate military preparedness to meet them.

China is also developing nuclear capability. Her aggressiveness constitutes a threat to all countries along her borders. We cannot ignore this threat and it will be our endeavour to take necessary steps in the field of defence and foreign affairs to meet these challenges. In dealing with China it is necessary for us not to get involved in small irritations or verbal duels, but should maintain our unity and strength to act, not when and where the Chinese would wish us to, but at our time and place of choosing.

#### SINO-SOVIET CLASH

The question of Sino-Soviet clash has been raised. We have been accused of not having taken a forthright opposition. I am sorry that there has been some kind of doubt that we have been deliberately silent on the matter. I do not think that that is at all our position. Our position is very well-known.

The Sino-Soviet border has been the scene of thousands of violations during the last few years. On 2nd March, Soviet and Chinese troops clashed over the Damansky Island in the Ussuri river. Another clash

occurred in the same area on 15th March. Judging by our own experience with China, we are not surprised that the Chinese Government is adopting similar postures towards the Soviet Union the tactics of provoking border incidents in order to reopen the whole boundary question, and these are familiar to us. Our position is quite clear. We are not in favour of altering historically-established borders. Should some grave differences arise, they should be settled peacefully by bilateral discussions. We are against the use of force to change positions unilaterally.

We welcome the latest offer of the Soviet Government to the People's Republic of China to solve this particular dispute through peaceful negotiations. Against this background we support the Soviet stand for upholding respect for hitsorically-fonned frontiers and for the non-use of force for settling bilateral questions. We had made similar offers to China in respect of incidents at Nathu La and Cho La in September and October, 1967. But, unfortunately, the Chinese Government did not make any positive response.

## **TIBET**

The question about Tibet has been raised.. Tibet was considered a part of China by Britain as well as the United States before India became independent. We inherited a situation which we accepted. We had however hoped, as early as 1950, that China would respect the autonomy of Tibet and that the people of Tibet will be able to lead their lives free from outside interference. It was our hope that the Government of China would settle the Tibetan question peacefully. However, our hopes were belied. The Chinese sent their troops into Tibet. A seventeen-point agreement was entered into between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Government in May, 1951, according to which the Tibetan region of China was assured internal autonomy. As the years went by, the Chinese Government committed large-scale repression and atrocities on the defenceless and peace-loving people of Tibet. They desecrated the monasteries and suppressed human rights. The

Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetans have taken refuge in India and we gave them asylum.

It is a matter of some satisfaction to us that India has done far more for the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees, who had to leave their homes and come away, than any other country in the world. We have also supported the resolution against suppression of human rights inside the United Nations. However, we are disappointed that not many other countries have even done so. We had hoped that some countries would sponsor this item last year, but none came forward. Our policy is quite clear. We are against suppression of human rights anywhere in the world. We shall, therefore, consider takig up this question in the United Nations.

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So far as the question of supporting Tibet's right to independence is concerned, it would not be proper for us to encourage this from our soil because it would amount to interference in the internal affairs of another country. We are against such interference, although China has been interfering in our internal affairs. There is no reason why we should copy their method. We are for the preservation of the rights of the Tibetan people and as I said, we shall be very glad to support any move in this direction either in the United Nations or elsewhere

## **ASIAN IDENTITY**

There is the question of our relations with countries of South-East Asia and I have mentioned about the efforts we are making in strengthening our relations on the economic field which will bring these countries very much closer together. In this connection, may I mention that at the end of last year we had succeeded in establishing a Council of Ministers for economic development of Asia. A beginning has been made by evolving an Asian identity on matters of economic affairs and development, which I hope will strengthen and will enable the countries of Asia to get together and to work out their future without interference

from outside.

#### VIET NAM

There are many who are naturally very much concerned about the situation in Viet Nam. The position has been explained that talks are taking place in Paris and that we might await the results of these talks. May I say that what the matter of great satisfaction to us is that along with the political settlement there is also now a possibility of evolving a programme of development in Viet Nam, which alone, to our mind will strengthen their independence. Neither the presence of foreign troops nor any kind of defence arrangement can strengthen any part of Asia; the countries of Asia can be strengthened only by economic development.

### NO RUSH INTO ALLIANCE

In this connection, the point was made that we should rush into a military alliance with the countries in South-East Asia. This is totally unacceptable to the Government and we feel that the real strength will come only through economic association and through economic development in respective countries, which alone will create the power of resistance to foreign aggression; rushing into a military alliance will create a false and unreal sense of security and may lead to inactivity also.

### **WEST ASIA**

I would now like to refer to West Asia. We are all aware of the conflict in West Asia and we are hoping that a solution will be possible on the lines of Security Council's Resolution No. 242 of 22nd November, 1967. The representatives of four permanent members of the Security Council have been meeting in New York and it is our hope that some arrangements would emerge which could be further discussed and a solution found out.

So far as we are concerned, there are two things which are very clear in our minds. One is that the fruits of aggression cannot be permitted to be retained by any country. At the same time, Israel as an independent country has the right to exist. It has been

indicated that we are hostile to Israel. That is totally wrong. We are not hostile to Israel. We recognise Israel as an independent country and we have dealings with Israel as an independent country. But we have not thought it necessary to strengthen our bilateral relations because of the peculiarity of circumstances in West Asia and our sympathy with the Arabs on this issue.

I should like to make it clear that we have no animosity towards Israel. At the same time, our sympathy is with the Arab countries, because we feel that they have been wronged. We have given every possible support to them in their struggle to strengthen their countries and preserve their national interests.

## COMMONWEALTH LINK

There is the question of not breaking with the Commonwealth. An impression has been given that the Commonwealth belongs to Britain and we are just a member of it to lend support to the UK. Nothing could be further removed from the truth than this thought. Let us turn our mind back to the emergence of the new Commonwealth

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after the independence of the countries which were formerly colonies of the UK. This was an association of free nations, a multinational, multi-racial association, and we felt that such an association would bring benefit to the different member countries which were Irving to build up their independence. There is nothing sacrosanct about the Commonwealth. The moment we feel that it is not in our national interest to stay on in the Commonweath, we shall not hesitate to come out.

But the point that is often missed is that it is not India which is weakening the Commonwealth; it is the action of the UK which is weakening the Commonwealth today. Because of the UK's own effort to look European, to move from the Commonwealth association towards a European association, they have been weakening it. It is not we who are in anyway doing that. We shall con-

tinue to be there. As I mentioned, there are certain groups of people who are in favour of liquidation. We are not in favour of liquidation. We are in favour of a useful association. Therefore, it will be our effort to try to work in the Commonwealth so long as it is compatible with our interests and our principles; when it is not, no one will have to remind me to come out of it.

#### TRADE REPRESENTATION IN G.D.R.

The question of recognition of the German Democratic Republic has been raised. Our trade relations with the German Democratic Republic are growing and we are very happy that our trade and commercial relations have now reached a stage when we feel it will be in our interest to establish an office in the German Democratic Republic, an office which will be able to cater to this growing trade relations between our two countries. We have in this country a representative of the German Democratic Republic as their trade representative. It is our intention to establish at a similar level a trade representation in the German Democratic Republic.

### THE APPROACH

Almost a quarter of a century has gone by since the end of the Second World War. The arrangements made under the shadow of events immediately following the global conflict are no longer valid. Defence arrangements, power blocs, ideological associations have all undergone transformation. Old rigidities are gone. New patterns are emerging. Ideologies have not been able to submerge national interests. Narrow economic considerations have not given way to wider cooperation.

We are conscious of these changes, for they affect us constantly. We prepare ourselves to meet new situations as they arise. We cannot remain hide-bound. Ours must be a pragmatic approach taking into consideration our national interests and the interests of the world community as a whole. It is against this background that one has to assess our policies and achievements.

USA INDIA ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE SOUTH AFRICA IRAN PAKISTAN UZBEKISTAN MALI CHINA FRANCE ISRAEL UNITED KINGDOM

**Date**: Apr 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

## INDIA AND BURMA

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha

The following is the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's statement made in the Lok Sabha on April 13, 1969 on her recent visit to Burma:

The House is aware that at the invitation of His Excellency General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and the Government of Burma, I paid an official visit to Burma from March 27 to March 30, 1969.

The relationship between India and Burma is closer than merely that of neighbours. Through the ages it has been sus-

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tained by the abiding values which have been Cherished and shared by our two peoples. This long tradition of friendship was reinforced during our common struggle for freedom.

My visit was brief but I was glad to have the opportunity of exchanging views with the Chairman and his colleagues on a wide range of subjects of mutual interest to our countries. I venture to think that these exchanges and the visit strengthened the relations between our two countries and helped in promoting understanding and cooperation between our Governments and

peoples.

Chairman Ne Win and I had occasion to review the world scene in the light of political and economic issues of importance to the world today and more especially to us in the developing countries. As the House is aware, Burma and India stand for the promotion of international peace and understanding, based on respect for the sovereignty and independence of all countries. Our two countries attach the highest importance to the principle of non-interference in one another's internal affairs. In our discussions, we agreed that the principal task of economic reconstruction which confronts our respective countries could be expedited by economic cooperation among the developing countries and more especially between neighbouring countries.

During my talks with Chairman Ne Win as also in the discussions which our officials had with Burmese officials, we naturally discussed matters of bilateral interest. These included problems concerning Indian citizens in Burma and those of Indian origin awaiting. registration as Burmese citizens. Chairman Ne Win and his Government have agreed to look into these problems sympathetically and expeditiously. We also discussed measures to promote greater economic cooperation between our two countries. I hope that in the light of these discussions, closer bonds of economic cooperation will be established between Burma and India.

I took the opportunity to thank Chairman Ne Win and his Government for their vigilance along the Indo-Bumese border which, as the House is aware, has helped us to take more effective measures against some of the misguided elements on our eastern border. I hope that the House has noted the observations made by Chairman Ne Win at the banquet he was good enough to hold in my honour, that his Government would not countenance the use of Burmese territory by nationals or organisations of another State as a base for hostile activity against their home State or against a third State. Chairman Ne Win went on to say that it was in conformity with this basic

stand that Burma had taken necessary measures against these nationals of India who sought to use Burmese territory for hostile activities against India.

I also thanked the Chairman for the cooperation and understanding which has been shown by Burma in the demarcation of our border, the first phase of which has been completed ahead of schedule.

Chairman and Madame Ne Win are always welcome in our country. I extended an invitation to them to visit India any time at their convenience and this they have accepted.

As is customary, a joint communique was issued by the two Governments at the end of my visit. With your permission, Sir, I place a copy of it on the Table of the House.

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BURMA INDIA USA

**Date**: Apr 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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## INDIA AND SOUTH AMERICA

Shri Dinesh Singh's Statement in Lok Sabha

The following is the statement placed on the table of the house by Shri Dinesh Singh, the Minister of External Affairs on April 16, 1969 in answer to a part of Lok Sabha question No. 1116:

Relations with South America:

(1) ECONOMIC:

- (i) It has been decided to send a Commercial Delegation to study at first hand the ways and means of developing further our economic and trade relations. The delegation is due to leave India shortly.
- (ii) In Peru and Venezuela two new Missions are being opened. Apart from leading to closer diplomatic ties, this will strengthen trade and economic ties with India.
- (iii) A Trade Agreement with Chile is under negotiation.
- (iv) The question of establishing a regular cargo service between India and South America is being examined.

### (2) CULTURAL:

- (i) Negotiations for Cultural Agreements with some Latin American countries have progressed satisfactorily and are expected to be completed soon.
- (ii) Cultural exchanges with those countries including visits by Indian dance troupes, the setting up of Chairs of Indian Studies in selected Universities and exhibitions of Indian Art are also under considerations.

## (3) MISCELLANEOUS:

An agreement with Brazil on cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy has been signed.

## (4) GENERAL:

The visit of the Prime Minister to some of the South American countries last year has deepened those interests in and respect for India throughout the continent regardless of the internal political systems or the racial, cultural and economic complexions of the countries. Conscious efforts are being made by our Missions in South America to demonstrate that we appreciate this fund of goodwill shown to India in general and to our Prime Minister in particular and intend to strengthen our rela-

tions with these countries.

Notwithstanding the disadvantage of distance, efforts are being made to find out ways and means for increasing and diversifying our trade with the South American countries. To this end, it is proposed to send in the near future, a high powered Economic Delegation of officials, industrialists and businessmen to South America under the sponsorship of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The delegation is likely to visit these countries in April-May this year. The South American countries are showing keen interest in discussing various matters on trade with the Delegation when it will visit the various countries in that area.

A Trade Agreement between India and Chile is to be concluded. The Ministry of Transport and Shipping is exploring the suggestion for improving maritime transportation links between India and South America to facilitate closer trade relations.

South American countries have shown an extraordinary interest in India's cultural heritage. Action has been taken to examine how cultural contacts and understanding may be further developed. We would be able to send Indologists on lecture tours, if necessary, provide professors to be attached to select universities. There is also a proposal to establish a Centre for Latin American Studies in India so that our people are encouraged to take an interest in the language, literature and problems of the South American countries. These are some of the measures engaging our attention.

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Fortunately, there are no political problems between India and the Latin American countries. On the other hand, these countries, like ourselves, are now aware that they face similar social, economic and developmental problems. Both India and Latin American countries belong to the community of developing nations and have a common interest in consolidating relations in order to face the enormous tasks and the inherited disadvantages vis-a-vis the industrialised Countries.

**Date**: Apr 01, 1969

# Volume No

1995

### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Azim Hussain's Statement on Disarmament

Following is the final verbatim record of Ambassador Shri Azim Hussain's statement in the meeting of Eighteen-Nation Committee on disarmament held in Geneva on 17th April, 1969:

As I take the floor for the first time at this session, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to join those who have spoken before me in welcoming in our midst our new colleagues, Ambassador Smith of the United States, Ambassador Ignatieff of Canada, Ambassador Frazao of Brazil and Ambassador Klusak of Czechoslovakia. I should also like to welcome the return of Ambassador Fisher of the United States, Minister of State Mulley of the United Kingdom and Mr. Protitch, Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, all of whom we are very happy to see with us again.

In accordance with resolutions 2454 (XXIII) and 2455 (XXIII) adopted by the General, Assembly at its twenty-third session (ENDC/237), this Committee has been specifically requested:

(a) to make renewed efforts towards achieving substantial progress in reaching agreement on the question of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and in particular to consider how rapid progress could be made in the field of nuclear disarmament;

- (b) to continue urgent efforts to negotiate collateral measures of disarmament;
- (c) to take up as a matter of urgency the elaboration of a treaty banning underground nuclear-weapon tests; and
- (d) to consider the report of the Secretary-General on chemical and bacteriological weapons.

In addition, President Nixon and Chairman Kosygin have in their messages (ENDC 239, 238) referred to the urgent need for negotiating an international agreement to prevent an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor. Furthermore, while President Nixon has suggested an agreement to cut off the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, Chairman Kosygin has urged the need for agreement on the nonuse of nuclear weapons, as well as solutions to the problems of cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the reduction and destruction of their stockpiles, and subsequent reduction of the means of delivery of strategic weapons. It will be observed that all those matters, which have been remitted to us for urgent negotiations, are well within the scope of the wide-ranging agenda which our committee adopted on 15 August 1968 (ENDC 236, p.3). Most of

78 those matters have been engaging our attention for the past several years now; yet the progress we have made so far remains discouragingly small.

In this connexion there has been Much comment on the method of work of the Committee, and various proposals have been made to make it more effective. It has been suggested, for example, that the duration of the current session of the Committee should be longer, rather than shorter; that there should be some informal meetings of

the Committee; that some meetings should be devoted to specific topics; that an intersessional committee should be constituted; that sub-committees or working groups might be appointed; that instead of two meetings a week, as at present, three or four meetings might be held; that all items of the agenda should be kept simultaneously under discussion instead of our according monopoly of time to any one matter, as has been the case during the last two years; that recourse might be had to the services of the Secretariat to draw up summaries or prepare studies, and so on. Some of those proposals were discussed here informally yesterday.

Those are suggestions worthy of our serious consideration and my delegation would be very glad to co-operate in the common effort to improve our working arrangements. However, I would venture to submit that this understandable concern with the mechanics or organization of work will not necessarily produce more results. The basic difficulty is the question of the will of the members of this Committee-particularly that of the nuclear-weapon Powers, which have the most to disarm-to take positive steps forward. I cannot help recalling, in this connexion, what the representative of Sweden, Mrs. Myrdal, said in the First Committee of the General Assembly last November:

"The reason why ENDC-and the same refers to the whole of the United Nations-is not making much progress towards disarmament is, of course, that since the Moscow Treaty in 1963 the nuclear-weapon Powers have not wanted to agree to any real infringement on their freedom of action to continue the arms race, to produce and deploy nuclear weapons systems and to develop new ones."

(A C.1 PV.1609, provisional, PA 48-50)

If the will to advance is not there, no amount of improved techniques is likely- to make any difference. What is really required is a decision to select a few items which could lead to true disarmament and on which we are determined to make progress, and then to concentrate our negotiations on those items. Such a selective approach would not imply that other items would be excluded from our consideration, but it would certainly mean our focussing particular attention on certain specified issues. Otherwise, if we were in a discursive way to continue to roam over the whole field of disarmament, not only would we get nowhere but we would be submitting to the next session of the General Assembly an unsatisfactory report, the adverse consequences of which have already been commented upon.

It will be recalled that we adopted an agenda on 15 August 1968 without assigning priorities to the specific measures of nuclear disarmament or priority inter se among the items listed under the other three categories. We in the Indian delegation do not agree with the view that the Committee should not be rigid in its priorities - a view which in this context would amount to saying that we should not have any priorities at all. We feel that some order of priorities is necessary, and once that has been established, and also recognized as being indicative of the political will to reach agreement in certain areas, an improved organization of work or better mechanics of work will follow automatically.

Some delegations have in their statements also referred briefly to the question of the expansion of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. In order to consider that question we need to go back to the genesis of our Committee and to understand its nature and purpose. As a result of our experience in the field of disarmament during the last quarter of a century we have learned to appreciate the value of the distinction between what might be called deliberative organs and negotiating bodies. By the very nature of problems in

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the field of disarmament, which affect the vital security interests of all nations, the entire international community has also to

be involved in disarmament efforts. Each year we discuss these questions in the United Nations General Assembly, which as a deliberative organ, lays down Priorities as well as general guidelines for disarmament negotiations. But the actual work of negotiations needs to be carried out by a smaller body, which alone can be effective. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmamen is just such a negotiating body.

After the end of the Second World War various efforts were made to set up a negotiating body, but without success - the last such effort being the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament, composed of an equal number of States representing the two principal military alliances. But when that Committee, too, made no progress it was felt necessary to bring an element of non-alignment into the negotiating body; hence the presence now of the eight non-aligned coontries in this Committee. It is our considered view that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, as at present constituted, reflects a careful and correct balance and that nothing would be gained by modifying; its structure or composition.

We agree with the representative of Canada that if the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is to perform its duties effectively in the future it must retain its original characters as a negotiating body (ENDC PV.396, para. 59): that is to say, it must remain reasonably small and must not become too large or unwieldy. It would follow that any enlargement, if considered necessary, should be restricted to the minimum, and that the additions should he on the same basis as that of the original composition of the Committee. So far as nonalignment is concerned, it should be judged on the basis of whether or not a country is engaged in a military alliance with one or the other of the two sides. My Government is convinced that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has a very useful, indeed vital, role to play in the future and that nothing should be done which might either weaken it or reduce its effectiveness.

Let me recall once again that among

the asks before us now the principal task is still a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control - a goal established by the international community under the historic General Assembly resolution 1378 (XIV). The work which this Committee began in 1962 on the drafting of a treaty on general and complete disarmament was not able to proceed beyond the stage of agreement on the preamble and the first four articles, and even that agreement was subject to certain crippling reservations from both the Soviet Union and the United States, and ever since 1964 no negotiations have been undertaken in the Committee with a view to drafting a treaty on general and complete disarmament. If the world community is not to be disillusioned about the goal that it set itself, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament must revert to the main task assigned to it and not relegate that task to some dim and distant future. The Committee must pick up the threads from where they were left off in 1964. My delegation suggested on an earlier occasion that this task would be facilitated if the United States and the Soviet Union, in the light of various suggestions which have been put forward and many developments that have since taken place, were to submit revised versions of their draft treaties which had been submitted in 1962 (ENDC/2/Rev.1 and Corr.1; ENDC30 and Corr.1 and Add.1-3). This Committee could not possibly do less, because General Assembly resolution 2454 B (XXIII) has specifically asked us urgenty to analyse the plans which are already under consideration and any others that might be put forward.

It needs to be borne in mind that no individual collateral measures could have any meaning, much less any chance of success, unless it was conceived of as pail of a general process of total disarmament and as leading us towards that goal. Such collateral measures as have been concluded might have created the illusion in certain quarters that progress was being made, while in fact those measures are mostly preventive in their nature purpose. The time has come for us to proceed from preventive measures to curative measures. The preventive measures

may have a certain value and significance, particularly for the nuclear-weapon States parties to them, but to the majority of the world's population they do not represent pro-

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gress towards disarmament for they do not bring the benefits that were expected to accrue from disarmament. Never before in the history of mankind have so few States enjoyed so much accumulation of military power. This situation imposes on them a grave responsibility for the destiny and wellbeing of mankind at large and not merely for the security and welfare of their own countries and peoples.

Several delegations have already reiterated the urgent need for making at least some progress towards nuclear disarmament. They have also recalled the message of the Secretary-General (ENDC/PV.395, para. 4) pointing out that the yearly world military expenditures have increased from \$120,000 million in 1962 to more than \$180,000 million the annual rate of increase of \$10,000 million being greater than the yearly growth of world gross national product. That amount could quite easily have been diverted for the economic advancement of the developing countries, which are waging a difficult struggle against poverty and worse. That diversion of resources could have been made without endangering the security of those States that are engaged in the arms race. How can this Committee explain to the world the justification for an annual increase in world military expenditure of \$10,000 million when there are already in existence thousands of nuclear weapons? Moreover, as everyone knows, if plans currently under discussion for the development of newer offensive and defensive weapons systems were to be implemented, as seems likely, they could lead to yet another massive new escalation both in military expenditure and in nuclear weaponry.

A thermonuclear bomb with an explosive yield of fifty or sixty megatons - 3,000 times the power of bombs used against Japan - has already been test-exploded. The existing nuclear ammouries contain

numerous large megaton weapons, every one of which has a destructive power greater than that of all the conventional explosives that have ever been used since the day gunpowder was discovered. There is already, according to one estimate, as much as 100 tons of explosive power in terms of TNT available in the nuclear arsenals for killing each man, woman and child in the world, when only ten kilograms of conventional chemical explosive are believed to be lethal enough for a human being.

That being so, there is justification enough for us to make serious efforts towards achieving nuclear disarmament, and for that purpose, I submit, it is not necessary to invoke article VI of the non-proliferation Treaty (ENDC/226\*) as if that was the only reason for pursuing nuclear disarmament. The need for nuclear disarmament existed before that Treaty, exists now, and will exist in the future so long as nuclear weapons remain in the arsenals of nations, regardless of when the non-proliferation Treaty comes into force. Supposing there was some delay in the coming into force of the non-proliferation Treaty. Should that mean that we should suspend our efforts towards nuclear disarmament? After all, the non-proliferation Treaty was intended only as a preventive non-armament measure, and it in no way controls or curtails the ever-spiralling nuclear arms race among the present nuclear powers.

Let it not be forgotten that since the discovery of the use of nuclear energy for purposes of mass destruction, nuclear weapons have been used once, and only once, and they were used when there was only one nuclear-weapon Power in the world and not five as at present. Thus it is the very existence of nuclear weapons which poses the threat to mankind, even if the possession of such weapons were the monopoly of only one State in the world. The non-proliferation Treaty, even when it comes into force. will neither remove nor even diminish the nuclear threat from haunted humanity. The delay in the enforcement of the non-proliferation Treaty should not, therefore, be a reason for not proceeding with nuclear dis-

#### armament.

There is one other element which threatens to hold up progress in our work. The United States and the Soviet Union announced on 1 July 1968 their agreement to hold bilateral discussions on the limitation and reduction of both offensive strategic nuclear weapon delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles. This announcement was welcomed by all of us at our last session and the hope was expressed that the projected talks would be held soon and would be successful. Later,

that hope was reiterated in resolution (A/7277, pp. 7 and 8) of the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States. Then at the twenty-third session of the General Assem bly, in resolution 2456 D (XXIII), the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union were once again urged to enter into bilateral discussions at an early date. If the wishes and the appeals of the world community could produce results we should have had some progress by now.

But so far, although it is getting on for a year later, no date for such discussions has yet been fixed. In fact, President Nixon in his message to Ambassador Smith expressed the hope that "the international political situation will evolve in a way which will permit such talks to begin in the near future." (ENDC/239, \*p. 2) Ambassador Smith, in his statement of 25 March, amplified this by saying that:

"The passage of some time is needed for the new Administration to make the necessary preparations; and the timing should be favourable in a political sense if even carefully prepared strategic arms limitation talks are to proceed with real promise of being productive." (ENDC/ PV.397, para 18)

It would seem that if these bilateral talks, long and eagerly awaited-talks which, it has been observed by many of us here, are closely linked to progress in nuclear disarmament and in particular to a com-

prehensive test ban and cut-off are to await the development of a favourable international political climate, which involves some of the most difficult and complex questions, then indeed we may have to wait for quite some time in order to make progress in this Committee on nuclear disarmament. Consequently my delegation agrees with the following views expressed on 27 March by Ambassador Christov:

"Even if at times one is tempted to believe that in order to achieve rapid progress towards disarmament we must first restore confidence and improve the international climate, we have only to look more closely at the means of achieving that aim to realize that the restoration of confidence and the improvement of the international climate depend primarily on one prerequisite, which is precisely the achievement of progress in the field of disarmament. In this case there is no question of the classical vicious circle; but unless progress is achieved in the extensive field of disarmament, it would be futile to expect a lasting improvement in confidence and in the political climate on our planet." (ENDC/PV.398, para. 3)

It is necessary, therefore, that the bilateral discussions commence without any further delay.

My delegation has noted with interest that President Nixon, in his letter to Ambassador Smith, has suggested the urgent need for an agreement to cut off the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes and that Chairman Kosygin has suggested the solution of the problems of the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the reduction and destruction of the stockpiles of those weapons. Believing in a step-by-step approach for the achievement of nuclear disarmament, the Indian delegation has repeatedly stressed that a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes would constitute a significant advance towards a complete stoppage/of the further production of nuclear weapons.

The difficulty of verification of a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, as several delegations have stated here in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and in the General Assembly, can no longer be cited as a reason for not reaching an agreement on this measure since an agreement on controls as elaborated in the non-proliferation Treaty already exists and the obligations of the nuclear-weapon States in respect of inspection by IAEA could be made the same as those of the States not having nuclear weapons. My delegation listened with great attention, therefore, to the statement on this subject made by Ambassador Fisher (ENDC/PV.401, paras. 5 et seq.) on 8 April 1969 as also to the views expressed by Ambassador Roshchin (ENDC/PV. 402 paras. 73-77) on 10 April 1969 and looks for-ward to hearing the views of other delegations, in the hope that fruitful negotiations may take place on this vital matter with a

82 view to achieving a complete stoppage of the production of nuclear weapons and their subsequent elimination.

As regards other measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, the Government of India has always attached the greatest importance to a comprehensive test ban. Both the need for and the urgency of achieving this was underlined in the undertaking given in the Moscow test-ban Treaty (ENDC/100/ Rev. 1) by the three nucear-weapon Powers. No progress has been made in that direction however, during the past six years, which on the other hand have been marked by the increasing frequency of nuclear explosions. The General Assembly has accorded special priority to this item for a number of years. In the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament the eight nonaligned States in their successive joint memoranda (ENDC/159\*, 177, 235) have viewed the lack of progress in this field with deep concern and urged that renewed and urgent efforts be made to conclude such a treaty. Also, as my delegation has repeatedly stressed, the partial test ban has continued to remain

doubly partial: it has not been adhered to by all the nuclear-weapon States, and the continued atmospheric testing not only has increased the levels of radioactivity but has also rendered the future of the Treaty very uncertain.

The fact that underground testing has been conducted with what might appear to be renewed force and vigour, using larger and more sophisticated weapons, goes against the spirit of the partial test-ban Treaty as that Treaty did not legitimize or give international sanction to such testing. The Treaty was intended to be only a step towards a comprehensive test ban, to be concluded as early as possible. What is even worse, violations of the partial test-ban Treaty have occurred through venting of radioactivity from underground tests, which has spread outside the territory of the testing State. There is serious apprehension that these violations might become even more frequent as weapons of megation yields are tested underground for the purpose of developing and testing newer and more destructive weapon systems, including warheads for anti-ballistic missiles.

India was the first country to press for a suspension of all nuclear weapon tests and has consistently been of the view that whatever might be the differences on the question of verification, all nuclear weapon tests should be discontinued immediately. Negotiations could then be undertaken to resolve the outstanding differences with a view to making the present partial test ban Treaty a coprehensive one. At the same lime, it should be ensured that the success achieved by the international community in regard to a ban on tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water is further consolidated and strengthened. It should be made universally binding by securing the adherence of those States which so far have not signed the partial test-ban Treaty. Also, steps should be taken to prevent any violations of its provisions by the continued underground nuclear testing which causes radioactive debris to be present outside the territory of the testing State.

As to the problem of verification of a comprehensive test ban, India, along with other non-aligned countries, has over the years made various proposals which have not so far been accepted by the nuclear-weapon States. Developments in regard to seismic detection and identification as well as the proposals for an organized international exchange of seismological data have made it increasingly difficult to plead inadequacies in this field as the sole reasons for holding up agreement on a comprehensive test ban.

It is against that background that my delegation welcomes the initiative taken by the Minister of State of Sweden, Mrs. Myrdal, in submitting for the consideration of this Committee a working paper with suggestions as to possible provisions of a treaty banning underground nuclear weapon tests (ENDC 242). My delegation commends the approach adopted in paper as being sound and worthy of the most serious consideration by this Committee. We are generally in sympathy with the Purposes underlying this effort. We think that this draft treaty provides a realistic basis for meaningful negotiations on formulating a comprehensive test ban for universal adherence.

Article I of the Swedish draft, which contains the prohibitions to be enjoined for purposes of a comprehensive test ban, is based on a three-tier approach, which in our opinion is the most logical and correct one.

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According to this approach, the partial testban Treaty would represent the first tier; an underground test ban forbidding all nuclear tests by all countries, including all nuclearweapon countries, in the remaining environment would be the second tier, and the third and final stage would be reached when a separately negotiated international agreement regulating the conduct of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes had been concluded.

The question of control of an underground test-ban treaty is dealt with in article II of the Swedish draft. The pro-

visions of that article are based on the assumption that recent advances in the seismic art have made a notable improvement in the capacity to monitor underground nuclear tests by seismological means alone. The article also envisages, towards the same end, an effective international exchange of seismological data. My delegation shares that twofold approach. Article II of the Swedish draft then goes on to outline the procedure for "verification by challenge" in order that clarifications of any doubtful events may become possible. My delegation, before taking a final position on this matter, would like to study very carefully the views that might be advanced by other members of this Committee

A number of delegations have referred to the often-mentioned proposal for a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons (A/6834). As a country traditionally opposed to the production, possession or use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, India has always supported the idea of such a convention. Although it is realized that in the minds of the great Powers this question has come to be tied up with their vital security interests, we do feel that, like other declaratory prohibition in the past, such a convention could have a considerable moral and psychological value, and its conclusion need not await other agreements on nuclear disarmament. A ban on the use of nuclear weapons along with other similar measures would lead to a building up of confidence among nations. India has therefore been of the view that it would lead to a building up of confidence among nations. India has therefore been of the view that it would be a definite advantage if the nuclear-weapon Powers were to accept the principle embodied in General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI), which declared the use of nuclear weapons to be contrary to the United Nations Charter and a crime against humanity. But my delegation would, at the same time, add that if the proposed convention is to be effective it will require the active support of all States and more particularly of all States possessing nuclear weapons.

The keen interest in the sea-bed evinced by the major maritime Powers, from the point of view of both economic exploitation and defence is indeed very significant. Vast numbers of personnel are engaged in exploration, research and experimentation, and increasingly enormous amounts of money are being spent on oceanographic programmes. While India is not at present engaged in such programmes, we are vitally interested in this problem because the Indian Ocean is one of the earth's four largest oceans - the Pacific, the Atlantic, the Indian and the Arctic Oceans. The Indian Ocean covers 28,350,000 square miles, one-seventh of the planet. India participated in the international Indian Ocean expedition which lasted six years from 1959 to 1965 and in which thirty nations participated and fort), research ships sailed 4 million miles across the Indian Ocean.

My delegation therefore welcomes the draft treaty presented by the Soviet delegation on the question of the sea-bed and ocean floor (ENDC/240). My delegation is in agreement with the principles and purposes of this draft treaty, and it is our fervent hope that negotiations here will result in a draft which will prevent the arms race from entering this new environment. We should like to see the area of the sea-bed and ocean floor exploited exclusively for peaceful purposes, bearing in mind the special needs of the developing countries.

The disarmament aspect of the sea-bed question, of which this Committee is now seized, is a new subject and poses many difficult technical questions, such as the limits beyond which the prohibitions should apply, the nature of the prohibitions and the problem of verification.

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As regards the definition of limits beyond which the prohibitions should apply, there would appear to be no disagreement that as large an area of the sea-bed as possible should be reserved for peaceful purposes. In that connexion the question of sovereignty in respect of territorial waters and sovereignty rights in regards to the

continental shelf and their importance from the defence and economic points of view would need to be taken carefully into consideration.

On the issue of the nature of prohibitions to be enjoined under the treaty, there seems to be no doubt that nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction should be prohibited from the agreed region of the seabed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof. The prohibition would also apply pari passu to the delivery systems related to such weapons. What other activities of a military nature could and should also be prohibited, without, however, interfering with the legitimate rights of maritime nations in respect of communication links. navigational aids and other such requirements, is a matter on which views would have to be exchanged and agreement reached.

The issue of verification for a sea-bed treaty would have to be dealt with in the light of the principle of international means of verification, so that all parties could feel assured that the prohibitions of the treaty were being complied with. The right of verification would need to be available to all parties and denied to none.

My delegation has listened with close attention to the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States, who have expressed the views of their respective countries on this matter. We should now like to hear the views of other delegations and to make a careful study of the whole question before offering views of a detailed nature.

Among non-nuclear measures, we discussed at our last session the problem of chemical and bacteriological weapons and recommended (ENDC/236, p. 4) that the Secretary-General should appoint a group of experts to study the effects of the possible use of such weapons. That having been done we have now been asked by the General Assembly at its twenty-third session (resolution 2454 A (XXIII)) to consider the report under preparation by the group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General.

India, in keeping with its policy of total abhorrence of all weapons of mass destruction, is a signatory of the Geneva Protocol and fully supports the idea of the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly India voted for resolution 2162 B (XXI), which called for strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Protocol and urged those States which had not acceded to it to do so. My delegation believes in the continuing importance and validity of the Protocol, regardless of the passage of time or of the phraseology used, or of the absence of a system of international control - which in this case it would be extremely difficult to provide anyhow. But in view of the important advances which continue to be made in the production and further sophistication of those weapons, and in this connexion in view of the scientific, technical, military, legal and political issues which are raised from time to time, my delegation agrees that the whole subject needs to be carried a step further than where it is today, but without detriment to the validity and the importance of the Protocol or the urgent need for securing a wider adherence to it. We shall, therefore, eagerly await the Secretary-General's report, expected by 1 July, to consider how to strengthen further the prohibition enjoined in the Geneva Protocol and to establish the framework for banning the production and stockpiling and securing the destruction and eventual elimination of all such weapons.

In conclusion, my Government considers that the task of paramount importance before this Committee is the achievement of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. That task is an unprecedented one, for mankind has never known disarmament at any time in its history. The challenge is, therefore, all the greater. The delegation of India will cooperate with all the other States represented in this Committee with a view to accomplishing this common aim.

**Date**: Apr 01, 1969

### **Volume No**

1995

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE ROUTES

**Indian Shipping** 

The following is the text of Broadcast Talk of Shri K. Raghu Ramiah, Minister for Shipping and Transport and Parliamentary Affairs, delivered over the All India Radio on April 4, 1969 on the occasion of the National Maritime Day 1969.

We have been a seafaring nation from time immemorial. The national Government has considerably augmented the opportunities for our Seafarers to render service in the cause of development and growth. If our programmes for the expansion of merchant marines are meeting with a degree of success, the credit for the same should also go in a big way to our maritime personnel, whose qualities are second to none in the world. We have build up through the Merchant Navy Training Institutions an excellent cadre of Mariners and Engineers and Ratings. Our Seafarers are manning not only India's merchant navy, but thousands of them have found employment on foreign ships because of their professional skill and high sense of devotion to duty. Ashore also, we have a very competent personnel whose commercial and financial skill in operating merchant ships in liner services as well as in tramping is now well-known and well recognised.

We have travelled quite a distance since Independence. Our shipping fleet; which stood at 1.92 lakhs GRT on the eve of independence, has now crossed the 2 million GRT mark. The country's plans for expansion have been framed on a scientific basis, and the diversification into liners, bulk ore/grain carriers and tankers is in keeping with the changing requirements of our international trade. Our own experience has established the self-financing nature of the foreign exchange resources should, rather than inhibit the investment in shipping, accord priority to this sector because of the built-in-ability to service the liability and to make contributions to the foreign exchange exchange exchequer.

Our exports have recorded impressive increases in recent years. It is legitimately anticipated that this improvement will continue, which is most welcome indeed. The direction and the content of our foreign trade have also been changing with a view to serving the industrial development of the country. Export promotion in its wider context should cover shipping promotion for shipping has been truly described as the hand-maid of foreign trade

Our shipping companies have entered many new markets in recent years, and today they provide direct shipping services to all the principal export markets in East and West Europe, Japan, Hong Kong, Australia, U.S.A. and Canada. Direct shipping services are also available for West Asian countries. Malayan peninsula, Indonesia and some countries of East Africa. Nevertheless, there are several gaps in this network. Notable among them are countries in South America, South East Asian countries like Thailand, Phillipines and many countries in North and West Africa. Mediterranean countries of West Asia, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey also fall in this category. Investigations are in progress to determine the feasibility of providing shipping links to some of these destinations. Regular sailings on these routes can however be sustained only on the basis of assured movement of cargoes in adequate quantities for like any other industry shipping must also earn reasonable profits. In the ship-acquisition programme emphasis has rightly been laid on bulk carriers and tankers, having regard to our growing requirements for iron

ore and crude and refined petroleum.

While commendable efforts have been made to provide shipping services in the cause of export promotion we are constantly faced with the problems of freight rates. This vexed question has two aspects There may be instances where a freight rate by itself may be excessively high or discriminatory. If such instances are brought to the notice of Indian shipping companies, reme-

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dial action is possible. It has been done in several cases in the past, and Indian shipping companies should be willing to sponsor such requests in future as well. But there may be cases where the freight level is such which a commodity cannot bear. What can be done in such cases? The first step is to promote mutual discussion between shippers and shipowners so that they view points. Shipping companies must realise that the very basis of their existence is service to country's international trade. On the other hand, shippers have also to appreciate that, like any other industry, shipping must earn a reasonable return on investments which are very substantial, the recent technological changes making the industry trully capital-intensive. Within this framework of broad understanding between the two parties directly involved, it should be possible to come to mutually satisfactory solutions which may not be ideal but which would be practical.

It is gratifying that our shipping industry is a typical example where private sector and public sector co-exist, supplement each other's efforts, work harmoniously in multilateral conferences and bilateral shipping agreements.

Port development, which is as important for export promotion as adequacy of national shipping tonnage and stability of freight rates, has also made progress in the past and would make headway in the future.

Rapid technological developments in the field of shipbuilding, shipping and port operations, and in cargo handling and road transportation, notably the development of

containerisation, pose a new challenge. As a nation we should inevitably be called upon to adapt ourselves to the needs of this technological revolution. And in this task we shall need the understanding and cooperation of all interests concerned, viz., shipowners, seafarers, ship-builders, port administrators, master mariners, marine engineers, naval architects, workers, experts and administrators, who together constitute the maritime complex of India. On their collective wisdom and sacrifice would depend the progress of our Motherland in every direction. So, on the occasion of the National Maritime Day 1969 let us pledge ourselves to the great National task of promoting exports and direct our energies for contributing our might therefor.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC AUSTRALIA HONG KONG JAPAN CANADA INDONESIA THAILAND JORDAN SYRIA LEBANON TURKEY

**Date**: Apr 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE ROUTES

Transit Route Through Iran

The following is the text of statement by Shri Dinesh Singh, the Minister of External Affairs, in the Lok Sabha on April 25, 1969 regarding Shah of Iran's reported offer to India of two transit routes to Europe through Iran as an alternative to the closed Suez Canal:

The possibilities of India utilising the overland routes through Iran for transhipment of Indian merchandize to destinations in Europe had been mentioned during the visit to India in January, 1969, of the Shahanshah of Iran. Government are examining the feasibility of the use of the overland route and have asked for further

details from the Government of Iran.

Government of India have not heard from the Government of Iran even hinting at any criticism of the Government of India in this regard. Government, have, however, seen press reports to that effect. Letters esablishing a Joint Commission for Economic Trade and Technical Cooperation between India and Iran were exchanged in January, 1969, which envisaged that the first meeting of the Commission would be held in March, 1969. The Government of Iran suggested a postponement of this meeting. A meeting of officials in early May, 1969 to be followed by a meeting of Ministers is in the process of being finalized. At this meeting substantive decisions on the pattern, scope and extent of cooperation in various economic, industrial and technical fields are expected to be taken. As no issues have been raised by either side requiring any decisions prior to this meeting of the Joint Commission, reports about delay or dissatisfaction are illfounded.

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IRAN INDIA USA

**Date**: Apr 01, 1969

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#### **MAURITIUS**

Indo-Mauritius Relations

The following statement was placed on the table of the House on April 9, 1969 by Shri Surendra Pal Singh, the Deputy Minister of External Affairs in answer to Lok Sabha stared Question No. 969:

During the discussions which have taken

place between the representatives of the Government of India and the Government of Mauritius from time to time, India has expressed her readiness to assist Mauritius in her economic development in such fields as the two Governments may mutually decide upon. In pursuance of India's overall policy to promote economic cooperation with other developing countries, the Government would give full consideration to any request which might be received from Mauritius in this regard. While the broad fields in which India could cooperate have been indicated to the Mauritius Government informally, no detailed plans have, however, so far been drawn up.

In the past three years, India has assisted Mauritius through gift of technical equipment for village industries. The services of experts and education officers have also been made available. Two officers of the Mauritius Foreign Service have received training in India. Government are also assisting the Mauritius Government in the recruitment of doctors and pharmacists from India.

MAURITIUS USA INDIA

**Date**: Apr 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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#### MONGOLIA

Indo-Mongolian Talks

The following is the text of the joint statement reeased at the conclusion of the visit of the delegation from the Mongolian People's Republic to India:

A Delegation from the Foreign Ministry of the Mongolian People's Republic visited India between 31st March, 1969 and 5th April 1969 and exchanged views with the Ministry of External Affairs of India on the current international situation and matters of mutual interest.

The delegation from the Mongolian People's Republic was led by His Excellency Mr. Bayaryn Jargalsaikhan, First Deputy Foreign Minister and included His Excellency Mr. Oyuny Khosbayar, Director, Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Tsevengombyn Demiddavag, Ambassador of Mongolian People's Republic in India and others. The Indian Delegation was led by Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary and included Shri Kewal Singh, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Shri D. P. Dhar, Ambassador-designate of India to the Mongolian People's Republic and others.

The meetings between the two delegations were characterised by frank and fruitful exchange of views on international developments of interest to both countries. Among the international questions discussed were the current situation in Asia, Vietnam, Arab-Israeli conflict, European security and

# 88 issues at the United Nations. Both sides noted with satisfaction that their respective attitudes and approaches on most international issues were broadly similar.

The two sides expressed the hope that the peace talks on Vietnam being conducted in Paris would lead to a peaceful political settlement of the problem on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. They expressed the hope that the people of Vietnam will soon find it possible to decide their own future in peace and without interference from any side. The two sides viewed with deep concern the dangerous situation in West Asia and agreed that to safeguard peace it was essential as a first step that Israel should in accordance with the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, agree to withdraw its forces from Arab territory occupied by her. Both sides considered that maintenance of peace and security in Europe was one of the most important factors for strengthening world peace. The two sides

agreed that general and complete disarmament under effective international control and super-vision would be conducive to strengthening world peace.

The Indian delegation explained the efforts made by India to normalise and improve relations with Pakistan with a view to eventual establishment of cooperative and good neighbourly relations between the two countries. The Mongolian Delegation appreciated that relations between India and Pakistan should be normalised and improved bilaterally in accordance with the Tashkent Declaration.

In the course of the talks both sides reaffirmed their belief in the principles of peaceful co-existence of various social systems, respect for the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. Both sides stressed the importance of peace-loving countries working together for strengthening world peace and for the liquidation of all forms and manifestations of colonialism and the resolution of international conflicts through peaceful means.

The discussions also provided a welcome opportunity to review bilateral relations. Both sides expressed their satisfaction at the steady progress already made in the relations between the two countries were based on complete equality, respect and mutual benefit. With a view to further consolidating the relations, various proposals for further expansion of trade, and promotion of co-operation in the economic, cultural and scientific fields were discussed.

The two Delegations agreed that the discussions had contributed to further strengthening the existing friendly relations between the Mongolian People's Republic and India. Both sides found the discussions useful and the Mongolian Delegation invited the Indian side to Ulan Bator for the next round of talks.

His Excellency Mr. Bayaryn Jargal-

saikhan and members of the Delegation from the Mongolian People's Republic paid courtesy calls on Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, Shri Dinesh Singh, Foreign Minister, Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Minister of Education and Youth Services, and Shri Bali Ram Bhagat, Minister of Foreign Trade. During their brief stay in India the Delegation also visited Chandigarh and Bhakra Nangal.

The leader of the Mongolian Delegation conveyed a message renewing the invitation from the Prime Minister of the Mongolian People's Republic to the Prime Minister of India to visit Mongolia. The Prime Minister of India asked the leader of the Mongolian Delegation to convey her thanks for the kind invitation and to inform the Mongolian Prime Minister that she looked forward to the opportunity of visiting Mongolia. The dates of the proposed visit will be fixed through diplomatic channels.

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**Date**: Apr 01, 1969

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#### UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Indo-Soviet Cultural Exchange

The following is the text of speech by Shri I. K. Gujral, Minister of State in the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting an Communications, given in Bombay on April 4, 1969 while inaugurating Soviet Film Festival Week:

May I state at the outset how happy I am to be in Bombay, the dynamic centre of the Indian film industry and that too on an occasion which seems to be harbinger of a still wider international contact through dynamic medium of the cinema.

In Delhi, I had the privilege of welcoming the Soviet film delegation led by Mr. Alexander Zguridi which is here with us after the completion of a tour of Calcutta, Madras and Trivandrum. There is no doubt that these renewed contacts will give further impetus to the understanding between India and the U.S.S.R.

The people of Bombay will, of course, have the pleasure of witnessing the programme during the week. But I may share with you my personal feeling. What appealed to me most in these new Soviet films, some of which are presentations of Asian republics, was the fact that the Soviet tradition of realism seems to have been beautifully adapted to modern trends in cinema and the drama and poetry inherent in the lives and dilemmas of ordinary people have been brought out with such spontaneity and grace that it may well be regarded an example worth emulating.

The Indian cinema has generally derived inspiration and strength from our social and cultural miliue. In spite of the more recent not-too-ideal trends of glamourising life, inspite of the colourful trappings, which considerations of the box-office seem to force on the creative artist, Indian cinema has fortunately not lost its fundamental moorings in society. Occasional confrontation with the cinema of other countries would, I hope, serve the much desired purpose of fresh appraisal of the role of cinema in India.

As a powerful public art, cinema is expected to provide entertainment. But, is that all? It appears to me that considering the hard effort which various creative talents have to put into the creation of a movie and remembering also the fact that in our society a motion picture is capable of commanding a really mammoth audience, it should really be a poor recompense for an artist if nothing remained after the joyful effervescence of romance and humour. I cannot believe that any creative artist,

whose commitment is to life, could ever be content with a situation like this. These and other relevant questions are being asked. On my part, I have no doubt that the future course of Indian cinema will be significant in the context of its wider social and cultural role, bringing into sharp focus the main fountain-heads of creative inspiration and related to the overall social commitment of the movie-maker. We can hopefully look forward to a more direct rapport between the artist and the public, between the world of imagination and the world of reality.

The cultural exchange programme of the Government, under which we will now be arranging exposition of cinema of several countries, has indeed provided an excellent opportunity of frequent and continuous interstimulation of cultures and cross-fertilisation of ideas. Our Soviet guests might have noted with pleasure that as a result of the exchange of films, artists, books etc., the area of friendship between our two peoples has been rapidly expanding. I too was pleased to know that the interest is not confined to occasions of ceremonial ritual or annual greetings. It has begun to seep deep down to earth in both countries. Only the other day, a very capable team of Soviet documentary film-makers was in India to complete a series of television films which would interpret India and the Indian reality

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to the general mass of televiewers in the U.S.S.R. Even on the present occasion, the presence of eminent directors like Mr. Zguridi, has begun to awaken interest in natural science films, which will be further enhanced when Mr. Zguridi's team undertakes the preparation of a full-length film based on an Indian writer's story in the forests of Mysore and Kerala.

It is my wish that this area of co-operation between the artistic talent of the two countries should develop and grow, opening new vistas of friendship.

Another valuable area which may be explored is the exchange of short films, particularly on scientific subjects which would make a significant contribution to the process of familiarisation and dissemination of knowledge in India and the U.S.S.R.

I have no doubt that the present festival and those to follow, will enhance the growing interest of Indian audience in world cinema, and that this process will bring us closer and nearer to the world at large encouraging the sharing of social, political and cultural urges that move the people all over.

With these words, I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Soviet Film Festival in Bombay.

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#### **CEYLON**

Shri C. P. Srivastava's Speech on Indo-Ceylonese Shipping Agreement

The following is the text of speech delivered by Shri C. P. Srivastava, Chairman & Managing Director of the Shipping Corporation of India, on the occasion of the signing of the Agreement between the Ceylon Shipping Corporation Ltd. and the Shipping Corporation of India Ltd. on 19th May, 1969, at Colombo:

Hon'ble Minister, Your Excellency, the High Commissioner of India, Chairman and Directors of the Ceylon Shipping Corporation, Gentlemen:

It gives me great pleasure to be present here in Colombo this afternoon to sign the friendly Agreement concluded between Ceylon's National Shipping Corporation and the Shipping Corporation of India. I bring from the management and the workers of the Shipping Corporation of India their most sincere and wan-nest felicitations and good wishes for the launching of the activities of the Ceylon Shipping Corporation. To the Shipping Corporation of India, it is • matter of great honour and privilege to be • party to this agreement, negotiated in a most friendly manner and in a spirit of cooperation and friendship for mutual benefit. We are greatly appreciative of the opportunity provided to us to function as Consultants and Collaborators to the Ceylon Shipping Corporation.

We in India applaud the endeavours hereby commenced by the Ceylon Shipping Corporation for eventually securing a rightful share for Ceylon in Ceylon's international sea-borne trade. The first step in this direction would be the acquisition by your Corporation of suitable vessels as early as possible in order to operate a regular monthly cargo liner service in the Ceylon-UK-Eire and the Ceylon-Continental trade routes. The advisory and consultancy services of the Shipping Corporation of India in the administrative, commercial and technical fields, would be available to the Ceylon Shipping Corporation whenever required or asked for.

I may be permitted, Sir, to state on this occasion that the case for an island nation like Ceylon to own and operate its own merchant Marine is obviously strong. Ceylon has had glorious maritime traditions in the historical past. It has at present a good and expanding sea-borne trade with a large number of countries. Acquisition of its own ships and operating them is, therefore, a very desirable economic objective for Ceylon. This is particularly so because shipping directly promotes the exports and foreign exchange earnings of the country. It is an industry in which there is practically no gestation period. Ships earn from the first day of their employment and contribute immediately to the saving or earning of foreign exchange. Further, the merchant ships of the country act as ambassadors of goodwill and friendship wherever they ply, and open up possibilities of fruitful cooperation with other countries in many fields.

This Agreement signed between our two Corporations is designed to implement the spirit of the declarations recorded at the meetings of the Indo-Ceylon Joint Committee on economic co-operation during January, 1969. It is particularly noteworthy as an instance of the endeavours of two developing countries to co-operate in the field of international shipping. As is well known, the developed countries possess about 83 per cent of the total world shipping tonnage as against only 9 per cent owned by the developing countries, the balance 8 per cent being the tonnage of the Socialist countries. Any such endeavours, therefore, between developing countries like Ceylon and India, providing for mutual co-operation for the development of shipping, are highly desirable. I have no doubt also that the implementation of this Agreement would further strengthen the friendly ties which exist between our two countries. We in the

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Shipping Corporation of India, shall endeavour our utmost to be of service to Ceylon's national shipping. I thank you again, Sir, and the Chairman and Directors of the Ceylon Shipping Corporation for the honour done to us.

INDIA SRI LANKA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC UNITED KINGDOM

**Date**: May 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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#### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Indian Representative's Statement in the Committee of Twenty-four

The following is the text of statement made by Shri S. M. S. Chadha on May 9, 1969 in the Committee of Twenty-four in Lusaka, Zambia:

Mr. Chairman: On behalf of the delegations of Afghanistan, Iran, Syria, Yugoslavia and my own, I should like to express to His Excellency Mr. Kenneth Kuanda, our sincere gratitude for the kind invitation extended by his Government to the Committee of Tweny Four to convene in Lusaka this year.

Since the Second World War, a number of peoples have emerged from colonial domination to independence. The past decade, particularly, has witnessed a significant retreat in traditional colonialism. Nevertheless, foreign exploitation of the worst form continues to raise its ugly head in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), in Zimbabwe, Namibia and in South Africa. While it is the duty of all countries to strive for the elimination of colonialism, peoples who have themselves emerged from colonial exploitation have a special obligation to strive for the freedom of their brethern who continue to suffer under the colonial yoke.

Most of the remaining colonial problems today have come to a difficult stage, particularly in Africa. H.E. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda just observed in his address that in recent years many colonial problems have remained unsolved. The distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations has similarly observed that we have come up against "a solid wall of defiance in Southern Africa". The major reason for this is the non-implementation of United Nations resolutions by certain countries, many of which continue to pay lip-service to the ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The most important reasons behind the flouting of their obligations by these countries are racial and economic. What they fail to realism is that this policy can only bring them shortterm benefits for, so long as they continue to strangle the safety valve of freedom, they are only creating an explosive situation, the consequences of which may one day be felt

far beyond frontiers of the oppressed peoples.

The colonial problems in Southern Africa will remain intractable so long as the relevant resolutions of the United Nations are not complied with. There is little to stop the countries concerned from flouting their obligations, for the United Nations carries an authority that is moral rather than physical. But this must not deter either the freedom fighters in their own lands or the peace-loving countries against colonialism. Indeed, the time has come to redouble our efforts to show the colonialists that freedom, if not given, will be taken.

Mr. Chairman, Zambia is amongst the countries that are foremost in the struggle for freedom of colonial people. Under the guidance of her great leader, His Excellency Mr. Kenneth Caudal, Zambia has borne great hardships in the cause of freedom. We remember vividly the heroism of the people of Zambia in their strugge for their own freedom, and we are witnessing today the gallant fight and heroic sacrifices of this great country for our African brethren who continue to remain under the shackles of colonial exploitation.

Mr. Chairman, we should like to convey our deep gratitude to Mr. President of the Republic of Zambia, His Excellency,

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Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, and through him to his Government and his people for their kind invitation to the Special Committee on Decolonialism. This invitation is but a further manifestation of the devotion of Zambia to the cause of decolonialism. It is indeed a privilege for this Committee to meet in Lusaka and to have the benefit, at its opening session, of the presence of His Excellency, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda.

INDIA CHAD USA ZAMBIA AFGHANISTAN IRAN SYRIA ANGOLA GUINEA GUINEA-BISSAU NAMIBIA SOUTH AFRICA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: May 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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#### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Dr. Krishna Rao's Statements on Compulsory Settlements of Disputes

The following is the text of statements by Dr. Krishna Rao, Leader of the Indian Delegation, Law of Treaties Conference on articles 62 and 62 Bis in its 25th Plenary Meeting on May 15, 1969:

I

Mr. President, the Indian Delegation is fully aware of the extensive debate that has taken place on this article, which it is admitted on all hands holds a crucial position in the Draft Convention on the Law of Treaties. The International Law Commission examined the question intensively and extensively between 1963 and 1966; the Governments have submitted their comments and observations; and the debates have taken place in the 6th Committee of the General Assembly. Our own Conference devoted 8 meetings to a debate on Art. 62 in the Committee of the Whole last year, and over 80 speakers participated in that debate. The Indian Delegation made their observations at the 73rd meeting of the Committee held on May 16, 1968, almost exactly a year ago. I shall therefore be brief and avoid repeating myself.

The issue, Mr. President, has thus been adequately debated. Distinguished delegates are fully aware of all aspect of the issue. Mr. President, I shall like to sum up the understanding of my delegation on this issue as follows:

1) The ILC, the Governments and this Conference have expressed anxiety that treaty obligations solemnly entered into must be implemented in good faith. The treaties should not be denounced unilaterally by a State by arbitrarily asserting a ground of invalidity or termination. If this happens, there will not be any security or stability of treaty-relations, and treaties would be regarded as scraps of paper to be ignored when the obligations they impose are found to be inconvenient.

Mr. President, the anxiety is legitimate and is shared by all. The solution offered by the ILC to this question is three-fold:

- 1) It is clear that the Convention revolves around Article 23 which provides that any treaty in force is binding on parties and must be performed by them in good faith;
- 2) The articles governing the invalidity, termination and suspension of treaties have been drafted with great care so that the conditions under which the various grounds of termination etc. of a treaty may be invoked have been defined as precisely and as objectively as possible,--this applies to all crucial articles, such as Article 50 and 61, (jus cogens), 57 (material breach) and 59 (fundamental change of circumstances);

The procedural safeguards have been provided in Article 62. These safeguards provide that (a) no State can unilaterally terminate or suspend a treaty, (b) a State may invoke a ground of termination or suspension and give proper opportunity to the other party or parties to the Treaty to examine the claim or ground by giving them a notice to that effect. If objection is raised by the other party or parties within a period of 3 months, the resulting difference or dispute must be settled by resorting to the means indicated in Article 33 of the U.N. Charter which, as distinguished delegates are aware, in-

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cludes resort to arbitration and the International Court of Justice; and (c) if no objection is made to the claim to terminate or suspend the Treaty by the other party within the 3 month period, the claimant state may take the proposed measure, but a further procedural safeguard has been provided in Article 63, namely, that the claimant state must communicate its intention to the other party by an instrument duly executed.

Mr. President, one may argue, -- so far so good, -- now where do we go from here, namely, if resort to Article 33, (UN-Charter) procedure, does not result in a settlement of the difference or the dispute, and no further procedure is provided, the resulting situation will support a delinquent state and promote insecurity of Treaty-obligations. This question, Mr. President, has been fully gone into by the ILC, by the Government and by this Conference. The ILC observed and realised that the present state of international opinion is not inclined to accept compulsory jurisdiction, whether of arbitration or of adjudication.

Mr. President, I need hardly mention that the jurisdiction of the ICJ continues to be optional and the rules of arbitral procedure proposed by the ILC were adopted by the General Assembly in 1958 as Model Rules rather than part of a Convention. The Special Committee on Friendly Relations has gone into the question of procedures for settlement of disputes fairly extensively since 1964, and the distinguished delegates are aware that the Committee has not recommended any rules for compulsory arbitration or adjudication. I need not at this stage, go into the question of why the States are not ready to accept compulsory arbitration or adjudication. Their reasons for doing so are well known. Compulsory arbitration and judicial procedures will entail expenditure which will have to be voted by Legislatures; the technical resources in this regard-arbitrators, Counsels and Expertsare at present available in long measure only in the developed states, and the developing states will have to fall back on them, for good or ill; the venue of arbitration will more often than otherwise be in the West:

the institutional structure of the ICJ does not still command universal respect. With the passage of time, and the acquisition of experience, the technical knowledge and the human resources of the developing countries will improve on a more even bases, the institutional structure will improve, and until then, it would be wisdom Mr. President to allow states to resort to arbiration or the ICJ by their own choice and agreement, rather than by compulsion.

On this question, therefore, the ILC emphasised two points; they emphasised the general obligations of States under international law to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered, which is enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 3, of the UN Charter; and Secondly, they stated that:

"If after recourse to the means indicated in Article 33 the Parties should reach a deadlock, it would be for each Government to appreciate the situation and to act as good faith demands. There would also remain the right of every State, whether or not a member of the United Nations, under certain conditions, to refer the dispute to the competent organ of the United Nations."

Mr. President, I should only like to add that the International Law Commission, consisting of 25 eminent jurists representing all legal systems of the world, have reported that the procedure prescribed in Article 62 which imposes checks on unilateral action by States "would ... give a substantial measure of protection against purely arbitrary assertions of the nullity, termination, or suspension of the operation of the treaty."

On behalf of my Government, Mr. President, I have the honour to endorse the reasoning of the International Law Commission and to express full support to the text of Article 62 as proposed by them.

II

Mr. President, so much has been said

about Article 62 Bis that my delegation is at a loss to find a starting point. What is involved here is not just the question of the adoption or rejection of an article, but some-

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thing which has far reaching implications for further work on the progressive development and codification of International Law. over and above that, Article 62 Bis represents an attempt to accomplish, at one stroke, the imposition of compulsory arbitration procedures for a very important category of disputes, something which till yesterday the world community did not even think of. With your permission, Mr. President, I will deal with these aspects one by one.

In the first place, Mr. President, I would like to refer to the manner in which Article 62 Bis in its present form has been pressed to the vote, in the Committee of the Whole this year. Unfortunately, in international affairs, memory is sometimes all too short and it might be useful to restate a few home-truths.

Mr. President, it is somewhat ironic that those sections represented in the Conference which were insistent on voting on 62 Bis in the Committee of the Whole - to "test the temperature", as it was felicitously put - had adopted a totally different tune in the context of the work of the U.N. Special Committee on Friendly Relations, a body concerned with the progressive development and eventual codification of some important legal principles embodied in the U.N. Charter. As distinguished delegates are aware, the 31 member Special Committee has the task of formulating such principles as the non-use of force non-intervention, selfdetermination, sovereign equality of States, peaceful settlement of disputes etc. I can do no better than to cite the view expressed by the distinguished rapporteur of the first session of the Friendly Relation Committee, Dr. Hans Blix of Sweden an old friend and colleague of mine. He said, and I quote:

"Furthermore, in seeking to codify and develop principles of that nature, it was not possible to work by majority rule. Customary international law was not created by majority rule, nor were conventions. The Committee had sought to reach a consensus by defining the areas of agreement and disagreement in each case in order to discover the largest common denominator. But it had been difficult to achieve such a consensus in a group of States which were not linked politically or geographically but represented the whole heterogeneous world community"

(A/C.6 SR 871, para. 7, 8 November 1965)

In a similar vein, the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom (Mr. Ian Sinclair) speaking in the General Assembly's sixth Committee on 23 November 1965 stated and I quote:

"There had been some criticism of the procedure adopted in Mexico City whereby the Drafting Committee had been directed to prepare a draft text formulating points of consensus and lists itemizing the various proposals and views on which there was no consensus but for which there was support, but it should be remembered that the Committee was engaged in a daunting and important task. If its work was to have any value for the future development of international law, it must command the general concurrence of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations. International Law was not made by majority decisions, it had evolved as a result of general acceptance by States. The Committee should continue to seek solutions and formula which commanded general agreement and which were expressive of the common view."

Mr. President, it is an indisputable fact that this viewpoint, then strongly advocated by some States, was accepted by the majority willingly and the terms of reference of the Special Committee have been so drawn up by the General Assembly as to indicate that the Committee should first try to reach general agreement.

Now, Mr. President, I am certainly not advocating that this Conference should have adopted the Consensus or general agreement method in toto. But I would have thought that on crucial issues, where the International Law Commission had taken a contrary view, every attempt would have been made by the protagonists of compulsory arbitration to secure general agreement.

To our infinite regret, this attempt has not been made. Instead, we found, in the

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Committee of the Whole a sudden passion for voting right away on a highly controversial provision - and I repeat, a provision on which the International Law Commission had pronounced against. I will only repeat the view expressed by the distinguished representative of Sweden, Dr. Blix, in his capacity as rapporteur for the Friendly Relations Committee:

"Customary international law was not created by majority rule, not, were conventions."

In this context, Mr. President, it only remains for me to say that the Asian African States who have willingly refrained from pressing their points of view in the Friendly Relations Committee on such crucial issues as the illegality of colonial rule, and the full implications of the right of self-defence against the continuance of such rule, to mention but one example, can certainly take note of the methods employed to secure the adoption of Article 62 Bis. There are other contexts in which the temperature has not yet been tested and we are looking forward to the opportunity of doing so.

To turn now to the substantive aspect of the matters, Mr. President. The position of my delegation is clear beyound doubt for reasons already stated on more than one occasion, and most recently in my statement in the Committee of the Whole on April 21, 1969. We are against Article 62 Bis because we do not consider it correct to lay down for all time to come that all future

treaties must be settled by the two compulsory means specified in that Article. In Our Opinion, the imposition of Such compulsory procedures would be a very far reaching step which is not justified in present day circumstances.

In this connection, I would also like to refer to the experience which the international community has had with abortive and unsuccessful plans to provide for compulsory settlement procedure and to the plethora of machinery which exist in the field. Let us cursorily glance at the record of conciliation. Mr. President, it is not necessary to even spell out the salient developments in this regard, commencing with the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, the Bryan treaties of 1913-15, the Resolution of the third Assembly of the League of Nations of 22 September 1922 recommencing model rules for conciliation, the General Act for the Pacific settlement of disputes, 1928, as revised in 1949 and a host of other examples. It is a telling commentary that only six States are parties to the General Act for the pacific settlement of disputes despite the exhortations of the U.N. General Assembly for Widespread acceptance of this convention. I must also refer in this context, to General Assembly Resolution 268 D (111) of 28 April 1949, whereby a "Panel for Inquiry and Conciliation" was established. But today, twenty years later, not even twenty out of the 126 members of the UN have chosen to nominate members of the Panel. And to date this machinery has not once been used. I am mentioning this because the conciliation machinery proposed under Article 62 Bis broadly conceives of the same procedure, i.e. of nomination of Members of the Panel by States.

Mr. President, this is not the end of the story. The General Assembly at its 22nd Session has established yet another Panel, for Inquiry or Fact Finding on the initiative of the distinguished representatives of the Netherlands. Its quite true that all these bodies have a wider field of competence, whereas the conciliation procedure under Article 62 Bis is confined to treaty disputes relating to Part V of the present Convention.

But, Mr. President, the existing machinery is more than adequate, if states are so inclined, for the purpose of instituting conciliation procedure with regard to the field of application of Part V of this Convention. It seems pointless to create Panel after Panel of potential conciliators. And, after all, Mr. President, it is not as if even the present day advocates of compulsory conciliation set much store by its efficacy. As the distinguished representative of U.K. stated in the General Assembly's sixth Committee in 1963:

"....Although provisions were made in numerous bilateral and regional treaties for conciliation commissions, the value of that method of settling inter-State disputes was somewhat questionable. Experience indicated that Conciliation Commissions were rarely used and successful."

(GAOR, XVIIIth Session, 6th Committee 816th Meeting: 20 Nov. 1963)

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This, Mr. President, is with regard to Conciliation. What is the situation with regard to arbitration? We will all recall the view expressed by the overwhelming majority of States in the United Nations when the ILC's proposal for a convention on arbitral procedure was taken up in 1955. The criticisms expressed then may best be stated in the words of the Commission itself:

"...a majority of the members of the Commission were motivated by the feeling that the draft as it stood constituted a homogeneous and self-consistent whole, based on the view that the process of arbitration flowed logically from the agreement of the parties to submit to arbitration and that, the agreement to arbitrate having once been entered into, certain necessary consequences followed which affected the whole of the ensuing arbitral procedure, and which the parties must, in order to honour their agreement, be prepared to accept. It was however clear from the reactions of Governments that this concept of arbitration, while not necessarily going beyond what two States might be prepared to accept for the purposes of submitting a particular dispute to arbitration ad hoc, or even beyond what two individual States might be willing to embody in a bilateral treaty of arbitration intended to govern generally the settlement of disputes arising between them inter se, did definitely go beyond what the majority of Governments would be prepared to accept in advance as a general multilateral treaty of arbitration to be signed and ratified by them, in such a way as to apply automatically to the settlement of all future disputes between them." (Report of the International Laic Commission to the General Assembly (10 Session) ILC Yearbook, 1958, Vol. 11 P. 80).

Mr. President, I have benefited greatly from a very learned article by Mr. Leo Gross, a distinguished American international Lawyer, published in the January issue of the American Journal of International Law. Mr. Gross has collected some very interesting comparative statistics regarding the time element in proceedings before arbitral tribunal and the International Court of Justice.

Can it be said Mr. President that the world is now ready for Compulsory arbitration? In my intervention on Article 62 a little while ago I have already referred to the view of the International Law Commission on this point, as well as the view taken hitherto by the Special Committee on Friendly Relations with regard to the Pacific settlement of disputes. The essential principle here, Mr. President, is that the freedom of choice of the Parties in settling a dispute must remain unimpaired. This is the raison d'etre of Article 33 of the Charter. Besides, under the Charter, it is envisaged that legal disputes shall ordinarily be referred to the International Court of Justice. But under Article 62 Bis, the International Court of Justice is ignored, with the emphasis being on arbitration. Here again we find a duplication of machinery.

Resort to the Court would also not entail any additional expenditure for the UN, unlike the scheme contained in present Article 62 Bis. Despite our disappointment at recent trends in the Jurisprudence of the ICJ, we consider that resort to unknown arbitrators might be an even more extreme step.

It is true that for one reason or the other, the ICJ does not command universal respect. But the solution does not lie in by-passing the Court and in building up grandiose arbitration networks, especially when the existing machinery in the field is not exactly suffering from a surfeit of work. The attempt should rather be to gradually build up confidence in the Court in such a manner that States will, of their own accord, accept its jurisdiction.

