

1968

January

Volume No

1995

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Foreign Affairs Record            1968  
Vol. XIV                            JANUARY  
No.1

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

INDIA POLAND UZBEKISTAN TURKEY YUGOSLAVIA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

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1995

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

President's Message on Republic Day

The President, Dr. Zakir Husain, broadcast on

January 25, 1968 the following message to the Nation on the occasion of the nineteenth Republic Day (January 26) :

On the eve of the nineteenth Republic Day, I greet my countrymen at home and abroad and convey to them my sincerest best wishes for the future.

Our Republic has completed eighteen years of existence and has come of age. This is, indeed, a moment for calm introspection and reflection on where we stand and how we should proceed further in our onward march to bring peace and prosperity to our millions.

As I so reflect my first feeling, a feeling which I am sure you would share, is one of thankfulness that we have been able to get through the part year which was undoubtedly one of the most difficult that we have had to face. Another season of drought would have confronted us with a food situation that might have gone beyond our capacity to control.

As it was, there were many anxious months and large numbers of our people, specially in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, were in acute distress. But thanks to the assistance of friends and to our own efforts and, most of all to the fortitude of the people themselves, we have managed to meet the challenge and to avoid the worst consequences of a famine.

#### ECONOMIC RECESSION

True, we are not yet quite out of the wood, but as, on my tours I look upon the smiling countryside, my heart is lifted by a sense of renewed promise and of confidence in our land and its people and I feel assured that we are poised for a significant break-through in agricultural production which in a sense is the base of our economy. I would like to make a special appeal to our farmers and cultivators to leave no stone unturned in achieving maximum production which alone can lead to our economic stability.

During recent months we have experienced an economic recession following a fall in the demand for manufactured goods and a consequent slowing down of industrial production. Among the

many factors that brought this about the largest single factor has been the decline in agricultural production with its consequent effect on the purchasing power of a very large section of our population. With the prospect of two good harvests bringing money to the cultivators a substantial part of the problem will have been solved. But we are still faced with the difficult position in regard to our balance of payments and our requirement of foreign exchange.

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which will be held in Delhi in February will, we sincerely hope, lead to the opening up of new and wider avenues of trade between the developing and the industrialised countries. But we may not forget that we are living in a highly competitive world, and if we are to sell our goods abroad, they must be able to compare, both in quality and in price, with those of other countries.

It is seemingly a paradox that, though our level of wages is lower than in the highly developed countries, the goods that we produce are not cheaper but sometimes even more expensive and consequently more difficult to sell. We cannot obviously lower wages. The only answer, therefore, is increased productivity by the best and most efficient utilisation of our manpower and resources. I appeal to all workers in industry and in office establishments to make this possible by hard, conscientious efficient work and to "fill the unforgiving minute with sixty seconds worth of distance run" !

A progressive agriculture and prosperous industry require a suitable political, social and cultural climate. It is only a united nation, living an orderly life of hard work and well-earned leisure, administering its affairs efficiently, that can attain economic stability, If we allow

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the energies of the nation to be wasted in futile conflicts the prospect indeed will be bleak.

Our people in their wisdom have chosen the democratic state as the frame of their national life. But we should never forget that democracy is not simply a mechanical arrangement of rule by the majority. It implies a wide-spread and commonly accepted moral sense. It is only this

moral authority that can make up for the deficiencies of a developing country by calling forth the best in each one of us. It imposes on each citizen the duty of the best possible. It presupposes a quality of character which each citizen should exert himself to attain.

## YOUNG DEMOCRACY

Many things can happen to bring our young democracy into disrepute and I would beg of every citizen of this country to scrupulously avoid the pitfalls some of which I would like to mention here when taking stock of our situation. The first deadly pitfall is violence. Violence is the very negation of the true spirit and temper of democracy and should be totally eliminated from our national life as a method of finding solutions to problems.

I regret to say that we still have to find an answer to our present tendency to take individual political issues to the streets. Unruly demonstrations which often lead to the breaking of the Law and not infrequently to tragic loss of life, cannot be accepted as the way of settling what are often complex issues. On the other hand, some ways must be found of dispelling frustration and the feeling that it is only by such extreme measures that grievances can be ventilated and redressed.

The second serious pitfall is indiscipline, indiscipline in the political parties, indiscipline in our deliberative bodies, indiscipline in our educational institutions. Democracy postulates a self-imposed discipline. Democracy allows full freedom of discussion but once after discussion a consensus is reached or a majority decision taken it has to be honestly and cheerfully implemented.

Every one of us partaking in the democratic process should constantly put himself the question if he is imposing this democratic discipline on himself, for only so can he make democracy workable. And each one of us should vividly realise that even if he has to criticise some of the proposals and measures of the government, his loyalty to the State is unquestionable.

Government can and do change, but the State goes on and claims as a moral entity the unquestioning loyalty of its citizens. It is the

citizens, who by their constant endeavour clothe the State with its moral quality and make it the embodiment of absolute values to which one gives free allegiance.

#### FASCINATING TASK

It is our privilege to have been called upon to build up this new State of an ancient people in the formative years of its existence. Let each one of us devote himself to the fascinating task wholeheartedly. It is a great and noble task which will not be accomplished by just repeating some words, or by breaking window panes, or thoughtlessly destroying State property; it will require the dedicated and disciplined toil of all of us, generation after generation.

I appeal to all my people and specially to youth to realise the significance of this splendid task and devote themselves to it with all their strength. I am sure the task will get done by their endeavours.

During the last eight months I have had the pleasure and privilege of visiting most of the States of the Indian Union, meeting a large number of people from all walks of life and also coming into close contact with several units of our smart and efficient defence forces.

I feel happy to be able to tell you that I firmly believe that our constitutional structure and the pillars that support it, like the hearts of our people, are perfectly sound and I appeal to all to stand united as one nation facing manfully all the problems that may confront us.

Let me on this happy day wish you, in all sincerity, Godspeed in all your undertakings so that you may contribute your mite towards the enchanting task of building up the New India of our dreams. It is my fervent hope that this ancient land will ever remain a mighty democratic nation and take its rightful place in the comity of nations.

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USA RUSSIA PERU INDIA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

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## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

### President's Message on International Year for Human Rights

The President, Dr, Zakir Husain, issued the following message on January 1, 1968 in connection with the observance of the Year 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights :

On the 10th December 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights calling upon all men and all Governments to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and to secure their universal observance.

The year 1968 will mark the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and will be observed all over the world as the International Year for Human Rights. We in India will also be observing the anniversary in a fitting manner.

The Declaration of Human Rights was both an affirmation of our collective faith in the equality of the rights of man as well as a multi-lateral pledge to work for a common standard for all peoples and all nations. Our own Constitution gives legal and constitutional content to these ideals.

The last two decades have seen not only the extent to which the world has succeeded in promoting respect for human rights but also the magnitude of the work that remains to be done. On the one hand, great advances in technology and science have led to sweeping changes in many countries and have considerably widened the scope for human endeavour. On the other hand, there still remain some parts of the world where the spirit of man is suppressed and political freedom is denied to those struggling for

liberation from colonial rule. The conscience of mankind is outraged at the continuance of policies of apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

During the coming year it should be the endeavour of all Member-States of the United Nations to bring about greater understanding of human rights and to seek to extend the Declaration of Human Rights to those areas where they are now denied. As long as fundamental freedoms and human rights are withheld, there cannot be lasting peace either between nations or between races.

INDIA USA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri B. C. Mishra's Statement in Security Council on South West Africa

Shri B. C. Mishra, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on January 25, 1968 on the question of South West Africa :

Mr. President, it is a matter of satisfaction to my delegation that it will have, during 1968, the privilege and the pleasure of working in close co-operation with the delegation of Pakistan in the Security Council. The geographic proximity of the two countries, their common ties rooted in history, civilization and culture, the close identity of views on many international issues such as the one we are discussing today, are self-evident and need no particular emphasis.

May I also take this opportunity of welcoming the other new members of the Security Council. The delegations of Algeria and Senegal, our

fellow delegations within the Afro-Asian family, are well known for their active interest in, and constructive contribution to, all the activities of the United Nations. My delegation looks forward to working with them closely in the Security Council. We are similarly happy to extend our warm welcome to the delegations of Hungary and Paraguay, with both of whom we have worked closely in the past and with whom, we have no doubt, we shall be working together with a view to promoting our common objectives.

We shall be missing the benefit of the rich

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experience of Chief Adebo of Nigeria, who, by his wise and tactful skill in handling difficult and delicate situations, contributed greatly to the smooth functioning of the Council, particularly during his Presidency through the mouth of December 1967.

My delegation would also like to thank the delegations of Mali, Japan, Argentina and Bulgaria for their co-operation with As during the period of our common membership in the Security Council.

Mr. President, may I, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, congratulate you on your assumption of the high office of President of the Council. During the informal consultations which have preceded this meeting, as also during the consultations relating to other issues, it was evident that in your person the Council had a very wise leader. The speed with which you concluded the formal consultations in regard to this meeting, and the very fact that we are here today instilled with a sense of urgency, testify to your ability in obtaining the maximum co-operation quickly and effectively.

The Security Council's meeting today has been convened at the urgent request of a great many Afro-Asian Member States of our Organization. The United Nations Council for South West Africa also has addressed a letter to you, Mr. President, document S/8353, which has now been included in our agenda, in which it has expressed grave concern at the situation prevailing in South West Africa and has requested the Security Council to take up the matter immediately.

As members will recall, the General Assembly at its twenty-first session adopted the historic resolution 2145 (XXI) by which it terminated the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa and decided that South Africa had no further rights in the Territory and that South West Africa henceforth came under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. This decision of the General Assembly must be regarded as a point of departure for the United Nations on which all our actions subsequent to 27 October 1966 must be based. The Government of South Africa, instead of respecting the near unanimous decision of the United Nations, has persisted in its illegal occupation of the international Territory of South West Africa and has, in fact, taken on hand measures to implement the recommendations of the infamous Odendaal Commission.

#### ILLEGAL TRIAL

The delegation of India like the delegations of other members here has much to say on the question of South West Africa. Today, however, we have met to consider and act with speed in regard to a more limited but important aspect of the situation. The human rights of thirty-five South West Africans have been placed in jeopardy by the Government of South Africa. Indeed the lives of most of them depend upon the action of this Council and the compliance which it obtains from the South African Government.

We are literally racing against time. The racist regime of Pretoria, as we all know, had originally fixed the date for the resumption of the illegal trial on 5 February. When it became clear to the rulers of South Africa that the international community was planning to take some action, it advanced the date of the trial to 29 January. Subsequently, the date was further advanced to 26 January, that is, tomorrow. In the face of such a stubborn and arrogant defiance of world opinion by South Africa, it is the clear duty of the Security Council to take speedy and effective action so as not to let South Africa confront the United Nations with a *fait accompli*.

In the past several months the Terrorism Act of South Africa and the illegal arrest and trial

of thirty-seven South West Africans under it have been the subject of innumerable statements by Member States as well as of consensus adopted by several organs of the United Nations. The latest resolution on this subject adopted by the General Assembly, resolution 2324 (XXII), which received the approval of 110 Members, condemned the illegal arrest, deportation and trial at Pretoria of the thirty-seven South West Africans as a flagrant violation by the Government of South Africa of their rights, of the international status of the Territory and of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI).

The action of South Africa in enacting the so-called Terrorism Act and in arresting and prosecuting people over whom it has no legal jurisdiction, has provoked, in addition to the censure of the United Nations, the moral indignation of many private humanitarian, professional and other associations the world over. Of special significance is the opinion of many eminent private legal associations.

A statement issued on 13 December 1967 by more than 200 American attorneys protesting the trial concluded with these words :

"As members of the legal profession concerned by the imminent threat of death of thirty-five of our fellow men resulting from South Africa's illegal assertion of jurisdiction and its violation of the rule of law and of civilized standards of fair procedure, we the undersigned, protest the unlawful prosecution

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of South West African citizens under the Terrorism Act, and we call upon our brethren of bench and bar to join us in this protest."

#### TERRORISM ACT

Members must also be aware of the resolution recently adopted by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York which declared that the Terrorism Act offends civilized principles of law including due process and violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

What was the reaction of the Government of South Africa to resolution 2324 (XXII) which embodies the genuine concern shared by all

Members of the world body ? On the very day that resolution was adopted, Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister of South Africa, is reported to have said :

"South Africa would not allow anything or anybody to interfere with the trial of the thirty-seven alleged terrorists from South West Africa."

Further we have learned that on 11 December another South West African was arrested in Ovamboland under the Terrorism Act. The memorandum of the United Nations Council for South West Africa throws adequate light on the attitude of the Government of South Africa. It is thus clear that the resolutions of the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations calling on South Africa to discontinue the trial have met with a stubborn defiance.

It is, therefore, incumbent on the Security Council, which is the highest organ of the United Nations dealing with the problems of peace and security, to express itself firmly on this issue. In the view of my delegation the Security Council must, in unequivocal terms, call upon the Government of South Africa forthwith to discontinue the illegal trial and to release and repatriate the South West Africans concerned. My delegation is confident that the Security Council would be able to take that step without any delay since all its members, permanent as well as non-permanent, voted for resolution 2324 (XXII) which called for precisely the same action.

I should like to conclude my statement by saying that what we are discussing today is not solely a political question involving the lack of sovereignty or jurisdiction of South Africa over South West Africa. This aspect of the question, of course, is fundamental and most important. But the immediate issue facing us today is a humanitarian one.

Thirty-five South West Africans may well lose their lives due to no other crime but their yearning to liberate their homeland, a yearning which the United Nations has long recognized as an inalienable right and has encouraged by the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) with the avowed aim of enabling the South West Africans

to achieve their independence. The prestige and authority of the Security Council would be gravely undermined if it fails to act and act quickly.

INDIA USA ALGERIA SENEGAL HUNGARY PARAGUAY NIGER NIGERIA ARGENTINA JAPAN MALI BULGARIA SOUTH AFRICA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

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POLAND

Indo-Polish Trade Agreement Signed

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on January 10, 1968 on the signing of a trade agreement between India and Poland :

A trade agreement between India and Poland for the year 1968 was signed in New Delhi on January 10, 1968 by Mr. Z. Mazus on behalf of the Polish People's Republic and Mr. S. Ramachandran on behalf of the Government of India. The talks between the two delegations were held in a most friendly and cordial atmosphere.

The total volume of trade between the two countries, which was of the order of Rs. 76 millions in 1959, grew in the next seven years to Rs. 276 millions (in 1966). During 1967 the likely turnover would be Rs. 400 millions. Under the current agreement both India and Poland are likely to raise this figure further to over Rs. 600 millions in 1968.

The exports from Poland will consist of fishing vessels, ships' equipment, high pressure gas

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cylinders, capital goods, rolled steel products including special tool and alloy steel, machine tools. various chemicals, drugs and medicines, sulphur, urea (fertiliser) and zinc.

The exports from India will consist of the usual agricultural based items like coffee, tea, pepper, de-oiled cakes, tobacco, jute products and cotton waste. Besides these, Poland will also be importing from India manufactured goods like Railway wagons, trucks, steel pipes and tubes, textile machinery, machine tools, hand, small and cutting tools, wire ropes, wire cloth for paper industry, auto ancillaries, diesel engine castings, tyres and tubes, rayon tyre cord, paints, varnishes and lacquers and leather footwear.

Both sides were well satisfied with the talks and had every hope of achieving the pattern of trade which will be mutually beneficial to the two countries.

POLAND INDIA USA RUSSIA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

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TASHKENT DECLARATION

President's Message on Second Anniversary

The President, Dr. Zakir Husain, issued the following message in New Delhi on January 10, 1968 on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Tashkent Declaration :

Today, two years ago, the leaders of India and Pakistan showed statesmanship of a high order in signing the Tashkent Declaration. The Declaration generated hope that a turning point had been reached in the relations between the two countries. Among other things, the Declaration repudiates the use of force and urges the settlement of disputes through peaceful means. These are the guiding principles on which the civilised world has based its hope of orderly existence. The full implementation of the Declaration would have led us to cooperation and good neighbourly

relations to the benefit of both our countries and our peoples.

Unfortunately, our experience in the past two years has belied this expectation. The pace of the implementation of the Declaration has been slow. Nevertheless, we are always ready to discuss any issue without pre-conditions in an effort to move towards better relations. We sincerely believe that the mode of mutual cooperation and bilateral discussion prescribed by the Tashkent Declaration is the best way to achieve friendly relations between India and Pakistan.

The inexorable advance of science and technology reduces distances between countries and encourages peoples of different nations to communicate freely and without restrictions. This is all the more true of the people of India and Pakistan, who share a cultural and religious heritage and have exchanged pilgrim every year. We hope that this will lead to greater contacts between the two peoples. We in India would certainly welcome this.

Our people have a right to enjoy the fruits of freedom and progress. Their interests require that the leaders of Pakistan as also ourselves follow a rational course in finding mutually acceptable solutions to all our problems which are outstanding. We in India reiterate our willingness to continue all efforts to restore normalcy in our relations. As the Tashkent Declaration enters its third year, I hope that the leaders of Pakistan and India will meet and reason together, so that a lasting friendship can be achieved between our two countries, for the benefit of peoples all over the sub-continent.

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UZBEKISTAN USA INDIA PAKISTAN

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## TASHKENT DECLARATION

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### Prime Minister's Letter to Soviet Premier

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The following is the text of a letter sent on January 10, 1968 by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to Mr. Alexei N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., on the second anniversary of the Tashkent Declaration :

Today, two years ago, in Tashkent the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan signed a Declaration pledging the two Governments to work for the normalisation of relations and the establishment of ties of good neighbourliness. We are confident that there exists a sound framework for the settlement of outstanding issues between our two countries and we reaffirm our resolve to continue to work for the fulfilment of the Tashkent Declaration as our homage to the memory of Lal Bahadur Shastri, whose death anniversary coincides with this occasion.

The people and Government of India recall with high appreciation the outstanding part which you played in the formulation and acceptance of this mutual pledge. We had all hoped that the spirit of Tashkent would inspire both countries to strive hard to achieve the objective of Indo-Pakistani co-operation and amity. Several steps in this direction have been taken but the goal is yet far from being attained.

We have initiated several moves for the development of harmonious relations between our peoples, as we are deeply conscious of the great benefits which would inevitably flow to the millions of inhabitants of this sub-continent. Progress would have been more rapid had there been a corresponding response from Pakistan. However, we shall persevere in our efforts in the conviction that the bonds of history, tradition and culture and a broad community of interests, are more enduring than transient differences.

The Tashkent Declaration has certainly added to the friendship between the Soviet Union and India. I am confident that our relations will continue to grow from strength to strength, based as

they are on mutual respect and esteem, and devotion to the cause of world peace and international understanding.

UZBEKISTAN USA INDIA PAKISTAN MALI

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

## Volume No

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TURKEY

Joint Communique on Turkish Foreign Minister's Visit

Following is the text of a Joint Communique issued in New Delhi on January 9, 1968 at the end of a 6-day official visit to India by the Foreign Minister of Turkey, His Excellency Mr. Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil:

In response to an invitation from the Government of India, His Excellency Mr. Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil, Foreign Minister of Turkey, accompanied by the Hon'ble Muammer Baykam, and senior officials of the Government of Turkey, paid an official visit to India from the 4th to the 9th January, 1968. During their stay in New Delhi the Foreign Minister of Turkey held discussions with the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, and the Commerce Minister, Shri Dinesh Singh. The Foreign Minister of Turkey was also received by the President of India.

The talks were attended on the Turkish side by Mr. Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil, Foreign Minister of Turkey; Mr. Osman Olcay, Ambassador of Turkey to India; Mr. Ilter Turkmen, Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Tevfik Saracoglu, Director General, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Fahir

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Alacam, Director General, Department of Middle

East and Africa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The talks were attended on the Indian side by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister; Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State; Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, Foreign Secretary; Shri P. N. Haksar, Secretary to the Prime Minister; Shri J. S. Mehta, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; Shri R. Jaipal, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; and Shri Prithi Singh, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

The two sides took this opportunity to explain their respective views on important national problems and international issues. They agreed that in their fundamental attitudes there was a common desire to promote peaceful and friendly relations with as many countries as possible, regardless of their political or social systems. Both were dedicated to the principles of parliamentary democracy and the promotion of peace and stability in the world. There were no bilateral problems between the two countries and they readily agreed that, with mutual respect and understanding, the areas of agreement and the scope of co-operation between them could be identified and enlarged.

The Foreign Minister explained the recent developments in Cyprus and indicated that his country stood for the independence of Cyprus in a framework which would guarantee the freedom and the legitimate rights and the security of the Turkish Cypriot community. The Prime Minister of India expressed the hope that the utilization of the good offices of the Secretary General of the United Nations in the context of the Security Council resolution of December 22, 1967 would lead to an improvement of the situation. She also expressed the hope that a just and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem, which would safeguard the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned, would be found.

The Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister also discussed Indo-Pakistani relations. The Prime Minister explained that India sought to establish a relationship of friendship and co-operation with Pakistan, and that, in the spirit of the Tashkent Declaration, a basis of mutual confidence should be established between the two countries. The Turkish Foreign Minister explained the views of his Government on this subject

and expressed the hope that problems between India and Pakistan would be resolved in peace and justice in order that both countries may devote their energies to peaceful development.

The two sides also discussed other international problems. On the problems arising from the situation in West Asia (Middle East) their views broadly coincided and they expressed the hope that a just and lasting settlement will be found in the area. Both re-affirmed the objectives of total disarmament which would be in the wider interests of the world community. They also agreed that the United Nations must be strengthened as an instrument for the promotion of international peace and co-operation.

Both sides affirmed their intention to strengthen their bilateral, economic and cultural relations through mutual efforts. In the economic field this, could be achieved through greater knowledge of each other's capacities and potentials. Towards this end it was agreed to promote, wherever possible, contacts in the economic and commercial spheres. It was also agreed that the Diplomatic Missions of the two countries should identify means by which cultural, scientific exchanges could be intensified between the two countries.

In connection with the forthcoming UNCTAD Conference in New Delhi, the two sides expressed the hope that this Conference would be a constructive contribution to the common aim of closing the gap which exists between the developing and the developed countries.

The Foreign Minister of Turkey expressed his gratitude for the warm hospitality and the friendship which he had received in India. The Prime Minister of India and the Foreign Minister of Turkey agreed that this visit had proved extremely useful in promoting better understanding of each other's problems and objectives. and this would contribute to a closer relationship between the two countries.

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TURKEY INDIA USA CYPRUS PAKISTAN UZBEKISTAN

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UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Prime Minister's Speech at Palam Airport Welcoming Mr. Kosygin

The following is the text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's speech at the Palam airport, welcoming His Excellency Mr. A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., on his arrival in New Delhi on January 25, 1968 on an official visit to India :

Chairman Kosygin and friends,

It is a privilege and pleasure to welcome Chairman Kosygin and Madame Gvishiani in our Midst. Indo-Soviet friendship is based on firm foundations. In order to strengthen it further, it is essential to meet and to exchange views from time to time so that better understanding can be achieved.

This is your fourth visit to our country. Seven years ago, during your first visit you saw something of both the old and the new India. The discussions on planning and economic development which we had on that occasion revealed the mind and wisdom of an engineer and social architect. We in India are engaged in a great and exciting task of social engineering--of changing and shaping attitudes, of building and rebuilding a new nation.

We are grateful for the understanding, support and assistance we have received from the Wet Union in going ahead with this task. Despite difficulties and temporary set backs, we ate steadily moving ahead. Your stay is very short. But, we hope, that even this brief visit, will enable you to have some idea of the complexity of our problems and the reality of the present situation. Our old problems are the problems of poverty and our new problems are problems of development.

The Soviet Union has made notable advances in many fields and your scientists and technologists are exploring the vastness of space. We salute these great Soviet achievements as triumphs of the human spirit.

The Soviet Union and India have cooperated in many areas to our mutual advantage, and in our troubled world in the cause of world peace. Peace is a paramount necessity. It is an essential pre-condition for progress. But economic development and social progress are also essential for the maintenance of peace.

#### SYMBOLS OF FRIENDSHIP

Two of the latest Soviet-aided giant projects--the Bharat Heavy Electricals in Hardwar and the Antibiotics Plant in Rishikesh will give you a glimpse of the new India. They are symbols of Indo-Soviet friendship and economic cooperation. The Soviet technicians who have been associated with these projects either in the construction or the production phase have established personal friendship between Indian and Soviet workers, Indian and Soviet engineers, Indian and Soviet families. We cherish these links, for ultimately it is the contacts at the human level which are the most enduring and enriching.

The two projects are also symbols of planned development in India and illustrate the economic priorities which we have followed. The Heavy Electrical Plant is part of our heavy industrial machine-building base. This sector will provide strength to our economy and enable us to move more rapidly and with greater confidence along the path of self-sustaining growth. The Antibiotics Plant demonstrates our anxiety to improve the health of our people by making cheap medical aid available to them. The two projects represent twin motifs in our socialist and democratic advance.

Hardwar and Rishikesh are both ancient cities and great centres of pilgrimage. They represent a facet of eternal India, a link with our ancient tradition. The Heavy Electrical Plant and the Antibiotics Plant represent modern India. Here is a synthesis of old and now. It is our endeavour to harmonise the best in the old with the best in the new to search for a new and better

path.

On behalf of the Government and people of India and on my own behalf I have great pleasure in welcoming you to Delhi. I hope your stay will be pleasant, that our talks will be fruitful and that you and your colleagues will return many times to India in whom the Wet Union and the Soviet people have a warm and sincere friend.

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INDIA USA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

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UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Mr. Kosygin's Reply

The following is the text of Md. Kosygin's reply :

Esteemed Madame Prime Minister, dear friends,

In these first moments of my stay in friendly India I would like to convey to you, Madame Prime Minister, and the whole Indian people, cordial greetings and best wishes on behalf of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and myself. I would also like to express my gratitude for your kind invitation to visit your great country.

Tomorrow the Indian people will celebrate an auspicious occasion in the history of their struggle for national independence, the 18th anniversary of the proclamation of the sovereign Republic of India. We feel great pleasure in expressing, on this day, sentiments of respect for the Indian people on behalf of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Government of our country; and we are equally very happy to parti-

cipate in the celebrations.

The struggle of the Indian people for the independence of their motherland always enjoyed warm sympathy on the part of the peoples of our country. As an independent State, India plays a prominent role in the consolidation of the forces of peace, in the struggle for an expanding world cooperation and peaceful co-existence.

We note with satisfaction that friendly relations and business cooperation between our countries have been steadily developing from the moment India achieved its independence.

Quite recently, we had the great pleasure of receiving you, Madame Prime Minister, in Moscow. During my stay in Delhi, I hope to continue our fruitful and friendly talks with you and other Indian statesmen, as well as to better familiarise myself with the life of the Indian people.

May I express the hope that our stay here, our discussions with the Prime Minister and other Government and political figures and our contacts with the Indian working people, will promote the further expansion of our relations of friendship and collaboration which meets with the vital interests of the Indian and Soviet people, as well as the interests of consolidating universal peace.

My sincere thanks to you, my dear friends, for this warm and sincere welcome.

Let friendship between the Soviet Union and India grow and strengthen !

My wishes of peace, success and prosperity to the Indian people !

INDIA USA

**Date** : Jan 01, 1968

**Volume No**

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The following is the text of the speech by the prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at a dinner given in honour of His Excellency Mr. A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., in New Delhi on January 25, 1968:

Chairman Kosygin, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a long awaited pleasure to have our good friend, Chairman Kosygin, and his Charming daughter, Mrs. Ludmila Gvishiani, with us. We are happy to welcome you, Chairman Kosygin, on this festive occasion. Our Republic Day celebrations will be the more joyous for the presence in our midst of good friends and neighbours. We regret that you cannot stay longer, to see more of the immense variety of our country.

I recall our delightful meeting, only a few months ago, when Chairman Kosygin took time off from his many pressing engagements. at the time of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Great October Revolution to invite us, together with some of his distinguished colleagues, to a quiet, informal evening at his dacha outside Moscow. The talk touched many subjects but most memorable was the open-hearted friendship and sincerity which underlay it.

Thirty-seven years ago on this day the people of India took a pledge not to rest until they became free. Now it is eighteen years since we became a republic-the event which we are celebrating tomorrow. In these 18 years all our experience has proved that freedom is, only the beginning, and that its fulfilment is the happiness of people and their ability to live without fear. But the technology of war has developed to such

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an extent that a great question mark seems to be poised over the globe.

Is man born to blow himself up and destroy his planet? Can he not endure and build ? The very nature of modern war has also strengthened the compulsions for survival. I recently came

across a profound thought in one of our ancient books, to the effect that "when we believe, we perceive". If we believe in the future of man, then we shall be able to perceive and strengthen those forces which will help us to realise the belief.

Mankind is one, but people belong to different backgrounds. They are at differing stages of historical evolution and they hold diverse political beliefs. This diversity is essential for the very existence of the world. Attempts to impose doctrines of uniformity have not only failed but have proved to be a danger to peace. Our policies are based on an appreciation of this truth. Co-existence, although regarded by some as a truism, is still the only possible basis for international relations. It is rooted in present-day realities, and provides the framework for the survival of the human race.

#### DEVELOPING FRIENDSHIP

The developing friendship between the Soviet Union and India is a good example of international co-operation. It has been of mutual benefit, and it has helped freedom and peace.

We have worked together for these great objectives, and you have helped us in working for another equally worthy endeavour--the fight against backwardness. Economic co-operation forms a valued part of growing Indo-Soviet friendship. In all parts of this vast land there are visible and living monuments to this co-operation and friendship.

The pattern of this economic co-operation, consisting of credits, material and technical assistance and increasing stress on trade--has pioneered a new trend in international economic relations. We are confident that with the help we are receiving, and even more through our own unremitting efforts, we shall win notable victories in our struggle against backwardness.

The past two years have been most difficult for us. They have been years of extraordinary drought and economic hardship. This year we have had an excellent harvest and although the months ahead will not be easy, we can look ahead with hope and confidence. Our economy is in transition. We have come up against problems

of economic management, organisation and administration. These have served to emphasise that development has more to it than investment.

I lay stress on our economic ties because for a Country like India, development and the struggle against poverty is the central problem. Our political independence will not be complete or secure until we are economically self-reliant. Our faith in planning is based on the belief that this is the only way for us to ensure a better life for our people and to narrow the disparities within our society. We are especially anxious to do our best for our children and young people. All who have visited the U.S.S.R. have come to admire the great solicitude with which the Soviet Government surrounds its children and youth. I was specially impressed with the part which the young pioneers took in the celebrations of the 50th anniversary. They added colour and warmth to the functions.

#### UNCTAD

In a few days, the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will take place in Delhi. We attach high importance to this conference for we believe that the widening disparity between the rich and the poor, the favoured and the underprivileged, threatens the peace of the world, as much as it militates against social justice. The Socialist States represent a large and powerful economic force. They can make significant contribution towards the success of the second UNCTAD.

Poverty and economic disparities are not the only threats to peace. Viet Nam—indeed the entire Indo-China peninsula—and West Asia show how near the brink we find ourselves. The year has just begun. It is too early to say whether it will see a lessening of the tensions and fears which it has inherited. Every time there is some little hope of a turn towards peace, it is soon frustrated. It should be the duty of all who are interested in the cause of peace and humanity to prevent any aggravation of the conflict and to press for a stoppage of bombing as an essential preliminary to negotiation.

In West Asia, we trust that the patient efforts of the United Nations will open the door to a just and honourable settlement.

We hope that 1968 will be a year of peace and progress and that the pressure of progressive world opinion will help to eliminate the remnants of colonialism and racialism in southern Africa.

#### TASHKENT DECLARATION

We in India have unfortunately had conflicts forced upon us. With you in our midst, Mr. Chairman, our thoughts inevitably turn to the historic Tashkent Declaration of which you were the prime architect. That Declaration charted a path

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to co-operation and understanding on the basis of peaceful co-existence and good neighbourliness. India is ready and willing to tread that path. We should like to have normalisation of relations with Pakistan to pave the way for friendship and co-operation. But their co-operation in this task is equally essential. We have a saying that we cannot clap with one hand.

India firmly adheres to the principles of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment which, together with democracy and socialism, constitute the essential pillars of our state policy. We shall not swerve from these basic ideals which we interpret in terms which are dynamic and consistent with the changing circumstances, yet without prejudice to the real spirit which underlies them.

May I once again express our pleasure in having you, Chairman Kosygin, and other members of your party with us ? I hope that you and your daughter will have an interesting and enjoyable stay in our country.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I invite you to join me in a toast of friendship and esteem to Chairman Kosygin and other distinguished guests from the Soviet Union. May Indo-Soviet friendship and co-operation always work for world peace.

INDIA USA RUSSIA CHINA UZBEKISTAN MALI PAKISTAN

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

**Volume No**

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UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

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Reply by Mr. Kosygin

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Replying to the toast proposed by Prim  
Minister Indira Gandhi, Chairman Kosygin said:

Esteemed Mrs. Prime Minister,  
Dear Friends,

We fully share the confidence expressed by you  
that the Soviet-Indian relations, the relations of  
friendship and cooperation will further develop  
fruitfully.