My delegation, for one, considers that if at all a choice has to be made between ad hoc arbitration and the ICJ, then the latter would be preferable. Despite our disappointment with a recent decision of the Court, we consider that this Principal Organ of the United Nations, which has well established procedures and practices, and is now more representative of the principal legal systems and main forms of civilization, will serve the international Community better than ad hoc arbitration.

For these reasons, Mr. President, the Indian delegation will oppose the adoption of Article 62 Bis.

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INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SWEDEN MEXICO TOTO UNITED KINGDOM

**Date**: May 01, 1969

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INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Following is the text of statement made by Shri S. M. S. Chadha, delegate of India in the U.N. Special Committee on Colonialism which was convened in Lusaka on May 15, 1969:

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my delegation I should first of all like to express our sincere gratitude to His Excellency, Mr. Kenneth Kuanda, and to the government and the people of the Republic of Zambia for their kind invitation to the Special Committee on colonialism to convene in Lusaka this year, and for their generous hospitality. We are already aware of the very active role that Zambia is playing in the process of decolonisation, and it is hardly necessary for me to emphasise this. The present invitation is, however, a further manifestation of the deep interest which the Government of Zambia is taking in the matter.

Mr. Chairman, we have come to a very difficult stage in our consideration of the question of Rhodesia, as indeed in regard to colonial questions elsewhere in Southern Africa. As His Excellency, Mr. Kenneth Kuanda stated in his inaugural address to this Committee, there exists now a crisis of confidence in Africa concerning the West's commitments to the principles of the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, with particular reference to Southern Africa. It is as a direct result of the policies of certain powerful countries that we have come close to an impasse in the process of decolonisation in that part of Africa.

My delegation is grateful to the petitioners for providing not only very valuable information on Rhodesia to the Committee, but also fresh ideas for consideration in the seemingly intractable situation.

The Committee is today meeting under the shadow of a continuing crisis in Rhodesia. The grim developments in the Territory are only too well known to the distinguished members of this Committee. We know how the illegal regime of Mr. Ian Smith has continued to defy the collective will of the international community represented in the General Assembly resolutions; we know how that regime continues to intensify offensive measures directed against the brave people of Zimbabwe; we know how a handful of racist bigots have rebelled under the loose reins of authority of the Administering Power and are keeping the overwhelming majority of the population under tyrannical suppression of the worst kind; we know how innocent African people in Southern Rhodesia are being denied basic human rights and are being arbitrarily tortured and murdered by the racist regime; we know also that the administering Power continues to evade its solemn responsibility in a manner that suggests racial overtones. The statements of the petitioners further confirm the perpetration of heinous crimes on the people of Zimbabwe.

More than three years ago the Administering Power pleaded in the United Nations to recommend, in preference to the use of force, a limited economic boycott of the rebel regime. The British Prime Minister had then predicted that the downfall of the regime might come "within a matter of weeks". What followed is now common knowledge.

In April, 1968, India along with certain other countries in the Security Council, called for comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and all other necessary measures, including the use of force, to put an end to the rebellion and to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination. These proposals had to be watered down on account of the opposition of the United Kingdom, and the Council was forced to adopt a much weaker resolution. The working paper prepared by the Secretariat and the report of the Secretary-General in pursuance of the Security Council resolution 232 (1966) (Document S/7781), as also part of the report submitted in pursuance of the Security Council resolution 253 of May 1968

(document S/8786) bear ample evidence to the fact that the sanctions are still far from effecting the downfall of the Smith regime.

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Reasons for the failure of the sanctions are not far to seek. The most important reason is that countries such as South Africa and Portugal continue to blatantly defy the United Nations resolutions in regard to the Territory, and trade that was hitherto conducted by other countries with Rhodesia is now either conducted by South Africa and Portugal themselves, or channelised through territories under their control. Big companies originating from certain powerful countries have also been able to beat the sanctions by devious means. In spite of all this, we are meekly informed from time to time by the administering Power and certain other countries that the downfall of the Smith regime is but a matter of time indeed, almost imminent. It does not require much realism to divine that this is not so.

According to a press report from Salisbury in the New York Times of 17th April, 1969, the illegal Rhodesian Government claims to have broken the economic sanctions in 1968 and has forecast an even healthier economic outlook for 1969. In spite of the sanctions, Rhodesia managed to export goods worth US \$ 178 million in 1968, and the gross national product went up by 5 1/2% According to figures provided in the report, this export figure was less than 1% below the 1967 export figure, inspite of the fact that there had been a reduction of 12% in agricultural production on account of reduced tobacco output and natural causes. This would tend to show that the effect of the sanctions has been to diversify rather than stifle Rhodesia's economy. Also, the year 1968 witnessed a capital inflow into Rhodesia of about 51 million dollars. One of the distinguished petitioners has now reminded us that Rhodesia has a record budget this year.

It is clear from these facts that a considerable volume of trade continues in spite of the sanctions net. My country, along with

several others which have been serious about economic sanctions, severed trade and diplomatic relations with Rhodesia even before the United Nations had thought of introducing such sanctions. This was not merely a theoretical gesture for us, but at considerable inconvenience to ourselves. We cannot but be dismayed by the present trend, which gives serious cause for disquiet.

My delegation has carefully gone through the valuable evidence provided by the petitioners and has also studied the documents presented by them to the Committee. My delegation would like to offer its congratulations for the excellent analysis of the "Fearless" proposal contained in the memorandum presented by the Zambabwe African Peoples Union to the Commonwealth Heads of States Conference in January this year.

Right-minded people the world over were dismayed at the British proposals for a settlement of the Rhodesian situation, contained in the White Paper of 15th October, 1968. The proposed constitutional changes, incorporating a complex system of "A" Rolls and "B" Rolls, and containing totally inadequate representation for the African population, would have amounted to nothing but perpetuation of white supremacy in Rhodesia and the conferment of legality on the existing white racist regime. The "Fearless" proposals sought to scuttle the principle of judicial review by the Privy Council and, more important, the principle of NIBMAR itself. Indeed, these proposals amounted to an object surrender.

It is clear that the "A" Roll. for all practical purposes, would consist of Europeans and the "B" Roll, to which Africans would have been primarily eligible, was constituted in such a way as to minimise the number of Africans votes. To consider one point, for example, it is ludicrous for the administering Power to have even suggested that one of the conditions for Africans being given the vote would be an age qualification of 30 years, and this at a time when voting ages in Western countries, including Britain, are sought to be lowered from 21 to 18 years. This proposals clearly makes an invidious distinction between the black man and the

white man. The philosophy behind the "Fearless" proposals appears to be that that which is the white man's right by presumption can at best be the black man's privilege by concession. Thinking on racial lines is apparently not confined to South Africa and Rhodesia alone. Of course lip service is paid, at the appropriate times, to the U.N. Charter and to the ideals enshrined therein. The pretence remains but thinly veiled when the time for action arrives.

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The British Government's policy of "divide and rule" in its colonies, both erst-while and present, is only too well known to my delegation, for my country itself has been one of its victims. It is this very policy that the administering Power would appear to invoke in the "Fearless" suggestions regarding voting on tribal lines with regional representation for Mashonaland and Malebeleland. The adoption of any such scheme on a permanent basis could only foster and perpetuate dissensions among the African population, and leave the field clear for people like Mr. Smith.

In the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held in January this year, my Prime Minister called for the withdrawal of the British proposals as they were clearly incompatible with the NIBMAR pledge. She further affirmed support to the proposals of the African countries that the British Government should withdraw the "Fearless" offer made to the Smith regime, that it should reaffirm the NIBMAR Principle, and that it should intensify the sanctions. My Prime Minister also emphasised that, the Rhodesian issue was solved on the basis of racial equality, the very foundation of the Commonwealth, which was based on this principle, would be shattered.

It is clear that reluctance on the part of the administering Power to face the situation of rebellion squarely continued to encourage the rebels to accelerate the suppression of the people of Zimbabwe, and to lead the Territory towards a political system modelled on apartheid, with the imposition of a so-called new constitution. Even

according to The London Time of 17th February, 1969. One of the key features of the so-called new constitution is that" .... race is made the determination of a man's political rights .... not what he had himself as a citizen, but how nature has favoured him at birth".

The General Assembly's Resolution 2379(XXIII) of October 25, 1968 pronounced itself in Unequivocal terms in calling upon the administering Power not to grant independence to Rhodesia unless this were preceded by the establishment of a government based on universal adult suffrage and oil majority rule. The most effective means to achieve this would be the use of force by the administering Power. My Government on the other hand, is not against a negotiated settlement, provided that such a settlement is arrived at after consultations with the true representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. Unfortunately, 31 2 years have elapsed without the administering Power taking any effective action. In the meantime, the administering Power has prevaricated. We do not hear any more of NIBMAR, and despite the deteriorating situation and the contempt with which the rebels have treated Her Majesty's Ordersin-Council, the British Prime Minister has defined his government's attitude in a recent statement as follows:

"It is, and always has been, the view of Her Majesty's Government that whatever the legal or territorial position, the use of force to impose a constitutional settlement would be wrong".

When one recalls the speed with which Her Brittanic Majesty's Government has used force to reassert its authority when challenged by nationalists in their erstwhile world-wide empire, one wonders whether the application of this principle is not a selective one. Only a few weeks ago we witnessed the promptness with which Her Majesty's land, air and sea forces acted in a small Caribbean island with a defenceless population of 5000. And yet the point made by the petitioner from ZAPU is well taken, that there is a danger that Britain may one day

use force-when the nationalists are about to succeed in their struggle-on the pretext of breakdown of law and orders.

While the world looks on with horror, the racist regime in Rhodesia continues to perpetuate its stranglehold over the African population. New legislation to ensure white domination and enslavement of the people is being enacted. For the people of Zimbabwe. their own homeland has become a vast concentration camp, and those who raise their voice for freedom and justice are put behind bars or murdered. A large number of Africans are today under the sentence of death for no other wrong than striving for their freedom.

Mr. Chairman, when in March this year this Committee discussed the deteriorating

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situation in Rhodesia, it addressed itself to two points viz., the incarceration of nationalists and the imposition of the so-called new constitution. The resolution, which was adopted unanimously by the Committee, called upon the administering Power to take immediate measures to secure its implementation. My delegation awaits with interest complete and effective measures by the administering Power towards this end.

The policy of my country in regard to colonial problems in Southern Africa continues to be one of active support to the initiatives of the African countries. My delegation has studied with deep interest the Manifesto on Southern Africa issued recently in Lusaka by the 5th Summit Conference of East and Central African States, which reflects accurately the standpoint of my government also, in particular, the policy of my government towards the question of Rhodesia is identical with that laid out in para 16 of the Manifesto - that the independence of Rhodesia must be based on majority rule; that we would support the efforts of Britain if she were willing to reassert her authority in Rhodesia and then negotiate the peaceful progress to majority rule before independence; that in the absence of evidence of Britain's willingness to take

such action we have no choice but to support the freedom struggle of the people by whatever means are open.

Mr. Chairman, I mentioned in the earlier part of my statement that the situation in Rhodesia had come almost to an impasse on account of the attitudes of certain countries. But inspite of set-backs the struggle for the freedom of the people of Zimbabwe, as elsewhere in Southern Africa, must continue unabated, both on the physical as well as on the diplomatic levels. Anything less than this would be falling prey to those very forces which are seeking to sabotage our efforts. In sofar as we in this Committee are concerned, it is incumbent on us to carefully examine and review the measures taken in the past, and to consider whether the time has come to propose fresh initiatives in the United Nations.

INDIA CHAD USA ZAMBIA ZIMBABWE SOUTH AFRICA PORTUGAL CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC MALDIVES UNITED KINGDOM

**Date**: May 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Indian Representative's Statement on Namibia

The following is the text of statement made by Shri S. M. S. Chadha in the Commttee of Twenty-four on May 20, 1969, on Namibia during the Committee's visit to Dar-es-Salaam:

Mr. Chairman: Allow me first of all to extend the sincere gratitude of my delegation to the Government and the people of the United Republic of Tanzania for their kind invitation to the Special Committee on Colonialism to convene in Tanzania this year

and for their gracious hospitality. Tanzania has been in the forefront of the fight against colonialism, both at home and in international forums such as the United Nations. Tanzania is also a home to many of the liberation movements in Southern Africa, which cannot but draw inspiration from the lead given by this great country. My delegation has no doubt that, under the wise and able leadership of her great President, H.E. Mr. Julius Nyerere, this country will go on to fresh successes in the international as well as domestic fields.

It is unnecessary for me at this stage to go into the history of the Namibian question. This grave problem has been under continuous review by the U.N. Council on Namibia, and of late it has been discussed in the Security Council, which recently passed a resolution. We have also had the occasion to discuss the question in the Special Committee on Colonialism. The major question about Namibia is the implementation of resolutions which have already been passed in various organs of the United Nations, particularly in the Security Council.

It was the Council for Namibia which brought the situation in Namibia before the Security Council in February 1969, emphasising the steps being taken by the South African Government which were aimed at further suppression of the people of Namibia, and the intensification of the racial division in that territory on the lines of apartheid, as in South Africa itself. The Council had warned at that time that this could lead to an outbreak of racial conflict in that area.

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In March this year, 46 member States requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council in regard to Namibia on the grounds that that situation constituted a grave threat to international peace and security. This Committee also discussed the question at that time and requested the Security Council to take urgent action in the matter.

The latest Security Council resolution, adopted in March this year, has called upon

the Government of South Africa to withdraw its administration immediately from Namibia, while specifically recognising the termination of South Africa's mandate by the General Assembly in respect of Namibia. The Security Council characterised South Africa's occupation of Namibia as illegal and detrimental to the people's interests, and declared that actions aimed at destroying the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia were contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. While inviting all States to exert their influence towards South Africa's compliance with the latest resolution, the Security Council also decided, failing compliance, to meet and decide upon necessary steps for measures to be taken.

Mr. Chairman, the actions of the South African Government in Namibia have been condemned not merely by the Special Committee on Colonialism, the Council for Namibia, the General Assembly and the Security Council, but also by the International Commission on Human Rights which has decried the intensification of apartheid in that territory. By its resolutions, the United Nations has assumed direct responibility for the territory and the continued defiance by the South African Government of the United Nations resolutions in regard to this territory are a direct defiance of the United Nations in a manner that has been hitherto unknown in the history of this world body. On this question, the United Nations is on test, and it is the Security Council's action, or lack of it, that will decide the outcome of a crucial issue that affects almost the very foundation of this world body.

Mr. Chairman, as you so correctly stated on the arrival of this Committee in Tanzania, the United Nations is no supergovernment. It is not a body that can obtain independence for a people or peoples by mere flat. It is rather a body that carries moral force, a body whose resolutions are generally exhortations rather than orders. Yet, on the question of Namibia the same general rule cannot be made easily applicable, for that territory, unlike other territories, is a direct United Nations responsibility. If the United Nations is to protect what is legiti-

mately its own, then the resolutions it passes in that regard must have teeth. And the only organ in the United Nations that can pass resolutions of that nature is the Security Council. We all know also that certain powers in the Security Council have been reluctant for their own reasons to take strong action against South Africa. But if we are to take appropriate action on this question - and indeed we must if we are to save the very prestige of the United Nations - we must use all the pressure at our command to force the powers concerned to take not merely a selfish, short-term view of questions in that region, but a long-term view which would be in conformity with the interests of the peoples of that region and of the world as a whole, as also in their own long-term interests. At this crucial stage my delegation would suggest that the Special Committee strongly exhort the Security Council to take firm action to deal with the situation. Indeed, the Security Council will be failing in its duty if it did not take action against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Mr. Chairman, on all colonial questions concerning Africa, and particularly those in Southern Africa, my country and my delegation continue to support the initiatives of the African States in every possible way. Recently, at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London, my Prime Minister pledged her firm support to the initiatives of President Julius Nyerere and other African leaders in regard to Rhodesia. So far as my country and my delegation are concerned, it is the same unflinching support that we extend to the leaders of Africa in regard to Namibia.

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INDIA NAMIBIA CHAD TANZANIA USA SOUTH AFRICA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC UNITED KINGDOM

**Date**: May 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Indian Representative's Statement on Portuguese Territories

The following is the text of statement by Shri S. M. S. Chadha, the Indian representative in the Committee of Twenty-four on May 23, 1969 on Portuguese Territories during the Committee's visit to Dar-es Salaam:

Mr. Chairman: When participating in a debate on Portuguese territories in this Committee, one cannot but pay a tribute to the late Dr. Eduardo Mondlane whose untimely death so recently shocked the peaceloving peoples of the world. Dr. Mondlane was not only a great organiser, a great administrator and a great freedom fighter, but he was in a sense the essence of the struggle of the people of Mozambique for liberation. Dr. Mondlane dedicated his life for the freedom of his homeland, but his horizon was not confined to Mozambique alone. Beyond his country he saw Africa as a whole, an Africa free from the shackles of colonial bondage, an Africa united and independent, an Africa making a unique contribution to international peace and to the betterment of mankind. The ideals of a great man transcend death. And the ideals and aims to which Dr. Eduardo Mondlane dedicated himself will soon be realised. With Dr. Mondlane's demise the fight for freedom will not end. Indeed, we hope that the people of Mozambique will redouble their efforts to attain their cherished goal. My delegation is convinced also of the great ability of the leaders within the movement which Dr. Mondlane nurtured, and is confident that under their leadership the movement will go on to greater successes.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation is thankful to the petitioners on Portuguese territories who appeared before this Committee in Kinshasa, in Lusaka and in Dar-es-Salaam.

They have provided the Committee with a wealth of information, and our contact with them has been invaluable.

Although the territories under Portuguese domination in Africa are physically separated, there is a sinister unity of the problems that face the people under Portuguese domination. The repressive methods of the Portuguese regime are common to all peoples who have suffered under their heals, be they in Guinea (Bissau), in Angola or in Mozambique. The systematic perpetration of crimes against the people in defence of "Western Christian civilisation" is only too well-known. According to present trends it would seem that Portugal will hold on to its "overseas provinces" for as long as she can. The only answer at present seems to be that Portugal will have to be physically thrown out of these territories.

According to recent reports, Portugal has considerably increased its military budget to carry on its war of repression against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Its estimated expenditure for the current year for this purpose in Angola alone represents an increase of over 30% over the corresponding figure for 1968. In a sense this is a heartening feature, for it is but a manifestation of the increasing impotence of the colonial masters in their efforts to maintain a hold on their "overseas provinces".

It is common knowledge, Mr. Chairman, that after the uprising in Angola earlier this decade, Portugal oriented its policy in two ways: firstly it has sought to increase its repressive measures in order to crush the freedom movement. With a view to this it has continued to expand its military forces in its colonies. Secondly, it has sought to share its colonial wealth and its exploitation of the African people, particularly in Angola, to finance its military activities. It is reported that Portugal is currently spending close to 30 million Escudos per day for military purposes. Over the last few pears the actual expenditure on military activities in the colonies has far outstripped the budget estimates. According to reports, there are anywhere between 125,000 and 180,000 troops in Portuguese colonies in Africa.

As a result of this, it is but natural that Portugal, the poorest country in Europe, is beginning to feel the pinch in the pursuit of its "civilising mission" in Africa. But recent discoveries of natural deposits of oil and minerals in Angola have proved a great boon for Portugal. We are all aware how

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a few large companies have established themselves in Angola, with the connivance of the Portugal rulers, for joint exploitation of the resources of the territory which rightly belong to the people of Angola.

Mr. Chairman, colonial problems in the Southern part of Africa are of necessity inter-related and indivisible. It is impossible to fully discuss one without touching upon the other. The colonial regimes in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Rhodesia not only draw inspiration from each other, but help each other materially in maintaining their strangle-hold over the African peoples of these territories. The racist government of South Africa is helping to finance projects such as the Cunene River basin scheme in Angola and the Cabora Bassa. dam in Mozambique. These regimes are striving in multifarious ways to bolster each other, for they know that they must sink or swim together.

My delegation has been disturbed to hear from the petitioners who appeared before this Committee that a large quantity of arms supplied to Portugal from NATO are finding their way not only into Portuguese colonies but further into the heart of Southern Africa. My delegation would wish that arms supplies to countries like Portugal and South Africa, from whatever source, should cease, for these arms are used to suppress the peoples in colonies in Southern Africa. Even a cursory examination of the military mights of Portugal and South Africa in the region would show that their armed strength is far beyond what is necessary for purely defensive purposes.

Mr. Chairman. my delegation was particularly impressed by the statements made by the petitioners from FRELIMO the other day and by some of the concrete features that they have suggested to help bolster the freedom fight in Mozambique. The wealth of data provided deserves careful consideration, and it is the hope of my delegation that this Committee will do so later in New York.

Mr. Chairman, my country continues to support the initiatives of the African countries in helping to bring about freedom and justice to the peoples under Portuguese colonial domination. My delegation wishes the freedom fighters all success in their efforts. The task that lies ahead of them is not an easy one, and their struggle may yet be long, arduous and painful. There will be greater suffering before freedom is achieved, even greater sacrifices before the peoples of these territories are liberated. Unity in this common cause is important, for the energies of the freedom fighters, whether in Angola, Mozambique, or Guinea (Bissau), must be conserved for the single cause of fighting the colonialists. But while the freedom fighters must carry on their just struggle, it is incumbent also upon the world community to pay heed to the tyrannical situation existing in Portuguese colonies and to exert all possible pressure on Portugal to bring about an end to her colonial rule in Africa. In particular, it is incumbent on the friends and allies of Portugal to fall in line with the conscience of the world

INDIA CHAD MOZAMBIQUE USA ZAIRE ZAMBIA ANGOLA GUINEA GUINEA-BISSAU PORTUGAL CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC NAMIBIA SOUTH AFRICA

**Date**: May 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The following is the statement made by Ambassador Shri Azim Hussain in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament held in Geneva on 23rd May, 1969:

At our 404th meeting on 17th April my delegation welcomed the initiative taken by the Minister of State of Sweden in submitting for the consideration of the Committee possible provisions of a treaty banning underground nuclear weapon tests and I then expressed our general views about the basic principles involved (ENDC/PV.404, paras. 61-63). Today I wish to comment on two aspects of a comprehensive nuclear test ban which have been the subject of much discussion among us recently.

The first concerns the question of intensifying cooperation for an international exchange of seismological data. While we do not believe that the conclusion of a com-

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prehensive test ban should await the perfectioning of seismic detection and identification techniques, my delegation welcome the statements made by the representatives of the United States the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union offering the co-operation of the respective countries in seismological data exchange. This is a significant step forward, and we for our part shall continue to lend our support as we have already done in connexion with the deliberations of SIPRI. My delegation is of the firm view that the idea of seismological data exchange for detection purposes in an underground nuclear test ban treaty has come to stay and we should like to place on record our appreciation of the initiative and the continuing efforts made in this regard by the Government of Sweden. We have heard this morning the representative of Canada present some suggestions for an organized and effective world-wide exchange of seismological data. We warmly welcome that initiative and shall give the Canadian suggestions the most careful consideration in consultation with our experts.

The second aspect of a comprehensive test ban with which I propose to deal today concerns the question of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. In my statement of 13 August 1968 I said:

"....when we are legislating for the international community on a long-term basis some provision will have to be made for nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. That question is logically and directly linked to that of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. It should be considered in a conjunction with a comprehensive test ban and not separately from it." (ENDC/PV.389, para. 15).

There are two equally important aspects of the question of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. There is the economic aspect and there is also the disarmament aspect.

In the development of peaceful nuclear technology, nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes occupy a very important place and might become, perhaps, the most significant instrument for the economic development of developing countries. There should be neither any monopoly nor any discrimination in regard to the development of the technology of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. We must avoid doing anything which might further widen the gulf between the rich and the poor nations or introduce a new and serious element of international friction and discontent.

The disarmament aspect of the question of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes required a complete stoppage of all nuclear explosions with a view to putting an end to the nuclear arms race. We in this Committee are at present engaged in specifically and directly dealing with that aspect. It has to be ensured that nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes are not misused in any manner for military purposes and that they do not. contribute to a further aggravation of the nuclear arms race.

The partial test ban Treaty of 1963

was intended to be the first step in slowing down the nuclear arms race. However, it has been successful only to a limited extent, as not all nuclear-weapon States have yet become parties to it. Of no less significance to the continued intensification of the nuclear arms race has been the continued underground nuclear testing, although the international community has repeatedly called for an underground nuclear test ban. The discipline of a comprehensive nuclear test ban, to be meaningful, should therefore be total and absolute, and there should be no loopholes in it. It will be effective only if the ban applies equally to all States, including all nuclear-weapon States, without exception.

To deal thereafter with the economic aspect which I mentioned earlier, a separate international agreement would need to be negotiated for regulating the conduct of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Such an international agreement would of necessity have to cover several matters. For example, it would have to legislate the purposes for which explosions would be permitted and lay down the conditions under which they could be conducted. It would have to provide the necessary safeguards from the point of view of health and a safety requirements. It would have to define the roles of various international agencies like the International Atomic Energy Agency and the World Health Organization. It may be pointed out that none of these aspects is dealt with in any existing international in-

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struments, such as the partial test ban Treaty and the non-proliferation Treaty nor indeed could one expect them to be provided for within the body of an underground nuclear test ban treaty.

Taken all together, these various matters would require a whole complex of rules and regulations laying down and governing an international regime of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. It is then clear that for the establishment of such a regime a separate, self-contained and comprehensive international agreement would be indispensable. In this connexion my dele-

gation has noted with appeciation the views expressed by the representative of Brazil on 8 May last (ENDC/PV. 409, provisional pp. 5-12).

Several delegations have raised the question of the relationship of article V of the non-proliferation Treaty (ENDC/226\*) with article 1, paragraph 3 of the Swedish draft of an underground nuclear test ban treaty (ENDC/242). It may be recalled that article V of the non-proliferation Treaty seeks to ensure the availability not of existing but of "potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions" to nonnuclear-weapon States, and those potential benefits, as and when they become feasible, are to be made available through a special international agreement or agreements, or bilateral agreements, which would have to be negotiated and concluded in the future so as to provide for appropriate international observation and procedures. It will be seen therefore, that article V of the non-proliferation Treaty is only an enabling provisions, and no more than an enabling provision, for a specific and limited purpose. Similarly, article I, paragraph 3 of the Swedish draft constitutes an enabling provision by stating that explosions for peaceful purposes may be carried out "in conformity with an international agreement to be negotiated separately". That enabling provision of the Swedish draft is also given support by a declaration of intent in the last preambular paragraph, which states that parties to the treaty intend "to conclude, at the earliest possible date, a separate international agreement regarding nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes". Thus, it is clear that the conduct of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes has to be authorized under an independent international agreement to be negotiated and concluded separately. It is further, clear that the international agreement contemplated in the Swedish draft is more basic in purpose and broader in scope than what is referred to an article V of the nonproliferation Treaty. Nevertheless, one cannot prejudge or prejudice the other.

In our discussions concerning nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, apprehen-

sion has sometimes been expressed that if the conduct of such explosions were to be linked as in our view would be logical - to a comprehensive nuclear test ban, which might still take some time to achieve, would it not mean that there would be a certain hiatus or time-lag in the availability of potential benefits from nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, which have been provided for under article V of the non-proliferation Treaty?

In answer, one might point out that all the possible benefits of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes have not yet become imminent. We have heard several statements on that subject from the Co-Chairman, and one could reasonably hope that those benefits would in fact become available by the time a comprehensive test ban is achieved. One thing, however, is clear. There should be no piecemeal modification or whittling down of the partial test ban Treaty (ENDC/100/Rev. 1) to provide for peaceful nuclear explosions. The discipline of the partial test ban Treaty should be observed and such modifications as are necessary should be conceived of only as an integral part of a comprehensive international agreement on peaceful explosions, because on no account are we willing to accept a position under which nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes would in the years to come become the monopoly of nuclear-weapon Powers alone.

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INDIA USA SWITZERLAND SWEDEN CANADA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC BRAZIL

**Date**: May 01, 1969

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### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Foreign Minister's Address at Envoys' Conference

The following is the summary record of Shri Dinesh Singh's address delivered on May 27, 1969 at the Conference of Indian Envoys accredited to West Asian and North African countries:

Foreign Minister, Shri Dinesh Singh, today told Indian Ambassadors from West Asia and North Africa that India attached great importance to her relations with the countries of South Asia, West Asia and Africa. He therefore, impressed on them to strive for strengthening the existing nexus of our relationship with these countries politically, economically and socially.

The Foreign Minister was winding up the four-day political and economic discussions with the visiting ambassadors.

He reminded the envoys that to-day was a day of special significance to them all because it was the fifth death anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of India's foreign policy. The policy approaches and broad guidelines he had imparted to our foreign policy even now retained their validity. Reminding them that the WANA countries constituted one single block of Islamic nations, the Foreign Minister said that even when India was being divided on a religious basis and when the entire atmosphere was supercharged with violence and hatred our leaders, Gandhiji and Nehru played a 'historic role' in maintaining a certain balance in the country. They succeeded in preserving the secular and democratic structure in free India against very tremendous odds. This was no mean achievement and could not be taken for granted after two decades. It was firm adherence to these principles that would always keep the nation on the correct path.

The comparative stability that was obtaining in India was in no small measure due to the achievements of our leaders. Unlike our leaders, the leaders of Pakistan preferred to stick to out-moded ideas of a religious state and the developments witnessed there from time to time were in no small

measure attributable to this factor. Even the Kashmir question represented in the final analysis this inherent dichotomy between the approaches of India and Pakistan. India's unity with Kashmir arose out of that State's accession in the context of our adherence to the secular ideal. It was thus symbolic of our desire to preserve the secular character of our country. We could not accept the principle that merely because in some areas followers of one religion were in a majority that area could not be part of India. This was a question on which every one in this country would be prepared to fight and die for. Therefore, there should be no doubt in the minds of any one of there being any settlement by our giving away Kashmir. Of course the question of the continued occupation of a part of Kashmir as a result of Pakistan's aggression which we had referred to the United Nations remains to be settled. Pakistan itself did not claim Kashmir: their case is only for self-determination by the people of that area. We had fulfilled our assurance to the international community by ascertaining the wishes of the people of Kashmir not occupied by Pakistan in accordance with our Constitution.

### DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

The Foreign Minister told the ambassadors that we were anxious that the people in West Asia appreciated the social and political system that were working in India. They were running a democracy based on the principles of secularism and into which we were trying to infuse the concept of socialism. This was very much in keeping with what some progressive governments are themselves trying in West Asia. India would wish to preserve very close friendship with such countries. Similarly India was aware that there were some progressive movements in that area which again were trying to further the principles which India

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held sacred. It was necessary for us to cooperate closely with countries of WANA region to checkmate the return of the old colonialism or its new economic counterpart, neocolonialism. Unless there was a continuous effort to forge unity among such progressive forces and thereby the will of the peoples of these areas to remain independent was strengthened there was the danger of the progressive forces being isolated and put into great difficulty. The difficulties of President Nasser bear witness to this.

### **ISRAEL**

On Israel the Foreign Minister said that India was not against Israel. India had always subscribed to the principle that governments established in sovereign nations should be recognised, even if we do not agree with their policies. This was the rationale in our recognising China and in our recognition of Israel. But India had not established diplomatic relations with Israel because Israel had followed wrong policies against the Arabs particularly the Palestinians. It was persisting in this policy and until there was a revision of this policy it would be difficult for India to revise her policy. One could also fully justify India's policy in this regard from the point of view of national interest. But what he was pointing out was that even on the principles which we hold dear, we could not have any other policy. We could not accept the criterion that religion could become the basis for nationality.

### **INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS**

The Foreign Minister explained to the envoys that in the last two decades India had moved forward in many ways. We had reached a stage when our industries had acquired a wide base and had developed considerable export capability. Of course there was need for our industrialists to get out of their existing 'inward looking' grooves and move out vigorously to sell in overseas markets. During the last two years, Indian government had succeeded in a large measure to reduce the trade gap, through increased exports and reduced imports. It was his hope that within the next two years or so, they would be able to further narrow it.

What was more heartening in this re-

gard was the fact that India had won many international tenders in the face of stiff world competition from even developed countries. But if our objective of continued expansion in our exports is to be achieved, our exporters would require all the assistance possible from our missions abroad. He advised the envoys to keep in close touch with our exporters and help them wherever possible as well as to inform us if they indulged in malpractices or did not fulfill specifications or their commitments.

#### ECONOMIC COLLABORATION

The Foreign Minister pointed out that trade had only a limited growth potential; but what was more promising was economic collaboration. In this India was keen to undertake turnkey jobs in other countries.

Shri Dinesh Singh also emphasised the importance of strengthening cultural contacts with the countries of this region and in this knowledge of local language was a must. He expressed appreciation of the good work done by our diplomatic missions in WANA and wished them greater success in the future.

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**Date**: May 01, 1969

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### MALAYSIA

Shri Dinesh Singh's Statement on Racial Violence

The following is the text of Statement by the Minister of External Affairs in Rajya Sabha on 17th May, 1969 regarding the racial violence in Malaysia and its impact on Indian nationals and people of Indian origin there:

The Government of India are closely watching the current developments in Malaysia.

According to official reports 75 persons have been killed and 277 injured in the disturbances that are taking place. We are sorry that such racial tension should build up in a friendly country which has endeavoured to establish a multi-racial society. Our High Commission in Kuala Lumpur has been in touch with the Malaysian Foreign office and understands that no Indian nationals have been involved in the recent disturbances.

The situation continues to be tense. A National Operations Council has been formed to deal with the situation.

We have every sympathy with the Government and people of Malaysia and are confident that they will be able to resolve their present difficulties and restore racial harmony.

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#### **AFGHANISTAN**

Indo-Afghan Joint Communique

The following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on June 10, 1969 in New Delhi at the end of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's visit to Afghanistan:

At the invitation of His Excellency the Prime Minister and the Government of Afghanistan, the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, visited Afghanistan from June 5 to 10, 1969, and was accorded an enthusiastic and warm reception by the Afghan people wherever she went.

The Prime Minister of India, who last visited Afghanistan in 1959 with her father, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was greatly impressed by the social and economic progress achieved by the people of Afghanistan. The Prime Minister was particularly glad that this visit gave her an opportunity to convey personally to the Government and the people of Afghanistan the felicitations and good wishes of the Government and the people of India on the completion of the 50th year of the independence of Afghanistan.

The Prime Minister of India was received by His Majesty the King and they exchanged views on wide-ranging subjects of interest to both countries. The Prime Minister also had talks with His Excellency the Prime Minister of Afghanistan and his colleagues. The discussions covered a variety of subjects including the internal situation

in their respective countries, bilateral relations, matters of regional interest and the international situation. The Prime Minister of India was assisted in the talks by Shri Kewal Singh, Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri A. N. Mehta, Ambassador of India to Afghanistan, Shri R. D. Sathe, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri M. A. Rahman, Member of the Central Water and Power Commission and Shri Natwar Singh and Shri Sharda Prasad of the Prime Minister's Secretariat. The Prime Minister of Afghanistan was assisted by His Excellency Dr. Ali Ahman Popal, the First Deputy Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Abdullah Yaftali, the Second Deputy Prime Minister, His Excellency Dr. Nour Ali, the Minister of Commerce, His Excellency Dr. Mohammad Anas, the Minister of Information and Culture, His Excellency Engineer Mir Mohammed Akbar Reza, the Minister of Agriculture and Irrigation, His Excellency Dr. Abdul Samad Hamed, the Minister of Planning, His Excellency Mr. Ataollah Nasser-Zia, Ambassador of Afghanistan to India and Dr. A. G. Rawan Farhadi, Director-General of Political Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of great friendliness reflecting the traditionally close and cordial ties between the two countries. The discussions revealed a great similarity of views between the two sides in bilateral and international affairs.

Dedicated as the two Governments are to the rapid economic development and social progress of their peoples, the two Prime Ministers examined the possibilities of economic and technical cooperation in various fields. They noted with satisfaction the great scope that existed for such collaboration, particularly in the fields of irrigation, power, agriculture, small-scale industries, education and culture. The Prime Minister of India agreed to place at the disposal of the Government of Afghanistan technical expertise and various other facilities available in India in these fields.

The two Prime Ministers expressed

satisfaction with the steps so far taken by

113 joint efforts for the restoration of Monuments in Bamiyan and agreed that cooperation for the preservation and restoration of

these Monuments should be further increased

and strengthened.

As the discussions revealed that there existed a considerable scope in various fields for economic and technical assistance and cultural cooperation, the two Prime Ministers agreed to set up a Joint Commission at Ministerial level. The Joint Commission would, inter alia, study and plan various projects for the mutual benefit of, the two countries based on the coordination of the respective resources and capabilities of each country. The Commission would also examine all measures necessary to expand the trade exchanges between India and Afghanistan.

In the above context, the two Prime Ministers agreed that cooperation among the countries of the region was of great importance. They expressed the hope that the existing difficulties in the way of the land transit trade of the region would be ended soon so that economic cooperation and trade between the countries of the region could be developed to the maximum extent for the benefit of the peoples of these countries.

It was specially noted that the recent development of the road net-work in Afghanistan has greatly enhanced the possibilities of land transport and overland trade between the countries of the region.

The Prime Ministers expressed the conviction that the policy of non-alignment had been reaffirmed by the loosening of military alliances and the growth of forces for peace and international cooperation. They emphasised the importance of the acceptance of the principles of peaceful co-existence and peaceful methods of settlement of disputes by the world community for safeguarding international peace and security.

The two Prime Ministers reaffirmed their

faith in the principles embodied in the Tashkent Declaration for finding solutions to differences between States and the hope was expressed. that the implementation of this significant Declaration would lead to peace in the region and would also be in the larger interest of peace in the world.

The Prime Ministers were of the firm opinion that an early conclusion of a comprehensive treaty on general and complete disarmament, both nuclear and conventional. under effective international supervision, would be a vital contribution to the maintenance of world peace and security. They voiced their concern that there had been little progress so far in this direction and expressed the hope that the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee would give urgent consideration to this important matter. They reiterated their firm opposition to any form of imperialism, colonialism or its remnants and neocolonialism. They also noted that apart form the maintenance of peace and the eradication of all forms of exploitation by one country of another, the primary concern of developing countries is to raise the living standards of their people as rapidly as possible during the development decade. The two Prime Ministers urged the advanced nations to pursue more constructive trade policies and show a deeper understanding of the role of trade in development so that dependence on credits can be reduced.

The Prime Ministers expressed the view that a solution to the Vietnam problem can be found only through peaceful negotiations and that the provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreement provide an acceptable basis for such settlement and hoped that the talks now being held in Paris would lead to an early settlement.

The two Prime Ministers expressed deep concern at the continued occupation of the Arab territories by Israel. They stressed that while a comprehensive solution should be found through the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, any delay in withdrawal by Israeli forces from the occupied territories was fraught with further dangerous possibilities.

The two Prime Ministers strongly condemned the racialist and colonialist policies pursued by South Africa. Rhodesia and Portugal and expressed their solidarity with all those countries and organisations struggling to bring to an end these policies which directly contravene the Charter of the United Nations.

The Prime Minister of India thanked the Prime Minister and Government of Afghanis-

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tan for their warm and cordial hospitality. She extended an invitation to the Prime Minister of Afghanistan to visit India at a convenient date. The Prime Minister of Afghanistan accepted the invitation with pleasure.

AFGHANISTAN INDIA USA LATVIA VIETNAM SWITZERLAND FRANCE ISRAEL SOUTH AFRICA PORTUGAL

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

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### **ETHIOPIA**

Indo-Ethiopian Cooperation Agreement

The following is the text of a Press release issued in New Delhi on June 3, 1969 on the Indo-Ethiopian Cooperation Agreement signed between India and Ethiopia:

An agreement was signed in Addis Ababa on June 2, by Ato Ketema Yifru, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Imperial Ethiopian Government, and Shri O. V. Alagesan, the Indian Ambassador to Ethiopia, on technical, economic and scientific cooperation between India and Ethiopia.

Cooperation in these fields between the two countries has been growing in recent years. Apart from exchange of experts and provision of training facilities in India, joint industrial ventures have also been set up.

The present agreement would provide a formal framework for further expansion of cooperation between the two countries in these fields to their mutual benefit.

### ETHIOPIA INDIA USA

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

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### HUNGARY

Indo-Hungarian Cultural Programme

The following is the text of a Press Release issued in New Delhi on July 2, 1969 on a cultural exchange programme signed between India and Hungary:

An Indo-Hungarian Cultural exchage programme for the year 1969-71 was signed in Budapest on June 30, 1969.

The Union Minister of State for Education, Shri Bhakt Darshan, who led the Indian delegation, signed for India and Prof. Jozsef Bogner, President of the Hungarian Cultural Institute signed for Hungary.

The progamme provides for further development of direct contacts between the scientific and cultural institutions of the two countries and for the exchange of students and professors.

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### INDIA AND THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

'No-Visa' Agreement with Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden

The following is the text of a Press Release issued on June 3, 1969 in New Delhi at the conclusion of a 'No-Visa' Agreement with the four Scandinavian countries:

Shri V. H. Coelho, Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, today signed and exchanged letters with Ambassadors of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden to abolish visas for short visits on a reciprocal basis.

Following this Indian nationals can visit any of the above-mentioned four Scandinavian countries without a visa upto a period of three months. Similar facilities will be available to the citizens of these countries when they visit India.

This is the first agreement of its kind that India has entered into with any country. Such arrangements have existed between India and some Commonwealth countries as a historical continuity.

Speaking on the occasion, Shri Coehlo thanked the Ambassadors of the four countries and said that "this is an historic occasion and yet another bridge in our growing relations with Scandinavian countries".

INDIA DENMARK FINLAND NORWAY SWEDEN USA

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

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#### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Permanent Representative of India's letter to the President of Security Council on the issue of Kashmir

The following is the copy of letter dated 2 June 1969 from the Permanent Representative of India addressed to the President of the Security Council:

Under instructions from the Government of India, I have the honour to refer to letters dated 2 July (S/8670) and 25 July 1968 (S/8692) from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan and letter dated 11 April 1969 (S/9151) from the Acting Permanent Representative of Pakistan. The subject-matters of the letters dated 25 July 1968 and 11 April 1969 were also raised by the Government of Pakistan with the Government of India respectively in notes dated 20 July 1968 and 2 April 1969, to which my Government has already replied.

I attach a copy of each of our notes to Pakistan, which are self-explanatory.

So far as the letter dated 2 July 1968 is concerned, the facts that India is prepared to discuss all differences with Pakistan in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Tashkent Declaration and to settle these differences by peaceful means does not and cannot mean that the Government of India cannot take measures necessary for proper government in Kashmir or that the status of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir can be brought into question. I would wish to reiterate that the issue before the Security Council is Pakistan's aggression and continuing illegal occupation by force of Indian territory in Kashmir and the situa-

tion arising therefrom. It is an incontestable principle that aggression cannot give any right to the aggressor over areas under its illegal occupation and Pakistan cannot be unaware of this.

I should be grateful if this letter, with its enclosures, could be circulated as a Security Council document.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Enclosure: (a)

The High Commission of India in Pakistan presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, and has the honour to refer to their note No. IN(4)-614167 dated 20 July, 1968, regarding the Jammu and Kashmir Representation of the People (Supplementary) Act, 1968.

The baseless allegations made in the note have been repeatedly exposed in the past by the Government of India and its representative in the Security Council. The state of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India in 1947 and is Indain Union territory. Any changes contemplated in the relations between the state and the centre would be in conformity with the law and Constitution of India and, therefore, a matter for India alone to decide. The note under reference is, under the circumstances, an unwarranted interference in the domestic affairs of India and the High Commission has been instructted by the Government of India to reject the same.

The High Commission of India avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the assurances of its highest consideration.

Enclosure: (b)

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the High Commission of Pakistan in India and has the honour to refer to note No. IN(4)6/1169,

dated 2 April 1969 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan.

The High Commission is aware that the state of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India in 1947 and is a part of India. Any changes, undertaken or contemplated, either within the state or in relations between the state and the centre, are matters entirely for the Government of India and the Government of state to decide.

The Government of India considers the note under reference as another attempt by the Government of Pakistan to interfere in India's internal affairs in furtherance of their ambitions on Indian territory and, therefore, reject the same.

The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the High Commission of Pakistan the assurances of its highest consideration.

INDIA PAKISTAN USA UZBEKISTAN

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

# Volume No

1995

### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Tidke's Speech at I.L.O.

The following is the text of the speech made by Shri N. M. Tidke, Labour Minister, Maharashtra, on behalf of the Government of India Delegation to the 53rd Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva on June 11, 1969:

It is my privilege to congratulate you on behalf of the Indian Government delegation on your election to the Presidentship of this Session of the Conference. I should also like to associate myself with the general feeling of happiness over the election of a workers' delegate as President of this Session for the first time in the history of this Organisation in view of its 50th Anniversary. I must congratulate the Government group in general for their forbearance and the Government group from Asia in particular for agreeing to stand down in favour of a workers' delegate. I am confident that the conventional rotation system will be ob-

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served by all concerned and Asia's turn stands postponed by a year only. This Session is momentous for a number of reasons, but the most important one, if I may say so, is that the ILO is now launching the World Employment Programme as part of its contribution to the Second Development Decade on which the international community will soon be embarking. As one of the founder members of the ILO, India cannot but be happy at the completion by this Organisation of 50 years of uninterrupted service in the cause of world labour, in the course of which it has grown enormously in stature as also in the range of its activities which now embrace, in cooperation with other international organisations, technical assistance programmes for the needy countries of the world.

If, however, as acknowledged by the Director-General in his Report to the Conference, the gap between the rich and the poor nations is widening instead of narrowing, if conditions of "injustice, hardship and privation" are still the lot of the vast majority of the world's population and if poverty exists today on a larger scale than ever before it is not, we believe, because of the lack of efforts on the part of the I.L.O. and other Organisations of the U.N. family. Rather the cause lies in the vast magnitude of the problem. The problem of poverty has been intensified by the rapid growth in. the populations of the developing countries which tends to outstrip the little gains that have been made on the economic front. It would be foolhardiness to expect that the problem of poverty could be eradicated in a short period of time. What is, however, required

is the presevering and untiring efforts of the Organisations like the I.L.O. in the task of grappling with the problem with a view to solving it ultimately, but not in the too distant future.

Large additions to the labour force have been taking place continuously in most parts of the developing world adding to the already acute problem of providing work opportunities to the employable ones. The World Employment Programme, therefore, has not come a day too soon. The Director-General's comprehensive Report reveals some staggering estimates of projected additions to the world population and its labour force and the likely magnitude of the employment opportunities that would have to be created over the next 10 years. Asia alone, it would appear, would add somethin- like 290 million employable persons over a period of 20 years between 1960 and 1980. Only for a portion of this huge addition would adequate work opportunities be found unless special measures are now initiated and energetically pursued. In view of the limited capacity of industry to absorb a large number of additional labour force, the major share of jobs would have to come from agriculture which, in Asia at least, is already over-burdened. This then is the central problem which is exercising, the minds of the planners in developing countries and for which we look to the I.L.O. World Employment Programme to provide meaningful solutions. As pointed out by the Director-General, no matter how dramatic the growth in the non-agricultural sector, a substantial part of new additions to the labour force will still have to be absorbed in the rural sector. There is, therefore, the most urgent need for applied manpower research motivated wholly towards exploring the absorptive capacity of the rural sector for fresh inputs of manpower.

As stated by the Director-General in his Report, the problem is rendered more acute by the large proportion of young people in the labour force both existing and emerging. In India, for instance, out of a total estimated population of 520 million, the young persons belonging to the age group 12-30

account for nearly 180 million, of which about 80 per cent live in rural areas where there is limited scope for material and mental advancement. I am happy to note that the question of special schemes for youth is coming up for consideration at this very Conference. In his Report, the Director-General has also referred to the need for special youth schemes for the creation of more employment opportunities. In India, we are conscious of the problem of formulating special schemes for the youth of the country both with a view to enriching their knowledge and to utilising their energies and talents in the tasks of national development. We have formulated several schemes for the purpose and the Ministry of Education and Youth Services at the Centre is coordinating them as part of an extensive programme to be launched in the near future.

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The main objectives of the World Employment Programme are to make productive and remunerative work available for ever larger numbers of people and to endeavour to orient national and international development policies in this direction. We all recognise that the undertaking is a difficult and complex one, but a beginning has to be made now. Speaking for my own country, I may say that the Government of India, which had earlier readily supported I.L.O.'s World Employment Programme along with its regional components, namely, the Ottawa Plan for Human Resources Development, the Asian Manpower Plan, the African Jobs and Skills Programme would give all its support and cooperation to the I.L.O. in the pursuit of this essential objective. We recognise that while the I.L.O. will act as the catalyst, the initiator and the coordinator, the responsibility for concrete, action-oriented programmes would rest on the national authorities themselves; international action by various specialised agencies and institutions would really be in the nature of rendering advice to national Governments and assisting them in the implementation of suitable manpower policies designed to create more productive employment. The regional teams that have

been set up, or are being set up, for formulating the regional Plans will have to cope with a difficult assignment in that in many of the developing countries there is a lack of adequate statistical and other material with which to work out the Plans. Thus, collection and exchange of information will be the first essential stage in the operations of the regional task forces.

Manpower problems and manpower planning are not new to us in India. For some time now, manpower planning has been an integral part of the development plans of the country, even though there has now been a greater emphasis on, and closer attention to, the manpower aspects of the development Plan in view of our growing concern with the problem of unemployment and underemployment. Our Five Years Plans for economic development can be said to be employment-oriented; this is also the case with the Draft Four Five Year Plan for the period 1969-1974 that has just been formulated. Even so the need for reconciling economic growth with employment increase requires a clearer and stronger emphasis in our future planning. As a first step in the formulation of definite programme, we have recently set up a Committee of Experts to enquire into the estimates of unemployment for the previous Plan periods, and the methodology used in arriving at those estimates and to advise on the alternative methods of analysis, computation and presentation that may be adopted for a 10-year perspective for the period 1969-1979.

The Director-General has referred to a number of measures that will create move employment opportunities in developing countries such as rural development, labour intensive public works programmes, the reduction of capital intensity of industrialisation, etc. In India the development of small scale industries handicrafts, provision of rural works, land reclamation, labour intensive methods of cultivation and promotion of rural services such as education, housing and health services are all parts of our rural development programme. Labour intensive works are very common at irrigation sites, construction works such as

election of steel mills, etc. I would admit, however, that there is need for a deeper probe into the role of labour intensive schemes and of an intermediate technology in promoting accelerated manpower utilisation.

Rapid population growth is causing us a great deal of concern in India in view of its impact on unemployment and income levels and our Government has taken measures fully commensurate with the magnitude and gravity of the problem. Thus during the Fourth Plan, it is planned to invest a sum of Rupees 3000 million on family planning programmes as against an estimated expenditure of about Rs. 750 million during the three-year period 1966-69. We recognise, however, that these measures can be expected to have their full effect only after a decade or so and in the meanwhile the situation would continue to grow worse unless more radical measures are taken to generate employment opportunities on a large scale.

The Director-General has advocated a number of specific measures to ensure the adjustment of labour supply to demand. I may say that one aspect does not seem to

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have received the attention it deserves -- I am referring to imbalances in manpower supply. These imbalances can sometimes arise on account of unforeseen emergencies. For instance, the Indian economy has recently been subjected to heavy stresses and strains leading to imbalances in physical resources and in manpower supply. Currently, there is an over-supply of some critical categories of manpower, such as scientific and technical personnel. A high priority would have to be given to the fuller utilisation of the human resources on the development of which large sums of money have been invested. The manpower teams will have to give thought to this aspect.

So far as training is concerned, besides the formal education in professional colleges, etc., we in India have built up a considerable volume of facilities for vocational training, thanks to the generous help rendered by the I.L.O. There is now a net-work of 356 Industrial Training Institutes spread all over the country with an annual intake capacity of about 150,000. Besides, there is a scheme for Apprenticeship Training for imparting practical training in industry. We have also built up facilities for training of craft instructors and of supervisors. There is also a pre-vocational training scheme in India, which is meant for school drop-outs belonging to the age-group of 11-14.

It is the earnest hope of my Government that the World Employment Programme with its emphasis on the creation of more productive employment opportunities and the development of skills will help in the solution of what is undoubtedly the most important and the most serious problem facing the developing countries, at present.

In conclusion, may I refer to the role of industrialised countries in making the Programme a success? The Director-General has made a passing reference to the non-fulfilment of expectations roused by the first Development Decade and also to the resolutions adopted by the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. It would be futile at this stage to go into the reasons for the failure of the first Decade. It is, nevertheless, necessary for the developed countries, if further failures are to be avoided and if more expectations are not to be belied to implement the UNCTAD declarations in good faith. The creation of favourable conditions of trade for the developing countries is the one sure means whereby their manpower policies can be supported and sustained. It is my hope that the measures and policies adopted by the industrialised countries of the world would be informed and influenced by a realisation of this simple but fundamental truth.

INDIA SWITZERLAND USA CANADA

Date: Jun 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

#### **INDONESIA**

President Soeharto's Welcome Address at the Airport

His Excellency President Soeharto made the following speech at the Kemajoran airport, Djakarta welcoming Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India on June 28, 1969, on her state visit to Indonesia:

Your Excellency Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Honourable members of the Prime Minister's party:

First of all, allow me to extend to Your Excellency and to the distinguished members of your party, a warm welcome.

Your Excellency and the People of India have always been close at heart to us. Not only because of the fact that for centuries our relations had been very close, tra-

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ditionally as well as culturally, but the more so, because we have much in common in our philosophical outlook and aspirations, particularly after both our two countries achieved their independence.

The spontaneous support and aid of the Government and the people of India extended to our struggle for Independence, namely during the first years after the Proclamation of our Independence on August 17, 1945, will always be engraved in our hearts.

Since that time a lot of developments have occurred in both countries, internally, around this part of the world as well as in the international situation in general, particularly during the past few years. It is my ardent hope that during Your Excellency's visit we will have the opportunity to ex-

change views and experiences concerning various questions of common interests to our country.

I do hope that during your stay in Indonesia, Your Excellency will have the opportunity to renew your acquaintance with the Indonesian people, their culture, aspirations and what is now being done.

In conclusion, I wish on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and on my own behalf to express our highest appreciation for honouring our invitation to visit this country.

May Your Excellency have a profound impression of our country during your stay amongst the Indonesian people. And may this visit promote friendly relations, mutual understanding and cooperation between our two countries.

INDONESIA INDIA USA

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

#### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Reply by Shrimati Indira Gandhi

The following is the text of Prime Minister's reply to the address of welcome at the Airport:

It is many years since I have been to your beautiful country. They have been years of travail for the developing countries.

Our freedom opened the doors of opportunity, but not unnaturally, simultaneously it also brought to the surface dreams long dreamt and desires long suppressed.

To the age-old problems of poverty and economic backwardness were added the new problems of development, growth and change. To our involvement in our domestic affairs, was added the concern regarding international developments.

India and Indonesia may not always have identical problems, nor wish to choose identical methods for their solution. But there has been much in common between our solutions

It was the wealth of our natural resources and the talent of our artisans which attracted the foreigner to our shores. It was the determination of our people and their valiant struggle which succeeded in evicting him. It is the richness of our culture - our music and dance - the skill of our craftsman which have given each country distinctiveness and a special personality.

Today we both endeavour to bring our ancient tradition-bound countries to the modern age, so that our people are enabled to use science and technology to create and to make better use of opportunities and to raise their standards of living. We must constantly adjust to changing conditions.

Vast changes have taken place in your country and in mine and indeed in the entire world. Our ancient sales told us thousands of years ago that nothing was constant in life except the fact of change.

The principles which were adopted by the nations gathered in Bandung were concerned with basic truths and therefore remain relevant even to changing situations.

I can assure you that since my child-hood, when my father introduced me to the story of your islands, I have had a deep interest in your country and affection and regard for your people. I have come to greet you and your people and bring the good wishes of the Indian people to their brothers and sisters in Indonesia.

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

#### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

President Soeharto's Speech at Banquet in Honour of Shrimati Indira Gandhi

The following speech was delivered at the state banquet by H.E. President Soeharto given in honour of the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi on June 28, 1969:

Your Excellency Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Allow me on this happy occasion, on behalf of the People and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, to express our highest appreciation and heartfelt thanks for honouring my invitation to visit Indonesia.

Excellency, There have always been very close relationship between our two Nations; a relationship entertwined for centuries based on a cultural heritage and high moral values, which could still be traced up to the present time. We have this also in common with the other Asian Nations in this region. This fact made us always aware that amongst us there are, actually, basic similarities in culture and philosophical outlook.

Our respective movements for national independence in the beginning of this century had given mutual inspirations and aspirations. The late Mahatma Gandhi, one of the great leaders of India and a world figure, is very well-known and respected by the Indonesians.

Indeed, the solidarity, spontaneous and genuine support of India in time of difficulties in the early days of Indonesian Independence, will stay in our memory and will always be written in the history of relationship between out, two great Nations.

The firm cultural background and the common struggle in attaining our national independence, had created also a common philosophical outlook and aspirations between our two nations up to the present time.

In the field of relations among Nations, we have a common conviction, that an active and independent foreign policy is a solid guarantee to preserve political independence and to foster the economic position and the well-being of nations; that the principles of nonalignment and peaceful co-existence oil the basis of mutual respect is a correct way in lessening international tensions, to prevent wars and to maintain peace.

Indonesia firmly upholds those already accepted principles, which constitute the foundations for the relationships among the nations of Asia and Africa as had been unanimously accepted in the Bandung Conference, sponsored by India and Indonesia.

Excellency, You have visited Indonesia three times; however the present visit has a different meaning than the previous ones. Not only that in the present visit Your Excellency comes in the capacity of Head of the Government of India, but also that at present Your Excellency is amidst the Indonesian People who are in full swing implementing the first Five-Year Development Plan.

At present we are concentrating our minds and our capabilities to carry out our economic development which is first in priority in our present National Program.

We are fully aware that the serious implementation of the development plan is not an easy task, especially since we have to get away with the very serious economic debris of the past, to lay new and solid foundations and at the same time we have to work hard for the development.

During the past years we have attained significant progress, so that we are able to face the future with full confidence. With the increase of economic activities in Indonesia, we are also hoping for the increase of the economic relations and cooperation with other countries of Asia. We are earnestly hoping that since the establishment of the New Order, the pattern of cooperation and understanding as have already been shown by the friendly nations -- particularly India - will still be continued and even more broadened.

If at present we are concentrating ourselves in the implementation of the economic development, it does not mean that we ex-

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clude ourselves from the common problems of this part of the world or from international issues The economic development constitutes a pressing problem which must be overcome; for it is the key of our future. with adequate economic capabilities, the increase of the welfare of the people of Indonesia, we, then, will be able to contribute more effectively towards world peace, particularly peace in Asia.

Therefore, Indonesia, full of awareness and sometimes full of concern always follows the political trend of the world in general, Asia in particular, which is still full of tensions and fear.

The fact that Your Excellency has spared your valuable time amids the pressure of work in state affairs, to visit several countries in Asia, is proof that the future of the countries in Asia is closely related to one another.

I am of the conviction that Your Excellency's visit this time, will be of great benefit to the increase of mutual understanding, cooperation and friendship between our two countries in particular and among the countries of Asia in general.

And now, allow me to request Your

Excellency and the distinguished guests to propose a toast for the health of His Excellency Acting President V. V. Giri and for the welfare and the glory of the People of India.

INDIA INDONESIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

#### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Reply by Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi

The following is the text of speech of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, at a banquet given by H.E. President Soeharto of Indonesia at Djakarta on June 28, 1969:

Mr. President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am indeed delighted to be in Indonesia once again, especially so as I see that so many changes have come about. Even in the short drive to the palace I could see how the city has grown.

I am grateful for the welcome to me and my party and for your kind words and your invitation. It has given me an opportunity to renew my acquaintance and deepen my friendship with your beautiful country and your talented people.

Our relationship does not rest on the past alone. It was renewed during our struggle for freedom, and it continues now when we are engaged in the consolidation of freedom.

In today's world, when communications

are so developed, all are neighbours. Both our countries have come out of the darkness of foreign domination. We believe that for freedom to be meaningful, it must have social and economic content.

The basis of real strength is economic stability and advance. Therefore to make the less developed countries economically strong should be the primary concern of all nations. These developing countries must put in the same energy and the same enthusiasm into development as they did when wresting freedom. And the developed and affluent countries must help the poorer. For the first time the human race has the power and the knowledge not only to use the resources of land and sea but to create new resources. There is plenty for all, and there is no need to compete for resources. But it is most necessary that these resources should be distributed equitably. Such allround development would not only help the peoples of our countries but would bring about a new and wonderful atmosphere of peace and friendship.

Our countries have had to grapple with economic difficulties but are overcoming them. I was very glad to learn from the President, while we were talking during the banquet, about the very great progress made by Indonesia in agriculture. In India also

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we have made a big advance, government and farmers together, in agriculture, and we shall be self-sufficient in two years.

But no sooner do you solve one problem than the very solution creates a new problem. And there will be no end to problems whether in an individual's life or a nation's life. But these problems often give strength to a nation.

The long-term challenge of development demands our very best effort. And just as the affluent and backward countries should co-operate, the developing countries must also cooperate and help each other at many different levels in trade and other ways. It would be possible for us to share our resour-

ces and skills to our mutual benefit. Such bilateral cooperation would lead towards multi-lateral arrangements for regional economic cooperation.

To realise social objectives, it is of the utmost importance to have internal unity and freedom from external threats. Out of the seven largest countries of world, five are in Asia and among these five are Indonesia and India. We hope our whole region will he area of peace and cooperation, without the domination of any power and free of tension and antagonism.

Tensions arise when one country interferes with another. That is why we have always been opposed to interference and have believed in all countries living in peace and co-existence.

Some of the principles on which our foreign policies are based are fashioned with your country. Non-alignment is one of these principles. We have kept out of military alliances for we believe that military alliances create an illusory sense of security and do not confer enduring strength.

There is much talk of power vacuum, and I am asked questions on the vacuum that might come about when various nations withdraw their forces from one region. I do not like to prophesy what will happen. But it could have been said that when the British left India and the Dutch left Indonesia a vacuum was created, but each of our nations filled it. I have no doubt that the countries of our region can themselves fill the vacuum.

Two wars have raged in Asia. In Vietnam, after darkness a ray of hope seems to have emerged. Any settlement will in turn throw up new challenges and problems. It should be the endeavour of all to help in solving such problems.

The situation in West Asia is explosive and must be resolved by early implementation of Security Council Resolution. Fruits of military aggression cannot be allowed to be retained. Unless the sovereignty of borders and states is respected, nobody can be safe.

Mr. President, you have been able to bring back political stability and economic recovery to your country and thereby great stability in this region. We wish you every success. Ladies and Gentlemen, may I invite you to join me in wishing long life and happiness to President Soeharto and Madame Soeharto, to the prosperity of Indonesia and the success of her plans, and to friendship between our two countries.

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#### INDIA INDONESIA USA

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

**IRAN** 

Joint Communique on Indo-Iran Commission

The following is the text of Communique issued on June 21, 1969 at the conclusion of the first meeting of the Joint Indo-Iran Commission for Economic, Trade and Technical Cooperation held in Tehran:

In pursuance of the agreement reached between the Governments of Iran and India on the occasion of His Imperial Majesty's visit to India in January, 1969, to broaden and deepen the economic relations between the two countries, the first meeting of the Joint Indo-Iran Commission for Economic, Trade and Technical Cooperation was held in Tehran from June 18 to 21, 1969.

The Iranian delegation was led by the Iranian Minister of Eeconomy, His Excellency Mr. A. N. Alikhani, and the Indian delegation was led by the Minister of External

#### Affairs, Shri Dinesh Singh.

The Principal objectives, the Commission has set before itself, include joint studies of resources, endorsements and requirements to reinforce economic growth, trade expansion, cooperation in different sectors of their respective national economies, contacts between the financial, industrial and commercial institutions, exchange of specialists, provision of training facilities and materialization of plans for mutually beneficial endeavours. The Commission will take steps to ensure coordinated implementation of recommendations and decisions made from time to time. To this end, the Commission appointed a high level Coordinating and Implementation Committee and also set up a Joint Working Group and a Committee each on Petrochemicals and Petroleum, Industries, Trade, Transport and Technical Cooperation. The terms of reference of the Joint Working Group and the Committees have been settled. These Committees will he meeting over the coming months and their convenors, who have been nominated, will keep in contact with each other.

In the field of industrial cooperation, it has been agreed that possibilities exist for developing cooperation to mutual advantage in certain sectors of industrial production on the basis of their respective resources and capabilities. These possibilities will be studied in depth by the Committees on Petrochemicals and Petroleum and on Industries. Meanwhile, the National Petrochemical Company of Iran and the Fertilizer Corporation of India will work out a technoeconomic report for setting up a joint venture in Iran for the production of ammonia, the greater part of which will be used in the production of fertilizers in India. Similarly, the Industrial Development and Renovation Organisation of Iran and the Indian Railway Board will explore the possibilities of collaborating with each other for setting up a plant for the manufacture of railway wagons in Iran. The concerned Iranian and Indian parties are also in contact with each other for setting up manufacturing capacity for the fabrication of transmission towers in Iran.

The Commission noted that there are many proposals in various stages of negotiations between Iranian and Indian parties for the establishment of Joint ventures in the private sector and recommended that appropriate facilities be provided by the two Governments for the expeditious completion of these negotiations. It was also a-reed that the Director of Investment Promotion Section in the Iranian Ministry of Economy and the Director of the Overseas Joint Venture Cell in the Indian Department of Foreign Trade will cooperate in providing information on procedures and possibilities for the setting up of the joint ventures and in facilitating their establishment.

The Iranian Small Scale Industries and Industrial Estates and the Development Commissioner for Small Scale Industries of India will, it was agreed, cooperate with each other in facilitating the development and establishment in Iran of small scale industries, including estates.

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In the field of commercial cooperation, while India will be facilitating the purchase of ammonia, sulphur and phosphoric acid from Iran, Iran will likewise be facilitating the purchase from India of steel products, including. billets, certain chemicals, other intermediates, railway and other equipment, spares etc.

The Committee on Trade will be exploring other possibilities for the expansion of trade exchanges between the two countries. To facilitate the envisaged expansion, it was agreed that direct contacts will be established between the Federation of Iranian Chambers of Commerce and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries. The possibilities of Cooperation between Iranian and Indian banking systems to provide efficient support for closer economic cooperation are also proposed to be explored by the Central Bank of Iran and the Reserve Bank of India.

In the field of transport, attention was focussed on practical ways and means to

improve railway transportation facilities. The concerned organisations in the two countries will cooperate to this end. The Commission was of the view that the development of transport facilities would be of interest not only to the two countries but also to other neighbouring countries. Questions relating to the utilisation and improvement of transit facilities would-be examined by the Committee on Transport at its next meeting.

In the filed of technical cooperation, the responsibility for assisting the recruitment of technical personnel, deputation of experts and provision of training facilities was entrusted on the Iranian side to the International Relations Office of the Plan Organisation and on the Indian side to the Economic Division of the Ministry of External Affairs. It was also agreed that the two sides will cooperate in utilizing their respective technical, designs and consultancy services for the benefit of their economies.

In the field of tourism and hotel industry, the Tourist Organisation of Iran and the Indian Directorate General of Tourism will hold a joint meeting in Tehran to explore possibilities and promote appropriate facilities.

The second meeting of the Joint Commission will be held in New Delhi in December, 1969, on a date to be agreed upon between the two sides.

During the course of the visit of the Indian Delegation, His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah Aryamehr received in audience Shri Dinesh Singh, the Indian Minister of External Affairs. There was also fruitful exchange of views between His Excellency Mr. Ardeshir Zahedi, the Foreign Minister of Iran and the Minister of External Affairs of India. It was felt that the work of the Joint Commission would promote progress and prosperity of the two countries, add new dimensions to age-old ties between them and contribute to the peace, progress and stability in the region as a whole.

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

**JAPAN** 

Joint Communique on Prime Minister's Visit

The following is the text of Joint Communique issued on June 28, 1969 in Tokyo at the end of Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's visit to Japan:

At the invitation of H.E. Mr. Eisaku Sato, Prime Minister of Japan, H.E. Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, paid a state visit to Japan from June 23 to 28, 1969.

The present visit, which follows the earlier visits in 1957 and 1964, provided Shrimati Indira Gandhi with a fresh oppor-

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tunity to witness Japan's remarkable achievements in the technological, industrial and economic fields. She paid tribute to the enterprise, industry, discipline and above all, the dedication of the Japanese people which had contributed towards this phenomenal Progress.

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi was received in audience by Their Majesties the Emperor and the Empress at the Imperial Palace on June 24, 1969.

During her stay in Japan, the Prime Minister of India had an opportunity to exchange views with Prime Minister Sato in an atmosphere of utmost cordiality on a wide range of subjects of interest to both countries. These included the current international situation, particularly in the Asian region, international peace and cooperation and the bilateral relations between Japan and India, with special reference to the growing scope for economic cooperation between the two countries. At the direction of the two Prime Ministers, discussions were also held at the official level and this provided a welcome opportunity for an exchange of views between the officials of the two Governments in addition to the Annual Consultative Meetings.

The two Prime Ministers reviewed economic developments in their respective countries. The Prime Minister of Japan noted with satisfaction the steady recovery of the Indian economy in recent years as well as the brighter prospects for the future and paid tribute to the determined efforts being made by the Indian people for the realisation of social and economic progress. He welcomed the launching in April 1969 of India's Fourth Five Year Plan providing an effective framework for her economic growth.

The two Prime Ministers expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved over the past years in the field of economic and technical cooperation between the two countries. The Prime Minister of India expressed appreciation for the economic assistance received from Japan and for the reaffirmation by Prime Minister Sato that Japan would continue to play an active part in the India Consortium organised by the World Bank. The two Prime Ministers agreed that there was scope for greater cooperation between the two countries in various fields of economic development in India. The Prime Minister of Japan agreed to resume project aid to India starting with the development of an outer harbour at Visakhapatnam and oil exploration. It was decided that consultations would be held between the two Governments in the near future to work out detailed arrangements for this purpose.

The Prime Ministers noted the progressive increase in the trade between the two countries. They recognised the scope for further growth of trade both ways and agreed to hold close consultations at various

levels to ensure long-term development of trade relations between the two countries on the basis of greater diversification and complementarity.

The Prime Ministers recalled the historical, cultural and traditional ties binding the people of Japan and India and agreed that increased efforts should be made under the Cultural Agreement for educational, cultural and scientific cooperation.