In the course of the two decades of the exist-  
ing diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union  
and India firm inter-State trade, economic, cul-  
tural and scientific relations have been establish-  
ed. The life itself confirmed the correctness of  
the foresight of the great leader of India, Jawahar-  
lal Nehru, who stood for the development of  
friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union  
and made a great contribution to this noble  
cause.

The warm reception accorded to us here is  
the expression of the friendly feelings of the  
people of India towards the Soviet people. We  
consider that it is our duty to express our sincere  
gratitude for this. To safeguard, to preserve,  
and to develop further the good traditions of the  
Soviet-Indian friendship--such is, in our opinion,  
the common task for both sides, since the conso-  
lidation of the Soviet-Indian friendship corres-  
ponds to the vital interest of the people of our  
countries and to the cause of world peace.

AGGRESSIVE FORCES

The present international situation persistently  
demands from all, who cherish peace and security  
of peoples, to take united actions aimed at curb-  
ing aggressive forces of imperialism and colonia-  
lism. These forces have unleashed a bloody  
war in Vietnam; they have taken recourse to in-  
tervention in Laos. They have resorted to open  
threats towards Cambodia, they have committed

aggression against peace-loving Arab countries in the Middle East and are striving to involve in their adventures the peoples in many regions of the world, including India. The intrigues of the imperialist circles, engineering externally instigated reactionary coup d'etat in a number of countries of the world, and the demands to re-demarcate the established frontiers in Europe, must put the peoples of all countries on guard.

The aggressive aspirations of imperialism endanger the cause of peace. India, already in the first years of its existence as an independent state, has won great international authority by her active participation in defence of peace, against colonialism.

The imperialist states are worried that in answer to their policy of aggression and armed intervention in the internal affairs of the independent countries and peoples, an alignment of forces which stand for preservation of peace is taking place that the resistance to the policy of plunder, violence and international piracy is growing.

In order to undermine this unity, attempts are being made by imperialists to drive a wedge in the relations between the states which are actively struggling against imperialism and colonialism. We are sure that such attempts are doomed to failure by the course of history. Life itself confirms the necessity of uniting the efforts of all peace-loving states struggling for world peace and international security.

Growing friendship of the young independent states with the Soviet Union, with other socialist

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countries, serves the cause of further consolidation of the front of anti-imperialist struggle. Our country, wedded to the policy of peace, has stood and will stand most resolutely on the side of the states fighting for their independence and national sovereignty.

#### TASHKENT AGREEMENT

Two years have passed since in Tashkent the Governments of India and Pakistan, having demonstrated wisdom and statesmanship, found it possible to stop the war and to go over to the solution of the problems through negotiations.

Now, as we come to think how to achieve further settlement of the questions still awaiting solution between India and Pakistan, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that there is no other way but the one which was found at the meeting in Tashkent. Alternative to this is only war. But this runs counter to the interests of Indian and Pakistani peoples.

We, like all the friends of India and Pakistan, would like to see Hindustan as a region of stable peace, a region where the foundations of friendly cooperation between India and Pakistan could be laid.

Only the imperialists are interested in sowing the seeds of discord and animosity, in creating a zone of tension in Hindustan, and if it could be possible, in pushing the events in the direction of military conflicts. They do all this, of course, not in the interests of the peoples of this region.

The Tashkent meeting provides the basis for confidence that the Governments of India and Pakistan, guided by the deep sense of responsibility for the destiny of the world, will seek, by peaceful means, the solution of outstanding issues. And this corresponds to the interests of the peoples of both the countries, to the interests of the world.

On our part, we sincerely wish them success along the road which was opened by the Tashkent Declaration. And we will do all within our power to help them to proceed further in this direction.

We would like to note that the official statements of the Indian Government, headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, about its intentions to continue in future a foreign policy course based on the principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, as well as practical steps by India in the international arena in accordance with these principles always meet with due understanding on the part of the Government and the peoples of the Soviet Union. It goes without saying that further implementation of such a foreign policy course will contribute to the development of the fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and India in all spheres.

We think, esteemed Prime Minister, that in the course of our meetings and talks with you and

other national leaders of India, we will get the opportunity to exchange the opinions on all problems of interest, to better understand each other. Permit me to express the hope that these meetings will be fruitful and will be a contribution to the cause of further consolidation of the friendly relations between our countries.

I propose a toast to the Indian people, to the health of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and her colleagues in the Government of India, to the Soviet-Indian friendship.

INDIA USA VIETNAM LAOS CAMBODIA UZBEKISTAN PAKISTAN

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Prime Minister's Speech at Civic Reception to Mr. Kosygin

The following is the text of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at the Civic Reception given in honour of the Soviet Prime Minister of the Red Fort, Delhi, on January 27, 1968 :

Chairman Kosygin and Friends,

I welcome you here in the Capital on behalf of the people of India. We are happy to have you in our midst on this auspicious occasion. The revolution that took place in your country raised the hopes of the poor all over the world. Our freedom struggle also received your sympathy. Since, we achieved independence, we have been receiving substantial help from you so that we may be able to become self-reliant and consolidate our freedom.

You have also given aid for our industries and

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have been cooperating with us in our gigantic

efforts to fight against poverty. In the international sphere, we are working unitedly for peace in the world and we are only anxious how to pool our efforts to stop fighting and eradicate poverty of the people where it exists. We believe in the principle that the problems could be solved through mutual discussion and agreement. And both the countries are working towards this end.

India is at a turning point at present. After passing through a period of difficulty it has now reached a stage from where we hope the country can go ahead by putting in hard labour and sustained effort. We are happy that you have conic on this occasion.

Ours is not a friendship of two Governments but it is the friendship of the peoples of two great countries which is based on strong foundation. The underlying basis is that there should be, peace in the world and that the suppressed people should get opportunity to better their lot; that help should be given to poor people to enable them to fight against poverty; that they should be, able not only to achieve political independence but economic independence also.

We believe that world peace can be realised and proper utilisation of scientific and technological knowledge could be made only when this kind of freedom is achieved by all the countries. Your great country has made great contribution through the development of scientific and technological knowledge towards the advancement of human race.

I, therefore, hope that our friendship will grow stronger and will help other countries to strive for peace, fight against poverty and oppression so that all of us could try to make this a happier world for all.

Once again I welcome you and hope that when you return to Moscow you would convey to the Soviet people greetings of the people of India.

INDIA USA RUSSIA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Indo-Soviet Joint Communiqué

The following is the text of the joint communiqué issued in New Delhi on January 31, 1968, at the conclusion of talks between His Excellency A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi :

At the invitation of the Government of India, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., His Excellency A. N. Kosygin, paid an official visit to India from 25 to 31 January, 1968.

During their stay in India, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and his party visited the Bharat Heavy Electrical Plant at Hardwar and the antibiotics manufacturing plant at Rishikesh.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. His Excellency Mr. A. N. Kosygin, had meetings and discussions with the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, the Vice-President, Shri V. V. Giri, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai and other Ministers of the Government of India.

Taking part in the talks on the Soviet side were also : Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., N. P. Firyubin; Deputy Chairman of the State Committee of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers for Foreign Economic Relations, V. A. Sergeyev; U.S.S.R. Ambassador to India, N. M. Pegov; Member of the Collegium of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, L. M. Zamyatin, and Chief of South Asia Department of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, A. A. Fomin.

Taking part in the talks on the Indian side were: Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister for De-

fence; Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Minister for Industrial Development; Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce; Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister, of State; Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, Foreign Secretary; Shri Kewal Singh, Ambassador of India; Shri P. N. Haksar, Secretary to the Prime Minister; Shri T. N. Kaul, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; Shri V. Shankar, Secretary, Ministry of Defence; Shri K. B. Lall, Secretary, Ministry of Commerce; Shri J. S. Mehta, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; Shri R. Jaipal, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, and Shri Prithi Singh, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, U.S.S.R., Mr. A. N. Kosygin and the Prime

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Minister of India Shrimati Indira Gandhi, after a broad survey of the international situation, reaffirmed that the major task before the countries and the nations is to preserve peace and to further international understanding and cooperation.

The Prime Minister of India expressed her appreciation of the contribution which the Soviet Union was making towards the peaceful resolution of the world problems; the two sides noted with satisfaction that the principle of non-alignment has been adopted as the guiding factor in the foreign policy of most newly independent States enabling them to make a positive contribution to the easing of tensions and the promotion of world peace.

Both sides consider that international problems, including border and territorial questions, must be settled by peaceful negotiations and that the use or threat of use of force and the interference in the internal affairs of countries cannot be allowed.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Prime Minister noted with satisfaction that in pursuance of the enlightened interests of both countries, the relations between the Soviet Union and India have continued to develop favourably. In the economic, cultural, scientific and other fields, co-operation is progressing satisfactorily. The two sides noted with satisfaction the successful and fruitful deve-

lopment of Soviet-Indian ties.

The Prime Minister of India expressed her gratitude to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for the economic assistance given by the Soviet Union. Both sides looked forward to prospects of increasing trade and commerce between the two countries. They agreed that the two countries must explore fresh avenues of collaboration in the economic and industrial fields as a means of strengthening trade relations between them. Both sides agreed that groups of experts of both countries would, in the near future, study these matters and make concrete recommendations.

Both sides confirmed their intention to continue regularly their exchange of opinions on political matters of mutual interest.

The Prime Minister emphasising the importance that India attached to the Tashkent Declaration, recounted the efforts which India has been making to improve relations between India and Pakistan in the spirit of this Declaration.

The Soviet side expressed the hope that the Government of India and Pakistan will exert all their efforts in order to bring about a further normalization of Indo-Pakistani relations and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the solution of the existing outstanding problems through bilateral contacts.

The two sides agreed that the Tashkent Declaration provided the basis on which the problems between India and Pakistan could be resolved and peaceful, cooperative and good neighbourly relations between them established.

Both sides made a comprehensive review of the situation in West Asia. In this connection once again they emphasized the necessity for the implementation of the resolution of the Security Council of the 22nd November, 1967, and the withdrawal without delay of the Israeli forces to the lines which they occupied prior to June 5, 1967.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Prime Minister of India expressed their concern about the war in Vietnam. They were deeply concerned that

there had been so far no stoppage of the bombing of the territory of D.R.V.N. They consider that unconditional stoppage of the bombing of the D.R.V.N. would create conditions for negotiations aimed at a political settlement. In accordance with the Geneva Agreements of 1954, the people of Vietnam must be offered the opportunity to exercise their right to freely determine their destiny.

The Chairman and the Prime Minister re-affirmed their support for Cambodia in her determination to preserve her sovereignty, independence and neutrality in accordance with the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and agreed that there was no justification to violate Cambodia's frontiers.

The Soviet Union and India declare again that there is an imperative need for achieving general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

The two sides note the importance and urgency of reaching an early agreement on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in accordance with the decisions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly.

Both sides noted the paramount importance of ensuring security in Europe for easing international tension and strengthening universal peace. They consider that the establishment of a system of European security with the participation of all European States would constitute an important contribution to the cause of the consolidation of world peace.

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The two sides re-affirmed their adherence to the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter and pronounced themselves in favour of the further strengthening and enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations on the basis of the strict observance of its Charter.

The two sides attached importance to the Second U.N. Conference on Trade and Development shortly to be opened in New Delhi, and expressed the hope that it would pave the way towards a solution of the problems of the developing countries.

The two sides attach great importance to personal contacts and the exchange of opinions between leading personalities of the two countries.

On the instruction of the Presidium of the Supreme-Soviet of the, U.S.S.R. and the Soviet Government, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. conveyed to the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, and to the Vice-President of India, Shri V. V. Giri, the invitations to pay official visits to the Soviet Union.

Mr. A. N. Kosygin on behalf of the Soviet Government invited the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to make official visits to the Soviet Union.

These invitations were accepted with much pleasure.

INDIA USA RUSSIA UZBEKISTAN PAKISTAN MALI ISRAEL VIETNAM SWITZERLAND CAMBODIA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

YUGOSLAVIA

President's Speech at Palam Airport welcoming President Tito

The President, Dr. Zakir Husain, made the following speech at the Palam airport welcomes His Excellency President Josip Broz of Yugoslavia and Madame Jovanka Broz Tito on their arrival in New Delhi on January 22, 1968 on a 5-day State visit to India :

President Tito, Madame Broz, Your Excellencies and Friends,

It is a great privilege for us to welcome to our country our dear and distinguished guests, President Tito of Yugoslavia and Madame Broz. You, Mr. President, are a true and trusted

friend of the people of India and we rejoice at having you in our midst once again.

We feel proud to recall the historic association between you and our late beloved leader, Jawaharlal Nehru. The bonds of friendship and cooperation between our two countries which ensued from this association, have strengthened over the years, and we rejoice that our two countries stand shoulder to shoulder in their endeavours towards a better and more peaceful world.

Our friendship and understanding, which is based on the concepts of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and economic cooperation, has not only strengthened our bilateral relations, but has also helped towards the lessening of international tensions and the development of greater international cooperation in the world.

You, Mr. President, have made an outstanding contribution to the promotion of the ideals of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. You have vindicated the conviction, which we fully share, that these are not static but dynamic concepts. There can be no doubt that the larger interests of the world community cannot be served by military alliances or political groupings, for all nations have the right and obligation to pursue independent policies within the framework of international cooperation. We, in India, feel proud and privileged to be part-

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ners with you in our common dedication to these ideals.

Yugoslavia is a country with which we constantly exchange our appraisals of the world situation. We are, therefore, extremely gratified at your visit as it will provide us another opportunity to share our thoughts and renew our determination to further our bilateral relations and strengthen the fibre of international peace.

On my behalf and on behalf of my Government and the people of India, I welcome you both, once again, to our country.

YUGOSLAVIA USA INDIA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

YUGOSLAVIA

President Tito's Reply

The following is the text of President Tito's reply :

Mr. President, Madame Prime Minister,  
Dear Friends,

I wish to thank you most warmly--on behalf on my wife, my associates and in my own name -for this cordial reception and friendly words of welcome. We are very glad, indeed, to find ourselves again this great country, with which we have been associated in fruitful cooperation for a number of years, both within the context of the policy of nonalignment and on the bilateral plane.

The people of Yugoslavia highly appreciate the constructive contribution that India is making towards the solving of international problems, promotion of equitable international cooperation and the maintenance of peace. The voice of India, a country of five hundred million people, has always carried particular weight in the United Nations and in the international community and has met with the understanding and support of many newly-emancipated countries, precisely because your country has been expressing the aspirations of peoples towards freedom and independence, the elimination of the policy of force and interference, and the safeguarding of peace.

I am happy to note that mutual understanding and friendship between India and Yugoslavia are being constantly strengthened and that a useful tradition of personal encounters at the highest level has been established between our two countries, meetings in the course of which

questions of mutual interest are considered in an open and friendly manner. You have rightly paid tribute, Mr. President, to the contribution made to this cooperation by the great Indian statesman, the late Jawaharlal Nehru, a man who has earned the gratitude of the world by his unswerving dedication to the cause of peace and progress.

I am convinced that our present talks with the distinguished Prime Minister, Madame Indira Gandhi, and other Indian statesmen will be fruitful and useful and that our two countries will continue, in the future also, to stand firmly together in the struggle for our common ideals of peace and active co-existence. At present, when the protagonists of the policy of force and aggression are provoking grave crises in international relations, it is of great importance that all the forces striving towards peace and progress should combine their efforts and intensify their activity.

May I, in conclusion, thank you for your kind invitation to visit your beautiful country and to say how gratified we are that we shall have the opportunity to attend the celebrations held on the occasion of your National Day—the Day of the Republic. I wish to convey to you and to the Indian people the best wishes of the peoples of Yugoslavia for the happiness and well-being of the people of your country.

YUGOSLAVIA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

YUGOSLAVIA

President's Speech at Banquet in honour of President Tito

The following is the text of the speech by the President, Dr. Zakir Husain, at a Banquet

given in honour of President Tito of Yugoslavia  
in New Delhi on January 22, 1968 :

Mr. President, Madame Broz, Excellencies  
and Friends,

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It is our good fortune to have in our midst  
this evening a great world statesman and the  
leader of a dynamic nation, president Tito of  
Yugoslavia. The people of India consider it an  
honour and privilege to welcome you, Mr. Presi-  
dent, Madame Broz, and other friends from  
Yugoslavia to our country.

Based on the common ideals of non-alignment  
and peaceful co-existence, India and Yugoslavia  
have developed very special bonds of friendship  
and cooperation over the last several years. Our  
friendship is reflected in the community of our  
approach to matters of importance to the world,  
and in the constantly increasing economic co-  
operation between our two countries. The Tri-  
partite arrangements which have been concluded  
between Yugoslavia, the U.A.R. and India are  
making progress and I hope that your visit will  
give further impetus to the principles of coope-  
ration which we evolved, here in Delhi, during  
your List visit to India.

You, Mr. President, and our Prime Minister,  
will have occasion to make a survey of interna-  
tional problems during your visit. These dis-  
cussions will be in continuation of those which  
our Prime Minister had with you in Yugoslavia  
a few months ago. I am sure that the same spirit  
of mutual trust and confidence will inspire these  
discussions as has always characterised them  
in the past.

#### WEST ASIA

In our common quest for world peace, we  
have faced some very grave dangers recently.  
Armed conflict in any part of the world is a  
threat to peace everywhere. The conflict which  
overtook West Asia and burst into a war last  
June has not entirely subsided in spite of the  
cease-fire. We have welcomed the efforts of the  
United Nations to bring peace with justice to  
the area.

While we adhere strictly to the principle of

vacation of aggression, we also adhere to the principle that every state has the right to live in peace and security with its neighbours. Your earnest efforts, Mr. President, to bring about an equitable and honourable settlement of the West Asian crisis, with which we, are happy to have combined our own, were an important contribution to the safeguarding of international peace in a troubled world.

#### VIETNAM

Yet another war continues to rage in our neighbourhood, that in Vietnam, Far from any progress being made towards peace, there is the constant danger that the dimensions of the conflict may increase. Your country and ours have always taken the view that a peaceful solution to the Vietnam problems could be found on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

There are many countries that believe, as we do, that progress towards a resolution of this problem can be initiated only if the bombing of North Vietnam is stopped. It is our earnest hope that statesmanship and wisdom will prevail. India remains faithful to her resolve to assist in the processes of peace to her maximum ability.

#### PAKISTAN

You are aware, Mr. President, that even within the last few years, this country has faced aggression on its borders. Even so, India has based its hope in the Tashkent Declaration for reaching a peaceful and a durable, settlement of all the problems with Pakistan. That we have not succeeded to a marked degree so far is not due to any lack of desire or effort on our part. We believe that no matter how complex a problem; given patience, statesmanship and a spirit of reconciliation, a peaceful solution can be reached. Our hand of friendship remains extended and we are determined to persevere in our efforts.

India and Yugoslavia are convinced that in general and total disarmament lies the only means to ensure a lasting peace. Both our countries have also made, and continue to make, certain efforts in that direction. We greatly hope that nuclear power which, if rightly used, could

transform the world, is never used for destructive purposes.

## UNCTAD-II

In a few days, the Second UNCTAD Conference will open in Delhi. We look upon this conference as a momentous one in the history of the developing nations. The Algiers Charter, which incorporates the demands of the developing countries, is a realistic one. We hope that the developed countries will also adopt a helpful and constructive attitude.

There is no gainsaying the fact that prosperity, like peace, is indivisible. Poverty in two-thirds of the world is a threat to prosperity of the other third. The U.N. development decade on

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which so many hopes were pinned has proved to be a disappointment. The UNCTAD Conference presents a forum in which both developed and developing countries can come to grips with their problems seriously and in a spirit of sympathy and understanding. I am sure that the delegations of our two countries will make a significant contribution in the Conference towards achieving concrete results.

The problems which I have touched upon are the ones which exercise our minds and, broadly speaking, there is general agreement between our two points of view on all of them. We are partners in the pursuit of peace, economic development and cooperation amongst all nations of the world.

You are the leader of a great country which under your wise statesmanship, is making an invaluable contribution to the cause of peace. I am sure you know, Mr. President, of the love and affection that the people of India have for you and for the people of Yugoslavia.

May I propose a toast to your health, to that of Madame Broz, and to the happiness and well-being of the 20 million people of Yugoslavia, who are 20 million friends of India.

YUGOSLAVIA USA INDIA VIETNAM SWITZERLAND PAKISTAN UZBEKISTAN ALGERIA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

YUGOSLAVIA

Reply by President Tito

The following is the text of President Tito's speech in reply to the toast proposed by the President Dr. Zakir Husain :

Dear Mr. President, dear Madame Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen, dear Friends,

I am particularly gratified to find myself again in your hospitable country, among old and sincere friends, with whom we have been linked, for a number of years, by our common dedication to the cause of peace and equitable international cooperation.

Your cordial and friendly words, Mr. President, as well as your noble wishes and thoughts have revived in us memories of many past meetings and fruitful talks we had with outstanding statesmen of India. These meetings were characterized by a friendly and working atmosphere and by a high degree of mutual understanding and confidence. They fully reflected the closeness of our approach to current international problems which exercised a beneficial influence on the activity of our countries on the international plane, as the taking of useful initiatives for the solving of international problems.

The conversations we had a few months ago with your Prime Minister, Madame Indira Gandhi, on the occasion of her visit to Yugoslavia, confirmed once again the great friendship and close cooperation existing between our two countries. We are confident that our present talks, too, will represent a successful continuation of this useful tradition.

The fact that India and Yugoslavia-geogra-

phically two distant countries, with different historical backgrounds, traditions and characteristics-have been fruitfully cooperating for many years, testifies to the force of the ideas that have brought us together, to the reality and lasting character of the principles for whose consistent application in international relations we have been striving along with other non-aligned and peace-minded countries. At the same time, this means that what is involved are not passing interests or temporary phenomena, but aspirations and strivings which are shared, at present, by a large part of mankind and which actually reflect the progressive processes now evolving in the world.

#### POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT

Our two countries have always attached great importance to the activity of non-aligned countries aimed at improving the international situation and consolidating peace. Of course, we have never believed that our activity within the framework of the policy of non-alignment should produce ready-made recipes for the solving of outstanding international problems, as we are convinced that such solutions must and should be sought through the patient and joint efforts of all the peace-loving forces. Precisely for this reason it is necessary to proceed to frequent mutual consultations and exchanges of views in order to be fully able to consolidate the independence of our countries in the conditions of the present complex international situation and with a view to contributing-within the limits of our

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possibilities-to the efforts that are being exerted in the world for the purpose of overcoming the negative legacies of the past.

India and Yugoslavia have always condemned, in conjunction with other peace-minded and non-aligned countries, the policy of force and aggression, every attack on the independence of countries and peoples and every threat to world peace. At present, we are again faced with a policy which is engendering new crises and provoking local wars which threaten to lead mankind to the brink of catastrophe.

#### WEST ASIAN CRISIS

The crisis in the Middle East, brought about by the aggression of Israel against independent Arab countries, is still continuing. Our two countries condemned this aggression at the very outset and have been exerting utmost efforts in order to eliminate its consequences and to find a peaceful solution. This time again, India has made a valuable contribution, particularly by its activity in the United Nations, whereby it has enhanced its prestige among all the peace-loving countries and, especially, among the peoples and governments of the Arab countries which were the victims of Israeli aggression.

We cannot, of course, be satisfied with what has been achieved in the United Nations so far in the search for a solution of the crisis in the Middle East. However, we believe that there do exist conditions for further constructive action aimed at finding a lasting solution.

The Arab countries have shown their readiness to search for a political solution, but Israel, unfortunately, persists in believing that--through the occupation of foreign territories--it will be able to impose solutions which, we are deeply convinced, are not and cannot be accepted by any one who has at heart the cause of peace and stability in that part of the world and which, in consequence, cannot be in the interest of Israel either.

Therefore, we wish to hope that the Government of Israel will abandon its policy of threat or use of force and that--by evacuating the occupied Arab territories--it will make it possible to solve the existing problem on a lasting basis. It is obvious that all those who are sincerely in favour of peace must continue to exert undiminished efforts in that direction.

#### VIETNAM WAR

The war waged by the United States of America in Vietnam is causing indignation in the world and is meeting with resentment and resistance even in the public opinion of the United States itself.

This aggression constitutes a threat to other countries in South-Asia also, as we were able to convince ourselves to an even greater extent during our visits. However, the brave Vietnamese people have shown by their heroic strug-

gle that they will not permit the imposing of any solution that would infringe their legitimate right to decide for themselves their own fate.

We feel that it is high time for the United States to put a stop to this bloodshed and to search for a solution through negotiations, which makes it imperative to cease the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unconditionally and without delay.

#### UNCTAD-II

Mr. President, the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will soon be held in your capital. By choosing New Delhi as the venue of this gathering due tribute has been paid to India which has been investing great efforts for the solution of the problem of accelerated economic development of the developing countries.

A high degree of unity has come to expression at the recent Conference of Ministers of the Group of 77 in Algiers among the developing countries which are demanding energetically that they should participate under more favourable, equitable conditions in world trade and in the international division of labour. These countries rightly expect that the Second Conference will adopt concrete measures for improving their position.

The importance attached by our two countries to this problem was particularly stressed on the occasion of our Tripartite Meeting which we held, together with our friend, the President of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser, in your capital city. On that occasion we drew attention, in particular, to the need for the developing countries to avail themselves of all the possibilities for promoting mutual economic cooperation and, with that purpose in mind, we adopted appropriate conclusions. A little more than one year has elapsed since then and, in the meantime, as a result of several meetings on ministerial level, the first concrete measures have been agreed upon and are soon to be put into effect.

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The idea of tripartite cooperation has awak-

ened the interest of other developing countries, which also feel that all the possibilities inherent in mutual cooperation have not yet been utilised. I certainly share your opinion, Mr. President, in saying that it is our aim that this cooperation should be open to all the interested developing countries and that it should provide an example of new forms of mutually beneficial international economic relations based on equal rights.

#### SINISTER LEGACY

Today, when the emancipated peoples are making maximum efforts in the struggle for a better future and for the overall social and economic development of their countries, remnants of colonialism and racial discrimination still persist in some parts of the world. We have always highly appreciated and wholeheartedly supported India's efforts, particularly in the United Nations, towards removing this sinister legacy of the past and ensuring to all men a free life worthy of human beings.

Mr. President, I regret that,---due to want of time, we are not in a position to visit various regions of India and to get acquainted with the results achieved in the development of your country. However, we know that, despite difficulties and obstacles,---India is achieving significant results and is forging ahead successfully.

We are familiar with the great efforts that India is investing for the development of its economy, education and science, so that many of your institutions and achievements have already attained a world level. This gives the young generation an opportunity to be better equipped for making effective use of the rich material and human potential of your great country.

We are particularly glad, Mr. President, to see in your person not only an outstanding statesman, but also a distinguished educational worker and humanist who has made, over a number of years, a significant contribution--in this field also--towards a better future of the friendly people of India.

In conclusion, may I, Mr. President, thank most heartily--on behalf of my wife, my associates and in my own name--for your kind invitation, cordial hospitality and the kind atten-

tion with which we are surrounded, as on earlier occasions, in this friendly country.

May I propose this toast to your health, Mr. President, to the happiness and progress of the people of India, to friendship and all-round co-operation between our two countries!

YUGOSLAVIA USA INDIA ISRAEL VIETNAM ALGERIA

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

YUGOSLAVIA

Indo-Yugoslav Joint Communique

The following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in New Delhi on January 27, 1968, after the conclusion of talks between the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Prime Minister of India :

At the invitation of the Government of India, President Josip Broz Tito, accompanied by Madame Broz paid a State visit to India from 22 to 27 January, 1968.

The President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Prime Minister of India had talks in which the international situation and the bilateral relations were reviewed. On the Yugoslav side the following also took part in the talks :

1. Mr. Milos Minic, President of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Member of the Council of Federation;
2. Mr. Vladimir Popovic, Member of the Council of Federation, Secretary General of the President of the Republic;

3. Mr. Marko Nikezic, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;
4. Mr. Janko Smole, Federal Secretary for Finance;
5. Mr. Slavko Komar, Ambassador of Yugoslavia to India;
6. Mr. Nikola Milicevic, Director of Department, Secretariat of State for Foreign Affairs; and

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on the Indian side the following attended the talks.

1. Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce;
2. Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State;
3. Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, Foreign Secretary;
4. Shri J. K. Atal, Ambassador of India to Yugoslavia;
5. Shri P. N. Haksar, Secretary to the Prime Minister;
6. Shri T. N. Kaul, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs;
7. Shri R. G. Rajwade, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs;
8. Shri K. B. Lall, Secretary, Ministry of Commerce;
9. Shri J. S. Mehta, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs;
10. Shri R. Jaipal, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; and
11. Shri Prithi Singh, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

As at other such meetings between the two leaders, the conversations were conducted in an atmosphere of frankness, sincerity and mutual confidence and confirmed the proximity of the views on important international problems and

the present situation in the world.

The President and the Prime Minister were gratified to note the constructive cooperation which is developing in all spheres of their relations. They re-affirmed the resolve of their Governments to make further efforts in order to expand and intensify all-round bilateral cooperation and securely to establish it on a long term basis. They also reviewed the progress made in the Tripartite cooperation between Yugoslavia, India and the U.A.R., and affirmed the readiness of their countries to explore and develop further avenues of collaboration in order to contribute to the economic development and welfare of their countries.

The importance of the forthcoming Conference of UNCTAD in New Delhi was emphasised by the President and the Prime Minister. They are convinced that the Conference, in a spirit of realism and understanding, could achieve concrete results towards bridging the gulf between the developing and the developed world by facilitating rapid economic progress of the developing countries. The two Governments intend to maintain their common approach to the various issues before the Conference.

The President and the Prime Minister reiterated their desire to promote general and complete disarmament, and the easing of the arms burden which weighs heavily on the peoples of the world. They considered that since the international situation is fraught with danger all countries should exert fresh efforts towards the general and complete disarmament. They agreed that the proliferation of nuclear weapons must be resisted and an agreement to this end should safeguard the legitimate interests of all countries.

The President and the Prime Minister expressed their deep concern over the serious situation in Vietnam. They regretted it all the more that there was no cessation of the bombing of DRVN which, in view of the recent indications, could open up prospects for negotiations towards a political settlement. They are convinced that a solution of the Vietnam problem could be found on the basis of the Geneva Agreement 1954, thus enabling the Vietnamese people to decide their future freely and without any external interference. The President and

the Prime Minister expressed their sympathy and support for Cambodia in her determination to preserve her sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and neutrality and affirmed that there exists no justification for the violation of her frontiers.

The President and the Prime Minister also noted with concern that little progress has been made to resolve the West Asian crisis. They supported the efforts in pursuance of the Resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations and of peace-loving nations to secure the vacation of territories occupied by force and to bring about settlement on the basis of the recognition of the integrity, independence and the right to existence of all the countries in the region, thus ensuring a lasting peace.

The Prime Minister reiterated India's firm intentions to develop peaceful and friendly relations with Pakistan and indicated India's efforts to work towards this end in a purposeful manner in order to establish a basis of mutual confidence between the two countries.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that the problems between the two countries could be resolved in the spirit of the Tashkent Declaration, which would be in the interest of the peoples of India and Pakistan and could con-

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tribute to the cause of peace in Asia and the world.

The two sides expressed their satisfaction at the friendship and mutual trust which exists between India and Yugoslavia based on their common adherence to the policy of non-alignment. They are convinced that personal contacts greatly help to strengthen their ties of friendship and mutual esteem. In this connection the Prime Minister of India was very gratified at this opportunity to renew contacts with the President of Yugoslavia. President Tito thanked the Prime Minister for the hospitality shown to him, Madame Broz and other members of President's party during their stay in India. The President extended invitations to the President of India and to the Prime Minister of India to visit Yugoslavia which they accepted with much pleasure.

YUGOSLAVIA INDIA USA VIETNAM SWITZERLAND CAMBODIA PAKISTAN UZBEKISTAN

**Date :** Jan 01, 1968

## February

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**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

BRAZIL

Shri B. R. Bhagat's Speech at Dinner to Foreign Minister of Brazil

Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State for External Affairs, made the following speech on February 2, 1968 at a dinner given in honour of His Excellency Mr. Magalhaes Pinto, Brazilian Minister for External Affairs, and Madam Pinto who arrived in New Delhi on February 1 on a 6-day visit to India:

Your Excellency, Madam Pinto, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you here tonight on your first visit to our country. Your great country is indeed situated at some distance from us but your visit amongst us clearly demonstrates that given goodwill, physical barriers are easily overcome. As you will have already observed, it is our earnest desire to further develop friendly relations between Brazil and India. Happily, there are no outstanding political problems between our two countries. Your country as well as mine are broadly pursuing path in international affairs aimed at the promotion of world peace and amity.

By virtue of our current common membership of the Security Council, we have been thrown together closely in that forum to pursue

these common aims and objects in a constructive and positive manner. Our two countries are also members of the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva and it is gratifying to observe very close identity established between our two delegations. We sincerely hope that the discussions at this Conference will soon lead to an agreement which will save the world from the ever present danger of nuclear holocaust.