The Prime Minister of Japan expressed his appreciation of India's participation in the Japan World Exposition, Osaka, 1970.

The two Prime Ministers reiterated their faith in the principles of the United Nations Charter. They stressed that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states should be respected and that there should be no external interference in the internal affairs of any state whether through direct or indirect means. They further emphasised the need to resolve all international disputes without resort to force or threat of force and without endangering international peace and justice.

The Prime Ministers expressed the view that the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control would be a lasting contribution to the maintenance of world peace and security. The Prime Minister of Japan expressed his appreciation for India's support of Japan's membership in the Eighteen Nations Disarmament Committee. The two Prime Ministers agreed that their Governments should closely cooperate in the future work of the Committee.

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The two Prime Ministers welcomed the talks currently continuing in Paris on the Viet Nam question and expressed the hope that a just and lasting solution of the Viet Nam problem would be found soon, consistent with the wishes of the Vietnamese people. The two Prime Ministers stressed the need to ensure respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos and hoped

that suitable arrangements to this end would be made on an adequate international basis within the broad framework of the Geneva Accords. They also recognised that the broadest possible international cooperation would be needed to assist in the economic recovery and progress of this region after the restoration of peace in Viet Nam.

The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction that the visit to Japan of Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi had made valuable contribution towards strengthening the friendly and cooperative relations between Japan and India as well as promoting their mutual understanding.

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi expressed her deep appreciation and thanks to the Government and people of Japan for the cordial welcome and warm hospitality extended to her and the members of her suite during their stay in Japan.

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi renewed her invitation to Prime Minister of Japan and Mrs. Sato to visit India in the near future. Prime Minister Sato expressed his heartfelt gratitude in accepting this cordial invitation.

JAPAN INDIA USA FRANCE VIETNAM CAMBODIA LAOS SWITZERLAND

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

# Volume No 1995 NEPAL Text of Indo-Nepalese Joint Communique

The following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on June 9, 1969 after the talks of the Foreign Ministers of India and Nepal in Kathmandu:

At the invitation of His Excellency Shri Gehendra Bahadur Rajthandari, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nepal, the Minister of External Affairs of India, Shri Dinesh Singh, accompanied by a team of officials, paid a goodwill visit to Nepal from 5-9 June, 1969. During the period of his visit, Shri Dinesh Singh had two audiences with His Majesty the King of Nepal. He also had discussions with H.E. the Prime Minister of Nepal and H.E. the Foreign Minister of Nepal. While the visiting Indian officials held discussions with the officials of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the two Foreign Ministers met several times and discussed frankly and cordially and in considerable detail the various questions of bilateral interest between the two countries. It was decided that official groups would go into them in greater depth to evolve recommendations for specific solutions and also to evolve specific plans for further co-operation in matters of common interest.

The two ministers emphasised the close geographical, historical, cultural and the other particularly close bonds-existing between their two countries and recognised the need for continuous and close economic cooperation between India and Nepal. In this connection the Foreign Minister of Nepal expressed his appreciation of India's co-operation and assistance in various fields.

Shri Dinesh Singh invited H.E. Shri Gehendra Bahadur Rajbhandari, Foreign Minister of Nepal, to visit India which the Minister of Foreign Affairs accepted with pleasure.

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NEPAL INDIA USA

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

#### TUNISIA

#### Cultural Agreement with Tunisia

The following is a brief summary of the Cultural Agreement signed between India and Tunisia on 24th June, 1969, in New Delhi:

A Cultural Agreement between India and Tunisia was signed in New Delhi on 24th June, 1969. This followed the discussions that were held earlier on various aspects of the Agreement between Mr. Habit) Bourguiba, Jr. the Foreign Minister of Tunisia and Professor V.K.R.V. Rao, Minister of Education & Youth Services, Government of India. The two Ministers signed the agreement on behalf of their respective Governments.

The two Governments have agreed to promote and develop as far as possible the relations in the fields of education, science, culture and sports, in order to contribute to better knowledge of their respective cultures and activities in these fields.

This agreement also envisages, exchange of teachers, research scholars, technicians as well as exchange of cultural and artistic programmes between the radio and television stations of the two countries. It also includes exchange of groups of youths and groups of journalists.

TUNISIA INDIA USA

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

**TUNISIA** 

The following is the text of Joint Communique issued in New Delhi on June 25, 1969 at the end of the visit to India of His Excellency Mr. Habib Bourguiba, Foreign Minister of Tunisia:

At the inivitation of Shri Dinesh Singh, Foreign Minister of India, His Excellency Mr. Habib Bourguiba, Foreign Minister of Tunisia, visited India from June 20 to 24, 1969. During his stay H.E. the Foreign Minister of Tunisia was accorded a warm and cordial reception. He called on the President and the Prime Minister of India and held talks with the Foreign Minister, the Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply, the Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, the Minister of Industrial Development, Internal Trade and Company Affairs, and the Minister of Education and Youth Services.

The talks covered a variety of subjects of common interest including the present international situation and the friendly bilateral relations between the two countries. The talks were held in an atmosphere of great friendliness. They revealed a general similarity of views between the two sides and contributed to the bringing about of closer mutual understanding. The Foreign Minister of India expressed his great appreciation of the rapid progress being made in Tunisia under the leadership of President Bourguiba. The Foreign Minister of Tunisia who visited Bhakra Darn, the Nangal Fertilizer Factory and the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, expressed great appreciation of India's achievements under leadership of her Prime Minister.

The two Foreign Ministers expressed their conviction in the continuing validity of the policy of non-alignment which has made a positive contribution to the cause of peace and international cooperation. They also stressed the importance of the acceptance of the principles of peaceful coexistence in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

The two sides reiterated their firm opinion that an early conclusion of a comprehensive treaty on general and complete disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, under effective international supervision,

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would be a vital contribution to the maintenance of world peace and security. They voiced their concern that there had been little progress so far in this direction and expressed the hope that the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee would give urgent consideration to this important matter.

The Foreign Ministers affirmed their faith in the principle of resolution of differences between States by peaceful negotations and without resort to force. In this spirit they expressed the hope that India and Pakistan would settle their differences peacefully and that in the interest of the subcontinent the relations between India and Pakistan would soon register significant improvement.

The two Foreign Ministers expressed deep concern at the continuing occupation of the Arab territories by Israel. They stressed that while a comprehensive solution should be found by implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, any delay in withdrawal by Israeli forces from the occupied territories was fraught with further dangerous possibilities. The two Foreign Ministers reiterated the full support of their Governments to the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The two sides expressed the view that a solution to the Vietnam problem can be found only through peaceful negotiations on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and hoped that the current talks in Paris would lead to an early settlement.

The Foreign Ministers expressed the solidarity of their Governments with all countries and organisations struggling against the racialist and colonialist policies pursued by South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. They declared their conviction that these policies which are in direct contraven-

tion of the U.N. Charter should be brought to a speedy end.

The two sides also noted the imperative need for the developing countries to raise the living standards of their people as rapidly as possible. The two Foreign Ministers urged the advanced nations to pursue more constructive trade policies and show a deeper understanding of the role of trade in development in order to reduce dependence on credits.

The Foreign Minister of Tunisia and the Indian Ministers successfully explored the possibilities of expanding trade between India and Tunisia. Both sides expressed their keen interest in an increasing exchange of their respective goods and products.

The two sides examined the possibilities of economic and technical cooperation in various fields. It was decided that measures should be taken in pursuance of the Agreement on Friendship and Technical, Economic and Scientific Cooperation concluded between India and Tunisia in 1965, to stengthen technical and economic cooperation between the two countries.

The two sides emphasised the necessity of developing closer cultural contacts in all fields. The Foreign Ministers noted the great and diverse achievements of civilization in their countries and resolved to develop cooperation in many-sided cultural activities. In this spirit the two Governments concluded a cultural agreement.

The Foreign Minister of India stated that the Government of India would welcome the establishment of a resident Tunisian Mission in India to consolidate the increasing collaboration between the two countries in all fields. The Tunisian Foreign Minister accepted the idea in principle and stated that a Tunisian Mission would be established in India at a suitable opportunity.

The Foreign Minister of Tunisia referred to the invitation which the President of Tunisia had extended to the Prime Minister of India to visit Tunisia and conveyed the hope of His Excellency the President of Tunisia that the Prime Minister would find it possible to visit Tunisia soon. The Prime Minister expressed her thanks for the kind invitation and assured the Foreign Minister that she would, in consultation with the Tunisian Government, find a suitable opportunity to visit Tunisia. She requested the Foreign Minister to communicate her acceptance of the invitation to the President of Tunisia in the context of the desire of both Governments to strengthen the friendly relations already subsisting between them.

His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Tunisia extended an invitation to the Foreign Minister of India to visit Tunisia. The

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Foreign Minister of India was happy to accept the invitation.

The two Foreign Ministers expressed deep satisfaction at the visit of the Foreign Minister of Tunisia and the opportunity it had afforded for a friendly exchange of views further strengthening the existing ties of friendship and understanding and cooperation between the two countries.

TUNISIA INDIA USA PAKISTAN ISRAEL VIETNAM SWITZERLAND FRANCE SOUTH AFRICA

**Date**: Jun 01, 1969

## Trade Agreement with Tunisia Volume No Trade Agreement with Tunisia

The following is the text of a Press release issued in New Delhi on June 29, 1969 on the Trade Agreement signed between India and Tunisia:

A Trade Agreement between India and Tunisia was signed here today. This follows the discussions held by a Tunisian Trade Delegation, led by Mr. Naceur Ben Amor, Director of Foreign Trade, Government of Tunisia (who accompanied the Foreign Minister of Tunisia, His Excellency Mr. Habib Bourguiba Jr. to New Delhi) with an Indian Trade Delegation led by Shri S. K. Singh, Director, Foreign Trade. These talks were held in a spirit of friendliness and mutual understanding.

The two delegations have agreed that the continued closure of the Suez Canal should not be permitted to affect their bilateral trade. The two delegations considered various ways and means for recommencing their bilateral trade.

India has agreed to the resumption of shipments of rock phosphate from Tunisia. Tunisia has agreed to import from India with immediate effect non-traditional items, particularly iron and steel products and engineering goods.

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TUNISIA INDIA USA **Date**: Jun 01, 1969

## July

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**Date**: Jul 01, 1969

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## 1995 FRANCE

The following is the text of speech of Shri Satya Narayan Sinha, Minister for

Indo-French Cultural Exchange

Information, Broadcasting and Communications, at the inauguration of the French Film Festival in India in Vigyan Bhavan on July 11, 1969:

It gives me great pleasure to participate in this function when two great democratic nations of the world i.e. France and India are adding a new chapter to their long-standing bonds of understanding and mutual respect.

Geographically, France and India are far apart. Culture, however, does not know any political frontiers and distance cannot stand in the way of understanding and mutual respect. That is why an agreement was signed in May this year to put the Indo-French Cultural Exchange Programme on a systematic basis. As part of this programme, Festivals of French films will be held in India and Festivals of Indian films in France.

Though the Cultural Exchange Programme has been signed recently, our cultural ties with France are not of recent origin. Famous Frenchmen like Voltaire and Romain Rolland are remembered in India with reverence just as are our Kalidasa and and Tagore in France.

France and India are two of the leading nations in production of films. Masterpieces produced by renowned film directors in France have won acclaim in many international film festivals. So have films produced by great Indian Directors, including documentaries produced by our Films Division, during the last two decades. The film directors, technicians, actors and actresses of each have, therefore, much to learn from the other. These festivals of films will play a crucial role in the enrichment of the cinematic art in the two countries.

Already we have had examples of films where the locale in one country has been utilised in a film produced by the other. Thus some French Film Producers have made use of the colourful surroundings availabe in India. The same has been done in France by some Indian producers. This process will also, I hope, keep on growing.

In the field of culture in which cinema has a prominent place, France and India both have much to give and to take from each other. The Cultural Exchange Programme through which we have just started this process of give and take, will teach us more about each other and this process of mutual understanding and exchange of ideas will, in course of time, further enrich the varied cultures of both the countries.

In the economic sphere also, the give and take between France and India is considerable and will, I hope, grow in the years to come. In this connection I would like to refer to the Hindustan Photo Films Factory, India's first raw film manufacturing unit, which has been set up in collaboration with Bounchest Cie a renowned French firm. This factory has already started works and is supplying raw films to the film industry along with other products like X-ray films.

I sincerely hope that in course of time a brisk trade will develop between India and France in the sphere of films. Festivals like this will acquaint the people of India with the best that is available in French films and vice versa so that the doors will be opened in future for a healthy export and import trade in exposed films between the two countries.

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In conclusion I would like to offer my grateful thanks to the Government and Embassy of France and the directors and producers of the film for their kind cooperation which has made this festival possible. It will tour later to Bangalore, Madras, Lucknow, Bombay and Calcutta.

With these words I declare open the French Film Festival in India.

FRANCE INDIA USA RUSSIA

**Date**: Jul 01, 1969

### **Volume No**

#### INDIA AND THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Joint Communique issued at the end of a Consultative Meeting

The following is the text of Joint Communique issued in Belgrade on July 11, 1969 on the Consultative Meeting of Special Government Representatives of Non-Aligned Countries, referred to in answer to Rajya Sabha's starred question No. 98 for July 24, 1969:

A Consultative Meeting of Special Government Representatives of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Belgrade from July 8 to 12, 1969.

The Governments of the following countries participated at the meeting:
Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi,
Cambodia, Cameroon, the Central African
Republic, Ceylon, Congo Brazzaville, Cyprus,
the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia,
Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, the
Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Jamaica,
Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon,
Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Morocco,
Nepal, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone,
Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Chad, Tunisia,
Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the
United Republic of Tanzania, the Yemen
Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

The governments of the following countries were represented by observers: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Trinidad-Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The agenda of the Consultative Meeting was as follows:

- 1. The role of the policy of non-alignment in the present-day world, with special reference to the problems of peace, independence and development.
- 2. Consideration of possibilities for intensifying consultations, cooperation and

joint activities by the non-aligned countries in various spheres.

The special representatives of the: governments participating in the Consultative Meeting expressed their points of view on the questions on the agenda in an atmosphere of sincerity and mutual respect. They reaffirmed the dedication of their states to the principles of the policy of non-alingment as expressed in the declarations of the Belgrade and Cairo Conferences - of Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries. These principles continue to be valid in the conditions of the present-day world and the policy of non-aligement has asserted itself as a significant and lasting factor in international relations.

Participants in the Consultative Meeting observed that present trends in the world are characterized by the confrontation between peoples struggling for their political, economic, social and cultural independence on the one hand, and forces of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and all other forms of foreign domination on the other, which are with increasing frequency resorting to power politics and pressure, including armed intervention, subversive activities and interference in the internal affairs of others, thereby violating and menacing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of many independent States.

The participants have taken note of the efforts being made by the big powers withthe aim of preventing a direct armed conflict among themselves as well as their ten-

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dency to have recourse to negotiation. However, the participants stressed that this does not in itself ensure peace and independence for all and that the solution of international problems requires due respect for both the interests of the countries concerned and of those of the international community at large as well as participation in world affairs on a footing of equality by all countries. The determination of the non-aligned countries to be an active factor in solving international problems, found expression at the

#### Consultative Meeting.

It was pointed out that so far no notable progress had been made towards achieving security through disarmament, as a result of which the independence and sovereignty of peoples and their accelerated economic advancement is being permanently exposed to difficulties and dangers.

In their remarks, the participants laid special stress on the existence of areas of international crisis and crucial problems in the contemporary world.

Declaring their support for the heroic struggle the people of Vietnam have been waging for years for their freedom and independence, the participants expressed the hope that the Paris talks would lead as promptly as possible to a lasting settlement which would enable the people of Vietnam to decide their own destiny themselves. In this connexion they stated that immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Vietnam constitutes the precondition to any solution of the problem.

Unanimously pledging their support for the national liberation movements, the representatives of governments participating in the Consultative Meeting observed with indignation that the process of the liquidation of colonialism was stagnating. In Africa, the situation in the countries still subject to colonial domination is marked by the intensification of imperialist, colonialist racist forces especially in Rhodesia, in South Africa and in Portuguese territories, thus constituting a grave menace to international peace and security. The Consultative Meeting reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people in these countries to independence and pledges to support them materially and morally. The participants in the Consultative Meeting demand that concrete measures be taken to assure the complete and prompt implementation of the Declaration of the United Nations on Independence for the Colonial Peoples still under colonial domination. Having heard the representatives of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the participants reaffirmed the resolution of 1964, in which the Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, endorsed the full restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their usurped homelands. Participants declared full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism and for the recovery of their inalienable rights.

In reviewing the present international situation they considered that the continued occupation of territories of three countries, members of this group, constitutes a violation of the principles of the United Nations, a challenge to the aims of non-alignment and a grave threat to peace. Consequently, they reaffirm the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from all the Arab territories occupied since June 5, 1967, in accordance with the Resolution of the Security Council of November 22, 1967.

The representatives of governments participating in the Consultative Meeting consider that the economic situation of the developing countries is deteriorating because the terms of their economic and trade relations with the developed countries are unfavourable. Such a state of affairs has increased the economic dependence of these countries which are thus exposed to pressure and external interference of all kinds which is conducive to neo-colonialist undertakings and thus constitutes an impediment to the economic and social development of the people of these countries and a threat to peace. The participants were encouraged by the various measures already taken by the nonaligned countries to promote regional economic cooperation in their regions. They emphasized the need for urgent action on measures such as increasing access to the markets of developed countries, development finance, commodity stabilization agreements, international support for diversification of their economy and the scheme for supplementary financing. They stressed that unless

mity with the Charter of Algiers, the new technological revolution which opens up considerable prospects for mankind would only widen the existing gap between the developed and developing countries.

The participants underscored the need for intensifying joint political action by the non-aligned countries for the purpose of greater mobilization particularly in the preparations for the Second UN Development Decade and in the future activities of UNCTAD. To that end, they supported the proposal of countries belonging to the Organization of African Unity to hold a meeting of ministers of the 77 developing countries.

Participants in the Consultative Meeting reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of the UN Charter and agreed that the consolidation and assertion of the UN requires, as an addition to the universality of this Organization, the restoration of the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights and the adoption of the structure of the UN in such a way as to allow all states to play full role. The UN would then become a more representative and effective instrument for the regulation of international relations in the lasting and longterm interests of all countries. They are of the opinion that the tendencies to bypass the UN, lack of respect for its Charter and non-implementation of UN resolutions, as well as the failure to achieve universality, were negative in their effects on the role of the UN and that this tends to undermine its effectiveness. They agreed to intensify their activities in the world organization and to join efforts, especially at the forthcoming General Assembly session and the session celebrating the 25th anniversary of the UN, in achieving such results as would contribute to the further assertion of the UN and its role in international affairs.

The participants in the Consultative Meeting were gratified at the growing interest in non-aligned policy in the world and considered that the present international situation was such as to call for intensified activation by the non-aligned and all forces willing to lend their support to full respect for independence and sovereignty to the exclusion of threat or use of force in the solution of disputes between independent states, to the right of each people, independently and without outside interference, to decide on the ways and means of their own development, to the liquidation of colonialism and racial discrimination, to accelerated economic development and equitable international relations and cooperation.

In this connection the need was stressed for the non-aligned countries to strengthen and develop their mutual relations and cooperation, so that their relations may serve as an example of the application of the Principles they advocate.

The participants in the Consultative Meeting reaffirmed their adherence to the rights of each people to decide freely on their own path of development. They feel that the elimination of colonialism and abolition of discrimination would strengthen the cooperation between their countries and other developing countries and also lead to the establishment of international relations on the basis of equality and the true interest of all nations.

Participants in the Consultative Meeting were agreed on the need for a more active approach by the non-aligned countries on the international scene and conceited efforts within UN frameworks. In this connection, they exchanged views on various forms and Possibilities for more regular and comprehensive consultations and cooperation, and on the desirability of holding, with adequate preparation, a conference of Heads of State and Government of non-aligned countries.

The desire was expressed at the Consultative Meeting that those interested countries that proclaim their adherence to the policy of non-alignment and particularly those who had won their independence after the Cairo Conference and all members of the OAU should also be invited to the future gatherings of the non-aligned countries in accordance with the principles and criteria

observed at the Belgrade and Cairo Conference.

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INDIA YUGOSLAVIA AFGHANISTAN ALGERIA BURMA BURUNDI CAMBODIA CAMEROON CONGO CYPRUS USA ETHIOPIA GHANA GUINEA INDONESIA IRAQ JAMAICA MAURITANIA JORDAN KENYA KUWAIT LAOS LEBANON LIBERIA LIBYA MALAWI MALI MOROCCO NEPAL NIGER NIGERIA SENEGAL SIERRA LEONE CHAD SOMALIA SUDAN SYRIA TUNISIA UGANDA TANZANIA YEMEN ZAMBIA ARGENTINA BOLIVIA BRAZIL CHILE URUGUAY VENEZUELA EGYPT VIETNAM FRANCE CHINA

**Date**: Jul 01, 1969

## Volume No

1995

#### INDIA, UAR AND YUGOSLAVIA

Joint Communique issued at the Conclusion of Tripartite Meeting

The following is the text of Communique issued at the conclusion of the Second Ministerial Tripartite Meeting between U.A.R., Yugoslavia and India at Cairo on July 16, 1969:

The Second Tripartite Meeting of the Ministers of India, the United Arab Republic and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Economic Co-operation was held in Cairo on the 15th and 16th July 1969 to review the progress of tripartite work in the field of trade, tariffs and tourism, industrial development, science and technology, shipping, telecommunication, banking and insurance.

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was represented by H.E. Mr. Miran Mejak, Member of the Federal Executive Council, and the United Arab Republic by H.E. Mr. Hassan Abbas Zaki, Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade. The Republic of India was, in the unavoidable absence of H.E. Mr. Bali Ram Bhagat, Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply, represented by Mr. K. B. Lall. The meeting took place in an atmosphere of extreme cordiality and friendship, and the discussions were characterised by a determination to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of Tripartite Cooperation.

In the field of trade and tariffs the Ministers observed that the tariff preferences tinder the Tripartite Agreement of the 23rd December 1967 had exerted a beneficial effect on the flow of trade between the three countries. They agreed on an expansion of the scope of the preferences by adding a supplementary list of 57 groups of products to the existing Common List. A protocol for giving effect to these additions was also signed at the meeting. It was decided that the additions to the Common List would take effect from the 1st October 1969.

The Ministers further decided that the three countries should facilitate expansion of trade in the goods specified in the Common List. They adopted decisions to provide for a quick settlement of customs problems and other procedural matters connected with tariff preferences. They agreed that further attention should be paid to payment and financing arrangements.

The Ministers felt that it was important to explore the long-term possibilities of trade expansion and cooperation between the three countries, with special reference to their development plans. They directed a study to be made of this subject.

In the field of Tripartite industrial cooperation, the Ministers decided that working parties consisting of nominees of the three Governments as well as duly authorised representatives of interested enterprises be set up to prepare project reports for the following projects:

- 1. Wheeled tractors.
- 2. Crawler tractors.
- 3. TV glass bulbs.
- 4. TV picture tubes.
- 5. Passenger cars and components.
- 6. Auto ancillaries.

- 7. Scooters.
- 8. Small engines for bicycles and other uses.
- 9. Switch gear.
- 10. Supply of electrical equipment for power plants to fourth countries.

These Working Parties will be set up before the end of August 1969 and will be required to submit their detailed Project Reports as early as practicable and in any case not later than the end of April 1970.

The Ministers agreed that in respect of industrial projects undertaken in pursuance of Tripartite co-operation, the three Governments will accord, on a long term basis,

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appropriate customs duty exemptions and will provide commercial support and assistance for the grant of industrial licences, the procurement or sale of raw materials and components, and for the marketing of finished products. They also directed the appropriate steps be taken to explore the possibility of Tripartite co-operation in eight other fields identified by the Working Group.

To promote scientific and technical cooperation, the Ministers decided that specific organisations in each country should be nominated. These organisations would keep in close touch with one another in order to exchange experience and expertise in the fields of productivity, management, industrial design, technical skills, planning, consultancy and market research. Co-ordinators will assist these organisations in intensifying their mutual co-operation.

The Ministers considered the question of shipping and commercial infrastructure. In the field of shipping they directed that further consideration should be given to the establishment of joint shipping services and! or pooling arrangements, and to other measures relating to the improvement of maritime set-vices and facilities. They set a time-limit of six months for practical proposals to be evolved in this field. They also decided to set up Working Groups to study

the facilities required in the fields of telecommunications, banking and insurance.

In respect of tourism it was decided that in addition to other measures, active steps should be taken to encourage group travel and organised package tours for the three countries.

In the international field, the Ministers took decisions for concerted action by the three countries' delegations to the GATT in matters connected with the Tripartite Agreement. They stressed that the arrangements for Tripartite Cooperation were intended to be outward-looking. They represented an earnest effort on the part of the three countries to give practical shape to the ideal of trade expansion and economic co-operation which was embodied in Part IV of the GATT and in the Concerted Declaration on Trade Expansion, Economic Co-operation and Regional Integration among Developing Countries in the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. They expressed the hope that their efforts in the field of Tripartite Co-operation will be of value to other developing countries in the elaboration of development strategy for the Second Development Decade. To this end the Ministers decided that each of the three countries may undertake exploratory consultations with the other countries in the group of "77". Further consideration will be given to this matter at a subsequent meeting.

In order to ensure speedy and effective implementation of their decisions, the Ministers set up a machinery of coordinators and convenors charged with the responsibility of taking action in each field and reporting progress to the Ministers at their next annual meeting which it was agreed to be held in Yugoslavia. The date of the Third Ministerial Meeting will be settled in due course.

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# **Volume No**

1995

### **INDONESIA**

Indo-Indonesian Joint Communique

The following is the text of joint communique issued in Djakarta on July 2, 1969 on the visit of the Indian Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to Indonesia from June 28 to July 3, 1969:

In response to an invitation from His Excellency President Soeharto of Indonesia, Her Excellency Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, paid a state visit to Indonesia from the 28th June to 3rd July, 1969. The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Foreign Secretary and other officials of the Indian Government.

The Prime Minister of India had a detailed exchange of views with the President of Indonesia, the Indonesian Foreign Minister and other members of the Indonesian Government, and visited Jogjakarta and Medan.

The discussions between the President and the Prime Minister covered a wide range of subjects. They reviewed the international situation and specially considered the further strengthening of friendly relations between Indonesia and India. The discussions between the two leaders took place in an atmosphere of friendliness, understanding and cordiality and identified common objectives in many spheres.

The President and the Prime Minister exchanged information on the situation prevailing in their respective countries and dwelt on the efforts being made in each country towards economic development.

They noted with great satisfaction the progress of bilateral relations between the two countries and resolved to further strengthen these by promoting greater cooperation in the economic, commercial, cultural, technological and scientific fields.

They reaffirmed the desire of their respective governments to take concrete steps to further these objectives. It was decided to exchange visits at various levels to augment this collaboration.

The Prime Minister of India conveyed to the President the good wishes of the Indian people for the success of Indonesia's development plans, and expressed the willingness of her government to extend such cooperation for the furtherance of the development plans as the Indonesian government might wish to avail of and the government of India is in a position to render.

The President and the Prime Minister reaffirmed their faith in the principles embodied in the U.N. Charter and expressed their firm hope that all countries would take steps to strengthen the U.N. organisation.

The Prime Minister appraised the President of the efforts India had made and was continuing to make towards normalisation of its relations with Pakistan on the lines of the Tashkent Declaration, with the aim of reducing tensions on the sub-continent and thereby creating conditions for the development of general mutual cooperation among countries of the region. The President expressed the hope that India and Pakistan would succeed in resolving their mutual differences peacefully and bilaterally.

The two leaders welcomed the current efforts to resolve the present conflict in Vietnam and expressed the hope that the Paris negotiations would lead to an early and peaceful settlement of the problems. Both sides recognised that the Vietnamese people should be left to settle their own future free from foreign interference. They expressed the hope that respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, neutrality and independence of Vietnam, Cambodia and

Laos would be ensured.

The two sides exchanged views on the Arab-Israeli conflict and hoped for the early return of peace and stability in the area on the basis of the full implementation of the U.N. Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. They reaffirmed that the fruits of aggression should not accrue to 139

any state, and also that the inviolability of the borders of all states should be respected.

The President and the Prime Minister welcomed the consultative meeting of the non-aligned states to be held in Belgrade. They emphasized the continuing validity and increasing importance of nonalignment in the changing world situation, and the need for greater consultation and collaboration among the nonaligned states for peace, development and reduction of international tensions. They noted with satisfaction that the policy of non-alignment had been vindicated by the loosening of military alliances and the growth of detente, peace and international cooperation. They underlined that there should be no outside interference in the internal affairs of any state through subversion, infiltration, abetment or any other direct or indirect means. They emphasized the importance of the principles of peaceful co-existence and of settling disputes between countries through peaceful means and not by force or threat of force.

In view of the changes that are taking place or are about to take place in the region and in order to further consolidate peace and stability in the region and to give a meaningful expression to economic and social progress in the countries of Asia, the two sides stressed the urgent need to Promote economic cooperation between all countries of the region on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. In this connection they welcomed the formation of the Asian Council of Ministers of the ECAFE.

The two leaders expressed concern at the persisting and increasing economic disparities between the developing and developed countries of the world. They were of the firm view that this gap should be narrowed and bridged in the interests of peace and harmony among nations, both by the efforts of the countries themselves and with help from developed countries in accordance with principles put forward at the UNCTAD I and II.

The Prime Minister of India renewed her invitation to the President of Indonesia and Madame Soeharto to visit India. The President accepted the invitation with thanks.

The Prime Minister of India thanked the President for the hospitality accorded to her and members of her party. Both noted with satisfaction that the visit had helped to further strengthen mutual understanding and cooperation between the two countries and expressed their desire to see a more frequent exchange of visits between the two countries at all levels.

INDONESIA INDIA USA MALI PAKISTAN UZBEKISTAN VIETNAM FRANCE CAMBODIA LAOS ISRAEL YUGOSLAVIA

**Date**: Jul 01, 1969

# Volume No

1995

# PAKISTAN

Shri Kewal Singh's Speech at Kutch Maps Authentication Ceremony

The following is the text of the speech delivered by Shri Kewal Singh, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, at Islamabad on July 4 at Kutch Maps authentication ceremony:

I am happy to be here this morning at the invitation of the Government of Pakistan on the occasion of the authentication of the strip maps. After this signing ceremony the alignment of the boundary between West Pakistan and India in this sector will go into effect.

I would like to join you in thanking the Governments of Yugoslavia, Iran and Sweden for sparing their distinguished citizens to be members of the Tribunal and I wish to place on record my appreciation for their agreeing to serve on the Tribunal. I also would like to join you in thanking the British Government. My Government would like to thank U. Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for agreeing to nominate the Chairman of the Tribunal and for this offer of making available the

# 140 conference services and the room at the United Nations building in Geneva.

The officers and staff of India and Pakistan working in team spirit and sincere cooperation have completed the surveying and demarcation of this border according to schedule in spite of the terribly trying conditions of the terrain and they deserve our warm appreciation and gratitude for the fine job done by them by mutual goodwill, cooperation and hardwork.

There is, however, no reason to be surprised at this. It is my conviction that whenever and whereever Pakistanis and Indians are given opportunities to work together in cooperative endeavour they will always achieve praiseworthy results. I hope the areas of cooperation between our peoples will increase for our mutual benefit.

Mr. Secretary, you have referred to the fact that given the goodwill there are no differences between India and Pakistan that could not be solved through peaceful means. I can assure you that my government would be glad to cooperate with your government in every endeavour in this regard. There is no more urgent need for our sub-continent than the creation of goodwill and trust and establishment of contacts and cooperation between the people of our two countries.

**Date**: Jul 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

# **PAKISTAN**

Pakistan Foreign Secretary's Speech

The following is the text of the speech by Mr. S. M. Yusuf, Pakistan's Foreign Secretary at the Kutch Maps authentication ceremony:

Mr. Kewal Singh, Your Excellencies and Gentlemen, I extend to you and to members of your delegation a warm welcome to Pakistan on this important and happyoccasion. With the authentication of maps and records of the boundary demarcated in the Rann of Kutch and by agreeing to vacate the territories in adverse possession at midnight between july 5 and 6 our two countries are completing the final phase of the implementation of the Award given on February 19, 1968 by the Indo-Pakistan Western Boundary Case Tribunal. It is a measure of cooperation and goodwill from both sides that the boundary between India and Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch has been demarcated according to schedule. To complete their task the officials of the two Governments had to work almost round the clock in an area where normal facilities are not available and the climate is not particularly wholesome. These officials deserve commendation for the job they have done so well.

On this occasion I would like to express our appreciation of the good office- offered by the Government of the United Kingdom in promoting the Agreement of June 30, 1965 under which the Tribunal was constituted. I would also like to place on record our sincere thanks to Judge Gunner Lagergren of Sweden, the Chairman of the Tribunal and its two members Mr. Nasrollah Entezam of Iran and Mr. Alies Bebler of Yugoslavia for successfully accomplishing the task undertaken by them. We are also grateful to U. Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, who took keen interest in the composition of the Tribunal and its proceedings. It must be a source of satisfaction to all of them that a dispute which led the two countries to armed conflict should have been resolved by recourse to adjudication by a neutral party. The process through which this dispute has now been finally settled illustrates that given the will and cooperation from all, other disputes however intractable they may appear, can also be resolved peacefully. Pakistan on its part is always willing to make a positive contribution to this end. We sincerely hope that the Government of India will also respond in the same spirit so that our outstanding disputes could be resolved with the same happy result.

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Sino-Pak Collusion

The following is the text of the statement by Shri Dinesh Singh the Minister of External Affairs in the Lok Sabha on 22nd July 1969, regarding the reported building of new road by the Chinese inside the Indian territory of Kashmir:

We have received information that the Government of Pakistan have begun constructing a road from Mor Khun in Northern Kashmir to Khunjerab Pass on the Kashmir-Sinkiang border. The entire alignment of the road runs in Indian territory which is presently under the illegal and forcible occupation of Pakistan. It is reported that 12,000 Chinese personnel of the People's Liberation Army have been inducted into this area to help build this road and are camped at Mor Khun.

This road will help to extend the Chinese road network in the Tibet-Sinkiang area into Northern Kashmir. It will give easier access

to Chinese troops from areas under the illegal occupation of China in North-East Kashmir and from Tibet into the Gilgit area in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, which lies to the north of the ceasefire line. The military significance of this road is, therefore, self-evident.

We have lodged emphatic protests with Pakistan and China over the building of this military road in Indian territory, and pointed out that it is a threat to the peace and tranquility of the region. Pakistan's willingness to build the road with Chinese help shows that Pakistan's intentions and ambitions in Kashmir equally serve Chinese designs in the area.

The House is well aware of Sino-Pak military collusion against India. The Government is fully alive to the danger posed to out security and is taking necessary steps to safeguard our interests.

Shri Dinesh Singh's Statement on U.S. Military Aid to Pakistan

The following is the text of a statement by the Minister of External Affairs in Lok Sabha on 24th July, 1969 regarding the reported decision by the U.S.A. to supply tanks and other armaments to Pakistan:

Information on the subject was given to the House yesterday in reply to Unstarred Question No. 418.

Government have been informed that the Government of United States have not yet taken any decision to supply arms to Pakistan. U.S. Secretary of State has informed the Minister of External Affairs that there is no proposal under their consideration to supply 100 tanks to Pakistan through Turkey.

Government have made it clear that arms assistance to Pakistan will increase the threat to the security of India, encourage Pakistan in its ambitions and demands on Indian territory and consequently retard the chances of normalization of relations between the two countries. It will also go against the idea of economic cooperation in

Asia and will add to tension in this part of the world.

# PAKISTAN USA INDIA PERU SWEDEN IRAN YUGOSLAVIA CHINA TURKEY MALI

**Date**: Jul 01, 1969

# Volume No

1995

# **PAKISTAN**

Prime Minister's Letter to President Yahya Khan

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs Shri Surendra Pal Singh placed on the Table of the House a copy of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's letter dated June 22, 1969 which was referred to in Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 271 for 24th July, 1969:

Excellency,

I have been thinking of writing to you for some time. Apart from the brief meeting with Air Marshal Noor Khan in New Delhi last May, there has been no opportunity to meet members of your Government to discuss our relations. I am writing to share some of our thoughts with you.

Whatever the difficulties between our two countries, their destinies are inextricably intertwined. Our two Governments together share the heavy responsibility of

142 ensuring the welfare and prosperity of over seven hundred million people.

Today there is almost a total lack of contact between the peoples of the two countries. Commercial, economic and cultural relations are completely cut off. I am sure you will agree that this is not a satisfactory situation between two neighbouring

states which have so much in common.

I feel that it would help to remove misunderstanding and misconceptions if we were to ease the regulations for travel between the two countries, encourage greater cultural contact in the field of letters, art, music, science and sport.

Commerce is an important factor in bringing the two countries together.

Another point is that shipping companies and Airlines, which are neither Indian nor Pakistan, are earning foreign, exchange from the people travelling between the two countries.

We feel that these and other aspects of normalisation and improvement of relations should be more comprehensively examined. If you agree, we could set up a joint Indo-Pakistan body for this purpose at any level acceptable to you. I have already suggested a no-war-pact between Pakistan and India. This would go a long way in removing distrust and suspicion between our two peoples. I hope that these proposals will receive your earnest consideration.

Shri Kewal Singh, Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, is visiting Islamabad and I am asking him to deliver this letter to you. He will, of course, be ready to exchange views on matters of mutual interest.

With the assurances of my highest considerations.

(Indira Gandhi)

His Excellency General Yahya Khan, President of Pakistan.

PAKISTAN USA INDIA MALI

**Date**: Jul 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

# **PAKISTAN**

President Yahya Khan's Letter to Prime Minister

The following statement was made by the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Dinesh Singh in Lok Sabha on 30th July 1969 before placing a copy of President Yahya Khan's letter on the Table of the House:

As the House is aware, India has taken a number of initiatives in an effort to normalise and improve relations with Pakistan. The House has been kept informed of these initiatives from time to time.

Recently the Prime Minister wrote to the President of Pakistan reiterating India's desire to normalise and improve Indo-Pakistan relations. The text of this letter has been placed on the Table of the House.

President Yahya Khan's reply to the Prime Minister's letter was delivered the day before yesterday. It reiterates Pakistan's known position. We are carefully examining its contents. I am placing a copy of President Yahya Khan's letter on the Table of the House.

(Copy of President Yahya Khan's letter dated July 26, 1969 to Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi).

Madame Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd June, 1969, which Mr. Kewal Singh brought with him.

We were glad to receive Mr. Singh. The occasion illustrated that given goodwill and understanding, our two countries can resolve seemingly intractable disputes in a peaceful and honourable manner. Indeed, considering the responsibility that rest on our two Governments for the well-being of several hundred million people, I do not know if

there is any other acceptable approach to the problem of placing Indo-Pakistan relations on a permanent, friendly basis. This was the spirit in which we discussed matters, with Mr. Singh. This is also the spirit in which I am replying to your letter.

Any two neighbours in our situation are bound to have differences and disagreements, some superficial and some deep-seated. The

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former are of a fleeting nature. They arise and fade out in a hundred ways in the course of neighbourly dealings. But the deep-seated ones vitiate the atmosphere and poison relations. It is they which must be eliminated so that minor and transitory differences do not get blown out of all proportions. While I agree that it is desirable to eliminate minor problems, I am convinced that their removal alone would not bring about that feeling of mutual trust without which friendship amongst neighbours is illusory.

It is for this reason that I urge that we go back to the heart of the matter and seriously tackle the causes underlying all our mutual troubles. It is our sincere conviction that amity and friendship will continue to elude India and Pakistan if our two Governments run after the shadow that the peripheral issues are and evade the reality that our two outstanding disputes regarding Jammu and Kashmir and the Ganges waters represent.

We have considered your proposal to establish a joint body to examine comprehensively the issue raised in your letter and "other aspects" of normalisation and improvement of relations. We have always been, and continue to remain, ready to enter into a dialogue as long as it is not only understood but made clear by both sides that it would encompass all outstanding issues with a view to finding a solution for them.

We have explained our view point at some length to Mr. Kewal Singh and given him our ideas of the type of self-executing

machinery that would be necessary concimitant of a no-war pact.

With the assurances of my highest consideration.
Her Excellency Mrs. Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

# PAKISTAN USA INDIA MALI CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Jul 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

# **SUDAN**

Indo-Sudanese Trade Agreement for 1969-70

The following is the text of a Press Release issued in New Delhi on July 4, 1969 after the conclusion of Indo-Sudanese Trade Agreement for 1969-70

Choudhury Ram Sewak, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply, signed the Indo-Sudanese Trade Agreement for 1969-70 on July 3 in Khartoum. The Minister of Planning of the Sudan signed on behalf of that country.

The trade plan period which has just come to an end was an exceptional one having been of 18 months' duration. In the last 18 months Indo-Sudanese trade exchanges were of the order of 32 million. The new agreement is for a 12-month period and envisages exchanges of the level of 30 million. This represents expansion of trade by approximately 50%.

Indian engineering goods and non-traditional items are now the largest single sector in the Indo-Sudanese trade. Indian is one of the largest buyers of Sudanese cotton.

In the course of negotiation official talks were led by Mr. S. K. Singh, Director of Foreign Trade with the Permanent Secretary of the Sudanese Ministry of Commerce. While in Khartoum the Indian delegation also held talks with the Head of the State. Gen. Nimeri, Prime Minister Awadallah and six other members of the Cabinet.

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# SUDAN INDIA USA

Date: Jul 01, 1969

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**Date**: Aug 01, 1969

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# **AFGHANISTAN**

Indo-Afghan Trade Arrangement for 1969-70

The following is the text of a Press Release issued in New Delhi on August 16, 1969 at the mid of a Trade Talk between the delegations of Afghanistan and India:

Letters were exchanged here today between the Delegations of Afghanistan and India setting out the Trade Arrangement between the two countries for 1969-70.

This follows the talks held between the official delegation from Afghanistan, led by Dr. Ali Nawaz, President, Ministry of Commerce of the Royal Afghan Government and the Indian Delegation, led by Shri K. S. Raghupathi, Joint Secretary, Ministry of

Foreign Trade and Supply.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of extreme cordiality and in a spirit of mutual co-operation.

Under the Trade Arrangement, India will import from Afghanistan specified quantities of fresh and dry fruits. In addition import of asafoetida, cumin seeds and medicinal herbs will continue to be allowed without any quantitative ceilings as during the preceding year. These imports will be paid for by the importers in India by counterexports of certain specified goods in accordance with the procedures agreed to between the two Governments, and incorporated in the Trade Arrangement signed in Kabul on July 28, 1968.

During 1968-69, India exported goods worth Rs. 9.68 crores to Afghanistan as against Rs. 6.95 crores during 1967-68. These exports cover a variety of Indian export products including tea, spices, textiles, machinery and equipment, glass and glasswares, transport equipment, cinematographic films, ready-made garments, etc.

During the trade talks in New Delhi, the two Delegations reviewed working of the Trade Arrangement between the two countries and agreed that there was scope for further expansion and diversification of trade exchanges. They decided to continue their-efforts in that direction. For this purpose, representatives of the two countries will meet again in Kabul in October, 1969.

The two Delegations discussed the, question of movement of fresh and dry fruits from Afghanistan and agreed that movement of dry fruits will be so arranged as to be even in its flow and reach India well in time for the festival season.

Exports of Indian goods against imports, from Afghanistan were also discussed and the two delegations agreed, that, consistent with the need to balance accounts expeditiously, reasonable time should be allowed to importers to discharge their export obligations.

Both the Delegations recognised that it was essential for businessmen, traders and industrialists from each country to visit the other with a view to familiarising themselves with the scope for imports, exports and technical collaboration from each country, and agreed that the two Governments will encourage and facilitate such visits.

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# AFGHANISTAN INDIA USA

**Date**: Aug 01, 1969

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### FOREIGN TRADE

Shri Bhagat Outlines Government Policy

The following is the text of address delivered by Shri B. R. Bhagat, Union Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply at the Annual General Meeting of the State Trading Corporation on August 30, 1969:

I am very happy to be with you this evening when the Directors of the State Trading Corporation have presented the Annual Report and Accounts for the year, 1968-69, showing a commendable record of progress. These are days when Public Sector Corporations are under the constant glare of public attention and scrutiny. Often we hear only about the shortcomings and failures of Public Sector Corporations, about their losses and their mistakes. It is indeed heartening that at least the report and accounts I have received this evening can tell a different tale about the State Trading Corporation.

Let me at the very outset congratulate the Chairman, the Board of Directors and the officers and the staff of the State Trading Corporation for their work during the last financial year. The increase in exports from about Rs. 23 crores to about Rs. 48 crores, the significant reduction in stocks from about Rs. 49 crores to about Rs. 31 crores, the further reduction in stocks achieved during the current year, and the check in the growth of establishment expenditure are creditable achievements for which you deserve congratulations. As one representing the shareholder, viz the President of India, I feel particularly happy to note your decision about increasing the dividend from 15% to 20%, and raising the equity capital to Rs. 5 crores through a bonus issue.

The performance of a Public Sector Corporation has no doubt to be measured by the yardstick of its financial achievements. While achievements in terms of bonus shares, increased profits and dividends are matters of legitimate satisfaction to all of us, I would like to remind you that there is another yardstick - and a more important yardstick as far as I am concerned - to judge the success of your performance, and that is the usefulness and efficiency of your service to the public. I was very happy to know from the Chairman's speech that there has been greater appreciation during recent months from the trade and the public about the services rendered by the Corporation. I consider this, and the improvement in this regard, as the most important task for all of you working in this Corporation.

The State Trading Corporation is unique among the Public Sector Corporations of the country. Unlike the majority of Public Sector Corporations, which are principally engaged in production activities, the STC has a special role in the economic activities of the country, and that is to serve as an instrument of the Government's trade policies.

In this role, the STC comes into con. tact with the economic life of the public in a very active manner. Even though the

volume of trade it handles may be comparatively small at present, the role it plays as the agency for the canalised imports of important items of industrial raw materials and fertilisers and for the the canalised exports of some of our finished products, gives it a very special position of importance. I understand that STC's trading activities cover over 100 items. It is difficult in a situation like this for you to develop commodity expertise in great depth. But it should be possible for you to develop expertise and efficiency in general marketing techniques and procedures so that whatever commodity is entrusted to your charge can be handled with efficiency from the marketing angle.

We have often heard the charge that Public Sector Corporations are inhibited by their bureaucratic systems and attitudes. It is when the public fail to get prompt attention and service that they accuse you of

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'bureaucracy'. If you provide them efficient service, the vast majority of the public in our country will have no complaints about the Public Sector. I would, therefore, particularly stress the importance of efficiency in service at all levels in your Corporation. It is the quickness of your decision, the promptness of your attention and the courtesy and good manners shown to your clients that will ultimately decide quality of your performance.

I know that on some occasions you are apt to be unhappy and even annoyed by the criticism in the press or in the Parliament about your activities. But I would like to remind you that in a free democracy, like ours, one should not be unduly sensitive about such criticism. After all the entire people of this country are your shareholders and they have a legitimate interest in your activities. On the other hand, if you Enprove your service, and discharge your duties conscientiously, it will be my privilege and duty to defend you and your Corporation against any ill-informed and misguided criticism.

I am particularly happy to know about the attempts made by your Chairman to improve your knowledge and skills. I attach the highest importance to the training schemes intended to sharpen your tools and wits. I hope that this example of training for officers and staff at all levels will be taken up by other Public Sector Corporations as well.

The improvement of your skills and knowledge is all the more important, as you will have in due course to shoulder more and more responsibilities in the field of state trading. I have already made it known through statements in Parliament and other forums that it is the policy of the Government to increase progressively the role of state agencies in the import and export trade of our country.

We are continuously studying the prob. lems involved in the imports and exports of specific commodities to decide on the advisability and suitability of entrusting them to state trading agencies. The main criterian in taking a decision whether the trade in an item should be entrusted to a state agency or not is the overall benefit such an arrangement can bring to the economy. There are definite advantages in bulk buying and collective arrangements for shipping in some commodities. In many cases negotiations of prices for imports or exports through one agency prove to be in our best interest.

Each commodity has its own problems, and they are being continuously studied by the officers in my Ministry in consultation with the concerned Departments and Ministries of the Government, and when we are convinced that trading through a state agency is in the best interests of the country, we do not hesitate to entrust its trade to a state agency. Several such commodities have already been entrusted to your charge by the Government, and the policy of progressive increase in your role in the foreign trade of the country will be continued. In particular, state agencies will play an increasingly important role in the import of raw materials required for our growing industies. As I have already observed, you will have to get yourselves equipped to shoulder these additional tasks entrusted to you so that the Actual Users and consumers at large derive the full benefits of such arrangements.

In conclusion, let me congratulate you once again for your good performance during the last year and express the hope that you will improve your record during the current year.

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USA INDIA

**Date**: Aug 01, 1969

# Volume No

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# **GREECE**

Indo-Greek Trade Agreement Extended

The following is the text of a Press Release issued in New Delhi on August 28, 1969 after letters were exchanged extending the validity of the Trade Agreement between India and Greece:

Letters were exchanged here today between His Excellency Dr. Constantine
Pana-yotacos, Ambassador of Greece in
India and Shri V. S. Misra, Director, Ministry
of Foreign Trade & Supply, extending the
validity of the Trade Agreement between
India and Greece upto December 31, 1969.
The Trade Agreement was first signed on
February 14, 1958, and has since then been
extended from year to year according to
the relevant provisions in the Agreement.

India's exports to Greece stood at Rs. 97 lakhs during 1968-69. The major items

of exports are jute goods, which account for more than 40 per cent of India's total exports, and coir yarn. The other items of exports are coffee, mica, lac and manufactures of metals.

Fresh ground has been broken this year in the Indo-Greek trade relations as a result of successful negotiations of a deal which involves export from India of compressors, rock drills, drill steel and spare parts of compressors and rock drills worth about Rs. 127 lakhs and import of 25,000 metric tons of fertilizers from Greece. The deal has been negotiated through the State Trading Corporation of India Ltd. and this is the first major contract of its kind involving export from India of sophisticated engineering items to West Europe.

GREECE INDIA USA

**Date**: Aug 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Text of Soviet/US Draft Treaties on Sea Bed

The following is the text of a brief statement made by Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister of External Affairs with reference to Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 4154 on August 20, 1969 before the text of two draft treaties were placed on the Table of the House:

The Government are in favour of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor being used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The disarmament aspects of this question are now under negotiation with a view to reaching agreement on the text of a draft treaty that will be acceptable to all members of the

Disarmament Committee.

Soviet-Draft Treaty

(Text of Soviet Draft Treaty in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, ENDC/240, 18 March, 1969)

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

DRAFT TREATY ON PROHIBITION OF THE USE FOR MILITARY PURPOSES OF THE SEA-BED AND THE OCEAN FLOOR AND THE SUBSOIL THEREOF

The States Parties to this Treaty

Noting that developing technology makes the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof accessible and suitable for use for military purposes.

Considering that the prohibition of the use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor for military purposes serves the interests of maintaining world peace and reducing the arms race, promotes relaxation of inter-

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national tension and strengthens confidence among States.

Being convinced that this Treaty will contribute to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The use for military purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond with twelve-mile maritime zone of coastal States is prohibited.

It is prohibited to place on the seabed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof objects with nuclear weapons or any other types of weapons of mass destruction, and to set up military bases, structures, installations, fortifications and other objects of a military nature.

### Article 2

All installations and structures on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof shall be open on the basis of reciprocity to representatives of other States Parties to this Treaty for verification of the fulfilment by States which have placed such objects thereon of the obligations assumed under this Treaty.

### Article 3

The outer limit of the twelve-mile maritime zone established for the purposes of this Treaty shall be measured from the same base-lines as are used in defining the limits of the territorial waters of coastal States.

### Article 4

- 1. This Treaty shall be open for signature to all States. Any State which does not sign the Treaty before its entry into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of this article may accede to it at any time.
- 2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory States. Instruments of ratification and of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of ------, which are hereby designated the Depositary Governments.
- 3. This Treaty shall enter into force after the deposit of instruments of ratification by five Governments, including the Governments designated as Depositary Governments.
- 4. For States whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited after the entry into force of this Treaty it shall enterinto force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification of accession-
- 5. Each Party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from this Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events related to the subject matter of this Treaty have jeopardized the

supreme interests of its country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all Parties to the Treaty and to the United Nations Security Council three months in advance. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events it considers to have jeopardized its supreme interests.

- 6. The Depository Governments shall forthwith notify the Governments of all States signatory and acceding to this Treaty of the date of each signature, of the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification or of accession, of the date of the entry into force of this Treaty, and of the receipt of other notices.
- 7. This Treaty shall be registered by the Depositary Governments pursuant to Article-102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

### Article 5

This Treaty, the English, Russian, French, Spanish and Chinese texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Treaty shall be transmitted by the Depositary Governments to the Governments of the States signatory and acceding thereto.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto, have signed this Treaty.

DONE in	at	this
day of		

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U. S. Draft Treaty

(Text of US Draft Treaty in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee On Disarmament, ENDC/249, 22 May, 1969) UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DRAFT TREATY PROHIBITING THE EMPLACE-MENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION ON THE SEABED AND OCEAN FLOOR

The States Parties to this Treaty,

Recognizing the common interest of all mankind in the progress of the exploration and use of the seabed and ocean floor for peaceful purposes,

Considering that the prevention of a nuclear arms race on the sea bed and ocean floor serves the interests of maintaining-world peace, reduces international tensions, and strengthens friendly relations among States,

Convinced that this Treaty will further the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, in a manner consistent with the principles of international law and without infringing the freedoms of the high seas.

Have a-reed as follows:

### Article I

- 1. Each State Party to this Treaty undertakes not to emplant or emplace fixed nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction or associated fixed launching platforms on, within or beneath the seabed and ocean floor beyond a narrow band, as defined in Article II of this Treaty, adjacent to the coast of any State.
- 2. Each State Party to the Treaty undertakes to refrain from causing, encouraging, facilitating or in any way participating in the activities prohibited by the Article.

### Article II

- 1. For purpose of this Treaty, the outer limit of the narrow band referred to in Article I shall be measured from baselines drawn in the manner specified in Paragraph 2, hereof. The width of the narrow band shall be three (3) miles.
- 2. Blank (Baselines).
- 3. Nothing in this Treaty shall be interpreted as prejudicing the position of any State Party with respect to rights or claims which such State Party may assert, or with

respect to recognition or non-recognition of rights or claims asserted by any other State, relating to territorial or other contiguous seas Or to the seabed and ocean floor.

# Article III

- 1. In Order to promote the objectives and ensure the observance of the provisions of this Treaty, the Parties to the Treaty shall remain free to observe activities of other States on the seabed and ocean floor. without interfering with such activities or otherwise infringing rights recognized under international law including the freedoms of the high seas. In the event that such observation does not in any particular case suffice to eliminate questions regarding fulfillment of the provisions of this Treaty, Parties undertake to consult and to cooperate in endeavouring to resolve the questions.
- 2. At the review, conference provided for in Article V, consideration shall be given to whether any additional rights or procedures or verification should be established by amendment to this Treaty.

### Article IV

Any State Party to the Treaty may propose amendments to this Treaty. Amendments shall enter into force for each State Party to the Treaty accepting the amendments upon their acceptance by a majority of the State Parties to the Treaty and thereafter for each remaining State Party on the date of acceptance by it.

# Article V

Five years after the entry into force of this Treaty a conference of Parties to the Treaty shall be held in Geneva, Switzerland, in order to review the operations of this Treaty with a view to assuring that the purposes of the preamble and the provisions

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of the Treaty are being realized. Such review shall take into account any relevant technological developments. The review conference shall deter-mine in accordance with the views of a majority of those Parties attending whether and when an additional review conference shall be convened.

# Article VI

Each Party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from this Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other Parties to the Treaty and to the United Nations Security Council three months in advance. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events A regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests.

INDIA USA RUSSIA SWITZERLAND

**Date**: Aug 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

# INDIA AND WEST ASIA

Shri Dinesh Singh's Statements on the Burning of Al-Aqsa Mosque

I

The following is the text of Statement made by Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of External Affairs in Lok Sabha, on 26th August, 1969 regarding the burning of Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem:

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

According to information received from our Embassy in Amman the famous Al-Aqsa Mosque was set on fire around 7 a.m. on Thursday, 21st August, 1969. The fire lasted about three hours and damaged the south-

eastern wing of the mosque. The central portion including the main dome has fortunately remained unharmed.

The Government and the people of India are deeply shocked and pained at this sacrilege of the holy shrine. I am sure the House will join me in expressing our strong condemnation of this act of desecration.

The continued occupation of Jerusalem by Israel in defiance of resolutions of the United Nations is a matter of grave concern. The shocking incident makes it imperative that the Security Council's Resolutions on Jerusalem should be implemented without delay. In this context, Israel cannot be absolved of responsibility for this outrage.

Our Missions are already in touch with Governments of some friendly countries to see what further action needs to be taken.

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The following is the test of statement by Minister of External Affairs in the Rajya Sabha on 28th August, 1969, regarding the burning of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem:

Madam, Deputy Chairman,

Our Embassy in Amman has confirmed news reports that the famous El-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem was set on fire around 7 a.m. on Thursday, 21st August, 1969. The fire lasted about three hours. It caused extensive damage to the southeastern wing of the mosque. The central portion including the main dome was fortunately spared.

This barbaric act has deeply shocked the Government and people of India. I am confident the House shares this distress and will join me in strongly condemning this act of sacrilege. The world community has

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been seriously concerned about the continued occupation of Jerusalem by Israel in disregard of the resolutions of the United Nations. The present incident has aroused legitimate apprehensions about the safety of the holy places and led to serious deterioration of the situation in West Asia. It is our view that Israel cannot be absolved of responsibility for this outrage. We have, therefore, to proceed with utmost urgency to seek immediate implementation of the Security Council resolutions on Jerusalem.

We have already instructed our Missions in West Asia and friendly countries elsewhere to co-operate in efforts to improve the present situation and to ensure security for the holy places of all faiths in the Eternal City.

INDIA USA ISRAEL JORDAN

**Date**: Aug 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

# **MAURITIUS**

Indo-Mauritius Trade Relations

The following is the text of a Press Release issued on August 29, 1969 at the end of discussions held in New Delhi between Shri B. R. Bhagat, Union Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply and the Finance Minister of Mauritius, Mr. V. Ringadoo:

The Finance Minister of Mauritius, Mr. V. Ringadoo, discussed here today with the Union Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply, Shri B. R. Bhagat, expansion of trade and economic relations between India and Mauritius.

Closer economic relations between the two countries in the form of trade, joint ventures and technical assistance were considered.

The two Ministers are also under-stood

to have discussed broadly the question of developing a regular shipping services, absense of which has been the main difficulty in expansion of trade between the two countries.

The two Ministers felt that a visit by a Trade Delegation from Mauritius to India at an early date would help in concrete proposals being formulated for stepping up trade between the two countries.

India's trade with Mauritius in 1968-69 was of the order of Rs. 1.53 crores, Rs. 1.31 crores of exports and Rs. 0.22 crores of imports. Indian exports to Mauritius consists of cotton textiles, developed cinematograph films, fish (fresh and preserved), spices, footwear and metal manufactures. Some steel billets were also exported in 1968-69. The main items of India's import from Mauritius is copra.

MAURITIUS USA INDIA RUSSIA

**Date**: Aug 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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# **THAILAND**

Indo-Thai Joint Communique on Expansion of Economic and Trade Relations

The following Joint Communique was issued in New Delhi at the end of discussions on August 25, 1969 between H.E. Mr. Bunchana Atthakor, Minister of Economic Affairs, Thailand and Shri B. R. Bhagat, Union Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply, on expansion of economic and trade relations between India and Thailand:

In response to an invitation from the Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply of India, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Thailand, His Excellency Mr. Bunchana Atthakor, visited India from August 20 to August 25, 1969. The Minister of Economic Affairs, Thailand, was accompanied by the Director-General in the Ministry of Economic Affairs and other senior officials of the Royal Government of Thailand. The Minister of Economic Affairs, Thailand, exchanged views with the Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply, Shri Baliram Bhagat, the Minister of External Affairs. Shri Dinesh Singh and the Minister of Food and Agriculture of India, Shri Jagjivan Ram. The Minister was also received by the Prime Minister of India. The talks took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere and were characterised by a spirit of mutual cooperation and helpfulness.

The visit to India provided His Excellency Mr. Bunchana Atthakor a fresh opportunity to witness the progress of the Indian economy and to study the possibilities of India as a market for Thai products and also as a source of supply to meet Thai import requirements.

The Minister of Economic Affairs, Thailand, and the Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply of India exchanged information and views on the progress of the developmental process in their respective countries and noted with satisfaction the impressive record of performance and the plans and programmes now under way.

The two Ministers reviewed the development of bilateral relations between the two countries and expressed their determination to advance and strengthen bilateral cooperation in the commercial, industrial and other economic fields.

The two Ministers agreed that national production and mutual trade exchanges between the two countries could be diversified and augmented by identifying areas which are complementary, and, where, appropriate by inducing production and trade flows in accordance with emerging economic needs and possibilities. To this end, it was agreed to explore the possibility of entering into

mutually beneficial medium term arrangements in specific fields of production and trade which could provide a useful means for the development of co-operation based on assured markets for national production.

In this context, it was noted that India was in a position to meet a wide range of Thai import requirements for industrial products including railway equipment and accessories, road transport vehicles, electrical generation, transmission and distribution equipment, competitive in quality and price to like products from other countries. It was agreed that more efficient contacts between Indian and Thai traders would help to promote the trade between the two countries.

It was also rioted that India was in a position to increase its imports of antimony, florspar and tin from Thailand. The import of rice and kenaf would be regulated according to India's needs at any given time. The continuing stringency of convertible foreign exchange poses an obstacle for expansion of imports into India. The two Ministers nevertheless agreed to promote a joint search for the solution of these difficulties so that India is able to provide an assured market for these Thai products. They expressed the hope that further studies would help them to forge mutually beneficial marketing arrangements in the field of rice, kenaf, antimony and possibly in some other products also.

The two Ministers recognised the need for the two countries to co-operate in matters of product development and marketing of seed-lac and shellac and agreed that a small team of experts of both countries will meet to work out a mutually beneficial arrangement.

The two Ministers welcomed the recent initiatives taken by Asian countries to develop purposeful economic co-operation within a comprehensive all Asian frame-work. They reiterated the determination of their Governments to make the best possible contribution towards the formulation and implementation of a meaningful programme of action

in this field, capable of sustaining the interest of Asian States in the welfare of one another, and stimulating the practice of cooperation among them.

Encouraged by the outcome of the talks, the two Ministers agreed that such talks should take place annually.

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**Date**: Aug 01, 1969

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### UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Indo-UAR Trade Agreement

The following press communique was issued in New Delhi at the end of trade talks on August, 5, 1969 between official delegations of the United Arab Republic and India:

A UAR Trade Delegation led by Mr. Ibrahim El Desouki Imam, Director-General of the Ministry of Economy and Foreign Trade of the UAR, visited New Delhi from 30th July, 1969 to 5th August, 1969, for talks on the conclusion of the Indo-UAR Trade Agreement for 1969-70. The Indian Delegation at the talks was led by Shri S. K. Singh, Director Foreign Trade. The talks were held in an atmosphere of great cordiality and friendliness.

The Agreement for 1969-70 provides for trade exchanges between the two countries of the order of Rs. 73 crores. This will be substantially higher than the level of trade during 1968-69 which was about Rs. 50 crores.

The process of diversification of India's trade with the UAR continues satisfactorily. Besides the traditional exports of tea, jute manufactures and tobacco, the major new items which are moving in substantial quantities to the UAR are steel, chemicals and dye-stuffs, drugs and pharmaceuticals, paper and paper products, trucks chassis and spares, diesel engines, tyres and tubes, ferromanganese etc.

Attempts are being made by both sides to ensure that the UAR exports to India may also be diversified; instead of the present pattern of their exports. Presently the UAR exports to India consist largely of cotton, rice and rock phosphate.

The two countries have also agreed to exchange exports to study the development plans, trading system and production patterns in the two countries with a view to diversifying and expanding trade exchanges between the two countries. It was also agreed that two Governments will study the possibility of exporting semi-manufactures to each other for being finished in the other country, with the object of attaining optimum utilisation of production capacity of industries in two countries.

INDIA USA UNITED KINGDOM RUSSIA

**Date**: Aug 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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# UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Shri Dinesh Singh's Statement on President Nixon's Visit

The following is the text of statement by Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of External Affairs in Lok/Rajya Sabha on 13th August, 1969 rgarding President Nixon's visit to India:

At, the invitation of the President of India, President Nixon and Mrs. Nixon paid a visit to Delhi from 31st July to 1st August 1969. Talks were held between the Prime Minister and President Nixon, in an atmos. phere of cordiality and friendship. The discussions covered a wide range of subjects, including matters of international importance, the situation in Asia and bilateral relations. President Nixon gave the Prime

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Minister his impressions of his visits to countries of South East Asia. He expressed his continued interest in the peace and progress of Asia and his hope that the countries of Asia would solve their problems in their own way and without interference from outside. He also expressed his Government's determination to cooperate, both bilaterally and multilaterally, in the economic development of the countries of Asia.

The Prime Minister gave President
Nixon a picture of the social and economic
progress achieved in India in recent years,
the determination of the Government and
people of India to achieve self-sufficiency in
food shortly and self-sustaining economy in
the next decade. She expressed India's appreciation of the economic assistance received
from U.S.A.

The President expressed his happiness at the progress achieved by India in recent years and his continued desire to help in India's economic development.

Simultaneously with the meetings between the Prime Minister and the President, talks were also held between the officials of the two sides. These talks broadly covered the same area as the talks between the two heads of Governments.

The Indian side referred to the efforts being made by Asian nations to promote greater economic cooperation among themselves under the aegis of various regional organisations like E.C.A.F.E., the Asian Council of Ministers etc., and the need to give support to these efforts. A reference was also made to the various proposals for economic collaboration and regional trade and transit arrangements between India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and other countries.

President Nixon showed sympathetic interest in the various moves being made to strengthen economic cooperation in Asia and said the U.S.A. was studying the situation carefully.

The question of security in Asia was touched upon and the Prime Minister expressed India's conviction that there could be no real security for the countries of the region unless there was rapid economic development and social justice. The President agreed that it was unrealistic to envisage security in terms that did not take into account the real economic and social problems of the countries of the region.

The two sides discussed the problem of a peaceful settlement in Vietnam and the possibilities of economic development after a Vietnam settlement. Both sides expressed the hope that the present negotiations would lead to a speedy peaceful solution acceptable to all parties concerned.

The situation in West Asia was discussed. Both sides felt that a lasting and durable peace should be achieved in terms of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. They expressed the hope that the situation in West Asia would not deteriorate further or escalate into a larger conflict.

The Prime Minister discussed with the President the present state of Indo-Pakistan relations and explained the efforts that India had made to normalise relations with Pakistan. The President reiterated his Government's view that Indo-Pakistan relations should be settled peacefully and bilaterally between the two countries. We were also informed that no decision had been taken to supply arms to Pakistan.

President and Mrs. Nixon received a

very warm and cordial reception from the Government and the people of India. The exchange of views between the two leaders led to a better understanding of each other's points of view and will, it is hoped, result in greater cooperation for mutual benefit and for peace in Asia and the world.

USA INDIA AFGHANISTAN IRAN PAKISTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC VIETNAM MALI

**Date**: Aug 01, 1969

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## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Shri Dinesh Singh's Statement on reported U.S. Military Shipments to Pakitan

The following is the text of statement by Shri Dinesh Singh Minister of External Affairs in the Lok Sabha on the 18th August 1969 regarding the reports that the United States was secretly supplying arms to Pakistan from 30 days after the arms embargo was put on the 22nd September, 1965:

The Government have seen newspaper reports of a statement made by U.S. Congressman Larry Coughlin that the U.S.

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Government have been involved in arms shipments to Pakistan despite assertions that a weapons embargo had been imposed as a result of the 1965 Pakistan-India conflict. He has said that 90 surplus F.86 Sabre jets were sent to Pakistan from West Germany through Iran in early 1966 and that refurbished Sherman tanks were supplied to Pakistan from West Germany through Italy about seventeen months ago.

The House is aware that the U.S. arms embargo was relaxed in early 1966 to permit supply of non-lethal items. This policy

was further changed in 1967 when sales of spare parts of lethal weapons directly from the U.S. and sales of lethal weapons through third country were permitted on a case-by-case basis..

The Government have clearly conveyed to the U.S. Government India's strong opposition to the supply of arms to Pakistan are in touch with them on this matter. are not aware of direct sales of lethal weapons from the U.S. to Pakistan since the 1965 conflict. We have also been successful in preventing, by and large, supplies or U.S. arms to Pakistan through third countries.

So far as the question of supply of 90 F-86 Sabre jets is concerned, I may refer the Hon. Members to the statement made by my predecessor in the Lok Sabha on the 2nd of September, 1966. To the best of our knowledge no Sherman tanks have been supplied to Pakistan since the 1965 conflict. If the reference is to the reported supply of 100 Patton tanks through Italy, the House has been informed on a number of occasions that this deal has not gone through.

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## BULGARIA

Indo-Bulgarian Talks

The following is the text of a Press release issued in New Delhi on September 14, 1969 at the end of talks between India's Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting Shri I. K. Gujral and the representative of the Government of Bulgaria:

The Bulgarian State Enterprises are to take steps for finding out the nature and extent of their industrial requirements which can be met by India. India will be able to supply to Bulgaria significant portion of what it is importing at present from the West, with the implementation of these steps. This information was given out during the talks in Sofia between India's Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, Shri I. K. Gujral and the Government of Bulgaria.

The emphasis throughout the five-day talks was given on strengthening the Indo-Bulgarian relations particularly in the fields of trade and culture. The Bulgarian side agreed in principle to a suggestion that a delegation of the Bulgarian Press and the Radio should visit India.

Shri Gujral who left Sofia for Cairo on September 12 was given a ceremonial send off. The senior members of the Government of Bulgaria and the heads of the diplomatic missions bade farewell to Shri Gujral who had come to attend the 25th Independence anniversary celebrations of Bulgaria.

**Date** : Sep 01, 1969

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## INDIA - UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC - YUGOSLAVIA

Tariff Concessions Between India - UAR - Yugoslavia Expanded

The following is the text of a Press release issued in New Delhi on the expansion of tariff concessions between India-UAR-Yugoslavia on September 30, 1969:

The Protocol to the India-UAR-Yugoslavia Tripartite Agreement, signed in Cairo on July 16, 1969, will come into force from October 1, 1969.

The Protocol provides for special tariff concessions in respect of 57 more tariff headings, in addition to 77 tariff headings in the original Common List.

Among the items added to the Common List are several products which figure India's export to UAR and Yugoslavia.

Indian exports to UAR which have been added to the Common List are medicaments. plastic goods, paper and paperboards, cotton yarn, cotton fabrics, wrought copper manufactures, wrought aluminium manufactures, diesel engines components and parts, electrical goods, insulated wire and cable, motor vehicles, parts and accessories and alloy steel.

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In respect of exports to Yugoslavia Indian products which will now figure in the Common List are medicaments, leather, cotton yarn, woven fabrics of cotton, textiles furnishing materials, diesel engine parts and accessories, railway and tramway wagons, motor vehicles (other than passen-

ger cars), parts and accessories and gramophone records.

The value of exports to UAR and Yugoslavia of this product amounted to Rs. 10 crores and Rs. 2 crores respectively in 1968-69, accounting for 47% and 11% of India's total exports to these countries during the year.

Exports to UAR and Yugoslavia of the items covered by the Common List increased by 87% and 79% respectively in 1968-69 as compared to the preceding year. The expansion of the List, it is hoped, will similarly lead to increased exports to these two countries.

#### **BACKGROUND**

In October, 1966, the three developing countries of India, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia, decided to start on a unique venture in inter-continental economic cooperation.

At their meeting in New Delhi in October, 1966, President Tito of Yugoslavia, President Nasser of the United Arab Republic and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, decided that it was necessary for developing countries to initiate new measures and co-ordinate their individual efforts to face the challenge posed by the slackening in their rate of growth. In pursuance of this decision, Ministers of the three countries met in New Delhi in December, 1966 and drew up the guidelines for cooperation in a wide variety of fields, such as trade, industrial ventures, shipping, science and technology and tourism. Work in these fields was entrusted to official Working Groups of representatives of the three countries.

In the field of trade, the three countries concluded the Trade Expansion and Economic Co-operation Agreement (popularly known as the Tripartite Agreement) which took effect on the 1st April, 1968. The main object of the Agreement is to provide for tariff preferences on the exchange of specified goods between the three countries. The

preference was to the extent of 40 per cent of the "most-favoured-nation" rate, rising to 50 per cent from the 1st April, 1969.

The products cover a wide field, particularly in the range of non-traditional goods. A special feature of the Agreement is that there are no individual lists of goods in respect of which each country extends tariff preferences to others. On the other hand, there is a single "Common List" and in respect of each product in this List, each of the three countries has agreed to give preferences to goods manufactured in the other two. This Common List approach, which appears to be unique in tariff negotiations, reflects the nonrestrictive and non-discriminatory approach of the three countries.

Appreciating the spirit of the Agreement, "he Contracting Parties to the GAIT have in their decision of the 14th November 1968, given their clearance to the Agreement being implemented. During the discussions in the GATT, considerable interest was shown by other countries in the novel "Common List" approach of the Tripartite countries.

At the Second Ministerial Meeting in Cairo on the 15th and 16th July, 1969, it was noted that although it was too early to make a precise assessment of the effect of the tariff preferences on trade expansion, these preferences had generally exerted a beneficial effect on trade creation and expansion between the three countries. As further step in the direction of trade expansion, the Common List was amplified by the addition of 57 groups of products, and a Protocol to the Tripartite Agreement for adding these items in the Common List was signed on the 16th July, 1969.

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**Date** : Sep 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Ambassador S. Sen's Statement in Security Council on Al Aqsa Mosque

The following is the text of the statement by India's Permanent Representative to the U.N., Shri S. Ben in the Security Council on September 10, on the question of the burning of the 'Al Aqsa Mosque' in Jerusalem:

Mr. President, normally non-members of the Council are not expected to comment on the Council's office-bearers, but this rule has been laxly observed. We should like to offer our congratulations to you on your Presidency of the Council this month and record our appreciation of the work done by the outgoing President, the Ambassador of Spain, Mr. de Pinies. We are confident that under your wise guidance this Council will discharge its responsibilities with speed and fairness. I also thank the members of the Council for permitting me to participate, without vote, in this debate.

On 21 August a renowned and revered place of worship in the Islamic world, the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, was severely damaged by fire. This act of vandalism has been rightly condemned throughout the world, including my country. The Government and the people of India have expressed their shock and indignation at this sacrilege. In a statement in the Indian Parliament on 26 August the Foreign Minister of India expressed strong condemnation of this act of desecration. The statement of the Foreign Minister has already been circulated to the members of the Council. Similar sentiments have been expressed by the major political parties both within and without the Indian Parliament.

Only yesterday the Prime Minister of India said at a public meeting in Delhi that

this was an act which was condemned by people all over the world belonging to all religions. She added that the burning of a holy place belonging to any religion was a deplorable act. She commented that this act had increased tension in that area, which could have world-wide repercussions.

The outrage against the holy shrine is a matter that goes beyond the spiritual injury to the followers of Islam alone. It concerns the cherished values of mankind and its cultural heritage. We in India, with our firm belief in secularism and the separation of the religious from the temporal, have felt especially grieved at the desecration of a place of worship. Numerous civic and religious leaders of many faiths have expressed their profound shock at this incident and have extended their sympathy to their Moslem brethren in this moment of common agony. Public meetings, demonstrations, even riots, have taken place in different parts of India, including many principal cities, to condemn the incident and to call for prompt action-to prevent its recurrence.

While we must continue to express our profound shock and dismay at this sacrilege, we must not be diverted into believing that this is a religious issue. Indeed, any attempt to create such a diversion will do incalculable harm and present fresh difficulties in solving the West Asian problem. It is understandable therefore that in certain quarters this incident is being treated as if it were nothing more than an unfortunate and regrettable accident and that all measures had been taken to repair the losses, punish the guilty, to, prevent any repetition, and so on, it is of the utmost importance that the consideration of this question should take place in its proper perspective; that is to say, the political implications of the circumstances in which the incident took place and could recur.

To us, the incident represents a much wider malaise and is a direct consequence of the illegal occupation by Israel of the Holy City of Jerusalem and many other Arab areas. The injustice which the Arabs have

suffered in the hands of the Israelis offers the only explanation for the widespread reaction that the burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque has brought about in many countries and continents. To minimize the importance of this reaction is to be blind to the realities of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Of course, those

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who wish to benefit from armed action would like nothing better than that the central issue should be lost sight of and that the world should quietly acquiesce in the occupying Power keeping its territorial gain. It is ironical that a State which is a creation of the United Nations should be the one consistently to flout the resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council and bring, in the train of such defiance, incidents like the burning of this holy mosque. Looking at it from this aspect, we cannot escape the conclusion that what happened in Jerusalem on 21 August is the direct consequence of the Israeli occupation of that city and its wanton neglect of the protection of Arab rights there. Israel thus cannot be absolved of responsibility for this outrage.

Even though this meeting of the Security Council has been called on a specific complaint, I submit that the issue before us has wider and deeper implications. The city of Jerusalem is sacred to the followers of three religions and the status of its places of worship has been of special concern to the United Nations for a number of years. The safety and sanctity of these religious places is related to the maintenance of the unique character of Jerusalem. It is for that reason that the United Nations has on many occasions expressed itself against any change in the juridical status of the city. I need only to refer to the two resolutions of the General Assembly in 1967, 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V); and the unanimously adopted resolutions of the Security Council, 252 (1968). of 21 May 1968, and 267 (1969), of 3 July 1969. Those resolutions call upon Israel to desist from taking actions that would tend to change the status of Jerusalem. Those and other resolutions also reaffirm the principle of international law that territory cannot be acquired by military conquest. My

delegation believes that the sanctity and of places of worship in the Holy City can be assured through the implementation by Israel of the relevent provisions of the Security Council's unanimously adopted resolutions on Jerusalem.

The recent aggravation of tension and the recrudescence of large-scale violence are symptoms of the underlying problem in the West Asian region. For more than a generation peace in this area and the life and liberty of its inhabitants have had a precarious existence between incessant tension and some rare spells of calm. The long chain of conflict has complicated the task of finding just and lasting solutions. The conflict of June 1967 has significantly added to these problems. At the heart of current tensions is the fundamental issue of foreign occupation. When this matter was first debated in the Security Council more than two years ago, the delegation of India stated its basic position on the larger issues. Speaking at the 1357th meeting of the Security Council, my predecessor said:

"....we shall have to take more farreaching steps, the most important of which would be to order an immediate withdrawal of all forces to the positions they occupied on 4 June 1967. Unless we take that step immediately, we shall be faced every day with situations like the one we have had to deal with in the last few days." (1357th meeting, p.82)

Since then, two years have passed during which the Council has barely moved from one cease-fire to another. Vast Arab territories remain under Israeli military occupation. There are frequent incidents involving loss of life and property, often on an enormous scale and affecting territory far from the cease-fire lines. As if to emphasize its attitude towards the United Nations, Israel launched fresh attacks into the territory of the United Arab Republic at the same time as the Security Council took up the question of the desecration of the mosque at Jerusalem.

We have said this many times before, and I do not hesitate to repeat again, that it is unrealistic to expect any peace in the region without the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied Arab territories. The Security Council must face this reality which contradicts the ideals of our Organization. The principle of non-acquisition of territory by military conquest is a part of the larger principle of the non-use of force in inter-State relations and is specifically written into the Security Council's resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. This and other elements of that resolution have the support of the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations. And yet we must regretfully admit that a just and lasting peace is as elusive as ever. I shall not go into the causes of our absence

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of progress so far. These are well known. But let me say this: that with every passing day when hopes recede and frustrations rise, it is incumbent on our Organization to support by every means the fragile structure of a peaceful settlement in the at-ea. We earnestly urge the Security Council, especially its permanent members, to exert their utmost in securing the implementation of the resolution of 22 November in all its aspects. This would not prove an impossible task if all parties were to show sufficient will and purpose. Let me quote from what the Prime Minister of India said last year. Speaking in the General Assembly on 14 October 1968 she said:

"... the West Asian crisis also needs to be resolved by political means. There is every opportunity for doing so if it is recognized that the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States in this part of the world cannot be based on the redrawing of State frontiers by force or on the basis of permanent hostility." (A/PV.1693, p.62)

The incident at Jerusalem on 21 August and all that has happened both before and after that date show the emptiness of the Israeli claim that its occupation of Arab territories has not increased the tension in that area. In our view, so long as Israel continues its present policy of defiance and refuses to withdraw, it will be absurd to pretend that all can be well between the

Israelis and the Arabs, or that in the field of internal law and order in the occupied territories the situation will remain peaceful; for, far from there being a satisfactory situation, the tension in West Asia continues to increase and continues to upset the peace in the area and also to extend that threat to peace far beyond Israeli-Arab borders. It should be the duty of all of us, and above all of the Security Council, to ensure that peace returns to the Middle East. The few days of reflection which we have had since the despicable burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque have convinced us more than ever before that peace can return to West Asia only if Israel will carry out, or can be made to carry out, fully and faithfully various resolutions of the United Nations, and particularly of this Council. Israeli intransigence is no longer a matter of the prestige and authority of the United Nations: it is a signal for far worse things to come. We must stop it.

INDIA ISRAEL USA SPAIN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Sep 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

## INDIA AND THE WEST ASIAN CRISIS

Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed's Statement on Rabat Conference

The following is the text of the statement of Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Leader of the Indian delegation to the Rabat Conference, on September 29, 1969, at Palam Airport, New Delhi, on his return from Morocco:

The Government of India was invited by a unanimous decision of the plenary conference at Rabat to send a delegation to attend the conference. The invitation was conveyed to our Ambassador in Rabat on the morning of 23rd of September, 1969. Accordingly, the Ambassador of India in Rabat and Prof. Alim, who happened to be there in connection with another conference, attended the afternoon session of the conference on the 23rd as delegates of India. The name-plate and the flag of India were placed on the Conference table in front of our delegation and India's flag was shown in the conference hall. On the 23rd our Ambassador made a brief statement at the Conference and no one objected to his participation at that time.

The Ambassador and Prof. Alim. had been asked by the Government of India to represent us at the Conference pending the arrival of a full delegation from India.

The invitation was conveyed to us by our Ambassador in Rabat on telephone on the 23rd afternoon. The other members of the delegation led by me left Delhi on the night of 23rd of September and reached

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Rabat on the afternoon of 24th. We were received by two Ministers of the Moroccan Government and due honours were given to us at the airport.

We drove straight to the Conference as we were told that the session was about to start. On reaching there, we were informed by the Minister of Information of the Moroccan Government that we might first go to the villa allotted to us, change and rest a while and they would let us know when our presence was needed.

Soon after, the Information Minister of Morocco on behalf of his King in his capacity as Chairman of the Conference met us at our villa and explained that Pakistan and two or three other countries had objected to the Government of India's participation in the Conference and pleaded with me that we: (1) voluntarily withdraw from the Conference, or (2) accept the status of observer, or (3) remain physically absent from the Conference without withdrawing from it. I naturally rejected all the three proposals and

explained that we had been unanimously invited by the Conference to send a Government delegation and could not, therefore, accept any of these three proposals.

In the evening, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, the Vice-President of UAR and the Information Minister of Niger came to see our delegation at our villa. They all conveyed to us a message from the Conference repeating the three proposals which the Information Minister of Morocco made to me earlier in the afternoon. I gave them the same reasons and told them that I could not accept these proposals. The Prime Minister of Malaysia admitted that our stand was correct but pleaded with me in the interest of saving the Conference to accept one of the three proposals. I expressed my inability to do so. The Prime Minister of Afghanistan and the Vice-President of the UAR said that they were merely conveying a message from the Conference and not giving any advice.

Later in the evening some of our delegates tried to go into the conference hall where the leaders of the delegations were meeting, but they were told that it was a closed session and India was not required to attend it. We waited till late in the night but no message about the plenary meeting of the Conference was received.

On the 25th morning the Prime Minister of Malaysia sent me a letter thanking me for "the sacrifice I had made in the cause of Islam" in order to save the Conference. I wrote to him immediately saying that I was surprised to find a reference to some sacrifice" made by me and drew his attention to the fact that I had clearly expressed my inability to accept any of the suggestions made by him.

In the afternoon I heard that the final plenary session was to be held at 4 p.m. I immediately sent a letter to the King of Morocco in his capacity as Chairman of the Conference informing him of the presence, of our delegation and asking when we were to be present at the Conference. However, I did not receive a reply to this letter. I

learnt in the night that the Conference had met without any representation of India and adopted a final declaration which made a reference in its preamble to the representatives of the Muslim community in India being present at the Conference. I immediately issued a press statement refuting the reference to the presence of the representatives of the Muslim community of India as that was contrary to facts.

It is a matter of deep regret that the representatives of various Governments who met at Rabat should have succumbed to the pressure of Pakistan and her allies, and repudiated their own unanimous invitation extended to the Government of India to send a delegation. By doing so they not only narrowed the scope of the conference but also reduced its, representative character. No other government except the Government of India can speak on behalf of the people of India or any section of the Indian people. The Government and people of India deplore the discourtesy shown by the conference in not honouring its own invitation which had been extended unanimously to the Government of India. This treatment to the delegation of the Government of India has naturally caused strong resentment among all the people of India, including the 60 million Muslims.

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INDIA MOROCCO USA PAKISTAN AFGHANISTAN MALAYSIA NIGER

**Date**: Sep 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

# INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL

Shri S. N. Sinha's Speech at the Meeting of Central Advisory Committee

The following is the text of speech of

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha, Minister for Information, Broadcasting and Communications, at the meeting of the Central Advisory Committee for the IVth International Film Festival of India in New Delhi on september 17, 1969:

I am happy to welcome you here on the occasion of the first meeting of the Central Advisory Committee for the Fourth International Film Festival of India. I appreciate the response from all of you and I have no doubt that your deliberations will be a source of strength to us.

Many of you are aware that the last International Film Festival took place in 1965. The next one was due in 1967 but several reasons prevented that, especially the difficulties in connection with the import of festival films. You would recall that the International Film Producers' Association. which accords recognition to International Film Festivals, had stipulated that the films shown in the Festival should be permitted to be imported into the country with a view to enabling larger audiences to enjoy and appreciate them. Due to the paucity of foreign exchange, however, we had to limit our imports. I am happy to say that with the co-operation of the concerned Ministries, the commitment given by the Government to the Federation in respect of the 1965 Film Festival was duly honoured.

The International Film Producers' Association considered our request for organising the Fourth International Film Festival of India in its session held at Milan on October 18, 1968, and at Paris in December, 1968. Giving due regard to the position of India in the world of cinema, being the home of one of the three largest and oldest film industries in the world, the Federation accorded us recognition subject to certain conditions. The Regulations for the Festival are in conformity with the fundamental Regulations of the Federation. There are, however, two minor points which are yet to be sorted out. One is with regard to the dates. The Federation is keen that our Festival be held in November. Unfortunately, we are unable to advance the dates

because many participating countries; have actually requested for extension of the dates. Moreover, 15 countries have already intimated their participation in our Festival in response to our request. We are again explaining the matter to the Federation and it is hoped that they will accept our views in the matter and not insist on any change of dates at this stage. However, keeping in view the favourable response from many participating countries and the desire to maintain the tempo, we will have to go ahead with our plans and preparations.

The other difficulty is the inability of the Federation to agree to extension of the Festival to a place other than Delhi. We have agreed with the view that as in the case-of other festivals, the Fourth International Film Festival will conclude on the 18th with the giving away of prizes.

Coming as it does at an important stage in the development of world cinema, it is my hope that the New Delhi Festival will prove to be another significant landmark. An international event brings the best that each of the invited countries has to offer for competition or for professional expositions outside the competition. Indian moviemakers will have an excellent opportunity to meet their fellow-professionals and this will be undoubtedly stimulating and beneficial to both.

We rely on the able guidance of members of the Central Advisory Committee and on the active co-operation of the Indian Film industry. I hope the industry will set up suitable forums and help the Festival Directorate and the Regional Advisory Committees which are being set up shortly.

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Each Festival raises the fundamental question: what is the true role of cinema in contemporary society? This will be particularly reflected in the Symposium and the special Retrospective of Indian Cinema which we are organising as a part of the Festival. The Symposium will bring together the talent of East and West and the Retros-

pective will show the best films of each decade since the screening of the first truly indigenous Indian silent film, "Raja Harish Chandra" directed by Shri D. G. Phalke in May, 1913. It is important for any creative art which is progressive and forward looking to sometimes look back and look within. I believe a critical appraisal of Indian cinema is long overdue and that the need for reviving the spirit of the thirties, when the Indian film was deeply imbued with consciousness of contemporary social problems, has become most urgent.

INDIA USA FRANCE

**Date** : Sep 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

## INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

Shri L. K. Jha's Speech at the Annual Meeting of International Monetary Fund

The following is the text of the speech of Shri L. K. Jha, Governor on the I.M.F. and Reserve Bank of India, delivered at the annual meeting of the I.M.F. held in Washington on September 30, 1969:

Mr. Chairman:

I should like, at the outset, to express my warm appreciation of the thoughtful address by you, Sir, and by Mr. McNamara and Mr. Schweitzer. These addresses have given us not only the broad canvas on which we have to draw but, in fact, the outlines of the picture we would wish to see emerge at the end of our discussions. Sir, it is in the fitness of things that in what should be the silver jubilee year of Bretton Woods, we are poised to break fresh ground in the Fund by the creation of SDRs and in the bank with the presentation of the report

of the Pearson Commission.

Acceptance of the SDR scheme marks the beginning of a new era in internationally managed money. We, in India, have consistently lent our support to deliberate reserve creation as a major step forward in the direction of evolving a more progressive and more rational international monetary system.

Having said this, I cannot but share with my fellow Governors the concern we have felt over some aspects of the matter. All too often, there has been a tendency to look at the SDR question as if it was exclusively an affair of the more developed and more advanced nations. A good deal of the discussion and the more crucial negotiations have taken place outside the forum of the Fund where no one from the developing world was present. As a result, the question of a formal link between the creation of international liquidity and development finance has been shelved even though developing countries account for over 80 per cent of our membership and at least some of the developed countries support it. We propose that this matter should be considered afresh. Some kind of a link should be forged between the creation of international reserves and the transfer of resources from the rich to the poor, particularly since inadequacy of reserves has in recent years been an important cause of the deterioration of the quality and quantity of aid.

The rapid progress of which Mr. McNamara spoke to us yesterday in moving towards his target of doubling bank group lending within five years is a sharp remin-

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der to us of the need for more resources. The funds available from the second replenishment should be committed soon. Simultaneously, the negotiations for the third replenishment should start so as to arrive at a consensus by June 1970. The kind of unfortunate hiatus that had developed at the start of the second replenishment period must be avoided. I have no doubt

that, even without a formal link, Mr. Mc-Namara will not let the members of IDA forget that with the activation of the SDR scheme, their ability and obligation to augment the resources of IDA are much greater.

Coming to the quinquennial review of quotas which we are discussing at this session, I would like to emphasise first of all that the review is quite independent of the. activation of SDRs and one wishes that it had been kept so. Unfortunately, the two issues seem to have got mixed up. While we fully support and welcome the agreement reached on SDRs, we are unable to endorse the kind of thinking that seems to have gone on in regard to the review of quotas. The quotas serve more than one purpose. They seek to define the legitimate need of a member for access to the resources of the Fund. They take into account the Fund's need for currencies. They reflect the kind of weight a member should have in the decision-making processes of the Fund. And now they are to provide the basis on which SDRs are to be allocated. On the criterion of the need for conditional and unconditional liquidity to supplement their own reserves and the importance of giving them an adequate say in the decision making, the developing countries deserve a much larger share in total quotas than at present. Unfortunately, the formulae adopted for determining quotas, formulae which, if I may say so, have not been subjected to proper discussion or scrutiny, are such that they penalize the poorer countries for their very poverty. Poor countries with extreme shortage of resources cannot afford to lock up real resources for acquiring gold or foreign exchange. If, relatively speaking, their GNP and trade figure are declining, we should redouble our efforts to improve their position rather than follow a formula which would continue to subject the developing countries to a double disability in the Fund.

Let me be more specific. Twentyfive years ago, all developing countries, except those of Latin America, were under colonial rule. Since then, year after year, developing countries have been joining the Fund-Bank family. Even at this session, we wel-

come the Governor for Swaziland and representatives of Cambodia, Southern Yemen, Equatorial Guinea and the Yemen Arab Republic. Numerically, developing countries account for over four-fifths of the Fund membership. Yet their relative quotas are not much above one quarter. If all the developing countries had in 1944 been independent and attended Bretton Woods, if at that time the world community had been as conscious of the importance and possibilities of accelerating economic development through international cooperation, as it is today, there could be no doubt that the share of the developing countries in Fund quotas and therefore in Fund management, would have been much larger than what it is today. It is not enough, therefore, to preserve the relative strength of the developing countries, individually and collectively...

Finally, let us remember that in this field a quick decision is no substitute for a sound one. If we are not, able to find a generally acceptable answer, let us not do anything hasty.

Mr. Chairman, the considerations I have been urging apply even more strongly to the Bank-IDA family and I see no logical reason whatsoever why an institution devoted to the development of the poorer two-thirds of the world should allow its management structure to be further vitiated in favour of the rich.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am not suggesting that the developing and developed countries represent conflicting interests. The Fund-Bank Boards provide a forum for a dialogue rather than a debate. The point, however, remains that in the task of identifying the problem of development as they emerge, and in seeking the right solution to them, representatives of developing countries need and deserve a better voice.

As development proceeds, new problems arise. Mr. McNamara yesterday drew our pointed attention to some of these such as unemployment, urbanization and industrial-

has promised in the investment policies of the Bank. We in India are acutely aware of the tensions that the development process produces - tensions that arise because of the inadequacy and unevenness of the pace of progress. It is on these considerations that we have recently given a new emphasis and orientation to our economic policies.

While we appreciate the initiatives taken by the Bank in channelling investment in new directions. I should like to draw the attention of my fellow Governors to some of the unresolved problems which require urgent action. The UNCTAD, for example, has recommended that preferential treatment should be given by developed countries to the products of developing countries. While not much progress on this front has been made, surely it is worth considering in what manner the World Bank and IDA can use their resources to stimulate production and exports of developing countries. One method would be to give a price preference to all products supplied by developing countries. In particular, when such suppliers are available in the country which is to receive them, the nascent industrial country should at the very least get the ordinary protection implicit in their tariff structure when comparing international tenders.

Then again, to the extent that the Bank and IDA finance not merely capital goods but raw materials and components, the opportunity for developing countries to participate as suppliers widen. Such assistance is often needed to keep industrial capacity already created fully and efficiently employed and can make for an increase in GNP at a lower cost in terms of resources. I am sure that the developed countries which have benefitted from capital assistance not tied to projects as was provided under the Marshall Plan or even by the World Bank in its programme lending will recognise the tremendous contribution which such aid can make in certain phases of a country's development.

Yet another problem which has been causing us concern on the export front is that many of our exports of manufactured good-, especially products of our engineering industries, have to be competitive not only in regard to price and quality but also in the matter of credit to the customer. It is not within the means of a developing country to offer long-term credit at low rates of interest. The recent resolution of the ECOSOC on the refinancing of exports from developing countries needs the earnest consideration of the Bank and it will no doubt have the help of the Fund as well as the regional development banks in this. In this context, there is a strong case for at least partial untying of aid so that supplies from developing countries are eligible for finance under bilateral aid programmes in the same way as they are under multilateral aid programmes.

I think it is also fair to say that despite all the attention given to commodity problems, we are not within sight of any effective international action to protect and stabilize the terms of trade between primary and manufactured products.

Time will not permit me to give other examples of the kind of special problems that need to be tackled. Such problems keep on arising as we go; the important thing to ensure is that those primarily affected by them have an adequate voice in devising means to tackle them.

In conclusion Mr. Chairman, may I stress that we are entering the second quarter century after Bretton Woods and also the second development decade. In that context, I have expressed some of my anxiety and concern. I hope the second development decade will have a better record than the first one. I am sure many new and constructive responses on the part of the Fund-Bank set-up will be called for in the next few years ahead. The Pearson Commission's report which we are eagerly looking forward to will spell out, I am sure, the most important areas where such constructive and quick response would be necessary. We labour under no illusions. The destiny of the developing world will be determined mainly by the wisdom and sacrifice of its own people. For these efforts to succeed, speedily and in peace and harmony with the

rest of the world, it will be necessary constantly to strengthen the spirit of international cooperation which has characterized the Fund-Bank family so far.

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INDIA USA SWAZILAND CAMBODIA YEMEN EQUATORIAL GUINEA GUINEA RUSSIA

**Date** : Sep 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

## **MOROCCO**

Indo-Moroccan Trade Agreement

The following is the text of a Press release issued in New Delhi on September 5, 1969 at the conclusion of a Trade Agreement signed between India and Morocco:

Following trade talks held here (New Delhi) between a visiting Trade Delegation, from Morocco and the Indian Delegation, an Agreement has been reached for the expansion of trade between the two countries during 1969-70.

Under this Agreement, India will be importing rock phosphate and some quantity of cork wood from Morocco in the coming year and will export to Morocco mainly green tea and tobacco.

The Indian Delegation to these discussions was led by Shri S. K. Singh, Director, Foreign Trade, and the Moroccan Delegation, was led by His Excellency Abdellah Lamrani, Ambassador of Morocco.

**NEPAL** 

Joint Statement on Nepal-India Talks

The following is the text of a Joint Statement issued in New Delhi on September 4, 1969 at the end of the talks held in New Delhi between the delegations of Nepal and India:

A Delegation of His, Majesty's Government of Nepal, led by the Foreign Secretary, Shri Yadu Nath Khanal, held discussions with a delegation of the Government of India, headed by Foreign Secretary, Shri T. N. Kaul, from the 29th August till the 4th September, 1969. The Foreign Secretary of Nepal was assisted by, H. E. Ambassador Sardar Bhim Bahadur Pande, Ambassador of Nepal in India, Maj. Genl. Chetra Bikram Rana, Home Secretary, Mr. Narayana Prasad Arjal, Counsellor, Royal Nepalese Embassy, Mr. Kedar P. Koirala, Acting Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu. Mr. Narayan Prasad Raj Bhandary, Under Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Kathmandu, Mr. Laxmi Lal Shreshtha, First Secretary, Royal Nepalese Embassy.

The Foreign Secretary of India was assisted by H.E. Shri Raj Bahadur, Ambassador of India in Nepal, Shri L. P. Singh, Home Secretary, Shri H. C. Sarin, Defence Secretary, Shri K. P. Mathrani, Secretary, Irrigation & Power, Shri K. B. Lall, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade, Shri P. N. Menon, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Shri K. R. Narayanan, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

The two delegations held detailed discussions in an atmosphere of complete understanding, mutual trust and friendship. The discussions covered a wide range of subjects of common interest to both countries in the fields of economic relations, trade and transit, irrigation and power, location of boundary, defence and security. Joint and several recommendations were made by

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both delegations on all these subjects to their respective governments for consideration and approval. It was noted that some speculative press reports had appeared which were unauthorised and incorrect.

The two delegations agreed on the identity of interests between the two governments and peoples in various fields, based on mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and mutual understanding, trust and confidence. They agreed that the very close and extensive co-operation between the two governments was of benefit to both countries and that it should be further strengthened in their common interest. The close historical, geographical, cultural, economic and political relations existing between India and Nepal through the ages have been further strengthened in recent years and both delegations expressed their confidence that these would be still further strengthened in the years to come. It was agreed that meetings at various levels should be held periodically between the two sides to resolve any difficulties that may arise between the two countries in the implementation of their policies and programmes. the two delegations exppressed their satisfaction at the conclusion of the talks and the friendly atmosphere in which they were conducted. The Nepalese delegation thanked the Indian side for their warm hospitality, understanding and close co-operation.

T. N. Kaul Foreign Secretary, Govt. of India. Yadunath Khanal Foreign Secretary, His Majesty's Govt. of Nepal

MOROCCO INDIA USA NEPAL LATVIA

**Date** : Sep 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

# **PHILIPPINES**

Indo-Philippine Cultural Agreement

The following is the text of a Press release issued in New Delhi on September 6, 1969 on the Cultural Agreement signed between India and Philippines:

A Cultural Agreement between the Government of India and the Government of the Philippines was signed in New Delhi on September 6, 1969. It envisages cooperation between the two countries in the fields of education, science, art and culture through exchange of professors, scientists, scholars, coaches and journalists as well as exchange of materials like books, periodicals, non-commercial cinematographic films including television and radio broadcasts, art exhibitions, etc. The Agreement also seeks to encourage establishments of Indian-Philippine Friendship Associations in each country.

The Agreement was signed by Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of External Affairs, on behalf of the Government of India and by Dr. Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary, Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Government of the Philippines.

Speaking on the occasion, Shri Dinesh Singh said: "We are very happy that this morning we have signed a cultural agreement between the Philippines and India. It marks the beginning again of the cultural and friendly relations that have existed between the two countries for many thousand years now. And I hope that this re-affirmation of our desire to strengthen our relations will forge new bonds, not only of the traditional bonds that have existed but new bonds of cooperation in the context of the modern society that is being forged both in the Philippines and India. I am delighted

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Addressing the Philippine Foreign Minister, Shri Dinesh Singh said: "We are very grateful to you for the trouble that you have taken to come here and for the trouble that you have always taken to stengthen the relations between our two countries. We are aware of your keen interest in the field of education and in the field of foreign relations and the affection that you have for our people and our leaders; and therefore it is an occasion on which we are doubly happy to have you with us in our country."

Dr. Carlos Romulo in his reply said:
"In 1964 I came to India as President of the University of the Philippines and concurrently Minister of Education. My mission then was to forge closer ties with your educational institutions in India. I had discussions with the President of the Delhi University, the President of Bombay University and several other leaders of your institutions of higher learning. The result was that we entered into an agreement for exchange of our faculty and students. That was in 1964.

"Today I have come to sign this Cultural Agreement as Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines. It is really putting only in black and white what has been all the time in our hearts and minds, to forge closer ties of friendship as represented by the culture of your society and ours, the culture that has the same well-springs both in your country and in ours, the well-springs that find their rootage in centuries of close relationship between the Indian and the Filipino peoples.

Today you and I sign this agreement which, for all generations to come, will show that in the 1960s we started what may be the beginning of closer unity between the peoples of Asia as represented by the people of India and the people of the Philippines. And so I am happy that I have this privilege to sign this document."

PHILIPPINES INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA

**Date**: Sep 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Joint Statement on Indo-Soviet Talks

The following is the text of a joint statement issued in Moscow on September 17, 1969 on the visit of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Dinesh Singh, to the Soviet Union:

On the invitation of the Soviet Government Mr. Dinesh Singh, Minister of External Affairs of India, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from the eleventh to the fifteenth September, 1969.

During his stay in Moscow, the Minister of External Affairs was received by Secretary General, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. L. I. Brezhnev, Mr. A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and had friendly talks with them on questions of mutual interest.

Mr. Dinesh Singh was also received by Mr. N. K. Baibakov and Mr. V. N. Novikov, Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Marshal A. A. Grechko, the USSR Minister of Defence. The Minister also visited the historic city of Volgograd.

Mr. Dinesh Singh had meetings and talks with Mr. A. A. Gromyko, the USSR Foreign Minister. From the Soviet side the following took part in the talks: Mr. N. P. Firubin, Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. N. M.

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Pegov, the USSR Ambassador to India, Mr. A. A. Fomin, Head of the South Asia Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. O. N. Khlestov, Head of the Legal and Treaty Department, Mr. I. I. Marchuk, Deputy Head of the Press Department; and from the Indian side, Mr. Kewal Singh, Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. D. P. Dhar, Ambassador of India to the USSR, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, Head of the Foreign

Policy Planning Division, Mr. R. Bhandari, Minister Mr. S. V. Purshottam, Special Assistant to the Minister of External Affairs.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding and covered a wide range of subjects concerning Soviet-Indian relations and international questions of mutual interest.

The two sides considered in all its aspects the friendly cooperation existing between India and the Soviet Union and noted with satisfaction that in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and other fields the cooperation has progressed impressively and holds great opportunities for further expansion. They are convinced that this cooperation meets the fundamental interest of the people of the two countries and serves the cause of promoting peace in Asia and the world.

The Minister of External Affairs of India acknowledged with gratitude the assistance the Soviet Union has been extending to India in its economic development.

The two sides were convinced that great opportunities exist for further expansion of Indo-Soviet economic cooperation in various fields.

The two sides recognise the need for further expansion of the contacts and ties and exchange of views between the USSR and India at various levels and stressed their importance for a deeper understanding and trust between the Governments and peoples of the two countries.

In the course of the talks the two sides exchanged views on current international problems and noted with satisfaction the coincidence or closeness of positions of the Soviet Union and India on these problems.

They noted that the question of the preservation and consolidation of world peace and security assumed special importance in view of the continuing tense situation in South East Asia and West Asia and the continuation of colonial and racial domi-

nation in Africa, The two sides believe that the efforts of all peace-loving countries should be directed to an early peaceful solution of these topical international problems in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples of the world.

The two Foreign Ministers discussed the situation in Vietnam. They reaffirmed that for the solution of the Vietnam problem it is essential to recognise the right of the Vietnamese people to decide their own destiny without foreign interference and on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreement. They hoped that it will be possible to find a speedy and peaceful settlement in Vietnam.

Both sides reviewed the situation in West Asia and expressed their concern over the dangerous situation which constituted a threat to peace. They felt that the refusal of Israel to implement and to comply with the November 22, 1967 Resolution of the Security Council and her repeated acts of provocation were responsible for the serious aggravation of the situation. Both sides reaffirmed their support to the Security Council Resolution and agreed to cooperate with each other and other peace-loving nations for its speedy implementation.

The two sides declared their desire to work actively for the maintenance and consolidation of universal peace and for the solution of disputes between nations by peaceful means through negotiations.

The two Foreign Ministers agreed that the political and economic development of the countries of Asia and cooperation amongst them on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs form the best basis for the preservation and consolidation of peace, stability and security in this part of the world.

The Indian side emphasised the importance India attached to the Tashkent Dec-

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laration and recounted the steps India has taken in implementing this declaration and

in improving relations between India and Pakistan in the spirit of this declaration. The Soviet side expressed the hope that the Governments of India and Pakistan will exert all their efforts in order to bring about normalisation of Indo-Pakistan relations.

An exchange of views also took place on the questions on the Agenda of the forth-coming 24th Session of the U.N. General Assembly. Both sides have confirmed their readiness to contribute in every way to a positive solution of topical problems which confront the United Nations, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

The two sides have expressed confidence that the visit by the Minister of External Affairs of India to the USSR and his meetings and talks with Soviet statesmen will contribute to the consolidation and further development of the traditional relations of friendship and good neighbourliness between the Soviet Union and India.

The Minister of External Affairs of India extended an invitation to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. A. A. Gromyko, to pay an official visit to India. Mr. A. A. Gromyko was happy to accept this invitation.

RUSSIA INDIA USA UNITED KINGDOM VIETNAM SWITZERLAND ISRAEL UZBEKISTAN PAKISTAN MALI

**Date** : Sep 01, 1969

# YUGOSLAVIA Joint Communique on Shri Dinesh Singh's Visit

Following is the text of a joint com-

munique issued at the end of the official visit of the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Dinesh Singh, to Yugoslavia:

On the invitation of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mirko Tepavac, the Minister for External Affairs of the Government of India, Mr. Dinesh Singh, paid an official visit to Yugoslavia from 15 to IS September, 1969.

The Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Dinesh Singh, was received by the President of the Republic of the SFRY Josip Broz Tito, as well as by the President of the Federal Executive Council, Mitja Ribicic.

During the visit the two Ministers had talks which were also attended on the Yugoslav side by Dr. Radivoj Uvalic, Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Slavko Komar, Ambassador of the SFRY to India, Mr. Edward Kljun, Head of Division for Asia and Australia in the Secretariat of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Aleksandar Demajo, Chief of the Office of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mihajlo Stevovic, Assistant Head of Division for Asia and Australia in the Secretariat, Mr. Spasan Jovanovic, Chief of Section in the Division for Asia and Australia in the Secretariat, Mr. Mirko Zario. Counsellor in the Division for Asia and Australia in the Secretariat; and on the Indian side, by Mr. Jai Kumar Atal, Ambassador of India to Yugoslavia, Mr. Kewal Singh, Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. N. P. Alexander, Counsellor to the Embassy of India in Yugoslavia, Mr. S. V. Purushottam, Special Assistant to the Minister for External Affairs.

The two Foreign Ministers exchanged views on questions of bilateral cooperation and international issues of mutual interest. The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and were characterised by the 171 usual mutual trust and understanding and

close identity of views on basic issues.

The two Ministers noted with satisfaction that cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic, cultural and technical fields has, in recent years, grown in depth and magnitude, and that great possibilities exist for the further expansion and intensification of this cooperation to the mutual benefit of the two countries

They also noted that the policy of nonalignment pursued by the two countries not only constituted an abiding bond between them but has made a vital contribution to international understanding and world peace. They reaffirmed their conviction that nonalignment has an important role to play in the changed world situation for preserving peace and for promoting cooperation among nations on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. They also believed that the policy of non-alignment is playing a positive role in strengthening the independence, stability and social and economic progress of nations and also in the struggle against colonialism and racialism. In this connection they recalled the results achieved by the Consultative Conference of Nonaligned countries held in Belgrade which affirmed the continued necessity for activities and consultations by non-aligned countries. They welcomed the forthcoming meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegations of nonaligned countries at New York during the United Nations General Assembly session as a positive step in the process of such consultations and continued activities.

The Ministers exchanged views on the situation in South-East Asia and expressed their concern over the continuing crisis in Vietnam. They reaffirmed their position that a solution of the Vietnam problem should be found on the basis of the Geneva Agreements and on the recognition of the right of the Vietnamese people to decide their own destiny without foreign interference. They hoped that it would be possible to reach a speedy settlement in Vietnam through peaceful negotiations.

The two sides reviewed the situation in West Asia and expressed their grave concern over the continued occupation of Arab territories and the recent aggravation of tension in the region. They felt that urgent steps should be taken for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967 for the restoration of peace in that area. The two sides agreed to cooperate with each other and other peace-loving nations for the speedy implementation of the Security Council Resolution.

The Ministers discussed in particular the need for making fresh efforts for the further strengthening of the United Nations. In this context emphasis was laid on the importance of arresting the arms race with a view to achieving the final goal of general and complete disarmament.

With regard to the Second Development Decade, special emphasis was placed on the importance of concerted action to be undertaken within the framework of the United Nations for accelerating the development of the developing nations.

The two Foreign Ministers agreed that in view of the growing cooperation and understanding between the two countries, there was need for more frequent visits and exchanges between India and Yugoslavia at Various levels and in diverse fields.

Mr. Dinesh Singh extended a cordial invitation to Mr. Tepavac to pay a visit to India in the near future which the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia accepted with pleasure.

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# **BULGARIA**

Indo-Bulgarian Trade Protocol Signed

Following is the text of the Press release issued in New Delhi on October 13, 1969 on the Trade Protocol signed between, the official delegations of India and Bulgaria:

Talks between the trade delegations of Bulgaria and India concluded in New Delhi today (October 13) with the signing of a Trade Protocol for 1970.

The Protocol was signed by Chowdhary

Ram Sewak, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply, Government of India, and His Excellency Mr. O. Tihomirov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, People's Republic of Bulgaria.

It is envisaged that during 1970 the two-way trade turnover would be of the order of Rs. 440 million.

The principal items of import from Bulgaria into India will be urea, tractors, drugs and- pharmaceuticals, special steels and rolled steel products, caprolactum and other industrial raw materials, non-ferrous metals and miscellaneous items of machinery.

The major items of India's exports to Bulgaria will be rolled steel products, wire ropes, finished and semi-finished leather, forgings and castings, knitting machines, tipper trucks and other engineering goods, drugs and pharmaceuticals, aluminium foils, etc. in addition to traditional commodities.

The Bulgarian Economic Delegation, led by His Excellency Mr. L. Avramov, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Trade of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which arrived in New Delhi on October 10 at the invitation of the Government of India, is returning tomorrow (October 14). Today's agreement follows the friendly and cordial discussions which the Delegation had on the prospects of increasing the two-way trade exchanges between India and Bulgaria,

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**CZECHOSLOVAKIA** 

Following is the text of the Press release issued in New Delhi in connection with the trade agreement signed between India and Czechoslovakia in Prague an October 31, 1969:

India's Foreign Trade Minister, Shri B. R. Bhagat signed in Prague on October 31, 1969 a long-term trade and payment agreement covering the period January 1970 to, December 1974 between India and Czechoslovakia. The Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Trade Minister of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Frantisek Hamouz signed on behalf of the Government of Czechoslovakia.

Shri B. R. Bhagat arrived in Prague on October 31 on a visit from October 31 to

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November 2 at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Government. During his stay Shri Bhagat called on Czechoslovak Prime Minister Cernik and Deputy Prime Minister Hamouz.

In the course of discussions the two sides expressed satisfaction at the rapid growth of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries over the past decade. The new long-term agreement now concluded, it was felt, should serve as an effective instrument for further strengthening and consolidating mutual economic relations. By the end of the current agreement in 1974, the actual turn-over of trade between the two countries would be of the order of Rs. 1,000 million. A special feature of the agreement is progressive diversification of commodity composition. It was agreed in order to give planned direction to the growth of mutual trade, possibilities of entering into long-term arrangements should be explored in respect of items like iron ore, engineering goods, textiles, readymade garments and deoiled cakes for export from India and items such as special steels, rolled steel products, tractors, newsprint, capital goods and machinery.

For further development of level the trade agreement envisages joint studies at technical level and the result made available for consideration at the next meeting of the Indo-Czechoslovak Joint Committee on Economic, Trade and Technical Cooperation.

The discussions took place in a spirit of mutual understanding and friendship.

Shri Bhagat's invitation to the Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Hamouz to visit India has been accepted.

# NORWAY SLOVAKIA INDIA CZECH REPUBLIC USA

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# DISARMAMENT

Shri Azim Husain's Statement in Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri Azim Husain, Indian Ambassador in Switzerland and leader of the Indian Delegation to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, at the Conference of the ENDC in Geneva on October 21, 1969:

First of all I would like to express the pleasure of the Indian delegation at the return of this Committee of the Right Honourable The Lord Chalfont, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, as the leader of the United Kingdom delegation, and to offer him our good wishes for the renewal of his association with the work of this Committee to which he had contributed so much in the past.

I would also like to join those who have spoken before me in expressing our profound admiration for the performance of yet another remarkable technological feat in space exploration with the recent Soyuz launchings. Through Ambassador Roschchin we offer our congratulations to the Soviet Government.

Although considerable delay has taken place in the conclusion of the present session of our Committee - the General Assembly has already been in session for over a month - it is a matter of some satisfaction that the Soviet Union and the United States between them have eventually found common ground and have presented in document CCD/269 a joint draft of a treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof. While my delegation does not wish to diminish in any way the

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importance of a treaty concerning the question of the seabed, it cannot help observing that the draft treaty before us is yet another partial and limited non-armament measure. In keeping with the main task of this Committee, to conclude a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, priority in our negotiations should have been given to measures aimed at halting the nuclear arms race and the achievement of nuclear disarmament. Let it also be recalled that a detailed consideration of a sea-bed treaty commenced in this Committee on 18 March 1969 with the presentation by the Soviet delegation of the draft of a treaty on " prohibition of the use for military purposes of the sea-bed" (ENDC/240), but what we air now discussing, in the joint draft treaty presented by the Soviet Union and the United-states, is the more limited objective of the prohibition only of the emplacement of nuclear and other, weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed., I mention these facts so that we maintain a sense of proportion and balance and a degree of modesty in presenting the result of our labours to the General Assembly and to the world at

large.

Although, as I have said earlier, the joint draft contained in document CCD/269 has been worked out between the co-Chairmen themselves, I was glad to hear Ambassador Leonard say on 7 October, while presenting the joint draft, that it was "a recommendation for discussion and negotiation in this Committee" (CCD/IPV.440, provisional, p. 16). It is in that spirit that the Indian delegation is offering its comments today.

On the fundamental question of the nature of the prohibition to be incorporated in the treaty, my delegation had expressed the view at our meeting on 14 August last that:

"the treaty should not limit its prohibition to weapons of mass destruction only but should, in principle, extend to all weapons, and to military bases and fortifications and to other installations and structures of a military nature" (ENDC/PV. 428 para 13).

which could pose a threat to the security of a coastal State. It was necessary to safeguard the essential security interests of all coastal States, particularly those with long coastlines difficult to defend. We therefore find the nature of the prohibition envisaged in article I of the joint draft to be greatly limited, but this appears to have been well recognized in the preamble to the treaty, wherein it is said that this treaty constitutes but a step towards the exclusion of the sea-bed from the arms race, and that parties to the treaty are "determined to continue negotiations concerning further measures leading to this end" (CCD/226 p. 1). The need for continuing negotiations for a more comprehensive prohibition is obvious, and my delegation would therefore like to see a precise commitment to this end embodied in the operative part of the treaty.

As regards the area to be covered by the prohibition contained in the treaty, my delegation at our meeting on, 14 August (ENDC/PV. 428, Para 15.20) gave detailed reasons why a twelve-mile limit would be most appropriate and also likely to be more generally acceptable than any other limitation of distance smaller or larger than twelve miles. My delegation is gratified that this has been adopted in the joint draft. It is also, gratifying to note that the measurement of the outer limit of the, special zone that would be available to each coastal State for freedom of action would be measured from the same baselines as are used in defining the limits of the territorial sea of coastal States, in conformity with the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone and in accordance with international law.

The third related question is that of verification. Article III of the joint draft treaty does recognize that each State party to the treaty would have the right to verify and this right could be exercised using its own means or with the assistance of any other States parties. Several delegations, including the delegation of India, had stressed in our earlier discussions in the Committee the need for such a provision. We are, therefore, glad that this provision has been made.

It is, however, the procedure of verification as provided for in article III which

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appears inadequate. In favour of the present formulation of article III of the joint draft the view has been expressed that "the requirement for verification is dependent on the nature of the prohibition" (CCD/PV.440, provisional, p. 21), and that since the prohibition is limited to nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction the extent of verification "set forth in article III would be appropriate for this treaty" (ibid.).

My delegation is unable to accept this view. The continuing rapid development in recent years of undersea technology has created an entirely new situation. In 1958 the world community was discussing the exploitation of the continental shelf for peaceful economic purposes; ten years later, in 1968, we were faced with the problem of the use for military purposes not only of the

continental shelf but also of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof. It is this new situation which has raised serious apprehensions among coastal States about their security. While it is true that we are at present engaged only in trying to prohibit nuclear weapons from the seabed, this does not mean that this treaty is the affair or concern only of nuclearweapon Powers among themselves. It is also, as I have said before, a question of the security interests of the coastal States which are not nuclear-weapon Powers and which do not have advanced under-sea technology either, and such States constitute the vast majority of the States in the world. It is probable that in the years to come nonnuclear-weapon Powers other than those which at present have advanced undersea technology will also develop such technology. So the problem is of a wider scope and importance than has been recognized in the restricted and limited provision for verification in article III.

My delegation has serious doubts whether the "right to verify" provided for in paragraph I of article III could be meaningfully implemented by the procedure of consultation and co-operation mentioned in paragraph 3 of article III of the draft before us. We notice that the provision made in article 2 of the Soviet draft (ENDC/240) that all installations and structures on the sea-bed "shall be open" for verification has been dropped, and so also has the provision made in article III of the United States draft (ENDC / 249) for the freedom "to observe activities of other States on the seabed".

While those omissions are serious and unfortunate, we are even more perturbed when article III is interpreted, as mentioned by Ambassador Leonard in his statement made at our meeting on 7 October, as meaning that:

"... the provision does not imply the right of access to sea-bed installations or any obligation to disclose activities on the sea-bed that are not contrary to the purposes of the treaty". (CCD/PV.

## 440, provisional, p. 21).

That would greatly restrict the "right to verify", leaving total discretion to the nuclear-weapon Powers to do what they liked without any regard to the apprehensions of coastal States. Article III does not specify what the "right to verify" entails for nuclear-weapon Powers and for nonnuclear-weapon coastal States to ensure to the satisfaction of all concerned the observance of the prohibition contained in the treaty. How can the right to verify be exercised if a nuclear-weapon Power is entitled not to disclose its activities on the sea-bed or permit access to its sea-bed installations? How does one know what is emplaced unless the proximity of approach and observation of a kind which would be adequate to ascertain whether or not nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction had been emplaced are assured? To leave the matter to the entire discretion of a suspected nuclear-weapon State is not good enough.

It is said that paragraph 3 of article III contains an undertaking "to consult and to co-operate", but the extent and the nature of that consultation and co-operation are not specified and in the circumstances the right to verify might be further restricted in practice. What would happen if this procedure did not produce results to the satisfaction of the coastal State concerned in so far as verification was concerned? The question of procedure for resolving disputes over verification, to which our attention has been drawn by the delegation of Brazil, (CCI)/PV.433, paras 2-7), would also need further careful examination. Also, the

# 176 principle of some kind of international verification on the sea-bed is essentially sound and should be reflected in the treaty.

In this context the delegation of India has studied very carefully the working paper contained in document CCD/270 submitted by the delegation of Canada concerning procedures which should govern the right to verify. The Indian delegation fully

supports the approach to the question of verification and the principles contained in the Canadian working paper. The various issues raised therein deserve the most serious consideration of the co-authors of the joint draft treaty and of all members of the Committee.

In regard to article IV, my delegation would like to join the several other delegations which have already expressed the view that for any amendments to the treaty the right of veto given to nuclear-weapon Powers is neither necessary nor appropriate. The Indian delegation is in principle opposed to creating in the field of disarmament categories of privileged and underprivileged groups of countries. It is also not clear why the provision in the United States draft (ENDC/249) for a review conference has been dropped. In view of rapidly developing undersea technology, it would seem highly desirable to provide for a review of the operation of the treaty after an appropriate lapse of time.

Before I conclude my remarks I should like to say that we should endeavour, within the short time available to us, to reach agreement over the draft before us, to the extent possible among us here in the Committee, and thereafter adjourn for further discussions in the General Assembly, where there will shortly begin a debate on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed. the Indian delegation will adopt its final position on the draft treaty in the light of the views which will be expressed in the General Assembly.

Finally, may I say how sorry I am personally; as is my delegation, to hear of the imminent departure of Mr. Protitch, for reasons of health. He has given long and distinguished service to this Committee and to the cause of disarmament, for which we owe a debt of deep gratitude to him. His balanced and wise counsel and advice will be greatly missed, I am sure, by all of us. I and my delegation wish him good: health and all the best for the future.

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

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#### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

President's Message on U.N. Day

Following is the text of the message broadcast to the nation by the President, Shri V. V. Giri, on the eve of the U.N. Day (October 24):

Tomorrow is the 24th anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations and is observed as UN Day. The Charter of the United Nations, which was formulated immediately after the world had emerged from the devastation of a cruel war, stipulates the fundamental goals and objectives of the international community as well as themeans for achieving them.

Some of the goals have already been attained but many still remain beyond reach. The gulf between promise and fulfilment is widening. Attention is often drawn to the structural defects of the United Nations, its ineffectiveness and its propensity to adopt resolutions that salve the conscience but do not solve the problems.

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The United Nations can be effective if the recalcitrant minority voluntarily accepts the views of the majority, if the aggressor consents to vacate his aggression, if the colonialist is willing to surrender power to the people, if the racist acknowledges the equality of man, and if the advanced nations recognise that wealth and poverty cannot coexist in this rapidly shrinking world.

Powerful winds of change are sweeping many countries and the old resignation to

fate is giving way to the conviction that poverty is only a disease that can be cured. There is in the world a vast unprecedented striving for peace, freedom and economic and social justice. This is the wave of the future, and its demands must be met soon, if it is not to sweep us off our feet.

It would seem that the wit of man is able to make a giant leap across space to the moon, but the will of man is reluctant to bridge the gulf between the rich and the poor nations. To win the race to the moon and to lose the race for a better life for all persons on earth would indeed be a very sad commentary on our present civilisation. The world must not be allowed to drift along the perilous path of the arms race to a new balance of terror, a new kind of subordination, and a new type of peace subject to the will of the mighty.

We are living in times of great travail and tribulation and we have to deal with human problems in a humane manner. Magnanimity of spirit, mutual accommodation and faith in the higher human values are essential for the settlement of disputes.

The nations that have the power and the resources have the greater responsibility for strengthening the United Nations. That the strong should help the weak, and that all should join together in creating a human society based on active mutual cooperation and a community of ideals and purposes is not only a moral imperative but also a vital economic obligation.

We in India conditioned by our history, cultural traditions and philosophical concepts have tended to stress the importance of peace, because it springs from the sorrows and sufferings of our own past. More recently, we have been influenced by the words and deeds of Mahatma Gandhi. Nonuse of force, self-restraint and self-reliance form the hard core of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings. Indeed, these principles are also enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

I should like to recall the famous words of Mahatma Gandhi: "If one takes care of

the means, the end will take care of itself." These words have a special significance for the United Nations, which is the only practical means we have for maintaining a world order based on peace, mutual respect and equality. Science and technology have unified the world and as the world becomes smaller, man's mind must become larger. On this day let us resolve to work for a common destiny for mankind as a whole.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Dinesh Singh's Address to General Assembly

Following is the text of the address delivered by Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of External Affairs and Leader of the Indian Delegation to the U.N., to the XXIV Session of the United Nations General Assembly on October 2, 1969:

I should like first of all to offer our congratulations on the election of the honourable Angie Brooks of Liberia to the Presidency of this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. It is a fitting tribute to her long association with this Organisation, and to her particular dedication to the cause of freedom of the colonial peoples. We have every hope that under her wise guidance this Assembly will make rapid progress on the many important items of the present and the future.

I should also like to pay a tribute to the memory of her distinguished predecessor, the late Mr. Emilio Arenales, who presided over the twenty-third session of the General Assembly with such courage and

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purpose. His untimely death is a great loss to his country, to the Latin American States and to the United Nations.

Our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant who has become, through the years, the repository of the conscience of humanity, is carrying a heavy burden with faith and fortitude. His role as peacemaker is difficult and delicate and yet he has persevered relentlessly. We can do no less than to assure him of our co-operation and support for all that he is doing to uphold the Charter.

#### SYMBOL OF HOPE

A full hundred years ago today, a light was lit in a small coastal town in India. Within its life-span its brilliance reached the dark corners in every land. It became the symbol of hope for the drown-trodden everywhere. Today we in India and millions of people all over the world celebrate the centenary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi. As I speak to this august Assembly, the thought uppermost in my mind is his message for his countrymen, for the peoples of the world and for generations yet unborn. It was a message of peace and co-operation.

The Mahatma demonstrated to us by his deeds that man is capable of rising above his baser self to a plane that befits his calling. Even while he fought inequities of a powerful colonial Power that subjugated his motherland, he never let bitterness and prejudice envelop us.

Gandhiji set for us exacting standards. He wanted us to be tolerant, non-violent and generous in our everyday life. We do not claim that we have lived upto his precepts. We have faltered many a time, even recently. But nobody can accuse us of not trying earnestly to follow the path set for us.

Permit me to say, that those of us who saw this man in flesh and

blood, who were inspired by his soft voice calling us to action, feel that this great Organisation could experience by his life-work and use some of his methods to combat the horde of problems that beset the world community today.

It is significant that the three causes for which the Mahatma struggled non-violently throughout his life were:

- (1) Elimination of discrimination, racial, social and religious.
- (2) Freedom from colonial subjugation of his own people and others in different lands.
- (3) Liquidation of poverty and ignorance.

And, the Charter of the United Nations which was fashioned and drafted for the post-war world, and in Gandhi's life-time, concerns itself with all the three: discrimination, de-colonisation, and economic development benefiting under-privileged everywhere.

#### PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, our first Prime, Minister sought to reaffirm the Gandhian doctrine and to give form and content to it in his policy of peaceful coexistence. Heproceeded on the basis that freedom not fear, faith not doubt, confidence not mutual suspicion can lead to friendly relations between States in a world riven by conflict.

When be addressed this Assembly nine, years ago he drew attention to the fact that the propagation of this concept was no. empty idealism since, in practical terms, thechoice before the world was to co-operate-or perish.

The adherence of all of us to the U.N. Charter commits us to the principles of peaceful co-existence between States with-different social and political systems; respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of one another; non-

interference in the internal affairs of each,. other; denial of the fruits of aggression to the aggressor; respect for fundamental human rights and the dignity and the worth of the human being. Yet, we see these noble ideas trampled upon in the march of nations towards narrow selfish goals. Has the time, therefore, not come when we should re-affirm our commitment to these obligations? Make a declaration which will have, one hopes, binding force?

The Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, speaking in this Assembly

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last year, had said and I quote: "Two years hence, in 1970, the U.N. will complete 25 years. can we make it a year of peace? A starting point of a united endeavour to give mankind the blessings of a durable peace?" Can we not ensure that during this period we begin to reduce expenditure on armaments? Can we not also ensure that a credible declaration for the renunciation of force for settlement of disputes is made during this year?

Gandhiji believed that Truth and Nonviolence could bring peace not only to individuals but also to nations and to the international community. More than 31 years ago he once wrote and I quote: "Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve the godliness of human nature. If the recognised leaders of mankind, who have control over engines of destruction, work wholly to renounce their use, with full knowledge of its implications, permanent peace can be obtained... If even one great nation were unconditionally to perform the supreme act of renunciation, many of us would see in our life-time durable peace established on earth."

Peace, renunciation of force, respect for international law, these cannot be mere slogans. They need to be given content through greater co-operation in practical everyday international life.

This co-operation has been lacking so far. While every opportunity is taken to

make good pronouncements, the will to implement them is conspicuously absent. We have heard in this Assembly intentions expressed, declarations made and resolutions passed. But we have noted with great disappointment the lack of enthusiasm to translate these intentions into action. The disenchantment with the whole process of our functioning in this Organisation is growing. On the eve of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the founding of the United Nations we have to give serious thought to see that this attitude of despair is turned into one of hope. We have, therefore, to devise effective means of implementing our declarations.

We are even today continuing to deal with some of the problems which were with us when the United Nations was born. The racist policies of South Africa; rampant and oppressive colonialism of the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique as well as in other territories; the racist oppression and reactionary exploitation of the people of Zimbabwe by a white minority there; the lack of progress in the liberation of Namibia are amongst such problems.

It is a terror of might and blackmail through sophisticated weapons, that is helping to keep the African peoples in the Southern part under racial and colonial subjugation. This situation causes us great anguish, more so. because it was there that Mahatma Gandhi first preached and practised non-violence in the struggle against racial discrimination, colonial oppression and violation of human rights.

#### **EVASION BY STATES**

The U.N. Charter contains within itself the means for dealing with these problems. If this has not been achieved so far it is because those Member States of this Organisation which are in a position to bring about a solution of these problems have been evasive in their response to the urges and demands of the international community. They have voted for and supported various resolutions in these halls of the United Nations, against the racist and the colonialist policies. But at the same

time, they have stopped short of taking effective action to implement these very resolutions. Perhaps, their attempt is to persuade the international community that the problems faced by the peoples of the southern part of Africa are beyond solution. We cannot agree with them. This last strong-hold of prejudice, reaction and colonialism must be made to surrender to the processes of the work in this august Assembly and to conform to the objectives of the U.N. Charter.

In Asia, too, we see conflicts which have persisted from the days of the founding of this great Organisation. I refer specially to Viet-Nam and to West Asia.

There has been no lack of appreciation of a desire to achieve peace in Vietnam. But to what extent has this desire been translated into action? The stoppage of

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bombing by the United States of DRVN has enabled talks to take place in Paris to find a peaceful solution. The next steps have now to be taken. All parties to this dispute agree that the people of Vietnam should be left free to determine their own destiny, and no one seems to hold a brief for keeping foreign forces in that land. The first step to be taken is the immediate cessation of hostilities. Thereafter necessary arrangements have to be made for the withdrawal of foreign troops to enable the people of Vietnam to decide their future free from foreign interference. This process can be carried out effectively only if arrangements which inspire the confidence of all parties concerned can be established. It would, therefore, seem necessary to have a Government which is adequately representative to command the confidence and the support of all sections of the people. Such a Government would be in a position in Vietnam to supervise the withdrawal of foreign forces and prepare for holding fair elections. To facilitate this process for bringing peace in Vietnam the international community should pledge its full co-operation and support.

## TRIBUTE To HO-CHI-MINH

I cannot conclude these brief remarks on the situation in that country without paying a tribute to the late Dr. Ho-Chi-Minh in whose death Asia has lost an indomitable soldier for freedom.

In West Asia, Israel continues to be in adverse possession of large areas of territory it over-ran by force in June 1967. The human problem of large numbers of Arab refugees is an element in this tangled situation to which we must not and cannot close our eyes.

Almost two years ago on 22nd November, 1967 the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution No. 242. The Security Council and its permanent members have a special responsibility to ensure the faithful implementation of the 22nd November resolution.

The first thing should have been to get this aggression vacated so that the aggressor would not retain the fruit of aggression and use it as a bargaining counter. However, we are given to understand that in the interest of mutual accommodation a wider solution of the West Asian problem is being attempted. Even as such there is no movement forward towards a peaceful solution and the hostilities continue to flare up from time to time with even more dangerous consequences.

There is further an unfortunate attempt by some interested parties to give religious overtones to a problem which is essentially political. This could only play into the hands of those who wish to confuse the issues in West Asia and to fan religious emotions, making the quest for an objective political settlement even more difficult.

My Government has welcomed the initiative of the permanent members of the Security Council to engage in negotiations amongst themselves on this question. We have no desire to prejudge or to prejudice-the outcome of these efforts, especially as these efforts continue to be made, albeit at a leisurely pace. We feel, however, that the

responsibility cannot be of the permanent members of the Security Council alone. All States Members of the United Nations havea collective responsibility in all such matters.

## WORLD'S TROUBLE SPORTS

I have just referred to the trouble. spots of the world where the return of peace must become a binding international responsibility. However, a serious threat to international peace and securitytoday stems from the spiralling arms race. This race is entering altogether new levels both in terms of sophistication of armaments and the expenditure involved. There is a systematic attempt to widen progressively the gap between the militarilypowerful and the weaker rest. Concentration of enormous power in the hands of a fewnations is leading to a division of the world'. into spheres of influence, in which might alone becomes right in the ordering of relations between States. It is imperative that this slow but steady drift towards a new and unequal balance of power must be halted and reversed. It is the responsibility of all peace-loving States, and particularly of the non-aligned ones, which are adversely affected by the emergence of new power patterns. to restore the balance. They must seek to widen the scope of international co-operation

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The Non-proliferation Treaty represents an effective demonstration of the latest trends in relations between States. This treaty is as unequal as it is ineffective. It cannot contribute in any way to a balanced process of disarmament on which alone security of nations can depend. We have, on a matter of principle, rejected the validity of an instrument which seeks to bind the hands of the powerless and to licence the further accumulation of armaments by those, whose stockpiles threaten our very existence. It is for this reason that we remain unable to sign the Treaty. This unequal treaty has become even more unacceptable due to an attempt on the part of the big

powers to modify: assurances of security implicit under the provisions of the Charter to those who do not subscribe to the Treaty. These new tactics are symptomatic of the growing tendency to make power and might the basis for international relations. It, also represents the increasing attempt to settle questions of War and peace outside the forum of the United Nations. We cannot be a party to the enfeebling of the basic tenets of the Charter, and to the whittling down of the inherent responsibility of Member States. This serious situation can be solved only by increasing our co-operation so that a more scrupulous adherence is secured to the provisions of the Charter.

Domination and exploitation continue to be a normal feature of international life because of acquiescence in the persistence of inequality. It is this approach which requires to be overhauled. It is only enlightened economic co-operation on a global scale that can set a new process in motion and contribute to more durable peace and stability.

It is not enough for us who belong to the developing world merely to expose the hypocrisy and hollowness of the assertions of the developed countries that they are bending every muscle to give us help when they are not prepared even to respect, in practice, the commitments which they make year after year through resolutions sponsored in the various forums of the United Nations. The time has come for us to indicate frankly and clearly what are the responsibilities of the developing and the developed.

I had the privilege of presenting the report of the Second UNCTAD to the XXIII session of the General Assembly. Since then the Trade and Development Board has met in Geneva in its 8th and 9th sesions. I said then that the eyes of the world "are fixed on results we may be able to obtain from the continuing machinery". These very, eyes, I fear, have witnessed the futility of the ninth session. I therefore ask myself and I also venture to put this question to this Assembly: What has gone wrong with, the developmental process and with the

climate for international economic cooperation?

To further aggravate matters, there is a growing tendency to detract from the importance of the basic objectives and put empphasis on palliatives. In spite of reasonably thorough identification of problems of development through numerous studies, there is an attempt to initiate new studies and reviews in a vain attempt, to gain more time and to evolve a plausible philosophy for the present state of stagnation and withdrawal. The activities of multilateral agencies are progressively failing to reflect the collective will of the international community. Instead, such activities are sought to be based on unilateral and at times even paternalistic patterns of providing assistance.

#### RICH VS POOR NATIONS

To my mind the basic cause for wide spread disenchantment with international co-operation lies in the deliberately exaggerated dichotomy between the responses and interests of the affluent and of the poorer nations. Contrary to the facts of economic history, people in positions of power have come to believe that the process. of transmission of growth impulses is unilateral or irreversible. One has only to reflect on the rise and fall of nations to come to the conclusion that such a belief is totally unwarranted. Some of the centres of economic power today have derived their present strength and their present potential for transmitting growth from the investment and the skills that flowed to them, when not long ago they were in such

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a happy position. This process cannot but repeat itself in the case of the developing countries which are striving to break the vicious circle in which they find themselves enmeshed by the accident of history and through the operation of an economic order erected on a very narrow base.

In the developed world, the inevitability of rapid change has yet to dawn on those

entrusted with the reins of authority. We need to remind ourselves that when we launched the Development Decade and when we approved the Final Acts of the Geneva and New Delhi Conferences of UNCTAD, we committed ourselves to the establishment of a new and dynamic international economic relationship and to the achievement of a new world economic order. The fulfilment of this commitment requires not only determined efforts and perseverance but also imagination and courage of conviction. We will be judged harshly by history if we do not display these qualities at this crucial moment on the eve of the launching of the Second Development Decade.

We have been conscious of the fact that the primary responsibility for the development of developing countries rests on themselves.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, a beginning has been made, however modest, to advance the objectives of co-operation between developing countries and to prove that they do not intend to spare their own efforts but are earnest in carrying out the declarations of the Algiers Charter and the Second UNCTAD. The real security of the developing countries can be ensured only if they are able to develop their own strength, vitality and vigour, to secure for their people economic and social gains, and to foster the habit of getting together to pursue the common objectives.

## NEW STRATEGY IN ASIA

In Asia we are attempting to evolve a strategy for integrated development of regional economic co-operation which represents a well coordinated attack on the manifold problems and deficiencies in Asia. The move has been made to provide an Asian answer to Asian problems. What Asia needs today is not military pacts but economic cooperation.

Regional economic co-operation, and particularly socioeconomic resurgences in Asia can. in the ultimate analysis, be sustained only on the basis of better utilisation

of Asian resources as also a more even distribution of wealth and opportunities within our respective societies. We in India have not flinched from taking decisions which alone can ensure that the wealth of the nation is utilised for the welfare of all its peoples without distinction. We have been trying resolutely to work in the context of the phenomenon of rising expectations. Insofar as our society is concerned we have, in the two decades of our independence, tried to organise ourselves in a manner to ensure that the response of our socioeconomic structure to the. demands on it are quick, unequivocal and progressive.

We have equally attempted to forge closer economic relations with our neighbours and, indeed, with other Asian countries represented on the Asian Council of Ministers for Economic Development.

Meaningful arrangements have already been concluded with some countries. More are under negotiation. It is our hope that all Asian countries will respond to the efforts of co-operation and that we shall receive the necessary assistance from others so that we will be able to establish in Asia, torn by conflicts for centuries, new associations of co-operation based on equality and friendship.