In the sphere of bilateral relations, we are both convinced that there is ample scope and opportunity to further increase our trade, economic and cultural exchanges. In many ways, our respective economics are parallel to each other. We are both developing countries. We are both engaged in the process of industrialisation and in the process of modernisation. In this exciting endeavour we could usefully learn from the experience of each other. The steel industry and peaceful uses of atomic energy immediately occur to me as such fields for fruitful exchanges between us. Negotiations for a cultural agreement are already under way and we look forward to entering into an active phase of cultural relations with Brazil before long. Your Excellency is signing an Indo-Brazil Trade Agreement tomorrow and our hope is that this will lead to mutually advantageous commercial exchanges.

Although we live in a world of rapid change, the pace of change is uneven. Poverty and affluence cannot continue side by side without creating dangerous tensions and imbalances. The developing nations, for no apparent fault, find themselves technologically and materially backward. This wide gulf that separates the developing nations from the richer and industrially advanced nations has to be bridged at all costs.

The UNCTAD II to which you are leading your country's delegation will, I sincerely hope, succeed in laying the necessary frame-work for significant advances in this direction. Your long and varied personal experience in the field of banking and economic development makes you specially suited to guide your country's efforts in the right directions and also usefully contribute to the deliberations of the UNCTAD.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I now request you to join me in offering a toast for

the health and happiness of our distinguished guest, his good lady and prosperity of the people of Brazil.

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BRAZIL

Reply by Foreign Minister of Brazil

Replying to the toast by Shri B. R. Bhagat, His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Brazil, Mr. Magalhaes Pinto:

Mr. Minister,

I am deeply honoured to be the first Minister of External Relations of Brazil to visit this country. It gives me special pleasure to have been entrusted by the Government of Brazil with the high mission of interpreting the feelings of friendship that bind us to the Government and to the people of India.

My presence here today expresses our wish to expand and strengthen the relations between our two countries to explore the wide opportunities which appear before us in the economic, commercial and cultural fields. We hope as well that this collaboration may extend to the several international bodies to which we belong and where Indo-Brazilian cooperation may be extremely fruitful in matters pertaining to our social and economic development.

In many respects we have similar positions in the world scene. The vastness of our territories and the volume of our populations assure to each of our countries a special weight in the political

context of the world. Although not always coinciding, the guidelines of the foreign policies of our Governments have gained for our countries the respect of the international community, by virtue of the authenticity of our stands and the firmness of our efforts towards maintaining peace and security.

Brazil and India have understood that economic development, so much sought for by a large majority of the world's population, is one of the essential conditions of peace. This is why I consider to be highly significant the parallelism of our efforts towards securing to developing countries international conditions designed to favour the, growth of their economics and the redemption of their peoples.

We have been devoting a great deal of attention to the reexamination of the criteria which had been presiding over the international division of labour, to fostering the industrialization of developing countries, to the revision of the terms of international trade so as to guarantee a just relation between the prices of commodities and the prices of manufactured goods, to the elimination of all sorts of barriers which hinder the expansion of trade among less developed countries. And in every instance we had valuable and prestigious support from India.

It is my conviction that we may develop these lines of coincidence of our policies and strengthen the ties which unite our peoples. My visit to India will be underlined by the conclusion of an agreement destined to encourage our commercial exchanges. To sign this act at a moment when our countries fully step into the industrial age seems to me of the highest significance. A close scrutiny of the structure of our industrial production may reveal numerous possibilities for complementation and cooperation. To materialize these possibilities is a challenge to the imagination and to the will-power of our civil servants and our businessmen. The field of intellectual, artistic, scientific and technological cooperation also finds itself opened to our initiative.

The different cultural traditions of our countries must not be considered as an obstacle but rather as an incentive to our cooperation. The confrontation and interpenetration of diverse

cultural patterns is an imperative of our century and the breeding ground for new formulae for the understanding of the world and of mankind.

The exchange of our experiences in the technological and scientific spheres can be highly fruitful, I am sure, for both our countries. In reviewing the opportunities for Indo-Brazilian cooperation I am confirmed in the feeling of the greatness of the, future and the historical perspective of both our countries. The merit of our generation resides in its capacity in interpreting correctly the sense of history.

Allow me to express my gratitude, Sir, for the cordial welcome, given me in this country and for the warm words with which you have greeted me today. I shall keep the remembrance of this occasion which will be associated in my mind to the powerful impression your country makes upon me. I do hope that my visit to India will contribute to the better understanding of our peoples and our Governments.

I raise, a toast to your health, Sir, to Madam Bhagat and to the friendship between India and Brazil.

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BRAZIL USA INDIA RUSSIA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

BRAZIL

Indo-Brazilian Trade Agreement Signed

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on February 3, 1968 on the signing of a trade agreement between India and Brazil :

"His Excellency Mr. Jose De Magalhaes Pinto, Minister of External Relations of Brazil, called on Shri Dinesh Singh, Commerce Minister of India, this (Feb. 3) morning. During their meeting they discussed not only the prospects of development of trade between India and Brazil but also the problems before UNCTAD II which is currently in session in New Delhi.

The two Ministers agreed that there was considerable scope for expansion of trade between India and Brazil. While the economies of the two countries are parallel in certain sectors, there are also elements of complementarity which could facilitate growth of trade. India, for example, had imported a substantial quantity of rice from Brazil last year and could also consider import of other industrial products such as ships. Brazil, in her turn, is a large importer of textile machinery, railway equipment, including rails, generators and electric motors and other engineering equipment which India is in a position to supply. The two Ministers shared the view that the scope for expansion of Indo-Brazilian trade should be explored in depth.

The two Ministers also felt that industrial collaboration between the two countries in selected sectors would yield fruitful results. They agreed to encourage industrialists and others to get together with a view to promoting Indo-Brazilian joint ventures.

Later, the two Ministers signed a Trade Agreement between India and Brazil. This is the first such Agreement between the two countries and is a symbol of their close and friendly relations as also of their desire to develop closer ties.

The Agreement provides for reciprocal extension of most-favoured-nation treatment by the two countries in matters of trade and tariffs. It will come into force from the date of exchange of instruments of ratification which is to take place in Rio de Janeiro. The Agreement is for an initial period of three years and will be extended by tacit consent for periods of one year at a time thereafter.

BRAZIL INDIA USA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

BHUTAN

President's Speech at Palam Airport Welcoming the King of Bhutan

The following is the text of the speech made by the President Dr Zakir Husain, welcoming His Majesty the Druk Gyalpo (King) of Bhutan on his arrival at Palam airport, New Delhi, on February 8, 1968 :

It gives us very great pleasure this morning to receive you in our midst once again. To receive close friends is not only an honour but a personal pleasure for the people of our country, the members of my Government and myself personally. I bid Your Majesty, Her Royal Highness and the other distinguished member, of the party a most hearty welcome and hope that short as your stay is to be, it will be both pleasant and comfortable.

India's relations with Bhutan are of an ancient vintage. Time has mellowed their quality and the relationship today has ripened to the point where we no longer consider Your Majesty a stranger or the people of Bhutan as foreigners. As Your Majesty is aware, the people of Bhutan may freely enter India at will and reside in any place of their choosing and take up any vocation of their choice. While in this country, they enjoy equal rights with Indian citizens. I hope that our relations will be further strengthened in course of time and that Bhutanese people will come to regard India as a second home away from home.

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The entire world is in ferment today, for the vast majority of its people, which covers a population of 80 odd countries, including Bhutan and India, has achieved neither economic independence nor freedom from want. The

majority continues to suffer from hunger, from lack of development and from the ravages of forces of upheaval and unrest unleashed by these conditions. The first task of all of us today is to strive for the economic, social and political development of our peoples and for an improvement in their standards of living. In this task I am very happy to note that our two countries are cooperating very successfully. In cooperation, which is free and voluntary and which aims at mutual benefit, lie the hopes of betterment of the conditions of our peoples.

During the short stay of Your Majesty and of Her Royal Highness, I hope Your Majesty would be able to see some of our tourist sites as also what we call our temples of progress. Our capital city has grown even during the short period that has elapsed since Your Majesty's last visit in 1966. As Your Majesty does not have the time on this occasion to visit places outside Delhi, we hope it will be possible to receive Your Majesty once again in the near future so that we can show you some other parts of our developing country.

Once again, I have the honour to extend to Your Majesty, to Her Royal Highness and to the other distinguished members of the party a hearty and sincere welcome.

BHUTAN USA UNITED KINGDOM INDIA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

BHUTAN

Bhutan King's Reply to Airport Address

The following is the text of the speech made by His Majesty the Druk Gyalpo of Bhutan in reply to the welcome accorded to him by the President, Dr. Zakir Husain, at the Palam

airport :

Your Excellency,

I thank you most sincerely for the warm and affectionate welcome which you gave us. I know that the welcome you gave us is not an ordinary welcome, but it is a welcome which one gives only to one's own family. As you are saying, Your Excellency, Bhutan and India have very close ties from the olden days. We used to trade with you and our religion came from India. But it was in 1958 when Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the present Prime Minister came to Paro, that the foundation of our new friendship, which is existing today, was laid. I am happy to say that since that time our friendship has strengthened and now it has become as solid as a rock, and I have every reason to believe that it will remain so for ever.

Once again, Your Excellency, I thank, you for the warm welcome that you gave us.

BHUTAN UNITED KINGDOM USA INDIA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

BHUTAN

President's Speech at Dinner in honour of the King of Bhutan

The following, is the text of the speech made by the President, Dr. Zakir Husain, at a dinner given in honour of His Majesty Sri Sri Sri Sri Sri Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, the Druk Gyalpo, (King) of Bhutan, in New Delhi on February 8, 1968 :

It has given us much happiness to have Your Majesty with us once again after nearly two years. Your Majesty's acceptance of our invitation to visit Delhi symbolises the close bonds

of friendship and understanding that exist between our two countries. We understand that Your Majesty's present programme would not allow of any visits outside Delhi on this occasion. We look forward to the occasion when Your Majesty is not hard pressed for time. I take this opportunity to reiterate the sentiments of welcome which I expressed to Your Majesty and to Her Royal Highness and to the other distinguished members of the party this morning.

In the hearts of our people Bhutan has always enjoyed a special place. Although for obvious geographical reasons it is mainly the peoples of Assam and Bengal, which in ancient times corresponded to the kingdoms of Kamroop and Wangh, which have had close relations with Bhutan, we must not forget that parts

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of India as distant from Bhutan as modern Himachal Pradesh have had the deepest significance for the people of Bhutan. The Monastery at Rawalsar in Himachal Pradesh is one of the most important centres of pilgrimage for the Bhutanese people for it was there that His Holiness Guru Padmasambhav who took the "Dharma" to Bhutan, was born many centuries ago. This permanent bond between our two peoples can never be broken and I am happy to say that it is bonds such as these which bind our peoples together.

Both our peoples are children of the Himalaya. Neither people can ignore the facts of history, geography or of culture which our two peoples have shared over the centuries it is a matter of much satisfaction that the barriers between our two peoples are no longer there today and both our peoples are free to develop their mutual relations in a manner suited to our own genius and our own requirements. Over the past decade and particularly in the last few years a new relationship of greater intimacy and cooperation has been forged between our two peoples and out of that has grown a sense of deeper trust and friendship. I would be failing in my duty if I did not pay tribute to the very special part played in the growth of these developments by Your Majesty personally.

The bonds that bring together the peoples of

our countries are real; their strength undoubtedly is such as to withstand all pressures. For the good of both our countries we must endeavour to ensure that the strength of these ties is not corroded or weakened.

Symbolic of the growing relationship between Bhutan and India are the visits that some Bhutanese people have made to India during the past few months. We were honoured to receive the Royal Advisory Council last year which as a body visited India for the first time, although some individual members of it had been here previously. We rejoiced at the visit made by a group of Lamas from Bhutan to holy Buddhist places in our country. To emphasise our close cooperation in the field of education we have several hundred scholars from Bhutan studying in educational institutions in India. We are glad to learn that at this very moment a group of 40 school boys from Bhutan is touring India.

I should also like to mention the extremely successful visit made to Bhutan for the second time by an Indian Parliamentary Delegation comprising Members of both Houses. The Delegation which was led by Shri Hanumanthaiya, who is the Chairman of our Administrative Reforms Commission, came back very deeply impressed with Your Majesty personally and with what they saw of the progress of economic development in Bhutan. In the field of culture the Song and Dance Troupe of the Kathak Kala Kendra is reported to have been received with the utmost kindness and consideration by the people of Bhutan. The Troupe returned full of happiness on receiving so much understanding and appreciation.

The rate of progress of economic development in Bhutan is increasing. We are deeply gratified to learn that our assistance and cooperation have been of help. We are all fully aware of the able manner in which Your Majesty has led your country towards modernisation and progress. Under the dynamic leadership of Your Majesty, Bhutan and her people will continue to make progress in the field of economic and social development. In the great task of reconstruction that remains to be tackled in Bhutan I wish to assure Your Majesty and the Government and people of

Bhutan of India's abiding sympathy, friendship and fruitful cooperation.

With these few words of welcome, Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and join me in drinking a toast to the health, happiness and prosperity of His Majesty, the Druk Gyalpo, the House of Wangchuk and the people of Bhutan.

BHUTAN USA UNITED KINGDOM INDIA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

BHUTAN

Reply by the King of Bhutan

Replying to the toast by the President, His Majesty, the Druk Gyalpo, said:

Rashtrapati, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy to be in your country where I feel more a member of the family than a foreign visitor. The bond of friendship that binds our two countries is very strong and I have no doubt that it will grow stronger still with the passage of time. Both India and Bhutan today face many common problems, and I have every hope that through mutual cooperation we shall

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be able to overcome these problems and thereby ensure a better living standard for our peoples.

I am deeply moved by the most affectionate welcome and hospitality extended to me and my officers by the Government and the people of India. On behalf of my people and myself I wish you, Rashtrapatiiji, and the government and people of the Republic of India, success, peace and prosperity for all time to come. I have now the privilege of proposing a toast to the

Rashtrapati of India.

BHUTAN UNITED KINGDOM INDIA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

CANADA

Indo-Canadian Loan Agreement Signed

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on February 8, 1968 on the loan agreement signed between India and Canada :

An agreement was signed in New Delhi on February 8, 1968 by Shri Morarji Desai, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, and the Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Robert H. Winters, for a Development Loan of C.\$21.14 million (Rs. 14.70 crores) to the Government of India.

This loan, together with the Fertilizer Loan and the Industrial Commodities Loan of C.\$ 10 million each signed earlier, completes Canada's pledge of Development Loan Assistance to India for the current financial year.

The present loan can be used for equipment, materials and services as may be mutually agreed to by Canada and India. The loan will be free of interest and service charges and is repayable over a 50-year period, including 10 years of grace.

With the close and friendly relations between India and Canada and the continuing cooperation in the economic field, today's agreement marks a further step in Canadian assistance to India which has so far totalled over C.\$ 730 million in grants and loans.

Under this assistance India obtains wheat and other food stuffs, industrial raw materials, industrial equipment and technical assistance,

CANADA INDIA USA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

CAMEROON

Indo-Cameroon Trade Agreement Signed

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New, Delhi on February 22, 1968 in connection with the signing of a trade agreement between India and the Republic of Cameroon:

A trade agreement was concluded today (Feb. 22) between India and the Federal Republic of the Cameroon. The Union Minister of Commerce, Shri Dinesh Singh, signed on behalf of the Government of India and M. Vincent Efon, Minister of Commerce and Industry on behalf of the Government of the Cameroon.

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This is India's first trade agreement with a West African country. India's relations with Nigeria and Ghana are already close and a Trade Agreement with the Cameroon is a symbol of its desire to strengthen ties with other countries in the region.

The agreement provides for reciprocal extension of most-favoured-nation treatment by the two countries to each other in matters of trade and tariffs. This provision shall not apply, inter alia, to any advantages or preferences accorded under any scheme for expansion of trade and economic cooperations amongst developing countries, which is open for participation by all

developing countries. This covers the Tripartite Agreement on Exchange of Preferences which was recently concluded by India, the UAR and Yugoslavia.

The agreement also provides for meetings of a Joint Indo-Cameroon Committee at least once a year to explore area of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

CAMEROON INDIA USA GHANA NIGER NIGERIA YUGOSLAVIA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Shri Azim Husain's Statement in Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament

Shri Azim Husain, India's Ambassador in Switzerland and Leader of the Indian. Delegation to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, made the following statement in the Committee in Geneva on February 27, 1968:

Mr. Chairman, I feel highly privileged to be able to participate in the deliberations of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at this important stage of its discussion of a non-proliferation treaty. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking my colleagues who have welcomed my association with this Committee, and I should like to assure them of my full and earnest co-operation in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to this Committee.

I should also like to take this opportunity of welcoming Mr. Foster, the representative of the United States, who has done much to promote the work of this Committee. We are glad to see him fully recovered and we wish him the best of health for the future.

The presentation of the revised and identical

drafts of a treaty by the delegations of the United States and the Soviet Union (ENDC/192/Rev.1, 193/Rev.1) marks an important development in our work. These revised texts contain several new features. A number of changes have been made as a result of the negotiations which took place last year and the various memoranda and working papers presented to the Committee. We recognize that they represent an improvement on the earlier identical drafts of 24 August 1967 (ENDC/192, 193), and we wish to associate ourselves with the tributes which have been paid to the United States and Soviet Union delegations for their untiring efforts.

We recognize also the sincerity and the earnestness with which the Soviet Union and the United States have worked in drafting this treaty; just as we recognize the importance which this approach signifies for the future of international co-operation as a whole. We note, however, that the revised text does not meet some of the more fundamental and basic requirements of an acceptable treaty and does not incorporate many of the important ideas and suggestions put forward by a number of delegations, including my own.

#### ABIDING INTEREST

The deep and abiding interest of my Government in the field of disarmament is well known. India took the initiative in 1964 in inscribing for the first time on the agenda of the General Assembly an item under the title of "Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons". Unfortunately no discussion could take place during that year. It is a matter, however, of great satisfaction for my Government that this question has aroused

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the conscience of the international community, as evidenced by the fact that this item has continued to figure in the agenda of all subsequent sessions of the General Assembly.

I recall the inscription by India of the item "Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons" in 1964 because during the earlier years it was only the question of non-dissemination or a further spread of nuclear weapons which had been debated in the General Assembly and else-

where. The difference between dissemination and proliferation of nuclear weapons is, I submit, not a mere matter of semantics but one of substance and significance. Our persistent plea that the international community should concern itself with proliferation in all its manifestations rather than with mere dissemination, which is only one aspect of it, is in our view fully vindicated by past experience and the past history of attempts to prevent a spread of nuclear weapons.

I do not wish to go into details which are well known to all of us in this Committee, but will content myself with pointing out that the very fact that the number of nuclear-weapon Powers has increased from one in 1945 to two in 1949, three in 1952, four in 1960 and five in 1964 is proof of the failure of that limited approach. The urge to seek greater security—however imaginary or illusory this may eventually prove to be—by acquiring nuclear weapons cannot be curbed by a prohibition applied only to those that do not already possess them. It can be effectively controlled only by attacking the root of the evil: namely the state of insecurity caused in the world by the possession of these weapons of horror and mass destruction by a few Powers. The desire to emulate the example of those that have become nuclear-weapon Powers will be difficult to resist as long as the world lives in a state of imbalance. It can be eliminated only if we do away with the special status of superiority associated with power and prestige conferred on those Powers by nuclear weapons.

#### NUCLEAR MENACE

It is true that the nuclear menace can be eliminated only by nuclear disarmament; but it is also equally true that the first step that we take in this direction should be not only to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons but also and simultaneously to inhibit the further development and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. In other words, a way out of the present impasse can be found only through prevention of both the aspects of proliferation of nuclear weapons, which have been variously termed as present and future proliferation, or existing and further proliferation, or vertical and horizontal proliferation. Both these aspects of the proliferation of nuclear weapons form part of a single whole, and the problem cannot be dealt with by dealing

with only one aspect of it. This element is essential and central to our concept of a non-proliferation treaty.

From what has been stated in this Committee during the current and the last session, my Government is aware that some delegations hold a somewhat different concept of the proposed treaty; but equally the position of the Government of India is well known and has been given expression to both here and in the General Assembly. At the last session of the General Assembly on 14 December 1967 our representative stated :

"...we should like to emphasize again that an acceptable and satisfactory treaty on non-proliferation should prevent three aspects of proliferation : first, an increase in nuclear arsenals; second, a spread of nuclear weapons over the world, and, third, an increase in the number of nuclear weapon Powers. An acceptable and effective treaty, therefore, is one which prohibits existing proliferation among nuclear-weapon Powers, the dissemination of nuclear weapons and weapon technology from one country to another, and further or possible proliferation among hitherto non-nuclear weapon Powers". (A/C.1/PV. 1551, p. 52)

It is agreed on A sides in this Committee that, as laid down in General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX) (ENDC/161), which provides the guidelines to this Committee for drafting a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, there must be an "acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers". It has been the view of my delegation before-and it continues to be the view now-that certain basic features of the draft treaty before us do not conform to that principle. The first and most obvious mid important lack of balance is that, while the non-nuclear-weapon Powers undertake not to proliferate, there is no comparable obligation placed upon the nuclear-weapon Powers, which would be free to continue to produce more weapons and to further improve such weapons.

In that connexion I may also recall that of the five principles enunciated in resolution 2028 (XX) the first requires :

"The treaty should be void of any loop-

holes which might permit nuclear or non-

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nuclear Powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form".

The reference here is to both nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon Powers, as is evident from the preamble to resolution 2153A (XXI) (ENDC/185) of the following year, which expressed apprehension about "an increase of nuclear arsenals". The report of the Secretary-General on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons and on the security and economic implications for States of the acquisition and further development of these weapons also lays stress on this, when it says-

"So far as international security is concerned, it is highly probable that any further increase in the number of nuclear weapons States or any further elaboration of existing nuclear arsenals would lead to greater tension and greater instability in the world at large. Both these aspects of the nuclear arms race are significant to world peace." (A/6858, para. 82)

The United Nations having thus recognized that the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the nuclear-weapon countries is a matter of major preoccupation to be viewed with equal apprehension, it is clear that a non-proliferation treaty should have sought to meet that apprehension. The only effective way in which this could have been done was to include an obligatory provision in the treaty for a cessation of further production of nuclear weapons and what has been called in technical parlance a "cut-off" of production of fissionable material for weapon purposes. But there is no such provision in the draft treaty.

#### DEGREE OF SOPHISTICATION

Further, articles I and II of the draft treaty do not prevent the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States; or do they prevent the training in the use of nuclear weapons of the armed personnel belonging to non-nuclear-weapon States. Also, while article I calls upon the nuclear-weapon States not to assist, encourage

or induce any non-nuclear-weapon States to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons, it does not prohibit one nuclear-weapon State from assisting another nuclear-weapon State, which may not have reached the same degree of sophistication in the development of its nuclear-weapon technology, by providing technical aid, say, in the way of blueprints for the manufacture of more sophisticated nuclear weapons. These lacunae are a matter of deep concern to a large number of non-nuclear-weapon States.

It is even more disturbing when we find that one-sided prohibitions on non-nuclear-weapon States apply also in regard to nuclear explosive devices for purely peaceful purposes. In this connexion it has been stated in this Committee that non-nuclear weapon countries should be prohibited from developing this technology or producing such explosives themselves because the technology for making nuclear explosives for peaceful purposes is the same as that for making nuclear weapons.

The Indian delegation has in the past expressed reservations about the view that there is no real difference between a peaceful nuclear device and a nuclear weapon. In this connexion I need not recall the serious and protracted discussions on the Plowshare in 1958 and 1960, when the need for and possibilities of peaceful nuclear explosions by all were recognized; but difficulties over modalities connected with the test-ban treaty made it difficult to come to an agreement.

A possible solution is one which has been envisaged in article 18 of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (ENDC/186). It should not, therefore, be beyond the ingenuity of the negotiators around this table to provide in a generally-acceptable manner for an unhampered use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes by non-nuclear-weapon Powers by nuclear-weapon Powers. While India is fully in favour of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, it is equally in favour of the proliferation of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

#### POTENTIAL BENEFITS

We have been told that, as provided in article V, if the non-nuclear-weapon States were to

deny themselves the technology of making peaceful nuclear explosions, any potential benefits from peaceful applications of nuclear explosions, as and when these become economically and technically feasible, would be made available to them, freely and at economically attractive costs. We do not doubt that the nuclear-weapon Powers will wish to give generously of the benefits of the peaceful uses of the atom. However, the issue involved here is something more basic than the mere question of distribution of benefits.

Mankind everywhere should be free not only to share in the benefits but also to acquire the knowledge of extracting such benefits by itself and to have the freedom to use such knowledge. Since nuclear technology is the technology of the future and is likely to become the most crucial and potent instrument of economic deve-

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lopment and social progress, it would obviously be invidious for a greater part of the world to become wholly dependent on a few nuclear-weapon States for the knowledge and application of this technology. When it is proposed that this should be done for an initial period of twenty-five years regardless of any technological breakthrough during that period, would this not widen the economic and technical gap which already exists and which the developing countries are striving hard to close, as is at present being attempted in the deliberations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in New Delhi?

There is yet another feature of the treaty which causes concern, and that relates to safeguards provided in article III, which apply only to non-nuclear-weapon States, making the obligation entirely one-sided. The Indian Government has been consistently of the view that the safeguards should be universally applicable and be based on objective and nondiscriminatory criteria. The Indian delegation is aware that two nuclear-weapon States have made statements indicating their willingness to accept the safeguards provided in the draft treaty (ENDC/206, 207); but this acceptance, apart from the fact that it is not agreed to by the other nuclear-weapon Powers, is subject to "national security", the scope of which presumably would

be defined by the nuclear-weapon States themselves, making the application of the safeguards illusory in practice.

While on the subject of safeguards, apart from the feature of paragraph 2 of article III I have just mentioned, we note that in the application of the whole safeguards system a certain flexibility has been envisaged. Paragraph 4 of this article speaks of non-nuclear-weapon States party to the treaty concluding agreements with the international Atomic Energy Agency "either individually or together with other States". It is not stated that these agreements would be uniform, one not being more onerous than the other, whether negotiated by individual countries or by a group of countries. In regard to the application of safeguards, we hope it is not the intention that different standards should be applied to those who accede to the treaty.

I now come to the question of disarmament, which, according to successive General Assembly resolutions, is the *raison d'être* of this Committee. The mandate of our present deliberations is General Assembly resolution 2346A (XXII) of 1967 (ENDC/210). That resolution reaffirmed resolution 2028 (XX) of 1965, of which paragraph 2(c) required that the "treaty should be a step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament and, more particularly, nuclear disarmament". It also reaffirmed General Assembly resolution 2153A (XXI) of 1966 (ENDC/185), which viewed with apprehension not only "an increase in the number of nuclear-weapon Powers" but also "an increase of nuclear arsenals". It is clear that these General Assembly resolutions refer to "nuclear disarmament" and stoppage of an increase of nuclear arsenals". It was therefore logical that the joint memoranda of 1965 and 1966 presented by the eight nonaligned members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC/158, 178) should have stressed that the treaty should be designed to halt the nuclear arms race.

#### DRAFT TREATY

Some members of this Committee have spoken of the draft treaty before us as a first step towards nuclear disarmament and the cessation of the nuclear arms race and hailed it as an important step in the chain of direct and indirect

steps towards disarmament and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. I submit that that view is not supported by the relevant paragraphs of the preamble or the new article VI of the draft treaty. While the addition of article VI is a most welcome development, the mere declaration of good intent does not provide any credible commitment on the part of the nuclear-weapon Powers.

The preamble does mention the desire for "the liquidation of all their existing stockpiles, and the elimination from national arsenals of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery"; but there is no commitment in the treaty itself regarding the stoppage of vertical proliferation as suggested by India; nor is there any time limit within which the objective of halting the nuclear arms race is to be achieved. In fact the quarter-century provided for in article X as the initial duration of the treaty appears to endorse and legitimize the present state of affairs and to legalize, if not encourage, the unrestricted vertical proliferation by the present nuclear Powers.

It has been stated in this Committee that article VI creates a juridical obligation of what was earlier only a declaration of intent in the preamble. Unfortunately that is not so; because, as at present drafted, the undertaking "to pursue in good faith", which nobody has ever doubted, does not create any definite or enforceable juridical obligation on the part of the nuclear-weapon States corresponding to the obligation undertaken under article II by the non-nuclear weapon States. It is an imperfect obligation with no sanc-

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tion behind it. Even the areas within which the negotiations are expected to be pursued are not clearly defined.

Apart from the fact that the draft treaty does not embody either a cessation of further production of nuclear weapons or a "cut-off" of production of all fissile materials-for weapon purposes, there is no mention of some of the suggestions made in this Committee, such as (a) a comprehensive test-ban treaty or, to begin with at least, an immediate voluntary suspension of all underground nuclear weapon tests; and (b) a verified freeze of the production of delivery vehicles.

As against that, it has been stated-not without some degree of validity-that the non-proliferation treaty cannot be made a vehicle for measures of nuclear disarmament which need to be discussed separately and substantively and agreed upon, it being well known that there still remain serious differences between the nuclear-weapon Powers over those matters. If a non-proliferation treaty were to attempt to incorporate all or any of those measures, in view of the hitherto insuperable difficulties over the question of verification the conclusion of this treaty-so the argument runs-would be postponed indefinitely.

#### SENSE OF OBLIGATION

Even if that were conceded, it still remains to be stated that article VI does not give any tangible form to the declaration of good intent, there being no sense of compulsive obligation or even a sense of urgency to pursue negotiations for nuclear disarmament as a preliminary to general and complete disarmament. It was for this reason that the delegations of Brazil, Sweden, Mexico, Rumania, Burma and the United Kingdom suggested importing into the draft treaty some sense of urgency, and that was not without good reason. As stated by the leader of the Brazilian delegation :

"...the ultimate answer to the question of checking the proliferation of nuclear weapons is the creation and maintenance of conditions of world security so that no nation can have a motive for producing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons." (ENDC/PV. 327, para. 8)

Various suggestions were therefore made to impart to it the sense of urgency and compulsiveness I have spoken of. Those suggestions, in addition to asking for negotiations to be undertaken at an early date, proposed that the question of the cessation of the nuclear arms race should be examined at the review conference or conferences due to be held after five years and, if satisfactory progress had not been made, parties should consider the situation created and decide on the measures to be taken. It was even suggested that the failure to fulfil in good faith what is now proposed in article VI should be regarded as an additional ground for withdrawal from the treaty.

We are all aware that there is no family planning among nuclear-weapon Powers : there are already four or five, generations of increasingly more sophisticated nuclear weapons and their delivery., systems. There is development in hand of MIRV, which is expected to increase the nuclear weapon power of a missile by a factor of ten or more. In addition to anti-ballistic missiles and Poseidons, there is talk also of the FOBS and the Space Bus. Each of these developments gives rise to the inevitable action-reaction phenomenon of the nuclear arms race, making even more difficult the halting of the nuclear arms race, as has been evident from the inability to make even the partial test-ban treaty (ENDC/100/Rev.1) comprehensive.

India, it is well known, has pleaded for various collateral disarmament measures for two decades now, and has always regarded the non-proliferation treaty as one of those measures; but it still needs to be convinced that the draft treaty before us does amount to a collateral disarmament measures. In order to become generally acceptable the treaty must provide within itself a positive obligation with some degree of compulsiveness and within a reasonable time limit, indicative of a sense of urgency on the part of the nuclear-weapon States to move towards nuclear disarmament, thus paving the way for general and complete disarmament; otherwise this non-proliferation treaty, no matter who and how many sign it, will not be effective and will not last, and our labours will have been in vain.

#### NUCLEAR TESTS BY CHINA

If I have dwelt at some length on the disarmament aspect of the non-proliferation treaty, it is because I wish to emphasize the limitations of the kind of treaty now envisaged and the serious implications of those limitations, particularly for countries in Asia and in the Pacific. It is a matter of concern to India that across its border a major Power, China, not having acceded to the partial test-ban treaty, continues to conduct nuclear-weapon tests in the atmosphere in flagrant violation of the will of the international community and in total disregard of the grave dangers posed by such testing to the welfare of millions of people. In a little over three years it

has had seven nuclear tests, including the testing of a thermonuclear device.

The growing nuclear-weapon capacity of China is thus a matter of concern not only to non-nuclear-weapon Powers but also to nuclear-weapon Powers. In our opinion this concern, so widely shared all over the world, only further emphasizes the urgency of early and elective implementation of measures of nuclear disarmament; and it further underlines the need, to which I have referred earlier, for an acceptable and balanced non-proliferation treaty to prevent further proliferation of nuclear weapons by all nuclear-weapon Powers, including China, and to provide a more direct, juridical and compulsive link with further measures of nuclear disarmament.

While I have spoken of the basic features of the draft treaty, it does not mean that the procedural provisions of the draft treaty could not also be improved upon. I shall, however, not dwell on them, as they have already been dealt with at some length by several of my colleagues, some of whom have proposed amendments for the consideration of this Committee.