There are a number of items on the agenda and we shall naturally express our views on them when they come up for discussion. Here I have spoken of colonialism in Africa and the conflicts in the tortured continent of Asia because these concern, us directly. I have spoken of the socioeconomic resurgence of Asia because we are involved in it. I have spoken of economic development because we are a part of it. I have also spoken of the arms race and the attempts that are. being made to carve out spheres of influencein our world. I have talked of the United Nations and its role in the field of international relations. I have drawn my inspiration for all this from the message of Gandhi for our own generation and for generations to come. Will you permit me, to end my speech by quoting a statement made by Mahatma Gandhi to the representatives

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of a resurgent Asia at the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi ten months before his martyrdom. He said that the world "is despairing of a multiplication of atom bombs, because the atom bombs mean utter destruction." He went on to say: "It is up to you to tell the world of its wickedness and sin that is the heritage your teachers and my teachers have taught Asia." This was the reaffirmation of his belief, which he expressed thus: "My nationalism is fierce but not exclusive and not devised to hurt any nation or individual. India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world. The whole of my country may die so that the human race may live."

It is in this spirit that we shall endeavour to work.

INDIA LIBERIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SOUTH AFRICA ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE NAMIBIA VIETNAM FRANCE ISRAEL SWITZERLAND PERU ALGERIA

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

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# INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Dinesh Singh's Reply to Pakistan Delegate

Following is the text of reply by the Foreign-Minister, Shri Dinesh Singh, to the Pakistan-Delegate, exercising his right of reply, in the General Assembly on October 2, 1969:

Madame President: It was not my intention to come to this rostrum the second time today and to take up the time of this august Assembly. However, the distinguished representative of Pakistan, in the course of his statement this morning, said some

things about which it is necessary to set the record right.

He referred to certain bilateral matters that concern his country and mine, and I was hoping that those matters, which are not new to you and have been here for some time, could, as he himself had suggested, be discussed bilaterally between Pakistan and India. However, since he has chosen again to draw the attention of this Assembly to those matters, I should like very briefly to make a few comments.

Firstly, he referred to the question of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. He drew our attention to the point of ascertaining the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. I should like to remind the distinguished representative of Pakistan that it was India and not Pakistan which brought up the question before this Organisation, and that the question was Pakistan's aggression against the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. In the debate that followed here no doubts were left about Pakistan's aggression and Pakistan was asked to withdraw its troops. What has Pakistan done about this? Can the Minister of Information of Pakistan tell us that Pakistan has, in conformity with the U.N. Resolution, withdrawn its troops from Jammu and Kashmir.?

I should also like to remind the representative of Pakistan that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have exercised their option and have confirmed irrevocably the earlier accession of the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir to India. If a small number of people have, been forcibly prevented from confirming this option, it is those whom Pakistan holds in bondage.

The representative of Pakistan spoke of the right of self-determination. My mind went back to my country, where today we celebrate the centenary of the father of our nation. We have today with us one of his most distinguished followers, a devoted leader of his land who has struggled all his life for the freedom of his people. And he too has asked for the right of self-deter-

mination for his people - and not from India but from Pakistan. For us it is a matter of privilege to have with us such a man, who is himself known as the "Frontier Gandhi". But what did Pakistan do to him, and what did Pakistan do to the right of self-determination that he has been asking for his people?

The representative of Pakistan has suggested bilateral discussions to resolve our differences. The Government of India have always been ready to discuss with Pakistan on a bilateral basis all matters that could hamper closer relations between the two countries, as well

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Secondly, in his speech, the Minister from Pakistan also referred to the question of the construction of Farakka Barrage in India. If my memory serves me right, when Pakistan for the first time took up this question several years ago we had been informed that their requirement of water from the Ganga would be 3,500 cusecs. In the years that have intervened Pakistan has been inflating this demand constantly and we are now presented with a request for 58,000 cusecs of water. In 9 years the demand has been multiplied by more than 15 times. Distinguished delegates will, therefore, appreciate that we are ourselves anxious to solve this problem so that the demand does not go up any more.

However, the position is that the Ganga is an Indian river; yet we are willing to discuss this matter with Pakistan to satisfy them that construction of Farakka Barrage will not do any damage to Pakistan. Technical level talks were suggested by us only to ascertain the possible utilisation that Pakistan could make of the waters from the Ganga. The problem of East Pakistan is not a problem of shortage of water but of excess of water, and therefore it is a matter which had to be examined fully before any meaningful discussions could take place at any other level.

One therefore wonders whether this water is really required for the benefit of the farmers in East Pakistan or whether this issue is being raised in respect of East Pakistan only as a political move.

Finally, the representative of Pakistan chose to refer to certain recent happenings in my country about which we are all deeply grieved. I said in my statement this morning and I repeat: "Gandhiji set for us exacting standards. He wanted us to be tolerant, non-violent and generous in our everyday life. We do not claim that we have lived up to his precepts. We have faltered many a time, even recently. But nobody can accuse us of not trying earnestly to follow the path set for us."

Distinguished delegates are aware that India is a secular state. Fundamental rights are guaranteed to all sections of our society. In the two decades of our independence we have tried to firmly establish secularism in law and in practice. We cannot say that we have always succeeded. But we can say with some satisfaction that we have been able to give equality and security to all sections of our people in a measure of which we can be justly proud. Despite this, we see sometimes man's flight into madness. This is not peculiar to our country alone. Unfortunately, communal riots, racial disturbances and other conflicts have troubled many countries, and we are pained whenever and wherever they take place. So, we have to go on strengthening our society, removing doubts and suspicions so that every man, woman and child in our country continues to enjoy the full freedoms and fundamental rights guaranteed under our Constitution. Our task is immensely complicated by the constant incitement of communal hatred, broadcast day in an day out by all the media of mass communication available, to the Government of Pakistan. I would beg of the Minister of Information of Pakistan, who is my senior in years, that if he is in any way concerned about the minorities in my country, he should show the wisdom of using the means that he controls to propagate harmony and unity and not conflict.

But let us look at Pakistan's record ofthe treatment of minorities. The year-Pakistan came into existence as an independent country there were approximately 18.1 million Hindus in Pakistan. In the decade that followed Pakistan brutally brought down this figure to about 10 million. It could be asked of the Minister of Information of Pakistan as to what happened to these more than 8 million people, even if we do not take into account the normal increase that one may have expected in the population growth through the years. Have they been killed, converted, ordriven out? On my part, I should like to inform him that between the two census, periods, say between 1951 and 1961 the Muslim population in our country has recorded an increase from 35.4 million to, 46.9 million and now stands at over 60 million. It is a matter of satisfaction to, us that our minorities are playing a leading role in all aspects of our national life.

Madame President, on this day when we are attempting closer cooperation, I

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should not wish to dwell any more on this subjects As I said in the morning, it will be our effort to work with the International community to establish new bonds of friendship and cooperation and strengthen the ones that exist. I offer to Pakistan the same hand of friendship. Let us work together, step by step, to resolve our differences, to remove the barriers that prevent the people in the two countries from coming together and to strengthen the age-old ties that have existed . I hope in this I shall receive the full cooperation of my colleague from Pakistan.

INDIA PAKISTAN USA OMAN

Date: Oct 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Sen'S Statement in Political Committee on Sea Bed and Ocean Floor

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri Samar Sen, India's Permanent Representative to the U.N., in the First (Political) Committee of the General Assembly on October 31, 1969 on peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national Jurisdiction:

This Committee has before it the item entitled "Question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction". I shall refer to the area covered by the title of this item simply as "the sea-bed". The Chairman of the Sea Bed Committee, Ambassador Amerasinghe of Ceylon, and the rapporteur, Mr. Gauci of: Malta, have enlightened us on the work done by the committee during its three sessions this year. The report itself is a telling evidence of the hard work put in and the serious effort made by the members in carrying out the task of the committee, as given to it by resolution 2467 (XXIII). We owe to the Chairman of the main committee and the two subcommittees, that is Ambassador Amerasinghe, Ambassador Galindo Pohl of El Salvador, and Mr. Denorme of Belgium, and their rapporteurs, gratitude for the valuable work done by the committee during its first year. The report presented to us this morning by the rapporteur and the explanations given by the Chairman merely heighten our sense of gratitude.

The seas and their depths hide treasures Which can be gathered for urgent needs of mankind. The technological developments of the recent past have opened up new and immediate possibilities for their exploitation. They have raised our hopes for the immeasurable benefits that could be derived from the exploitation of the sea bed. While technology is making spectacular advances, it is up to us to make orderly use of them by providing an appropriate legal regime for the control of the sea bed and, for the administration of its resources.

My delegation has striven from the very beginning, when this item was placed on the agenda of the 22nd Session of the General Assembly in 1967, for preparing a declaration of principles. We presented to the Ad Hoc Committee during its second session in June, 1968, the first draft declaration. Together with the developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, we circulated a working paper in the Ad Hoc Committee during its third session in Rio, De Janeiro in August, 1968. Durng the 23rd Session of the General Assembly we were in favour of starting discussion on the question of principles. Unfortunately, during that session, it was not possible to do so. During the Second and Third Session of the Sea Bed Committee this year we gave our comments on the many issues involved and in the formulation of the various principles which are contained in the report of the informal drafting group.

The report of the Legal Sub-Committee, which forms part two of the committee's report, admirably covers the discussion which took place in that Sub-Committee. I should like to share our thoughts with the committee on the fundamental issues before us. We trust that these views, which we believe, are widely shared among the developing countries, would also be acceptable to other countries.

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It is no longer novel to consider that the sea bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction belong to all mankind and are indeed its joint legacy. These areas have so far not been seriously occupied or claimed by any nation, because hostile environment has kept man practically out of bounds. With the advance in technology they are increasingly becoming accessible. Therefore, we all have a claim to them and a stake in them. There is in our view, no other way to treat this area except to consider it as the common heritage of mankind.

This concept symbolises the hopes and needs of the developing countries, who can legitimately expect to share in the benefits to be obtained from the exploitation of the resources. These benefits should help to dissipate the harsh inequalities between the developed and the developing countries. The efforts to close the ever increasing gap between the developed and the developing countries have so far shown little success. It would be ironic if the already opulent communities of the world were left with unchartered freedom to exploit the riches of this new environment. This may tragically lead the economically backward majority of the world to discard the path of the reasoned accommodation as unsuccessful and take to more aggressive measures. Therefore, it is of supreme importance to take into account the interests, needs and aspirations of the developing countries.

If man has a stake in the area, if the developing countries could benefit from its wealth, then, surely, no exploitation of the area should take place which is not within the context of the new principles and norms to be developed and which does not fall within the ambit of a regime which would ensure an equitable management of the resources of the sea bed and the effective participation of the developing countries in it. In view of the fact that international law applicable to the area is at best rudimentary and that there are no rules yet which govern exploration and exploitaion of the sea bed, it is our conviction that no exploitation should take place before an international regime is established. We realise that those who are about to begin commercial exploration and economic exploitation should find it difficult to agree with this view. However, no extensive economic exploitation has in fact so far taken place or is in the process of

being undertaken. We can all now restrain ourselves while we Work out an international regime which should guide our activities. It is essential to develop a regime which would cover all activities in the sea bed including the management of the resources of this area.

What are the primary provisions which should constitute a regime? We believe that the regime should, among other things, provide for the most appropriate and equitable application of benefits obtained from the exploration, use and exploitation of the sea-bed to mankind as a whole, particular consideration being given to the special interests and needs of the developing countries. Furthermore, it should ensure that states can participate, on a basis of equality, in the administration and regulation of activities in the sea bed.

It is also important that, the regime should cover all activities in the sea bed i.e., exploration, use and exploitation, as in our view, it is not possible to control only one or two of these aspects without damage to the others. Therefore, we consider that there is no alternative except that the regime should be applicable to the area as a whole and not to its resources only.

To achieve these and other objectives, it is necessary to establish an international machinery which would translate them into reality. Such a machinery would regulate activities on the sea bed, and in particular, control the development of its resources.

This brings me to another facet of the problem. This facet relates to the freedom of scientific research and exploration. Should we not have some criteria to distinguish between scientific research and commercial exploration? If we do not wish to grant commercial exploration, the freedom that scientific research and exploration should and must have, there should be some criteria which should distinguish scientific research and exploration from commercial exploration. The criteria are that research programmes should be made known in advance

and that the results of such research should be made accessible to all concerned.

These are not harsh conditions which have been suggested to make scientific re-

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search more difficult. We naturally wish to encourage scientific research and investigation, but we also wish it to be above an hint of suspicion so that it commands the willing cooperation of all. It must be clearly understood that no rights of exploitation are implied in the carrying out of scientific research. We would also wish to emphasise that participation of nationals of different states in, common research programmes should be encouraged and that the research capabilities of the developing countries should be strengthened.

We are all aware that under international law States bear responsibility for activities of their nationals. In the declaration of legal principles governing the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space as well as in the treaty on the same subject this principle has been accepted. We consider that this concept should also be included in any declaration of principles governing the use of the sea bed.

We do not like any regime which would not safeguard the interests of other states while conducting activities in the sea bed. It is of great importance that coastal states close to the area in which any activities occur are consulted to ensure that their interests are not harmed. We should also like to see that damages caused by activities in the sea bed entailed liability, because to decide otherwise may not sufficiently discourage wilful or even accidental damage.

We welcome the general agreement which existed in the Legal Sub-Committee regarding the concepts of sovereignty, sovereign rights and non-appropriation in relation to the sea bed. However, this agreement was conditional upon satisfactory language being worked out for some other concepts, such as the question of States exercising exclusive rights or acquiring pro-

perty over any part of the sea bed.

My delegation need hardly emphasise that the sea bed should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. It is axiomatic that if this area is to be used for the good of mankind and if the fears and tensions prevailing on the land surface are not to be injected into this new environment, then the sea bed should be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes. Therefore, only those activities, which are in consonance with this concept should be permitted.

A question which has repeatedly been raised is that the boundary of the continental shelf should be clearly delimited. We recognise that the definition given in the continental shelf convention of 1958 lacks precision. We would agree to any proposal which would seek the convening of a law of the sea conference to consider this and the other unresolved questions of the breadth of the territorial sea and fishing limits.

Resolution 2467C (XXIII) requested the Secretary-General to undertake a study on the question of establishing in due time appropriate international machinery for the promotion of the exploration and exploitation of the resources of this area and the use of these resources, irrespective of the geographical location of states, and taking Into special consideration the interests and needs of the developing countries. The Secretary General has submitted his report in two volumes, in which he has discussed some of the aspects of an international machinery, and has suggested a range of possibilities regarding its functions and powers, the institutional arrangements, membership, secretariat and some general legal issues which would arise when an international machinery is set up.

The question of establishing an international machinery came up in the Economic and Technical Working Group of the Ad Hoc Committee in 1968 and in the Working Group's report which is given as annex. I in the Committee's Report, A/7230. Paragraphs 57 and 58 of this document summarise the discussion that took place then. My

delegation contemplated certain institutional framework when it submitted its draft. resolution in June 1968 in the Ad Hoc Committee. The relevant provision read as follows:

"Taking into account the work currently being performed by other bodies, the United Nations shall endeavour to provide direction and purpose to international and intergovernmental activities with regard to the sea bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the present international jurisdiction". We derive strength in our convic-

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tion that an international machinery should be set up, which would regulate activities and, in particular, control the development of the resources. We derive that conviction from the preamble to the Charter itself which contains the following sentence: "to employ international machine ry for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples". We should give content to this objective set forth in the Charter by establishing an international machinery for the sea bed.

The reason for the establishment of an international organisation has been aptly put forward in the Secretary General's Report. It is stated there:

"The main feature of these proposals is that title or control of sea bed resources would be held by the international community, represented by the international authority which would issue licenses to individual operators. Under the allied concept whereby sea bed resources are regarded as part of the common heritage of mankind, as proposed by various Governments, the international machinery would act as the administrator of a trust, and might even engage in the exploration and exploitation of resources." In para 71 of the same report, it is made clear that: "The exercise of exclusive rights by an international agency would be in accordance with some versions of the 'common heritage' approach to sea bed resources, whereby these resources are to be regarded as trust property to

be held and developed in the general interest, although it should be noted that that concept is in fact compatible with various forms of machinery and is not necessarily to be identified with the exercise of sole rights by an international body".

Our general view is that the sea bed should be placed under the jurisdiction of an international machinery which should ensure the rational exploration, conservation, exploitation and development of the resources and should also ensure regulation of all activities on the sea bed. To be fair and effective it should enable states to participate on a basis of equality in its management.

It is contemplated that the organisation should have both regulatory and operational functions. Its regulatory functions could include organising, controlling, administering and coordinating all activities relating to the sea bed. It could grant licences for lawful activities in accordance with the rules and legal norms to be formulated. It may take appropriate measures to prevent pollution and other hazards of the marine environment

It is recalled that for some time it may not be possible for the proposed international organisation to undertake significant operations on its own; its constitution should nonetheless make provision permitting operations independently whenever it is found necessary and feasible. This may bedone either through or in association with investors who may again be governmental and private, possessing the necessary technical skills, equipment and financial resources.

One of the principal tasks of the organisation would be to provide for the most appropriate and equitable application ofbenefits to mankind obtained from the exploration, use and exploitation of the sea bed, particular consideration being given to the special interests and needs of the developing countries.

Its other functions should also includethe taking of appropriate measures to minimise the fluctuation of prices of raw materials in the world market resulting from the exploitation of the resources of the sea bed, and also to arrange training programmes aimed at enabling the developing countries to increase their expertise in the techniques needed for the exploitation and conservation of the sea bed resources.

An important function of the organisation would be to make available to all countries in accordance with their needs and in relation to their economic and social development resources obtained from the exploitation of the sea bed. Also an adequate portion of the organisation's net income should be allocated to developing countries in accordance with a scheme to be established, and also to the United Nations to increase its resources and those of its specialised agencies active in the field of economic development.

By their very nature, these comments cannot be taken as exhaustive or final. We,

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would wish to consult other delegations to develop the ideas and suggestions put forward jut now. This would help and speed the process of reaching an agreement on the establishment of an international machinery.

Before I conclude, I should like to touch upon another important aspect of this item. By paragraph 3 of resolution 2467A (XXIII), the sea bed committee was asked to study, taking into account the studies and the international negotiations being undertaken in the field of disarmament, the reservation, exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea bed and the ocean floor without prejudice to the limits which may be agreed upon in this respect. The Committee on Disarmament has been giving consideration to preparing a draft treaty which would prohibit some type of military activities from the sea bed beyond a certain distance from the coast line. It is understood that it has now before it a joint draft treaty presented by the USA and the USSR on 7th October. We further understand that this joint draft treaty was revised on 30th October. We would prefer to make our comments on

this document after obtaining the recommendations of the Committee on Disarmament and after hearing the views of the members of this committee. At the same time, we hope that the sea bed committee will be able to meet soon to consider the revised joint draft treaty and make its recommendations to this committee, so that the treaty will have the benefit of examination both by the Committee on Disarmament and by the sea bed committee.

INDIA USA MALTA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC BELGIUM

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

# Volume No

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## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Sen's Statement in Economic and Social Council

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri Samar Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the U.N., in the Economic and Social Council on October 30, 1969 on the annual report of the International Monetary Fund:

I should like at the outset to express my appreciation for the very interesting presentation of the annual report of the IMF by Mr. Schweitzer this morning. It is a fortunate coincidence that this year, which marks the completion of a quarter of a century since Bretton Woods, will also see the beginning of a new era in the international monetary field. The activation of the special drawing rights from the beginning of the coming year signifies not merely an increase in international liquidity but even more importantly it marks the acceptance of internationally managed money. We in India have always been supporters of the Special Drawing Rights

Scheme and it is our conviction that the deliberate creation of additional liquidity course with proper safeguards is a major step forward in the progressive evolution of a more rational international monetary system.

There are aspects of the proposed SDR activities on which there may be some difference of opinion or emphasis. We, for instance, would have been in favour of a somewhat larger amount of SDR and also for its creation, in the first instance, for a period of 5 years rather than 3 years. Mr. President, this is neither the place nor the time to raise these issues. There is one matter, however, to which we and many others in the developing world attach very great importance. Now that steps have been taken to create additional liquidity we consider it both feasible and desirable to establish a link between the creation of international liquidity, and the provision of development finance, even if not formally, at least informally, by simultaneous decision of a number of the developed member countries.

It is rather unfortunate that very often the whole question of the creation of SDR has been looked upon at least by some countries as if it were mainly the concern of the industrially developed world and more particularly of the major world currencies. A good deal of the discussion and indeed many of the crucial negotiations on this subject were held outside the Inter-National Monetary Fund. These discussions took place in groups where no one from the developing world was present. As a result,

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in spite of the strong support of the developing countries, who constitute more than 80 per cent of the members of the Fund, the question of the link was shelved at the time of the creation of the SDR. We attach utmost importance that this matter receives the attention which it deserves and that efforts be made to establish some definite link between the SDR and developmental assistance. May I express the hope that when we have a similar occasion next year

to consider the annual reports of the Bretton Woods Institutions, there will be some evidence of progress in this matter.

As the Council is aware, the question of the link was recently considered by an UNCTAD expert group, consisting of some of the most eminent economists from both developing and developed countries. The group in its report to the Trade and Development Board of the UNCTAD, has recommended that "a link should be created between special drawing rights and additional development finance." The group has suggested two main methods of carrying out its recommendation. These would involve a collective decision of the developed countries either (1) for a direct contribution to the IDA of some part of their annual allocations of SDRs, followed by an immediate exchange of such SDRs; into the national currencies of the donor countries concerned or (11) for a contribution of national currencies to the IDA in some proportion of their annual allocations of SDRs. In view of the urgency of increasing the flow of aid and the technical feasibility of either proposal, the group has suggested that whichever approach secures ready and immediate support of governments should be put into effect. I was also glad to find that the subcommittee on international exchange and payments of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress of the United States has come out in favour of the proposal to link reserve creation and developmental assistance. This is an encouraging development and although as of now this initiative in the legislative branch of the U.S. Government does not in any way commit the U.S. administration, it is to be hoped that it will have considerable influence on the thinking both in the United States and in other countries.

The annual report of the Fund for the year ending April 30, 1969, gives as usual a brief review of the world economy and the activities of the Fund. I do not want to comment on the broader spectrum of the world economic scene or on the more technical issues connected with international liquidity and the adjustment process. There

are, however, one or two matters to which I would like to refer on this occasion. On pages 29 and 30 of the annual report there is a discussion of the need for conditional liquidity, that is, for an increase in the Fund quota, which is the basis for the drawing facilities in the credit branches of the Fund by member countries. I would agree with the U.N. conclusion that along with the creation of the SDRs which are a source of conditional liquidity there is clearly a need to create additional conditional liquidity. In this context the section in the Fund report concludes with the following sentence:

"The forthcoming fifth quinquennial review of the Fund's quotas provides a welcome opportunity to enlarge the over-all size of the Fund by means of both general increases in quotas of a reasonable size and selective adjusments necessary to bring thequotas more into line with the present relative international economic importance of members."

There can, of course, be no dispute about the need to enlarge the over-all sizeof the Fund, or for some selective adjustments in Fund quotas to bring them more, into line with the present relative economic importance of members. We do hope, however, that the fifth quinquennial review of quotas would give due regard to all factors; including the very important consideration that the position of the developing countries should improve substantially in consonance with the changing times. During the last twenty-five years, and more particularly in the early 60's, numerous developing countries have emerged as sovereign national entities and have joined the Fund-Bank family. The total membership of the Fund at its initial constitution was 39 and of these 29 could be classified as developing countries. Today there are 113 members of the Fund, of which 88 are developing countries. And yet the relative quotas of the developing countries in the Fund today are less than 28 per cent.

Basically, the quotas in the Fund reflect more than one purpose. In principle, the

quota of a country should seek to define the legitimate need of a member for access to the resources of the Fund. At the same time, the Fund quotas must take into account the Fund's need for resources in the form of usable currencies which are needed by and can be lent to member countries. Further, because of the system of weighted voting, a country's quota reffects also the relative importance a member should have in the decision-making process of the Fund. Finally, with the creation of SDRs, the quotas also will become the basis for SDR allocations. Thus, any determination of the relative quotas of the developed countries and of the share of the developing countries in the total Fund quotas cannot be based upon any single or simple criterion. It must take into account both the need as well as the ability of countries, and above all, the structure of Fund quotas must give due importance to the voice of the developing countries in the decision-making process of the Fund.

Mr. President, this year constitutes a landmark for the Bretton Woods Institutions. Looking back over the 25 years since Bretton Woods one is impressed by the great changes, political, economic and social, which have taken place all over the world. For parts of the world, particularly the United States and some of the countries in Western Europe the problems of today are, more often than not, the concomitants of affluence. Side by side with this affluence, there is an overwhelmingly large proportion of the world population which still remains at or near subsistence level. The main challenge of the coming decade the Second Development Decade-will be to see how best we can utilise the organisation and the resources available internationally to the common task of ensuring minimum reasonable living standards at least to the large majority of the human race. It is our hope that in this task the Fund, no less than the other international institutions, will continue to be both constructive and imaginative.

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

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## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Sen's Statement in Fifth Committee on U.N. Budget

Shri Samar Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, delivered the following speech on October 17, 1969 in the Fifth Committee on the U.N. Budget estimates for the financial year 1970:

Mr. Chairman:

My delegation already conveyed to you our warm felicitations on your election to the Chairmanship of this Committee. May I today add my own personal greetings and congratulations to you as well as to other Members of the Bureau, Mr. Gindeel of Sudan and Mr. Woschnagg of Austria.

Turning to the documentation before us, this year, we must commend the Controller and his colleagues for the informative details which accompany the presentation of the budget estimates for 1970. We must also thank the distinguished Chairman of the ACABQ, and his colleagues on that Committee for the thoroughness with which they have, as always, examined and commented on these estimates.

If you permit me, Mr. Chairman, I would propose, on this occasion, to state my delegation's views not on the details of the Budget, but on certain broad considerations of policy and principle. One of these considerations relates to the efforts, in the last few years, made by the major contributors to the U.N. budget, to focus our

attention on the non-availability of resources which, they hint, makes it imprudent for all of us to think in terms of the expanding needs and requirements of the world community.

My delegation has been, in turn, amused, bewildered and disturbed by the hints and innuendos that if somehow budgetary expansion of the U.N. could be curbed it would ensure, as if by some miracle, much better management in the

192 administrative and legislative and other practices of the Organisation.

It needs to be stated, Mr. Chairman, quite forthrightly, that we do not consider the concept of good and economical management on the one hand, and that of programme expansion, resulting in budgetary expansion, on the other, as two mutually exclusive concepts. There has been an attempt to make the recommendations of the Committee of Fourteen the basis for budgetary constraints and restraints being placed on the Organisation. A reference to the statements made by my delegation during the 23rd, 22nd and 21st sessions will indicate how much we have questioned this line of thought right from the beginning.

During this year's debate a number of delegations speaking before us have mentioned the-move which had been made last summer, on behalf of some of the major contributors, to suggest to the Secretary-General an arbitrary figure which might be made the upper limit for the budget estimates for 1970 and 1971. Among these have been the delegations of Norway, Yugoslavia, Brazil, and Nigeria. We agree with their views on the issue posed by this specific instance. We must here recall the earlier years of the Organisation when the need for better management and greater economy was indeed kept in focus, but without attempting to pat a strait jacket on budgetary figures, and without forgetting the bold idealism of the experiment made by Man in producing a document like the Charter and a world body like the U.N.

Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to quote a few of the statements of those earlier years made in this very Committee by some major contributors. I quote from the summary record of the 193rd meeting of the Fifth Committee on October 10, 1949, when the Representative of France said and I quote: "His country like many others, would greatly prefer not to have to spend on national defence and would much rather devote its resources to the promotion of peace". He went on to say that, and I quote: "The U.N. Budget is insufficiently modem" and he emphasised "the necessity for giving to the world an example of democratic administration." Speaking in the same meeting the Representative of the United Kingdom, Mr., Kenneth G. Younger, said and I quote: "The U.N. had a vital part to play in regulating world affairs and it could not fulfil this task unless it was given sufficient money. The U.K, Delegation, therefore, would not be prepared to advocate ill-considered cuts in the budget. Expenditure for the United Nations was a necessity, not a luxury, and in the difficult financial situation at the moment it should concentrate on activities directly Affecting the maintenance of peace and security, and economic rehabilitations."

This trend of high idealism in matters budgetary continued until comparatively recently. Speaking in this Committee at its 770th meeting on October 18, 1960, the Representative of the U.S.A. said and I quote: "The Fifth Committee should recognize the need to expand the activities of the U.N. in the economic and social fields and to ensure that peace was kept wheneverit was threatened... The budget was growing because the U.N. itself was developing. That was the price Member States had to pay if the U.N. wag; to survive and to attain the objective of the Charter... It was regrettable that certain Member States which had considerable resources appeared reluctant to use them in that great and common cause." Speaking at the 828th meeting of the Committee on March 30, 1961, the Representative of the United Kingdom said and I quote.: "If the United

Nations was not prepared to assume financial responsibility for its collective actions, it would cease to be an effective instrument for international peace." At the 842nd meeting of the Fifth Committee on April 19, 1961, the United Kingdom Representative said and I quote: "The world would witness the collapse of the United Nations, which could not survive unless its Members were prepared to support it and, if necessary to, make some sacrifices for. it. The financial issue was not the heart of the matter; it was only a test of the willingness of Members to, support the Organisation".

The high idealism reflected in these statements has somehow gone flat recently. Speaking in the C.P.C. at its 181st meeting on April 21, 1969 while commenting on Document E/4612 which contained the work

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programme for 1970 and projections for 1971, the U.S. Representative said and I quote: "It was clearly a document imbued with a philosophy of expansion... It would be illusory to suppose that the commitments entered into by governments; and peoples to U.N. activities in the economic and social fields were as deep as their commitment to the success of their own national programmes. Practically everyone accepted the principle that most of the benefits stemming from the U.N. programme should go to the developing countries but that did not mean that those who elected governments were willing to agree indefinitely to the expansion of those programmes at a cost which was constantly growing, and was very often decided over the most vigorous objections of governments. The philosophy running through the document in question, on the one hand might jeopardise the financial support which the organisation received from the governments. The U.S. Government, unlike certain others, had always scrupulously applied Article 17 of the Charter. It was to be hoped that the constant urge towards expansion would not force it to review its position and the commitments it had undertaken under that Article".

At the 182nd meeting of the CPC on April 22, 1969, the Soviet Representative commenting on the same Document E/4612 said and I quote: "The United States Representative has shown very clearly that the U.N. was at a turning point in its history when it should ask itself about the future. It was high time to re-examine that so-called 'dynamic' which by causing the organisation to spread its activities was inevitably condemning it to the loss of effectiveness... His delegation noted that development with some concern and thought that there should be a reaction against it without delay. Document E/4612 was interesting precisely because it reflected that state of affairs. In effect it demonstrated the operation of the famous Parkinson's Law. The situation was not acceptable to his delegation, which was strongly opposed to the disorganised increase in activities, staff and budgets."

The United Nations has come a long way during the past quarter of a century. Next year we celebrate our 25th anniversary. We are engaged now in preparatory work for the Second Development Decade. It is necessary for us, therefore, to pause and look at what we have so far constructed in the field of international cooperation and how the task of construction has progressed. In this Committee specifically we must satisfy ourselves that the work of construction has not been too expensive.

At the end of the Second World War the organisation as a whole took into account the effects on member states of the war itself. Similarly, now we must look out the effects of the colonial period on the economics of the 60 newly independent countries who have recently attained membership of our organisation. It is generally agreed that they should be helped to get their due share of the benefits of science, technology, industrialisation and economic development through the cooperation of all, more specifically of those who benefitted during the colonial period. Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter reflect how this particular need of our times was anticipated by the framers of the Charter.

It is, therefore, with even greater disappointment that we view the present process when in the name of budgetary prudence, co-ordination and stream-lining an attempt is made to hamper discussions relating to the problems of trade, and utilisation of internal resources, and application of science and technology to economic development in developing countries. Discussions leading to even some modification in the policies in this field, of the developed countries, can enable the developing countries to increase their foreign exchange earnings by several billions of dollars. These discussions, therefore, are perhaps even more essential than certain types of the operational activities of various organisations, and the provision of advisory services etc. These latter are important in themselves, contribute a great deal to the development of developing countries and deserve to be encouraged. But again these activities could be considered by some as mere palliatives and even these are in danger of being jettisoned through these exaggerated demands for stream-lining and the so-called need to avoid duplication and overlapping.

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Mr. Chairman, in the economic and social field, the United Nations is not faced with just a handful of projects being executed by it, but by the great issues of our time which will determine in the long run, the nature of international cooperation and hence peace and stability on our globe. We consider the obsessive preoccupation of major powers with budgetary matter as one of the great crises facing the organisation. This obsession is making it extremely difficult for the organisation to consider these issues on their merits; and avoidable delay is being introduced in such a way that appropriate remedial measures cannot he taken at all.

Could it be that these budgetary complexes of the major powers are sub-consciously inhibiting both the delegations and the secretariat from thinking in terms of new initiatives? I shall content myself by giving you but one example of how these

inhibitions result in delaying if not stopping necessary items of work from being done. During the Spring session of the, 46th ECOSOC, the Council passed its resolution 1426 requesting substantially increased resources for the consultative and technological services related to the exploration and utilisation of natural resources, taking into account the increase in needs of the developing countries in technical assistance and pre-investment programmes of the United Nations. I believe it has not been possible so far, due to budgetary consideration to commence the follow-up work on this particular resolution. We shall watch with interest the progress of this item, specially as the utilization of non-agricultural natural resources is considered by us an important factor in economic development and industrial progress of developing countries.

My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's statement made at the 1299th meeting of this Committee on October 2, 1969, (Document AC.5/1233). He said then and I quote: "I am only too conscious of the fact that an attempt to cut one's coat according to one's cloth is not free from hazards." I too have tried to indicate the inherent risks. In order to be able to project our thinking about the needs and requirements of the organisation, and more particularly of the developing member states, in the context of their membership of this organisation, it is necessary for us to assess what in real terms, as distinct from dollar terms, the expansion of the budget in the last two decades has been. Necessarily, in doing so, one has to take into account certain complicated factors and world trends. The computation of the strength of the U.N. can be made by adding up the strength and weakness of each one of its members. The factors which must, therefore, be kept in view, or perhaps examined in detail, are the following: inflationary pressures on all world currencies; expansion of various major national bureacratic establishments; expansion and multiplication of the expenditures or outlays of resources on the defence establishments of the major contributors themselves; expansion of the membership of the organisation

itself; expansion of the areas and fields in which organisation's functions have necessarily branched out; widening of the experience and qualifications of the personnel now required by the organisation for achieving the developmental thrust of theorganisation.

Perhaps, several other complex economic factors will also need to be added to-the list I have given above. My delegation would suggest, therefore, that the Secretary-General, should undertake a detailed study, in the Budget Division itself, of expansion in real terms of the U.N.'s Budgetary requirements in the last twenty-five years. The computation of this real growth should not be confused with the dollar growth that has taken place; and in making this study the various factors I have mentioned above, and any other relevant ones should be given due weightage.

From a layman's point of view, I would make bold to present to you a few figures which might be indicative of what we are suggesting. It is true that the regular budget of the United Nations has increased from approximately \$40 million in 1948, to approximately \$165 million this year. It is also proper for us to recall that in 1958 this figure stood at somewhat over \$60 million and in 1968 it stood at about \$140 million. In the meantime, this apparently substantial increase in the dollar resources has been off-set, constantly, though-gradually, by the deterioration in the purchasing power of the dollar. According, to any

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measurement by the index of the GNP - price deflator, the rise in the U.S. price levels has been, broadly speaking, of the order of approximately 55% during the two decades 1948-1968. Another measure of comparison can be by looking at the resources made available to the United Nations; in the context of the growth of world economy particularly in the developed countries. The Pearson Commission report on the international development estimates the growth rate of the 21 top industrialised countries: at 4.3% p.a. during the period

1950-1967, with a higher rate viz. 4.8% p.a. in the 1960s.: The growth rate of the resources for the U.N. regular budget, therefore, in real terms has to be viewed in this perspective. It would not be irrelevant to point out here that the contribution to the U.N.Budget constitutes rather a miniscule proportion of the centeral Government expenditure of developed a countries, and an even lesser proportion of their respective GNPs. I would give you but one example, with the indulgence of my distinguished colleague from the United States of America. The contribution of the United States to the U.N. regular budget constituted in 1966 only 0.03% of the Federal Budget of the U.S. Government; and in proportion to the GNP of the USA it constituted a little less than 0.005%.

During the same period there has been a growth of international activities, and the demands of the international community have also become more insistent and urgent. The membership of the United Nations has expanded from 1948 when it stood at 58 countries to today when it stands at 126 member countries. This would indicate clearly that the apparent growth in the U.N. resources has hardly kept pace with the demands of an expanded international community. During the same period there has been a spectacular growth in, world trade, reflecting unparalleled prosperity in the industrialised countries. World trade in the 20 years between 1948 and 1968 has grown by more than 350%.

Problems like increased urbanisation, pollution of environment, resources of the sea, outer space affairs, utilisation of nuclear energy, and greater use of science and technology - all these have become less and less capable of being looked at in the purely national context, and have, through their own built-in pressures, become international problems.

These are factors which cannot and should not be ignored when we think. in terms of the dollar resources which are being made available for multilateral developmental purposes through the U.N., its

specialised Agencies and other international organisations within this framework. The expansion in the institutional machinery of a multilateral nature has not taken place, I would submit, because the developing countries wanted to create certain additional forums to agitate. Rather, they have grown due to the legitimate requirements of an expanded international economy, society and polity.

It is necessary for us to recognise that the more developed countries, the highly industrialised societies, the pioneers in science and technology are themselves responsible for the picture of the world as it appears today. We of the developing countries owe these colleagues of ours a great deal of gratitude and appreciation. I hope no one will say that we have been tardy or mean in giving expression to this appreciation.

But when attention is sought to be focussed merely on the expansion of the dollar resources required for international multilateral work, then it becomes our duty to point out that the expansion of the international machinery must be matched by the concurrent expansion in the resources allocated for the U.N. budget.

In the last few years our Scandinavian colleagues in this Committee, more specially the delegations of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, have pointed out again and again how the budget of the United Nations costs taking the world population as a whole hardly 2 cents per head per annum. The cost of the United Nations to the industrialised countries themselves is hardly more than the cost of 3 or 4 cigarettes per head per annum for their population. As against this, the growth rate in the per capita income of these countries in recent years has amounted to \$100 per annum.

It is true that the man-power resources of the United Nations have expanded. But

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cularly the rich nations, have shown neither the courage nor the foresight to adopt concrete measures for fulfilling these general objectives. As a result, we continue to be faced with the phenomenon of the widening gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world, a continuous decline in the share of the developing countries of the world trade and in the proportion of the national income of economically advanced countries being made available as financial did to developing countries. In the realm of trade policy, there has not been an evidence since the second UNCTAD, of a determined concerted effort to start dismantling the trade barriers against the products of export interest to developing countries. Worst of all, as our Foreign Minister stated in the General Assembly a few days ago, "There is a growing tendency to detract from the importance of the basic objectives and put emphasis on the palliatives ... there is an attempt to evolve a plausible philosophy for the present state of stagnation and withdrawal."

Structural changes in the world economic system suggested by the developing countries have till now been characterised as unreasonable and unrealistic. And yet, all available expert opinion has come to regard such measures not only reasonable and realistic but also inescapable. In his address to the last Fund-Bank meeting, the President of the World Bank, Mr. McNamara, stated that, "it would be to the benefit of the world economy as a whole for the technically advanced societies ... gradually to relinquish the simpler and less complicated manufacturing to those developing countries' which can efficiently do the job." The same idea is also reiterated by Professor Timbergen and his colleagues in the last report of the Committee for Development Planning when they state, "Undoubtedly, changes will have to be made by developed countries in their domestic economic structures to accommodate shifts of resources from one line of production to another." The Pearson Commission has recommended that "developed countries should draw up plans in respect of protected commodities designed to assure that over time an increasing share of domestic consumption is supplied by imports from developing countries."

Both the Pearson Commission and Timbergen Committee have recommended that developed, countries should cast aside the crutches of long-term arrangement on. cotton textiles and allow for a more generous expansion of imports from developing countries, Both these groups of eminent Authorities have recommended the fulfilment of the 1 per cent target for aid early during the decade and the implementation of a scheme of preferences before the launching of the decade.

Mr. Chairman may we ask as to way the policy measures advocated for the last go many years and backed by the most objective, respectable and eminent opinion availaable to the world today should go unheeded? What has gone wrong? It is definitely not due to the unreasonableness of the demands of the developing countries nor due to the lack of soundness of the measures still under consideration. The answer perhaps may be sought in the very title of the first chapter of the Pearson Commission Report that is "A Question of Will."

The present mood of hesitation and withdrawal is all the more regrettable when we realise that each step that we take to wards solving problems gives rise to new difficulties and poses new challenges. For example, the expansion of education and training facilities is not matched by the creation of employment opportunities, thereby aggravating social tensions and conflicts; the building of infrastructure and the creation of capacity do not necessarily result in an increase in production and the raising of productivity. These are the various dilemmas of development confronting us. These also pose the questions: must we progress only to falter at the, crucial moment? Must we gain only to lose and slide back? Our experience of the last two decades show that development is an irreversible process and, whatever the justification, it does not admit of any pause or slackening before it is taken to the stage of successful conclusion.

Mr. Chairman, so far as my own

country is concerned, we have no illusions about our development being based on reliance on external factors. In the ultimate analysis, every country has to rely On its own resources, whatever the sacrifices invol-

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ved. In India, we have set specific time target to reach the stage of self-reliant growth. All our economic policies are geared to this objective. We have set before the nation particularly stringent standards for promoting both exports and import substitution. We have also joined the developing countries of Asia and other regions in our effort both to help ourselves and help each other. Under the aegies of ECAFE, the developing countries of Asia are trying to work out and implement a strategy for regional development based essentially on the optimum utilisation of the regional resources. The main elements of this strategy are coordination of commodity policies, liberalisation of trade, backed by a suitable payments arrangement, sectoral harmonisation of production and marketting policies and Joint effort to build the infrastructure for trade. The strategy is being evolved and implemented under the guidance of the recently established Asian Council of Ministers.

With the unfolding of the process of development in India, the urges and the aspirations of the masses are becoming increasingly vocal and are being reflected in our national policies. We are giving new orientation to these policies to ensure that the process of growth does not bypass the weaker sections of the society, the landless worker, the small farmers, and the other underprivileged sections of the society. Some of the recent institutional changes in our socio-economic system would show that we have not hesitated to make hard economic choices where it became imperative.

Even though we are committed to economic development on the basis of selfreliance and are determined to take this process to its logical conclusion, here in this forum we should bear in mind that it would not be in the long-term interest of the international community, including the developed countries themselves, drive the developing countries to adopt desperate remedies. This will make the ultimate integration of the economies of the developing countries with the manistream of the world economy an extremely painful and prolonged process.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation is of. the view that the impact of the UN through its technical assistance activities is infinitesimal as compared to its impact through the changes it can induce in the national policies of governments. In the economic and social field, the UN system seems to be flooded with suggestions for the coordination of UN activities and for the more effective utilisation of resources for technical assistance and for the provision of advisory and information services. We have even heard suggestions that the next few years should be devoted to consolidation and stabilisation. These suggestions, Sir, if I may submit, are based on a narrow Perspective of the United Nations activities in the economic and social field. In the wider perspective of the UN activities, the counsel for consolidation is, in our view, an attempt to stabilise stagnation and to justify the existing protectionist policies.

As regards the Preparatory work for the second development decade, the Preparatory Committee, within the framework of its limitations, has done a satisfactory job. It has succeeded in giving a broad shape to the concept of strategy. Through its adoption of an approach of successive approximation, it has avoided prejudging substantive issues. However, so far as agreement on policy measures is concerned, we are just where we were before the Preparatory Committee started its work.

Mr. Chairman, it is possible that during its next two sessions, the Preparatory Committee may succeed in defining the objectives and the magnitude of the development effort during the next decade. It may not be difficult to define certain norms of action, as there are numerous agreed texts to draw upon. We may also find it possible to agree

on arrangements to be made, whether through existing machinery or through any new machinery that may be set up, for review and appraisal. However, my delegation is firmly of the view that all those elements together still do not add up to an international development strategy for the 70's. The super structure consisting of these elements will still remain a skeleton without life.

It will be difficult to convince any one that there could be a development strategy without specific commitments by governments of both developed and developing

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countries to adopt concrete measures to fulfil the goals and objectives of the decade. A super structure of the type which I have just mentioned may satisfy our intellectual curiosity, but it cannot meet our urgent and minimum needs in the economic and social field. The strategy for the next decade cannot be an exercise in makebelief; it must embody the concrete and specific commitments and intentions of governments with regard to the measures that they are prepared to take. As the distinguished Under Secretary General for Economic and Social Affairs has very appropriately stated, "If we fail soon to arrive at an agreement which will commit us more than we have been in the past .... we would be refusing what is possible; we would be shirking the additional effort which is implicit in a pattern of reasonable objectives."

The future of the preparatory work for the decade will depend upon the response that both developed and developing, countries would be prepared to give at this session of the General Assembly to the question of commitment. The favourable atmosphere maintained in the Preparatory committee will become very tenuous if such a response is not forthcoming soon.

Mr. Chairman, the time has, therefore, come when we must bring an end to this uncertainty and hesitation this ad hoc

approach to matters that require conscientious commitment. The world community has to bring a unity of purpose to bear on the issues before it, so that. in our lifetime we can transform materially the fate of mankind for the better a goal which the founding fathers of this organisation hopefully. set before us.

INDIA AUSTRIA SUDAN USA NORWAY YUGOSLAVIA BRAZIL NIGER NIGERIA FRANCE SWEDEN RUSSIA

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

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## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri R. K. Sinha's Statement in Political Committee on Intenational Security

Shri R. K. Sinha, M.P., Alternate Representative of the Indian Delegation to the U.N., made the, following speech in the Political Committee on October 28, 1969, on the strengthening of international security:

Before I proceed to the substance of my speech, I should like to ask the Yugoslavian delegation to convey our heartfelt sympathies to the bereaved people and Government of Yugoslavia in regard to the tragic earthquake that has taken such a heavy toll in life and property.

Mr. Chairman, I should like at the outset to offer you our most sincere felicitations on your election as Chairman of this Committee. We are confident that under your guidance and leadership the deliberations of this Committee will lead to successful results. My delegation was interested to hear the reference in your opening statement to your Government's policy and the relation it bears to that of non-alignment. Like my colleague from Ceylon, I would

also express the hope that your Government will take the essential steps to make adherence to this cause possible.

I should also like to extend our congratulations to our colleagues, Ambassador Kolo of Nigeria and Mr. Barnett of Jamaica, on their elections as Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur respectively.

My delegation has chosen to speak so late in the general debate on this item not because it does not evoke our interest but because we wished to hear the views of other speakers and to consult extensively with our colleagues in the Committee with a view to determining the areas of general agreement on the dimensions of the problem under discussion as well as the specific action which this Committee should take on the proposal before us. In view of these considerations, it is not our intention to make an exhaustive statement of our views at this stage.

My delegation welcomes the initiative taken by the Soviet delegation in raising the question of the strengthening of international peace and security. On the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, it is both appropriate and timely that we should have this opportunity to review the record of the world Organization

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in the vital area of maintaining inter national peace and security. If this appraisal can lead to positive guidelines for more effective performance in the future, it will indeed have served a most useful purpose.

Several of the earlier speakers have referred to the shortcomings of the United Nations Charter in the light of the considerable transformation of the pattern of international relations since the Charter was adopted. Others believe that it is neither necessary nor expedient to think in terms of revising the Charter. Whatever the merits or demerits of these different points of view there is obviously a general consensus on the proposition that the root of the problem of growing insecurity lies in the blatant failure to observe the rules and regulations

of the Charter. The authors of the Charter were led to believe that peace and security could be maintained in the post-war world principally through the co-operative efforts of the permanent members of the Security Council, on whom special responsibilities were conferred by virtue of certain positions they enjoyed at the time. The international community has every reason to be disappointed by the failure of the great Powers to live up to those expectations. The behaviour of the great Powers has tended to lower the general standard of international morality and, as a result, medium and small Powers have been encouraged to pursue narrow selfish interests in violation of all the established norms of international conduct.

The authors of the Charter sought to establish a delicate balance between the principles of the sovereign equality of all States and of the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council. Events over the last twenty-four years have demonstrated that this balance has ceased to have any real practical application. Force has become an increasingly important factor in the determination of relations between States. What is worse, the indiscriminate exercise of power has become a passport to political respectability. On the other hand. States which seek to order their behaviour in accordance with the established principles of international conduct and which eschew recourse to the threat or use of force find that their principled restraint places them in a disadvantageous position in the contemporary political world. The concept of spheres, of influence, which is growing in strength, is the very negation of the principle of equality of States. Attempts to remedy this situation by the positive evolution of the policy of peaceful coexistence have been stifled by a growing desire to freeze the status quo. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the Secretary-General had to remind us again this year in the introduction to his annual report, of the further deterioration of the international situation.

Any review of the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international

peace and security cannot be complete without a reference to certain past and present conflicts whose settlement has been sought to be effected outside the aegis of the United Nations, either because the forum of the world Organization was found inappropriate or unacceptable or because it was in any case found more convenient for certain reasons to deal with these conflicts outside the framework of United Nations arrangements for the restoration of peace and security.

Irrespective of whether any of these efforts at settlement prove partially or wholly successful or not, it cannot but be a matter of regret to the international community that the United Nations has been unable in these situations to play the role envisaged for it by the Charter. I should not wish to take up the time of the members of the Committee by referring in this context to the unfortunate war which continues to be waged in South East Asia with tragic consequences for life and property.

I would, however, wish to refer quite specifically to the question of West Asia in regard to which the United Nations has been fully involved. So far as this particular problem is concerned, it is more than unfortunate that the, resolutions and decisions of the world organization have not been implemented or translated into action due to the intransigence of one. Member State and the difficulties the great Powers appear to find in arriving at agreed solutions. While on this subject, I wish to recall the appropriateness of the reference in the Soviet draft appeal to the principle of inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by

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conquest and the need for the withdrawal of foreign forces. My delegation has asserted repeatedly the view that the continued occupation of Arab territories constitutes the most serious obstacle to the peaceful solution in that strategically and economically important part of the world.

It is only proper that we should search our conscience to determine why peace and security have become so difficult to maintain and restore. We are all agreed that the remedy lies not so much in repeated declarations of intent but in their translation into practice. Article 2 of the Charter contains the basic code of international ethics. What is required is not mere rededication to these principles but their effective and scrupulous implementation.

The search for security has to be both serious and pragmatic. The single greatest threat to security lies in the spiralling arms race. It is axiomatic that armaments and weapons of mass destruction cannot constitute a basis for security. It is only through disarmament that a durable peace can be achieved. It is a sad commentary on the divergence between agreed objectives and progress towards their realization that efforts to conclude a treaty on general and complete disarmament have been all but abandoned.

Instead, efforts are being made to produce agreement on partial and discriminatory measures which tend to aggravate the general state of international security. The non-proliferation treaty has been the most notable demonstration of this tendency. The fact that it was negotiated by the nuclear-weapon Powers without any serious consultation with the non-nuclear States is a vivid example of growing tendency on the part of the large and powerful to impose arbitrary and unjust instruments on the powerless small. A treaty which seeks to bind the hands of those without nuclear armaments and licenses the unlimited production of nuclear weapons by Powers which already possess over-kill capacity, and which at the same time does not even prohibit the use of these weapons against non-nuclear States, is as unequal as it is ineffective. It cannot increase security; it can only aggravate the already alarming state of insecurity.

The expectation that the conclusion of the treaty would be followed by meaningful agreements on the limitation of strategic armaments has failed to be fulfilled. If only to compound the situation, the Security Council has, at the behest of three of its permanent members, by its resolution 255 (1968), sought to withdraw assurances of security implicit under the Charter to States which for legitimate reasons of political principle and national security do not find it possible to subscribe to a particularly unbalanced and wholly discriminatory treaty. Such undermining of security arrangements established under the Charter through the machinery of the United Nations itself can hardly inspire confidence in the protection which the world Organization is expected to provide.

I do not wish to refer to other related areas in which the most militarily powerful States have sought to work out secret agreements and to impose them on less powerful States. It has been suggested that it is inevitable that those principally concerned or having the greatest responsibilities in a given situation may well have to consult together in the first place in order to contribute to wider agreement. I would only say that, while we would not question this approach in principle, we regret that it is mainly honoured in the breach. If confidence has to be restored and security has to be strengthened, an entirely new approach based on recognition of the rights of all States, whether large or small, to be consulted and to contribute to the formulation of solutions to international problems must be found.

This approach can be fostered and developed only if nations are prepared to abide by the fundamental injunction contained in Article 2 (4), which requires all States to:

"... refrain ... from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

If force can be eliminated and the principle of non-intervention strictly observed, the waging of war or the exercise of pressure

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in the name of freedom, security, ideology or even religion in violation of Charter

principles will become both impermissible and unnecessary, and power and force will cease to become the determining factors in international relations. If such an order ran be established, States will find that the incentive to acquire military and economic superiority at the expense of the achievement of "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" will cease to have a compelling influence.

It is a well accepted proposition that the movement towards a world in which justice becomes the predominant factor can be facilitated by the creation of conditions of greater security. At the same time, it must be realized that conditions of greater security are dependent to a larger extent than we are prepared to admit on the transfer of resources from armaments to the requirements of economic and social development and the progressive elimination of disparities between the rich and the poor.

Article 26 of the Charter, which deals specifically with arrangements for the maintenance of international peace and security, refers to the need for the "least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources". We can continue to ignore this important injunction at our own peril.

The unequal division of the resources of the world and the failure to share the application of modem science and technology on an equitable basis constitute a growing source of dissatisfaction and a major threat to peace and security. It is imperative, therefore, that the decade of the seventies in this century should be devoted equally to development and disarmament. During this decade equal attention will have to be paid to the elimination of the pernicious practices of racial discrimination and apartheid which, if allowed to persist, will result in the outbreak of hostilities on a much wider scale than that of the religious and ideological wars of the past. Finally, security can never be assured until the cancer of colonialism and the suppression of subject peoples by alien Powers is eliminated from the face of the earth.

The General Assembly and the Security Council have attempted in the past to take decisions calculated to deal with these problem areas. These decisions either have not been commensurate with the dimensions of the problems they sought to solve or have remained partly or wholly unimplemented because they have been regarded as purely recommendatory in character or because there were no effective sanctions to enforce them

The Security Council's performance has fallen far short of the expectation of Member States. Its record of achievement under the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter has been desultory and totally inadequate. For reasons to which I have referred earlier, it has failed to take any effective action under Chapter VII. The inhibitory factors militating against the operation of a more effective system of collective security can be eliminated only by the subordination of national interests to the proper exercise of responsibilities by the Security Council and more particularly by its permanent members.

Despite the advice tendered by three Secretaries-General, the provisions of Article 28 (2) of the Charter have remained a dead letter. We would welcome any move which can be made to reopen this avenue for action, but find it necessary to state that it is not paper decisions but a tangible demonstration of political will to strengthen the machinery and effectiveness of the United Nations which can make periodic meetings at an appropriately high level meaningful and useful.

The provisions of the Charter in regard to regional arrangements were carefully drafted and are clear in regard to their role and scope. The principal requirement is that regional arrangements should be consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Under the Charter these regional arrangements can undertake certain responsibilities for the pacific settlement of disputes or for enforcement action, but only under the specific authority of the

Security Council. At the same time, Article 52 (4) and Article 54 impose definite and necessary restrictions on the role which regional arrangements can play in the maintenance of international peace and security.

Another crucial qualification is imposed by the provisions of Article 103

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which clearly prescribe that in case of conflict between obligations under the Charter and under international agreements, it is obligations under the Charter which must prevail. It is perhaps for these reasons that the Charter refers to regional arrangements rather than to regional security arrangements. Irrespective of whether regional military arrangements are fully compatible with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter or not, it is clear that regional security arrangements should not seek to establish a juxtaposition of military capacities which would under-mine rather than strengthen international peace and security. It is in view of these fundamental considerations that the non-aligned countries have resolutely rejected the idea of military alliances in which the interests of the weaker Powers are subordinated to and controlled by the more powerful members of alliances in violation of the letter and spirit of the Charter. In our view, regional arrangements can promote the objectives of the Charter only in so far as they seek more comprehensive co-operation in all fields and at all levels between the countries of a particular region. It is essential for the United Nations to foster and encourage greater economic cooperation between the countries of each region with a view to ensuring that they develop a vested interest and a real stake in the continued independence, development and progress of their neighbours. This would constitute the most practical contribution to the development of conditions of durable security in each region.

We believe that early progress in defining aggression, in formulating principles of friendly relations among States and in working out acceptable arrangements for United Nations peace-keeping operations would facilitate the more effective functioning of the United Nations. On this proposition there is universal agreement. It is on the means to achieve these objectives that there has not been a sufficient degree of agreement. What we require, therefore, is not a simple demand that the Committees dealing with this question expedite their work but a demonstration of the necessary political will to make this possible.

As I said at the beginning of my statement, I have not attempted an exhaustive exposition of our views on the subject under our consideration, in view of the consultations in which we are engaged. I would only like to say in concluding my statement that the draft appeal presented to us by the Soviet Government has evoked a most constructive debate on questions which though of paramount importance to the world Organization have not been given for quite some time, the serious consideration they deserve. We are confident that the consultations which will take place in the light of our most useful debate will produce some concrete results in our common quest for strengthening international peace and security.

## INDIA AND WEST ASIA

Shri Dinesh Singh's Broadcast

Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of External Affairs, broadcast the following speech over the All India Radio on October 15, 1969 on India's relation with countries of West Asia:

India's relations with the countries of West Asia have been close and many sided. I am not talking here about those historic relations which have existed between India and West Asia for many centuries, but about those more modem relationships which have had a profound impact on current politics.

History bears witness to the fact that West Asia has been staging post for the great Asiatic empires of European countries.

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The Suez Canal particularly was a strategic link of communications between Europe and Asia. Moreover, the great oil wealth of West Asia has been one of the major attractions for the countries of Europe.

Both India and the countries of West Asia fell victims to the same European imperialism. With the downfall of imperialism in Asia there was a surge of freedom in West Asia also. There was, however, one difference. International intrigues arising from the race for West Asian oil resulted in political and economic pressures of the imperialists on these countries even after their attainment of independence. This is one of the reasons why the struggle for freedom still continues in West Asia today.

After attaining freedom, some of the countries of West Asia broke the chains of imperialism one after another and advanced towards progressive development. We in India supported them and stood by them. The imperialistic nations, apprehensive of these developments, began to mobilise their forces under the pretext of religion. They supported communal forces and encouraged fanatical religious organisations. This is one of the important factors in the politics of West Asia today.

For us in India, this is not a new phenomenon. The imperialist powers had encouraged and provoked fanaticism in India making Indians fight against themselves resulting in the partition of the country. Even today, such fissiparous tendencies find encouragement in the poplitics of Pakistan and those of her way of thinking. Unfortunately the communal elements in out, country encourage such destructive forces. Consequently, the foundations of our secular State are undermined and our national self-respect is hurt.

It is, therefore, only natural for us to cooperate with those countries and forces in West Asia which are following the progressive path and are working for the welfare of their people and strengthening the independence of their countries. We developed our relations with such countries and raised our voice in support of the rights and interests of the Arabs. We supported the policies of peace and cooperation and condemned the use of force to settle problems or disputes. India is not opposed to any country in West Asia. We have recognised them all.

All that we want is the restoration of peace in West Asia should be expedited. With this objective, we have supported the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. We hope that peace would prevail in West Asia and the countries of this region would advance rapidly on the path of progress.

There are, however, great dangers lurking behind. The greatest danger is that of communalism and of religious politics which are being fostered by imperialist countries. Only the other day we have witnessed how communalism was exploited for political purposes. About three weeks ago Pakistan exploited communalism and religious politics at the Rabat Conference. This is a matter of great regret and we deeply feel distressed about it. However, it is necessary for us to give deeper thought to this matter.

Pakistan has never accepted or tolerated the secularism of India where different religions enjoy equal rights and where 60 million Muslims live in peace and freedom with the rest of the community even after the partition of the country. Pakistan is hurt by the fact that the Muslims of India live freely in our Republic and enjoy full democratic rights whereas the Muslims of Pakistan still ilve under Martial Law. Therefore, Pakistan has to take refuge once again under religious fanaticism. By provoking these fanatic and reactionary elements, Pakistan is trying to drive a wedge between secular India and the progressive forces of West Asia.

India decided to participate in the Rabat Conference for political reasons. We took this step to defend our national principles. The Rabat Conference was called to consider the important political questions, questions which are of common interest to both West Asia and India. Let us look at the countries which were invited to this Conference. Among the countries invited, there were some which did not have Muslim Heads of State. It was for this reason that when it was suggested in the beginning that the Conference should be held in Mecca, it was decided that Rabat would be better to enable the non-Muslim Heads of State to participate. It is most regrettale that on

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account of Pakistan's narrow and selfish interests and lack of wisdon, the Conference could not seriously consider the political issues on the agenda. Indeed, Pakistan sacrificed the larger interests of the Arabs for the sake of its own selfish, national and religious interests. This is now well-known to everybody.

It has been Pakistan's consistent policy to drive a wedge between India and the Islamic countries by creating anti-Indian feelings in these countries. Apprehensive that India's progressive policies based on friendship and cooperation would bring us nearer to the Arabs, Pakistan has always tried to attack our secular image. She has also been trying to organise a bloc of Muslim nations against India in the name of religion. In the past, when Indians did not attend Islamic conferences, Pakistan managed to move resolutions on Kashmir and on Indian Muslim. During ;the last five years, when Indians have been participating in such conferences, we have managed to avoid the discussion over such resolutions and these conferences have confined themselves to religious issues. We are not in- favour of religious conferences discussing political issues. We believe that political questions should be discussed at political forums. There are countries like the UAR which, in spite of their being Islamic countries, attach importance to secularism. Therefore, it would not be in the interest of India to be absent at such conferences where important political questions are discussed. The Policy of exploitation of religion pursued by Pakistan

coincides with the objective of imperialism. From this point of view also we must safeguard our secularism and national interest.

Recently, when I was in New York, the representatives of several countries which participated in the Islamic Summit at Rabat expressed to me their regret over the treatment meted out to the Indian delegation. They expressed the hope that India would be able to participate in future conferences. I did not say that we would participate in any such conference. But it is important to note that Pakistan's designs against India are now being exposed. India's participation in future conferences would naturally depend on circumstances of such conferences.

The foreign policy of this country should be and is in fact reviewed continuously. We determine our relations with various countries in the light of changing circumstances. India's policy has been, and is, to be friendly with all countries. We recognise the sovereignty and integrity of States. In accordance with the principles of secularism, we believe in mutual coopration and equality of status. We support the countries which are fighting against colonialism and imperialism. We are confident that world peace can be established on such basis and on such principles.

INDIA YUGOSLAVIA USA JAMAICA NIGER NIGERIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PAKISTAN MOROCCO

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## **Volume No**

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#### INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

Prime Minister's Address

Following is the text of the address

delivered by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at the 57th Inter-Parliamentary Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in New Delhi on October 31, 1969:

Mr. President, distinguished Members of the I.P.U. and other distinguished guests: May I say how glad we are to have you amongst us. I sincerely hope you will find discussions useful and your stay in India interesting as well as enjoyable. You have come from countries which differ in their political objectives and systems, but you are united in fostering the rule of the people. You know that the laws you make can command obedience only to the extent that they embody high principles and secure the people's welfare.

Until our own times, in almost every country, citizens with recognised political

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rights formed only a small part of the population Rules were made by the few for the benefit of the few; the many had merely to acquiesce. Any ambition or attempt at self-assertion was suppressed.

But today Parliaments represent - an are elected by - larger numbers. The "people" are no longer an idealised entity by which constitutions draw their authority in theory. They are the source of power.

#### WORLD'S LARGEST DEMOCRACY

India is the world's largest democracy You know that we have full adult franchise. Our national parliament has an electorate of 250 million and in the last General Election, 150 million people exercised their vote. There are elected Assemblies in our 17 States. In the rural areas, our people choose their own village and district councils. But the functioning of democracy should be judged not merely by the size of the electorate, or the percentage of people exercising their franchise, but by the faith which they have in representative institutions. The test of democracy, it is said, is not how governments are chosen, but how governments are changed. The changes of Government in our States have been peaceful. Our general elections have been milestones in the growth of the constitutional outlook. They are a testimony to our people's faith in themselves and to the inherent strength of our democracy.

Your newspapers and ours will tell you of our great poverty, of our regional rivalries, of our student agitations, of religious riots and so on. All these conflicts are there, as indeed they exist in one form or another in most other countries. Some of them are due to historic causes, some to the tensions unavoidable in a developing and changing society. But, compared to the judgement and self-restraint shown by our people in matters related to the substance of Government, these disturbances are peripheral. The heart of India is strong and its limbs are sturdy. It is necessary to say this because as a well-known Western newspaper editorial stated recently, India "seems always to be on trial - of no other country is it so insistently asked, will it make it?"

The Indian Constitution is federal in nature, making for the fullest development of regional personality within the ambit of national unity, and clearly demarcating regional and national functions in administrative matters. This does not mean that differences do not arise between States, or between the States and the Union, but we have the machinery to resolve such differences. Two years ago, after the Fourth General Election, Governments in some States were formed by parties opposed to the Indian National Congress which is the party in power at the Centre. We accepted the verdict of the people, and welcomed this development as a new phase in the political maturing of our country. By and large, the Central Government has had the cooperation of all State Chief Ministers, whether they head Congress or non-Congress ;Governments. If there are problems, and indeed there are many, they arise not from any constitutional insufficiency but from the scarcity of resources, which creates situations, where even justifiable demands outspan the means to meet them. The earlier suppression of culture and language along with economic disparities give rise to fierce

regional pride which sometimes misleads people to temporarily regard their immediate regions as something bigger than the nation. But the federal system is a constitutional answer to the conflict between centrifugal and centripetal forces.

A few weeks ago, religious clashes occurred on a large scale in one State. This is not the occasion to discuss the origin of such clashes or go into their history. Such riots are indefensible. We take the sternest action to deal with them, for we know that our political edifice rests on secularism and religious equality.

These occasional outbursts have also to be viewed against our centuries' old tradition of tolerance. India is a land of many religions; Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism and others. People of the minority communities live in every part of the country and participate in all walks of life: politics and business, administration and the Defence Services, the arts, films and sport. Our first Christians date back to the time of St. Thomas the Apostle. Now there are 13 million. The Muslims are more than 10 per cent of our population -numbering 55 million. Two communities-the Parsis and the Jews-are numerically

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small, but culturally dynamic. Last year, the synagogue in Cochin celebrated its fourth centenary. The Parsis, only a hundred thousand in number, have produced many leaders.

#### SPIRIT OF INDIAN CULTURE

From the earliest times, the spirit of Indian culture has been one not of negation or exclusion, but of assimilation and synthesis. In our own days, Mahatma Gandhi lived and died for religious unity and brotherhood. We, who seek to draw our inspiration from him, are deeply conscious of our responsibility to continue his mission. And as I have just said, when clashes do occur, we make every effort to mobilise all our resources to put down the trouble.

In the Western world, social and economic evolution was a step-by-step process. But in India several revolutions - political, economic, social, intellectual and technological - are taking place simultaneously and peacefully, although not always without confrontation and crises.

The years of colonial rule succeeded indigenous feudalism without supplanting it. They bred an attitude of fear, passivity and dependence. Amidst such a people arose Mahatma Gandhi. He told us: 'Regard yourselves as free and you will be free'. Mahatma Gandhdi led us to freedom and Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundations of our modernisation and scientific growth. Nehru was the greatest of democrats for it was he who took all issues to the people, patiently explaining to them the meaning of modern technology, and the intricacies of events in other parts of the world. Doggedly he fought the unpopular battle against superstition and out-moded ritualistic habits which obstruct us. Both Gandhi and Nehru emphasised that freedom did not connote mere political independence, but economic welfare, social justice and renaissance of the spirit.

#### PLANNED PROGRESS

Freedom is the starting point for effective economic self-government and planned progress. In the last two decades, we have nearly doubled our food production (from about 50 million tonnes a year to more than 95 million tonnes now) and have built large steel and machine-making industries.: as a result of which we are now in a position to build our own steel mills. Educational facilities have vastly expanded. The number of children in schools has risen from 23 million to 75 million. Expectation of life has lengthened by 20 years. This and the fall in the death rate have increased our population. The Government has a vigorous family planning campaign, aiming to reduce the birth rate from 40 per thousand to 23 per thousand in a decade. But the greatest advance is in the quality of our young people, our scientists and engineers, our artists and designers. Alas! we sometimes export these

also, much to our detriment.

Our women were once considered the most backward. Today some of them occupy important positions. But it is not enough for a few to be prominent; they should be enabled to make full contribution as individuals, as homemakers and as moulders of social outlook.

It is true that we have made mistakes. When so many tasks have to be undertaken simultaneously and on such an enormous scale, in conditions unexperienced elsewhere, one cannot eliminate errors. We ourselves are more keenly aware of our shortcomings than the most scathing of our critics and we are making earnest endeavour to correct them.

But progress itself upsets the status quo. It shakes people from the attitude of numb acceptance. It disturbs vested interests not only of the well-to-do but of the vast numbers who although they want to better their lives yet fear to depart from the familiarity of the known. Education and contact with other countries unleash pent-up expectations and give wing to dreams. The gap between one's grasp and one's reach generates greater competition. Despite many safeguards, the better off sections in any particular group take greater advantage of our schemes. Every solution creates new problems. The expansion of education swells the number of educated unemployed. The intensive agricultural programme, which we undertook to meet the challenge of prolonged and severe drought of three years ago and which has

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brought us to the threshold of self-sufficiency in food, has also made the poorer farmers who live on dry lands more keenly aware of what they lack.

To give another example of new problems arising out of progress, the building of industrial overheads and the restraint on imports have helped private industries to consolidate and extend their economic power, even though we have made vast investments to establish a public, sector. These investments had to be made, because, on its own, private industry had neither the will, the resources, nor the ability to set up new lines of production and enter new fields of technology. In our scheme, private and public industry should complement each other to increase production. But in order to remove disparities and ensure more equitable distribution, all economic activity has to be subordinated to the social purpose. When distortions take place, corrective action has to be undertaken with decision and firmness.

In our programme of development, we have received financial assistance, mostly in the form of loans. In absolute terms, the total aid thus received may appear large. However, it is well known that when translated in per capita terms, development aid to India is perhaps the lowest that any developing country has received.

#### INTERNATIONAL AID

We recognise that transference of capital and technological resources from the developed countries to the developing countries can be a means of accelerating the pace of development. However, the terms and conditions of such transference and the concepts governing international aid and development need closer scrutiny. I hope that the publication of the Report of the Committee presided over by so distinguished a person as Mr. Lester Pearson will provide an opportunity for a wide-ranging debate on the subject of international aid for development.

Stated simply, the issue is whether international aid is to remain, primarily, an instrument of national policies of the donor countries; or, whether it becomes a part and Parcel of genuine international cooperation for development.

Like all developing countries represented in the UNCTAD, India would like to see the whole pattern of international trade and aid in a new Perspective of international cooperation.

International aid, as at Present con-

ceived and administered, has Produced disenchantment among the recipients as well as among the donors.

The path of Progress is full of reverses, frustrations and hardships. But India is no longer stagnant. It is in ferment. The people are afire with hope. They are vocal and impatient - conscious of their rights. Against the background of a highly stratified society, which had even invented the concept of untouchability, you now see the pride and self-assertion of groups and classes who once were regarded as being beyond the pale. As a Prime Minister, I am concerned with the problems of the social, economic and political engineering of new India. I travel constantly and meet millions of people. Each such encounter confirms the impression of changing ideas, attitudes, even habits. And this transformation is taking place by consent and within the framework of a political democracy.

Tension between continuity and change, between high expectations and limited means is inevitable. Yet a forward movement, a growing sense of interdependence, of unity and of working together are perceptible even in the midst of agitations and clashes. Life in India may not be easy but it certainly is interesting and challenging.

In these 22 years since Independence, India's conduct of international relations has been based on principles which we cherish, and which govern our internal policy.

#### NON-ALIGNMENT

We regained our freedom after long hard years of suffering and sacrifice. Naturally our concern must be to preserve and strengthen it and to give it content. So, we are not prepared to abdicate our judge-

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ment of right or wrong in terms of our own assessment, or to abandon our right of action as a sovereign nation. Powerful nations attempt to mould other countries in their own image, tending to clothe their national interests in ideological garb. India decided to keep aloof from the cold war and to con-

centrate on her development, free from outside interference. At no time did we consider non-alignment to mean neutrality. On matters affecting the international community, we do express our own opinion. We believe in enlarging the areas of peace and reconciliation. We are convinced that the world can survive and progress not by conflict, but only through co-operation. If this premise is accepted, there is no problem which cannot be solved through peaceful deliberations. On the other hand, if force or compulsion is to be the sanction behind international relations, problems will become more intractable and the maintenance of peace will be increasingly endangered.

The world is too complex and diverse to be fitted into any neat pattern of ideology of one kind or another. Our ancient sages have pointed out that the "roads to truth are many". Peaceful co-existence and non-interference in each other's affairs can no longer be regarded as moral injunctions but intensely practical necessities, without which international relations cannot be meaningful. We, who live in different nations, must be made conscious of what we have in common but we must also learn to accept our differences, so that our very diversity contributes to the richness of life.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

But it takes time for thoughts to change, for people to accept changes and to form new associations based on them. Some of these basic considerations, therefore, do not find acceptance; and fear and suspicion may still compel nations to enter into military combinations. However, such security is not real, nor is it conducive to evolution in keeping with the genius of a people. The membership of armed camps and subsidiary alliances have only weakened the selfreliance of nations. The policies of a country are motivated by its national interests, which are conditioned by its heritage, traditions and the requirements of its people. Foreign policy is a reflection of domestic preoccupations. Can we not pursue our national objectives by identifying them with certain collective interests and by pursuing

them in co-operation with others so that we can benefit from the endeavours of the community as a whole? We think this can and must be done. Our foreign policy of peace and co-operation. based on co-existence and non-alignment, is directed towards these objectives.

We cannot be unaffected by what is happening in the rest of the world, or ignore the challenge which confronts mankind as a whole. The swiftness of invention and achievement gives the average man a feeling of importance and, at the same time, of helplessness; a sense of power and also of insecurity. Man is confronted with an incredible extension of scientific and technological knowledge, without a corresponding generation of inner resources which could evolve new thinking and enable him to break the old bonds of prejudice and of the old systems. Man is not yet attuned to the dynamics of the new. He approaches the new structures and processes now available to him, with a static mind and old attitudes. He seems to be unable to make full use of his knowledge to transform himself and to create a new and more beautiful life for all mankind. It is for us, who are interested in the processes of democracy, to build not only the structures and institutions, but also to concern ourselves with the spirit of democracy, with the transformation of educational systems and their expression in terms of action, so that the minds of the young can carry the dimension of the new. It is only when the change in man is fundamental and on a deeper level that there can be a full flowering of his personality and the release of energy as well as compassion. Then will he become capable of true democracy and of laying the solid foundations of enduring peace.

#### INTERNATIONAL PEACE

The realization of the dreams and hopes of countless millions depend on co-operation and international peace. India is deeply committed to both. Parliaments are instruments for the understanding of one another's points of view and of ensuring peaceful change. I hope that the deliberations of

this conference will advance the cause of justice and that this organisation of the Parliaments of so many nations will always exert itself in the endeavour to build a world in which the growth of wisdom keeps pace with the growth of knowledge.

May I thank you for giving me this opportunity of telling you something about my vast, complicated, difficult to understand country, and at the same time to give you all good wishes on my own behalf, on behalf of the Government and the people of India.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

# Volume No

1995

**IRAQ** 

Joint Communique on Indo-Iraq Trade Talks

Following is the text of the Press Communique issued in New Delhi on October 30, 1969 at the end of the trade talks held between the official delegations of Iraq and India:

A Joint Committee consisting of representatives of Iraq and India, set up under the Indo-Iraq Trade Agreement of December 13, 1962, met at New Delhi from October 27 to October 30, 1969, to review the working of the Agreement in 1968-69, and also to explore the possibilities of expansion of trade and economic co-operation between the two countries.

The Iraqi Delegation was led by Mr. Mahdi Al-Ubaydi, Director General, Foreign Trade Ministry of Economy of Iraq. and the Indian Delegation was led by Shri M. G. Kaul, Joint Secretary, in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Supply, Government of India. The talks were held in an atmosphere of utmost friendliness and cordiality.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the flow of trade between the two countries during 1968-69, and felt that there was considerable scope for further expanding the level of trade and diversifying it. The two sides expected the volume of their trade would go up to a level of about & 7.5 million (Rs. 13.5 crores) in 1969-70. They agreed to take effective steps, for further promotion of trade between the two countries and continued efforts to resolve any bottlenecks that might arise.

The two Delegations reaffirmed their desire that the most cordial and friendly relations that existed between India and Iraq should be strengthened still further through further increase in trade and greater co-opeation in industrial, technological and scientific fields.

IRAQ INDIA USA **Date**: Oct 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

#### **ROMANIA**

President's Speech at Banquet in honour of Mr. Ceausescu

Following is the text of the speech by the President, Shri V. V. Giri, at the Banquet given in honour of His Excellency Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Madame Elena Ceausescu, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on October It gives me great pleasure tonight to welcome the President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, His

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Excellency Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu. Mr. President, for you this is the first visit to India, and although you have been only a short while here, we have gained the impression that you already consider yourself at home in our midst. Your distinguished colleagues, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, have, of course, given us the pleasure once before of being in our midst. To you all I extend a cordial welcome tonight.

In welcoming you, Mr. President, we are welcoming modern Romania, a nation and people well on the road to a society which will provide a better life for all its sons and daughters. It is indeed a felicitous coincidence that this year is the 25th Anniversary of the foundation of new Romania. May I take this opportunity of congratulating you, Mr. President, and through you the people of Romania on this happy achievement, and of expressing our best wishes for the prosperity of Romania in the days to come?

For us in India also this is a year of special importance. We are commemorating at this time the Birth Centenary of the Father of the Nation. Mahatma Gandhi set before us goals that indeed call for high discipline for peoples anywhere in the world; and what is more, :set before us canons: of means and methods which are no, less disciplined. His goal was, and I quote, "An India in which the poorest shall feel it is their country,: in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people." I quote again: "Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the-following test: Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you: may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain

anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own destiny? in other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and the spiritually starving millions?"

We are committed -to establish a socialist pattern of society in which well-being and justice will be the birth-right of everyone of our citizens. We are committed further to move along this path at a speed which will overtake the stagnation of centuries. For a country of the size: and diversity of India, these tasks are truly, of great magnitude.

From an industrial base confined to traditional and light engineering industries, our economy has, in the past 22 years, grown greatly in strength and in diversity. Our industries produce today not only machine tools, heavy machinery, railway locomotives and wagons, but a wide range of complete industrial plants of a sophistication which few believed within reach at the time of our independence. Nor have we in the process failed to pay regard to the all-supporting field of agriculture, and it is our hope that we shall attain self-sufficiency in foodgrains in the near future. In All these achievements our debt to the economic and technical assistance that has come from. friendly countries abroad is a very great one. Romania's contribution to our economic development has indeed has been striking, and I would like to take this opportunity of acknowledging our great debt to that country. In oil exploration, in the refining and petrochemical industries, Romanian assistance has been of crucial importance. The names of Gauhati and Haldia are written indelibly in the history of Indo-Romanian collaboration. In trade relations, exchanges between our countries have developed rapidly, and I am glad to say, display today every indication of further substantial development. In the field of cultural relations, our mutually agreed programmes have enabled a number of scholars, scientists and artists to benefit from the experience of the other country.

In all these efforts at cooperation, Mr. President, the inspiration for our two

countries has been our common acceptance of the principles of co-existence, the mutual respect for each other's integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, We are finding everyday increasing meaning in the efficacy of these principles.

Mr. President, your visit has given us a very welcome opportunity for personal contact. The Govenment of India is greatly looking forward to the opportunities for a friendly and frank discussion with you and your principal statesmen of the many mat-

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ters which are of mutual interest. Your sojourn in India is, alas, a short one, but we shall spare no effort to make it fruitful, interesting and enjoyable.

I now invite Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to raise your glasses and drink a toast to the health and happiness of the President of the State Council of the, Socialist Republic of Romania, and Madame. Ceausescu, His Excellency Prime Minister Maurer and Madame Maurer, His Excellency Manescu, to the prosperity of the friendly Romanian people and to the ever-growing friendship between the peoples of India and Romania.

OMAN ROMANIA USA INDIA

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

# Peply by Mr. Ceausescu

President, Shri V. V. Giri, the Romanian President Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu said:

Mr. President, Madame Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is only a few hours since we have come to India and we really feel in your country as in the midst of very good and close friends. We regard the cordial welcome given to us by you, Sir, by the leaders of the Republic of India and by the population of New Delhi as an expression of the relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and India, as an expression of the esteem and respect which our two peoples feel for each other.

Once again we thank you for your hospitality, for the cordial welcome extended to us and for the kind words you said about my country.

The contacts and the exchange of visits between the leaders of our two nations are entirely in keeping with the desire of the Romanian and Indian peoples to know each other better, to develop the friendship and cooperation between them, to explore new ways and opportunities to strengthen and develop their mutual relations and their collaboration in the international arena with an aim to safeguard peace and security and to bring about understanding and cooperation among nations.

The valuable contribution made by India, throughout her age-old history to mankind's treasurestore of civilisation and culture is well known and highly appreciated in my country, as there is also an awareness of and high appreciation for the. creative genius of the Indian people, their-love for beauty, their artistic skill and their peaceful and constructive spirit.

The Romanian people have followedwith a feeling of profound solidarity the struggle waged by the Indian people, by advanced forces of your nation to shake away the foreign yoke, to liberate the country from colonial domination and to achievenational independence. Romania welcomedwith particular satisfaction the winning of-Independence by India's people of over 500-million, an event which dealt a powerful blow to the colonial system of imperialism and made an important contribution towards accelerating the process of its dissolution. We are glad to have the opportunity to visit your country on the days of the 100th anniversary of the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, the ardent militant for national independence.

The Romanian people have followed with particular sympathy India's endeavours to achieve economic and social progress and her sustained activity aimed at liquidating the vestiges of the past domination. developing the country's industry, culture and science and narrowing down thegap separating her from the advanced countries of the world. As sincere friends, we wish the industrious and gifted Indian people ever greater success in this hard but vital work for the progress of their homeland and for their own future welfare and happiness.

The people of ray country fully understand the Indian people's aspirations forprogress and their endeavour to turn to-

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account the national resources to their own good. We also felt, from our own experience, the nefarious effects of foreign exploitation and domination and the hardships of the struggle and toil for the national and social emancipation. Romania celebrated this year a quarter of a century since she has put an end to imperialist domination and has set out along the way to free and independent development. During these years the people of my country have created a powerful industry, which turns out today 14 times more production than before the war; they have modernized the agriculture, developed science and culture and substantially raised their material and spiritual standards. While building the socialist society they have built a dignified life for themselves and have become the only masters of their work and their destinies. Today, an ample programme of economic and social development lies ahead of my people and its accomplishment is bound to speed up Romania's advance towards progress and civilization

Life itself has shown that, as our countries develop their economy, science, culture, ever better conditions are being created to expand their cooperation and to increase the exchange of assets between Romania and India. We feel fully entitled to believe that the Romanian-Indian cooperation is fruitful and that the results of this cooperation are entirely consonant with the interests of our two peoples, and serve the cause of understanding, cooperation and peace throughout the world.

The good relations between our two countries find a concrete reflection in the continuous growth and diversification of economic exchanges, in the development of technical and scientific cooperation, in the expansion of our cultural ties. Naturally, we can hardly say that all the possibilities for further exchanges and cooperation between our two countries have been exhausted; we express our conviction that the visit we are now paying to your country and the talks we shall have will mark an important moment for the further many-sided development of the relations between Romania and India.

The good relations existing between our two peoples are the direct result of the fact that they are based on mutual esteem and trust, on the observance of national sovereignty and independence, equal rights and non-interference, in the internal affairs, on mutual advantage. Romania is convinced that it is only on the basis of these principles, the validity of which has been reliably tested by experience and confirmed by the ever larger support of the international public opinion-that normal relations between States can develop and a sane atmosphere of cooperation and understanding between nations can be ensured.

Both Romania and India are animated by the desire actively to contribute to the efforts made by the whole mankind to achieve positive solutions for the intricate problems raised by international life today. Romania is, of course, a Socialist State and a central goal of her policy is to develop the cooperation, alliance and friendship with the Socialist countries; but the fact that we have different social systems cannot - and does not - constitute an impediment in the way of our countries working together with a view to widely promoting the principles of peaceful coexistence and detente in international affairs.

We believe that, in our days, all the countries of the world irrespective of the size of their territory or the number of their population, of their economic or military might and of their social and political system, can and indeed, should make their contribution to the cause of peace and international security. In this connection, I should like to take this opportunity again to reaffirm Romania's belief that the responsibility for the destinies of mankind requires all countries and all statesmen to act with determination against the policies of force and domination, for the elimination of the hotbeds of war and sources of tension now existing in the world, for the settlement of the litigious problems between States by way of negotiations.

We are deeply concerned about the continuation of the war in Vietnam. Reiterating our solidarity with the struggle waged by the Vietnamese people, we express our desire that the Paris talks would lead to cessation of this war, which gravely endangers the peace of the entire world, to the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Viet-

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nam and to ensurance of all requisite conditions for the Vietnamese people to decide the problems of their own development including the unification of the country without any outside interference.

We also believe that it is the interest of universal peace to eliminate the hotbed of tension in the Near East. Romania has consistently declared, and still does for the settlement of the conflict on the basis of the Security Council Resolution of November 1967, through the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, the ensurance of the independence and integrity of all States in the area and the settlement of the problem of Palestinian refugees and of other problems in accordance with their national interests and with the interests of peace and international security.

Being an European country, the Socialist Republic of Romania is consistently acting in favour of the establishment of European security, as she is convinced that the achievement of this great desideratum of the peoples of Europe would exert a considerable beneficial influence on the entire international climate and would bring about new progress on the way to detente, to the development of confidence and cooperation among the countries of all continents.

Romania actively works towards the achievement of general disarmament, and particularly of nuclear disarmament, and has constantly stood for the banning of atomic weapons and the destruction of the existing stockpiles. Likewise, the liquidation of blocs and of the military bases on the territory of other States would constitute a fundamental premise for detente and for avoiding the sliding of mankind toward a new destructive war on a large scale.

We believe that in solving these problems which are of vital interest for mankind, in safeguarding the peace, in ensuring the rule of international law, in developing the cooperation between peoples, an important part should be played by the United Nations-We uphold the opinion that this important world forum would be able more efficiently to fulfil its role and responsibilities if it reflected more adequately the realities existing in the world today and if the full realization of the principle of its universality is ensured. Romania and India have had a fruitful cooperation at the United Nations and we-have no doubt that this cooperation will be further fruitfully developed.

A major goal of the efforts made by

mankind is now to unite, in a large front of struggle, all the anti-imperialist forces, all the detachments defending peace - irrespective of their political, religious and philosophical beliefs. This is a vast domain on which both our countries - Romania and India - can act together, in the belief that they are thereby serving mankind's ideals of progress and the cause of peace.

Please allow me, Mr. President, to propose a toast to the victory of this noble cause, to the Indo-Romanian friendship and cooperation, to Your Excellency's health, to the health of your esteemed wife Madam Giri and to the health of Madam Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister, and of all Your Excellency's associates, to the happiness and prosperity of the Indian people.

OMAN ROMANIA USA INDIA VIETNAM FRANCE ISRAEL PERU

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

#### **ROMANIA**

Indo-Romanian Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on October 19, 1969 at the conclusion of the visit to India of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, H.E. Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu:

On the invitation of H.E. Mr. Varahagiri Venkata Giri, President of the Republic of India, and H.E. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, H.E. Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with his wife, Mrs. Elena Ceausescu, and H.E. Mr. Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, with his wife, Mrs. Elena

Maurer, paid a State visit to India from October 13 to October 19, 1969.

During their visit to India, the distinguished Romanian leaders spent three days

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in Delhi and then visited Agra, Bangalore, Mysore and Bombay. They saw a number of economic, social and cultural establishments and historical monuments. Everywhere they received a warm welcome, testifying to the sentiments of mutual esteem and friendship which today animate the Indian and Romanian peoples.

The President of the State Council, H.E. Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, H.E. Mr. Ion Gheorghe Maurer, expressed their appreciation of the remarkable progress achieved by the Indian people in the economic, social and cultural fields.

The President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, H.E. Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, and the President of the Republic of India, H.E. Mr. Varahagiri Venkata Giri, had a meeting which took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

The President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers had official talks with the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, H.E. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on development of bilateral relations, and on some present-day international problems.

From the Romanian side present at the talks were: H.E. Mr. Corneliu Manescu, Minister for Foreign Affairs, H.E. Mr. Cornel Burtica, Minster of Foreign Trade, H.E. Mr. Petre Tanasie, Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania in India, HE. Mr. Ion Morega, Deputy Minister of the Machine Building Industry, and H.E. Mr. Gheorghe Dobra, Vice-Chairman of the Government Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation.

From the Indian side were present; Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of External Affairs, Shri Fakhruddin All Ahmed, Minister for Industrial Development, Shri Bali Ram Bhagat, Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri Kewal Singh, Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri K. B. Lall, Secretary in the Department of Foreign Trade, and Shri S. Than, the Ambassador of India in Romania.

The talks took place in the cordial and frank atmosphere characteristic of the friendly relationship existing between the two countries and resulted in a deepening of mutual trust and understanding.

The two sides were gratified to note the all-round development of Romanian-Indian relations. They appreciated the vast possibilities that existed to expand and diversify these relations in accordance with the interests of the two countries. They expressed their. firm resolve to utilize the scope offered by the economies of the two countries in order to intensify commercial exchanges, economic, scientific and technological cooperation as well as cultural and other relations to their mutual benefit.

The two sides expressed their satisfaction that in the course of the visit an agreement between the two Governments on scientific and technological cooperation had been concluded; that a trade protocol for 1970 had been signed and a protocol envisaging cooperation in the mining, machine building and chemical industries. These arrangements as well as negotiations held during the visit will greatly contribute to further developing and strengthening bilateral economic relations.

The two sides came to the conclusion that joint cooperation in the economic sphere in third countries was a field which held good prospects of mutual collaboration, and that the matter should be explored further.

Convinced of the usefulness of modern science and technology for the development of their countries, the two sides agreed to explore further their joint interest in cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of

atomic energy.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that they share identical or close views on major international problems.

The two sides expressed their adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence, reiterating the need to respect the principles of national sovereignty and independence, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit, principles which should constitute the basis of relations among states, regardless of their size and irrespective of their social systems. The two sides

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reaffirm their stand that disputes among States, including those concerning national boundaries, should be resolved peacefully without resort to force.

The two sides stressed the urgent necessity for all concerned to reach early agreement on general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, under effective international control. They considered that the banning of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of existing stockpiles, the elimination of military blocs, the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other countries would constitute important steps for security and peace throughout the world.

The President of the State Council and the Prime Minister reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of the UN Charter. The two sides believed that the enhancement of the efficiency and prestige of the United Nations, in particular by the achievement of universality in its membership, would constitute a major contribution to the settlement of current international problems as well as of the development of cooperation among States. The two sides expressed their satisfaction at the fruitful collaboration of their countries in the United Nations and in other international organisations, and were confident that the further deepening of that collaboration, consonant with their mutual interests, will serve the cause of

peace and understanding in the world.

The two sides expressed their solidarity with the struggle for freedom and national independence, and their full support for the legitimate aspirations of peoples for their independent economic and political development. They condemned the domination and oppression of peoples in the Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia and Namibia, and the racial discrimination and the policies of apartheid perpetrated by the Government of the Republic of South Africa. They also affirmed that the remnants of colonialism should be rapidly eliminated, that peoples' fundamental rights should be respected and that there should be equality of rights among nations.

The two sides expressed their deep concern over tension and armed conflicts existing in certain areas of the world, jeopardising world security and peace. In this context they considered the dangers involved in the continuing conflict in Vietnam. They expressed the hope that the negotiations in Paris would lead to a peaceful settlement of the conflict within the framework of the Geneva Agreements, 1954, ensuring withdrawal of foreign troops so that the Vietnamese people may settle their future without outside interference.

The two sides regarded with anxiety the present situation in West Asia. They agreed that a settlement of the crisis in that region should be sought in accordance with the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, ensuring the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, the safeguarding of the integrity of frontiers and of the security of all States in the area, as well as safeguarding the legitimate interests of the Palestinian refugees.

An exchange of views also took place on the situation in Europe. The two sides expressed their belief that the establishment of European security and the amelioration of the general situation in Asia and in other parts of the world would lead to positive results for development of relations between nations. The two leaders welcomed the idea of a conference of European states to consider the development of cooperation and safeguarding security in Europe.

Considering the existing global economic situation, the two sids deemed it essential that urgent solutions be found to the problems which hinder economic growth of developing countries. With this aim in view, they reiterated their desire for close cooperation in the U.N. and other international forums.

In this context, the two leaders considered that the unhindered access of all States to the achievement of modern science and technology is a matter of vital interest for human progress; and that the solution of this problem required, apart from national effort, the creation of favourable conditions for the development of trade and international economic cooperation without hindrances or discrimination on a mutually advantageous basis.

The two sides recognised the importance of the contacts at many levels estab-

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lished during recent years between Romania and India. They acknowledged that the present visit of the President of the State Council and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and other Romanian personalities had made a valuable contribution towards a better understanding, and represented an important step in the development of friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries and peoples.

The President of the State Council, H.E. Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, H.E. Mr. Ion Gheorghe Maurer, and their wives expressed their gratitude for the cordial and hospitable reception extended to them by the Indian Govenment and people.

The President of the State Council and Mrs. Nicolae Ceausescu invited the President of the Republic of India and Mrs. Varahagiri Venkata Giri to pay a State visit to Romania.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, H.E. Mr. Ion Gheorghe Maurer, extended to the Prime Minister of India, Her Excellency Mrs. Indira Gandhi, an invitation to pay a visit to Romania.

The invitations were accepted with pleasure.

OMAN ROMANIA INDIA USA NAMIBIA SOUTH AFRICA VIETNAM FRANCE SWITZERLAND ISRAEL

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

#### **ROMANIA**

Indo-Romanian Protocol on Economic and Technical Cooperation

Following is the text of the Press note issued in New Delhi on October 14, 1969 on the signing of a Protocol between India and Romania on economic and technical collaboration:

The Governments of India and Romania today (October 14) signed a Protocol on the further development of economic and Technical collaboration between the two countries.

Shri Bhanu Prakash Singh, Deputy Minister of Industrial Development, Internal Trade and Company Affairs, signed for India and Mr. Gheorghe Dobra, Vice-Chairman of the Romanian Governmental Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation, on behalf of his country.

The signing of the Protocol marks the end of the eleven-day discussions during which delegations from both countries explored the present and future prospects of increasing economic and technical co-operation in the context of the existing long-term Trade and Payments Agreement and Econo-

mic and Technical Co-operation Agreement. The discussions were cordial and friendly.

The Protocol signed today notes that there are possibilities of cooperation in four fields of industry, namely, mining, machine building, chemicals and petroleum and petrochemicals. Cooperation in these fields, it is felt, could be achieved by design, documentation and know-how as well as supply of plant equipment by Romania to the extent they are not indigenously available in India. The precise possibilities in these fields are to be determined by detailed expert examination of the various proposals.

The two delegations have welcomed the idea of joint co-operation in third countries. It has been agreed that specific projects to be suggested by the two countries should be explored by experts. Co-operation in this field will include supply of equipment, consultancy services, experts and technical personnel.

Both sides have also noted with satisfaction the recent development in the field of bilateral trade exchanges. On the one hand, a long-term arrangement has been finalised for the supply of 22 million tonnes of Indian iron ore to Romania from 1971-80. On the other hand, arrangements have been or are being negotiated for the purchase by India of 10 cargo vessels, design and equipment for Haldia refinery, design and plant

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equipment for a brick-making plant in Mysore State, and increased import of tractors from Romania.

Speaking on the occasion, Shri Bhanu Prakash Singh, expressed personal satisfaction over the fruition of the talks initiated by him in Romania in July this year and said that the signing of the Protocol during the visit of the Romanian President to India assumed special significance. He had no doubt that the two Governments would strive for furthering the friendly and economic ties between their countries.

Mr. Gheorghe Dobra, who reciprocated

the sentiments, said that the Protocol represented a part of the wider contacts existing between the two countries and would constitute a definite step towards further and wider collaboration. The present visit of the Romanian President to India would undoubtedly contribute towards this end.

#### OMAN ROMANIA INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

#### **ROMANIA**

Indo-Romanian Shipping Agreement

Following is the text of the Press release issued in New Delhi on October 14, 1969 on the contracts signed between India and Romania for purchase of ten Romanian ships:

Contracts for purchase of ten ships from Romania costing about Rs. 24 crores were signed in New Delhi today (October 14) by Mr. Antonescu, Director of Industrial Export, Romania, and the representatives of Shipping Corporation of India, the Mogul Line and M/s Chougule Steamship Company. The Companies were represented respectively by Shri C. P. Shrivastav, Chairman, Shri S. K. Venkatachalam, Managing Director and Shri S. D. Chougule, Managing Director.

Shri K. Raghu Ramaiah, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Shipping & Transport, thanked the Romanian Government for extending credit facilities on favourable terms to finance the purchase of these ten vessels. Mr. C. Burtica, Romanian Minister for Foreign Trade, expressed the hope that these contracts will create new possibilities of increasing the trade opportunities between India and Romania.

Among those who were present for this function were Shri Iqbal Singh, Dy. Minister for Shipping & Transport, Mr. I. Morega, Romanian Deputy Minister for Machinebuilding Industry, Mr. I. Marcu, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Trade, Mr. G. Colfescu, Director General for Machine-building Industry.

The universal type bulk carriers, as these ships have been designed, will not only be suitable for carrying coal on the coast, but, if required, will also be ideally suited for the transport of various bulk cargoes like manganese ore, sulphur, fertilisers, iron and steel, etc. The new vessels which are to be delivered between September 1972 to December 1975 will play an important role in India's international sea-borne trade.

The former Minister of Transport and Shipping, Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao, visited Romania in October, 1968, and signed jointly a Protocol with the Minister of Foreign Trade of the Socialist Republic of Romania. In accordance with the terms of the Protocol, India indicated that she would like to purchase from Romania ten vessels of about 15,000 DWT each with a speed of about 15 knots.

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OMAN ROMANIA INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Oct 01, 1969

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SYRIA		
Indo-Syrian Trade Agre	ement	

Following is the text of a Press Communique issued on October 10, 1969, at the end of the talks held in Damascus between the official trade delegations of India and Syria:

At the invitation of the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic, Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply of the Government of India, led a delegation to Damascus from October 7 to 9 to hold trade talks with the Syrian Government. The Indian Ambassador to Syria also participated.

While in Damascus, Shri Bhagat called on H.E. Dr. Nuruddin Atassi, Head of State and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Syrian Government, and also on the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Communications and Industries. He and the members of his delegation held detailed talks with the Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade and his officers in regard to trade expansion between the two countries. Discussions were also held with the Minister of Petroleum, Electricity and Industrial Projects to assess the extent to which India could participate in important development projects planned by the Government of Syria.

The talks between the two sides were held in an atmosphere of great friendship and co-operation which reflected the close and cordial relations existing between the two countries. It was felt by both sides that the bonds of this friendship could be strengthened by further co-operation in the field of economic development and trade expansion. Concrete measures whereby this could be achieved were discussed.

The exchange of ideas on trade promotion revealed possibilities of considerable expansion of trade by both sides. With the rapid exploitation of mineral resources under way in Syria, it was felt that there were possibilities for exports of quantities of phosphate rock, triple super-phosphate and sulphur to India in the coming years. Apart from their imports of existing items such as tea and jute, Syria showed keen

interest in importing from India new items such as tyres, vehicles, iron and steel and other engineering products. Both sides agreed to take positive steps to encourage a larger volume of trade between the two countries. The Syrian Government on its part, felt that the import of certain commodities from India, such as tea and other products which are not normally purchased by Syria, could be enhanced by the provision of a short line of credit extending to one year. The Indian side undertook to consider this.

The possibility of greater participation by the Indian Government in the development plans of Syria was discussed by the Indian delegation with the Minister of Petroleum, Electricity and Industrial Projects. These discussions highlighted the prospects of India providing assistance in the field of consultancy services. Apart from the preparation of feasibility studies, interest was shown by the Syrian Government for entering into licensing arrangements with Indian firms for the provision of designs. The Indian side suggested a listing of projects or areas in this field which might be of particular interest to the Syrian Government.

Indian co-operation in implementing selected development projects in Syria was also discussed. The representatives of both the Governments expressed great interest in India executing two particular projects -the setting up of a triple super phosphate plant and the construction of a railway line connecting the rock phosphate mines to Holmes. These projects had already been studied in detail by public corporations of the Indian Government and it was decided that the question of Indian participation in their construction should be actively pursued.

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The Syrian authorities expressed great interest in the signing of an Air Agreement between the two countries particularly to ensure greater air traffic and more utilisation of the new international airport recently constructed in the Syrian capital.

Shri B. R. Bhagat undertook to convey their interest to his colleague, the Minister for Civil Aviation. He also agreed to consider India's participation in the next annual trade exhibition at Damascus.

Shri B. R. Bhagat concluded his visit to Damascus with the signing of a Trade Agreement between the Government of Syria and India-the first such agreement to be effected between the two countries. On behalf of the Syrian Government, the agreement was signed by H.E. Mr. Abdul Halim Khaddam, Minister for Economy and Foreign Trade. The agreement provides for both Governments to give maximum possible facilities for the promotion of mutual trade and the strengthening of economic relations between the two countries. It also envisages further interchange of scientific knowledge and opportunities for technical training and assistance. Shri Bhagat expressed the hope which was heartily reciprocated by the Syrian authorities, that the agreement would be the precursor to considerable expansion of trade and close economic relations between the two countries, Before leaving he extended a cordial invitation to H.E. Mr. Abdul Halim Khaddam, Minister for Economy and Foreign Trade of the Syrian Government, to visit India. The invitation was thankfully accepted.

SYRIA USA INDIA

Date: Oct 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

1995

#### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Joint Statement on Indo-US Bilateral Talks

Following is the text of the, Joint State-

ment issued on October 17, 1969 after the conclusion of the bilateral talks held in Washington between India and the USA:

Representatives of the Governments of the United States and India held a second round of bilateral discussions in Washington on October 16-17, 1969. The discussions covered a wide range of subjects including matters of international importance of common interest to both countries and bilateral relations. The Indian delegation was headed by Mr. T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, and the U.S. delegation by Mr. Elliot Richardson, Under Secretary of State.

The discussions carried forward the review of world problems and bilateral relations initiated during the talks held in New Delhi in July 1968, and were held in a spirit of friendship, frankness and cordiality. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the discussions which were characterised by a greater appreciation of the factors underlying each country's policies. and by a reaffirmation of the close friendship which has been the basis of relations. between the two countries over many years.

During the talks the two delegations examined major areas of tension in the world. They exchanged views and analyses on the current situation in these areas. They examined the conditions and prospects for peace and considered ways to work together towards the peaceful resolution of international problems. This second round of bilateral talks contributed to the common objective of further strengthening the friendship between the two countries on the basis of mutual understanding and respect for each other's position. It was agreed that the next round of bilateral discussion will be held in New Delhi next year.

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**HUNGARY INDIA** 

**Date:** Nov 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

## HUNGARY

President Girl's Speech at Banquet in Honour of Hungarian President

The President of India, Shri V. V. Giri, made the following speech at a Banquet given in honour of the Hungarian President, His Excellency Mr. Pal Losonczi, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on November 11, 1969:

I am indeed very happy to welcome in our midst this evening His Excellency Mr. Pal Losonczi, President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and the distinguished members of his Government. President Losonczi is a greatly respected leader of his people. His contribution to the development of cooperative farming in his country has won him high recognition. He is accompanied by a distinguished group of leaders and officials of his country. It is indeed a matter of great privilege for me to have the President and his party visit us as good friends of our country and our honoured guests.

Mr. President, our two countries are located in different continents, and through the years our historical experiences have taken roads which are not wholly identical. Nevertheless, there is much in our past which is common and which has given us very close approach to many of today's world problems. I believe that our experiences have taught us not to take a narrow view of our particular interests, nor to seek to build our prosperity at the expense of others. In the whole range of bilateral relations between our two countries, there are today hardly any matters in which our interests conflict, and certainly there are no problems of dispute between our two countries. When we view this against the background of our different social systems, our minds inevitably look to the foundations of our friendship for each other.

#### PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

We in India have based our policy in the matter of relations with other countries on certain principles which seem to me to have stood the test of time. These principles may be summed up as respect for each other's sovereignty, and independence and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and the settlement of conflicts through peaceful methods. Mr. President, the revered Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, whose birth centenary we are celebrating this year, considered that:

"Democracy must in essence mean the art and science of mobilising the entire physical, economic and spiritual resources of all the various sections of the people in the service of the common good of all".

We believe that these attributes of democracy have an application even beyond the confines of national States, and we venture to see in them a basis for our policy of peaceful co-existence with countries other than our own, a policy which permits the flowering of the good of all societies of this world.

Mr. President, in the short time that is at your disposal in our country we hope to make it possible for you to see something of our efforts to build democracy, economic no less than political. We in India today cannot rest on our achievements until the inertia of centuries has been overcome. In this task our windows are open in all directions, and we seek to learn lessons from wherever we consider it is suitable to our needs.

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Mr. President, we watch with interest the processes current in your country aimed at expanding the social basis of State power, and the decentralisation of your socio-economic structures. We wish you god-speed in your efforts to raise the material and cultural levels of your people. We are grateful to your Government for the deep sympathy and, understanding with which you have viewed the problems in India, and for the support you have accorded us in many fields. Your support based on principle as it is, is highly valued by us.

### **DEVELOPING TIES**

Looking back, we can express satisfaction at the growth and diversification of Indo-Hungarian relations in the recent past. Our ties in trade, industrial cooperation and cultural relations are developing well. In Budapest, your famed capital, your Government was pleased to foster seminars and meetings to commemorate Mahatma Gandhi's birth centenary, and your people have been brought closer to ours in spirit and in idealism. I have no doubt that sharing the same objectives of peace and cooperation Hungary and India will develop even further in mutually fruitful relationships.

Mr. President, the Government of India is greatly lopking forward to, the opportunity for friendly and frank discussions with you and your colleagues on the many matters which are of mutual interest. We shall do our best to make your visit fruitful and enjoyable.

I now ask Your Excellencies, Ladies and gentlemen, to raise your glasses and drink a toast to the health and happiness of the President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic and Madam Losonczi, and to the prosperity of the friendly Hungarian people, and to evergrowing friendship between the peoples of India and Hungary.

HUNGARY INDIA USA

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## HUNGARY

# Reply by Hungarian President

Replying to the toast proposed by the President, Shri V. V. Giri, the Hungarian President, H.E. Mr. Pal Losonczi, said:

I thank you, Mr. President, for your kind words and for the cordial reception extended to us in the capital of India. The time spent since our arrival has been short but rich in events. We went to the shrine of Mahatma Gandhi, the great son of the Indian people and we laid our wreath with the same respect which marked the Hungarian People's commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Gandhi's birth. It was a great privilege for our country to have been chosen by the World Peace Council as the venue of the Gandhi Seminar.

The first hours we have spent with you after a flight of several thousand kilometres remind us of the ties already established between our peoples despite the vast distances. Scholars from all corners of the world congregated in Budapest to commemorate and appreciate Gandhi. It was not without merit that this mission had fallen on our country because those who studied and Propagated the arts of India and the treasures of the Indian languages included quite a number of world famous Hungarians such as Sandor Korosi Csoma, an outstanding linguist and explorer in the first place. It is the merit of Ervin Baktay, who lived a hundred years later than he, that the Hungarians have gained access to your famous epics in excellent translations. Rabindranath Tagore, a contemporary of Baktay grew so close to the Hungarian people that a promenade was named after him on the shores of our beautiful Lake Balaton where he had sought convalescence and had planted a tree to remind the traveller of him. His statue stands in the place

where he wrote these lines 43 years ago: "When I am no longer on this earth, my tree, let the ever renewed leaves of the spring murmur to the wayfarer."

Apart from scholars and poets there are politicians and economists, professors and students who are today forging closer bonds between our peoples. I think that

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by this ever-increasing co-operation we are planting trees, the life and vegetation of which will be advantageous for both peoples.

Though our relations go far back in the past their value is in the fact that their rapid development began during the two decades that followed India's attainment of independence. High level meetings have become regular. The growth of our cooperation was largely enhanced by the visit to India of the Hungarian Government delegation under the Prime Minister's leadership and particularly by the visit to Hungary of Dr. Zakir Husain, the esteemed late President of India. Last year we were glad to welcome in our country the Parliamehtary Delegation of India. The exchanges of visits by delegations of experts have proved useful to both sides. Our commercial and economic contacts develop significantly and our cultural "co-operation has' done much to promote acquaintance with each other. We believe it to be in the interest of both peoples to maintain an unbroken expansion of these manifold relations.

I think a basis for all this is provided by our good political relations as well. Our views are identical or similar in many aspects. We highly appreciate India's foreign policy and her efforts to prevent the outbreak of a world war and to secure international peace, a policy whose formulation and realization are associated with the names of so great leaders as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri. The policy of non-alignment allots to India a significant role in safeguarding peace and security primarily in Asia. At the same time we are highly appreciative

of India's interest in the consolidation of a security system in Europe. Recognition of the European realities and creation of security in Europe are of paramount importance to us as an European country and above all as a country in which capital the appeal for European security was signed by the members of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Everyone knows the intense activity India carries on in the United Nations and in the various international organization.% in the interest of progress, the liquidation of colonial rule, and of exposing the neocolonialist attempts. The progressive world highly appreciates that India takes the idea of progress in the Middle-East conflict and condemns the aggression of Israel.

In our times there are many hotbeds of war fraught with grave dangers. Among them it is the aggression and intervention of the United States of America in Viet-Nam which touched off the sharpest and wildest protest throughout the world, and increasingly so in the United States itself. In our opinion the United States must cease its aggression and withdraw its troops from the land of South Viet-Nam, and it is for the Viet-Namese people who who so heroically fight for freedom against the the strongest imperialist power in the world, to decide their own destiny. I feel that in the Present intricate international situation pregnant as it is with tensions and war dangers but also holding out hopes it is highly important for all peace-loving countries to join forces in defence of peace. The basis for such unlited efforts is laid by one more thing besides what has been said before. Namely that the vast and ancient India and small, Hungary so young in comparison to India's history share another similarity in the fact that India celebrated two years ago the 20th anniversary of her independence while Hungary is making preparations for the 25th anniversary of her liberation, of her genuine independence next year. The road opened up at nearly the same time for both countries to shape a new life amidst difficulties but according to their own ideas in

order to build brighter future for their peoples.

I propose this toast to your health, Mr. President, and of your wife Madam Giri, to the health of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and all those present, to the prosperity of the Indian people andto the friendship of our peoples.

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HUNGARY INDIA USA TOTO ITALY POLAND CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC ISRAEL FRANCE

**Date**: Nov 01, 1969

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## HUNGARY

Hungarian President's Address at Civic Reception

Following is a free translation of the address of the Hungarian President, H.E. Mr. Pal Losonczi, at the civic reception accorded to him by the Municipal Corporation of Delhi on November 12, 1969:

Mr. Mayor, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: I wish to thank you, Mr. Mayor, for your warm words of welcome. I am glad to have been given the opportunity to meet you, the leaders and citizens of the city of Delhi, at this historic place. In the long and vicissitudinous history of Red Fort it is certainly the most memorable event that Prime Minister Nehru hoisted the flag of the Republic of India here in this place on the day independence was proclaimed. That event marked the culmination of the struggle which the Indian people, led by their great sons Gandhi and Nehru, had been waging against the colonialists, and also the beginning of a new era. It is the achievements of this new era that we are now becoming acquainted with in your historic capital.

The people of India have given proof of their capability not only to struggle and suffer for freedom but also to uphold it and to score great results in constructive labour. We know the teachings of their great leaders. We know what India owes to Gandhi, whose example served to inspire resistance to tyranny, to stimulate united action and a willingness to make sacrifices. Last month, Gandhi's services were appreciated by Hungarian and foreign scholars at the International Gandhi Seminar held in our capital city Budapest, and at the session of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences dedicated to Gan--. Mr. Santhanam, his onetime associate, spoke of Gandhi to a large Hungarian audience.

Here in India we join you in commemorating the 80th anniversary of the birth of Jawaharlal Nehru. We give an esteem of the policy which he formulated and realized in practice once the young Republic of India had been established, a policy which has won your country so many adherents anti friends. The continuity of that policy was maintained by Prime Minister Shastri, whose activity was highly respected in our country. That policy is now being followed by Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. We respect her person, her resolve and consistency, and highly appreciate her activity, which earned recognition in and outside India.

The prestige of the people and leaders of India is further enhanced by the untiring efforts your government exerts for the cause of international progress and by the outstanding role the representatives of your people play at international forums in the struggle for the liquidation of the colonial system. Since the attainment of independence India's policy has been marked, by a sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind and an endeavour to give effect to the principle of solving disputed international issues by way of negotiations. The policy of non-alignment, which traditions virtually

go back to a historical past in your country, has gained acceptance.

Our countries are far apart but still it becomes only natural today for me to address you here at the historic Red Fort on behalf of the Hungarian people and to convey the greetings of the Hungarian people to you, the leaders and citizens of Delhi.

The series of meetings, which culminated in the visit to Hungary by Dr. Zakir Husain, the esteemed late President of India, are not extraordinary things but, as I see it a necessity which serves our political, economic and cultural interests, and better acquaintance with each other. And the recent visit to Budapest, by the Hon'ble Mayor of Delhi, who has been kind enough to welcome us at our festive gathering today, was another contribution to stronger contacts between the capital cities and peoples of the two countries.

Today many of us. Hungarians, travel the road on which Sandor Korosi Csoma of Hungary set out to reach India 150 years ago, where he learned and worked and, 23 years later, met his death. Sandor Korosi

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Csoma, the scholar, has a number of followers in our country.

Indology has a tradition in Hungary. Let me mention Ervin Baktay, who died a few Years ago, who made two trips to India to follow the tracks of Sandor Korosi Csoma and who did much to acquaint the Hungarian readers with the world of Indian literature and arts. He translated into Hungarian the most beautiful parts of the two great Indian epics, Mahabharata and Ramayana.

We are satisfied with the present record of our cultural relations but the future holds out a greater promise, since under the existing agreements for the next two years we expect some 70, scientific research workers, writers and artists to come to Hungary and nearly. the same number of Hungarians are looking forward to visiting you in order to

acquaint themselves with the achievements of Indian scientists.

Despite the vast distances we have witnessed the expansion of our economic relations which we find it necessary to make still closer, parallel to widening the scope of industrial cooperation in the interest of both national economies.

Our-cooperation is varied and broad in scope, the relations of our peoples good and friendly, and our governments hold similar and very often identical views on major international questions. These factors serve to reduce the distance of several thousand kilometres between our countries. India is today close to us in the strictest sense of the word, because our people follow with attention the efforts of the Indian people for social and economic progress and for a better life.

We in Hungary are, preparing for the celebration next year of the 25th anniversary of the great event: the Hungarian people were liberated from the oppression and were given the opportunity to realize their centuries old dream of becoming master of their own destiny. Once one of the most backward countries in Europe, Hungary is today a socialist country with an advanced, modern industry and agriculture. The experience of these twenty-five years rich in arduous work, explorations and achievement has taught us to have respect for the peoples which have won independence and are successful in overcominthe difficulties encountered in the, moulding of a new life. We know the achievements of the Indian people, and value highly the bonds of friendship becoming closer with each year between our peoples.

Let me express again my thanks personally to you, Mr. Mayor, and to all of you present for this grand experience, for this meeting today, which I shall always remember as a true evidence of friendship between the two peoples. I wish :you, the citizens of, Delhi, the people of India, every success and a happy life.

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## HUNGARY

Hungarian President's Television Interview

In an interview with the Television in New Delhi on November 13, 1969, the Hungarian President, His Excellency, Mr. Pal Losonczi, said:

I extend wholehearted greetings to the television viewers of India. I was glad to respond to the invitation to visit India, and I have much pleasure in taking this opportunity of speaking to you.

This visit is a great experience to myself and my party. The cordial reception, the friendly discussions, and the spell of historic buildings impress us deeply. These few days add a wealth of personal experience to our knowledge of your vast and beautiful land and its hospitable capital city Delhi.

I assign first place in our experiences to our visit to the shrine of Gandhi and to the Gandhi Darshan, the Hungarian section of which gives, I believe, an insight into our life and suggests to the visitor the way Gandhi's memory is cherished in Hungary.

In the year of the Gandhi Centenary we have done particularly much to make your great thinker generally known in

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Hungary. The scientific, cultural and social organisations of the Hungarian People's Republic have been quick to respond to the UNESCO appeal for, a, worthy celebration by member states of the 100th anniversary

of the birth of the great politician, freedom fighter and thinker. The Hungarian Commission for the Gandhi Centenary includes prominent scientists and public personalities. The World Peace Council honoured our, Capital city with, holding the International Gandhi Seminnar there. I feel this choice is a recognition also, of the already long-standing and successful work carried out by the Hungarian indologists in propagating the Indian culture and arts, in the study of Indian languages, and in the translation of the gems of Indian literature into the Hungarian language. The International Seminar was followed up by a fesitive meeting of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

I could continue the list of commemorative events but what interests you is certainly what we know about your great teacher and how we, think of him in our country. There may be all sorts of answers, for many are the commemorations, the appreciations, the recollections. I think, however, that there is one feature common to all of them, and it was formulated in the opening address of the World Peace Council at the Gandhi Seminar, in these terms. "Mahatma Gandhi is a most captivating and most appealing personality in the world history of the 20th-century, who has linked the postulates of our age in a special way with the traditional order of values of Indian society and of mankind."

After all this it is a special experience for us to be here in the land of India where Gandhi has linked together the Indians in a nation by his example inspiring united action, a willingness to accept difficulties, to show patience and perseverance, by his example which has found so many followers and which has played so great a role in creating an independent India. We pay a tribute to the memory of the man who was India's first Prime Minister who had an outstanding role in the formulation of India's. policy - Jawaharlal Nehru. We celebrate together with you the 80th anniversary of his birth, admiring the unflinching efforts which Nehru has exerted for the practical realisation of the policy of peaceful co-existence, for the termination of colonial domination, and on behalf of progress, and which has met with worldwide recognition.

Gandhi's famous biographer, Romain Rolland, called him a fanatic of truth. We know that Nehru was a consistent and sober realist in politics. Their activities, interconnected and complimentary to each other, the work of their followers and disciples, and the historical advance of the people of vast India represent a great event not also for your country and Asia but also for the entire world.

We are glad that Hungary, which has embarked on the road of socialism, has established good relations with India during the past twenty years. Our relations are characterised by friendship and a balanced cooperation in every field. Hungarian industry and agriculture have made a great stride forward during the past quarter of a century. In a relatively short span of time we have brought about a formerly unimaginable rate of development in the level of living and cultural provisions, in the establishment of new industries and in the socialist transformation of agriculture. The work was not easy, and a great deal of tasks still lie ahead of us. We know and we have seen for ourselves that you also have made significant progress. The possibility is at hand for us to shape a new modem pattern of cooperation in several fields of economy, trade and culture. I am sure that our present visit also plays a part in strengthening our relations.

As my experience shows, it is easy to find a common language with the representatives of the Indian people. This was the impression I gained last year on the occasion of the honouring visit paid to our country by Dr. Zakir Husain, the esteemed late President of India. And this is my conviction now that I have had occasion to meet President Venkata Giri and Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. It is easy for us to find a common ground, because we are thinking along similar lines on important questions. This is one more reason why we feel India close to us, which was born inde-

pendent in stubborn struggle to realise the dreams and guidance of her great teachers.

This closeness is similarly manifest in the fruitful cooperation shaped by our pori-

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ticians and scientists, economists and artists. Their activities help us to improve understanding of each other's life, creative labour, sciences, arts, culture and thinking.

The Hungarian people follow with attention and with the sympathy of a friend the development of India. I wish You every success in the attainment of your goals.

HUNGARY INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Nov 01, 1969

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## HUNGARY

Indo-Hungarian Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on November 15, 1969 at the conclusion of the State visit to India of the President of the Hungarian Peoples Republic, His Excellency Mr. Pal Losonczi:

On the invitation of His Excellency Shri. V. V. Giri, President of India, His Excellency Mr. Pal Losonezi, President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and Madame Losonezi paid a State visit to India from 11th to 16th November, 1969.

During their stay in India, President Losonczi and his party spent three days in Delhi, and visited Agra, Aurangabad, Ajanta, Ellora and Bombay. They saw a number of agricultural and industrial establishments and scientific institutions as well as historical monuments. They received a warm welcome everywhere. President Losonczi and his party expressed their high appreciation of the many-sided progress achieved by the people and Govenment of India in the economic, industrial and cultural fields

The President of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic of Hungary had meetings and talks with the President of India, Shri V. V. Giri, the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and other leading Indian personages on the development of relations and cooperation between Hungary and India, and on some present-day international problems of mutual interest. The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual trust.

Among those present at the talks were, on the Hungarian side: Dr. Matyas Timar, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Dr. Vencel Hazi, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Janos Molnar, Deputy Minister of Culture and Education; Mr. Lajos Asztalos, Deputy Minister of Metallurgy and Machine Industry; and Dr., Peter Kos, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Hungarian People's Republic to India. On the Indian side: Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Minister of Industrial Development, Internal Trade and. Company Affairs; Shri Dinesh: Singh, Minister of External Affairs; Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs; Shri . T. N Kaul, Foreign Secretary; Shri Kewal Singh, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; Shri V. H. Coelho, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; Shri K. B.Lall, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade; and Dr. S. Sinha, Ambassador of India in Budapest.

The two sides recalled the State visit of the late President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, to Hungary in June, 1968, and President Losonczi paid tribute to the memory of the late President and his deep humanity and high principles. The two sides noted with satisfaction that

friendly relations between Hungary and India have been developing to their mutual benefit. Frequent contacts between leaders of the two countries have served to-strengthen understanding and have contributed effectively to the establishment and extension of many-sided cooperation between the two countries.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the fruitful cooperation between the two, countries in the scientific and cultural fields. They expressed the hope that these cultural relations would be strengthened through an expanded programme of exchange of scientific, technical and cultural personnel. With this in view, a programme of translations of contemporary literature and the establishment of Cultural Centres in the two-countries was discussed. The two sides also agreed to explore the possibilities of a purposive use of films as media of cultural Com-

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munication. Both sides agreed in principle to conclude a separate agreement for scientific and technological exchanges, anti to consider the question of mutual, recognition of diplomas and degrees.

The two sides noted with satisfaction the growth of Indo-Hungarian trade and economic relations in recent years and the, possibilities that existed for its further expansion and diversification. Taking into account the progress made in various sectors of economy both in Hungary and in India, it was agreed that active efforts should be made to identify, new fields of technical and industrial cooperation between the two countries on the basis of complementarity as this would create a basis for a much larger volume of trade exchanges in the coming years. Aluminium irdustry, telecommunications water research and irrigation were noted as promising fields for specific coopration. It was agreed that joint study teams of experts from both sides would meet to examine the possibilities of bilateral collaboration in these and such other fields. Both sides also agreed to consider possibilities of joint cooperation in the field of production and marketing in third

countries.

In reviewing the international situation, the two sides noted the closeness of their views on several important issues. In particular, they:

Stressed the importance of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems, respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity of every State, and non-interference in the internal affairs of States and cooperation for mutual benefit;

Affirmed that the policy of non-alignment continues to serve as an important factor in lessening international tensions and maintaining world peace;

Considered that the arms race, and in particular in nuclear weapons, is a grave threat to world peace and that it is urgently necessary for all States to reach early agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control;

Expressed their support for the struggle for freedom and national independence of peoples against the remnants of the colonial system in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, territories under Portuguese domination and in other areas under colonial rule, and against political, economic and other forms of domination by one State over another;

Condemned racist policies and practices as it gross violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa:

Stressed the inviolability of historically formed frontiers, and that all disputes between States, including border and territorial disputes, should be settled only by peaceful means and not by use or threat of force;

Reaffirmed the important role of the U.N. in the maintenance of inter-

national peace and security, and stressed the urgent need for strict observance of the principles of the Charter.

The two sides expressed the hope that the important proposals made at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly, for the establishment of durable international peace and security, for disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, and the prohibition of the manufacture, storage and acquisition of chemical and bacteriological weapons, and for the Development Decade, would receive earnest consideration of all member States.

They further agreed that all States should adhere to the Geneva Protocol of 1925 regarding the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

The two sides welcomed the efforts and proposals aimed at easing international tension and bringing about an enduring peaceful cooperation among nations. In this connection, they look forward to the discussions between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. expected to take place shortly in Helsinki in the hope that these talks would lead to a cessation of the arms race, reduction of tensions and diversion of greater resources for economic development.

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They hoped that the 25th Anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations will usher in an era of peace between nations, and lead to further progress, development and disarmament, which would effectively serve the interests of all countries, promote the consideration of their independence, the growth of their national economies and the development of many-sided cooperation among them.

While reviewing the situation on the Indian sub-continent, the Prime Minister of India informed the President of Hungary about the present state of Indo-Pakistan relations. In this connection, the President of Hungary expressed the hope that Indo-Pakistan problems would be settled bilateral-

ly and peacefully in the spirit of the Tashkent Declaration.

The two sides expressed their deep concern at the continuing conflict in Vietnam. They expressed the hope that an early peaceful settlement of the conflict will be arrived at through negotiations, within the broad framework of the Geneva Agreements, ensuring the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam to enable the Vietnamese people to settle their future without any outside interference.

The two sides expressed their deep disappointment at the continuing lack of a peaceful settlement in West Asia due to Israel's refusal to abide by the Security Council Resolutions and viewed with apprehension the danger of a revival of military conflict there. They urged that all efforts should be made for speedy implementation of the Security Council Resolution or November 22, 1967.

The two sides were of the view that the establishment of European Security would lead to positive results for peace and security throughout the world. They welcomed the proposal for an early European Security Conference to consider the development of cooperation and the renunciation of force for the settlement of disputes.

The President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic and Madame Losonczi expressed their gratitude to the President of India and to the Government and people of India for the cordial and hospitable reception extended to them.

The President of the Presidential Council extended an invitation to the President of India, Shri V. V. Giri, and the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to pay State visits to the Hungarian People's Republic. These invitations were accepted with pleasure. The dates of the proposed visits will be settled through diplomatic channels.

**Date**: Nov 01, 1969

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### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Sen's Statement on Colonialism

Shri Samar Sen, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee on November 25, 1969 on the granting of independence to colonial territories:

Mr. Chairman,

It is a matter of regret and concern that in the year since the last General Assembly session, no colonial territory could be welcomed to independence. I wish we could be sure that this slackening of the pace of decolonisation were more apparent than real or that it was the inevitable consequence of past success in eliminating the major problems of colonialism. While my delegation recognises that most of the larger colonial empires of the past have been disbanded, we must also note that in many areas throughout the world colonial powers,

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are persisting in denials of freedom. This is most blatant in southern Africa, particularly in the colonies still suffering from Portuguese domination, but it is no less disturbing in numerous smaller territories in different parts of the world. There is a serious danger that because proportions of the colonial problems have been reduced by past accession to freedom, and because many of the remaining colonies are individually small in size, Administering Powers may prolong their rule by taking advantage of

any possible falling off of international attention. It is the duty of this body to prevent any such tendencies towards the continuation of colonial rule.

Of the many reasons put forward by colonial powers to action for the slow rate of economic and political development in the smaller colonial territories, the most common are that these are physically isolated, lack economic potential and are short of human as well as material resources. If all this is so, it is incumbent on the Administering Powers to cooperate with the international community in providing remedies. We feel that there remains greatest scope for such cooperation on the part of the Administering Powers. We could be provided with greater information and also with opportunities for U.N. teams to visit the areas concerned. The Administering Powers do, of course, provide some date in the usual form periodically, but this is not adequate for the U.N. to study properly the problems involved. Though most of the colonial territories today, apart from colonial areas in southern Africa discussed separately, tend to be placed in the single category of "small territories" all they have in common is this smallness. Each of the territories has its own peculiar problems, rooted in its own colonial past, and it is not possible to prescribe a general remedy for all. Although a useful debate was held earlier this year in the Special Committee on Colonialism no conclusions could be reached. However, the Committee did bring out the problems and possibilities in each territory and these need to be studied further. For this we need further data and also need to send U.N. missions. The refusal to admit such missions on the part of the Administering Powers cannot but be a major obstacle to decolonisation, and we would like to urge the Administering Powers to adopt a more constructive attitude.

We particularly regret to note that in a recent case an Administering Power changed the status of a territory from that of a colony to one of an Associated States without any U.N. observer being allowed in the territory, despite a specific request by the Special Committee on Colonialism. The very least that the Administering Power should have done at a time which was supposedly a turning point in the history of a colonial people was to allow the U.N. mission to visit the territory and observe the act of self-determination claimed by the Administering Power. By refusing such a mission the Administering Power has left the U.N. in doubt about the act and has aggravated a problem that might otherwise have been satisfactorily resolved.

We believe that the function of the U.N. in the process of decolonisation is primarily to ascertain and give effect to the wishes of the inhabitants of the colonial territory. It is not its function to impose pre-conceived solutions upon these territories but rather to assist in the implementation of whatever views the people of a given territory might express in regard to their own political future, We also appreciate that for a very few territories some special type of political future may need to be evolved. I would like to emphasise, however, that in all such cases the wishes of the inhabitants must be paramount and we cannot accept the arbitrary assertion by an Administering Power without the United Nations having been associated at first hand in such cases as it may desire to be associated with. If an Administering Power does not cooperate with the U.N. in this respect, we feel that their actions can only lead to more serious problems in the future.

In regard to the economic backwardness of the smaller territories which is the most common excuse used by the Administering Powers for delaying independence, it is an alarming paradox that while the colonial territories concerned remain poor, the colonial power or some other outside agency has been growing rich from local resources. An example of this is the exploitation of the phosphate resources of Ocean Island in the

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Gilbert and Ellice Group. True, the British Phosphate Commissioners which manage the operations purports to be a "non-profit" organisation; true, also in recent years the royalties paid to the islanders for their phosphates have been raised considerably to more equitable level, but it is the non-profit organisation which itself decides what "non-profit" means; and the belated increase in royalties can be a small solace to these islanders when the phosphate deposits have been exploited so extensively already that they will be exhausted in the foreseeable future, and the island would then be considered lacking in economic potential.

This is just one example of the way economic exploitation by the Administering Power has brought about the economic weakness now advanced as an excuse for delaying independence. We certainly do not say that all foreign economic interests are harmful but we do believe that in colonial territories foreign economic interests may cause continuing harm unless there is a clear and persistent effort by the colonial power to reorientate its basic economic policy for the colony in the colony's interest rather than in its own. Furthermore, there has to be a similar effort to ensure participation of local personnel in key positions as well as local majority capital participation.

As regards the lack of adequate trained personnel, we recognise the problem and would like to stress the need for further effort in meeting it. My country is already providing some facilities as it can for training personnel and we hope to be able to accommodate more in the future. We would appeal to others and particularly to the Administering Power to expand the facilities they can provide for such training. We also feel that such training programmes should be expanded by the specialised agencies. A good beginning has been made in this field. Nevertheless, we feel that more specialised agencies could be associated with assistance to colonial peoples. It is only a matter of working out a concrete programme. We would like in particular to refer to the possibilities of cooperation with the OAU, which would be invaluable for colonial territories in Africa. While speaking of asisstance by specialised agencies, Mr. Chairman, I cannot but recall the outstanding contribution of the United Nations High Commissioner for

# Refugees.

If one of the principal reasons why the Administering Powers stay on in colonial territories is economic, another is strategic. This, if anything, is of even greater concern to the international community. My country's stand on the question of military bases in colonial territories is well-known. In particular we have been consistently opposed to the establishment of the so-called British-Indian Ocean Territory in the Indian Ocean. We feel that any military base in this region could only serve to heighten tension, as would the continuation of any colonial territory for strategic purposes.

Mr. Chairman, we are not oblivious to the progress that has already been made in decolonisation. We recognise that even now there are some heartening developments. I must in particular mention the consultations that have been going on between the principal parties in Fiji in an effort to find a mutually acceptable basis for the political future of this territory. We hope that concrete results will be achieved soon. Nevertheless, here and even more elsewhere progress is very slow. We in this body must be careful not to let our own efforts slow down. The concrete suggestions made by the U.N. in the past and the pressure of world opinion generated here have been invaluable in assisting a large number of colonial territories to achieve their freedom. The problems that remain to be tackled may be difficult, but they are not insurmountable and we believe that our continuing efforts, if the Administering Powers will cooperate, can enable us to look forward to the complete end of colonialism.

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INDIA USA FIJI CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date:** Nov 01, 1969

# Volume No

## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

# Shri Arjun Singh's Statement on UNCTAD

Shri Arjun Singh, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Second (Economic and Financial) Committee on November 3, 1969 on the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development:

Mr. Chairman, allow me at the outset to express the gratitude of my delegation to the distinguished Secretary General of UNCTAD, Mr. Perez Guerrero, for his lucid presentation of the report of the Trade and Development Board on its sessions held in 1969. During the brief period of his stewardship, Mr. Guerrero has shown an abiding faith. in the objectives of, UNCTAD and a remarkable zeal in preessing forward for their realization. The Conference owes a great deal to his. endeavours, particularly to his gentle but firm persuasiveness, for the modest results achieved by it during the last few months.

Since its inception, UNCTAD has been grappling with a number of specific issues. In our pre-occupation with these, we cannot afford to forget, even for a moment, that these are after all the means to the end of ushering in a fair and more equitable economic order. The present world economic system is encumbered and inhibited by numerous built-in patterns of injustice and inequity. We have only a decade or two to do away with the decadence and the anomalies that have come down to us as legacies of the past centuries. During the next Development Decade we must be able to see the emergence of the new patterns of international trade and a new basis of economic relationship among the nations of the world.

We have to assess the achievements or

failures of UNCTAD in the light of this broad perspective, which derives both from the U.N. Charter and a number of resolutions of the first and second Conferences as well as of this Assembly.

The Second Conference considered a comprehensive programme of work for international cooperation in the field of trade and development. During the time at its disposal and in the circumstances prevailing at that time, the Conference could agree only on some elements of this programme. It therefore entrusted the continuing machinery with the task of finding solutions to the unresolved issues and devising means for implementing the measures agreed upon during the Conference. It called upon the member States to explore urgently ways and means of assisting the continuing machinery of UNCTAD to discharge the responsibility placed upon it after the second session.

We had fervently hoped that the continuing machinery of UNCTAD would be able to discharge this responsibility before its 9fh session and well before the end of 1969. It was, after all, quite reasonable to expect that the Board and its committees should not take more than a year and a half in resolving issues which were considered to be mature enough for decision in the second Conference itself. That is why the end of 1969 was put as the dateline for the implementation of some of the most important recommendations of the Conference. It was believed that the unfinished task of the Sixtees should be completed in the Sixtees itself so that the Seventees could be devoted to seeking the implementation of agreed measures and to reaching out to new areas of agreement, new patterns of international trade and a new and dynamic system of international economic relationship.

It was in view of this expectation from the continuing machinery of UNCTAD that the President of the Second UNCTAD stated in his address to the 8th session of the Trade and Development Board, "an awesome responsibility rests on the Board," and he further added: "I cannot, however, help sharing with you my apprehension that our performance may be dubbed by those for whom we work as too little-too late."

The report of the Trade and Development Board on its session during 1969 demonstrates that the warning given by the President of the Conference could not have been more timely. In fact, in spite of this warning, the continuing machinery of

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UNCTAD failed to live up to the expectations of the member States. I do not intend to atempt a detailed review of the progress; made so far. I would only draw the attention of the Committee to some of the important issues remitted by the Conference to the continuing machinery and which still remain unresolved. For example, according to the Conference resolution 16 (11), the Secretary General of UNCTAD was requested to carry out studies and hold consultations concurrently for all commodities mentioned in that resolution in order to achieve practical results by the end of 1969. In spite of this, we are faced with a situation today where an international agreement on cocoa, in spite of very extensive and protracted consultations, is still out of our grasp. We have not so far been able to devise any arrangement to halt the continuing decline in the prices of tea, which is causing great concern to my country and to other tea-producing developing countries. The studies and consultations on other primary commodities, such as iron ore, oil seeds, oils and oil cakes, have not reached a stage where they can yield practical results in terms of not only reversing the trend of decline in the foreign exchange earnings of the developing countries from these commodities, but also increasing such earnings.

It is true that some conceptual advance has been made on issues such as diversification, pricing policy, and the problem posed by the threat of synthetics and substitutes to natural products exported by developing countries. We are, however, still waiting for practical measures, in relation to individual commodities, for the implementation of the agreement reached on these

issues. On the other hand, proposals calling for practical action such as the liberalization of trade in primary commodities of export interest to developing countries and the establishment of a fund for research into new uses of natural products facing threat from synthetics and substitutes, have not even been considered and are still in the process of being passed back and forth between the Trade and Development Board and the Committee on Commodities. The same has been the fate of numerous other proposals, particularly those relating to the liberalization of imports of manufactures and semi-manufactures from developing countries, improvement in the terms and conditions of aid, the establishment of an interest equalization fund, assistance for schemes of trade promotion among developing countries, arrangement for providing export credits to developing countries, and a host of measures in the field of invisibles, such as shipping, insurance and tourism.

We have also been greatly concerned at the recent trend in some developed countries towards the reversal of the pro,cess of liberalisation and towards protectionism. The distinguished Secretary General of UNCTAD, in his statement at the ninth session of the Board, reminded us that, "openly protectionist tendencies have been evinced with an energy worthy of a better cause." This protectionism threatens the prospects of some of the most important export products of the developing countries. particularly those in which they are able to compete in the domestic markets of developed countries. One may cite the case of cotton textiles as an example very much in point. We would urge the developed countries at least to maintain the standstill situation and at least not to impair the present feeble. position of the developing countries in world trade.

The President of the second UNCTAD, while presenting the report of the Conference to the twenty-third session of the-General Assembly stated: "It cannot be said that the second Conference totally missed the opportunity provided to it." In making: this statement he had in mind the two deci-

sions arrived at the Conference, namely, the unanimous agreement to implement a scheme of generalized, non-discriminatory and non-reciprocal preferences in favour of the developing countries, and the acceptance of the target of one per cent of the GNP of the developed countries as financial transfer to developing countries. The developing countries, as much as the developed, have, reasons to be concerned that difficulties are being faced in the implementation of even these two unanimously agreed decisions. On preferences, it was decided, in the second Conference that the aim should be "to settle the details of the arrangements in the course of 1969". Resolution 61(IX) of the Trade and Development Board recog-

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nises that this aim is not likely to be ful-filled. Similarly, in spite of the General Assembly resolution 2415(XXIII) and the concrete commitments of some developed countries, other developed countries have not accepted 1972 or any other dateline for the attainment of the one per cent target. In fact, some of them have receded further from their performance, relative to their gross national income, only a few years ago.

Mr. Chairman, with the continuing machinery of UNCTAD still unable to resolve the bulk of the outstanding issues remitted to it, it is not surprising that hardly any worthwhile progress has been made by the Trade and Development Board in formulating the contribution of UNCTAD to the strategy for the Second Development Decade. We agree that in a period of two weeks or so which was the average duration of the resumed 8th and the second part of the 9th sessions of the Board, it was impossible to complete negotiations on the vast range of subjects falling within the jurisdiction of UNCTAD). However, we would like to underline that our difficulties do not arise from the fact that the resumed 8th and the second part of the 9th sessions of the Board were too short to reach agreement on outstanding issues, but from the fact that it has not been possible to resolve these issues during the course of more than a year and a half since the second UNCTAD.

In terms of paragraph 5 of the General Assembly resolution 2411(XXIII), the Trade and Development Board was requested Lo continue its effort to reach maximum degree of agreement on issues which were remitted to it by the second Conference and which are of vital importance to the elaboration of the international development strategy. The Trade and Development Board has so far failed to comply with this request of the General Assembly. An attempt on the part of the Board, not to reach prior agreement on policy measures and to prepare, as suggested by some developed countries, only a long-term programme of activities as its contribution to the Decade, will not be enough to cover this failure; it would only result in frustrating the whole exercise of the formulation of an international development strategy. For, it should be evident that concrete commitments with regard to policy measures in the field of trade and aid, not only constitute, by themselves, the basic elements of the strategy but also they would decisively influence agreement on other areas such as agriculture, industry, health, education, employment. It would, obviously, be important to ensure that the developing countries are able to protect their economies from external vulnerability and increase their foreign exchange earnings, which play a crucial role in the development of many sectors of the economy.