It has been stated, for example, that the entry into force of the treaty has been made too easy, while its amendment has been made too difficult. It has been suggested that similar criteria should apply. It has been proposed that the review conference provided under paragraph 3 of article VIII should be enjoined specifically to consider the implementation of the provisions relating to peaceful uses of nuclear energy and the progress towards nuclear disarmament under article VI; also that further such periodic conferences to review the operation of the treaty should be convened; and, further, that the initial quarter-century duration of the treaty is too long, especially in the light of the tremendously rapid advance in the field of nuclear technology, and that this period should be reduced or made subject to consideration at each quinquennial conference designed to consider the realization of the purposes of the preamble and the provisions of the treaty. I have no doubt that those valuable suggestions will be given the most careful and serious consideration by the Committee and the sponsors of the draft treaty.

In conclusion, I should now like to come back to the point I made earlier. The danger to the security of the world arises not merely from the possible spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon States but also from the continued possession and further production of these weapons of mass destruction by the nuclear weapon Powers. India shares the common anxiety that this danger and risk should be checked and eliminated; we share the sense of urgency that has persuaded all of us to negotiate so earnestly measures for achieving that end.

#### DANGER TO WORLD SECURITY

However, we cannot share the belief that the urgency for action is created solely by the possibility that a few of the States with present nuclear capacity may renounce their expressed decision not to acquire or to produce nuclear weapons, and that the only immediate step now required is to inhibit them. Surely such an inhibition should apply equally to all, including nuclear-weapon States. It is a question not of bargaining over rights and obligations, but of what is essential for ensuring the peace and safeguarding the security of the world.

I hope from what I have said it is clear where exactly India stands. We have always held that all proliferation of nuclear weapons is evil and we stand firmly by that conviction; we have maintained that this evil should be checked by common consent and international control.

However, we are equally convinced that this common objective--which all of us here and mankind in general share--cannot be achieved except through a viable treaty, one which will take into account not only the fears of the few but the preoccupations of all, impose equal obligations on all, confer the same benefits, of security and progress on all and therefore become acceptable to the international community as a whole --a treaty which will endure, one that will not merely take cognizance of the undeniable realities of political fact and military power and technological superiority as they exist in the world of today but will also provide for the equally incontrovertible, realities of the changes that will occur in these various fields in the years to come.

USA INDIA SWITZERLAND RUSSIA BRAZIL SWEDEN BURMA MEXICO CHINA CENTRAL AFRICAN  
REPUBLIC

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

EAST AFRICA

Shri Surendra Pal Singh's Statement on Indian Nationals in East African Countries

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Shri Surendra Pal Singh, made the following statement in the Rajya Sabha on February 22, 1968 on the Indian nationals in Kenya and other East African countries :

There are approximately 370,000 persons of Asian origin in East African countries comprising Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania of which there are about 10,700 Indian nationals. The Government of India is not aware of any mass migration of Indian nationals from any of the East African States, although recently some people of Indian origin with British citizenship/passports have been moving out from Kenya to U.K.

In consequence of the Kenya Immigration Act of 1967 all residents who are not citizens of Kenya are required to take out work and residence permits. An extension of the Immigration Act is a new law licensing all trades and restricting non-citizens to trade in certain items and in certain areas. No such development has, however, been reported from other East African States.

The majority of persons of Indian origin in Kenya are engaged in retail trade mostly in textiles, clothing and grocery. The community has been extensively engaged in this trade both in cities and towns and in rural areas. On achieving independence Kenya Government gave two years

to persons of Indian origin to take up Kenyan citizenship if they so desired. Most of them have, however, continued to retain U.K. citizenship and are thus subject to those regulations which seek to legislate against aliens being employed in jobs which are capable of being performed by Kenya citizens. Neither the Immigration Act nor the Trade Licensing Bill affects those persons of Indian origin who have taken up the citizenship of Kenya.

The Government of India have in the past given permission to persons of Indian origin who have felt obliged to leave their adopted countries, to settle in India and have in some cases, extended certain customs facilities to them. They will be prepared to consider any future cases on the same basis although they hope that those Indians who have settled abroad will adjust themselves to the changing circumstances in their countries of adoption.

INDIA KENYA TANZANIA UGANDA UNITED KINGDOM USA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## 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 12, 1968 :

Members of Parliament,

I am happy to welcome you to this first session of the New Year.

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The past year has been challenging and difficult. The country passed through the second successive year of unprecedented drought and scarcity. Considering the disasters that accom-

panied famines in the past, we can take justifiable pride at the manner in which the entire nation rose to meet the grave threat posed to the very lives of millions of our countrymen. This was possible because of timely and sustained action by the Central and State Governments; the dedicated services rendered by voluntary organisations; the generous and timely support of friendly nations; the hard work and efficiency of our workers in every concerned field; and above all, the unbending spirit and fortitude of the people of the affected areas themselves.

While a year ago the prospects looked bleak and there were dark forebodings about the future, the clouds are now beginning to lift. The production of foodgrains is expected to be better this year than at any time in the past. Preliminary estimates place production at around 95 million tonnes which would be about 20 million tonnes more than in 1966-67 and 6 million tonnes more than the previous record production of 1964-65. With this increase in production, the food situation is expected to be easier. However, a significant portion of this crop will naturally go towards filling empty larders or building up depleted inventories. To bring stability to the food situation, it is essential to build up a sufficiently large buffer stock. It is also necessary to maintain a requisite level of public distribution of foodgrains at controlled rates. Towards these ends, Government are maximising efforts at internal procurement and endeavouring to build buffer stocks of the order of 3 million tonnes. All this requires mobilisation of domestic production. In addition, some imports from abroad will still be necessary.

While favourable weather conditions have contributed to the increase in production, there is no doubt that a substantial break-through has been achieved in the field of agricultural production by the use of improved techniques. While in 1966-67 five million acres were sown with high-yielding varieties of seeds, 6 million acres were covered in the last Kharif season alone and a further 9 million acres are expected to be covered in the current Rabi season. Production of commercial crops like cotton, jute, sugarcane, tobacco, groundnuts is also expected to increase. The minor irrigation programme will cover an additional area of over 3 million acres.

There has been an impressive increase in the use of fertilisers; thus the consumption of nitrogenous fertilisers in the current year will be about twice that in 1965-66. The area covered by plant protection measures this year is expected to be about three-quarters more than last year. There have been striking increases in the supplies of tractors, power tillers, pumps, diesel engines and improved implements to farmer. The arrangements for supply of agricultural credit have been strengthened. Progress continues to be made in the implementation of programmes of agricultural education, training, research and extension. The development programme for agriculture aims at securing national self-sufficiency in foodgrains within the shortest possible time.

The increased agricultural production has resulted in a substantial increase in national income, which is expected to be about 10.8 per cent higher in the current year than in 1966-67. Improved agricultural performance has also reduced the upward pressure on prices. Over the year as a whole, the increase in wholesale prices was 5.7 per cent as against 16 per cent during 1966. While the prospects of achieving a reasonable measure of price stability are good, it will be necessary, as I have already said, to continue with the system of public distribution of foodgrains and to exercise discipline in respect of fiscal, monetary and income policies.

The severe drought of the last two years adversely affected industrial output because industries based on agriculture could not secure adequate supplies of raw material and there was also a fall in demand due to reduction in incomes. Some capital and producer goods industries faced slackened demand because of restricted investment outlays. The slowing down of industrial expansion has affected employment opportunities particularly for skilled manpower. Selective measures were adopted by Government to stimulate the output of goods both for export and for the domestic market; these included the selective liberalisation of credit, placing of advance orders by public sector undertakings, and avoidance of import of items which could be manufactured indigenously. Improved agricultural production and the consequent rise in national income are expected to stimulate demand for a variety of

industrial products during the coming year.

The persistent upward movement of costs and prices, together with the sharp decline in agricultural production during the last two years, adversely affected the competitiveness of our exports. However, with increased production of foodgrains and of agricultural raw materials for industry, the outlook for exports in the coming year is encouraging. In the first seven months of the current financial year, exports were 5.7 per cent higher than in the corresponding period of 1966-67. The engineering industries have secured substantial export orders. As industrial

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production picks up, it is to be hoped that we shall be able to produce more for overseas markets.

Government continue to help producers and manufacturers to increase and diversify production and develop marketing skills and competence. The endeavour to improve export opportunities for our products and induce importing countries to provide favourable conditions for them has been pressed through multilateral negotiations, bilateral agreements and the day-to-day contacts of our missions abroad. The Agreements reached with the Socialist countries will help to sustain the expansion which has been achieved in our trade with them. The successful completion of the Kennedy round of negotiations will bring to our exporters new opportunities for the export of some of our goods to Market economies. The Tripartite Economic Co-operation Agreement concluded with the U.A.R. and Yugoslavia will help to increase our mutual trade and provide a basis for expanding the area of commercial co-operation with other developing countries. The expansion of exports remains a national objective of the highest priority and will be pursued with vigour.

The adverse balance of trade and the substantial burden of debt servicing, combined with unavoidable imports of foodgrains and raw materials for export production, have continued to make our foreign exchange position difficult over the year. Government have sought the co-operation of friendly countries and international institutions in finding a solution to the debt service problem. A measure of assistance to

relieve the burden of debt was obtained during the year and further discussions continue. Nevertheless, there was a decline in the foreign exchange reserves and it became necessary to obtain further short-term assistance from the International Monetary Fund.

In any scheme for promoting a more efficient handling of our international trade, the development of our merchant shipping and port facilities occupies a place of crucial importance. In this respect Government have taken a number of important steps, including development of Tuticorin and Mangalore ports, construction of Haldia docks, expansion of the facilities at the existing major ports, reorganisation and modernisation of Hindustan Shipyard and the setting up of a second Shipyard in the public sector at Cochin for the construction of bulk carriers of 66,000 dead weight tons with facilities for repairs to ships up to 85,000 dead weight tons. As for our merchant shipping, the tonnage has now reached a total of approximately two million gross registered tons. Government have set up a Commission to examine comprehensively the problems relating to the finances and economics of major ports, including their modernisation.

No annual survey will be complete without reference to the vitally important programme of Family Planning. This programme made rapid strides during the year. Its acceptability spread to many new sections of rural as well as urban population. Over 2.85 million men and women are estimated to be covered under the various Family Planning programmes. This represents the highest figure reached in any single year so far. However, in order to reach the objective of reducing the annual birth rate from approximately 40 per thousand to 25, an even greater and sustained effort will be required. With this end in view, it is proposed to bring over 6 million additional couples within the ambit of family planning methods and services during the next year. Government have also under consideration certain other measures vitally related to population control.

As one looks to the future, the foremost task which the Government have set themselves lies in imparting a new dynamism to the economy which is recovering from the severe set-backs suffered during the last two years. Government

believe that it is only through the process of planning that the difficulties can be overcome and the country can go forward in its social and economic development.

The Planning Commission is engaged in the formulation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan which will now commence from April 1969. Meanwhile, planning for development has been on the basis of Annual Plans. The Annual Plan for 1968-69 will be shortly laid before you. Both the Government and the Planning Commission were naturally anxious that the Plan should be ready in time to be incorporated in the Budget for 1968-69.

The formulation of our Plans calls for an examination of a number of questions. Among these the most important relate to mobilisation of resources, increasing the efficiency and productivity of public sector enterprises and the proper utilization of science and technology. There cannot be adequate mobilisation of internal resources without a much higher rate of domestic savings, both public as well as private. This, in turn, presupposes a regime of self-denial and self-restraint without which we cannot move forward. In order to stimulate effective mobilisation of resources, Government are considering various measures to simplify tax laws, rationalise taxation procedures and streamline the collection machinery.

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Government are conscious of the need for urgently raising the efficiency of the public sector. They are reviewing the organisation and working of this sector in the context of the advice tendered by several expert bodies. Among the aspects under special examination are better management, a more rational and a carefully thought out personnel policy, improved labour relations and effective economies through a more rigorous enforcement of priorities and evaluation.

Members will recall that, during the last session of Parliament, the Deputy Prime Minister made a statement on Government's decision to bring general insurance under social control. In the current session, Government propose to introduce a bill to give effect to the decisions contained in that statement.

I referred to the importance which Government attach to the application of Science and Technology to our economic development. With this end in view, Government's policy is to bring together, in productive and creative partnerships our scientific research establishments, governmental machinery and industry.

During the year under review, the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station was formally dedicated. The first Rohini rocket developed at the centre was successfully launched from Thumba. The Experimental Satellite Communication Earth Station at Ahmedabad has been completed and a new station will be set up at Arvi. In the field of nuclear power, the Tarapore Atomic Power Project is expected to be commissioned this year. Two more nuclear power stations are under construction.

Government are conscious of the fact that our administrative structure must not only respond to changing needs but also command the confidence of the people. In order to achieve these purposes, the Administrative Reforms Commission was set up. It has produced a series of reports which have evoked wide interest. It is for the first time that a comprehensive enquiry of this kind has been undertaken in our country. The Commission had addressed itself to the problem of redressing grievances of citizens and had made certain recommendations. Government have now decided to set up a statutory machinery to enquire into complaints alleging corruption or injustice arising out of maladministration. The machinery will be headed by a Lokpal who will have authority to enquire into the allegations arising out of administrative acts of Central Ministers and Secretaries. The Lokpal will also co-ordinate the working of two other functionaries of the status of Lokayuktas. The first will primarily go into allegation's of corruption and the second into other allegations made against Central Government servants lower in rank than Secretaries. A Bill on the subject will be introduced in Parliament during the present session.

There are certain aspects of our national life which are a source of constant concern to Government. Unemployment, specially amongst educated and technically qualified youth, is naturally a matter of disquiet. However, there are no

easy, short-term solutions. These problems can only be solved in the measure that our economic growth provides increasing employment opportunities which will absorb the output of our educational and technical institutions as well as take care of population increases. The Planning Commission is critically re-examining the earlier forecast of our manpower requirements. In the meantime, Government earnestly hope that our young men and women, conscious of the dignity of labour, will not hesitate to accept such employment opportunities as might be available at present even if the work involved does not measure up to their technical qualifications.

The socio-economic advancement of the hitherto underprivileged sections of our society --the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes, remains a matter of the utmost interest and concern to Government. While a great deal has been done to ameliorate their position, Government are conscious that more remains to be done. In this respect, too, the final answer to our problem lies in the speedy growth of our economy.

Both in the short-term and in the longer perspective, all our hopes for economic recovery and further growth depend on orderly functioning of our democratic institutions, the hard work of our people, their sense of self-discipline, the productivity of their labour and the maintenance of industrial peace.

It is a matter of concern that there has been a recrudescence of divisive forces causing conflicts and violence either in the name of religion, or language or community. This is a matter for deep national concern transcending par, affiliations. It was in recognition of this that both Houses of Parliament had given their unqualified support to efforts being made to curb communalism. The appointment of a Commission of Inquiry headed by a former Judge of the Supreme Court to enquire into the major incidents that took place in different parts of the country in recent time, reflects Government's determination to do everything that lies within its power to curb the forces of disruption.

In a Country as large as ours, there will always be problems which agitate people in one

part or the other. However, we have a political system in which all these problems can be brought up for dispassionate consideration by the representatives of the people. Reasoned debate and persuasion are the only ways of democratic functioning. Violent agitation in the streets weakens the democratic system and undermines the foundations of national unity.

It is a matter of deep regret to Government that there should be demonstrations and acts of lawlessness over the language issue in certain parts of the country. The overriding objective of Government's language policy is to strengthen the unity of the country and to promote the integration of our people, while providing full opportunity to all sections of the community for self-expression and cultural development. It is Government's earnest hope that all controversies about language will now be ended. Whatever practical problems arise in the implementation of our language policy and programmes should be approached in a spirit of understanding and mutual accommodation.

Government are convinced that co-operation and understanding between the Central and State Governments will continue to serve and advance the larger national interest. On their part, they reaffirm their desire to work in harmony with State Governments irrespective of party affiliations. And, in turn, they expect similar co-operation from State Governments.

Government have made earnest effort to evolve a national consensus on the question of reorganisation of Assam in consultation with leaders of various political parties in Parliament, and the representatives of different sections of opinion in Assam. It is hoped that with their co-operation a satisfactory solution will be found in the near future.

The late Shri Mehr Chand Mahajan, former Chief Justice of India, submitted his report in August last on the question of boundary adjustment between Mysore and Maharashtra and Mysore and Kerala. Government trust that these boundary problems will be satisfactorily resolved.

To meet the persistent threats on our borders, we are continuing to improve the state of pre-

paredness of our Defence Forces; their re-equipment and modernisation are proceeding steadily. Within the resources available, our air defence arrangements have also been improved as part of the overall Defence Plan. Modernisation of the Navy and expansion of our ship holdings have made good progress. Government will continue the special efforts to promote self-reliance in the field of Defence Production.

The threats across our borders from two of our neighbours continue. While we seek friendly and peaceful relations with them, we are, determined to make the necessary sacrifices in defence of the territorial integrity of the country.

The steadfast pursuit of peace, international understanding and cooperation continue to be the basic objectives of our foreign policy. These objectives coincide with our enlightened national interest. Government are convinced that in the present-day world, the principles of coexistence alone provide the framework for international peace.

In the world today, there are many sources, of conflict and tension. The most dangerous of these lie in Vietnam and West Asia. Government are convinced that the tragic conflict in Vietnam can only be resolved by political and not by military means. Government have, therefore, consistently appealed for an unconditional stoppage of the bombing of North Vietnam as the first step towards a peaceful settlement. An increasing number of countries in the world subscribe to this view.

The crisis in West Asia remains unresolved. The longer a just solution is delayed, the more difficult would be the problem. As a member of the Security Council, we have consistently supported all the efforts made to find an early and equitable settlement so that no State is allowed to retain the fruits of aggression and that every State in the area is able to live in peace and security with its neighbours.

Nearer home, we are glad that our relations with Burma, Ceylon, Nepal and Afghanistan are cordial and the areas of mutual understanding and co-operation with them are being steadily enlarged. This growing cordiality has been reflected by the visits of the distinguished leaders of these countries to India, and the visits of the

Prime Minister and some of her colleagues to these countries.

It is a matter of regret that our relations with Pakistan and China remain unsatisfactory. We had hoped that the solemn Declaration of Tashkent would provide a basis for the development of peaceful and co-operative relations with Pakistan. Government have earnestly tried to bring about a normalisation of these relations as befits two neighbouring countries with so many ties in common. The restoration of mutual contacts, the full re-establishment of the severed communications and the reactivation of trade and commerce will facilitate the consideration of other questions. We hope and trust that wisdom and statesmanship will prevail, so that the fabric of friendship and understanding is gradually

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built up for the benefit of the hundreds of millions of citizens of both countries and in the interest of peace and harmony in the area.

As for our relations with China, we have always wished the Chinese people well. We naturally expect China to respect our right to pursue our own domestic and foreign policies. The principles of mutual respect, non-aggression and non-interference alone provide a durable basis for international relations. On our part, we seek restoration of our relations with China on these principles.

Our country had the honour of being in the vanguard of the movement for the liberation of peoples from colonial rule. We have also stood for the ending of the odious practice of racial discrimination and oppression. We shall continue to espouse the cause of the suppressed peoples of Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and of the Portuguese colonies for their independence and liberation. To those struggling against the barbarous policy of apartheid, our unrelenting support shall continue.

Our relations with the sovereign and independent States in Africa have become many-sided. We are actively collaborating with a number of these States in economic, technical and educational fields.

It is gratifying to note that the process of

detente in Europe continues. Our own relations with the European nations, regardless of their political systems and ideologies, are growing satisfactorily. In different ways, they are partners in our efforts at economic progress for which we thank them. We shall continue to work for the strengthening of our trade and economic relations with them. The continuing cordiality and friendliness of our relations with the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia have been reflected in the visits of President Tito and Chairman Kossygin, whom We had the pleasure to receive in our midst recently. We have received valuable assistance from the U.S.S.R. for which we are grateful, and are confident that with our common dedication to the principles of peaceful co-existence our relations will continue to flourish.

The U.S.A. continues to extend to us valuable and substantial economic and food aid which has helped us to tide over difficulties in the past and should assist us in the growth of our economy in the future. We are grateful for their understanding and help. With the countries in the American Continents, we have happily no special problems and our bilateral relations with them are friendly.

We are thankful to Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany and other friendly countries for their economic help.

Our relations with the countries of South and South East Asia are developing satisfactorily and we look forward to further strengthening of our ties with them, more specially in the sphere of economic co-operation.

That the friendship of India is valued by many countries is evident from visits paid to us by distinguished Heads of State and Government and other leaders from various countries.

We are glad to be hosts to the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. It is to be hoped that this Conference will succeed in giving to the international community a concrete programme of action designed to bridge the increasing economic gap between developed and developing nations. Government are deeply convinced that the present wide disparities between the rich and poor nations constitute the

foremost cause of instability and tension in the world today and pose a threat to peace and security.

This broad survey of our internal and external affairs will not be complete without a reference to the legislative and other business which will come up before you.

The estimates of receipt and expenditure of the Government of India for the next financial year 1968-69 will be presented to you for consideration shortly.

It is the intention of Government to bring before Parliament the following legislative measures during the current session :-

- (1) The Gold Control (Amendment) Bill, 1968.
- (2) The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Continuance Bill, 1968.
- (3) The Central Silk Board (Amendment) Bill, 1968.
- (4) The Forward Contracts (Regulation) (Amendment) Bill, 1968.
- (5) Bill to rationalise the nomenclature of the Indian Customs Tariff.
- (6) The Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorized Occupants) Amendment Bill, 1968.
- (7) The Gold Control (Amendment) Bill, 1968.
- (8) The Central Excises Bill, 1968.

A Bill will be introduced to replace the Delhi Municipal Corporation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1968 (No. 1 of 1968).

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Members of Parliament, I have briefly touched upon some of the more important issues before us. After many centuries, the people of India are going through a process of dynamic change. It is a challenge to us all to answer the urges and needs of our people. Important

national problems must be placed above party politics. Government will be ready to sit with Leaders of all Parties and take, counsel with them on major issues of interest and, importance to the nation.

May I now commend you to another year of constructive labour and wish you success in your endeavours?

USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC LATVIA RUSSIA YUGOSLAVIA UNITED KINGDOM  
VIETNAM AFGHANISTAN BURMA NEPAL CHINA PAKISTAN MALI AUSTRALIA CANADA FRANCE  
GERMANY JAPAN

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri C. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on South West Africa

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on February 19, 1968 on South West Africa :

Mr. President, permit me, first of all, to extend to you the warm congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the high. office of the President of the Security Council for this month. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us to see a distinguished son of a great Latin American nation presiding over our deliberations. You have, Sir, already impressed us with the admirable way in which you carried out the lengthy and delicate consultations before convening this series of meetings. My delegation has no doubt that under your wise leadership the Council will be able to deal with its tasks in an effective and expeditious manner.

I should also like to congratulate Mr. Agha Sabi of Pakistan on the excellent leadership that he provided to the Council during his presidency

last month. Mr. Shahi presided over the numerous formal and informal meetings with tact and wisdom. My delegation would like to express its sincere appreciation to him for his notable contribution to our work.

#### ILLEGAL TRIAL

The Security Council is once again called upon to consider the tragic and deplorable situation in South West Africa. Barely four weeks ago the Council had met in an emergency meeting to deal with the grave threat to life and liberty which was then facing the thirty-five South West Africans who were being illegally tried in Pretoria. The Council at that time acted with commendable speed and unanimity. But the fact that the Security Council decided to remain actively seized of the matter showed that it had no illusions about the response of the pathologically racist South African authorities.

Alas, our worst fears have proved to be justified. The Government of South Africa has dared once again to defy the unanimous decision of the highest organ of the United Nations, in keeping with its unrepentant policy of contemptuous disregard and defiance of world opinion. Within two weeks of the adoption of Security Council resolution 245 (1968) which called upon the Government of South Africa to discontinue forthwith the illegal trial and to release and repatriate the South West Africans concerned, the Supreme Court of South Africa imposed life imprisonment on nineteen South West Africans, twenty-year terms on nine, and five-year terms on two under the universally discredited Terrorism Act. Two of the remaining three South West Africans are sentenced to five years under the Suppression of Communism Act. The last of the prisoners who became ill due to police brutality is yet to be tried. It is reported in the Press that Justice Joseph Ludorf, while delivering the sentence, characterized the freedom fighters as "cowards, assassins and ordinary criminals", and warned them that the Court will not necessarily hesitate to impose death sentences in future.

We are familiar with the manner in which colonial authorities smear the people fighting for their freedom and independence. But the Coun-

cil may be interested to know how the movement is viewed by the South West Africans themselves. This has been poignantly expressed by Toivo Herman Ja Toivo, who is accused No. 24 in the illegal trial, and I quote:

"We know that whites do not think of blacks as politicians--only as agitators. Many of our people, through no fault of their own, have had no education at all. This does not mean that they do not know what they want. A man does not have to be formally educated to know that he wants to live with his family where he wants to live, and not where an official chooses to tell him to live; to move about freely and not require a pass; to earn a decent wage; to be free to work for the person of his choice for as long as he wants; and finally, to be ruled by the people that he wants to be ruled by, and not those who rule him because they have more guns than he has."

#### MONSTROUS TRAVESTY OF LAW

The inhumanity and barbarity explicit in the judgement are obvious and do not need any detailed comment from my delegation. The so-called trial was a sheer political vendetta against the heroic South West Africans whose only so-called crime was to challenge the illegal occupation of their land by the racist regime of Pretoria. The attempt to hide it behind a judicial Cloak was much too transparent, and could not deceive the world. The so-called trial has been rightly described by Dr. Larson, a well-known authority on international law, who attended the trial in Pretoria, as : "the most monstrous travesty of law I have even had the misfortune to witness." A similar conclusion has been reached by our distinguished colleague, Mr. Goldberg, in his lucid analysis of the proceedings in his statement last Friday.

It is indeed a tragic irony that a Court which has no legal jurisdiction over the defendants it is trying under a law which has violated every legal norm as understood in civilized nations, should accuse the innocent people of being guilty of high treason. This Council and the whole world knows who is the guilty party in this case. It is the Government of South Africa which, by

its illegal occupation and administration of South West Africa and by its brutal methods to suppress the legitimate aspirations of the nationals of South West Africa, is guilty of the most deplorable and inexcusable offence against the people of South West Africa.

That the South African authorities indulge in most barbaric forms of torture is, of course, a well-known fact. The report of the Ad Hoc Group appointed by the Commission on Human Rights throws ample light on the treatment of prisoners in South African jails. Let me, how-

ever, give just one example. Mr. Mbindi, a sixty-year old South West African has been held under detention for about eight months under the infamous Terrorism Act. Four of the accused in the illegal trial have submitted sworn affidavits about the torture inflicted on Mr. Mbindi. According to these affidavits Mr. Mbindi was taken to the offices of the Special Branch on 19 December 1967, handcuffed to an iron water pipe and hung up so that his feet barely touched the floor. He was blindfolded and punched many times in the face and kicked and threatened with death. As a result he suffered facial and ear injuries. Two of the other accused said that they also had been cruelly assaulted by the security police in a similar manner after detention and during interrogation.

#### BLATANT DEFIANCE

It is pertinent to ask as to how South Africa, in the face of universal condemnation of the illegal trial, could persist in its blatant defiance. The answer, or at least a substantial part of it, must be found in the fact that South Africa is assured, tacitly or otherwise, that some of its friends and allies will not concur in any action of a coercive nature to be taken against it. It is a matter of profound regret to my delegation that the Governments of countries having diplomatic, economic and other relations with South Africa are not prepared to exercise such pressure as the international community expects of them.

The situation now is this. On 25 January 1968, the Security Council acted unanimously in adopting resolution 245 (1968). Operative paragraph 2 of that resolution called upon the Government of South Africa to discontinue

forthwith the illegal trial and to release and repatriate the South West Africans concerned. South Africa has defied the resolution by going ahead with the trial and passing severe sentences on South West African patriots. The Security Council is now duty-bound to take early and effective measures to obtain the release and repatriation of the South West Africans concerned. Obviously the starting point for any action by the Council is resolution 245 (1968), or rather South Africa's defiance of that resolution. But a mere re-affirmation of resolution 245 (1968) in howsoever strong terms would be tantamount to adoption of academic postures.

My delegation believes that the time has come for effective action against South Africa--effective action which is open to the Council under

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the provisions of the Charter and in particular Chapter VII thereof. Having unanimously approved resolution 245 (1968) we believe that all members of the Security Council, permanent and non-permanent, have the moral, legal and political obligation to take effective and if necessary coercive action to secure the compliance of the Government of South Africa with the decision of the Council. My delegation is, therefore, prepared to throw its full weight behind any resolution which calls for sanctions against South Africa.

The argument is sometimes advanced that all diplomatic possibilities had not yet been exhausted and that the South African Government should be given another chance to comply with resolution 245. Being aware of South Africa's total defiance of the international community during the last two decades or so, my delegation does not share the view that diplomatic methods have any chance of persuading the South African Government to come to its senses. Those who continue to believe in such methods should put before the Council the basis for their confidence. In its absence the Council must come to the conclusion that sanctions against South Africa can no longer be avoided.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PAKISTAN SOUTH AFRICA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

MONGOLIA

First Indo-Mongolian Trade Agreement

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on February 13, 1968 on the signing of the First Trade Agreement between India and Mongolia :

Negotiations have been going on for some time between the Governments of India and Mongolian People's Republic to enter into a trade agreement, so that trade and economic relations between the two countries could develop on the basis of mutual benefit. As a result, it has been decided to conclude a trade and payments agreement in New Delhi on the 13th instant between the Indian Commerce Minister-Shri Dinesh Singh and the Mongolian Foreign Trade Minister-H. E. Mr. D. Dorzhgotov.

Under this agreement both countries will accord each other most favoured nation treatment and also help each other in respect of actual movement of trade between the two countries. It has also been decided under this agreement that all payments for current transactions between the two countries shall be effected in convertible currency unless otherwise agreed to. In case the two Governments agree to make payment for some transactions through a clearing account, it will also be permissible.

This agreement envisages export from India to Mongolia of items like tea, tobacco, spices, shellac, vegetable oil, canned fruit juices and various industrial goods namely light industry machinery, electro technical goods, transport equipment, measuring instruments, medical equipment and pharmaceuticals, chemical goods, textiles, jute manufactures, tarpauline and other consumer goods. The main items available for

export from Mongolia to India are wool, skins oil animals, woollen knitwear and woollen cloth, cattle horns etc. Further studies are to be made in due course about the actual commodities which could be exchanged between the two countries.

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MONGOLIA INDIA USA RUSSIA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

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PAKISTAN

Prime Minister's Statement in Parliament on Kutch Award

The following is the text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's statement in the Lok Sabha on February 20, 1968 on the Rann of Kutch Award :

The International Tribunal to determine the border between India and Pakistan in the Gujarat-West Pakistan area delivered its Award at Geneva yesterday. Government have not yet received this Award. My statement is therefore based on the message received from our Consul General in Geneva.

The constitution of the Tribunal and the Award flows from the Indo-Pakistan Agreement on the Gujarat-West Pakistan border concluded on June 30, 1965. That Agreement was laid on the Table of the House by Prime Minister Shastri on August 16, 1965 along with his statement. The House discussed this statement on the Agreement and on August 18, 1965, adopted the following resolution :

"This House, having considered the statement laid on the Table of the House by the Prime Minister on the 16th August,

1965, on the Indo-Pakistan. Agreement of June 1965 relating to Gujarat-West Pakistan border, approves of it."

It is not necessary to take the time of the House to recapitulate the Agreement which now forms Part of the records of the House.

In accordance with the terms of the Agreement, India nominated Ambassador Ales Bebler, Judge of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, Pakistan nominated Ambassador Nasrollah Entzam of Iran and the Secretary-General of the United Nations appointed Judge Gunnar Lagergren of the Stockholm Court of Appeals, Sweden.

I should like to recall what was stated in this House by Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri explaining the function of the Tribunal, and I quote :--

"...I would like to state what to be determined by negotiations or by the verdict of the Tribunal is not of any new boundary between India and Pakistan. That is not the claim of either of the two countries. What is to be determined is the boundary which came into being as a result of the partition of the country and the accession of the State of Kutch to India..."

Thus, the Award of the Tribunal was intended to settle the boundary between the former State of Kutch and the Province of Sind as it existed at the time of partition.

The preparation and presentation of India's case was entrusted to a team of eminent Counsel. The Attorney General of India, Shri C. K. Daphtary, was the leading Counsel, the others being Shri N. C. Chatterji, M.P., and Shri N. A. Palkhiwala, Senior Advocates of the Supreme Court, and Shri J. M. Thakore, Advocate General of Gujarat. The Counsel had the assistance of a team of officers headed by Shri B. N. Lokur, Law Secretary to the Government of India. Hundreds of files, maps, books and reports were examined by our team which spared no effort in preparing and presenting our case before the Tribunal, which it did with great ability and thoroughness.

The claim of Pakistan was that the boundary

Jay roughly along the 24th parallel, in other words, Pakistan laid claim to half the Great Rann of Kutch, with an area of some 3,500 sq. miles. We had contended that the entire Rann was a part of India and the boundary Jay roughly along the northern edge of the Rann. The Tribunal has unanimously rejected the Pakistani claim that the border lies along the 24th parallel. One member of the Tribunal has upheld our claim, while the other two members have upheld it with modifications in some sectors of the boundary. By a majority, the Tribunal has held that about 3,200 sq. miles lies

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on our side of the boundary, while about 300 sq. miles of the territory claimed by Pakistan lies on the Pakistan side of the boundary.