We believe that it is still possible for UNCTAD to make its contribution to the strategy for the next Decade. This will, however, depend critically on what can be achieved during the next few months. The contribution of UNCTAD will depend upon its ability to deal at least with the following outstanding issues on an urgent basis.

First of all, we all must strive to adhere to the time-table agreed upon in the second UNCTAD for putting into effect a scheme of generalised, non-discriminatory preferences. We would therefore appeal to all the developed countries to make as specific and concrete offers as possible, to OECD before the 6th November, to ensure that these offers are sent by the OECD to UNCTAD, in at least some form, before 15th November

and to participate in discussions with us according to the time-table agreed upon at the 9th session of the Board. Discussion of even an incomplete scheme of preferences in a wider forum, involving both developed and developing countries, would have many advantages. First of all, submission of the offers to UNCTAD would facilitate the convening of various working groups to deal with the details of the arrangement. Secondly, it would provide a spur to developing countries themselves to surmount the difficulties that might exist among them and finally, the presence of developing countries in the negotiations, by serving as a continuing reminder of the urgent need for a scheme of preferences, might help the developed countries in resolving their own differences. It is impossible to overemphasize the urgency of this matter.

An agreement to implement a scheme of preferences would not only go a long way towards restoring the confidence in inter-

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national economic cooperation which seems to be lacking at present but might also impart the first real significance to the strategy for the next Decade. It may not be possible to devise a perfect and full proof arrangement during the next few months. What is important is to launch a scheme which proves effective from the point of view of securing an increase in the export earnings and promoting a rapid industrialisation of the developing countries. The scheme will naturally contain provision for evaluation and revision which will provide an opportunity for eliminating deficiencies and introducing further refinements.

Secondly, it is essential to step up the activities in the commodity field to comply with the time-table laid down in resolution 16(II) of UNCTAD. This would involve intensified action on a wide front covering practically all the commodities under consideration, with a view to negotiating appropriate international arrangements or agreements on as many of them as possible.

Thirdly, no planning, howsoever loose

and flexible, for the Second Development Decade, would be viable unless there is an assurance of the fulfilment of the one per cent target by a definite dateline. The dateline of 1972 has been accepted by many developed countries and recommended by the General Assembly in terms of its resolution 2415 (XXIII) and by the Committee for Development Planning. All available expert opinion and distinguished and eminent authorities such as the President of the World Bank, the Committee for Development Planning and the Pearson Commission believe that the difficulties in the way of achieving this target by 1972 can be overcome if the governments concerned show the necessary political will. Referring to the temporary difficulties of some of the developed countries, the distinguished Secretary General of UNCTAD stated in his address to the 9th session of the Trade and Development Board, "Human needs cannot be assigned a lower place in the scale of priorities than the balance of payments or the budget. Neither the one nor the other, nor any similar consideration have prevented man from exploring space and reaching the moon. Neither should they be used to hold back the achievements necessitated by development."

Fourthly, it is also of paramount importance for the success of the Decade to agree on a target for the official component of the aid flow and agree on a date-line for its implementation. This measure has been urged in General Assembly resolution 2415(XXIII) and both by the Committee for Development Planning and the Pearson Commission. Agreement on a target for the official component of aid has become all the more imperative because of the trend in the flow of financial resources to developing countries during the past two years, when practically all the increase in such transfers were accounted for by an increase in the flow of private capital and when, in 1968, there was, for the first time In many years, a decline in absolute terms in the flow of official assistance to developing countries Nothing would help in changing what Mr. Lester Pearson has called, "the prevalent attitude of disengagement, and even

rejection" than a commitment by developed countries to attain by a particular date a target for the official component of aid flow, which will constitute the direct reflection of the political will of governments to tackle, the task of development.

Fifthly, it should now be possible to work out and implement a scheme of supplementary financing on the basis of the guidelines laid down by the Inter-Governmental Group on Supplementary Financing at its 5th session. The acceptance of a discretionary scheme of supplementary financing represents a compromise by the developing countries. This they did in order to get over the hurdles encountered in the consideration of the original scheme prepared by the World Bank and with the hope that the modified version of the scheme would enable the Bank promptly to work out the details of the scheme and put it into operation. My delegation is of the view that the revised scheme of supplementary financing would work to the benefit of developing countries only if its resources are additional to those which are made available for basic development finance.

Lastly, time has come to establish a link between Special Drawing Rights and additional development assitsance either through a decision in the I.M.F. at the next Fund/Bank meeting or through a collective-decision of developed countries in some other

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form. This long-standing demand of the developing countries has acquired an added significance after the creation of the Special Drawing Rights, in view of the conviction of some of the developed countries themselves that such a link should be forged and, most important of all, in the light of the unanimous recommendation of an expert group, consisting of some of the most eminent economists of the world coming from both developed and developing countries, in favour of the link.

Mr. Chairman, the five or six measures that I have listed i.e. preferences, commodity arrangements, target date for the fulfilment of the aid volume target, a target for the official component of aid, implementation of the scheme of Supplementary Financing and the establishment of a link between the additional liquidity being created under S.D.R. and development finance, is the minimum that is expected by way of UNCTAD's contribution prior to Second Development Decade or very early during the Decade.

In addition, it would be necessary to make a determined effort to resolve the other outstanding issues carried over from the second session of the Conference, before the commencement of the third ssssion.

The task during the third session should be to devise ways and means of implementing the agreement on all these issues during the course of the Second Development Decade. The third session of the Conference should also consider what new measures would be necessary for the fulfilment of the objective of the Decade. Considering the numerous deficiencies and imbalances in the existing world economic and commercial structure, the third and the subsequent sessions of the Conference during the next Decade would have vast areas to choose from

We have also to keep the UNCTAD machinery constantly under review in order to find out whether our inability to take positive action is due to any deficiences of the continuing machinery. As a result of the initiatives at the second Conference, some improvements were brought about in the continuing machinery at the seventh session of the Trade and Development Board and last year by the General Assembly itself. We are glad to know that some of these improvements have been effectively utilised. In this connection we particularly welcome the decision at the ninth session of the Board to convene a special session of the Board in early 1970 to consider the final report of the Special Committee on Preferences. We hope that in keeping paragraph 10 of the Resolution 45(VII) of the Trade and Development Board and operative paragraph 4(a) of the General Assembly resolution 2402 (XX111), this session would

be held at a Ministerial level.

We believe that there are further possibilities of utilising the improvements made last year in the UNCTAD machinery. For example, we feel that the provision in paragraph 5 of the General Assembly resolution 2402 (XXIII), stating that in special situations, the convening of ad hoe meetings of countries concerned at a high political level may secure more rapid progress in reaching generally acceptable conclusions on basic issues of substance, holds great promise. If the circumstances so warrant, we should not fail to utilise this provision. We also feel that the Secretary General of UNCTAD should be given more enhanced authority. than he presently enjoys, in taking new initiatives.

Though improvements in the institutional machinery can facilitate the exercise of political will in the process of decision making, they cannot be a substitute for political will of Governments. For this, we have to rely, more than on anything else, on the Governments of the developed countries. In this connection, if I may be permitted a slight diversion, we regard President Nixon's address on the 31st October, to the Inter-American Association, of considerable significance. The speech of the President of the United States gives rise to the hope that henceforth more positive interest will be taken by the U.S. Administration in tackling the problems of underdevelopment of the world's economic periphery. We trust that this positive interest will be reflected in the contribution that the entire developing world is expecting from the United States, to the international development strategy for the 70s.

Mr. Chairman, I have attempted briefly to put forward before the Committee some

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of the urgent and imperative tasks that await completion. We know there are many obstacles to be surmounted, national inhibitions to be overcome, competing and at times conflicting trade interests to be reconciled and above all the conscience of the world community to be roused. We are also conscious of the fact that it is not an easy task, but we cannot escape it either, because the UNCTAD in spite of all the limiting factors just has to succeed if the second Decade of Development that we are about to herald is not to turn into a Decade of despair.

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# **Volume No**

1995

## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri K. P. Saksena's Statement on Problem of Human Environments

Shri K. P. Saksena, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Second Committee on November 10, 1969 on the problems of human environmemts:

Mr. Chairman:

In my present intervention, I do not wish to dwell at length on the urgency and magnitude of the problem of human environments partly because the mounting concern of Governments, including my own, with the deterioration of the environments had already found expression in the debate on the subject in the Economic and Social Council as also in the 23rd session of the General Assembly. The report of the Secretary-General contained in document E/4667 very well emphasizes the significance of the problem which it rightly refers as a crisis of world-wide proportion involving developed and developing countries alike.

However, I wish to restress the gravity of the crisis of human environments by re-

calling the stern warnings which have been made by several prominent scientists and sociologists to the effect that the earth is rapidly becoming unfit for human life. Dr. Renes Jules Dubos, Professor of environmental biomedicine at Rockefeller University, New York, addressing the 22nd World Health Assembly in Boston said, and I quote:

"Industrial technology has introduced into modern life dangers without any precedent in the biological past of the human species ... I doubt whether man can survive another century on this planet if we continue to destroy our environment."

Ironically this warning, Mr. Chairman, was made to the World Health Assembly during the week in July this year when all eyes throughout the world were set on what could be described as the greatest effort of "man-made" technology to conquer a planet in the outer-space, millions of miles away from the earth.

Mr. Chairman, in our zeal to exploit the wealth nature has given us and to establish mastery of man over nature we have also acquired arrogance enough to abuse nature and as such we are inadvertently creating seeds of our destruction. Just to cite one instance. Oxygen is one of the most critical element of human life on our planet; without it we perish. As we know oxygen comes from planets, trees, grass and much more than that, it comes from plant within the sea. Yet today rivers and seas have become vast dumping grounds for all manners of waste. In the United States alone this wastes amount to 165 million tons a day. We spread, thanks to modem technology, a substance on land to increase our crops, without caring that the same substance destroys the marine plants which produce the vast bulk of our life sustaining oxygen. The lesson is clear: Man must co-operate with, and not abuse or defy, nature. If we are to ensure an adequate quality of life for mankind we must not only understand the physical principles which determine our life on earth but we must be prepared to abide

by them in our use of environments.

Fairfield Osborne, who was one of the great crusaders in this century for what we would now call environment of understanding, wrote some 20 years ago and I quote:

"There is only one solution: man must recognise the necessity of co-operating

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with nature. He must temper his demands and use and conserve the natural living resources of this earth in a manner that alone can provide for the continuation of this civilization. The final answer is to be found only through comprehension of the enduring processes of nature. The time for defiance is at end "

In such circumstances, it is therefore gratifying to note that concern on this state of affairs is, of late, growing among the international community to set right the wrongs before it is too late. In this context we cannot but pay tributes to the Government of Sweden for taking the initiative of bringing this all-important question to the forum of the United Nations. Mr. Chairman, I wish to avail this opportunity to express my delegation's sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General, the members of the ad hoc working group of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology and to others who assisted the Secretary-General in the preparation of such a lucid, comprehensive and informative report as we have before us. The report very well identifies the basic problems involved, what is being done at national and international levels and finally how to formulate a concerted programme of action. We are in general agreement with the plan outlined for the International Conference in 1972, as also with the revised budget estimate contained in document A/707. My delegation however wish to make a few observations.

The Secretary-General in his report has pointed out to three phenomena which have led to the present crisis. These are:

- one the explosive growth of human population.
- two the poor integration of modern technology - itself growing at an explosive rate - with environmental requirements, and
- three the unplanned extension of urban areas aggravated by the deterioration of agriculture land

In view of my delegation there is yet another phenomenon which is typical in case of developing countries the economic factor and, to a certain degree, the lack of technical know-how. I have in mind, Mr. Chairman, thousands and thousands of small villages which are still typical of the third world. For instance, water pollution and unhygienic environment is the key problem not because of smoke and noxious fumes, not because of debris and toxic materials, but because of lack of, for example, sewage system and the non-availability of distilled water storage system. In big cities similar environmental problems, if not of the same intensity as characterize the industrially advanced countries, are confronting the developing countries. Most of them can be resolved but because of economic factor and lack of technical know-how.

Mr. Chairman, let me stress here one aspect of the problem of human environments. There are many issues which involve the developed and developing countries alike, but there are others which are typical of the two worlds. This aspect has well been noted in the Secretary-General's report but has not claimed adequate emphasis. The problem of the industrially developed countries, in the main, is how to prevent the deterioration of human environment resulting from technological advancement and how to curb the unfavourable consequences of what has already happened.

In case of developing countries, on the other hand, the problem of human environ-

ments involves, in the first instance, how to use modern technology to avoid environmental depradations. It has been argued that the problem of developing countries is one of development and not of environment. Nothing could be further from the truth-Mr. Chairman, in the very process of development the problem of environments is inextricably involved. Without concerted action and planning the same problems which now concern the developed world are emerging in the developing world and this in addition to the ones already existing. What is urgent in the developing countries is the necessity of preventive action. For instance, ways must be devised to use fertilizers and pesticides in the developing countries in such a way as not to damage the potentiality of their soils and natural ecological systems. Ways must be devised

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to ensure that the present transition from primarily agricultural to industrial economies avoids the psychological, sociological and physical problems which attended industrialisation in those countries which are now highly advanced. Provision must be made for housing sanitation, recreational facilities and adequate supplies of distilled water and so on.

The primary need for prerventive measures in the developing countries does not, necessarily imply that environmental problems similar to those that have emerged in the developed countries are not present in the former. Indeed, it is ungustionable that if the developing countries do not pay sufficient attention to the environment while undergoing economic development, the ultimate point of "criticality" for the human race as a whole, will be reached much earlier. However, their efforts in this field can only be commensurate with their existing educational, social, technical and economic infra-structure. Therefore, the main task of international cooperation in this field should be primarily directed to enable the developing countries to have access to the type of advanced technology which would not only facilitate rapid industrialisation, but also take care, in the process

of industrialisation, of the broad environmental problems.

Another aspect of the problem which my delegation wishes to lay special stress on is the urgent need for environmental education in all countries. We are glad to note that UNESCO is becoming increasingly concerned with the scientific aspects, as well as with the education and cultural aspects of the global environments and of its relationship with man. Following its very successful intergovernmental conference in 1968 on the "Rational Use and Conservation of the Resources of the Bioshere" the subiect of "Man and his Environments" has become a major theme in UNESCO's programme of activities. It will be desirable that UNESCO as well as other related UN bodies assist developing countries in establishing research institutes and laboratories in particular, for the study of the problems involved.

As of now, much of the research work done is conducted on a fragmentary basis and without an integrated approach at the national level or coordination at the international level. While there is need for further research in certain areas, many problems of the human environment can almost certainly be overcome by wise and proper management, and by making use of information already available. Such management must involve not only the preventive ideas of protecting the environment from degradation but the positive approach of rational utilization and improvement for future generations. This in turn requires proper administrative measures and practices, enlightened economic and social planning and support of appropriate national legislation and international co-operation.

We believe these issues inter-alia will be fully thrashed out in the proposed Conference. Mr. Chairman, while details of the structure and contents of the conference should be, as proposed by the Secretary-General and recommended by ECOSOC, the task of a preparatory Committee, I think it would be helpful at this stage to examine in broad terms as to the purposes and aims of the Conference. in this regard, we agree

with the Secretary-General's report that due to the vastness of the subject, it would be necessary to define the delimitation of Scope; at the same time, it is highly desirable, in the opinion of my delegation, that all essential aspects of the problem be discussed. The report rightly indicates emphasis on physical and ecological approach but the Conference may not fulfil its objectives if it fails to examine the very complex sociocultural and psychological problems relating to human environments.

In this connection, I wish to invite the attention of the Committee to the report of the Secretary-General, Chapter 1. In an attempt to identify the main problem, the report found it convenient to discuss the issue under three categories:

- Problems of human settlement which are mainly those affecting cities and for which action is primarily the responsibility of national governments, or city and local authorities.
- (11) territorial problems concerned the land areas including non-oceanic and coastal water for which action
- must primarily lie with national governments, though they also involve regional aspects.
  - (111) Global problems which potentially affect all countries and which require international agreement and action to overcome them.

Mr. Chairman, if the classification of the problems as I just described, and it is taken from the first chapter of the Secretary General's report, is accepted as a guideline to the scope of the proposed Conference, then the usefulness of the Conference, my delegation suspects, will be seriously impaired. It is the firm view of my delegation that mere identification of the problems at national or international level is not sufficient. A concerted programme of action and recommendations as appropriate should

also be the main concern of the Conference.

### INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SWEDEN

**Date**: Nov 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

# INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri A. S. Gonsalves' Statement on West Irian

Shri A. S. Gonsalves, Member, Indian Delegation to the U.N., made the following statement in the General Assembly on November 19, 1969 on the agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian):

I would wish to make a few brief remarks on the subject now under our consideration. When the item concerning the Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West Irian came up for consideration before the General Assembly at its 1810th meeting field on 13 November 1969, the representative of Dahomey, on a point of order, requested postponement of action by the Assembly on this question exclusively on the ground that his and other delegations would like to have sufficient time to study the relevant reports. He stated that his request was in no way an indication of any ill-will whatsoever towards the subject under discussion. He had on that occasion displayed his customary courtesy in raising his point of order only after the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and the Netherlands had spoken, and he was gracious enough to limit the requested postponement to a period of one week.

The President of the General Assembly then proposed a postponement of six days in a spirit of compromise, and her proposal was unanimously accepted by the Assembly. It is in accordance with that decision that we are assembled here today.

It is not my intention to go into the substance of the question under consideration in any detail. The representatives of Malaysia, Burma, Kuwait and Japan have dealt with the substance of the problem adequately. I need only say that we share their views fully. The representative of Algeria explained the problem in its historical perspective only too brilliantly. I only wish to point out that the General Assembly is merely being called upon to take note of the report of the Secretary-General in regard to the act of free choice which has been undertaken in West Irian. It should be made clear that the draft resolution does not seek the approval of the membership of the United Nations of the report. In the practice of the United Nations in the past an interpretation has emerged to the effect that the process of taking note of a particular document involves indirect approval of that document. I think it can be stated quite clearly that that is not the intention in the present case. It is our understanding that the co-sponsors of the draft resolution would be prepared to make this position quite clear.

It is clear from the report before us, that, with certain inescapable and freely acknowledged limitations, the act of free choice has taken place in which the representatives of the population of West Irian have expressed their wish to remain with Indonesia. It now remains for the General Assembly merely to take cognizance of this decision. It would not be appropriate or proper for the General Assembly to question

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the methods or procedures followed for exercising the act of free choice in a part of a sovereign State in, the implementation of an agreement to which that State is a party. These are matters exclusively within the jurisdiction of the sovereign state. The decisions which have been taken in implementation of the terms of the agreement are final and are not subject to further discussion by the United Nations. The question under our consideration cannot be regarded as of self-determination in the normal understanding of the term, since West Irian must be regarded as being an integral part of the sovereign State of the Republic of Indonesia. Having said that, I need only refer to, the assurances extended by the Government of Indonesia that it will pay special attention to the promotion of the welfare and progress of its people in West Irian.

It should also be pointed out that the action undertaken by the Government of Indonesia under the provisions of article 18 of the agreement between that Government and the Government of the Netherlands made it possible for the act of free choice to take place. This action must be regarded as a method that is appropriate for the special circumstances of West Irian and cannot under any circumstances be considered a precedent for the process of the exercise of the right of self-determination under completely different conditions in territories still under colonial domination.

It is our sincere hope that, having had the necessary time to study the relevant reports and taking into account the important fact that the Foreign Ministers of the Netherlands and Indonesia have been detained in New York pending finalization of this item, the Assembly will proceed to vote on the draft resolution, submitted for our consideration without undue delay. It is equally our hope that the amendments presented to the draft resolution I will not be pressed to a vote. Consultations are at present taking place to produce a mutually acceptable text of a draft resolution. We should like to express the hope that these efforts will produce early and successful results.

INDIA INDONESIA THE NETHERLANDS GUINEA USA BURMA JAPAN KUWAIT MALAYSIA ALGERIA

**Date:** Nov 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

#### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri M. Dubey's Statement on Operational Activities of U.N.

Shri M. Dubey, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Second (Economic) Committee on the operational activities of the United Nations on November 14, 1969:

Mr. Chairman,

Every year in this Committee, consideration of the agenda item" operational activities of the United Nations" provides us the opportunity of reviewing the activities of the United Nations in the pre-investment and technical assistance field. But more important than that, it gives us the occasion to pay tributes to the distinguished Administrator of the UNDP, to the Commissioner for Technical Assistance and to their devoted and distinguished colleagues. We all recognise that the distinguished Administrator of the UNDP, through his years rather decades of unfailing and undaunted service, has come to symbolize international. efforts for development. The statement that he made yesterday was typical of the man: a man who has persistently tried to inspire faith among those who have been assailed by doubts; a man wo refuses to lower his sight in spite of the disillusionment, withdrawal and, as Mr. Pearson said, even rejection by certain countries. Nothing could be more characteristic of this man than the concluding sentence of the statement that he made yesterday. Referring to the Second Development Decade, he said: "It would be a period which could see the greatest forward surge that the community of man has ever known, towards the goal

of equal opportunity for every child born on this planet." The whole statement of the distinguished Administrator rings with vibrant and inspiring confidence. Mr. Paul Hoffman, by his personal example, has

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shown to all of us that in this momentous task of international economic cooperation for development there is no place for anyone who is not an incorrigible optimist.

In his statement, the distinguished Administrator presented to us, in a very telling manner, the profile of the UN Development Programme as it stands at the end of the First Development Decade. We are all impressed by the maturity and sophistication which the Programme has come to acquire over the years, as well as by the dynamic nature of its evolution. While attempts are constantly being made by the Administrator and his colleagues to improve the quality of the existing Programme, UNDP is, at the same time, trying to branch out in new areas of activities and seeking out for new roles and functions. We welcome these developments. Considering the dynamic nature of the process of developmnt, UNDP to be relevant to the constantly evolving needs of the developing countries, has to go in for the latest and the best in the field of development.

However, in this context, we think it necessary to remind ourselves of the cardinal principles which have guided the Programme. One of the most important principles is that any programme for development should not get into activities which have a mere substitution effect. The task of development is so stupendous and there is such a tremendous scope for doing more, and still not doing enough, that it will be tragic for any institution to try to replace the efforts of others.

The second cardinal principle is the importance that must be attached to the priorities of national governments. There is always considerable scope for rendering advice to governments regarding their priorities, even helping them in selecting their

priorities. But once we start sitting in judgment at the top on what is best for the developing countries we enter into a very sensitive field indeed!

My delegation has considered it important to underline these two principles because of our concern for the future of the Programme and because of our appreciation of the tremendous contribution made by it to the development of the developing countries. Considering the excellent job that has already been accomplished, we want to ensure that the Programme does not get involved in sterile controversy of value judgment or controversies relating to the role of different agencies or the basis of the financing of development programme through UN organizations.

Development is a complex task and it requires that the problems in all the sectors should be tackled simultaneously and in a balanced manner. It requires pre-investment, investment and post-investment activities. It calls for convergent measures by both developed and developing countries and international institutions, with the primary responsibility resting with the developing countries themselves. It involves issues as well as concrete projects. When we come to issues, we should realize that the material implications of some of the issues which, on the surface, might appear vague and intangible, can run into billions and billions of dollars. This can happen if there is a slight shift in the protectionist policies of developed countries with regard to certain commodities. The over-all effect of the resolution of these issues might be a qualitative improvement in the world economic relationship. We have to beat, all these things in mind when we think of the problem of development.

We know that 85 per cent of the resources for development come from the efforts of the developing countries themselves. We also should be aware that recent developments, particularly the slackening of international developmental efforts, have obliged the developing countries to show firmer and greater determination to be in-

creasingly self-reliant, and, if necessary, even to go alone. In this context, in order to revive the faltering spirit of inlet-national cooperation, it is important for any external assistance programme whether it is investment or pre-investment, whether it is multilateral or bilateral, to show sensitivity to this rising tendency of self-reliance and try not to appear to be bigger than what it really is. If an attempt of this nature is made, it might do more harm than good. It might breed a sense of complacency. It might divert attention from the more fundamental issues. It might even cause a shift in priority, not in relation to sectors, but

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in relation to problems themselves, their nature and their significance.

Finally, allow me a few words on the impending report on the Capacity Study. While we are waiting for the recommendations of the Study, and the positive resuits that will flow from it, we are somewhat disappointed to see that it has produced some negative effects already. And this is because of the fact that in spite of the best efforts of certain delegations in the Governing Council, the terms of reference of the Commission was not clearly defined. Many countries have tried to see the image of their own policies in the recommendations that will flow from the report. We have even seen the evidence of very important decisions in the field of trade, international commodity agreements, untying of aid, increase in the volume of aid, etc. being related to the publication of this report. Whenever the Indian delegation found an opportunity in the Governing Council of the UNDP, in the ECOSOC and in the General Assembly, we reiterated again and again that, according to us, the basic task of the report was to go into the procedures and the rules and regulations, to go into the question of coordination, administration, the process of formulation, appraisal, approval, implementation and follow-up of projects, and not into the philosophy of assistance. I am afraid, this is still far from being clear and I feel that it is time for those concerned to dispel the illusions of

many countries regarding the nature and the scope of the Capacity Study.

Mr. Chairman, before I conclude, I would once again pay the tribute of my delegation to the distinguished Administrator, Dr. Hoo and their colleagues for the tremendous, service done by them to the cause of development, and reiterate the firm support of my government for the Programme.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Nov 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri N. N. Jha's Statement on Racial Discrimination

Shri N. N. Jha, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Third (Social and humanitarian) Committee of the General Assembly on November 13, 1969 on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination:

# Madame Charman:

My delegation welcomes the joint discussions of items No. 55, 56 and 57. We feel that by discussing together the three items connected with racial discrimination and its elimination, we are further enhancing their importance and taking a wider view of one of the basic problems of humanity. The discussion of particularly item 57, at the current 24th session of the General Assembly also serves to remind us that another decade has elapsed in the United Nations' efforts at removing all forms of racial discrimination and apartheid

from the southern part of Africa and this fact alone should make us pause to consider the strategy which should govern the United Nations action in this field over the next few years.

At this point, however, let me state that my delegation welcomes the coming into force of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination since the end of our session last year which represents the only note of cheer in an otherwise depressing picture. My delegation is certain that in the very near future the number of states parties will increase greatly beyond the present number of 36 and we wish all success in its work to the Committee set up under the terms of this Convention. Similarly, we are pleased to reiterate our support for the declaration of 1971 as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for the detailed programme of activities for that year which he has outlined to us in document A17649 though we feel that his suggestion at B(f) needs to be

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somewhat further elaborated. We agree with his definition of the purpose of the international Year as being to achieve substantial progress in eliminating all forms of manifestations of racism and racial discrimination, including the policies of apartheid, and in ensuring equality for all and full enjoyment by all of both civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights, without any distinctions such as race, colour, national or ethnic origin and thereby to promote further respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world. I wish to assure the Secretary-General and members of the United Nations that my government will do everything possible to make the celebration in 1971 of the above a great success.

One of the most deplorable facts of our times is the persistence of racial discrimi-

nation in some parts of our world. It is also necessary to state here that such discriminations, which are often accompanied by race hatred and conflict thrive on scientifically false ideas and are usually the products of massive ignorance, whether genuine or deliberate. In this respect UNESCO's efforts to educate the world regarding the myth of racial superiority is indeed commendable and I would like to very briefly recapitulate their efforts in this direction.

One of the committees of experts on race problems, composed of anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists 20 years ago stated that the biological fact of race and myth of "race" should be distinguished. For all practical and social purposes "race" is not a biological phenomenon but a social myth. More recently in 1964 a conference convened by UNESCO in Moscow, adopted a set of proposals on this subject. They stated, inter alia, that all men living today belong to a single species and are derived from a common stock; that pure races in the sense of genetically homogeneous populations do not exist, in the human species, and that there is no national, religious, geographical, linguistic or cultural group which constitutes a race ipso facto.

The proposals concluded, and I quote: "the biological data given stand in open contradiction to the tenets of racism, racist theories can in no way pretend to have any scientific foundation." In the "Roots of Prejudice", again published by UNESCO, it is pointed out that there are varied sources of prejudice ranging from the more obvious to the less apparent and unconscious ones. One of the most obvious causes of prejudice, no doubt, is the fact that it creates advantages and material benefits. Prejudice can provide an excuse for a person to engage in political domination or economic exploitation over others; in either case oppression results as a consequence. It gives to the people even at the bottom of the dominant groups of the social ladder an apparent superiority over the highest ranking members of the non-dominant group; indeed, it is often persons of this type who manifest the reatest degree of prejudice.

Thus, in a purely abstract sense, racial prejudice is a state of mind which, when translated into action, becomes racial discrimination. Sometimes, racial attitudes of superiority are based on the social isolation of a group of people, even where there is a certain amount of daily contact. In the context of the situation in the Republic of South Africa, this is a useful point to bear in mind. Any one familiar with the situation there knows that the policy of apartheid pursued in that country owes its origin to the extreme isolation of the minority, dominant white group. This group, because of an extreme degree of religious fanaticism, was totally impervious to new ideas and upon finding themselves in fairly substantial numbers, but at a considerable distance from the mothers country, developed a sense of isolation which could only be sustained and as a matter of fact, further nourished by the feeling of racial superiority.

The net result of this is, that the contemporary world situation, as well as the United Nations today are faced with an intractable and increasingly dangerous situation that has been made even more inflammable by the export of the ideas behind the policies of apartheid to areas contiguous to the Republic of South Africa. Unfortunately, the realities of the situation are such that the United Nations can do little else than publicise the grim situation that prevails in the southern part of the African continent which covers the areas known as the Republic of South Africa, Namibia. Southern Rhodesia, and the Portuguese

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Territories of Angola and Mozambique as well as the Guinea Bisau in West Africa. The United Nations: itself as well as member states represented here are most certainly in a position to give massive publicity to the facts that come to light about the situation in the above mentioned areas despite the fact that the relevant U.N. resolutioris have been largely ignored by the powers that are in a position to influence the situation there.

Furthermore, there is yet another for-

midable obstacle that the United Nations faces in its struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa. This is the general picture of prosperity that the Republic of South Africa has managed to present before the world. Of course, we all know that the economic, prosperity of that Republic is enjoyed by the whites only; the vast majority of the people - about 70% of the population - do not share in-this prosperity. Those who are not vet sufficiently committed to the struggle against the medieval forces in southern Africa can always quote this so-called prosperity as one of the important, justifications for the continuation of the present status quo in southern Africa. My delegation feels that any effort made by the United Nations in the direction of publicising the evils of the system cannot be in vain and, ultmately, is bound to have its effects. But, it must be a continuing effort; any flagging in the efforts of this body or of its members in publicising the evils of the systems in existence in southern Africa will contribute just that little bit to bringing about their perpetuation.

In order to save time, it is not the intention of my delegation to dwell on the efforts of the United Nations in this field over the last 23 years but to highlight the main developments in the situation in the above mentioned areas over the last year or so. While formulating a strategy for combating apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa for the decade that is to commence very soon, we must bear in mind the fact that the situation in I these areas despite the efforts of the United Nations is not improving but getting worse.

During the last 18 months in particular, a large number of people who have firsthand experience of the situation in the territories have testified before various U.N.; bodies. While the inaction of the United Nations in the sense of immediate alleviation of, the problem has disappointed one and all amongst the persons we have been repeatedly assured that the very fact, of the United Nations being seized with this problem and

giving sufficient publicity to the happenings in southern Africa, contributes immensely to sustaining the morale of the unfortunate non-while majority in these areas.

It is my duty to bring. to the attention of this Committee the fact that the number of fatalities amongst political prisoners in the jails of South Africa, is rapidly increasing. Between 1963 and now there have been at least 15 known deaths of prisoners in the Republic of South Africa outside the deaths in the notorious Robben Island prison. In 1969, alone there have been at least 5 deaths to date. They are Mr. N. Kgoathe, Mr. James Lenkoe, Mr. Calib Mayekiso, Mr. Jacob Monnakgotha and Imam Abdullah Haron. The last named person's death was reported a mere 6 weeks ago.

Earlier this year, in June, to be precise, an inquest was carried out into the death of Mr. James Lenkoe. One of the persons at the inquest was the world famous pathologist, Dr. Alan Moritz, from this country. He, indicated then and has testified on oath subsequently that Mr. James Lankoe had not died by committing suicide but as a result of the administration of electric shock to him.

Similarly, at the inquest of the first named person, Mr. Kgoathe, who according to the post mortem report, had died of bronchial pneumonia, evidence was given that the police had found it necessary to investigate, allegations that he had been assaulted while being interrogated. A district surgeon told the inquest "that he believed the injuries that the deceased had suffered to have been the result of an assault." He testified that when he examined Mr. Kgoathe shortly before his death he found marks on his body which could have been caused by a rawhide whip and wounds which could have come from an assault with the buckle of a belt. A police surgeon testified that Mr. Kgoathe had complained to him of body pains before

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being sent to the hospital and had said that he had been assaulted by the security police. Unfortunately, the Magistrate found himself unable to conclude that any person was responsible for the death.

Concerning the death of Imam Haron, according to the Head of Security Police in Cape Town, the Imam complained, in the middle of September last, about pain in his chest. A doctor examined him and prescribed pills to be taken when he had pains. The Imam complained of pains at 11 A.M. on September 26th and at 8.30 A.M. the next day he took the pills. Within hours of his taking the pills he died. The exact cause of his death will be known after an inquest has been carried out by a magistrate. The Minister of Justice, earlier, had stated in the Parliament of South Africa that the Imam was detained under the Terrorism Act but declined to disclose where he was detained or the reasons for his detention. According to one of the Imam's close friends, he used to help the families of political sufferers with small comforts, often paying the rent or supplying food. This kind of activity was not liked by the magistrates; this bit is quoted from the London Times of September 29, 1969.

Earlier 6 years ago one Mr. Ngudle, alleged to be a member of the African National Congress, was found hanging in his cell. Information of the death was only given to his widow ten days after the date on which he was said to have died. He was buried without any member of his family being present and the authorities maintained that his funeral had taken place at the request of his widow though the latter totally denied this. One of the local magistrates, who had visited Mr. Ngudle three times told the court that on the third occasion the latter had complained of having been assaulted and of having coughed up blood. He had reported the complaint to the police and the next morning heard of Mr. Ngudle's death.

In this manner, the rest of humanity would be perfectly justified in construing from the above that conditions in the prisons of the Republic of South Africa are fast deteriorating. The report of the Ad Hoc

Working Group of experts is replete with instances of practices that have become notorious such as the "Tausa Dance", the "carry on", the electric shock, treatment, the existence of hell on earth which: is Robben Island, the existence of insanitary and unhygienic conditions, etc.

Furthermore, the report of the above Group on the Republic of South Africa, published for consideration by the Human Rights Commission earlier this year, reveals for the first time the conditions of Africans on the so-called Bantustans. The evidence of a witness has been recorded in document, E/CN.4/984/Add.4 on page 17. According to him proclamation No.400 goes even beyond the notorious 90-day law, "the mere perusal of this regulation is shocking, but the living experience is shattering."

In terms of the above proclamation member of the South African police, defence forces and even chiefs and headmen are empowere to arrest people without warrants and some of the most glaring infringements of the rule of law result from the extraordinary powers given to carefully chosen chiefs to remove people from their homes and to try cases in which they themselves have a personal interest. For example, the failure of a man to raise his hat to a chief or to saddle the chief's horse can result in a criminal prosecution against him.

At this moment I will refrain from going further into this aspect of life in the Republic of South Africa but I would like to assure distinguished members present here that the United Nations and its organs will have a much more vivid picture of the conditions in the so-called Bantustans next year.

Not only has the South African government rejected out-of-hand the facts presented to it by the United Nations, it has prosecuted those publishing information about prison conditions in South Africa itself. The most receent one has been that of Mr. Laurence Gandar, Editor-in-chief of the Rand Daily Mail. Mr. Gandar and his Reporter, Mr. Pogrund, both white, were

prosecuted under the Prisons Act of 1959, Section 44(f) of which makes it an offence to publish, "false information concerning the behaviour or experience in prison of any prisoner or ex-prisoner or concerning the administration of any prison knowing the same

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to be, false or without taking reasonable steps to verify such Information, the onus of proving that reasonable steps were taken being upon the accused." The South African Government had smeared the newspaper as "un-South African and Communist." In the Gandar trial, ample evidence was produced to show that steps had been taken to establish the reliability of the information published; such evidence would have satisfied an impartial Judge anywhere; unfortunately the two accused were convicted under the Act.

Another sinister development, that has taken place in the Republic is the enactment of a General Law Amendment Act. This act became law; on, the 30th of June this year. Section 10, of this, Act complements the, Public Service; Amendment A 1969 establishing a Bureau, State Security (BOSS) and, extends the provisions to Official Secrets Act, 1969, making it an offence to publish or communicate any matter dealt with by or relating to the Bureau or the relationship between anyone and the Bureau. As a result of this provision, all matters relating to the Bureau are excluded from the public domain and a person may even be charged with an offence under the reinforced Official Secrets Act without ever knowing or being able to know that he had divulged a security matter within the meaning of the 1969 Act. The Act also provides (Section 29) that assigned certificate from a minister will be sufficient to prevent a person giving evidence if such evidence is considered prejudicial to the interests of the State or public security. Not only does this Act consolidate the already enormous powers of the security police it invades the powers of the court to over-rule the executive; and the disclosure or production of official documents could prevent an accused person from testifying as to the conditions

under which he made a statement or confession.

We now turn to the situation prevailing in Namibia, a territory under the jurisdiction of the United Nations and at present illegally occupied by the Republic of South Africa. The fact is that the Republic of South Africa has made applicable to Namibia almost all the laws prevalent in the Republic and is proceeding at a quick pace in setting up "Bantustans" in that territory. Last year the world Wm shocked at the trial of the 37 nationals of Namibia and according to the observer of the International Commission of Jurists, who was present at the trial, the South African police have under detention upto at least 250 additional prisoners. These prisoners have been detained in Communicado, without access to family or lawyer and without being charged or brought to trial. This year, however the Govenrment of the Republic has been even more brazen-faced. A second trial took place in Namibia in July this year at Windhoek, the capital of Namibia. Whereas the earlier trials were taking place in the Republic itself, the trial this year has been conducte by an illegal regime in the capital, of the occupied territory as a further gesture of its defiance to the united nations. It is understood, that one of the very few foreign observers allowed to be present at the trial this year, was an officer from the U.S. Embassy in South Africa.

There is at least one other feature about the situation in Namibia which needs to be mentioned. Namibia is in a uniquely unfortunate position of being the victim of apartheid, colonialism and ruthless economic exploitation at one and the same time. In the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of experts to the ECOSOC, prominence was given to the existence of a body known as the South West African Native labour Association (SWANLA). This is the only labour Organisation permitted to exist in the territory and its sole purpose is to recruit cheap labour for a price. For the payment of a few pounds the SWANLA provides white industrialists, farmers and others with labour on virtually no contractual terms.

It is the considered opinion of my delegation, apart from being one of the conclusions of the Working Group, that the SWANLA is a thinly disguised Organisation for forced labour and my delegation reiterates the call of the ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL earlier this year for its abolition. I must also add an important point made by the observer of the International Commission of Jurists regarding the trial of the 37 Namibian nationals last year. The observer stated in his report last

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year that the defence counsel and the tea for the accused were obliged to accept the legality and legitimacy of apartheid as well as of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. According to the observer, evidence was presented in court last year which suggested that several of the defendants had turned towards violence in 1966 after discovering that the International Court of Justice would not provide them with any prospect for redress of their grievances, in so far as they related to Namibia.

The situation in Southern Rhodesia is, similarly, deteriorating very rapidly. The treatment meted out to prisoners, detainees, and captured freedom lighters has already been portrayed in considerable detail in the report of the Ad Hoe Working Group. Nevertheless, there are certain consequences of th so-called referendum of June 20th this year which need to be emphasised. In the so-called new constitution, only 16 of the 66 seats may be held by Africans though the white population forms barely 5% of the total population. Representation of African will be based on their income-tax contributions but the number of 16 representatives will remain static until African income-tax contributions exceed 24% of the total income-tax collections in that area. Thereafter, the representation is supposed to increase proportionately. However, Africans may never hold more than half the seats in Parliament even when the income-tax shares of whites and Africans are on a parity, a situation which will not occur

for several generations at least. A senate will replace the former Constitutional Council and will have strictly limited powers of delaying legislation even where, on the ad-Vice of its legal committee, the Senate considers an enactment to be inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights to be embodied in the constitution; the latter Declaration will in any case be non-judiciable; the courts will thus be unable to declare laws unconstitutional where they infringe rights recognised in the Declaration.

The new Declaration will permit preventive detention and other derogations from the right to personal liberty, protection from search and entry will be limited and the right of an accused not to be com-Pelled to live evidence will be omitted. Major changes in land tenure legislation are proposed. The present category of unreserved land will be abolished and all land in southern Rhodesia will be divided into. areas of reserved European and African land, totalling roughly 45 million acres and 45.2 million acres respectively. Thus a quarter million acres of the best land reserved for themselves while 4 1/2 million Aficans will have an equivalent amount of land fo themselves. Such is the concept of equity in the so-called new constitution of Southern Rhodesia.

Furthermore, in February this year, the Constitution Amendment Act-No. 1 of 1969 of the illegal racist and minority regime, amended Section 81 of the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia of 1965 by authorising the Declaration of a state of emergency for a period of 12 consecutive months instead of the previous maximum period-of 3 months. The report of the Ad Hoc Working Group contains the conclusion that the judiciary of the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia has long since ceased to be impartial.

As for the Portuguese territories in Africa, the position is somewhat similar yet distinct. We see here a small and relatively impoverished, country of Europe, which barely conceals its desire to "civilise people", occupying and trying to retain by force vast areas of territories which do not belong to

it and which have absolutely nothing in common with it. Normally, war is directed against sovereigns and armies and not against subjects and civilians. Portugal apparently, does not accept this concept: firstly because it is waging a total war in which its chances of victory are increasingly receding and, secondly, because according to its own self-proclaimed doctrine it is on a "civilising mission" in Africa. The latter, in turn, enunciates the theory of permanent inferiority of those ruled and consequently the Portuguese authorities have no hesitation about conducting severe reprisals against a supposedly "inferior" and "uncivilised" people.

The report of the Ad Hoc Working Group has some interesting facts to state about the Portuguese colonies in Africa-Entire villages are razed to the ground and

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the Portuguese Government publishes photographs of such villages describing such action as being the work of "African terrorists". Each farmer is required to sell his crop to a designated Portuguese buyer; failure to comply with this results in immediate arrest; the consequence is that the primary products of the African peasant or farmer are sold for virtually nothing, thus causing extreme hardship to the population as a whole. One of the Portuguese systems of punishment is known as the 'Palmatoria' which is a most primitive system by any standards and is renowned for its barbarity. No African is beyond the reach of the dreaded Portuguese secret police known as the PIDE. Instructions to Portuguese soldiers clearly order them to first extract as much information as possible from captured freedom fighters and then execute them. One can go on recounting instance after instance of Portuguese barbarity but the shortage of time prevents me from doing so.

I have gone into considerable detail about bringing to light the shocking conditions that exist in the southern part of the African continent and, in particular, I have attempted to apprise my distinguished colleagues here with the developments that have taken place or have come to the notice of the United Nations and its various organs since the end of the 23rd session of the General Assembly. As stated by me earlier, my delegation has placed great faith in the publicising of the facts regarding the situation prevalent in southern Africa and in arousing the conscience of mankind as well as of governments, especially of those that are in a position to influence the situation in southern Africa. With this end in view my delegation wholeheartedly welcomes the proposal to set up a unit of the U.N. Radio to beam programmes specially to southern Africa.

Consistent with our past practice my delegation also supports the draft resolution sent to us by ECOSOC concerning measures to be taken against Nazism and racial intolerance. Nazism, Facism, etc., are ideologies based on terrorism and racial intolerance, and as such go against the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. Even a remote chance of their revival would seriously threaten world peace and we welcome the effort-, of the United Nations aimed at combating Nazism and racial intolerance.

Before concluding my statement I would also like to refer to the repression that has accompanied occupation in the Israeli occupied areas of West Asia. We have on numerous occasions, here as well as in other forums of the United Nations, stated that occupation of territories as a result of armed conflict is morally reprehensible as well as legally and politically untenable. We are also aware that the longer the occupation lasts the more suffering it inflicts upon. the occupied population thereby violating the human rights of the occupied population and these rights on a vast scale continue to be violated by Israel.

We would like to once again reiterate our support to the humanitarian resolutions of the Security Council as well as of the General Assembly which have called upon Israel to take various steps such as (Resolution 237 of Security Council) "to ensure the security, welfare of the inhabitants of

the areas where military operations have taken place and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who had fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities". We also reiterate our support of resolution 2443 (XXIII) of the General Assembly, adopted last year which expressed its grave concern at the violations of human rights in Arab territories occupied by Israel and affirmed the inalienable rights of all inhabitants in West Asia to return home, resume their normal life, recover their property and homes and rejoin their families.

My delegation expresses the hope that the government of Israel will abide by the terms of the above resolutions of the various organisations of the United Nations and further, by withdrawing immediately from the occupied territories, contribute to a settlement that it itself professes to desire.

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INDIA USA RUSSIA SOUTH AFRICA NAMIBIA ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE GUINEA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC UNITED KINGDOM PERU PORTUGAL ISRAEL

**Date**: Nov 01, 1969

# **Volume No**

1995

#### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Dr. Krishna Rao's Statement on Peaceful Co-existence among Nations

Dr. Krishna Rao, India's delegate to the Sixth (Legal) Committee of the U.N. General Assembly, made the following statement while introducing a draft resolution in the Committee on November 28, 1969, on the question of peaceful co-existence among nations:

I should like, first of all, to express the warmest thanks of my delegation to the

Chairman of the Special Committee on Friendly Relations for his excellent work and contribution. Our thanks are also, likewise, due to the Rapporteur of the Committee.

Before-examining the views of my delegation on some of the intricate issues arising from the formulation of the principles of non-use of force and self-determination, I should like to make a few preliminary observations:

- 1) What is the object of the United Nations in formulating the principles of international law concerning friendly relations?
- 2) What is the nature of the-task that has been entrusted to the General Assembly?
- 3) How is the outcome of this task related to the international legal system?

It will be necessary to answer these questions for understanding the issues arising from the work of the Special Committee on Friendly Relations. The main object of the United Nations in dealing with the formulation of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations is systematisation of the United Nations legal system. For one thing it was considered necessary to remove the ambiguities in the meaning and scope of the principles, and another, it was found necessary to take into account the various legal developments that took place during the last twenty-four years in the United Nations.

The nature of the task that has been entrusted to the Special Committee as well as this Committee is of sui generis type. It is not revision of the Charter that we are asked to do. Nor is it prescription of law in the legislative sense. But it is of identifying the legal norms that the Charter principles embody. This task; combines in itself the techniques of "codification" and "progressive developments of international law. Although the terms "codification" and "development" have lost their practical significance, the difference in these two con-

cepts should be borne in mind in formulating the specific rules.

The successful outcome of the task is of most profound significance to contemporary international society and law. Besides providing a corpus of rules on the fundamental principles of international law, the successful outcome is refurnish the basis of international law itself. For, international law that is being formulated presently, is founded upon the consensus of states expressed through the instrumentality of the United Nations.

These preliminary observations underscore the crucial significance of the task entrusted to this Committee as well as Special Committee on Friendly Relations. There is both a challenge and an opportunity therein.

Now, with respect to the principle of non-use of force, it is necessary to recognise the elemental fact that it constitutes the very essence and heart of international law. The report, of the Committee, contained in Doe. A/7619 reveals the importance attached to this principle by all states, large and small. Successful formulation of this principle would give, as it were, a new dimension to Article 2, paragraph 4, Article 51, and indeed the whole law of the United Nations. It is heartening to see in the report considerable progress made from the time the Special Committee met in Mexico City in 1964. The area of agreement has been steadily progressing.

No doubt there still remain some outstanding issues. The meaning of the expression "force" is still evading universal agreement. In the opinion of my delegation all forms of pressure, including those of a

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political and economic character, which have the effect of threatening the territorial integrity or political, independence of a state are inconsistent with the United Nations Charter; such an interpretation would accord with the cannons of treaty interpretation, laid down in the Vienna Convention on the law of treaties, and, what is more, ensure a more rational and just order in international relations. To exclude from the purview of "force" all other forms of force except aimed force, would be to denude meaningful content to the expression "force".

No agreement was reached in the Special Committee also on the issue of non-recognition of situations brought about by the illegal threat or use of force. In the opinion of my delegation, non-recognition of titles or advantages obtained either by force or by other means of coercion is a necessary corollary of the principle of prohibition of use of force. Besides, the rule is supported by practice of the United Nations as well as of the League of Nations.

There was also disagreement in the Special Committee on the question whether colonial peoples in the exercise of their right to self-determination could legitimately use force.

My delegation considers that this question must be answered in the light of the practice of the organs of the United Nations, according to which the legitimacy of the colonial peoples struggle for independence is recognised unequivocally. This removes the possibility of doubting the lawfulness of the use of force exercised in behalf of the right of self-determination by colonial peoples.

In the context of the principle of nonuse of force, there is yet one more major issue, which calls for clarification. Should states be permitted to occupy by use of force territory or area in which mankind has a common interest? To prevent such future eventualities, Cameroon, the United Arab Republic and India proposed to the Special Committee this year that a new paragraph (no. 7A) should be added to paragraph 7 of the report of the 1968 Drafting Committee. The new paragraph is as follows:

"Likewise, the teritory/area which constitutes the common heritage of mankind may not, on any ground whatsoever, be the object of military, occupation or acquisition by any State, resulting from the threat or use of force, nor shells any, such occupation or acquisition be recognised by any State."

My delegation commends this proposal for serious consideration of this Committee as well as the special Committee.

Next regarding the formulation of the principle of self-determination, it must be recognised that this Committee has the most difficult undertaking. The difficulty arises from the manner in which the Charter is expressed directly in Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter; the principle of self-determination is referred to in somewhat ambivalent language in articles 1 and 55 of the Charter. Notwithstanding this, the criterion for formulating the principle of self-determination would be the same as the principle of non-use of force except In so far as distinction is justifiable on rational grounds. The broad criterion in this regard would be the practice of the United Nations. If the United Nations over a period of time has interpreted and applied the principle of selfdetermination in a particular manner, then that interpretation and application would be most relevant. During the last twentyfour years, there were numerous resolutions in which the General Assembly and Security Council interpreted and applied the principle of self-determination. Resolution 1514(XV) containing the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is one of the prime examples. Indeed, Resolution 1514 would be the main guideline in formulating the principle of selfdetermination. It is the opinion of my delegation that all the important ingredients of that Resolution must be reflected in the specifics of the principle of self-determination. The other Resolutions bearing on decolonization, especially those adopted since the emergence of the newly independent states, must also be taken into consideration....

Before concluding my statement, I should like to add one more thought. New year is the 25th anniversary of the United

Nations. This is going to be an important occasion in the life of the United Nations. As presently expected, there will be many

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important substantive activities in regard to the future of the United Nations. This offers to our Committee as well as the Special Committee the unique opportunity of presenting a declaration on principles of international law concerning friendly relations. Not only that, the declaration, hopefully, when completed, will constitute the most significant instrument of international law of contemporary times, it may chart the way for international law of the coming decade, or even much longer. Bearing this in mind, all members of this Committee, as well as the Special Committee, I hope, will rind methods of solving the outstanding differences on some of the issues concerning the principles of non-use of force and selfdetermination.

My Government will continue to contribute its most for the realization of the goal of a declaration in respect of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations. My Government will also seek the cooperation of all States in this endeavour. For, we can no longer adopt the attitude of the visitor to the village church as described by the French philosopher Henry Berson. This outsider sat impassively through a moving religious service and inspiring sermon. Asked by his neighbour how he could remain unmoved while the others were so touched, he replied:

"But, monsieur, I do not belong to this parish".

We all belong to one parish.

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**Date**: Dec 01, 1969

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# INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Sen's Statement in General Assembly on Granting of Indeendence to Colonial Countries

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri Samar Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the U.N., in the General Assembly on December 5, 1969 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples:

We have just heard the representative of Iraq introduce on behalf of several delegations, including mine, the draft resolution contained in document A/L.581. Since we are a co-sponsor of that draft resolution, it is obviously unnecessary for me to add that we shall support it in its entirety, and on the basis of all the explanations which the representative of Iraq so eloquently put forward before us. I should, however, take this opportunity to make some brief comments on the general problem before us.

Progress towards self-determination in colonial Territories has considerably, and unfortunately, slowed down, not only in the colonies of southern Africa but in the large majority of Territories scattered all over the globe - some of those Territories are undoubtedly small, but the others are not. This year's record in the field of decolonization shows that no colonial Territory has achieved its independence in the year since the conclusion of the twenty-third session -of the General Assembly. The Secretary-General has referred to the "solid wall of defiance" (A/7601/Add. 1, para 161) in southern Africa. An equally solid wall against progress appears to be building up also in most of the remaining colonial Territories.

Colonial Territories in southern Africa have presented a particularly distressing picture this year: Rhodesia has taken a retrograde step by the introduction of a new constitution - a misnomer in itself - by the illegal regime of Mr. Smith. That has been not only a serious setback to the aspirations of the people of Zirnbabwe, but a deliberate affront to the world community and a sneering challenge to the administering Power against which Mr. Smith and his racist crew had earlier rebelled. The language that is increasingly being used by Mr. Smith in justifying the new order in Rhodesia is clearly borrowed from Rhodesia's southern neighbour, with the abundant experience of apartheid behind it. The question of Namibia has brought the United Nations into direct confrontation with South Africa. On two occasions this year the Security Council debated the question or Namibia and passed resolutions, but South Africa has consistently refused to comply with them. Again, the Portuguese Government, with its fatuous doctrine of "overseas provinces", is waging its vendetta against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

In our view, Portuguese aggression and violence started the day the Portuguese-colonized the very first inch of African territory, and will not end until the Portuguese completely quit Africa. We further believe that all means are justified in achieving that end. If, therefore, we discuss in this forum and in various other organs of the United Nations, year after year, why and how those-Portuguese colonies should be made inde-

pendent, it is simply because we do not wish to use violent means because we believe that that achievement must be brought about by peaceful means. But let us not make any mistake. Our patience and certainly the. patience of the African countries is running

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out and we do not know how long we can go on year after year carrying out what appears to be a rather futile exercise in an effort to achieve an end which is accepted by all but pursued by very few.

It is well known that sanctions against Rhodesia are not having any decisive impact. Indeed, they cannot have such an impact unless and until the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, in particular, apply the sanctions. South Africa is primarily responsible for the maintenance of Mr. Smith's regime in power in Rhodesia today. If, therefore, sanctions against Rhodesia are to be fully effective, such sanctions must also be extended to South Africa. The tragic developments in Namibia further strengthens the need to impose sanctions against South Africa. That would also be one of the most efficacious ways of dealing with the South African challenge to the United Nations. But so long as major Western Powers persist in giving assurances to South Africa that no such course of action would be accepted by them, South Africa will continue in its cowardly and dismal course. We regret that some of the Powers while doing nothing or little to discourage South Africa, never fail to sympathize noisily at times - with the peoples of South Africa. Could I, in this context, recall the stirring words of the President of the United States, that noble words are no substitute for hard deeds? In these circumstances the current and existing facts will continue to threaten international peace and make a mockery of our determination to eliminate all forms of colonialism

We have often been counselled by powerful Western countries to open a dialogue with South Africa. We are told that the method of negotiations is the best means to bring justice to the oppressed peoples of Namibia and to soften the immoral policy of apartheid. Most of South Africa's trade is confined to four or five countries. Let those countries, acting in concert, persuade the South African regime to change some of its policies. I know of nothing this Assembly has done to inhibit those Powers from using their persuasive logic and diplomatic skill in deflecting South Africa from its degrading course. Rather, the converse is true: lack of action by the trading partners of South Africa is a direct affront to the peoples of southern Africa. On our part, I should make it clear that we remain ready as usual, to carry out to the fullest extent any measures recommended by the United Nations. We also feel that such measures might include a more stringent social bovcott at the United Nations of those who preach, and practice apartheid at home and put up a facade of artificial bonhomie and tolerance at New York.

The arms supplied to South Africa and Portugal are being used against the African peoples in areas under their domination. Yet powerful outside economic interests have sought to influence and succeeded in influencing the policies of the countries of origin to their own advantage, oblivious of and insensitive to the fate of millions of people in southern Africa. What can one, in the circumstances, think of the attitudes of those countries that continue to supply arms to Portugal and South Africa? Why does South Africa need sophisticated weaponry? Is it for defence against "communism"? Indeed, for the South Africans, anybody who is not a racist like themselves must be a communist or a subversive agent engaged in the overthrow of legally established institutions. We maintain that South Africa's armed might is intended for the main purpose of suppressing its African population, for subduing the Africans in Namibia, for helping to oppress the indigenous peoples of Rhodesia and for assisting the Portuguese in their wars of repression in Angola and Mozambique.

Several resolutions have been adopted in this Assembly calling for a halt to the supply of arms to South Africa and Portugal. in the face of known facts, we should not be surprised if the supply of arms is equated by their victims to common-law crimes.

If I have stressed the problems concerning the southern part of Africa in my statement so far, it is not because colonial problems elsewhere in the world are not important. Indeed, the evils of colonialism are still widespread. There are still as many as forty-five separate Territories, small and large, that are still under colonial domination. Fortunately, however, the problems in some of those other Territories, difficult as they might be, do not have the same im-

262 plications and dangers as the colonies in southern Africa.

The problems of some of the smaller Territories under colonial rule were usefully discussed by the Special Committee of Twenty-four. That Committee gave attention to each Territory and made separate recommendations for particular colonial Territories. That is a correct approach, for, while smaller colonial Territories may have some common features, each Territory nevertheless has problems peculiar to itself.

Perhaps the most important common feature of the smaller colonial Territories is the systematic exploitation of their human and natural resources that has taken place in the past, and is still taking place in varying degrees today. Paradoxically, while most of the smaller colonial Territories today lack economic potential, foreign economic interests, whether originating from the colonial Powers or from other sources, have been growing richer at the expense of the colonial peoples and Territories. In some instances, the natural resources will soon be exhausted at the present rate of exploitation. In most areas participation and control by the peoples of the Territories concerned in economic ventures in their own lands is far from adequate.

Political developments in most of the smaller Territories have also been very slow. Elected representatives in most of the small-

er Territories have only advisory functions, whether in the legislative or executive organs, and the ultimate authority rests, as is to be expected, with the administering Power, which finally decides all important questions. We are not so unrealistic as to believe that full administrative and legislative responsibilities can be transferred overnight in each and every colonial Territory. Yet the present slow pace of constitutional development in most of the smaller Territories is a matter of great concern and regret.

In the New Hebrides, for example, a partly elective body has existed for as long as eighteen years, but the number of elected representatives from among the local inhabitants - who constitute over 92 per cent of the population - forms a dismal minority. At the same time, a great preferential weight is given to the representatives of Europeans in the same Assembly. And that strange "Asssembly" has only advisory functions.

Clearly, it is of great importance in the smaller colonial Territories that local inhabitants should immediately begin to exercise legislative and executive responsibility. Besides, there has to be not only proper political control over foreign economic interests working in each colonial Territory, but there must also be measures to ensure, to the extent possible, that there is majority equity participation and adequate sharing by the local inhabitants in the day-to-day running of economic enterprises. Unless all these steps are taken, independence, when it comes to a particular Territory, may become illusory.

That brings me to an important point in our discussion of the smaller colonial Territories. There has unfortunately been an increasing tendency of late to prevent the United Nations from participating directly in the process of self-determination in various colonial Territories. Only a few weeks ago, we were informed that a certain colonial Territory had achieved internal self-government in accordance with the wishes of its inhabitants, and that the obligation of

the administering Power to transmit information to the United Nations under Article 73 of the Charter had ceased.

We regret that the United Nations was not allowed to be associated at first hand in that purported exercise of the right of the people of that colonial Territory to selfdetermination, in spite of a specific request by the Special Committee on colonialism to be so associated. My delegation is convinced that the General Assembly alone, in consultation with the administering Power, can determine whether the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 1514(XV) and 1541 (XV) have been carried out or not. An administering Power should not be permitted to decide an important question like this unilaterally, and then merely to inform the United Nations of such a unilateral decision-

We also fear that if the United Nations wishes to be associated with future acts of changing the status of colonial Territories

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in accordance with the appropriate resolutions of the Assemlby, and an administering Power goes against such a wish of the United Nations, complex and difficult problems can and indeed do arise. Surely it is in the interest of both the United Nations and the administering Power to avoid such problems

The function of the United Nations in the process of decolonization is to determine the wishes of the inhabitants of a particular colonial territory in regard to their political future and to give effect to those wishes. The duty of the United Nations is not to impose any preconceived political solutions on colonial peoples but the United Nations must be satisfied that a particular colonial Territory has fulfilled the provisions of General Assemly resolutions 1514(XV) and 1541 (XV).

Apart from the association of the United Nations with the process of self-determination, we consider it essential that the Special Committee on colonialism should make first-hand studies of colonial Territories in the

course of its work. Suggestions for visiting missions have mostly been turned down by administering Powers on various pleas, none of which carried conviction. Such refusals can only invite suspicion of the intentions of the administering Powers concerned, and hamper the process of decolonization. We would urge the administering Powers to reconsider this aspect of their responsibilities under the Charter towards their dependent Territories. Clearly there is scope for greater co-operation by the administering Powers.

INDIA USA IRAQ NAMIBIA ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE GUINEA GUINEA-BISSAU CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PORTUGAL SOUTH AFRICA

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# Volume No

1995

## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Sen's Statement in Security Council on Guinea's Complaint against Portugal

Shri Samar Sen, India's Permanent Representative to the U.N., made the following statement in the Security Council on December 18, 1969, supporting Guinea's complaint against Portugal's continuing aggression on her territory:

I think this is the best day in our life. If by my presence here we could drive out the Portuguese delegation from this Council or from any other Council of the United Nations, I think we should all be the happier. India committed "agression", according to the Portuguese definition of that word, but India has exercised a moral right, and I hope the day will come when all the Africans will also exercise a similar moral right. And if it lies in the power of India to assist in the slightest to help the African countries to do so, we shall do so again.

I shall now turn to the subject before us. My written text was prepared before the Portuguese delegation withdrew, and I was so filled with enthusiasm and admiration for what we have achieved that I made those preliminary remarks.

I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and the members of the Council for permitting me to participate in this debate on an important subject which concerns not only the African States but all of us who have the best interests of the United Nations at heart, and also those of us who care and dare to do their utmost to uphold the principles and purposes of the Charter.

Before I proceed further, Mr. President, I should like to offer you the congratulations of my delegation on your Presidency of the Council for this month. We hope that under your guidance the Council will discharge its responsibilities as effectively and wisely as it has often done under the distinguished leadership of your predecessors.

Normally the nature of complaints brought before the Council by the representative of Guinea could have been settled by bilateral negotiations between two sovereign States with common frontiers. Unfortunately, that procedure is not applicable in the present circumstances. On the one hand, the United Nations is committed to the elimination of colonial regimes - I know that the Portuguese delegation is still listening somewhere - and, on the other hand, Portugal staunchly refuses to abide by that 264

principle. or to carry out any of the resolutions adopted by this Council or by the other organs of the United Nations. That mulish and, I was almost going to say, quixotic refusal by Portugal to fulfil its obligations, is, of course, accompanied by much sanctimony and a feeling of being misunderstood.

The difficulty is that we understand Portugal only too well. Here again, if I might revert to the Indian experience, for more than ten years we tried our utmost to come to a negotiated settlement with the Portuguese. Nothing happened. Now Portugal talks about some fantastic theory which denies the Africans any right to claim sovereignty over their own territories. Surely, Portugal's continuing aggression has been; recognized by the international community.

Now, I leave it to the Council to judge who has been more fantastic. The representative of Portugal on many occasions has stated that his delegation would draw its own conclusions. We in the United Nations too can draw ours.

The problem here is further complicated by the United Nations failure to give effect to its resolutions, as a result of which the African States are understandably frustrated and are obliged to take action which, as the representative of Saudi Arabia pointed out yesterday, no government can afford to discourage.

In fact, we believe that if the United Nations cannot take suitable action to further one of the basic principles of the Charter, countries and peoples are under a moral and political obligation to take whatever steps they consider appropriate to put an end to the colonial tyranny of the Portuguese. That tyranny cannot be judged in terms of material benefits or lack of them, but has to be related to more fundamental values of human dignity and pride of patriotism.

In that context, any notion that these tragic events which the Government of Guinea has brought to the Council's notice should be investigated becomes meaningless. Similar complaints have been received from a large number of African countries which border the Portuguese possessions in Africa, showing a consistent pattern of the attitude of the Lisbon Govenrment. Briefly, its policy seems to be that it must continue to maintain its colonial possessions and the suppression of the local peoples by force. The authorities of Lisbon demonstrate a high degree of callousness if in the process African lives are lost, property damaged and destroyed, villages and fields burned and bombed. It is extraordinary that the representative of Portugal should complain - without details, of course, that African countries and communities, committed to seek the freedom of all Africa, are receiving aid from countries outside Africa.

The fact is that Portugal is outside-Africa, and that every inch of territory it holds is being held not only illegally but as the result of aggression., So as an outside. Power, it is Portugal, and Portugal alone-- Portugal is not an African country, I repeat - which is responsible for suppressing Africans in Africa in a variety of ways.

The Security Council has considered similar complaints in the past and, rightly, Portugal has been condemned. But, in our opinion, that is not enough. We should not only condemn Portugal but make it quite-impossible for it to continue to maintain it& aggression in Africa. If it will not listen to reason or pay any respect to the principles. of the Charter it must be isolated more than ever before. And this again I add because it has given me a great deal of satisfaction that the Portuguese delegation withdrew.

As to that quotation of Mr. Miranda's which he brings out from time to time and even those who were in the General Assembly will recall that in a right of reply at 7 o'clock one evening when no one was present, he brought it up again - we are not ashamed to declare that if colomes cannot be liberated by the peaceful efforts of sovereign States, including my own, then there is no alternative but to drive them out by force. I repeat that; and we have no hesitation at all. And if for more than ten years we have tried and failed to convince the Portuguese, then I should like -to ask the members of the Council what alternative they would afford or suggest.

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Those who help and support Portugal have particular responsibilities in ensuring that such help and support is totally withdrawn.

The present complaints of Guinea can, of course, be disposed of in the same manner

as the Council disposed of the complaints of Senegal, a few days ago. But the main purpose of my intervention is to indicate that these piecemeal solutions, if indeed they can be called solutions, will lead us nowhere. We have to consider Portuguese intransigence in respect of its colonial possessions in a much wider context. I suggest this not for effect, not even for the record, but out of an earnest wish to see some suitable action being taken. We may not remove all the wrongs the Africans have suffered at the hands of the Portuguese colonialists over the centuries, but we can begin to make a beginning.

INDIA GUINEA PORTUGAL USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SAUDI ARABIA IRAN TOTO SENEGAL

**Date**: Dec 01, 1969

## **Volume No**

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### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Sen's Statement on Establishment of an International University

Shri Samar Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Second Committee of the General Assembly on the occasion of the introduction of the draft resolution; on International University, on December 3, 1969:

Mr. Chairman,

I have the good fortune to be asked by the other sponsors to introduce the draft resolution on International University, contained in document A/C.2/L.1086. The idea of the creation of an international university has inspired many men of vision. But their initiatives have not, so far, gone beyond an embryonic stage. Informal attempts how-ever have been made of preparing plans for such institutions for the consideration of UNESCO and other United Nations bodies.

These initiatives have nonetheless succeeded in generating a growing consciousness of the necessity for such an institution. In this context the timely suggestion made by our distinguished Secretary-General in the Introduction to his Annual Report on the Work of the Organization, has brought out a spontaneous response from many quarters. In his report, U Thant has stated, and I quote, "In recent months, I have given much thought to the, establishment of an international university. The idea occurred to me because my attention was drawn to the work being done by individuals to establish institutions of learning with an international character. I feel that the time has come when serious thought may be given to the establishment of a United Nations university, truly international in character and devoted to the Charter objectives of peace and progress .....

The establishment of such a university would give shape and form to the humanistic longing of many men of wisdom and imagination in all parts of the world, and would indeed be a worthy tribute to the dedicated services of the distinguished Secretary-General for better understanding between the peoples of the world. It will Also meet the long-felt need of laying an. academic foundation in the field of international cooperation. And finally, it would be in tune with the far-reaching transformation that have been brought about by science and technology in re-building the social, economic, intellectual and cultural values of the contemporary international community.

I need hardly remind this Committee that, despite periods of frustrations and despair, never indeed has the idea of one world been more in the grasp of mankind than at present. Some of the most crucial activities of human life today, cannot be conceived except in universal terms. This is particularly true of those activities which call for the application of continuously develop-

ing technology. This in turn is influencing the complex whole of human life both in its individual aspect, and as a social collective. It is, for instance, difficult to-day to give a conscious parochial garb to painting,

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sculpture, architecture, music, theatre and literature without losing much of the appeal of these creative arts. Human life in its varied aspects, has in it an ever-present humanistic and international spirit. Further, citizens of nation states, and particularly the young, are moved by urges and inspired by desires which cannot be adequately fulfilled within the intellectual, moral and cultural possibilities of nation states alone.