Sir, I am conscious of the anxiety of the Hon. Members and indeed of the country as a whole. I share this concern. This is, a grave matter. Government will examine the Award when received. When this examination is complete, I will be in a better position to make a statement.

PAKISTAN INDIA SWITZERLAND USA YUGOSLAVIA IRAN SWEDEN

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

SWITZERLAND

Swiss Assistance for Agricultural Project

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on February 15, 1968 on the signing of an agreement between India and Switzerland:

The Government of Switzerland has agreed to provide further technical assistance for the Indo-Swiss agricultural development project in Kerala. An agreement was signed in New

Delhi today (Feb. 15) by Mr. R. Faessler, Swiss Ambassador in India, and Shri A. T. Bamba-wale, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic, Affairs, providing for assistance of the value of 2.15 million Swiss Francs (about Rs. 37 lakhs) inclusive of 0.65 million Swiss Francs for the services of experts.

The Indo-Swiss agricultural development project in Kerala was started with the technical cooperation of the Swiss Government in July, 1963. For the first stage, Switzerland had provided assistance of the value of 1.64 million Swiss Francs (about Rs. 18 lakhs) for covering a pilot project on government land of about 500 acres at Munnar. For the second stage, the Swiss contribution was of the order of 2.13 million Swiss Francs (Rs. 23.5 lakhs).

After the successful completion of the first stage, development work was extended to the production of fodder, improvement of pastures, breeding and improvement of cattle, horticulture and afforestation. The Swiss contribution was utilised for the import of project equipment and for covering the expenditure on Swiss and other foreign experts and special research.

The Indo-Swiss agricultural development project is one of the most successful projects in Kerala. The Kerala Government also makes substantial contributions to it. The latest financial contribution promised by the State Government is of the order of Rs. 25 lakhs.

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SWITZERLAND INDIA USA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

**Volume No**

1995

UNCTAD-II

Prime Minister's Inaugural Address

The following is the text of the prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's speech inaugurating the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in New Delhi on February 1, 1968:

Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Delegates to this Conference

May I extend a warm welcome to all of you who have come from many countries to take part in this great Assembly of Nations, in a joint endeavour to build a better world. We had greatly looked forward to the distinguished presence of Secretary-General U Thant, who more than anyone else, has helped us in our moments of despondency and urged us to remain true to the ideals embodied in the Charter of the United Nations over which he presides with such distinction. It is a matter of deep regret to us all that he is not here with us today to launch this truly historic Conference which is no less important for the peace of the world and the well-being of the vast majority of its people than any other issue confronting us today.

I am glad you have chosen this country for your deliberations. Here you will find the problems which all struggling nations face, and you will see them, if I may say, so, projected on a giant screen. You will see them not as statistics but in the expectant glances of our bright-eyed young people and in the anxious faces of their elders. We are conscious that we bear the mark of the storms we have weathered. I hope you will also recognize the spirit of the country, a spirit which has seen our people through countless difficulties, natural calamities, man-made complexities. It is this spirit which has inspired our great men through the ages. Some of our problems are centuries old, and some are very new-parched land and bursting cities, illiteracy and brain drain.

#### FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

For more than a hundred years, the most sensitive and perceptive minds in our country have been obsessed with poverty and have striven to remove its causes. Our fight for freedom was itself part of the greater fight to liberate our people from the grip of poverty and the fear of

economic insecurity. The vastness of our country makes the challenge so much the greater. Whatever we do must be done for 560,000 villages. In the last fifteen years, we have almost doubled agricultural production, created 30 million jobs, put 45 million more children in schools, added 20 years to the life-span, and established a base of heavy industries, but we cannot even take time off to think of this as an achievement. We must go on with our work, for what is unfinished is so much larger than what is done.

In our unending labour, our consolation is that we are not alone. Through the long hard struggle for political independence, we are keenly aware of other nations and of peoples who also were oppressed by their fellowmen. We shared with them the indignities and humiliations of discrimination and exploitation---of this was forged a kinship. It has been our hope and constant endeavour that India should work not only for herself but also for the larger world community. At the greatest moment of our lives, when we became free and sovereign, my father pledged us to the service of India. He said, "The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity ..... And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for, all nations and peoples are too closely knit together today, for any one of them to imagine that they can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

The United Nations was established twenty three years ago to keep world peace and promote human prosperity. The juxtaposition of

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peace and prosperity is not a contrivance for stating moral precepts. The two are indissolubly linked together. Without peace there can be no prosperity for any people, rich or poor. And yet, there can be no peace without erasing the harshness of the growing contrast between the rich and the poor. Unless we sense this urgency and use our energy to eradicate the economic causes

which make for conflict, men and women will be impelled to revolt; and to use violent means to bring about change.

#### WIDE GULF

Wherever a wide gulf has divided the small section of the rich from the vast masses of the poor, the State has either imposed a forced peace on the opposing camps or faced instability from within. What has been true within a nation is equally valid for the international community. Apart from reducing the inequalities within their social structures, the developing nations must adopt modern technology to create a new balance of benefit to all their citizens. In this endeavour, can we not apply to the problems of the world community, the accumulated experience of some of the Member States of the United Nations who are now in the vanguard of progress? Can we not cooperate to give meaning and substance to the very concept of a world community? These are the questions before this Conference.

This is not the first occasion for the United Nations to address itself to the problems of the world poverty and hunger. The Charter of this great Organisation calls upon it to work for the removal of want. To achieve this objective, a number of international organisations were set up. In December 1961, the General Assembly declared the Sixties to be the Decade of Development. In June 1964, the first UN Conference on Trade and Development adopted its Final Act, a blue-print drawn up to achieve a better balance in international economic relationships. But we find that concrete action has fallen far short of its declaration. In the meantime, year by year, the needs of the developing nations are becoming more acute, more urgent.

Some success has, of course, been achieved. Funds raised by diverse methods have been invested in the process of development. Difficulties have been studied in depth, and the continuing machinery of this Conference has been engaged in a search for solutions. Under the able guidance of its distinguished Secretary-General, the Secretariat has produced valuable documents which I am sure, you will find useful. The Group '77' has even prepared a modest though practical programme of action. Naturally, hope is re-awakened by the presence of so many distin-

guished statesmen from different parts of the world. But we are also haunted by the fear that a historic opportunity to set the world community firmly on the road to peace and prosperity might again be missed.

Are these tears altogether groundless? The Development Decade is drawing to a close. During the past years, most Member States have laboured, individually or collectively, to promote economic advancement in underdeveloped countries. An average growth rate of 4.6 per cent per annum has been achieved, but it dwindles to a mere 2 per cent, if we take into account the increase in population. Anyhow, the average growth rate is at best an imperfect measure of social and economic development. A much surer guide is the per capita income, on which the efforts so far made have had little impact. It is the human aspect--the opportunity for men and women everywhere to lead a fuller life--which is of the utmost importance. So long as the fundamental rights of millions of people in regard to employment, food, shelter and other needs remain unsatisfied, so long will their urge to rise to their full stature and serve their fellowmen remain unfulfilled.

#### DISTANT GOAL

This situation is a source of anxiety. The goal is distant. But impatience and dissatisfaction sap our will to persevere. Those who look upon development assistance as repayable charity will inevitably miss the expected gratitude from its beneficiaries. Those who view it as investment to earn political support or to collect dividends, or to promote trade will be disappointed with the meagre returns. At the same time, growing numbers in the developing countries are beginning to look upon external capital and know-how, not as aids to their own strength and achievement of economic freedom, but as bonds which increase their dependence on dominant economies. We must all plead guilty to being tempted by the illusion that small efforts can yield big results. This is why we become disenchanted, and international economic cooperation is the first casualty. Thus, domestic pressures mount. Our affluent friends seek to curtail their contribution to development. In turn the recipients of aid retreat inwards.

Sovereign nations are gathered here. But in some cases the structure of their mutual economic relationship has been inherited from their colonial past. We are all familiar with the part colonialism has played in the exploitation of

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dependent countries. The dominant powers introduced modern science as industry to agricultural lands. But they developed only those segments of dependent economies which met metropolitan needs. They did not build the economic base for the development of material and human resources and of self-generating growth.

Today the rich nations find it more rewarding to invest their savings in their own security, in the advance of their technology, or even in establishing contacts with distant plants. They find it more interesting to trade amongst themselves than with the developing nations. Their markets and profit patterns are protected by tariff and non-tariff barriers. The efforts of the less-developed countries to process their natural products and increase their share of international trade in manufactured and processed goods are thus frustrated. The continuous onslaught of synthetics and substitutes further deprives poor nations of the resources they could derive from the use of their products.

Thus, the gap keeps growing. The technological and scientific advances achieved by industrial nations accelerate this process. While industrial nations naturally use their resources to improve their technology, developing nations do not have even the means to borrow it. Even so, modern technology offers to the developing nations the possibility of avoiding the earlier stages of development and thus overcoming the challenge of poverty.

How can this possibility be realised? How can nations, now embarking on the difficult task of modernizing their economics, be helped to telescope their industrial efforts—spread over two to three generations in most advanced countries—into a decade or two? How can they mobilize the immense capital needed for investment in developmental projects while making at least some provision for social welfare? How low can the hope of a minimum improvement in the

standard of personal consumption be postponed, when the people are so conscious of their rights as well as of the grim realities of their comparative situation? How can economic activities meet the requirements of efficiency and be geared to the achievement of rapid advance, while ensuring the dignity of the human being and guaranteeing to the individual full enjoyment of his fundamental rights ?

These conflicts cannot be resolved in a day or even in a decade. Their solution demands patience, understanding, right motivation, and above all, a far greater effort and bigger sacrifice than we have so far volunteered. Poverty corrodes the spirit of the poor and weakens their will to overcome it. The wealth of the prosperous grows in isolation and does not provide support to those who need it. The world economy has no built-in corrective. Economic processes must, therefore, be guided by a moral purpose and directed towards desirable ends by the political will of the international community. Otherwise only those nations which have inherited economic advantage from historical accidents can hope to achieve the maximum gains within the area of their political control.

#### GLOBAL STRATEGY

Responsibility for development must primarily be shouldered by the developing nations themselves. Political domination over the process of development by nations which wield economic power is inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter to which we all subscribe. What we need is a global strategy of development, an integrated programme of international cooperation, which outlines convergent measures to be undertaken by every Member State. The elimination of poverty and the development of impoverished regions are now widely accepted as international obligations. In order to discharge them, it is imperative that the international community finds ways and means to intervene effectively in defining the responsibility of economic power, in matching resources to needs, and in guiding economic forces towards progress and peace.

Distinguished Delegates assembled here have the experience of the last seven years of the Development Decade to guide them in their

deliberations. Seven years is too short a period for mankind to tire or despair in this unprecedented endeavour. On the contrary, any shortcomings and inadequacies should spur us to a bigger and bolder effort. Remember, millions of people hopefully await on your decisions- the growers of jute, copra and cocoa, the miners of manganese and tin, the spinners and the weavers, to mention only a few. Their future is at stake, their own livelihood and the lives of their children, as also the capacity of their governments to provide the base for development.

The consequences of failure are too terrible to contemplate. Years ago, Rabindranath Tagore wrote, "Power has to be made secure not only against power, but also against weakness : for there lies the peril of its losing balance. The

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weak are as great a danger for the strong as quicksand for an elephant. They do not assist progress because they do not resist, they only drag down. The people who grow accustomed to wield absolute power over others are apt to forget that by so doing they generate an unseen force which some day rends that power into pieces." The question before the advanced nations is not whether they can afford to help the developing nations but whether they can afford not to do so.

Poverty cannot be the destiny of the majority of mankind. I believe we have the power and the wisdom to give all these people new hope. With this faith, I inaugurate the Second Conference of the United Nations on Trade and Development.

INDIA USA RUSSIA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNCTAD-II

Shri Dinesh Singh's Statement Opening the Conference

Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce and President of UNCTAD II, made the following statement opening the Conference in New Delhi on February 1, 1968 :

Mr. Secretary-General, Distinguished Delegates

Please allow me to express to all the Delegates assembled here, my sincere gratitude for the honour you have done me in electing me the President of the Conference. I am overwhelmed by the expression of confidence you have reposed in me. I can only assure you that I shall do my best to discharge the responsibilities you have been good enough to assign to me.

I am equally conscious of the honour which you have done to my country in asking the Leader of the Indian Delegation to preside over your deliberations. My countrymen would wish me to tell you how appreciative they are of your generous gesture.

May I also take this opportunity to welcome all the participants to New Delhi and to India? We are a developing country, and we are aware that we cannot provide all the comforts and the facilities to which the delegates would be accustomed to at the headquarters of the United Nations. We have tried to the limit of our capacity to improvise the physical facilities needed for a reasonably comfortable stay and for the successful transaction of the business of the Conference. There will, inevitably, be some gaps in our effort. I would plead with you to be indulgent towards our short-comings and to put up with the inconvenience and discomforts.

I believe that when the Representatives of Member States voted for the Second Conference being held in a developing country, they must have had a purpose in desiring the problems of economic development to be resolved in a setting appropriate to the difficulties we have met to overcome.

#### EXCITING ENTERPRISE

Twenty years ago we achieved our independence. Since then the task to which we have

applied ourselves primarily has been the removal of poverty and ignorance so that our people could live better, and with dignity. In 1951, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru initiated our First Five Year Plan and launched us on the exciting enterprise to overcome under-development. We have a number of successes to our credit and yet many problems remain unresolved. Also, new difficulties have to be faced. I need not describe in detail the setting in which you will be working. You will have opportunities to see it yourself and also to converse freely with those who have been engaged in this struggle. I am sure what you see and what you hear, will convince you of the urgent need for bold action.

Since the First Conference met in Geneva in 1964, many new Member States have joined us. I extend a most cordial welcome to the new entrants-Barbados, Botswana, Gambia, Guyana, Lesotho, Malawi, Maldives Islands, Malta, Singapore, South Yemen, and Zambia. I look forward to the contribution which, I am confident, their Representatives will make to the success of the work of the Second Conference.

We also have amidst us Distinguished Representatives of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, of Regional Commissions, and of various Inter-Governmental and non-Governmental Organisations. The work of these Organizations is intimately connected with the tasks of the United Nations Conference on Trade and

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Development. Their Representatives have, therefore, a very valuable role to play. I welcome them and I invite them to help the Conference to evolve integrated programmes of action and assist our continuing machinery in implementing them.

Nearly four years have passed since the First Conference met in Geneva. For the first time, an international development policy, integrated and wide-ranging, was enunciated by the Conference and was embodied in its Final Act. The Conference also set up a continuing machinery, with the working of which we are all familiar. The Secretariat, the Committees and the Trade and Development Board have worked hard; valuable studies have been carried out; many worthwhile documents have been produced; and

we now have a better idea of what is wrong with the world economy and with international economic relationships, what needs to be done in this regard and by whom. Yet, we have not been able to act in the light of what we know.

### BRIDGING THE GAPS

It is not that the world has stood still since 1964. Many changes have taken place for the better; especially in the dynamic sectors of the world economy. But the developmental process in the developing parts of the world moves at snail's pace and the obstacles, though identified, remain unsurmounted. We talked at the First Conference of gaps of various kinds and discussed ways and means of bridging them. These gaps are now wider than ever before. The work of the First Conference amused expectations; but fulfilment is lagging behind. Of all these gaps, the new gap--that between expectation and fulfilment--poses the most serious challenges to the international community. The task before us, in this Second Conference, is to meet this challenge.

I have heard it said in some quarters that "the Conference comes at a bad time". I concede that there are many elements in the economic situation which discourage us. The developments on the political front are disquieting too. Economic and political pressures are mounting on governments. Competing demands on the resources of countries in the forefront of economic progress weaken their will to make their due contribution. The unfulfilled need for external inputs accentuates tension in developing economies and intensifies the frustration of their peoples. Never before was the need for adequate international action greater.

Those who say that the Conference has met at a bad time would appreciate that if the situation is allowed to drift, it will become worse, and not better. This is why I am emboldened to say that the conference meets at the right time.

Frustrations with lack of tangible success are growing apace. The situation can be met only if we are able to kindle hope. We have the experience of political emancipation to guide us. I need not recall the unequal struggles waged by down-trodden peoples, the tragic sufferings caused by delays in putting intentions into effect.

and the travails which attended the emergence of the new political order. Surely, economic emancipation can be achieved without nations having to go through these traumatic experiences. Those of us who are assembled in this Conference know what needs to be done to achieve it. It is our duty to rescue international co-operation from the present morass and set about building it up so as to bridge the gap between the intent expressed in the Final Act adopted in Geneva and its fulfilment. Should we fail and should the present trends in world economy persist unchecked, the gains so far made may be put in jeopardy and the confidence so painstakingly built up in the United Nations to find peaceful solutions of international problems, in the economic and political field, may be shaken.

#### POLITICO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

I would like to place before you the politico-economic situation as I see it. The advance of technology has brought peoples of the world into intimate contact with one another. While ways of life, emotions, passions and ideologies are transmitted rapidly from one part of the world to the other, and quickly evoke reactions and responses, modern techniques of production and the means to achieve economic growth remain concentrated in one part. A small minority in the world possesses the bulk of financial and technological resources while they are denied to the vast majority which requires them desperately. Surely, the poor have the right to better living conditions and the weak to become strong. The primary responsibility for development, of course, rests on the developing countries. They are intent on eliminating poverty and overcoming their backwardness. But they can succeed only if structural changes are made in the existing order of economic relationship. Fortunately for us, the First Conference and its continuing machinery have not only surveyed the problems in some depth but have also succeeded in delineating a peaceful path to progress, for one and all. Can we follow this path? Or shall we turn away from it? This is the main question before this Conference.

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Many eminent men, more particularly, our distinguished Secretary-General, Dr. Paul Prebisch, have said that the problems which baffle

nations individually can be resolved if we are determined to make a collective, international effort. These problems cannot be solved by developing countries nor by developed countries, acting in isolation. The chronic difficulties we encounter can best be overcome not merely by individual, isolated, or sporadic efforts but by co-operation amongst nations. What is needed today is a massive global effort consisting, as has been aptly stated, of synchronized or convergent measures, in all appropriate fields, taken in concert by all concerned agencies and by all Member States participating in this Conference.

Can we in this Conference decide on these measures and agree to construct a framework for economic forces to impart a new direction, a fresh momentum, to the developmental process? Some good friends have shared their doubts and apprehensions with me. But I do not despair, I have every confidence in the ability, the will, and the determination of Distinguished Delegates to forge ahead.

There is, I believe, a fundamental harmony in our separate national interests. The confrontation we bear about between developing and developed countries does not arise out of any basic contradiction between their respective interests. The conflict, if any, is between short-term possibilities and long-term requirements. I entertain a strong hope that it will be the privilege of this Conference to uncover the basic harmony in the ultimate interests of the peoples of the world and to evolve means and modes to break through current limitations and to surmount short-term difficulties with the aim of reaching long-term goals as speedily as practicable.

#### ECONOMIC TECHNIQUES

The economic techniques to overcome the obstacles which block the road to progress have been discovered and now command a wide measure of intellectual acceptance. The possibilities provided by technological developments are well-known. It is the task of the Representatives of sovereign nations who will be putting their heads together over the coming weeks to bring to bear their political will on these techniques and these possibilities and help to work out a *modus vivendi* between the current constraints on national contribution to international action and the economic, political, ethical and moral impe-

ratives of the situation in which the world finds itself.

The Conference has a long agenda before it, perhaps too long for us to be able to devote full attention to each and every subject. We are grateful to the Trade and Development Board, which under the able guidance of Ambassador Julies has made our task easier by categorizing the matters coming up before us for consideration into three distinct parts, namely review, negotiation and exploration. It will be my endeavour to try to evolve, with your help, the means and mechanisms for handling each of these three categories so that best possible results may be secured for the largest number of items within the comparatively short time available to us.

A great deal of preparatory work has already been done. I am sure I am voicing the feelings of all the Delegations when I express to Dr. Prebisch and his staff, our appreciation for the most valuable documentation which has been provided to us. We have also before us, reports of studies made by various specialised agencies. National Delegations are also, I believe, fully prepared for the task ahead of us. The developing countries have taken the trouble to embody their suggestions for our work in the Algiers Charter. The Governments of industrial nations have had time to examine these suggestions and exchange ideas amongst themselves. It should not, therefore, be too difficult for us to address ourselves, in a business-like manner, to the items on the agenda and to arrive at agreed conclusions on the issues raised and proposals put forward in the documents before us.

The eyes of the world are upon us. The peoples whom we represent have reposed their confidence in us. Let us prove ourselves worthy of this confidence, and let us pledge ourselves to adopt practical programmes for national and international action, in the field of trade and development, to reinforce the competence of the continuing machinery to implement them, and thus to bridge the many gaps of which we have talked for so long. To this end, I now invite you to turn your attention and to direct your energies.

INDIA USA SWITZERLAND BOTSWANA GUYANA LESOTHO MALAWI MALTA REPUBLIC OF  
SINGAPORE YEMEN ZAMBIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC ALGERIA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNCTAD-II

President's Speech at Luncheon to Delegates

The President, Dr. Zakir Husain, delivered the following speech at a luncheon given in honour of the delegates to the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in New Delhi on February 1, 1968 :

Madame Prime Minister, Distinguished Delegates, Excellencies and Friends :

On behalf of the people of India and on my own, I extend to the Distinguished Delegates to the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, a most cordial welcome. We were also expecting to welcome the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency U Thant, and it would have been a great pleasure to have him amidst us today. All of us miss him greatly on this occasion. His dedication to the cause of peace and to the welfare of impoverished humanity is a great asset to the world. I am sure I am voicing your feelings when I wish him well in his arduous endeavours.

The birth of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964 was an event of momentous significance in the annals of the United Nations. The decision of the General Assembly to hold the Second Conference in a developing country has implicitly assured developing nations that their difficulties will be considered in the context of economic realities and their problems resolved through the adoption of practical programmes of action. We in India

are deeply grateful to the General Assembly for giving us the privilege to provide host facilities.

Distinguished Delegates, you have come away from your countries, away from your daily tasks, to gather together, in the metropolis of India to exchange ideas and experiences and to evolve policies and programmes of vital interest to millions and millions of human beings spread all over the globe. You will find yourselves in the midst of friends, deeply interested in the outcome of the momentous task on which you are about to embark. We have tried within our limitations to provide congenial conditions for your stay and we feel the experience of our people with the developmental process may be of some relevance to your work. I hope you will be able to spare some time to see something of what we have been able to achieve and to form your judgment in regard to our difficulties and our shortcomings.

#### LONG HISTORY

In its long history, India has made its humble contribution to the onward march of mankind. But through causes on which I need not dilate, my country, like many other countries, in similar situation, has lagged behind in the application of science and technology, to economic activities. To make up for lost time we embarked, seventeen years ago, on a programme of planned economic development. We have had a tremendous lee-way to make up; we have encountered formidable problems. We have, as a result, succeeded in taking rapid strides in agriculture and industry, in irrigation and in power, and in science and technology. We have also sought to provide for better health and good education, both as ends in themselves and also as means to raise efficiency. We have succeeded, in some modest measure, to transform the economic and social scene. And yet, we have a long way to travel before we can assure for our citizens a decent standard of life and a reasonable opportunity for the development of their personality. Our people are discontented with the slow rate of progress and are deeply dissatisfied with the constraints which hamper their advance.

In our endeavour to secure economic progress, we have attached particular importance to

human values. We have sought to broaden individual freedom; we have conceived and adopted our development plans through democratic processes; and our programmes of progress have been carried out through the active participation of farmers, labourers and workers. You will be dealing with many difficult problems. over the coming weeks: you may wish to keep the humanistic aspects of economic development prominently in view.

#### SELF-RELIANT ECONOMY

The struggle to build up a self-reliant economy is hard and long. The initial successes in solving some of our problems have created new difficulties. We sought to rely primarily on our resources to finance development. The low level of our economy soon imposed serious constraints on our endeavour. We are grateful to many nations who have freely shared their resources and skills with us. We are keen to increase our foreign income to be able to repay what we need to borrow. We are also keen to share with others what little we have and whatever experience we may have acquired. The solution of

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our problems, of the problems of all the nations struggling to become self-reliant, indeed of all the nations of the world, lies in ever-widening international co-operation.

Each nation, of course, has the responsibility to overcome the difficulties of its people. And yet no nation today is in a position to discharge this responsibility without the cooperation and goodwill of other nations. This is why we in this country have such a deep commitment to international co-operation.

We have been loyal members of the United Nations, and we have endeavoured to the best of our ability to live up to the principles enshrined in its Charter. We believe firmly that it is only through the instrumentality of inter-governmental organisations that sovereign nations will succeed in acquiring the economic capacity to promote the welfare of their peoples, to perpetuate peace, and to contribute to human progress.

NOBLE END

To this noble end, the Second Conference must bend its energies. A heavy responsibility rests on your broad shoulders. It is my earnest prayer that your deliberations will help to build a World Community in which the common man, irrespective of where he lives or the race to which he belongs or the religion he professes, is able to lead a life free from want or fear. to reap and to share with others the reward of his labour, and to enjoy his due share of the common heritage of mankind. I wish you, Distinguished Delegates, Godspeed and success.

USA INDIA LATVIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNCTAD-II

Shri B. R. Bhagat's Statement at the Second Session

Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State for External Affairs and alternate leader of the Indian Delegation to the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, made the following statement at the Second Session of the Conference in New Delhi on February 8, 1968 :

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General and Distinguished Delegates

May I be permitted, Sir, in the name of my Delegation, to tender to all the Delegations to this Conference, our sincere thanks for the friendship and cordiality extended to us in asking you to preside over our deliberations. We are most appreciative of the honour which has been done to us and we are conscious of the responsibility which rests on us.

We are only too well aware of the deficiencies in the arrangements we have been able to make

for the comfort of Distinguished Delegates and for the transaction of the business of the Conference. The praise which has been bestowed on us by distinguished colleagues who preceded me is, however, a source of comfort to us. Their generosity has helped to bridge the gap between what was needed and what we have been able to provide. My distinguished friend from Pakistan was most gracious in describing our effort as "a task well conceived and well done".

The First Conference has been universally recognised as a landmark in the history of international co-operation. The credit for this belongs, in no small measure, to His Excellency Dr. Kaissouni who guided its deliberations. My Delegation is particularly happy that he is with us at this Conference to help in nourishing the plant, of which the seed was sown with such labour and foresight in Geneva.

#### FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Since the dawn of its freedom my country has been struggling, if I may borrow, a phrase from His Excellency M. Michel Debre of France, "to be master of its own destiny". In this struggle we have, as is but right, depended largely on our own moral and material resources. The distinguished Leader of the Japanese Delegation, Mr. Shiina, has commended us for "making heroic efforts in defiance of very great obstacles." Our distinguished friend from the United States of America, the Honourable Eugene V. Rostow, was good enough to say that our struggle "rests above all on the plans and efforts of the Indian Government and the Indian people", and that it has been "supported by a far-reaching process of international cooperation". Mr. Schiller, the distinguished Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, saw in this effort "a global message for a grand design." The magnanimity of Distinguished Delegates in their

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fraternal comments on our struggle, which we recognise to be a part of the wider struggle in which all the developing nations of the world are engaged, has put fresh heart into us. We are deeply beholden to all of them.

This Conference, Sir, meets in a land where the developmental process currently faces many

trials and tribulations. The small success that has so far been attained has elicited much friendly appreciation. My Delegation would be happy if my distinguished colleagues are able to find time to see the process at work in our homes, in our farms, in the factories, big and small, in our Community Centres and in our scientific and technological institutions. A close look will convince them that we have still a long way to go. The success in resolving old problems has created new ones. The rate at which our population is increasing is largely the result of the successful fight against disease. The education we have been able to provide for the growing generation has given rise to new aspirations. The youth of today is restive and impatient, perhaps more in India than elsewhere. We regard their discontent as a dynamic factor for growth. It is their pressures which impel us to move faster and help us to transform our social economic structures. Our distinguished friend from Brazil drew attention to the danger of our "national efforts" being "frustrated by external obstacles". Unless we in this Conference succeed in a "parallel modernisation of international.....structures", it will, we fear, become quite impossible for the Member States to deal with the problems that would arise in the nineteen seventies at the national and international levels.

Fortunately, the statements we have so far heard, persuade my Delegation to hope that we shall succeed here in New Delhi. For, the disappointment felt by developing countries is now widely shared. And concern over the retrogression in international action towards human solidarity has been expressed in convincing terms by all those who give priority to that objective. Delegation after Delegation has come to this rostrum to urge the need for positive action and to call for necessary changes to facilitate "the integration of the developing countries into a system of international division of labour". AN Delegations seem determined to secure an acceleration of the developmental process and are, keen to ensure that this Conference makes, a major contribution to the banishment of poverty. My Delegation stands ready to do its part in this common endeavour.

CHARTER OF ALGIERS

The task before us, Sir, is to evolve a development policy which is responsive to the aspirations of the youth of today, and which revives and strengthens their confidence in the efficacy of international co-operation. The basic elements of this policy have been carefully delineated by the developing countries, members of Group '77', in the Charter of Algiers. In drawing up this Charter, developing nations have taken into account the temporary difficulties of some of the nations which are in the forefront of economic advance. The proposals embodied in it have been acknowledged to be modest and realistic. My Delegation commends them for consideration at this Conference and seeks your permission to draw attention to the more important components of the development policy we have in view.

The greater part of the external resources available to developing countries for their sustenance and development is still derived from the export of primary commodities. And yet, it is in this sector that market forces have caused wide fluctuations in prices and have tended to erode export returns. My Delegation looks to this Conference to provide the necessary impetus for the conclusion of an international agreement of cocoa; and to initiate consultations for moving towards stabilisation arrangements in respect of commodities which have been identified as deserving special attention. In this connection, we attach great significance to the producing developing countries consulting and cooperating amongst themselves, in order to defend and improve their terms of trade by the effective co-ordination of their production, sales and pricing policies. The experience of the recent consultations between My Government and Ceylon on tea, and of those with Indonesia on pepper, convinces us of the value of this approach, and persuades us to suggest that provision be made in our continuing machinery to organise such consultations.

The development of synthetics has posed now threats for the future of natural products like rubber. We are not against technological progress in this field : at the same time, the interests of producers of these products must be protected and even advanced. We feel this can be done by raising the technical efficiency of production, improving quality and grading practices, and conducting intensive technical and market research

to provide for diversification of enduses. My Delegation would urge this Conference to muster international support for placing the future of natural products on a sounder basis. To this end, we suggest that arrangements be made for the creation of a Fund under the auspices of

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UNCTAD. The size of the Fund should, of course, bear relation to the expenditure which is currently being incurred by advanced countries on the development of synthetics.

We look forward to agreement being reached in the Conference on the launching of negotiations for removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers and for the adoption by this Conference of practical proposals for the stimulation of consumption. It will, of course, take some time for a balance to be achieved at a higher level between supply and demand. While we seek such a balance by appropriate means, we should take the long-awaited decision in this Conference on arrangements for butter stock financing and for we diversification of mono-culture economies.

There are many primary commodities in which there is competition between developing and developed countries. My Delegation appeals to this Conference to apply the principles of international division of labour to this sector. This process will, of course, take some time. Meanwhile, it is necessary to reach agreements in respect of such products on a country-by-country and commodity-by-commodity basis to secure for developing countries, an assured share in current consumption and in its prospective growth.

#### PURPOSIVE PROGRAMME

It will be the endeavour of my Delegation to secure the adoption by this Conference of a purposive programme of action in the field of commodity policy, and also to provide for such adaptations in the administrative arrangements for international action as are needed for its successful implementation.

In the field of manufacture and semi-manufactures, recent developments have justifiably given rise to expectations of an agreement being reached in this Conference on two important issues: first, for implementing a scheme of general, non-discrimi-

minatory and non-reciprocal preferences in favour of all the developing countries for their manufactures and semi-manufactures; and second, on undertaking negotiations for the elimination of barriers to the import of such products from the developing countries, into the markets of the developed countries.

We appreciate the contribution made by the developed countries members of the OECD to the atmosphere of optimism in this field. The agreement in principle among them in favour of granting preferences to developing countries now makes it possible for meaningful negotiations being engaged at this Conference to evolve a practical programme of international action in this vital field. My Delegation accordingly suggests that we should set up without delay a Negotiating Group or Working Party under the aegis of Committee II to work out the essential elements of a generalised scheme of preferences by resolving outstanding differences in consultation with one another. We also look forward to this Group drawing up a time-table for the implementation of such a scheme so that, by the end of this year at the latest, the stage will have been set for putting it into effect.

#### RULE OF NON-RECIPROCITY

Thanks to the application of the rule of non-reciprocity, the Kennedy Round Negotiation, unlike the earlier tariff negotiations under GATT, resulted in the extension of some tariff concessions on certain products of export interest to developing countries. Our discussions with developed countries, both bilaterally and in multilateral forums, have led us to believe that they also realise that the Kennedy Round Negotiations have so far touched only the fringe of our trading problems. Fresh initiatives are, therefore, called for to make a real dent on the tariff and non-tariff barriers to imports of manufactures and semi-manufactures from developing countries. The detailed review and analysis of the result of the Kennedy Round Negotiations by GATT and UNCTAD Secretariats have identified the sectors in the trade of the developing countries in which such initiatives for further action could prove helpful. It is the sincere hope of my Delegation that an agreement would be reached in this Conference on the ground rules, the machinery, and the time-table

for international negotiations to provide expanding access to the industrial products of developing countries in the markets of the developed countries.

While on this subject, my Delegation would like to commend the initiative of the Secretary-General of UNCTAD and the Director-General of GATT in deciding to operate a joint GATT/UNCTAD Trade Centre. We are convinced that this decision, which has been formally endorsed by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its last Session, will go a long way towards meeting the felt needs of the development countries in the field of export promotion. We share the hope that this form of co-operation among the different U.N. bodies will be a prelude to similar moves in other fields.

We also appreciate the initiative taken by some developed countries for the promotion in

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their markets of export from developing countries. We would suggest that this Conference make an objective assessment of the measures undertaken so far, devise ways and means of generalising the measures taken by individual developed countries and make recommendations on what needs to be done not only for consolidating the results achieved so far, but also for improving upon them.

My Delegation has been gratified by the increasing preparedness on the part of industrialised countries to open their markets more and more to the products of developing countries. We trust that agreed conclusions will be reached in this Conference to adjust production structures in industrial nations for facilitating the expansion of export production in developing countries and to modify commercial and manufacturing patterns for serving the needs of an expanding world economy.

Although industrial products constitute the most dynamic sector of international trade, the share of developing countries in it is exceedingly small. The income derived by developing countries from the export of their industrial products is barely \$ 3.6 billion. It should be our endeavour in this Conference to agree upon ways and means to enable developing countries

to increase their contribution to the fast expanding trade in industrial products and at least double their export income from this source over the remaining period of the, Development Decade.

#### DEVELOPMENT FINANCE

On the flow of development finance from those who have to those who. need it, my Delegation looks forward with much expectation to the statement which Mr. George Woods, President of the World Bank, is scheduled to make tomorrow. We are all appreciative of the role which the World Bank has. played under his able leadership in influencing and guiding international action in a vital sector of the struggle against under-development. The importance of external resources in the economic growth of developing countries has been convincingly brought out in the documentation before us. The figures quoted in it have established an obvious correlation between the rate of growth and the per capita availability of external financial resources. The documentation also brings out the correlation between external finance and mobilisation of domestic resources; in the words of our distinguished Secretary-General, "international finance has net been forthcoming on a scale large enough to generate the many times larger amounts of domestic savings and the corresponding acceleration of growth". He has described this situation as "the most serious defect in international co-operation" in this Decade of Development.

How can this "most serious defect" be remedied ? We have heard it said that the climate for aid in some industrial nations has taken a turn for the worse. At the same time, hopeful pressures of public opinion are bulding up in other industrial nations to persuade their Governments to discharge their international obligations in the financial field. Prof. Harry Johnson, an eminent economist, has said, and I quote, "foreign aid on a massive scale appears less like generosity than like compensation for injury". In arriving at this view, account has been taken of the losses which developing nations suffer as a consequence of the persisting imbalance in the structure of international trade. The loss of purchasing power of the primary products exported by the developing countries has amounted annually to approximately \$2.5 billion; agricultural protectionism in developed countries has meant a loss

of another \$2 billion per annum; the tying of aid to purchases from donor countries has been estimated to cost the developing countries yet another \$ 1 billion per annum. It is with considerable hesitation that I have ventured to bring to the attention of this Conference these views to cite the figures on which they are based. I have done so in the belief that this would help all of us to view the proposal for an-increase in the volume of net capital transfer to developing countries against the background of the overall pattern of financial flows and in the context of the economic situation that faces the world.

A target for the financial effort was unanimously set in the Final, Act of the First Conference. And yet, there has been-movement away from it rather than towards it. Many Delegations have renewed their commitment and have announced their intention to fulfil it. This is good as far as it goes, but is it adequate? We must, of course, bear in mind the difficulties which confront some industrial nations. But should we not take a comparative view of the difficulties of the rich and the privations of the poor and determine our priorities accordingly ? Should we also not count, in terms of loss of confidence in international co-operation, the cost of delays in the fulfilment of accepted commitments ?

There can be only one answer and I have no doubt that this answer will be given. In the light of the experience and knowledge which have accumulated since the First Conference, many other questions arise and, clamour for consideration.

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Does not the target need to be stepped up? At the very least, does it not need to be more closely defined ? Should private capital invested in profitable ventures and the provision made by exporting nations on account of suppliers, credits not be excluded ? Complaints have been made that multilateral agencies engaged in developmental endeavours are not being adequately financed. Should we not recommend a minimum percentage of capital flows to be channelled through these agencies?

RESULTING INADEQUACIES

The President of the World Bank, it will be recalled, made some requests sometime ago for the replenishment of IDA resources. We are grateful to the Delegations which have informed us of the decisions taken by their governments in this regard. But the aggregate of what we heard does not seem to my Delegation to measure up to what is required. How can the resulting inadequacies be remedied ?

The terms and conditions on which the greater part of finance is being currently provided to developing countries have been widely recognized to be unduly onerous. How could these be eased ? Does the solution lie in increasing substantially the proportion of non-repayable transfers? Could not also a larger proportion of aid be made available against repayment in local currencies ?

We all know the reasons which induce industrial nations to tie aid to supplies from their respective Countries. we know too, how much this Practice costs to the developing countries because of consequent inflation in the cost of their development imports. How can this difficulty be resolved ? Surely, there is no justification for the continuance of this practice by countries which do not face balance of payments difficulties. If the problems which the rich nations face temporarily in regard to their balance of payments are compared with the difficulties of nations which chronically suffer from deficiency in their external resources, it should not be impossible to devise solutions-which can be helpful to both.

The problems of development finance are of recent origin. It could not, therefore, be anticipated that short-term loans and high rates of interest would prove to be self-defeating. The mounting repayment obligations have had the effect of severely curtailing the net amount available to developing countries for sustaining their developmental process. This is why it has been proposed that the agreed target for transfers to developing countries should be net of both amortisation and interest payment.

My Delegation is, aware of the efforts which are being made in diverse forums to find an appropriate solution of the problems posed by the excessive debt burdens that rest on deve-

loping countries. My Delegation hopes that this Conference will deal with these problems systematically and succeed in evolving solutions compatible with the objective of securing accelerated economic growth.

The stringency in international liquidity, accentuated by the difficulties currently experienced by reserve currencies, has not been helpful to the cause of developing countries. My Delegation welcomes the outline of the facilities for Special Drawing Rights, approved at the last annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund at Rio de Janeiro. We are hoping that an early implementation of this scheme would alleviate some of our difficulties also. While it may be conceded that real solutions lie only in building up real resources, financial expedients can, in our view, impart greater manoeuvrability to those who are engaged in overcoming the obstacles to the modernisation and development of production structures the world over.

There are many sectors in which financial techniques can provide a stimulus for developmental activities. The World Bank scheme for supplementary financing is one such technique. My Delegation proposes to seek in this Conference a solution of the outstanding issues in this field. This is a matter on which the Conference cannot afford to postpone a decision to a later date.

There is yet another sector in which an integration of financial and commercial techniques could show us a way out of the difficulties we face. We could perhaps help impart a fresh momentum to trade development and at the same time assure partial repayment of outstanding debts if we could comment for favourable consideration of concerned parties, the suggestion to relate the repayment of tied loans to the increment in the export of the debtor country to the creditor country.

#### INFRA-STRUCTURE OF TRADE

Sir, I come next to the infra-structure of trade in the field of invisibles and shall confine my-

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self mainly to shipping. We consider it a matter

of first priority that the grave deficiency in the development of shipping services between developing countries be made good. For this purpose, we suggest a study under the auspices of UNCTAD to identify the sea lanes between developing countries, where the trade expansion potential is not being realised due to the absence or inadequacy of direct shipping services. Since most of these services are likely to run at financial loss, we suggest that a scheme be evolved under UNCTAD to underwrite at least in the initial years, the operational losses on these services on a digressive basis.

We also suggest that purchase of ships by developing countries be financed out of normal developmental credits like any other equipment. Considering that shipping is an important earner of foreign exchange, it should indeed receive priority treatment in the allocation of normal aid funds. In addition, we would urge that shipping organisations, in developing countries be enabled to acquire ships from the shipyards of developed countries on the basis of commercial deferred payment terms spread over a period of at least 10 years.

We should agree in this Conference on the principle that exporting developing countries should be entitled to a legitimate share of shipping in their export trade as long as they can provide suitable shipping services.

We commend for the consideration of this Conference, the creation of a special Fund for port development, which is another essential requirement, in this field. To start with, attention may be given to those schemes which do not need large capital outlays and which can help in quicker turn-round of vessels, provide special assistance to shipping services between developing countries, or which would result in a more economic transportation of primary commodities which constitute the main export items of the developing countries.

We attach particular importance to promotional freight rates for the exports of the developing countries. While the proposed studies by UNCTAD are in progress, first steps should be taken urgently to institute promotional freight rates in respect of a select list of products of export interest to developing countries.

Socialist countries have an important role to play in programmes of international co-operation. The trade between these countries and developing nations continues to be the most dynamic sector of the world trade. This has been made possible because the socialist countries have, by and large, implemented the recommendations contained in the Final Act of the First Conference. I am sure the statement made yesterday by His Excellency Mr. Patolichev, Leader of the Delegation of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, that "the possibilities of strengthening cooperation between" his country "and developing countries are far from being exhausted" will be widely welcomed.

India has particular reason to feel gratified with recent trends in the development of economic co-operation with socialist countries. The dynamic changes in economic policies and their impact on economic relations could have created difficulties and bottlenecks. I am glad to say that these have been, by and large, overcome.

#### CONTINUING ASYMMETRY

There is general recognition of the urgent need for bringing about a change in the composition of commodity lists, on the export side as well as on the import side, and for dismantling such import duties and taxes as continue to be levied on imports originating in developing countries. More active steps need to be taken to stimulate the consumption and offtake of the products traded by developing countries. Further efforts need also to be made to redress the continuing asymmetry in the rates of growth in the export of primary commodities and that of manufactures and semi-manufactures. Some efforts have undoubtedly been made to promote industrial co-operation between socialist and developing countries. But a more active implementation of the recommendations made by the First Conference in this regard could go a long way towards the development of complementary production structures, which, in turn, would provide a more stable basis for economic relationship between these two sets of countries.

The integration of developmental credits, their repayment, and trade promotion has helped to avoid the kind of difficulties to which I have had occasion to refer to earlier. The adjustments of

the various components in this integration to changing situation, however, could broaden the basis of economic co-operation, enhance its utility and, help reinforce mutual benefit at a rising level of trade exchanges and economic growth.

In the emerging programmes of international cooperation, developing countries owe a special duty to one another. Delegations of developed

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countries have already noted the reference in the Charter of Algiers to the determination of developing countries "to contribute to one another's development". The President of India, Rashtrapati Zakir Husain, gave expression only the other day, while welcoming the Leaders of Delegations, to our keenness "to share with others what little we have and whatever experience we may have acquired". I need not recount to you the efforts we have already made to this end. Suffice it for me to say that my Delegation stands ready to explore with other fraternal Delegations what more we can do in this direction. In this exploration, we will be guided by what the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, told us many many years ago. He said : "Each wants to profit at the expense of, and rise on the ruins of, the other. Indian nationalism has, I hope, struck a different path. It wants to organise itself or to find full expression for the benefit or service of humanity at large."

At the First Conference, only a passing reference was made to the question of trade expansion and economic cooperation among developing countries. Since then, many interesting developments have taken place. There has been a significant increase in the tempo of the activities undertaken earlier; and many new activities, at different levels, in different forms, and among different groups of developing countries, have been undertaken successfully. The commendable progress achieved so far in sub-regional and regional cooperation makes it possible for this Conference to reinforce the solidarity of developing countries by enlarging the scope and deepening the content of their mutual relationships.

A great diversity of factors influences the economic and political life, of developing countries.

There must, therefore, be a parallel diversity in forms of economic cooperation. It is important, however, to ensure that schemes of economic cooperation and trade expansion are conceived on a sound basis, do not exclude one another and contribute to the evolution of a global trade and development policy,

#### PARALLEL DIVERSITY

We in India have borne in mind these weighty considerations. At the regional level we have the privilege of being a partner in the endeavours of the ECAFE developing countries to evolve the modalities of cooperation among them and we are hoping that it would be possible to launch some practical schemes in the near future. On the wider intercontinental level, considerable headway has been made in tripartite cooperation among Yugoslavia, the United Arab Republic and India. Only a few weeks ago, we concluded a Trade Expansion and Economic Cooperation Agreement on the exchange of preferences between the three countries. The techniques evolved during the negotiations of this Agreement and the solutions found to the intricate problems that inevitably arise in the course of negotiations on tariff matters will, I am sure, be of considerable interest to other developing countries in working out schemes of expansion of trade among them. One of the most important features of the Agreement is Article IX, wherein it is provided that it will be open for accession by any developing country, member of the Group of '77', on a basis of mutual benefit. By virtue of its Article X, the participating States have expressed their readiness to make "such adaptations in the Agreement as may be required in the event of a more general scheme being adopted" at this Conference or in future. It is our hope that this pioneering effort will evoke interest and favourable response from other developing countries.

The vertical pattern of relationships between developing and developed countries inherited from the past has unfortunately impeded so far the evolution of complementary relationships based on different endowment factors as between developing economies situated in different parts of the world. My Delegation hopes that it will be possible in this Conference to reach agreed conclusions on initiating action for the development of the necessary infrastructure of trade

among developing countries, While attention is being paid to various infrastructure projects in relevant regional and international bodies, my Delegation suggests that we should set up a Working Group to elaborate a scheme of payments arrangements to provide financial support for the promotion of trade exchanges amongst developing countries as a whole.

My Delegation is deeply conscious of the different handicaps which hold down economic progress in different developing countries. Some countries need more financial assistance than others. In many countries, the diversification of their Production structure is a Prime condition for further growth. In others, the banishment of poverty must take precedence. The trade aid financial Policy measures required to accelerate the rate of economic growth all over the world differ. These problems and their solutions need to be studied in depth. My Delegation would consider it its duty to join with other Delegations for incorporation special measures in the programmes of international action to enable "the least development among the developing countries

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to derive equitable benefits so that all the developing countries would gain comparable results from international economic co-operation".

Land-locked countries suffer from special disabilities : we would like to express the hope that special means could be found to overcome them.

#### UNWIELDY STRUCTURE

Many distinguished delegates have drawn attention to the deficiencies in our continuing machinery, The structure is unwieldy; its procedure is cumbersome; and the consequent heaviness in its operation has caused much dissatisfaction. The concrete results it has produced, are meagre. The complex procedures of conciliation do not make for speedy action. Four years' time, however, is too short a period in the life of an international institution to warrant the consideration of drastic changes in it. The Final Act of the First UNCTAD, by virtue of paragraph 30 of its recommendation A.V.1 has provided for significant flexibility in the further evolution of our institutional-machinery. We shall make our concrete suggestions at the appropriate time on

how this provision can be made use of to deal with the operational difficulties which face W.

I have tried to cover many subjects on the agenda. There are still many others on which I would have liked to share my Delegation's views with our colleagues. We attach, for instance, great importance to the implementation of the Principles adopted at the First Conference. Although, we have achieved in our country an encouraging break-through in farm production, we remain deeply interested in finding international solutions for recurring food crises. Much work remains to be done to provide for the transfer of technology to speed up economic progress—I would not, however, wish to take too much of your time in dealing with these important issues. We would only request that, wherever feasible, they may be dealt with in Working Parties which the Conference may agree to set up.

I would, nevertheless, crave your indulgence, Mr. President, to give me a few more minutes to share with my distinguished friends, my thoughts on the national responsibility of developing countries to promote their own development. From the very beginning of our struggle, there has never been any doubt in our minds, in the minds of any Indian citizen, that this responsibility rests primarily on ourselves. We have set out to build up a viable economy and we cannot afford to imperil our objective by adopting means which increase our dependence. We have, of our own choosing, drawn heavily on international support, but at every stage of the developmental process, we have taken care to increase, and not diminish, our capacity to rely upon ourselves. We have taxed our people heavily; we have persuaded the present generation to sacrifice willingly, its comforts, even its basic needs, so that the accruing savings could be invested in future growth. We have refrained from using borrowed resources for financing the import of goods which we could do without or which we could produce in our own country.

Some of our friends have criticised us for some of our economic policies which are founded in our determination to rely on ourselves to the maximum extent practicable. We know these criticisms have been inspired by a friendly desire to alleviate our current difficulties. These difficulties, however, constitute a challenge and

we hope that if we are able to meet it successfully we shall be fostering that spirit of self-reliance and self-sacrifice without which we can neither solve our problems nor aspire to be a self-respecting participant in programmes of international cooperation. We are acutely conscious of our limitations. We know too, that the rate of economic growth we have so far been able to achieve, falls short of the social imperatives of our economic situation and of the aspirations of our youth. We look forward eagerly to the possibility of stepping up the rate of economic advance in concert with friendly nations. It is, at the same time, our ambition to augment, as our economic capacity develops, our humble contribution to programmes of international cooperation.

It is in this spirit that my Delegation seeks to join other Delegations in tackling the tasks that lie ahead. The statements made by distinguished colleagues who preceded me on this rostrum, have borne testimony to the earnestness of their respective Delegations to secure a major break-through in overcoming the obstacles which have clogged the wheels of progress and bred disappointment and frustration.

#### TASKS AHEAD

Distinguished Delegates have inevitably spoken from their different national experiences and national situations. The solutions which they have put forward bear the imprint of their respective approaches to problems of socio-economic transformation. These approaches conflict and diverge in many respects. In the view of my Delegation, it is not too difficult to resolve these conflicts and reconcile these divergencies.

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Should, it however, prove impossible to do so in the coming weeks, my Delegation would prefer to see the Conference provide for sufficient flexibility in the programmes of international co-operation that we adopt so that each nation can make the contribution which is due from it in accordance with the procedures and policies that commend themselves to it. The difficulties which are being encountered in evolving a common approach on the part of industrial nations for the solution of the problems we have met here to resolve should, I venture

to submit, not be allowed to thwart the economic progress of the world.

For, we cannot afford to fail. The days when national problems could be solved in isolation to the neglect of the problems of other nations are behind us. There is now a universal recognition that no nation, howsoever powerful, can prosper in a situation of frustration and failure in large parts of the world. The whole process of the evolution of human society consists of progress in the direction of integration and solidarity and is characterised by human motivations assuming wider and wider dimensions, and the spirit, of exclusiveness being substituted by a broadening pursuit of common interest. It shall be the privilege of this Conference to make a significant contribution to this process.

The problem of development will stay with us for many many years to come. We shall have to meet again and again before we can claim to have succeeded in mastering it. The least that the Second Conference can do, is to give us the assurance that we shall henceforward move according to an agreed action programme, that the participating nations will faithfully implement their respective roles in it, and that our Continuing machinery operates to avoid the recurrence in the future of the failures of the past.

Before I conclude, Sir, please allow me to share with my distinguished colleagues the words and thoughts of Jawaharlal Nehru, our first Prime Minister and the principal architect of the struggle for our political and economic emancipation. He said in a broadcast from New Delhi on 18th January, 1948; "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." On 24th October, 1949, in his speech to the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa he said : "There can be no security or real peace if vast numbers of people in various parts of the world live in poverty and misery. Nor indeed, can there be a balanced economy for the world as a whole if the undeveloped parts continue to upset that balance and to drag down even the more prosperous nations. Both for economic an politi-

cal. reasons, therefore, it has become essential to develop these undeveloped regions and to raise the standards of the people there."

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INDIA USA PAKISTAN SWITZERLAND FRANCE JAPAN GERMANY BRAZIL ALGERIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDONESIA RUSSIA PERU YUGOSLAVIA CANADA

**Date :** Feb 01, 1968

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#### DISARMAMENT

Prime Minister's Statement in Parliament on Nuclear Non-proliferation

The following is the text of the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's statement in the Parliament on March 14, 1968 regarding the Government of India's reaction to the reported agreement on nuclear non-proliferation between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. :

On the 7th March, 1968, the U.S.A., the Soviet Union and the U.K. presented to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, Geneva, a draft resolution on security assurances, which

they are prepared to sponsor in the Security Council. The text of this draft is laid on the Table. The sponsors are willing to back this draft with unilateral declarations, to the effect that they will seek immediate Security Council action to provide assistance, in accordance with the U.N. Charter, if a non-nuclear State which is party to the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons becomes the victim of an act of aggression, or an object of the threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used. They will also reaffirm the right which is recognised under Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, of individual and collective self-defence until the Security Council takes action.

The E.N.D.C. will shortly send a report on its work, concerning the draft Treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to the General Assembly. The two sponsors viz. the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have further revised the draft Treaty in one or two minor respects of a procedural character. This draft Treaty, together with the draft resolution on security assurances, will now be forwarded to the General Assembly of the U.N. for further consideration. It is understood that the General Assembly is likely to reconvene some time next month to consider this matter.

I should like to place before the Hon'ble Members certain broad considerations governing our position. Naturally, we welcome the steps taken by nuclear weapon States, in consort with non-nuclear weapon States, to make more effective the role of the United Nations for peace keeping and for providing effective security. The hopes of mankind rest on this. The obligation cast by the Charter on Member States, and more particularly on the permanent members of the Security Council, makes it necessary for them to discharge their obligations to ensure peace in the world. This should not be contingent on the conclusion of the Non-proliferation Treaty. Such an atmosphere of conscientious and conscious effort in the interests of peace would, we sincerely feel, be an effective factor in inhibiting the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons. From this point of view, a security guarantee cannot be made a quid pro quo for signing the Non-proliferation Treaty in its present form.

We believe in the validity of a step by step approach and do realize that it is not possible for a perfect Treaty to emerge immediately. However, it is reasonable to expect the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Commission, which was designed to devise measures for disarmament, to come forward with some concrete step, even though small, in this direction. The present draft Treaty does not promote disarmament. And as long as the elaboration of nuclear weapons by nuclear-weapons Power continues unchecked, it does not advance the security of the world. Measures which do not involve an element of self-restraint on the part of all States-nuclear weapons States as well as non-nuclear weapons States--cannot form the basis for a meaningful international agreement to, promote disarmament. India has repeatedly announced that it is not making an atom bomb and that she is developing her atomic energy programme exclusively for peaceful purposes. This position is based on a national evaluation of all aspects of the problem, including that of security.

#### TEXT OF DRAFT RESOLUTION

The Security Council noting with appreciation the desire of a large number of States, to sub-

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scribe to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and thereby to undertake not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly or indirectly not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

Taking into consideration the concern of certain of these States that in conjunction with their adherence to the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, appropriate measures be undertaken to safeguard their security.

Bearing in mind that any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all States.

Recognises that aggression with nuclear weapons or threat of such aggression against a non-nuclear weapon State would create a situation in which the Security Council, and above all its nuclear weapon State permanent members, would have to act immediately in accordance with their obligations under the United Nations Charter.

Welcomes the intention expressed by certain States that they will provide or support immediate assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear weapon State party to the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons that is a victim of an act or object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

Reaffirms in particular the inherent right, recognised under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual and collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

INDIA USA UNITED KINGDOM SWITZERLAND RUSSIA

**Date :** Mar 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

DISARMAMENT

Shri Azim Husain's Speech in Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee

Shri Azim Husain, India's Ambassador in Switzerland and leader of the Indian Delegation to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, made the following speech in the Committee in Geneva on March 14, 1968 :

At this stage of our deliberations, when we are about to conclude our work, I have no inten-

tion of adding anything further to the detailed statement I made at the 370th plenary meeting of our Committee, reserving for the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly the position of my Government on the revised text of the draft treaty placed before us on 11th March by the delegations of the United States and the Soviet Union (ENDC/224, Annex A). However, in the light of certain observations made by the representative of the United States yesterday I feel compelled to clarify the views of the Government of India.

The United States representative stated that the burden of my criticism of the draft treaty before us was that "it is not a full-fledged measure of nuclear disarmament" (ENDC/PV. 378, para. 23). He added :

"If any of us adopted the view that our desires must be fully satisfied before we could agree on any forward step, there would be no point in negotiation."  
(*ibid.*, para 25).

This understanding of the view of the Government of India and the inference derived therefrom would suggest that my Government seeks all or nothing--a full-fledged measure of nuclear disarmament or no step towards nuclear disarmament at all. That, I submit, is not the stand of the Government of India, nor is it a correct description of our stand.

#### NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

My Government has been a firm believer in the step-by-step approach towards nuclear disarmament as well as general and complete disarmament. We have never adopted an "all or nothing" approach. What we have sincerely believed in--and this has also been borne out by the history of past disarmament efforts--is that each step we take, however small, should be effective and purposeful. That view is based on principle 2(c) of General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX), that the treaty on non-proliferation should be a step towards disarmament and particularly nuclear disarmament (ENDC/161). The delegation of India has never suggested that a non-proliferation treaty should in itself become a vehicle or a measure of full-fledged nuclear disarmament.

Further, in pursuance of principle 2(b) of General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX), that

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the treaty should "embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers", we have urged that obligations in regard to both the dissemination and the production aspects of proliferation should fall equally on all States and be embodied in the treaty itself. In regard to dissemination of nuclear weapons, this should mean that, while the non-nuclear-weapon States undertake not to receive nuclear weapons, nuclear-weapon States should undertake not to transfer nuclear weapons.

Similarly, in regard to the production aspect, while non-nuclear-weapon States should undertake not to produce any nuclear weapons, nuclear-weapon States should undertake not to produce any further nuclear weapons. A stoppage in the production of nuclear weapons by all countries, or a cut-off by all countries of the production of fissionable material for weapon purposes, would not involve any nuclear disarmament, for neither of those measures would involve the destruction of a single nuclear weapon. The question of nuclear disarmament, in other words' the reduction or destruction of existing nuclear arsenals, would be a matter to be dealt with subsequently and in stages.

It was for that reason that, while referring to article VI of the revised draft treaty before us, I stated that article VI did not create any definite or enforceable juridical obligation on the part of the nuclear-weapon States corresponding to the obligation undertaken under article II by the non-nuclear-weapon States. I added :

"It is an imperfect obligation with no sanction behind it. Even the areas within which the negotiations are expected to be pursued are not clearly defined." (ENDC/PV. 370, para. 25).

I further stated that article VI did not give any tangible form to the declaration of good intent, there being no sense of compulsive obligation or even a sense of urgency to Pursue negotiations for nuclear disarmament as a preliminary to general and complete disarmament.

I then mentioned the various suggestions made in this Committee to impart to article VI the sense of urgency and compulsiveness I had spoken of. Some of the suggestions made by my colleagues were accepted; but there were many other suggestions which in our view were even more important for an acceptable, viable and lasting treaty and which were not acceptable to the delegations of the Soviet Union and the United States.

#### INDIA'S RESERVATIONS

Consequently my Government feels that in many respects the draft treaty before us does not meet the requirements of General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX). It is therefore the hope of my Government that this aspect of the matter will be given the most careful and serious consideration when the report of this Committee comes to be discussed by the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly, which will discuss not only the link between the non-proliferation treaty and nuclear disarmament measures but also other principles enunciated in the General Assembly resolution I have referred to.

The United States representative also expressed the belief-

"... that those who continue to have reservations about what they may feel to be the limited scope of this treaty should consider carefully the implications of their position."  
(ENDC/PV. 378, para. 26).

On that I should like to say that, as my colleagues are aware, the Government of India has had reservations about the limited approach and restrictive scope of the draft treaty before us and continues to maintain those reservations even after seeing the revised text of the draft treaty presented to this Committee on 11 March by the delegations of the United States and the Soviet Union. Let me add that those reservations have been made by the Government of India after due deliberation, with a full sense of responsibility and after a most careful consideration of the implications of the stand my Government has taken. Indeed, any democratic government reflecting and responsive to the aspirations and the

ideals of its people could do no less when considering a question of such vital importance as a non-proliferation treaty, which would have a profound impact on the future of international peace and security throughout the world.

I fully agree, however, with the last remark made by the United States representative in his statement :

"Progress in arms control and disarmament will always be difficult and, if it is to be realized, it will require the co-operation and encouragement of all nations which sincerely share this, objective." (ibid.)

I can only add that not only will the co-operation and encouragement of all nations be required but their perseverance and continued faith will be needed for achieving the objectives that we all have in view in this difficult area of arms control and disarmament.

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USA INDIA SWITZERLAND CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Mar 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Indo-German Agreement for establishment of Research Institute

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on March 26, 1968 on the signing of an agreement between India and the Federal Republic of Germany :

An Agreement for the establishment of a Central Staff Training and Research Institute at Calcutta with assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany was signed in New Delhi on March 26, 1968.

The Agreement was signed by the West German Ambassador in New Delhi, Baron von Mirbach, on behalf of the West German Government and Shri P. C. Mathew, Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Employment, on behalf of the Government of India.

The Institute will conduct research on a continuous basis to ensure that the standard of training conforms to the latest and most modern techniques and evolve syllabii, teaching material for technical courses on sound lines suited to the requirements of the country. It will also give advance training in teaching methods to senior officers of training establishments under the Directorate General of Employment and Training.

The West German Government will provide assistance in the form of advisers, fellowships and equipment. The Institute is expected to start functioning soon.

GERMANY INDIA USA

**Date :** Mar 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on West Asia

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on March 21, 1968 on the situation in West Asia :

Once again the Security Council is meeting under the shadow of a crisis in West Asia which has been forcefully brought to our attention by the Israeli armed attack today on Jordanian territory east of the Jordan River. According to the latest reports, Israeli armed forces mounted

a large-scale operation across the cease-fire position along the Jordan River and attacked several Jordanian villages. This has resulted in heavy loss of life and damage to civilian property.

This is not, of course, the first time that the Security Council has been called to meet and consider a situation resulting from violations of the cease-fire. In July 1967, after the Council met to consider a similar situation, it emphasized the need for all parties to observe the provisions of Security Council resolutions 233 (1967), 234 (1967), 235 (1967) and 236 (1967). On 25 October 1967 the Council-vide its resolution 240 (1967)--condemned the violations of the cease-fire, reaffirmed the necessity of strict observance thereof, and demanded the immediate cessation of all prohibited military activities in the area.

From the account given by the representative

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of Jordan as well as from the reports which have appeared in the Press, it is clear that we are once again facing a similar situation. But this time the Government of Jordan had foreseen the massive violation of the cease-fire by Israel. The representative of Jordan, in his letter dated 19 March, document (S/8478) informed the Council that

"... Israeli authorities are now contemplating a mass armed attack on the East Bank of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan." (S/8478)

#### CEASE-FIRE VIOLATION

In view of the gravity of the situation and the urgency of positive action by the Council, my delegation would not at this stage like to go into details. Suffice it to say that the latest action of the Israeli authorities is in utter defiance of the resolution 236 (1967), of 12 June 1967, which specifically prohibited any forward military movement subsequent to the cease-fire.

In the context of this clear prohibition, the Israeli attack on Jordanian territory today cannot be justified on any ground and must therefore be condemned as a grave violation of the cease-fire imposed by the Security Council. It

is incumbent upon the Council to act immediately and not only order an immediate cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of Israeli military forces which have crossed the Jordan River-if they have not already been withdrawn --but also demand of Israel that it desists from action of that kind in the future.

Resolution 236 (1967) of this Council, to which I have just referred, also called for "full co-operation with the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision, Organization in Palestine and the observers in implementing the cease-fire". In this connexion, my delegation cannot but notice from the Secretary-General's report contained in document S/7930/Add.64 that on 20 March Jordan had proposed a meeting with Israel under the auspices of the United Nations. This was refused by the Government of Israel.

The Secretary-General has rightly characterized that refusal as "unnecessarily negative and rigid" That refusal is in violation of the relevant Paragraph of the Council resolution which I have already quoted.

During the entire discussion of the West Asian crisis in the Security Council and the General Assembly last year, my delegation consistently maintained a position which is not only one of principle, but also the most just and practical one. The continued occupation of vast Arab territories and the frequent clashes along the cease-fire positions are constant reminders of the serious situation prevailing in that area.

#### RETURN OF PEACE

My delegation has always held, and would like to reiterate again, that we cannot expect the return of peace and security to the area without the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from occupied Arab lands. This principle was clearly recognized in the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967.

It is a matter of regret that, in spite of the patient and arduous efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, no progress has yet been made in the implementation of that resolution. Without such implementation we cannot hope to lay the foundations of lasting

peace in West Asia. It is therefore incumbent that this resolution be implemented in full.

We are glad to note from the letter of the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Republic, contained in document S/8479, that the Government of the United Arab Republic has informed Ambassador Jarring of its readiness to implement this resolution.

Speaking in the Council this morning, the representative of Jordan also affirmed his Government's desire to give Ambassador Jarring every chance to succeed in his mission. My delegation is apprehensive, however, that such serious violations of the cease-fire could jeopardize the mission.