One of he problems of our present-day life is that while the world is increasingly becoming a single society, man is obliged to live by the demands and requirements of political sovereignty as if his destiny and future lie only within the confines of the nation states. Side by side with the genuine urges of universal dimension and character, there is a consistent, systematic and organized effort to impose obligations of a nationalistic character. When Rousseau said that "man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains," he had a different context in mind. Similarly when our Nanak, founder of Sikh, religion, whose 500th birthday we celebrated in India about 10 days ago, said that "man was not born free but must always strive to be free" he, too, was speaking of more fundamental values. Nonetheless, the conflicts which these men, and many others both before and after them, noticed are reflected in today's world in a most poignant way. Today's individual is caught up, as it were, in the dilemma of universal aspirations on one hand and provincial obligations on the other.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation is of the view that the establishment of an international university, together with other efforts being made through the United Nations system of organizations, can help man escape, to some extent, this dilemma and at the same time make his life richer and worthier. As the Secretary-General has

stated in the Introduction to his Report, "working and living together in an international atmosphere, these students from various parts of the world be better able to understand one another. Even in their formative years, they will be able to break down the barriers between nations and cultures which create only misunderstanding and mistrust." We consider that such a university would give momentum to the evolution towards a better blonding of different cultures. It, will also release tensions and remove some of the frustrations that mark our national and individual existence. A university, truly international in character and composition, which can inspire a world population deeply involved in problems which go beyond the barriers of individual nations, should Prove an important milestone on the high road whose beginning was marked by the estabishment of an institution like UNESCO.

While commending the concept of an international university, we do not intend to overlook the difficulties that are bound to be encountered giving shape and form and vitality to this idea. This is why the cosponsors have not tried, at this stage, and in the resolution before the Committee, to lay down the objectives or to define -the functions of such a university. Nor have we gone into the administrative and financial problems of how to organize the university and how to find resources for it. We have merely asked in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution for a full report on whether such a university is feasible. The report we request should also include the proposed university's goals as also indicate how it might be organized and financed.

In the last operative paragraph of the resolution, the co-sponsors have expressed the hope that the study will be available early in the International Education Year. This is with a view to coincide with the activities of the International Education Year so that by taking concrete steps, if possible, towards the creation of an international university, we might dedicate ourselves to the kind of education that the world society needs today. Since we tabled our resolution with 27 co-sponsors, we have

made further changes in its preamble. This has been done in a spirit of co-operation and with a view to obtaining the widest possible support.

I conclude, Mr. Chairman, by commending the resolution for unanimous adoption by the Committee.

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**Date**: Dec 01, 1969

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### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Sen's Statement on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

Shri Samar Sen, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Political Committee on December 12, 1969, on international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space:

The year that has seen such magnificent :achievements by the space Powers in outer space has increased further the hopes and expectations of mankind that this great new held of adventure will also provide practical benefits through international cooperation. The report before us goes some way towards encouraging such hopes.

We should like, once again, to extend (our special congratulations to the United States on the extraordinary accomplishment represented by Apollo 10 and 11. Although one of the principle objectives of the outer space Committee - the convention on liability for damage - still seems as much as out of reach as the moon did

until recently, we must congratulate the Committee, its Sub-Committees and its working groups on the advances they have Made. The distinguished Rapporteur of this Committee has our thanks for his fine contribution. Our special thanks are due to the distinguished Chairman, Ambassador Haymerle, for his dedicated and admirable guidance of the outer space Committee in its important work.

My Government attaches great importance to the application of space technology to help solve economic and social problems. We have made several suggestions in this respect and I am glad to find that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has taken favourable decision on many of them. We welcome, in particular, the views expressed in paragraph 15 of that Committee's report contained in document A/7621, in which it was decided that:

"The Committee ... would itself promote more energetically the applications of space technology ... and welcomed the recommendation that the Secretary-General be requested to prepare a comprehensive assessment of the requirements concerning meritorious specific requests for practical space applications . . . as well as ... initiate ... consultation with FAO and other United Nations bodies concerned on the advisability of convening ... a panel to discuss the applicability of space and other remote sensing techniques to the management of food resources ...... (General Assembly Official Records, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 21 (A/7621), para. 15)

We look forward to the results of the Secretary-General's action on these two recommendations, as well as to the Committee's future work in, promoting the application of space technology, inter-alia, by convening panel meetings. We are also glad that the Committee has endorsed a recommendation for the appointment by the Secretary-General of an expert to be appointed specifically to promote practical applications of space technology and we are

sure that the Secretary-General will appoint him in that part of the Secretariat where he can be most effective. We hope that favourable action will be taken on, other suggestions put forward by Indian representatives to the outer space Committee, its Sub-Committees and working groups.

We in India are actively pursuing various space programmes, of which the most familiar to this Committee is the Thumba Equatorial Launching Station. We are glad to find that the outer space Committee has recommended again the continued sponsorship of this project by the United Nations, and we hope that the General Assembly will accept this recommendation.

Another important project undertaken by us is the experiment satellite communications at Ahmedabad. We have received extremely helpful contributions in setting this up from the International Telecommunication Union and UNDP, and we believe that such co-operation by specialized agencies will be of great benefit in developing fruitful programmes of a similar kind. One

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of the objectives of this Ahmedabad project is to provide training for engineers from India and other developing countries in the field of satellite communication. This is a field in which specialized agencies can be extremely useful, and we would like to repeat our suggestion that these bodies, as well as Governments, should provide more fellowships for specialized training.

Another project in the field of outer space which has been recognized as being of great value is satellite television. This is of enormous importance to all countries, especially to developing countries, where questions of national integration need attention. My Government is undertaking a joint experiment with the National, Aeronautics and Space Agency of the United States on a satellite television, system. Our project at Ahmedabad will provide essential links for television programmes and it is my Government's hope that the ITU and the UNDP

will help this experimental station at Ahmedabad further and widen its scope of activity.

We should like to express our appreciation of the statement of the ITU representative before the outer space Committee voicing readiness to make its own contributions to this project. We hope that other specialized agencies also will make significant contributions. For example, UNESCO can help in "software" as well as in training. If the requirements of "hardware" and "software" can be integrated and the contributions of the specialized agencies made complementary, we would achieve the best and quickest results.

The document before us includes a most valuable report by the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites. It has drawn attention to the need for appropriate international bodies to consider how to assist States to benefit from such satellite broadcasts, emphasizing that there can be made available, first, information regarding the latest technological development; secondly, fellowships; and, thirdly, survey missions. The Working Group has also pointed out that direct broadcasting from satellites can make an effective contribution to meeting the needs and particular interests of developing countries, and has again noted that appropriate international agencies should study further these needs and interests and provide information, and appropriate assistance. My delegation strongly supports this recommendation.

Since the convening of this session of the General Assembly, an expert team, including a specialist whom my Government was glad to make available, has visited Argentina and has given a most favourable report on the Mar del Plata. Station. We are happy to note that the outer space Committee has approved United Nations sponsorship for that station. We congratulate Argentina and should like to see the outer space Committee's decision confirmed by the General Assembly.

While the outer space Committee has

made very satisfying progress on these and other scientific and technological-aspects of its work, we regret that it has not found. it possible to conclude a draft convention on liability for damage caused by. objects launched into outer space. My Government attaches very great importance to the urgent conclusion of such a convention, and we find it most unfortunate that success still eludes us. We appreciate the very sincereefforts made by all delegations in the outer space Committee to reach agreement and we are gratified to find that there was a certain rapprochement of views. The completion of an agreed draft is a vital necessity, and we should like to urge all members of the Legal Sub-Committee to carry out this task most urgently so that the outer space-Committee can present an agreed convention for consideration by the General Assembly next year. My delegation ha& been active in trying to reach agreement. We thank those delegations which have supported our draft and we should like to assure members that we shall continue to, do everything we can to try to achieve success on this most pressing need.

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## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Son's Statement on International Atomic Energy Agency

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri Samar Sen, India's Permanent Representative to the U.N., in the General Assembly on the Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency on December 11,

The morning is fairly well advanced and I shall not take more than a few minutes. The Assembly has before it the annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which gives broad indication of the programme of work undertaken by that important organization during the year July 1968 to June 1969. We offer our congratulations to Dr. Eklund on his reappointment as the Director-General of the IAEA.

In introducing the report the Director-General has made an interesting, and important statement. Many of the suggestions and conclusions given by the Director-General will require careful examination, and the delegation of India will study his statement most carefully. As soon as our study is completed, we shall make our views known.

There is one point, however, to which I should like to make a brief reference. The ggestion of peaceful nuclear explosions and the association of the IAEA-in that report was the subject of discussion in the First Committee yesterday. Since my delegation's views were made fully clear there, I shall -not take the time of the Assembly to repeat them here. This is also in conformity with the practice of our delegation that we do not like to discuss the same subject in different places at the same conference. Apart from this, we should like to concentrate our attention on the annual report, which, as the representative of Australia emphasized, is in two parts. We shall take note of that report and support the draft resolution submitted jointly by the delegations of Australia, Brazil and Hungary, as contained in document A/L.582, of 8 December. We have, however, noted with some apprehension paragraph 13 of the introduction to the report. That paragraph indicates that the Agency's ability to respond to the request for technical assistance from its member States has dropped to about 25 per cent in 1969. In 1968 the Agency could meet about 30 per cent of such requests. This reduction of the Agency's capacity to help in that

important field seems due entirely to the fact that the Agency has not been able to reach its target of \$2 million from voluntary contributions by member States. We would add our voice to the new appeals issued by the Director-General to member State and trust that the response will be more than adequate. The Agency could then meet all worth-while requests for technical assistance from member States.

It may not be out of place to inform the Assembly that India contributed \$35,000 as its voluntary contribution to the General fund of the Agency for the year 1969, as against a percentage assessment of \$31,000. This is in conformity with our policy that member States should contribute to the operational budget of the Agency voluntarily and not strictly on the basis of assessment. In addition to its voluntary contributions, India also paid a contribution of \$172,000 in foreign exchange to the regular budget of the Agency. India has further offered, at its own cost, of course, five training fellowships to the nominees of the Agency, on a continuing basis. Five additional fellowships are offered subject to the availability of facilities. Each of those fellowships carries a stipend of 1,000 rupees per month.

The Indian delegation to the General Conference of the IAEA, together with other delegations, has stressed the need to ensure that the Agency's programme of technical assistance, which is quite insignificant because of lack of funds, is not further reduced by growing demands in other fields, particularly in the realm of safeguards. We have spoken about the necessity to examine the long-term prospects of availability of resources in relation to the increasing responsibilities of the Agency. My delegation welcomes the proposal that the Director-General should convene a high-level panel to undertake a systematic study of the past and future expenditures, keeping in mind the cost of the Agency's activities in other

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fields and the available resources. We are confident that the objective assessment which the proposed study would undertake would be of great help to the Agency in planning its future work, at least in some fields.

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## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Sen's Statement on Peace-Keeping Operations

Shri Samar Sen, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made, the following statement in the Special Political Committee on December 10, 1969 on the question of the comprehensive review of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects:

Mr. Chairman,

Once again the Special Political Committee is reviewing a question of great importance for the security of nations and the welfare of their peoples. India, which has taken part in many peace-keeping operations over the years, attaches much significance to this question which is directly related to the future of the United Nations. We have had many debates on this issue and have expressed our views on the constitutional, political and financial aspects of peace-keeping. These views are wellknown and I do not or propose to dwell on them here. I should, however, like to make one or two brief observations on the Report of the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations contained in document A/7742.

The Report is made under the Special Committee's mandate of making a comprehensive review of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects and refers to a study of the United Nations military observers established or authorised by the Security Council for observation purposes, pursuant to Council resolutions. The study of military observer missions - otherwise known as Model I - is presently entrusted to a subsidiary body or a working group. As the Report-states, during the last year, the working group has had several meetings in which many complex and difficult problems were discussed and agreement achieved on some issues. My delegation feels that this was a useful effort, even though the working group, was unable to complete the draft of Model I. My delegation will make detailed comments on Model I on completion of the study. However, we note from the Committee's report that of the eight chapters of the model, the working group reached agreement on the text of all but three. These relate to the establishment. direction and control, as also legal and financial arrangements. So, while there was general agreement on, the purely formal and logistical aspects of military observer missions, much work still remained to be done on the precisely those complex aspects. which have proved intractable in the past. My delegation believes that on these questions there should be the closest possible consultations among the member-states so. that the study could benefit from the peacekeeping experience of different nations. This is especially necessary in view of the wellestablished principle that certain types of operations, excluding those under Chapter VII, but including the stationing of armed personnel for purposes of observation and investigation - can only be undertaken at the invitation of the states concerned or with their express consent. My delegation, has every hope that this aspect will receive adequate attention in the study of Model I.

There is another aspect of the study on which I should like to make a comment. It has been said that Model I might become a prototype for Model II, which would deal with United Nations Peace-Keeping Operations on a larger scale, and could possibly involve armed units. While it is premature to comment on those concrete aspects which the proposed study may emphasise, my dele-

gation wishes to state that each study or model should be considered and judged on its own merits and should not automatically constitute a precedent for another. The Special Committee on Peace-Keeping would, no doubt wish to give the most thorough and careful consideration not only to the model under current study, but also to all pro-

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posals for subsequent models of peace-keeping operations.

Mr. Chairman, on the issue of keeping the peace, the United Nations has nothing to lose and everything to gain from a wider participation in any discussion that may be relevant. We hope that, as in the past, such participation will contribute to a speedy resolution of many problems. Indeed, a proper consideration of all the different points of view on constitutional, legal and financial questions can lead to early completion of the mandate of the Committee. My de-legation is, therefore, gratified to note the Chairman's announcement on the Report that members of the Special Committee could attend the meetings of the working group and that in future such meetings would be announced in the Journal of the United Nations.

The delegation of India wishes to compliment the Bureau of the Special Committee on its stewardship of the Committee's work. We should, in particular, like to express our admiration of the statesmanship displayed by its Chairman, Ambassador Cuevas Cancino of Mexico.

Mr. Chairman, I have touched upon certain aspects of the Report not only because of our continuing interest in peace-keeping but also of the future significance of this question for our Organization. The United Nations can contemplate the coming decade with some assurance, if memberstates are prepared to support the excellent principles of the Charter, and above all, to banish the use of force and violence in all international relations.

Peace-keeping is indeed an important

factor in bringing about that degree of confidence where complete disarmament and pacific settlement of all disputes would come nearer realization. If peace-keeping could be matched with peace-building, the principle laid down in the Charter would be much easier to fulfil. It is in this spirit that we shall support the draft resolution, although we fully appreciate that this is but a modest beginning of a long and hard road we are yet to travel.

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**Date**: Dec 01, 1969

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## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Azim Husain's Statement in Political Committee on Disarmament

Shri Azim Husain, Indian Ambassador in Switzerland, and Member of the Indian Delegation to the U.N., made the following statement in the First (Political) Committee on disarmament on December 1, 1969:

Mr. Chairman, Once again we are engaged in a discussion of the crucial subject of disarmament, which each year, as armaments multiply, gains in importance and urgency. As rapid technological advances are made, especially in nuclear technology, the gap between the nuclear-weapon Powers and the rest of the world becomes wider and wider, and so also the ever-increasing serious threat to international peace and security. Never before in history, as mentioned by the Foreign Minister of India in the general debate, has the "concentration of enormous power in the hands of a few nations" led "to a division of the world into spheres of influence, in which might alone becomes right in the ordering of relations

between States". (A\PV.1775, page 62).

"It is imperative"- he added - "that this" slow but steady "drift towards a new and unequal balance of power be halted and reversed" (Ibid.).

It is in that context that my delegation views the problem of disarmament.

Ten years ago, by its historic resolution 1378 (XIV), which was unanimously adopted. the General Assembly expressed the hope "that measures- leading towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control" would "be worked out in detail and agreed upon in the shortest possible time". Little or nothing was done to implement that resolution. Last year, in General Assembly resolution 2544 B-(XXIII), the Conference of the Commit-

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tee on Disarmament was again specifically asked lo make renewed efforts towards achieving substantial progress in reaching agreement on the question of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and urgently to analyse the plans already under consideration and other that might be put forward to see how, in particular, rapid progress could be made in the field of nuclear disarmament. But, as we are all aware, in the year that has elapsed the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has failed even to consider, let alone make progress, in this matter.

The work which the Committee began in 1962 on the drafting of a treaty on general and complete disarmament could not proceed beyond the stage of agreement on the preamble and the first four articles, and even that agreement was subject to certain reservations by both the Soviet Union and the United States. Since 1964 no further, negotiations have been undertaken on this fundamental question, which, it now seems, is relegated to some dim and distant future.

My delegation suggested in Geneva that progress in this regard would be facilitated

if the United States and the Soviet Union, in the light of various suggestions which had been put forward, and many developments which have since taken place, were to submit revised versions of their draft treaties, which had been presented in 1962. That has not been done. Instead, efforts are concentrated on non-armament measures and proposals for what has come to be called "arms control". This is a retrograde step from the position obtaining in 1962. Military expenditures have doubled during the sixties, and as pointed out by the Secretary-General, the expenditure on arms and military preparations has increased from \$20,000 million in 1962 to \$200,000 million this year. All this has resulted only in strengthening the monopoly of the nuclear-weapon Powers and increased insecurity for the world.

There has been much talk about collateral measures. However, it needs to be borne in mind that no individual collateral measure can have any meaning, much less any chance of success, unless it is conceived of as part of a general process of total disarmament. Efforts have been made to assert that collateral measures already concluded - to which repeated reference is made represent concrete progress towards disarmament. Those measures, however, have been purely preventive in their nature and purpose, and for the majority of the world's population they do not represent progress towards disarmament, for they do not bring the benefits that were expected to accrue from disarmament.

The urgent need for nuclear disarmament has been the subject of many General Assembly resolutions, but the fact is that negotiations on measures of actual nuclear disarmament, as distinct from non-armament measures, have been at a virtual standstill. There has also been a great deal of talk about giving the highest priority to nuclear disarmament. However, as the representative of Sweden pointed out, discrepancies between priorities stated and results obtained seem to be the rule rather than the exception. That tendency is well illustrated by the lack of any progress towards the achievement of a comprehensive test ban

which is the key to both vertical and horizontal nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. The view has been repeated here and elsewhere that the non-proliferation treaty is a major step in the history of disarmament. It is difficult to accept that view, since the non-proliferation treaty is essentially a nonarmament measure and does not in any way curb galloping vertical proliferation. The attempts to curb horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons in no way alter or curb the hegemony of major nuclear-weapon Powers, and it is vertical proliferation which continues to menace the security of mankind. In defence of this situation it has been said that radical steps in the field of nuclear disarmament are not possible unless they are carried out by all nuclear Powers and not by only some of them. However, we are not told what steps are being taken by the principal nuclear-weapon Powers to find a solution to this problem.

The progressive, qualitative quantitative proliferation of nuclear weapons and delivery systems has continued unabated. It is, therefore, a matter of some satisfaction, that the hope expressed in General Assembly resollution 2456 D (XXIII), calling for the early commencement of the bilateral talks for the

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limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms, has been fulfilled in that at least preliminary talks began at Helsinki on 17 November 1969, though it must be added that it has taken a year and a half for this step to be taken. My delegation joins other delegations in expressing the earnest hope that the talks will lead to an early and successful conclusion. While their success could provide impetus to agreement on other arms control measures leading to the eventual cessation of the nuclear arms race, both the Soviet Union and the United States have warned us that it would be unwise to expect quick results. It is also to be borne in mind that the other major nuclear-weapon Powers are not parties to these talks, as is also the fact that the objective of these talks is limited to the further growth of arsenals of Powers already over-armed in the interest

of preserving the strategic balance and for financial reasons. Considering these facts, we cannot accept the view that, pending the successful conclusion of these talks, disarmament negotiations such as in the Committee on Disarmament or in the General Assembly or in other forums should be suspended or be regarded as of no consequence and that no urgent steps need be taken towards, for example, a comprehensive test ban, the absence of which means the continuation of the development of more and more dangerous nuclear weapons. International peace and security is not the exclusive concern of the two Powers engaged in these talks but also to those who would suffer destruction as a result of armed con. frontation which would make no distinction between the two combatants and the mere spectators. The whole question of disarmament and even of nuclear disarmament is broader and larger in scope than of nuclear weapon delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles. My delegation would, therefore like to endorse the suggestion made by those previous speakers who called for the establishment of a very close relationship between the strategic arms limitation negotiations and the conference of the Committee on Disarmament. My delegation also agrees with other delegations that have expressed support for the suggestion contained in the report of the Secretary-General that, pending progress in these talks, it would be helpful if the United States and the Soviet Union stopped all further development of new offensive and defensive strategic systems, whether by agreement or by a unilateral moratorium on each side. For that reason, my delegation, along with eleven other delegations, has cosponsored the draft resolution contained in document A\C.1\L.490, appealing to the United States and the Soviet Union to agree as an urgent preliminary measure on a moratorium on further testing and deployment of new offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapon systems.

Inseparably linked with the question of the limitation of strategic nuclear weapon development is the ending of underground nuclear weapon tests, to which the, Government of India has always attached the highest importance. General Assembly resolution 1762 A (XVII), adopted in 1962, condemned all nuclear weapon tests and asked that they cease immediately and not later than 1 January 1963. The partial test ban treaty of 1963 contained a definite promise of ending underground tests. Seven years have passed and cessation of underground tests is nowhere in sight. On the contrary, this period has been marked by an increasing frequency, of nuclear explosions, with all their recognized illeffects. As my delegation has stated before the partial test ban has continued to remain doubly partial. It has not been adhered to by all the nuclear-weapon States, and the continued atmospheric testing has not only increased the levels of radio-activity but also rendered the future of the treaty uncertain. Moreover, violations of the partial test ban treaty have occurred through the venting as a result of certain underground tests, of radio-activity which has spread outside the territory of the testing State. There is a serious apprehension that these violations might become even more frequent, as weapons of megaton yields are tested underground for the purpose of developing and testing newer and more destructive weapon systems, including warheads for anti-ballistic missiles.

India was the first country to press for a suspension of all nuclear-weapon tests and has consistently been of the view that, whatever might be the differences on the question of verification, all nuclear-weapon tests should immediately be discontinued. Nego-

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tiations could then be undertaken to reso the outstanding differences with a view making the present partial treaty a comprehensive one. Of this there is a scientific and technical aspect, in which much progress has been made; but even more important is the political aspect, and it is now evident that it is only the lack of political will which has stood, and still stands, in the way of the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

General Assembly resolution 2455 (XXIII), in its operative paragraph 4, asked "as a matter of urgency" the elaboration of a treaty banning underground nuclear-weapon tests. The Indian delegation, therefore, welcomed at Geneva the initiative of the Swedish delegation in submitting in document ENDC\242, suggestions as to possible provisions of a treaty banning underground nuclear-weapon tests, which helped to focus attention on the specific problems, including that of the need for onsite inspections, involved in a comprehensive test ban. We expressed the view that that draft treaty provided a realistic basis for negotiations on formulating a comprehensive test ban for universal adherence. It is imperative that the Conference, of the Committee on. Disarmament should now make renewed efforts towards the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. It is also important that until such a treaty is concluded, all nuclear-weapon States should suspend further nuclear-weapon tests in all environments and that those States that have not done so adhere without further delay to the partial test-ban treaty. With this conviction, we have co-sponsored, along with the delegations of Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Sweden, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia, the resolution contained in document A\C.1\L.486, which we hope will receive the unanimous approval of this Committee.

While We do not believe that the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty should await the perfection of seismic detection and identification techniques, we favour the intensification of co-operation for an international exchange of seismological data. Resolution 2455(XXIII), in the sixth paragraph of its preamble, recalled the need to take into account "the existing possibilities of establishing through international cooperation, a voluntary exchange of seismic data so as to create a better scientific basis for a national evaluation of seismic events\$, and, in its operative paragraph 3, expressed the hope that "States will contribute to an effective international exchange of seismic data". The Indian delegation therefore welcomed the submission, by the delegation of

Canada, of a working paper, contained in document ENDC\251\Rev.1, on a request to Governments for information about exchange of seismological data. Undoubtedly, an effective scheme for the unrestricted exchange of high-quality seismic data on a world-wide basis, coupled with centralized means for collating and reducing them for quick and reliable interpretation leading to accurate estimates of location, depth and the nature of seismic sources will help to remove to a very, great extent if not fully, the remaining reservations as to the effectiveness of seismic means of verifying a comprehensive test-ban treaty. As was brought out at the meeting last year of the Stockholm International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research (SIPRI), such a step would be only an extension of the principle of international cooperation which has been the main feature of seismological research and development. The Government of India would agree to provide the information required in respect of their one array station and four observatories with standardized seismographs. The financial implications and logistic support required for such an arrangement will however, have to be examined carefully, The Government of India would thus be ready to co-operate actively in any system of seismological data exchange, provided it is an effective one based on equal participation and full co-operation of all concerned. On this understanding, the Indian delegation has co-sponsored, along with fifteen other delegations, the draft resolution contained in document A\C.1\L.485.

Believing in a step-by-step approach for the achievement of nuclear disarmament, the Indian delegation has repeatedly stressed that a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapon purposes would constitute a significant advance towards a complete stoppage of the further production of nuclear weapons. The difficulty of veri-

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fication of a, cut-off in the -production of fissionable materials for weapon purposes, as several delegations have already stated, can no longer be cited as a reason for not reaching an agreement on this measure, since an agreement on controls, as elaborated in the non-proliferation Treaty, already exists and the obligations of the nuclear-weapon States in respect of inspection by the IAEA could be made the same as those of the States not having nuclear weapons. It is, therefore, to be hoped that this issue will receive priority and be related to the stoppage of the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

I should now like to deal with the guestion of chemical and bacteriological weapons. My delegation welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on chemical and bacteriological weapons and the effects of their possible use, document A\7575, as a valuable contribution in support of efforts towards the elimination of such weapons. My delegation agrees with the suggestion made by several delegations that the report should be widely distributed throughout the world in as many languages as practicable, so as to contribute to a general public awareness of the profoundly dangerous results that would follow if those weapons were ever to be used, and that an aroused public opinion would compel Governments to work for the earliest effective elimination of chemical and bacteriological weapons. We generally agree with the views expressed by the Secretary-General in his thoughtful and well-considered forword appended to the report, and in particular with the three recommendations mentioned at the end of his foreword

The first essential step for the General Assembly is to renew the appeal to all States for strict observance of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol, and also to appeal to those States that have not so far acceded to the Protocol to do so soon in the course of 1970 in commemoration of the forty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Protocol and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

It is equally necessary, as suggested by the Secretary-General, for the General Assmbly to make a clear affirmation that the prohibition contained in the Geneva Protocol applies to the use in war of all chemical, bacteriological and biological agents, including tear gas and other harassing agents, which now exist or which may be developed in the future.

In the context of use in war it is impossible and unjustifiable to distinguish between lethal and non-lethal chemical agents. The Protocol concerns itself with use in war between states and it does not concern itself with internal use of those agents within the scope of municipal law relating to civil commotion or riot control. The argument that it is not possible to refrain from use in war, against an enemy, of agents which have been adopted for peacetime use against any enemy, of agents which have been adopted for peacetime use against one's own population as being clearly more humane than other means is untenable for two reasons. - Firstly, tear gas and other incapacitating agents are used internally to disperse rioting mobs or to capture criminals; in War they are used not only to incapacitate or immobilize but thereafter to destroy the enemy more easily and effectively with conventional weapons, which is hardly humane. My delegation agrees with the conclusion reached in paragraph 4 of the report, which states:

"It is true that a considerable effort has also been made to develop chemical agents which have as their purpose not to kill but to reduce a man's capacity to fight. Such agents are used by civil authorities of a number of countries in order to suppress disorders and to control riots, but when used in warfare they would inevitably be employed as an adjunct to other forms of attack, and their over-all effect might be lethal." (A 7575, para. 4)

Secondly, it may be possible theoretically to draw a distinction between tear gases and poisonous gases, but on the battlefield escalation from tear gas to more harmful substances would be difficult to resist or control. It is quite possible that an irritant agent will cause death on a battlefield. In the eyes of an

enemy that has access to lethal chemical weapons, there may be little difference between the use of lethal gas and the use of an irritant that increases the lethality of other weapons. In the heat of battle the two may be quite indistinguishable.

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Furthermore, when this matter was discussed in Geneva, my delegation also drew attention to the fact that in regard to the nature of the chemical agents which are prohibited under the Geneva Protocol, parties to the Protocol have already subscribed to a uniform construction during their discussions under the League of Nations from 1930 to 1932. The British Government in a memorandum submitted to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, stated:

"Basing itself on this English text, the British Government have taken the view that the use in war of 'other' gases, including lachrymatory gases, was prohibited".

The French Government, which was the depositary Government of the Geneva Protocol, agreed and stated categorically:

"All the texts at present in force or proposed in regard to the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or similar gases are identical. In the French delegation's opinion, they apply to all gases employed with a view to toxic action on the human organism, whether the effects of such action are a more or less temporary irritation of certain mucous membranes or whether they cause serious or even fatal lesions... The French Government, therefore, considers . that the use of lachrymatory gases is covered by the prohibition arising out of the Geneva Protocol of 1925... The fact that, for the maintenance of internal order, the police, when dealing with offenders against the law, sometimes use various appliances discharging irritant gases cannot, in the French delegation's opinion, be adduced in a discussion on

this point, since the Protocol ... in question relates only to the use of poisonous or similar gases in war."

A number of other members of the Preparatory Commission -- Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Japan, Spain, the Soviet Union, China, Italy, Canada and Turkey - agreed with the British and French interpretation, concurring that it was not possible to distinguish between lethal and non-lethal gases for purposes of war.

Furthermore, in a unanimous report by a Special Committee of the 1932 Conference the prohibition was defined to encompass all substances "whether toxic, asphyxiating, lachrymatory, irritant, vesicant, or capable in any way of producing harmful effects on human or animal organism, whatever the method of their use". The Disarmament Conference by a resolution adopted on 23 July 1932, without dissent accepted that recommendation of the Special Committee. It may be noted that the United States which was not a party to the Geneva Protocol, expressed the view that while the use of tear gas for local police purposes should be allowed, the United States agreed that its use in war should be prohibited.

For those reasons my delegation has, along with the delegations of Argentina, Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sweden, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, and Jamaica, sponsored, the draft resolution contained in document A\C.1\L.489 which declares as contrary to the generally recognized rules of international law as embodied in the Geneva Protocol the use in international armed conflicts of all chemical and biological agents of warfare. The clear and comprehensive definition of chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents is derived from the report of the Secretary-General, in the composition of which he was assisted by fourteen distinguished scientists from different parts of the world including the United States of America and the Soviet Union. This declaration should dispel for the future any uncertainty about the scope

and nature of the prohibition contained in the Geneva Protocol and recognized rules of international law. It needs to be stated clearly that it is neither possible nor desirable that to meet the military doctrine or military requirements of any State, whether it is or is not a party to the Protocol, any exception should be made to the comprehensive prohibition of all chemical agents envisaged under the Geneva Protocol and recognized rules of international law.

The third recommendation of the Seeretary-General call upons all countries to reach agreement to halt the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents for

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Purposes of war and to achieve their effective elimination from the arsenals of weapons. This is a matter of urgency because these weapons are cheaper than nuclear weapons to produce and to deploy, and it is easier to conceal their development than that of nuclear weapons, some thirty countries are said to have the potential. to develop them into lethal weapons. So it would seem necessary and it is generally agreed that we should proceed to elaborate a convention or conventions supplementary to the Geneva Protocol to deal with the problem of development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. What, however, we are not agreed on is whether we should be dealing with both chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons in one convention or two conventions, and if in two conventions, whether separately or simultaneously, or with bacteriological (biological) weapons now and chemical weapons later. It is the firm view of the Indian delegation that both types of weapons should be dealt with together or simultaneously, and we remain unconvinced that bacteriological (biological) weapons should be dealt with first, and chemical weapons dealt with later.

It was pointed out by us in Geneva that both bacteriological (biological) and chemical weapons are classified as weapons of mass destruction, and since they alone exclusively exercise their effects on living organic matter - human beings, animals and plants - they need to be dealt with together. The Secretary-General, in his report, has stated that:

"All biological processes depend upon chemical or physico-chemical reactions, and what may be regarded today as a biological agent, could, tomorrow ... be treated as chemical." (A\7575. para. 19)

Bacterial toxins, for example, have been classified as either biological or as chemical agents in different international instruments and publications. There is thus an intimate link between bacteriological (biological) and chemical agents and, indeed, the development of the latter is facilitated by the former. While it is true that chemical weapons have been used and bacteriological (biological) weapons have not been used, since 1926 both have been dealt with together in international agreements since the First and Second World Wars; so, also in the respective drafts of a treaty on general and complete disarmament submitted by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1962.

The 1966 and 1968 General Assembly resolutions and the Secretary-General's report deal with both weapons together. The means of delivery of both chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents are practically the same, and in the armed forces of many countries the same services deal with both of them. Further, if bacteriological (biological) weapons are to be dealt with now and chemical weapons left for a later consideration because of difference of opinion over the definition of chemical wea-Pons, it will intensify the chemical weapons arms race and would seem, to legitimize it, particularly since these weapons have been used in the past. That would be unfortunate because as the Secretary-General has noted:

"The ... threat posed by chemical weapons today derives from the existence of new, and far more toxic,

chemical compounds than were known fifty years ago." (Ibid para. 15).

Finally, as separate treatment of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons would lead to the weakening of the Protocol because it would appear that the Protocol was deficient and only partially valid. It would be difficult to justify to world opinion why bacteriological (biological) weapons, which have never been used against mankind, should be dealt with first and chemical weapons, which have been used several times with disastrous results, dealt with later at some future unspecified date.

For these reasons we share the view expressed by a number of delegations that the General Assembly should ask the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to give urgent consideration to the conclusion of an agreement on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, and on the elimination of existing stocks of such weapons, taking into account the need for both weapons to be dealt with simultaneously and

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for the agreement to contain necessary provisions for its effective implementation and verification. For that purpose the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should take full account of the draft convention submitted by the delegations of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian SSR and the Soviet Union (A\7685), and the draft convention on the prohibition of biological methods of warfare submitted on the prohibition of biologcal methods of warfare submitted by the United Kingdom (ENDC\225\Rev.1), as well as other suggestions which have been made in Geneva and during the current debate here.

The keen interest in the sea-bed evinced by major maritime Powers, from the point of view both of economic exploitation and of defence, is indeed significant. Vast numbers of personnel are engaged in exploration, research and experimentation, and increasingly enormous sums of money are being spent on oceanographic programmes. India is vitally interested in this problem because the Indian ocean is one of the earth's four largest oceans, namely the Pacific, the Atlantic, the Indian and the Arctic. The Indian Ocean covers 28,350,000 square miles, one seventh of the planet. India participated in the International Indian Ocean Expedition, which lasted six years, from 1959 to 1965, and in which thirty nations participated and forty research ships sailed 4 million miles across the Indian Ocean. The Indian delegation, therefore actively participated in Geneva in the discussions concluding with the submission by the United States and the Soviet Union of the draft treaty contained in document CCD\269\Rev.1. As there was no time to discuss this revised draft, the Indian delegation reserved its position for discussion here, where we would have the benefit of the views of other Members of the United Nations.

Our basic approach is that in the interest of mankind, the exploration and the use of the sea-bed and ocean floor should be strictly for peaceful purposes, that there should be international co-operation for this purpose, and that exploitation should be carried out for the benefit of mankind as a whole, irrespective of geographical location of States, taking into account the special interests and needs of developing countries. We therefore need to consider all proposals keeping those criteria in mind. Having said that, my delegation, to begin with, would like to recall that the discussion began in Geneva on 18 March 1969 with the presentation by the Soviet delegation of the draft of a "treaty on the prohibition of the use of military purposes of the sea-bed", but what we are now considering here is the limited prohibition of only the emplacement of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed. My delegation expressed the view in Geneva and still maintains that the treaty should not limit its prohibition only to weapons of mass destruction and should, in principle, extend to all weapons, and to military bases and fortifications, and to other, installations and structures of a military nature which, inter alia, could pose a threat, particularly to the security of coastal States.

We therefore find the nature of the prohibition envisaged in article 1 to be greatly limited, and agree with the statement in the third preambular paragraph of the need to continue negotiations for further measures leading to the exclusion of the sea-bed from the arms race. In that connexion the Swedish delegation made, in document CCD\271, the modest proposal that the commitment contained in the third preambular paragraph be introduced in the operative part of the treaty, thus constituting parallel to article VI of the non-proliferation Treaty. The Swedish delegation has renewed this proposal in document A\C.1\994, and we strongly support it because a partial treaty must at least be combined with a firm pledge to strive towards a more comprehensive one; otherwise it risks having the effect of passively legitimizing all other activities than the one explicitly mentioned.

A number of delegations have expressed disatisfaction with the first paragraph of the preamble, which recognizes the common interest of mankind in the progress of the exploration and use of the sea-bed, but makes no reference to resolution 2467 A (XXIII), which affirmed that exploration and exploitation must be carried out for the benefit of mankind as a whole, irrespective

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of the geographical location, of States and taking into account the special interests and needs of developing countries. We share the view of other delegations that this paragraph needs amplification on these lines.

For the purpose of defining the length of the maritime zone, a very large number of delegations have strongly objected to the reference in article 1 to the 1952 Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone as unnecessary, needlessly complicated, and even prejudicial to the

position of those States which are not parties to the Convention. It is necessary to replace this by an unambiguous reference to the 12-mile maritime zone as in article 1 of the Soviet draft contained in document ENDC\240, which avoids reference to the limits of other zones over which coastal States enjoy or exercise rights or competence. In this context, it has also been suggested by several delegations that the disclaimer clause contained in article 11, paragraph 2, needs to be mentioned independently and clearly in a separate article before the articles of the preamble. We agree with this view.

However, our greatest concern is with the unsatisfactory provision for verification in article 111. My delegation has serious doubts whether the "right to verify" provided for in paragraph 1 of article 111 could be effectively implemented by the procedure on consultation and co-operation mentioned in paragraph 3 of article 111. We notice that the provision made in article 2 of the Soviet draft (ENDC\240) that all installations and structures on the sea-bed "shall be. open" for verification has been droped, and so also provision made in article 111 of the United States draft (ENDC 249) for the freedom "to observe activities of other States on the sea-bed". These changes would greatly restrict the "right to verify", leaving total discretion to the nuclear-weapon Powers to do what they liked without any regard to the apprehensions of coastal States. Article III does not specify what the "right to verify" entails for nuclear-weapon Powers and for non-nuclear-weapon coastal States to ensure to the satisfaction of all concerned the observance of the prohibition contained in the treaty. flow can the right to verify be exercised if a nuclear-weapon Power is entitled not to disclose its activities on the sea-bed or permit access to its seabed installations? How does one know what is emplaced unless the proximity of approach and observation of a kind which would be adequate enough to ascertain whether or not nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction have been emplaced is assured? To have the matter to the total discretion of a suspected nuuclear-weapon

State is not good enough. It is said that paragraph 3 of article 111 contains an undertaking "to consult and to co-operate" but the extent and the nature of this consultation and co-operation are not specified, and in the circumstances the right to verify may be further restricted in practice. It is not stated what would happen if this procedure did not produce results to the satisfaction of the coastal State. concerned. It therefore seems to us necessary that the principle of some kind of international verification on the sea-bed is essentially sound and should be reflected in the treaty.

The leader of the Canadian delegation, at our 1692nd meeting, enumerated the requirements of a viable verification article as follows:

"First, that verification procedures must be devised which would generate legal right of all States party to the treaty to initiate the verification process and to obtain assistance, if necessary, through appeal to an international organization, and not have to rely solely on the goodwill of the two nuclear Powers...

"Secondly, we have said that in certain cases physical inspection, if necessary with the help of States with advanced underwater nuclear capabilities would be necessary to provide assurance of effective verification, and we have asked that this contingency should be porvided for in the treaty.

"Thirdly, the treaty should contain a clear provision to ensure that in carrying out verification the continental shelf full account be taken of the special rights and interests of a coastal State in connexion with possible military activities on its continental shelf, and indeed of the interests of all

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patries in this region of any suspected violation." (1692nd meeting, p.61)

My delegation agrees with these basic requirements for an acceptable verification article and generally supports the proposals for the provisions of article 111 contained in document A\C.1\992 submitted by the delegation of Canada. And it is our view that certain other elements, contained in the Brazilian working paper A\C.1\993, also deserve careful and serious consideration.

It is the hope of my delegation that the concerns regarding verification and other matters that I have mentioned, and which are shared by a very large number of delegations, will receive the earnest consideration of the sponsors of the draft treaty and that the necessary changes will be made before it can be offered to the world community for acceptance.

With regard to item 31 of the agenda relating to the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, we have before us three valuable reports submitted by the Secretary-General, contained in documents A\7568, A\7677 and A\7678. The report concerning the Contribution of Nuclear Technology to the Economic and Scientific Advancement of the Developing Countries (A\7568) provides authoritative information on the vast possibilities which are available and those which are in the process of development, and which could be exploited to enable developing countries to make more rapid development than has been possible so far. My delegation would like to support the recommendations of the group of experts contained in paragraphs 158-262, and in particular those relating to increased multilateral technical assistance and the finding of such assistance. The Group has rightly stated: "Major nuclear projects such as power plants, however, require financing far beyond the reach and scope of IAEA and UNDP" (A\7568, Para 261) has expressed:

"the hope that international sources of finance, specially IBRD, will review the position taken so far on the prospects, criteria and conditions for financing major nuclear installations, bearing in mind not the immediate bnefits from initial projects but also the long-term contribution that such projects could make to the further development of the developing countries." (Ibid, paar 262)

As regards the establishment, within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency(IAEA), of an international service for nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes under appropriate international Control, the views of the Government of India are stated in paragraphs 18 to 20 of document A\7678. In our opinion the IAEA is fully competent, under the provisions of its statute, to undertake that responsibilty, and that responsibility can and should be discharged by the IAEA and that should be done on a non-discriminatory basis and upon request by Member States. It needs to be made-clear that in conformity with article XI of the statute of the IAEA all nonnuclear-weapon States members of the IAEA have the right to share equally in the benefits to be derived from the functioning of the service. We agree with those delegations that believe that no condition can legally be imposed on the categories of recipients of assistance from that service bevond that of the membership of the IAEA. We have expressed the view in Geneva and in Vienna that after and in the context of a comprehensive test ban treaty, a separate international agreement would need to be negotiated for regulating the conduct of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. which would legislate the purposes for which the explosions would be permitted and lay down the conditions under which they would be conducted

Before I conclude, I should like to say that the concept of the close inter-relationship between economic development, disarmament and security is now fully recognized by the world community. That reflected in resolution 2499 (XXIV) adopted on 31 October 1969, endorsing the call of the Secretary General for the proclamation of a disarmament decade which will coincide with the Second United Nations Development Decade, and in this respect the competent bodies of the United Nations have been entrusted with the task of presenting concrete proposals to the General Assembly

at its twenty-fifth session. The Secretary-General has expressed the hope that the members of the General Assembly could establish a specific programme and time-table

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for dealing with all aspects of the problems of arms control and disarmament. Broad outlines, of course, already exist in the numerous resolutions passed by the General Assembly and the preliminary agenda adopted by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament on 15 August 1968. The Indian delegation has pointed out both in Geneva and here that that agenda was adopted without assigning priorities to the specific measures of nuclear disarmament or priority inter se between the items listed under the other three categories. The Indian delegation does not agree with the view that the Committee should not be rigid in its priorities which, in this context, would amount to saying that we should not have any priorities at all. We feel that some order of priorities is necessary, and once some order of priorities has been established and also recognized as being indicative of the political will to reach agreement, as improved organization or better mechanics of work would follow automatically. Then and only then will the goal of general and complete disarmament be reached in the shortest possible time.

INDIA USA SWITZERLAND SWEDEN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC FINLAND BRAZIL BURMA ETHIOPIA MEXICO MOROCCO NIGER NIGERIA YUGOSLAVIA CANADA RUSSIA OMAN ROMANIA JAPAN NORWAY SLOVAKIA SPAIN CHINA ITALY TURKEY ARGENTINA PAKISTAN JAMAICA HUNGARY MONGOLIA POLAND UNITED KINGDOM AUSTRIA

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## **Volume No**

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#### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan's Statement on Palestine Refugees

Professor Resheeduddin Khan, Member, Indian Delegation to the XXIV session of the General Assembly, made the following statement in the Special Political Committee, on December 2, 1969, on the Report of the Commissioner General of United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestine Refugees:

#### Mr. Chairman.

The Special Political Committee takes up for consideration once again the sorry plight of one and a half million Palestine refugees rendered homeless more than a generation ago. The annual discussion of this urgent and tragic issue is a reminder of the unfinished task of the United Nations and the responsibility of the international community in securing justice for these people. The problem of refugees, however, is not simply a humanitarian question; it is essentially a political problem deeply intertwined with many other complex issues affecting the peace and stability of the region. It is also an urgent problem that must be resolved in the interest of peace and security. It is indeed, to borrow the succinct expression of our distinguished Secretary-General: "One of the pressing and urgent of all international problems demanding solution." We earnestly hope that the United Nations, which has dealt with this question for more than twenty years, will provide expeditiously a just solution that will also be practicable and fair to all.

Mr. Chairman, West Asia has experienced three wars within living memory, and of all the people affected, the Arabs of Palestine have borne the brunt of these tragic events. For many of them who lost their hearths and homes the passage of time has brought no succour or ray of hopes. It has, on the contrary, only added to their disappointment and consequent frustration. This is precisely the kind of situation which the United Nations sought to forestall more

than twenty years ago. In its resolution 194 (III) the General Assembly laid down the principles of repatriation and compensation, under which the refugees wishing to go home and live in peace with their neighbours were to be afforded an opportunity to do so; while compensation was to be paid to those chosing not to return. It is a matter of deep and profound regret that this formula, which provides a fair and equitable basis for a solution to an otherwise complex problem, has not been implemented in spite of the numerous appeals and exhortations from the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, the failure to find a just settlement of the refugee problem has been further aggravated by the stream of displaced persons who were expelled from their native lands in the June 1967 conflict. The future of these people has been the subject of much discussion and several resolutions in the last two years and, what is more, the community of nations has ex-

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Pressed its will clearly and unanimously in this regard. The General Assembly resolution 2454 A (XXIII) calls upon "The Government of Israel to take effective and immediate steps for the return without delay of those inhabitants who fled the area since the outbreak of hostilities." We regret, however, that so little has been done in the direction of implementing this resolution.

Mr. Chairman, the continuation of the tension in West Asia is a matter of profound and abiding concern to India, as it is, undoubtedly, to other members of the United Nations as well. Our position on this is too well-known to bear any reiteration. Therefore, we regret to find out that on the basic problems confronting the peace of the region there has been little progress, in the last two years to redress the grievances and to right the wrong. On the contrary, recent months have seen a perceptible aggravation of tensions in the entire area. This is a dangerous and an alarming trend and my delegation earnestly hopes that in spite of the present difficulties in the search for

peaceful settlement, all members of the United Nations and especially the Permanent Members of the Security Council will redouble their efforts to bring about an early implementation of the Security Council's resolution of 22nd November 1967. We are convinced that a just and lasting peace can be built on the basis of the main principles of this laudable resolution. It is heartening to recall that these principles have the support of the overwhelming majority of the United Nations. Progress in the implementation of this resolution will, we are confident, reverse the present trend towards increasing drift towards violence and instability in the region. It is also clear that there is but a bleak prospect of a lasting peace in the area without the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all, and I repeat all, the Arab territories occupied since the June 1967 conflict.

My delegation would like to record its appreciation of the commendable work done by UNRWA, and in particular its Director-General Dr. Michelmore, in rendering assistance to the refugees and the displaced persons. We consider it essential that pending the settlement of larger and more fundamental issues, the UNRWA should continue its task of rendering relief, health and education-services to the refugees. The social and economic services of UNRWA are essential both for the physical well-being and maintenance of the morale of the refugee population. At the same time, as the Report makes it abundently clear, Israeli occupation has caused much political unrest in the refugee camps and has undermined the Agency's operations in the entire area. It is abundantly clear that a reversal of some of the present occupation policies of Israel is

### imperative.

Mr. Chairman, the recurring deficits in the finances of the Agency are a matter of concern to all of us. My delegation hopes that adequate financial resources would be made available, particularly by the developed and more affluent countries. On its part, my country, in spite of its own pressing requirements of nation-building, will maintain this year the same level of contributions as in the previous years.

Mr. Chairman, I have briefly delineated the views of my delegation on the salient features of the problems of Palestine refugees. We are convinced that this deeply human problem need not wait and may not be sidetracked pending the solution of the larger problem of peace in West Asia. Indeed, progress in this field, we hope, would contribute in building a proper atmosphere for the better implementation of the 22nd November resolution. We trust that the international community will now bend all its efforts towards a just settlement of the refugee problem and lay the foundations of a lasting peace in the West Asian region. In that event we may all celebrate the twentyfifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations next year with a sense of satisfaction in restoring dignity to one of the worst sufferers in the contemporary history of mankind.

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#### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri J. S. Teja's Statement on U.N. Programme of Assistance

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri J. S. Teja, Member of the Indian Delegation to the U.N., in the Sixth Committee on December 5, 1969 on United Nations Programme of Assistance in the teaching, study, dissemination and wider appreciation of international law:

As the United Nations approaches its

25th Anniversary, it is a matter of deep satisfaction to note that the basic principles of our organization are being increasingly accepted among the peoples of the world. The principles of sovereign equality of nations, respect for their independence and territorial integrity, the prohibition of the use of force in the relations amongst nations, resspect for fundamental human rights, these are some of the guide posts on the road to world order. International law has played a great and noble part in the evolution of these norms. It is, therefore, only appropriate and fitting that the Assembly once again discuss the question of programme of assistance in the teaching, study, dissemination and wider appreciation of international law.

The present programme which was established by the General Assembly resolution 2099(XX), dated 20th December, 1965 consists of two parts (1) to encourage and coordinate existing international law programmes conducted by different states and other organizations; and (2) the provision of direct assistance by the United Nations and other bodies. We note from the report of the Secretary-General contained in document A\7740 of 12th November, 1969 that the United Nations has taken a number of steps to implement the programme during 1969. These are detailed in section 2 (a) paragraphs 5 to 19 of the Secretary-General's report. The report also gives an account of the activities of UNESCO, UNITAR as well as the United Nations-UNITAR Fellowship Programme in international law. We are particularly gratified to observe the close cooperation between the United Nations, UNESCO, UNITAR as well as other organisations and institutions in Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America.

In this connection one cannot but note the particularly valuable role of the United Nations' Institute for Training and Research. I should like to pay a special tribute to its Executive Director, Chief Adebo, for his inspiring and dedicated leadership of this Institute. I should also like to record our appreciation of the valuable contribution made by the Deputy Executive
Director & the Director of Rerearch,
Dr. O. Schachter and his co-workers in implementing the Programmes of Assistance in
Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider
Appreciation of International Law. Man of
the studies conducted by the UNITAR have
been of considerable help, in the discussion
of various problems at the United Nations,
as for instance a recent study on the impediments to a wider, acceptance of multilateral treaties. In our opinion such studies
are of great value in the progressive development and codification of international
law.

My delegation is pleased to note the UNITAR's work in organising regional seminars and training programmes including the one recently held in Manila for which we thank the Representative of Philippines for the facilities it offered for the seminar. We must also record our appreciation of UNESCO's valuable assistance to the universities in developing countries in the field of teaching international law. My country has taken a continuing interest in the U.N. programme on International Law.

I now turn to the future programme of works and the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained in paras 45-55 of his report. We note from this report that certain innovations have been made in the programme in order to enable students to receive academic training as well as practical experience in international organisations. My delegation supports the Secretary-General's recommendations relating to provision of legal publications to libraries in developing countries, inclusion of topics from International Trade Law in regional seminars as well as preparation of particulars of experts in international trade law

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as a suppliment to the Register of Experts and Scholars in international law.

Mr. Chairman, in his last report the Secretary-General had said that 1969 would be an important year for international law.

This has indeed been the case. Our Committee has already adopted a convention on special missions. This is almost a procedural innovation because it is the first time in this decade that a multilateral convention has been drafted in this Committee rather than a special conference of plenipotentiaries. Similarly, the adoption of the Vienna Convention on the law of treaties marks a milestone in the development of international law. These two conventions are only the latest addition to dozens of treaties concluded under the auspices of the United Nations. My delegation considers that it would be very useful if these treaties could be published in a single volume. This will facilitate work of scholars, research institutes, international lawyers and diplomats concerned with legal matters.

As for the future programme of activities, my delegation generally agrees with the programme outlined in the Secretary-General's report (A $\7740$ ). We note that some new topics of study such as United Nations' structure and procedures and the peaceful resolution of conflicts, which are especially germane to the United Nations, have been included. My delegation would like to see some more new areas of research and study by the UNITAR in particular those having special significance for the problems of nation building in newly independent countries and the contribution which international law can make in this direction. One such area would be a study of the factors that hamper national integration and the political development of a country. It is now widely recognised that economic and social development is necessarily - a long-term process often involving tensions that can easily be exploited to undermine stability of a country and its territorial integrity. Political self-development, therefore, becomes an important, even vital aspect of nation-building; its neglect can threaten progress in other spheres. We, therefore, hope that some attention would be given to this topical question in the future programme of teaching, study and wider dissemination of international law.

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#### **MAURITIUS**

Prime Minister's Speech at Dinner to Dr. Ramgoolam

The Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following speech at a Dinner given in honour of Dr. S. Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius, and his Foreign Minister, at Rashtrapati Bhavan,

New Delhi, on December 10, 1969:

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Foreign Minister, distinguished guests: May I welcome you once again Dr. Ramgoolam, as I said this morning, not only because you are an honoured guest but because we regard you as an old and sincere friend of our country-We are glad that you are accompanied this time by a new young friend of our country.

There are many reasons why we are happy to have you here. Not only because of our old ties or our friendship, but because you come from a great little country, a country which is well known for its arresting natural beauty and its interesting natural history. It has been said that it is the people who make a country and a

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country is judged by the aspiration, the objective and the ideals which the people place before themselves and by the extent to which its leaders exemplify these ideals. It is from this standard that I judge Mauritius to be entitled to our admiration and our respect. It is building up a new nation out of diverse racial elements and on the basis of

complete equality of religion and race. It has done an especially noteworthy job in the handling of its several languages. That is why I have called Mauritius a great little country. It is easy to have diversity in a country as vast as ours. But history sometimes endows even small countries with diversity and out of this diversity, unity is to be derived and fostered. I know the difficulties which such diversity brings will not daunt Mauritius as it does not daunt India.

India, as you know, is an old country. How many of our sons and daughters have left her to make new lives for themselves and to help and contribute to other civilisations. We are proud that in this way, we are linked with many lands. We have another goal in common. It is said that to plan for a year, one should plant seeds, to plan for 10 years one should plant trees, but if one wants to plan for hundred years, one must plant the right sort of men. This is the resolve which we should have to bring about the welfare of our respective peoples, and in order to do so, to use our resources to the best advantage.

You have come to India at a time when very significant changes are taking place in our social, economic and political life. A new generation of Indians has come of age since our Independence, a generation which is making its presence felt. In this climate of change, the old pace of development cannot satisfy them. The impatience of the developing countries is understandable in a period when technological advancement in the developed countries has taken man far beyond his natural environments.

I should like to pay tribute to the determined efforts which your Government and your people are making to develop your economy under your inspired leadership. We are glad to know how you are re-building and re-shaping your economy to achieve progress and development. We are not a rich country. Nor can we compete with the affluent and the developed nations in giving help. But we should like to share our experience and our skills with those whom

we call our friends. In the world today we are all passing through an era of great change in the thinking of the people. There has been tremendous advance in the fields of science and technology. Yet it is ironical to see that while in some directions we have taken such giant strides, differences on the basis of race, of religion, of colour, continue to divide human beings. The scourge of apartheid and pockets of colonialism stand in the way of large numbers of people shaping their political destinies on the basis of equality of opportunity for all. The countries of Africa are seeking to raise their economic standards through various joint efforts. We admire their endeavour and we hope that they will succeed in bringing about greater prosperity for their people through such united action. We are happy to know that the Government and the people of Mauritius are working in close economic co-operation with the other countries of Africa. Much can be achieved through the co-operative efforts of like-minded nations. There is, in the world, far too much confrontation. We would like to see that this should be converted to co-operation. And it is in this direction that we are trying to shape our policies and our actions.

We welcome you once again to India. We have had some talks ranging widely over a number of subjects and more specifically towards mutual co-operation. We believe that such co-operation is to our mutual benefit. We do not regard it as giving or taking but rather a partnership, a partnership which by helping each other helps the rest of the world too.

May I ask you all to drink a toast to the good health of His Excellency, Dr. Ramgoolam. Prime Minister of Mauritius, to his Foreign Minister and the rest of their party and to the prosperity of the people of Mauritius.

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**Date**: Dec 01, 1969

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#### **MAURITIUS**

Reply by Mauritius Prime Minister

Replying to the toast proposed by Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of Mauritius, Dr. Ramgoolam said:

Madam Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like, Madam Prime Minister, to thank you for the kind references you have made to the Government, the people of my country and to myself. As you just said, I have come this time With another member of the Government, a new member of the Government, my friend Mr. Guval who has been in politics for some years and who has now joined the Government as the Minister for External Affairs.

We have lately found a Government of national unity from which we hope, as you have just said, to derive the geater unify towards which we are all working together.

Here in India we have been deeply touched by the warmth of your welcome which is in keeping with the great traditions of your kindness and hospitality. We who are fortunate to live in Mauritius have been associated with India for over a century and a half. Throughout our history, your country, Madam Prime Minister, has been a constant source of help and encouragement to us. Mauritius is much indebted to India which has helped her with the necessary man-power to make her occupy her present position as one of the finest sugar-producing countries in the world while at the same time enriching the life of the people with her cultural heritage.

History will record that the Independence of India was a turning point in the social and political evolution of mankind. If I may say so, Madam, the struggle of India to achieve freedom was the generating force to spark a whole movement in Africa and Asia for the liberation of subject people. And if we have come today as a representative of an Independent State we must acknowledge our debt of gratitude to the great men and women of this country who by fighting so valiantly for their own freedom paved the way for the emancipation of other nations in other countries.

Although in the post-Independence years India had to face its own acute problems, yet Mauritius was able to draw on her resources to a considerable extent and we are ever grateful for the unfailing and continuing support we have always received from you and other leaders of your country. If I may also be permitted to say, the records of your achievements of the 20 years is indeed an impressive one. This is well illustrated by the success you achieved in dealing with the vital problems of economic political and social reconstruction which has the admiration of other Governments in the world.

We in Mauritius have much to learn from the spirit that has inspired India in grappling with her national developmental plans through a social system that has provided more or less an incentive at all levels of the community. We in Mauritius in our diversity look forward always to you, to your country and to your people, how you have evolved and solved the various problems facing India. In our country we have done something ourselves because, as you have just said, we are multi-racial people flung on an island from all parts of the world - China, India, Pakistan, England, France and Africa. It is not easy but we are trying to do the best we can for our people and it is in the spirit of constant cooperation and brotherhood that we are trying to solve it. None-the-less the problems facing our own country are complex and difficult and we have been fortunate, as I

just said, to achieve a sense of national unity among the great political parties. We would require the help and assistance of India more than in the past and we know that in our determination to build a strong and prosperous nation we can rely on the whole-hearted support of the Government of India.

Your hospitality has overwhelmed us and we go away very very sad because we would

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like to have stayed more. But you know the bonds which unite India and Mauritius are very very strong and we are working together so that we will continue to be friends for many many years to come.

I thank you, Madam Prime Minister, for your kind words and hospitality which you have extended to us.

May I drink to your health, personal health and success.

MAURITIUS USA INDIA CHINA PAKISTAN FRANCE

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# **Volume No**

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### **MAURITIUS**

Indo-Mauritius Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in New Delhi On December 16, 1969, at the conclusion of the State visit to India of the Prime Minister of Mauritius, His Excellency Dr. S. Ramgoolam: His Excellency Dr. The Hon'ble Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius, paid an official visit to India from the 10th to 16th December, 1969 on the invitation of the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The Prime Minister of Mauritius was accompanied by H.E. Mr. Gaetan Duval, Minister of External Affairs and H.E. Mr. Satcam Boolell, Minister of Agriculture. The Prime Minister of Mauritius expressed particular satisfaction over the fact that he was able to visit India - a country with which Mauritius had deep and abiding ties - during the Gandhi Centenary Year.

During their stay in India, the Prime Minister of Mauritius and his party spent three days in Delhi and thereafter visited Udaipur and Bombay. They saw a number of agricultural and industrial establishments and scientific institutions as well as historical monuments. They received a warm enthusiastic welcome everywhere. The Prime Minister of Mauritius expressed his admitation for the progress achieved by India in the economic, social and scientific fields.

The Prime Minister of Mauritius had meetings and talks with the Prime Minister of India and other Indian leaders on the possibilities of closer co-operation between Mauritius and India on some present day international problems of mutual interest. The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding

Among those present in the talks were, on the side of Mauritius: H.E. Mr. Gaetan Duval, Minister for External Affairs, Tourism and Emigration; H.E. Mr. Satcam Boolee, Minister for Agriculture and Cooperatives; H.E. Mr. Rabindrah Ghurburrun, High Commissioner for Mauritius in India, and on the side of India: Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of External Affairs; Shri Bali Ram Bhagat, Minister of Foreign Trade; Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs; Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary; Shri V. H. Coelho, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, and Shri D. S. Kamtekar, High Commissioner of India in Mauritius.

The two sides recalled the earlier visits of Dr. Ramgoolam to India and noted with satisfaction that close and cordial relations between Mauritius and India have continued to develop to their mutual benefit. Frequent and increasing contacts between the leaders of the two countries have served to strengthen understanding and have contributed effectively to the establishment and extension of many-sided cooperation between the two countries.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the fruitful cooperation between the two countries in the economic and cultural fields. They expressed the hope that these relations would be further strengthened through an expanded programme of economic, technical and cultural cooperation. At the request of the Prime Minister of Mauritius, the Prime Minister of India has agreed to assist the Government of Mauritius in establishing a Gandhi Memorial Institute in Mauritius as a centre of studies on Indian culture and traditions. The Prime Minister of India has further offered to place at the disposal of

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the Government of Mauritius technical experts, equipment and other facilities available in, India for the implementation of projects connected with irrigation and the civil airport. The Prime Minister of Mauritius welcomed this offer and said that his Government would be happy to receive a team of Indian experts at the earliest opportunity.

A number of fields in the industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors in which economic collaboration could take place between the two countries were identified. The Prime Minis-ter of Mauritius stated that the Government of Mauritius would provide necessary facilities and assistance to Indian parties who sought to establish industries in Mauritius in collaboration with local enterpreneurs, The Prime Minister of India assured the Prime Minister of Mauritius that the Government of India would be willing to provide cooperation in

the economic development of Mauritius. In this connection, it was agreed that a tradecum-industrial delegation from Mauritius will visit India early in 1970.

The Prime Minister of Mauritius expressed the desire to have a large number of experts in agriculture, industry and trade from India. The Prime Minister of India assured the Prime Minister of Mauritius that the Government of India would try to meet the requirements of Mauritius in this regard to the fullest extent possible.

The two sides noted that a direct shipping service between the two countries would assist in strengthening economic relations between them. They agreed to consider ways and means of improving such communications. They noted that a shipping expert from India would proceed to Mauritius shortly in this connection. The two sides also agreed to improve the air connection between the two countries through mutual cooperation. They further agreed to explore the possibilities of developing tourism between the two countries.

The two sides reviewed the International situation and expressed identical views on many important issues. In particular, the two Prime Ministers stressed the importance of peaceful co-existence between States with different social systems, respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, inviolability of historically formed frontiers and non-interference in one another's internal matters as well as settlement of all differences peacefully without resort to the use of force. They considered that the arms race remained a great threat to world peace and that it is necessary for the world community to reach an early agreement on general and complete disarmament. In this context, the two sides expressed the hope that effective action in the limitation of arms could lead to a reduction of tensions and diversion by the developed countries of much needed resources for economic development of developing countries.

The two Prime Ministers expressed concern at the developing situation in the Indian

Ocean and the increasing presence of foreign navies in these waters. They reiterated that the Indian Ocean should be kept a nuclearweapon-free area.

The two Prime Ministers noted with concern the continuance of racialism and colonialism in certain territories of. Africa and elsewhere. They expressed their support for the struggle of the people in these territories against colonialism and racialism and reaffirmed their faith in the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The two Prime Ministers reviewed the situation prevailing in West Asia. They expressed their deep disappointment at the continuation of tension in the area. They urged that all efforts should be made for a speedy implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967.

The two Prime Ministers expressed their grave concern at the continuation of the conflict in Vietnam which has brought untold miseries to the Vietnamese people. They expressed the hope that an early peaceful settlement of the conflict will be arrived at through negotiations within the broad framework of the Geneva Agreements ensuring the withdrawal of foreign troops from Vietnam to enable the Vietnamese people to determine their future without any outside intereference.

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The two Prime Ministers emphasised the need for greater economic cooperation amongst the developing countries and particularly between the countries of Asia and Africa. They reiterated that the arrangements agreed to in UNCTAD II to promote the development of the developing countries should be implemented without further delay.

The Prime Minister of Mauritius renewed his invitation to the Prime Minister of India to visit Mauritius. The Prime Minister of India thanked the Prime Minister of Mauritius for the invitation and promised to

visit Mauritius at the earliest possible opportunity.

The Prime Minister of Mauritius expressed his deep gratitude to the Prime Minister of India as well as the Government and people of India for the cordial reception extended to him and his party during their stay in India.

MAURITIUS USA INDIA LATVIA VIETNAM SWITZERLAND

**Date**: Dec 01, 1969

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#### **POLAND**

Indo-Polish Trade Agreement

Following is the text of a Press release isssued in New Delhi on December 18, 1969, on the signing of a trade agreement between India and Poland:

On the conclusion of talks held in New Delhi from December 4 to 18, 1969, between the Delegation of the Polish People's Republic led by H.E. Mr. R. Strzelecki, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade and Delegation of the Government of India led by Chowdhary Ram Sewak, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, a trade protocol for 1970 has been signed here today.

The Protocol envisages that during 1970 the two-way trade turnover should be of the order of Rs. 80 crores.

The major items of exports from India, apart from traditional goods, will be railway wagons, cotton textiles, cotton yarn and engineering goods including textile machinery, wire ropes, castings and forgings, automobile ancillaries, railway maintenance

equipment, hand and small tools, etc.

Poland has offered to increase her purchases of Indian iron ore and has expressed interest in entering into a long-term arrangement.

Among other items, Poland will supply to India sulphur, urea, agricultural tractors, ships and shipping equipment, rolled steel products, organic and ironganic chemicals, zinc, newsprint, etc.

It has been agreed during the talks that expert level studies should be made by both sides to identify possibilities of industrial cooperation between the two countries particularly in such fields as mining, ships, shipping equipment, textile machinery, railway rolled stock etc.

The two Delegations have also agreed that in order to expand and diversify mutual trade, increased contacts should be facilitated not only between the Indian and Polish trading organisations but also between manufacturing and actual user organisations through exchange of visits and information.

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**Date**: Dec 01, 1969

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THAILAND

Indo-Thai Air Services Agreement

Following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on December 20, 1969 in connection with the signing of an air

services agreement between India and Thailand:

An agreement between the Government of India and the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand for air services between and beyond their respective territories was signed yesterday (December 19, 1969) at Bangkok. Dr. P.K. Banerjee, Ambassador of India in Thailand signed the agreement on behalf of the Government of India and H.E. Mr. Chitti Sucharitakul, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs signed on behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand.

The services of Air-India and Thai Airways International operated between the two countries will be put on permanent footing with the signing of this agreement. The agreement is, however, subject to ratl-fication and will come into force on the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification.

The agreement is expected to facilitate and promote closer contact between the peoples of India and Thailand and thereby contribute to the furtherance of existing friendly relations between the two countries.

#### **BACKGROUNDER**

An Air Transport Agreement between the Government of India and the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand which was signed on the June 12, 1956 was terminated from the September 12, 1967. A fresh air agreement was negotiated and the draft was initialled at Bangkok in January 1969 by an Indian Delegation led by Shri R. C. Dutt, the then Secretary in the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation. This agreement has now been formally signed at Bangkok on 19th December, 1969, by Shri P. K. Banerjee, Ambassador of India on behalf of the Government of India and H.E. Mr. Chitti Sucharitakul, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand.

Under the agreement, Government of

India have the right to designate more than one airline for operating air services to Thailand. This will enable Government of India to designate Indian Airline to operate two or more services to Bangkok, with Caravelle aircarft, in addition to the services operated by Air India.

At present Air India operates four transitting services through Bangkok and Thai Airways International operates six services per week to India.

THAILAND INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date**: Dec 01, 1969

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#### YUGOSLAVIA

Joint Communique on Indo-Yugoslav Trade Talks

Following is the text of a joint communique issued in Belgrade on December 31, 1969 at the end of the visit to Yugoslavia of Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of Foreign Trade, Government of India:

An Indian delegation led by Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of Foreign Trade, Government of India, visited Belgrade from December 29 to 31 for a meeting of the Indo-Yugoslav Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Cooperation. The Yugoslav delegation was led by Mr. Miran Mejak, member of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia.

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During his stay in Belgrade Shri Bhagat called on Mr. Mitja Ribicie, Prime Minister of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The two delegations acquainted each other of the economic situation in their countries and reviewed the growing cooperation between the two countries in the trade and economic fields.

Trade exchanges between the two countries in 1970 were also reviewed. It is expected that trade turnover for 1970 will be of the order of Rs. 500 million. Substantial increase in India's exports to Yugoslavia is expected in 1970. In addition to traditional items Yugoslavia will import from India several non-traditional items such as jeeps, commercial vehicles, railway wagons and equipment, refrigeration equipment, tyres and tubes, plastic raw materials, wood veneers, consumer goods, aluminium conductors and cables, sanitary fittings, floor tiles, various chemicals, pharmaceutical products and drugs, asbestos cements and products, etc. and various other consumer products.

Indian imports from Yugoslavia during 1970 will comprise lubricant oils, industrial paper, agriculture and crawiler tractors, marine and industrial diesel engine components, newsprint, aircraft for agricultural spraying purposes, photographic and sensitised material apart from other industrial raw material.

The two Minister expressed satisfaction at the rapid growth of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries over the past decade. The Ministers were of the view that in order to develop trade exchanges through still higher levels in the future, it was necessary to explore possibilities of industrial cooperation between -the two countries in new fields. Discussions took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the outcome of the talks and considered that the visit of Shri Bhagat will contribute to the strengthening of trade and economic relations between the two countries as well as friendly relations between their peoples.

Shri Bhagat invited Mr. Miran Mejak to visit India and Mr. Mejak has accepted

the invitation. It was also agreed that the next meeting of the Joint Committee would take place in New Delhi towards the end of 1970.

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**Date**: Dec 01, 1969