INDIA ISRAEL JORDAN USA

**Date :** Mar 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on Rhodesia

The following is the text of the statement made by Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, in the Security Council on March 20, 1968 on Rhodesia :

The cold-blooded assassination of five African nationalists by the racists of Rhodesia has once again reminded the international community of the extreme gravity of the situation in Southern Rhodesia. The executions have been condemned

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by Governments and peoples all over the world as an inhuman and savage act, violating the canons of behaviour which govern the conduct of societies in civilized nations.

The Prime Minister of India, speaking in Parliament on this subject on 7 March 1968, stated :

"We have learnt with inexpressible horror that the Southern Rhodesian regime has perpetrated a heinous crime by executing three Africans. The world has followed their fate with great anxiety in the last few days. This monstrous deed of the white racist clique evokes our wrath and condemnation. I am sure everyone in the House and the country will condemn this barbarous act...".

#### CRIMINAL POLICY

While we strongly condemn these murders, my delegation believes that the question of executions is only a symptom of the diseased society into which the whites of Rhodesia have formed themselves. It is a timely reminder of the futility of attempting to solve the problem by half-hearted measures. It has shown clearly that unless strong, determined and early action is taken, the minority regime will persist in its criminal policy, regardless of the sufferings of the African people of Zimbabwe.

It is now almost two and a half years since the white minority in Rhodesia, in the face of grave warnings from the Administering Authority, illegally seized power and declared independence under a new constitution. Many of us at that time expected the Government of the United Kingdom to follow up its earlier warnings by taking strong and effective action to quell the rebellion. The history of the Rhodesian problem since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence is a history of the failure of the United Kingdom Government to restore constitutionality in one of its colonies and to safeguard the legitimate rights of the 4.5 million Africans of the Territory.

It is hardly necessary for me to analyse in detail the course of events in Rhodesia since UDI, as this has been done in the past by many delegations, including my own. We are all aware how, immediately after the UDI, a majority of the membership of the United Nations called upon Britain to use force to put down the rebellion. We are all aware of the unwillingness.

in the beginning, of the United Kingdom and other Western Powers even to enforce any mandatory sanctions against the Smith regime. We are all aware of the utter ineffectiveness of the so-called voluntary sanctions which were imposed in December 1965. We are all aware of the selective mandatory sanctions which were imposed in December 1966 and of their failure to remedy the situation. And finally, we are all aware of the, tragic and deplorable consequences of the lack of effective action on the part of the Government of the United Kingdom and its refusal to heed the advice given by many of us about the most effective manner of dealing with this problem.

Despite the clear recommendations of the General Assembly to the British Government not to enter into any negotiations with the representatives of the illegal regime, the British Government made repeated attempts during the past year to arrive at some understanding with the Smith Regime. Instead of endeavouring to start talks with the genuine representatives of the people, high dignitaries went to Salisbury on negotiating missions. What was the result of those visits? We understand that the Smith regime proposed amendments to the "Tiger" constitution which would, in effect further dilute the already inadequate safeguards for the rights of the Africans contained in the original "Tiger" proposals. For example, it was proposed that all African members of the Rhodesian Senate should be chiefs. That proposal would have removed the "blocking third"--namely, elected African representatives in the Rhodesian Parliament who could prevent the adoption of discriminatory legislation. Another measure suggested was the abolition of cross-voting.

The strong position taken by the Smith regime and the retrograde measures it suggested during the course of these negotiations clearly proved that the differences between the two positions were unbridgeable. Mr. George Thomson, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, stated in the British Parliament:

"I am sorry to have to tell the House that the differences between our position and Mr. Smith's proved even greater than earlier discussion had indicated".

## CONTEMPTUOUS DISREGARD

It is the sincere hope of my delegation that the Government of the United Kingdom has realized the futility of negotiating with Salisbury, particularly after the latest example of contemptuous disregard by the Smith regime for the authority of the British Crown. The illegal regime in Rhodesia is surely and swiftly following the path of racial discrimination and apartheid well trodden by its neighbour to the south.

On 4 August 1967 Mr. L. B. Smith, the so-called Deputy Minister of Agriculture in the illegal regime, stated in Pretoria that the regime envisaged development for the non-whites in

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Southern Rhodesia along lines similar to the development of the Bantu groups in the Republic of South Africa. A number of bills have been passed in the white-dominated Parliament of Rhodesia giving effect to the now official policy of separate development of the races -for example, the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act, the Municipal (Amendment) Act, and so forth. The Law and Order (Maintenance) Act of 1963, as amended on 16 November 1967, under which four of the live assassinations have been carried out, bears a striking and ominous resemblance to another odious law with which the world is only too familiar-namely, the Terrorism Act of South Africa.

The Rhodesian Act, like the Terrorism Act, throws the onus of proof on the accused persons, who are presumed to be "terrorists" or "saboteurs" unless they can prove beyond reasonable doubt that they did not intend to use their weapons to endanger the maintenance of law and order in Rhodesia or in a neighbouring territory. But, in an obvious bid to out-Pretoria Pretoria, the Rhodesian Act makes the death penalty the only sentence for those found in possession of "weapons of war", even in cases in which not only no life had been endangered but no damage had in fact been done.

Several thousand Africans have been imprisoned under this wide-sweeping Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. In 1964 alone, there were 5,000 convictions for political offences. We have

all learned with profound indignation of the brutal hangings last week. There are many more African in Rhodesian prisons under sentences of death. Many of the detainees have had no charges framed against them, except a vague belief that they had engaged in subversive activity. And the conditions in the prison cells can only be compared to the conditions in concentration camps.

### SELECTIVE SANCTIONS

The selective sanctions imposed by the Security Council in December 1966 have failed. When I say they have failed, I do not mean that they have had no impact at all on the Rhodesian economy. I know that the sanctions have had some effect on certain sectors of the economy in Rhodesia. The tobacco cultivation has suffered fairly serious consequences. Some of the industries, such as the automobile industry, have also been affected. But the fact remains that the sanctions have not produced the promised political results. The Smith regime is still there, very much in power, showing no signs of succumbing to the severe punishment which the sanctions were supposed to inflict on it.

Even in the economic field the sanctions have not been particularly effective. To quote from a report in The Times of 29 December 1967 :

"Rhodesia is entering 1968 with its economy in better shape than seemed possible a year ago when the United Nations was in the process of imposing its wide range of mandatory sanctions".

The report further revealed that Rhodesia's export earnings of £ 127.6 million for 1967, while about one-third down from the pre-independence level, was slightly higher than in 1966. Economic activity within Rhodesia in the previous twelve months had been very near to the pre-independence level.

The report concluded that from the experience of the past two years it had seemed to become easier, not more difficult, to buy and sell goods in the face of sanctions. According to the information given in the Working Paper contained in document A/AC.109/L.445, 450 new industrial projects were approved during the last two years

involving an investment of  $\text{£} 8.5$  million; 380 of those projects are already in operation. In the first nine months of 1967, sales of manufactured goods amounted to (pound)140 million, compared with the total for 1966 of (pound)133 million.

According to one report, Rhodesia's mining output last year reached record level to beat the previous best of  $\text{£} 32.6$  million. As regards oil, apart from an increase in the price of petrol, the Rhodesians do not seem to have experienced any particular shortage. Although rationing of petrol has not been lifted, any amount of "off-ration" fuel can be purchased at a slightly higher price than the rationed petrol. Further, according to a recent report, the extra price of "off-ration" petrol has been brought down from 2 shillings a unit to 6 pence a unit. A most convincing proof of the failure of the sanctions and of the soundness of the Rhodesian economy is to be found in the fact that within a period of seventeen days in October 1967, the regime floated three loans of (pound) 16 million, all of which were immediately oversubscribed.

It has been said that the selective sanctions imposed by the Security Council in December 1966 have failed because of non-compliance by certain Member States, in particular South Africa and Portugal. But even before the Security Council adopted resolution 232 (1966) the Governments of South Africa and Portugal had stated publicly that they would continue to co-operate with the Smith regime in the normal way irrespective of any action which the United Nations might take against Southern Rhodesia. It was, therefore, unrealistic for anyone to expect that South Africa and Portugal, whose record of

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defiance of the authority of the United Nations. is notorious, would respect the decisions of the Security Council.

#### NO-USE-OF-FORCE DECLARATION

My delegation has always held that the Government of the United Kingdom, in its capacity as the administering Power, is fully entitled to launch a police action in a colony where law and order have completely broken down as was so, dramatically and tragically demonstrated by the recent events in Rhodesia. It was unfortunate that Prime Minister Wilson, even before the

UDI, had assured the white community that force would not be used against them. It is yet more unfortunate that the Government of the United Kingdom, even at this stage, found it necessary to repeat its no-use-of-force declaration thus encouraging the Smith regime in its intransigence.

In this context I should like to recall a statement made by Prime Minister Wilson in the British Parliament on 11 November 1965 that the solution of the Southern Rhodesian problem was not one to be dealt with by military intervention unless troops were asked for to avert a tragic action such as subversion, murder. On 12 November 1965 Prime Minister Wilson, in elaboration of his earlier statement, explained that if the legally constituted Government of Southern Rhodesia, that is, the Governor, were to seek help in dealing with law and order, the United Kingdom Government would have to give it the fullest consideration. The murders committed by the Smith regime and the repressive measures taken by it to deal with the unrest among the people of Zimbabwe provide more than the required justification for the administering Power to intervene with force.

There has been a persistent call for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. My delegation is prepared to lend its support to such a proposal provided-and I must emphasize this-that effective measures are taken to secure compliance from all States. This is necessary because two Member States of the Organization which are in close and unholy alliance with Southern Rhodesia, in an effort to preserve and perpetuate white supremacy in Southern Africa, have openly and unashamedly declared their intention to continue to help the Smith regime in overcoming the effects of sanctions. In other words, the economy of Southern Rhodesia must be put under a siege with effective measures for implementation if the sanctions are to have the necessary political impact. As far as my country is concerned we severed all relations with Southern Rhodesia including trade and commerce even before the United Nations adopted the relevant recommendations.

My delegation and my Government fully support the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to

regain their national dignity. Indeed, given the lack of effective action on the part of the Government of the United Kingdom the Africans of Zimbabwe have had no option but to take to arms to achieve their independence. My country has already made a modest contribution to the struggle of the African freedom fighters and I take this opportunity to renew our pledge of full support for their struggle. At the same time, the Council should call upon the Government of the United Kingdom to give up its policy of "too little too late", and to adopt effective measures, not excluding the use of force, to fulfil its responsibilities.

Furthermore, the Council should impose comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions and couple them with a warning that all Member States of the Organisation would be bound to comply with the sanctions imposed in terms of their obligations under Articles 25 of the Charter. We believe that such action, if taken now, will forestall a violent racial holocaust which is bound to engulf the whole of southern Africa if freedom and justice are denied much longer to the African peoples of the area.

INDIA USA ZIMBABWE SOUTH AFRICA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA PORTUGAL

**Date :** Mar 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on South West Africa

Shri G. Parthasarathi Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on March 5, 1968 on the question of South West Africa :

Mr. President, allow me first of all to extend to you the warm, congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the Presidency of the

Security Council for the current month. My delegation and my country have very high regard for the sister nation of Senegal and for its outstanding leader, President Senghor.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that the Council will be led by you this month. We have already been impressed with the qualities

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of leadership that you have displayed in the numerous and difficult informal consultations that have been held so far. We have no doubt that under your wise guidance the Council will deal with its tasks expeditiously and effectively.

May I also associate my delegation with the delegations which have taken the floor before me in paying a sincere tribute to the outgoing President, Ambassador Lopez of Paraguay. Ambassador Lopez has more than justified our expectations by his tactful and very able handling of the issues faced by the Council last month.

It is not my intention to comment at length on the draft resolution contained in document S/8429 and co-sponsored by India, among others, but merely to lend my delegation's support to the explanations given by Ambassador Shahi of Pakistan, Ambassador Bouattoura of Algeria and Ambassador Silos of Brazil at our meeting on 4 March. These three distinguished colleagues of mine have very ably presented our point of view to the Council and I congratulate them on the effectiveness of their presentation

#### STUBBORN ARROGANCE

I had explained the position of my delegation on the question of the illegal trial in Pretoria of thirty-five South West Africans at our meeting on 19 February 1968. I shall therefore, be extremely brief. My delegation was and is of the view that it is imperative for the Security Council to take urgent and adequate steps, not excluding sanctions, to deal with the situation created by South Africa's defiance of the Security Council's own resolution 245 of 25 January 1968. These steps will necessarily have to be of such a nature as to convince South Africa of the futility of persisting in its stubborn arrogance.

It has been said within and without these chambers that our draft resolution by referring to Article 25 of the Charter necessarily commits the Council to take action under Chapter VII. In general, India is among those Members of the Organization which believe that Article 25 of the Charter has very close and perhaps exclusive links with Chapter VII. However, I am tempted to agree with Ambassador Bouattoura's statement yesterday in this Council that allusion to Article 25 does not necessarily imply a mechanical reference to a specific chapter of the Charter. This I do because the case we are considering today is *sui generis*.

We are not now dealing with the usual situations envisaged under Chapters VI and VII of the Charter. This is not a dispute between two or more Member States of the Organization. It is a dispute---although that is a mild word for it---between the Organization and a Member State which has persistently defied the Organization. In such a situation it is necessary to warn the Member State concerned that any further defiance of the United Nations will not be tolerated by the Security Council. Hence the reference to Article 25 of the Charter. Such a clear warning is desirable so that the Government of South Africa shall know what the position of the Council would be the next time we considered this case.

We have agreed to co-sponsor the draft resolution contained in document S/8429 even though it does not fully conform to the position of my delegation. We have done so in a spirit of compromise and with the clear understanding that this is only the first essential and immediate step.

If South Africa refuses to comply with the provisions of the present draft resolution, the Council, in terms of operative paragraph 4 of the draft, will have to meet immediately to decide on the application of effective measures as envisaged in the Charter. My delegation, for one, has no doubts about what those effective measures should be and when the time comes we would press for their adoption.

While, therefore, fully backing the draft resolution now before us, which is the very minimum of action which the Council can take at present,

my delegation hopes that when the time for effective, action comes all delegations will leave aside their reservations and join their efforts in the common cause.

#### GRAVE SITUATION

The situation is very grave and urgent, as is emphasized by the decision of the Pretoria regime to hold another illegal trial of eight more South West Africans under the same discredited Terrorism Act. Furthermore, we have received disturbing reports that there are about 150 more South West Africans detained by the South African Government whom it plans to bring to trial in batches with a view to terrorizing the African people of South Africa and South West Africa. In the circumstances my delegation hopes that all the members of the Security Council, conscious of their obligations and responsibilities, will support the objectives of the draft resolution. As has already been stated here in the Council yesterday, the co-sponsors are ready to engage in further consultations with a view to arriving at mutually acceptable formulations. It is in this spirit that we shall examine any and all proposals which have been and may be made.

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INDIA SENEGAL USA PARAGUAY PAKISTAN ALGERIA BRAZIL SOUTH AFRICA

**Date :** Mar 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on Cyprus

Shri G. Parthasarathi, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on March 18, 1968 on Cyprus :

I should also like to begin by extending a warm and sincere welcome to Ambassador Yacob Malik, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Having served as his country's Permanent Representative to the United Nations before, with great distinction, Ambassador Malik is of course no stranger to our Organization. More recently, in his capacity as Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR, Mr. Malik has dealt with important international issues.

My delegation feels assured that in the days and months ahead the Council will greatly benefit from Mr. Malik's experience, wisdom and probity in the conduct of its work, as well as in the discharge of its responsibilities in the maintenance of international peace and security.

#### PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION

We have before us the Secretary General's report (S/8446) which gives us his assessment of the situation in Cyprus and of the accomplishments of the United Nations presence there. We are gratified to note that the Secretary-General has been able to report that the three-month period covered by this report has been one of the quietest since the disturbances that broke out in December 1963, and that the general relaxation of tension has also been reflected in a short reduction of shooting incidents and in a welcome beginning of military disengagement in some places. My delegation is further gratified by the fact that since the meeting of the Council on 22 December last year not only has the threat of a clash in the area-which then appeared imminent-receded, but the conditions there are fast improving and the process of normalization has been started.

It might be of some use here if I were at this stage to state the basic position of the Government of India with regard to the question of Cyprus. Before Cyprus became independent, India had consistently advocated that there must be an end to the British colonial rule on the island. After the independence, of Cyprus, we took the position that no action should be taken which might jeopardize, the sovereignty, the political independence and the territorial integrity of Cyprus. In this connexion, may I quote

from the statement issued by the Government of India on 25 November last year:

"The Government has always supported and continues to support the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus".

India, along with the other members of the Council, recognizes that there is an acute problem within the island which concerns the relationship between the majority and minority communities. We firmly believe that, in order to safeguard peace and security not only within the Island but around it, it is necessary that there should be rapprochement between the majority and the minority communities. In this context it is gratifying to note, as reported by the Secretary-General, that the normalization measures taken by the Government of Cyprus have already contributed to the relaxation of tension in the island. The Secretary-General has said :

"The relaxation of restrictions has unmistakably demonstrated that ordinary Greek and Turkish Cypriot people desire to live in peace and harmony and seem already prepared to accept and support reasonable compromises." (S/8446, para. 153).

It is our conviction that adequate and urgent steps should be taken to sustain and enlarge this process towards normalization so that the people of the island could rapidly move towards the peaceful solution of the problems facing them. As the Secretary-General has pointed out : "... there has been no better opportunity in Cyprus for meaningful steps towards a settlement than there is now". (Ibid.)

It is our view that the parties should seize this opportunity and arrange a lasting settlement of their problems. The Secretary-General has enumerated some steps which he thinks should be taken in the search for a solution of the Cyprus problem. We fully endorse the course of action suggested by him and we earnestly trust that the parties will accept the suggestions made by the Secretary-General.

My delegation fully supports the draft resolution before us with the hope that the parties concerned will constructively avail themselves of the present auspicious climate and momentum in

order to achieve the objectives of the Security Council.

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INDIA CYPRUS USA MALI PERU

**Date :** Mar 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

World Food Programme's Assistance to India

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on March 13, 1968 in connection with the signing of an agreement between India and the World Food Programme :

An agreement was signed in New Delhi on March 13, 1968 between the Government of India and the United Nations/F.A.O. World Food Programme under which the W.F.P. would extend assistance in kind for the construction and renovation of irrigation earth works in Bihar. Shri J. C. Mathur, Additional Secretary in the Union Department of Agriculture, signed on behalf of the Government of India and Dr. John McDiarmid, Resident Representative, U.N.D.P. on behalf of the World Food Programme.

Under the agreement, which is the 12th in the series, World Food Programme will supply, over a period of 3 years, 14,910 tonnes of wheat worth \$ 1.96 million. The grain would be utilised as part payment of wages in kind as an incentive to the workers engaged in the construction and renovation of medium and minor irrigation works in the districts of Gaya, Shahabad, Patna, Hazaribagh, Monehyr and Palamau.

The schemes, to be benefited by this agreement, involve approximately 7,455,000 man-days of labour and 26,300,000 cubic metres of

earth. Five bigger irrigation schemes and 233 smaller irrigation schemes are also to be covered by this project.

#### BACKGROUNDER

The World Food Programme was established on January 1, 1963, under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organisation initially for a period of three years but has since been extended on a regular footing. This Programme aims at multilateral utilisation of food surpluses voluntarily donated by different countries of the world.

Various countries of the world pledged their contributions in commodities, cash and services. India also pledged a contribution of \$ 500,000 to the programme for the period 1963-65 and \$ 750,000 for the period 1966-68. This is made up of 1/3rd in cash in non-convertible rupees and the balance 2/3rd in the shape of commodities. Against their commodity pledge, Government of India have been supplying tea, sugar, dried fish to the various countries at the request of the World Food Programme.

The World Food Programme have so far provided/agreed to provide commodity support valued at \$ 23,293,025 for eleven projects of economic development submitted by the Government of India. In addition, they have supplied commodities worth about \$ 15 million for meeting the drought situation in the various States.

INDIA LATVIA USA

**Date :** Mar 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Prime Minister's, Message on International Day

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, issued the following message on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discriminations, which falls on March 21, 1968 :

March 21, 1968, is being commemorated throughout the world as International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. On this occasion, let us pay homage to all those who have struggled, and sacrificed even their lives, to uphold the banner of the brotherhood of man. Let us reaffirm our determination not to rest until the last vestiges of this form of inhumanity are finally banished.

Long before the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Mahatma Gandhi waged one of the most significant struggles in South Africa to affirm man's faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of human being, without distinction of race, religion, language or

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sex. For us, this has been a proud and continuing, tradition. India has consistently, forcefully and unequivocally supported all measures designed to put an end to apartheid and racial discrimination.

March 21 marks the eighth anniversary of the massacre of peaceful demonstrators in Sharpeville in South Africa. Those eight years have seen renewed efforts by the international community to prevent the recurrence of such tragic and terrible crimes. But these efforts have made hardly any difference to the policies of racial discrimination and apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa.

This year International Day is being observed in the dark shadow of the murder of African nationalists in Rhodesia. Many more lives are threatened by an alien tyranny. The Salisbury hangings are a grim reminder of the tasks ahead. The road to racial peace is long and arduous. But there can be no doubt as to the final outcome. If mankind is to survive and flourish, fundamental human values and the imperatives of social justice must triumph.

USA SOUTH AFRICA INDIA

**Date :** Mar 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Indo-U.S. Loan Agreements Signed

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on March 8, 1968 regarding the signing of three loan agreements between India and the U.S.A. :

The Governments of India and the United States concluded today (March 8) three agreements providing India lines of credit totalling RS. 319.4 crores from P.L. 480 funds. The funds will be advanced to the Government of India to assist in financing economic development.

The three agreements were signed together by Mr. A. T. Bambawale, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, and Mr. William Carter Ide, Acting Director, U.S. Agency for International Development (U.S.A.I.D.) Mission to India. The agreements cover a considerable portion of the rupees accruing to the U.S. Government from the sale proceeds under seven P.L. 480 agreements concluded between October 1966 and December 1967.

India pays in rupees for food, cotton and other agricultural commodities provided by the United States under (Title I of) the Public Law 480 (Food for Peace) programme. The seven P.L. 480 agreements stipulated that the bulk of the rupee proceeds-ranging from 65 per cent to 87 per cent-would be returned to the Government of India by the United States in the form of long-term, low-interest development loans. (The agreement which provided for loans amounting to 65 per cent of the rupees also made available a further 22 per cent as

grants.)

Today's agreements implement these P.L. 480 stipulations pledging development financing and state the loan terms. The loans are repayable over a period of 40 years, including an initial grace period of ten years during which no repayment of principal is due. For one of the three credits (Rs. 42.2 crores) India will pay interest at the rate of one per cent per annum during the grace period and for the other two credits at the rate of two per cent. During the latter 30 years of all the three loans interest will be charged at the rate of two and one-half per cent. The loans are repayable in rupees, unless India herself elects to pay in dollars.

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**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

ETHIOPIA

President's Speech at palam Airport welcoming Emperor Haile Selassie

The President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, made the following speech at the Palam airport Welcoming His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia on his arrival in New Delhi on April 28, 1968 on a 3-day State visit to India :

We feel greatly honoured to welcome you and your distinguished entourage to our country. This is not your first visit to India. In 1956 you saw something of the old and new India and of the diversity of our culture and people. The affinity between the ancient Church of Ethiopia and the Christian Church of the Malabar Coast is a point of contact in the relations between India and Ethiopia which go back to over 2,000 years. During this long span of time India underwent a period of foreign rule, but Ethiopia was able to maintain its sturdy independence. During the Fascist invasion of your country the Ethiopian people displayed their indomitable spirit and under Your Imperial Majesty's inspiring leadership won back your precious freedom.

We are proud to recall that during your heroic struggle our men fought side by side with your

soldiers especially at Karen and Amba Alagi and shed their blood for the independence of Ethiopia. After 1947 our two countries have come closer together and this development is not a little due to Your Imperial Majesty, whom we are happy to count as a sincere friend of India. You have stood by us in our times of need and our people shall remember your unstinted support with gratitude and pride. We welcome you in our midst as a close friend and companion in the pursuit of peace and a better life for our peoples.

Today our friendship is based on the principles of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation between developing nations. Ethiopia has witnessed, during Your Imperial Majesty's distinguished reign, great developments in the political, economic and social fields. You gave to your people a written Constitution as long ago as 1931, launched a programme of planned economic development and took a personal interest in the education of your people. You have rightly earned the title of "Maker of Modern Ethiopia" and under your farsighted rule Ethiopia has become a leading country of Africa and Addis Ababa the seat of the O.A.U. and the Economic Commission for Africa.

Your Imperial Majesty's contribution towards the emergence of African unity is no less outstanding. You played a key role in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity which has now become the main instrument for the purpose enshrined in the name of that Organization. Your beautiful capital, Addis Ababa of which I entertain very pleasant memories from my visit some years ago, also serves as the Headquarters of many Pan-African Agencies and in that capacity serves as the nerve-centre of many impulses and objectives. We, therefore, greet you not only as the Emperor of Ethiopia but also as a highly respected elder statesman of modern Africa.

On my behalf and on behalf of my Government and the people of India I welcome Your Imperial Majesty to our country.

## Volume No

1995

ETHIOPIA

Reply by His Imperial Majesty

The following is the text of the reply by His Imperial Majesty :

It gives us singular pleasure to be here today for the second time and visit this great nation. Our last visit was some twelve years ago. During that visit we exchanged views on subjects of mutual interest and of international importance with the late Prime Minister Nehru. The grasp and understanding the late Mr. Nehru had of world problems and issues was, to say the least, unequalled. His search and struggle for peace was, of course, unparalleled. During that visit we also reached agreement on a number of questions which has helped to strengthen the relations between our two countries and enabled us to cooperate and take a common stand on international problems. To a great extent, we are happy to state that we have accomplished what we then set out to do.

Today, we have come again to this enchanting country to renew to the Indian nation the friendship we entertain towards it and its people. At the same time, we have come here to exchange views with the Government of India on bilateral questions and to chart a common course of action towards solution of problems that beset our world today.

As you are all aware, both India and Ethiopia actively pursue a policy of non-alignment. Both of our countries conceive the notion of non-alignment, not in the negative sense of inaction, but in its positive aspect. We, oppose power blocs; but that does not mean we ourselves aim

at forming a third bloc, Through non-alignment we exert influence to prevent the confrontation of the opposing forces that endanger world peace-peace that we are dedicated to preserve.

We believe that both India and Ethiopia have, within their modest means, contributed to the maintenance of world peace through their active role in the United Nations and elsewhere. It is imperative for both our countries to continue to play positive roles, along with other like-minded nations. We are confident that the discussions that we will be holding with President Zakir Husain and with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi will contribute in great measure to this end.

ETHIOPIA USA INDIA

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

ETHIOPIA

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

The following is the text of the speech by the President, Dr. Zakir Husain, at a dinner given in honour of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia in New Delhi on April 28, 1968:

It is a very great pleasure for us to have you once again in our midst this evening. Your presence revives in us happy memories of your last visit and, we are sure, you would have also felt the warmth and affection which our people showed to the person of Your Imperial Majesty and through you to the people of your great and ancient Empire. It pleases us to know, and we consider it as a testimony of your kind thought for us, that you are visiting India on the first lap of a long tour that will take you to several countries in Asia.

One of the great benefits of modern means of communications is that it has made possible for us to have frequent contacts, however far we may be situated. We fully share your belief that personal contact between statesmen of the world is beneficial to peace and understanding between nations. We have no doubt that it is in this spirit that Your imperial Majesty has undertaken this journey of goodwill and friendship to Asia. We wish you God-speed and success.

#### DISTANT PAST

The Empire of Ethiopia, born in the distant past, is the proud possessor of a great civilization and rich culture. Few empires have lived for so long and few monarchies have maintained so unbroken a continuity. This unique position is due to the unwavering patriotism of your people and their spirit of independence. Under your enlightened leadership, Ethiopia has emerged from a period of isolation in the immediate past and has once again come into the

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limelight of the world. You granted Ethiopia a Written Constitution which has enabled your people to play an increasing role in the political life of the country.

You started far-reaching programmes to modernise your Empire and improve the life of your people. One can truly say that there is no field of national activity, which has not claimed your devoted attention. Here I would only like to mention one aspect of your interest which is equally dear to my heart : education and the spread of learning.

Your Imperial Majesty, I would like to express our profound satisfaction at the significant role that Ethiopia as a member of the non-aligned community of nations is playing in the larger international sphere, both at the United Nations and outside, in the preservation of world peace and the maintenance of peaceful co-existence among nations.

#### VIET NAM

We have noted with satisfaction the recent developments concerning Viet Nam following

President Johnson's announcement on the 31st March and the prompt response to it of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. It is unfortunate that the two sides have not yet been able to establish initial contacts to consider matters relating to discussions of substance. Having regard to the background of the conflict, in Viet Nam and the long period for which it has lasted, some mutual suspicion and caution are understandable. Yet, we hope that these would be overcome in the near future and that the two sides would agree on starting negotiations.

It would be our endeavour, as I am sure it will be Your Majesty's Government's as well as that, of all other peace-loving Governments, to do what we can, to promote an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence, which would facilitate a move towards a peaceful settlement in Viet Nam satisfactory to all parties concerned.

#### WEST ASIA

Another danger spot is West Asia. Though the cease-fire remains on the whole effective, so long as Israel continues to hold on to the Arab territories occupied by force, the danger of renewed warfare cannot be ruled out. Therefore, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories is essential for a permanent settlement of the problem.

India considers territorial aggrandisement by force as unacceptable. At the same time we believe that every State has the right to live in peace and security within its own borders. Both India and Ethiopia support the UN efforts to bring about peace with-justice in the area and we will continue to work together to bring about a just settlement of the West Asian crisis.

#### RHODESIA

The inhuman treatment of African people in Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies and South Africa can lead to a racial explosion in Southern Africa. India has always denounced the minority regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. The present situation there is an affront to human dignity. The people of Africa cannot be expected to put up with racial discrimination for all time to come nor will they tolerate the illegal occupation of South West Africa by the

Apartheid regime in South Africa. African nationalist forces are bound to grow stronger and if there is no peaceful liberation of these areas, Africans will be left with no alternative but to use force to end this affront to their dignity as human beings.

#### AFRICAN UNITY

The Organisation of African Unity, whose successful operation owes so much to Your Imperial Majesty, is a vital instrument of African unity and a means for mutual co-operation both on pan-African and regional basis. Since its creation the OAU has solved several difficult problems in Africa and has made significant contribution to peace and co-operation on the continent. It is our hope that the OAU will grow from strength to strength.

A Conference of historic importance to the developing countries ended in Delhi last month. The UNCTAD II has taken important decisions and if these are faithfully carried out by the developed and developing countries, they would have far-reaching effects on the progress of the developing countries. However, the need for self-help among developing countries themselves, remains. India, the U.A.R. and Yugoslavia have recently initiated tripartite co-operation in economic, trade and industrial matters. I have no doubt that, there is scope for similar co-operation with other developing countries.

#### CLOSE FRIENDSHIP

I am happy that bilateral co-operation between India and Ethiopia is making good progress. The Trade Agreement and the Agreement on Scientific, Cultural and Technical Co-operation that our two countries are about to conclude will further develop our bilateral relations.

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Your Imperial Majesty, we look upon your visit as another opportunity to have a free and friendly exchange of views on current international problems and how we could further improve our bilateral cooperation in the political, economic and other fields. We shall discuss these and other problems and listen to your wise counsel. The friendship between our two

countries is time-tested; we look upon Your Imperial Majesty as a great and good friend of India; there are no problems to divide us but only bonds to bind us in close friendship and co-operation to our mutual advantage.

May I now request Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to rise and drink to the health of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie First, Emperor of Ethiopia, and to the happiness and well-being of the people of Ethiopia ?

ETHIOPIA USA INDIA ISRAEL SOUTH AFRICA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC YUGOSLAVIA

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

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ETHIOPIA

Reply by Emperor Haile Selassie

The following is the text of His Imperial Majesty's reply to the toast by President Zakir Husain :

Our heart has been touched and our joy made boundless by the warm and friendly reception you, Mr. President, the Indian Government and the people of India have accorded us during our second visit to this pleasant subcontinent of yours. It has revived the pleasant memories of our last visit here a dozen years or so ago.

The sympathetic and cordial reception which this magnificent city of New Delhi granted us during our first visit and again today will always be cherished in our memory. Indeed, we shall always remember this outpouring of sympathy as a symbol and expression of fraternal Love and admiration the people of India have towards the people of Ethiopia.

Mr. President, we avail of this moment to express, our gratitude for the kind words and

gentle expressions which you have just uttered about our parson and our people. The Ethiopian people hold in high regard and esteem the people of India.

We have always respected this historically ancient and culturally rich and varied nation. Your cultural heritage from antiquity is deeply admired by our people. Your efforts in the path of modernization without discarding your heritage, but rather blending the modern with your refined ancient culture is considered worth emulating. We in Ethiopia wish you every success in this noble experiment.

#### INDIAN HERITAGE

The Indian heritage which we have had the opportunity to observe during our last visit to India should be an inspiration and great encouragement to the Indian leaders in helping the successive generations of Indians in their great task of nation building. We had noted this drive and spirit then, which still linger in our memory to date.

Ethiopia, as India, is a land of history, tradition and culture. Its past and present experiences resemble, in many respects, that of India. Ethiopia, as India, is trying to adapt the modern while still maintaining its great wealth of spiritual and cultural heritage. Hence, these common experiences evoke a great deal of affinity with the people of India. Fate and history have brought our two countries and people together; our future interest must thus be similarly shared.

We are tremendously impressed by the significant strides India has made since our last visit some twelve years ago.

On the point of social and economic progress, we would like to mention the acute economic relations between the developing countries and advanced nations, the haves and the have-nots. The gap between the rich and the poor states is growing wider and this situation cannot be allowed to continue for the consequences for the world will be catastrophic.

Human destiny is indivisible. What befalls one will certainly affect the other. The deve-

loping countries must get an equitable share of the ever-expanding world trade. The primary products of the developing countries should get a proportional price to the finished product of the advanced countries.

In this respect India and Ethiopia along with like-minded states have pursued identical policies during the various UNCTAD meetings, including the one that just ended in this beautiful

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capital city of New Delhi. We are confident that such cooperation between Our two countries, in the interest of the developing nations and world peace and harmony, will Continue, Mr. President,

The cooperation between India and Ethiopia is not limited to international relations. Following our last visit to this country the relations between our two states have grown strong. Indian investors have come to Ethiopia and have put their capital in some of the most important industries in our country.

Furthermore, Indian know-how is also playing a significant role in our national development. Indian teachers, doctors, officers and other professionals have come in numbers to our country and are contributing their share to the progress of the Ethiopian nation. This exemplary cooperation and mutual understanding between India and Ethiopia should be emulated by all states.

#### NON-ALIGNMENT

In foreign policy too, Ethiopia in Africa, and India in Asia, hold similar views. The policy of non-alignment characterises one common policy. India, of course, is identified with this great philosophy itself. That great son of India, that selfless idealist Nehru is for ever remembered and identified throughout the world with this policy. The clear and articulate leadership of the late Pandit Nehru is a constant source of hope and confidence to the world.

Because we believe that this policy of non-alignment is a positive policy in the present day set-up of the world, we have, along with your nation, adhered to its principles and worked for its wider acceptance. It is for this reason

that Ethiopia participated in the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian States and later in the Non-aligned Conferences at Belgrade and Cairo. It is our conviction that these meetings and this policy have contributed to the maintenance of world peace.

Our two countries are playing useful roles in the Disarmament Committee of the United Nations in Geneva. On this important issue the Great Powers must heed the pleading of humanity. Our two countries must strive ceaselessly until complete disarmament is achieved and the shadow of destruction is removed and humanity is assured tranquillity and peace.

As We survey the world scene, our attention cannot but be drawn to the southern part of the African Continent where a most despicable type of fascism and racism is holding under tyranny the sons of the land. The imported minority controls the destiny of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants. In order to perpetuate this despotic exercise of power, the white minority is using the most abhorrent and cruel means ever known to man.

#### RHODESIA

If this situation is left to continue it would explode violently and would jeopardise peace in Africa and the world. Thus, it is for us to warn of the calamity that will follow if the state of affairs in the southern part of Africa is allowed to continue.

Our two nations have worked harmoniously in the United Nations and outside concerning the situation in the southern part of Africa. We abhor and condemn apartheid and all that it represents. We support actively the restoration of the rights of the majority in South Africa, South-West Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique. We will relentlessly and unceasingly labour with all our power until oppression is removed, injustice eliminated and until "one man one vote" is guaranteed to all. In this struggle India stands side by side with Ethiopia and the rest of free Africa. The people under the yoke of colonialism, be it in South Africa, South-West Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique or Angola will

not be abandoned until they are free and become masters of their own destiny.

The destruction and misery which the Vietnamese people are subjected to cannot be tolerated. Distress, sorrow, death and anguish have become the lot of the people of Vietnam.

Our two countries, with other peace-loving nations, must continue to work together to help bring peace to the people of Vietnam.

We have welcomed the recent gestures of de-escalation of bombing announced by President Johnson. It is our earnest hope and prayer that the dialogue between the parties will take place soon and bear positive result.

Peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations, territorial integrity of nations are fundamental principles for peaceful relations among states. These principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Organisation of

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African Unity are the cornerstones of our foreign policy.

Mr. President, we are confident that the exchange of views that we shall have during our stay here will bear positive results and that the close relationship between our two countries will be further strengthened.

May we take this opportunity to ask that all of you here raise your glasses in a toast to the health and long life of the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, to the ever strengthening friendship between India and Ethiopia, to the happiness and prosperity of the people of India, and to lasting world peace.

ETHIOPIA USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDONESIA EGYPT YUGOSLAVIA  
SWITZERLAND SOUTH AFRICA ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE VIETNAM

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

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ETHIOPIA

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His Imperial Majesty's Address to Parliament

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The following is the text of the address of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, to the Members of the Parliament of India, New Delhi, April 30, 1968 :

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Speaker, The Honourable Prime Minister, and Members of Parliament:

We are happy to be again in this friendly and sister country the Republic of India. During our first visit to this great country and people twelve years ago, we were highly privileged and honoured to be received by our close colleagues and contemporaries, the late President Rajendra Prasad and the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. It is with profound grief that today we feel the absence of these two leaders and of the late Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, with whom also we have had the good fortune to be acquainted at the Non-aligned Conference held in Cairo in 1964.

Although it was the will of the Almighty that these great statesmen should depart from us, they will always be remembered for their valuable contribution to the world. They have for ever left behind them a glorious example of outstanding statesmanship for others to emulate. As they had ably led India along the noble path set forth by their predecessor, Mahatma Gandhi, so have they been worthily succeeded by a generation of able Indian leaders and statesmen. Being their colleagues in the Afro-Asian and the Non-aligned world, we can pay these great men of our time no better tribute than rededicating ourselves to the noble task of pursuing and bringing to full realisation the ideals and principles laid down at the Bandung Conference and reinforced by the succeeding conferences of the Afro-Asian and Non-aligned States.

CLOSE TIES

Mr. Chairman, we feel highly elated and hon-

oured today to take this rare opportunity given to us to address the Members of the Indian Parliament. We are confident that this event and our visit to this country will further strengthen the close ties already existing between our two countries and peoples. The relations between India and Ethiopia are not based only on our partnership in the Afro-Asian and the Non-aligned community of States. They are vividly manifested in our practical bilateral cooperation in various fields. Educators from India have reinforced the teaching staff of our schools and are contributing a great deal to the progress of education which has been receiving our full attention during our reign. The Military Academy in Harar is functioning with the assistance of military officers from India. Indian businessmen have invested in Ethiopia and their participation in the economic activities of our country has added impetus to the economic development. Yet another link between our two countries in recent times is the air link between our capitals. All these are good reasons justifying our belief that the relationship between our countries has a good foundation and is, therefore, bound to grow ever stronger.

#### GREAT PRINCIPLES

Mr. Speaker, we are aware that in this august Assembly great principles of national and international import have been enunciated and resolutions to give them effect have been adopted. Foremost among these are:

- (1) The principles of inter-State relations, widely known in this part as "Panch Shila";
- (2) The policy of non-alignment and Afro-Asian solidarity;
- (3) Principles relating to the concepts of unity in diversity and understanding among nations, irrespective of the system of government or ideology;
- (4) The will and dedication to struggle for the complete emancipation of the subjugated peoples of the world; and

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- (5) Dedication to the maintenance of world peace in the interest' of all nations, big

and small, the haves and have-nots, who should work together, pool their resources and transform all available scientific genius and technological advance for the well-being of man.

Ethiopia subscribes and adheres to these principles.

Ethiopia's policy is to live in peace and harmony with her neighbours and with all countries, near and distant. Misunderstandings and differences may occasionally arise in the process of developing active relations among States. Ethiopia is no exception to this. Under such circumstances, the basic policy of States should be to refrain from Undertaking hasty measures. On the contrary, they must exercise restraint so that during the time gained an amicable solution satisfactory to all sides could be found.

In pursuit of such an approach, Ethiopia and her neighbours have adopted a policy of consultation and direct contact as the best means of resolving differences and of promoting close cooperation among themselves. Joint Consultative Committees at ministerial level have been established by Ethiopia and Kenya, the Republic of the Sudan and Ethiopia and Ethiopia and the Republic of Somalia. Judged from the work of these three organs, the experiment of Joint Consultative Committees has proved useful in removing certain misunderstandings and misapprehensions and, at the same time, in further strengthening the relations existing between Ethiopia and these neighbouring States.

However laudable and useful these committees may be, certain important factors have to be borne in mind in order to arrive at a broader understanding among States.

Each independent state in the world has adopted a certain system of government, ideology and economic structure in the light of its culture, tradition, history of nationhood and basic requirements of political stability and needs of social and economic advancement of its people. Whether such system of government, ideology and economic structure prevailing in a given independent state are right or wrong can be judged and appreciated substantially in terms of the interest of the people whom they are established

to serve. With whatever pride and esteem a given state looks upon its system of government, it should not interfere in the internal affairs of another independent state. On the other hand, it should, if possible, promote understanding and cooperation.

Diversity in ethnic composition, religion and language within a state should not be exploited to get pretexts for interference from outside. These diversities are characteristics of not only large but small States as well. Unity must be forged in this diversity.

#### UNITY IN DIVERSITY

Ethiopia on her part is proud to be a united country in spite of diversities. All sections of her population have played their part in the making of the history of Ethiopia. All are equal and there is no question of a majority group dominating a minority. They derive their unity from the fact that they are one people, from centuries of partnership in the state, from common sacrifice of blood in the defence of their common interest and from the deep-rooted consciousness that the country belongs to them all.

The existence of such diversities within a state should not, therefore, give ground for conflict and discord. On the contrary, these diversities should be bridged to promote close cooperation and understanding with the peoples and governments of other states. Discovery of similarities in diversity by one state with another would help the state concerned to analyse the issues in a better perspective and would also contribute to the strengthening of relations among states.

Mr. Chairman, the attitude we have explained would have grown naturally in the relations of states were it not for the fact that the world is beset by a number of grave problems, like, the case of the subjugated peoples in Africa and the quest for permanent world peace which remain today the prime concern of humanity.

#### AFFRONT TO HUMANITY

It is an affront to humanity that millions of our brethren in Africa still languish under the yoke of colonial rule and apartheid while the rest of the states in the world enjoy the fruits of liberty.

African liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Rhodesia, South-West Africa and South Africa, had sought to attain their independence through an orderly process of negotiation without resort to violence. But Portugal and the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa answered by imprisoning and executing African nationalist leaders and freedom-fighters and unleashing a series of oppressive measures; Finding no other alternative, Africans have now taken to arms.

The struggle which is now going on in the southern part of Africa is not essentially a strug-

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gle between races-blacks fighting whites. It is a struggle for human freedom. The aim of this struggle is not the destruction of the white settlers who are in control of the archaic power structure of colonial rule but the achievement of human dignity, equality and justice by African people under majority rule.

The struggle of these people is not the sole responsibility of the independent African States. It is the responsibility of all freedom loving people throughout the world. The African freedom struggle is irreversible. However small their resources may be, independent African States are committed to liberate their continent from apartheid and all traces of colonialism. This liberation struggle can develop into a threat to international peace and security. Therefore, the world has to rise and live up to its obligations and responsibilities and act soon, lest it be too late.

#### COMMON CAUSE

All states in the world, big and small alike, have a common cause for peace. The developing nations seek peace in order to devote their energy and resources to promote the well-being of their peoples. Likewise, the developed countries do not wish a total war to shatter the high standard of living they have achieved. There is this common cause but that has not brightened the prospects of achieving lasting world peace.

Enormous amounts of money and other resources are being spent by nations, particularly the Great Powers, on armaments. Humanity is

longing for the day when these resources will be directed towards improvement of the living standards of millions of suffering people, thus narrowing the frightening gap between the haves and the have-nots.

As far as the Great Powers are concerned, it is apparently futile for them to rely so much on their capability to invent weapons of more destructive power and on the defence systems they keep on perfecting every day. The same scientific genius that they possess can also produce weapons capable of penetrating through the defence systems that have been believed to be impregnable.

Therefore, rather than end tip in a stalemate of endless armament race, with no prospect of an eventual victor, the Great Powers will do well to cease competing in armaments with each other, work out formulae to ensure lasting peace in the world, and bring to a halt the creation of international tensions aimed at drawing the rest of the world to their respective camps and spheres of influence.

We see some ray of hope that the conflict in Vietnam may move in the direction of settlement through negotiations. Let us hope that no obstacle will thwart the planned talks between the parties concerned.

Mr. Speaker, we are most grateful for giving us this opportunity to share with the distinguished Members of the Parliament of the Republic of India our views on some of the problems affecting relations between States. We thank you very much.

ETHIOPIA INDIA EGYPT USA INDONESIA KENYA SUDAN MALI SOMALIA ANGOLA GUINEA  
MOZAMBIQUE SOUTH AFRICA PORTUGAL VIETNAM

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

**Volume No**

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ETHIOPIA

The following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in New Delhi on May 1, 1968 at the conclusion of the visit to India of His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia:

At the invitation of the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, paid a State visit to India from April 28-May 1, 1968, and was accorded a warm and spontaneous welcome by the Government and the people of India. The Emperor was accompanied by the President of the Senate of Ethiopia, H.E. Lt. Gen. Abbiy Abebe; H.E. Ras Andargachew Massai; H.E. Ras Mesfin Sileshi, Deputy Governor General of Shoa Province; H.I.H. Princess Ijigayehu Assfa Wossen; H.I.H. Princess Sofia Desta; H.E. Commodore Iskinder Desta, Deputy Commander of the Imperial Navy; H.E. Ato Ketema Yifru, Minister for Foreign Affairs; H.E. Dejazmatch Aburahmans Sheikh, Minister of State in the Ministry of Interior; H.E. Dr. Minasse Haile, Minister of State for Information; H.E. Ato Assefa Gabre Mariam, Ethiopian Ambassador to India; H.E. Major General Assefa Demisse, Principal A.D.C. to H.I.M; H.E. Ato Yahannis Kidane Mariam, Vice-Minister of Pen and Private Secretary to H.I.M; H.E. Blatta Admassu Retta, Vice Minister, Imperial Palace; H.E. Ato Meba Selassie Alemu, Assistant Minister of Press in H.I.M's

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Private Cabinet; Dr. Yohannis Worqneh, Private Physician to H.I.M; Ato Zawde Retta, Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Information.

His Imperial Majesty's visit was part of the continuing tradition of friendship between the two countries, and it symbolised the mutual desire to foster closer understanding and co-operation between the Governments and peoples of Ethiopia and India.

During his stay in New Delhi, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor had talks with President, Dr. Zakir Husain and the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, on major international problems and the developing economic and cultural relations between Ethiopia and India. They took

the opportunity to make a review of the world situation. These talks were held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cordiality and revealed a close similarity of views on current international issues.

On the Ethiopian side the following took part in the talks : H.E. Lt. Gen. Abbiy Abebe, President of the Senate; H.E. Ras Andargachew Massai; H.E. Ras Mesfin Sileshi, Deputy Governor General of Shoa Province; H.E. Commodore Iskinder Desta, Deputy Commander of the Imperial Navy, H.E. Ato Ketema Yifru, Minister for Foreign Affairs; H.E. Dejazmatch Abdurhman Sheikh, Minister of State in the Minister of Interior; H.E. Dr. Minasse Halie, Minister of State for Information; H.E. Ato Assefa Gabre Mariam, Ethiopian Ambassador to India; H.E. Major General Assefa Demsse, Principal A.D.C. to His Imperial Majesty; and H.E. Ato Meba Selassie Alemu, Assistant Minister of Press in H.I.M's Private Cabinet.

Taking part on the Indian side were also: Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of Defence; Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce; Shri B.R. Bhagat, Minister of State for External Affairs; Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister, Ministry of External Affairs; Shri Rajeswar Dayal, Foreign Secretary; Shri R.G. Rajwade, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; Shri K.L. Mehta, Ambassador of India in Ethiopia; Shri J.S. Mehta, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; and Shri M. R. Thadani, Director (Africa), Ministry of External Affairs.

His Imperial Majesty and the Prime Minister re-affirmed their conviction in the continuing validity of the policy of non-alignment, as a factor in the defence of peace and the promotion of international understanding. The policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence pursued by the developing countries has helped to arrest the process of polarisation and has assisted in the easing of international tensions. Both countries agreed that due preparations should be made to hold another conference of non-aligned and like minded countries as such a meeting could make a constructive contribution to the resolution of important international problems and the strengthening of world peace.

Both sides recognised the dangers inherent in the continuation of the conflict in Vietnam.

They, therefore, noted with satisfaction the prospect of de-escalation and expressed the hope that procedural difficulties will be resolved and that it will be possible to hold a meeting which would lead to meaningful discussions for a peaceful solution of the problem.

His Imperial Majesty and the Prime Minister re-affirmed their support to the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, on the West Asian situation. They agreed that among the pre-requisites to a lasting settlement was the vacation of territories occupied by force. They expressed their full support to the efforts of the United Nations to bring about a lasting settlement in the region.

His Imperial Majesty expressed the view that the Tashkent Declaration was an eminent example of the pursuit of peace through restraint, conciliation and statesmanship. The Prime Minister assured the Emperor that India remained faithful to the letter and the spirit of the Declaration.

The Prime Minister expressed her appreciation to His Imperial Majesty for the achievements of the Organisation of African Unity and the contribution which His Imperial Majesty has personally made to the cause of peace and freedom in Africa.

Both sides reiterated their strong opposition to all forms of colonialism and expressed their wholehearted support for the people of the world particularly Africa, who are still struggling for freedom and the consolidation of their independence. They also condemned the inhuman and immoral policies practised with increasing brutality by the Government of South Africa. They hoped that all States would extend their unreserved co-operation and support to the United Nations in its efforts to compel the Government of South Africa to abandon such policies which pose a threat to international peace and could jeopardise the hopes of developing trust and co-operation amongst nations.

His Imperial Majesty and the Prime Minister attach considerable importance to the need to promote general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament. They note with

particular concern the continuing race in nuclear weapons and express the hope that the nuclear weapon powers will take concrete and effective measures designed to achieve nuclear disarmament. They consider that the U.N. should renew its efforts to facilitate general and complete disarmament, so that the resources released by disarmament may be utilised for economic and social development.

The two leaders noted with satisfaction the increasingly close relations which are developing between Ethiopia and India in the economic, cultural and political spheres. They agreed that a trade agreement between the two countries should be speedily concluded in order to strengthen mutually beneficial co-operation between the two countries. His Imperial Majesty and the Prime Minister also agreed that an agreement on technical, economic and scientific co-operation, which is about to be signed by the two countries, would be a further significant step in linking the two countries.

His Imperial Majesty thanked the President for the warm and cordial hospitality shown to him and the members of his party during their stay in India. He extended an invitation to the President of India and the Prime Minister of India to visit Ethiopia. The President and the Prime Minister of India thanked the Emperor for his kind invitation which they accepted with pleasure.

ETHIOPIA INDIA USA BULGARIA VIETNAM UZBEKISTAN SOUTH AFRICA

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

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HUNGARY

Indo-Hungarian Trade and Payments Agreement

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on the trade and payments

agreement signed between India and Hungary on April 4, 1968:

The Trade Delegations of the Government of India led by Shri Dinesh Singh, Commerce Minister, and of the Government of Hungarian People's Republic led by the Hungarian Foreign Trade Minister, His Excellency Mr. Biro, have been having discussions for the last few days regarding the implementation of the existing Trade and Payments Agreement between the two countries.

Both the Ministers accordingly agreed that the implementation programme of the trade agreement should be reviewed from time to time by nominated representatives of both sides including technical and other experts, so that steps are immediately taken to ensure smooth flow of trade.

It was also agreed that the two Governments should authorise their representatives to examine and work out a programme on industrial collaboration between organizations of the two countries as well as joint Indo-Hungarian industrial and commercial cooperation in third markets.

Both sides were in full agreement that in order to boost up the trade and economic relations, it will be necessary to invite trading organisations of the respective countries to give sympathetic consideration's for the conclusion of long-term contracts for goods to be regularly exchanged between the two countries.

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HUNGARY INDIA USA

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

**Volume No**

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on West Asia

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on April 2, 1968 on West Asia :

Mr. President, I should like first of all to welcome you as President of the Council for this month. My delegation is confident that under your wise and statesmanlike guidance the Council will be able to discharge its duties satisfactorily and expeditiously.

We should at the same time like to express our sincere and, whole-hearted gratitude to the outgoing President. During his outstanding Presidency, Ambassador Diop of Senegal made a very valuable contribution to the work of this Council in most trying circumstances. His wisdom, judgment and diplomatic skill were our constant companions during delicate and very often prolonged negotiations which resulted in the adoption of unanimous resolutions in two critical areas of our work. Our regret is that Ambassador Diop's departure has deprived us of the benefit of valuable advice from an experienced colleague. We should like to take this opportunity to wish him all success in his new field of activity.

Only a few days ago the Security Council held a series of meetings to consider the grave situation in West Asia resulting from the Israeli armed attack on Jordanian villages east of the Jordan River. After four days of debate and intensive, almost round-the-clock consultations, the Council unanimously adopted a resolution condemning Israel for that attack and deploring violent incidents in violation of the cease-fire. Less than a week after the adoption of that resolution, the Council is again confronted with a serious violation of the cease-fire which took place on 29 March. It is clear from all available reports that this major military clash, extending to the use of aircraft with its attendant loss of life and its damage to civilian property, was against the injunction of Security Council resolution 248 (1969) of 24 March.

It has been maintained that violent incidents in occupied Arab territories are the cause of the recent aggravation of tension. My delegation

finds it difficult to reconcile itself to this view. We must clearly state that Israel's recent measures affecting the civilian population of occupied Arab territories and resulting in the uprooting of many thousands of Arab inhabitants from their homes are not permissible in terms of various United Nations resolutions. Those resolutions cannot be interpreted to mean that the Arab people should accept Israeli military occupation.

My delegation has had occasion to state in the past, and would like to reiterate once again, that a situation in which the Security Council has to go from one cease-fire to another without withdrawal of foreign forces has serious consequences which cannot be ignored. As long as Israel refuses to withdraw from Arab territories occupied as a result of the hostilities of June 1967, there will be little worth-while prospect for peace in the area. Serious tensions will continue to prevail and the Arabs under foreign occupation will continue to reject that occupation.

It would be erroneous to believe that peace in West Asia could be brought about under the pressure of such continued military occupation. It is therefore imperative that Israel should agree to implement fully the Security Council resolution of 22-November 1967. It is equally important that the parties should co-operate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring, in his task of bringing about the implementation of that resolution.

During the Council's discussion culminating in the adoption of the resolution of 24 March, my delegation expressed serious anxiety over the effects of armed clashes on the success of the mission of the Secretary-General's Special Representative. We note from the Secretary-General's report contained in document S/8309/Add.2 that Ambassador Jarring is directing his efforts towards obtaining an agreed statement of the

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position concerning the implementation of the resolution.

We should like to hope that the Government of Israel will co-operate with the mission of the

Secretary-General's Special Representative in fully implementing the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967. In this connexion, my delegation notes with appreciation the strenuous efforts of King Hussein of Jordan to prevent a deterioration of the situation, and his positive attitude towards the Jarring mission. We should also like to pay a tribute the King for his leadership of his people under the extremely difficult and trying circumstances in which his country is placed.

INDIA USA SENEGAL ISRAEL JORDAN

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on Admission of Mauritius to U.N.

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on April 18, 1968 in the admission of Mauritius to the membership of the United Nations :

Before I address myself to the item before us, I should like to associate myself with you, Mr. President, and other colleagues in extending a warm welcome to our new colleague, the distinguished and respected Permanent Representative of Senegal, Ambassador Boye. My delegation had very friendly and close relations with the Senegalese delegation during Ambassador Diop's term here at the United Nations. We look forward to close co-operation with Ambassador Boye and to have the benefit of his mature wisdom in our deliberations.

The Security Council is meeting today to discharge a very pleasant duty, namely, to consider the request from the Government of Mauritius for admission to the Membership of the United

Nations. It is always a matter of great joy and satisfaction to see a dependent Territory emerge into free and sovereign nationhood. With every additional Territory which breaks the chains of colonial bondage and establishes itself as an independent nation, we come closer to the goal of complete decolonization which is one of the primary objectives of our Organization.

Today's occasion is particularly gratifying to us in view of the fact that the United Nations, through the General Assembly and its organs, principally the Committee of Twenty-Four, has devoted considerable time and energy to accelerate the progress of the people of Mauritius towards their cherished objective. There has, thus, been a very close association between Mauritius and the United Nations even before the independence of Mauritius. It is, therefore, only natural that Mauritius should seek Membership in the world body. My delegation has no doubt that as a Member of the United Nations the Government and the people of Mauritius will make important contributions towards strengthening and furthering the universal desire for peace and security.

The independence of Mauritius is a matter of particular gratification to my delegation. India and Mauritius are linked by varied and close ties which go back to hundreds of years. The similarities in our cultural history and heritage, the geographic proximity and most of all, our mutually shared values of freedom and peace bind us closely together.

We have followed with great interest and admiration the steady march of the people of Mauritius towards their independence under the leadership of their outstanding Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. We have every confidence that the very close and friendly relations which happily exist between Mauritius and India will grow from strength to strength in the coming years to the mutual benefit of our two countries.

I take this opportunity of once again extending to the Government and people of Mauritius our warmest felicitations and best wishes. Having become the master of its own destiny, I have no doubt that Mauritius will be able to make rapid progress in all fields of national life and become

a strong, stable and prosperous nation.

My delegation whole-heartedly supports the application of Mauritius for admission to the United Nations and hopes that it will be endorsed by the Security Council by acclamation.

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**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

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INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in General Assembly on Independence of Mauritius

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the General Assembly on April 24, 1968 on the independence of Mauritius:

Mr. President, during the first part of the twenty-second session, my delegation had an opportunity to convey our greetings and felicitations to you on your assuming this high office and to salute your great nation as a bridge-builder and a pathfinder in Europe. Your masterly handling of the matters dealt with in the early part of the session has further confirmed us in our belief about your outstanding statesmanship and of the dynamic and important role played by your great country in international affairs.

The resumed session has to consider important questions such as non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the problem of South West Africa and the situation in the Middle East. My delegation has not the slightest doubt that under your able leadership the Assembly will be in a position to find adequate solutions to these, intricate questions. We wish to assure you that my delegation will continue to extend the fullest co-operation to

you in the performance of your tasks.

It is with great joy and pride that we welcome the emergence of Mauritius from colonial bondage to freedom and independence, and to its rightful place in this world body. My Prime Minister welcomed the independence of Mauritius with this message to the Prime Minister of Mauritius. She said:

"On the historic day of attainment of independence by your country, my colleagues in the Government of India and I send our warmest felicitations to the Government and the people of Mauritius... I want you to know that you have our most sincere good wishes for your personal happiness and welfare. May the people of Mauritius prosper under your wise, dedicated and distinguished leadership. We look forward to an era of friendship and co-operation between our two countries."

The attainment of independence by any nation is always a matter of pleasure and of great emotional satisfaction to all freedom-loving countries. However, if I seek to express today the particular gratification of my delegation, at the independence of Mauritius, it is due to the, long-standing, close and indissoluble ties which have bound our two countries together in deep friendship and amity. These ties are deeply rooted in our similar cultural heritage, our colonial history and struggle for independence, our geographic proximity and above all our mutually cherished goals of freedom for all dependent peoples and universal peace.

My delegation, along with several others, has keenly followed the progress of Mauritius towards independence. We, have had the, occasion to express our feelings from the forums of the United Nations and to encourage the people of Mauritius to carry on the fight for freedom, undeterred by any setback. It is, therefore, not only with joy but with profound satisfaction that my delegation welcomes Mauritius to the comity of nations.

May I be permitted to reiterate my delegation's warm and sincere felicitations to the Government and people of Mauritius. We are confident that Mauritius, known for the spirit of enterprise and the courage of its people, will grow into a

strong and prosperous nation under the outstanding leadership of its great Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, and that it will be a dedicated and active Member of the United Nations, wedded as it is to the principles on which this body was founded. We are equally confident that independent Mauritius will join our common struggle for freedom, peace and progress and will make a valuable contribution to the various fields of activity of the United Nations.

INDIA USA MAURITIUS CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri B. C. Mishra's Statement on Military Parade by Israel in Jerusalem

Shri B. C. Mishra, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on April 27, 1968 on the proposed military parade by Israel in Jerusalem :

The Security Council has once again been called into session to consider the tense situation which has existed in West Asia since June of last year. As members of the Council will recall, it was after long and strenuous efforts

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that the Council adopted resolution 242 (1967), which laid down the framework for settlement of the whole range of problems in the area. My delegation stated at that time, and would like to reiterate, that it would be unrealistic to expect a stable and lasting peace in the area in the absence of a withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories.

It is more than ever necessary that all parties should extend their co-operation to the efforts now being made to find a peaceful settlement of all outstanding problems through the implementation of resolution 242 (1967).

I turn now to the subject under immediate discussion. In his letter dated 25 April 1968 (S/8560) the representative of Jordan, in requesting a meeting of the Security Council, has drawn our attention to the proposed military parade by Israel in Jerusalem and to the situation prevailing in that city. In today's debate, many members have drawn attention to the condition of the inhabitants of occupied Jerusalem. My delegation shares their concern,

We should also like to emphasize that Israel must desist from any and all measures that tend to aggravate the already serious situation prevailing in the area. In the present case my delegation cannot but express its anxiety at the proposed military parade in Jerusalem by Israel. Such an act can only exacerbate the existing tensions and further vitiate the atmosphere.

We note that the Secretary-General has expressed a similar concern in his report of 26 April 1968 (S/8561). That report clearly indicates the regimes which the parade would violate. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the Council to take the immediate, although interim step of calling upon Israel to desist from holding the parade as contemplated, on 2 May 1968.

INDIA ISRAEL USA JORDAN

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Reply to Lok Sabha Debate on Foreign Affairs

The following is the text of reply of the Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to the 3-day debate on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs for the year 1968-69, in the Lok Sabha on April 5, 1968 :

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there have been many interesting speeches in this debate. There are over a hundred cut motions but the main points which have concerned hon. Members are Vietnam and the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

I was glad that the speeches this time were more pointed and did not attempt to range over the whole of human history. I am glad to see that the induction of hon. Member, Shri Sondhi into the Jana Sangh Parliamentary Party has brought a new awareness of foreign policy in that party. Before that, they were constantly blaming us for paying far too much attention to international affairs.

The hon. Members of the Congress Party have lightened my task by dealing very capably with most of the points which have been raised by the Opposition. The hon. Member who initiated the debate, Shri Masani, seemed to have made a speech in defence of America pleading for US policies at a time when US itself is re-examining them and trying to change them. The timing of the debate is such that it is natural that our attention should specially be focussed on Vietnam.

#### PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S INITIATIVE

On the 31st March, President Johnson made a speech of historic significance. It was a courageous initiative and I am glad it has evoked a positive response from Hanoi. Shri Masani used a rather strange word, I believe, and he said that the United States Government had done what we, that is, the Government, had been clamouring for. I do not know with what significance Shri Masani meant to clothe

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that word 'clamour'. Was there a certain disappointment that the United States should have taken a step which approximates 90 per cent

to what we had been advocating for some considerable time and that our stand, so long maligned, so long criticised, now stood vindicated?

When faced with such moments in human history, it is not enough to come out with statements and to rush to the Press. It is important to examine the issues posed, to initiate processes and consultations. This we have been doing. We have been in touch with a number of friendly countries both through their Ambassadors and through our Missions there. I sent personal messages both to President Johnson and to President Ho Chi Minh and, I am sure, that we would all like to see that these processes which have been set afoot will reach ultimate fruition in bringing peace to that tortured land of Vietnam.

#### VIETNAM

Our effort has always been directed towards narrowing of whatever differences still exist and in overcoming whatever difficulties exist. We hope that the two sides will meet and we hope that, as a result of this meeting, conditions will be created for an uninterrupted dialogue. We have always felt that the Geneva Agreements of 1954 provide the framework within which the Vietnam problem could be resolved.

If I may refer once more to what my distinguished friend, Shri Masani, said, that our stand in favour of the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam was based on our advocacy of North Vietnam's cause, I may say that the question of the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam has been advocated by a very large number of countries and by the distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations, because all these people realise, that the issues in Vietnam are susceptible only to political solutions and that there could be no military solution to the problem. We believe also that these issues are far too serious to be made a subject of partisan propaganda. We have assured all the parties concerned that both, as a peace-loving country and as Member Chairman of the International Control Commission, we would always be willing to shoulder whatever responsibilities devolve upon us.

We are glad that we are not alone in this. We have the support of many countries and the vast majority of mankind. We should like to share with them the task of bringing peace to Vietnam. It is understandable that there is still considerable mutual suspicion and questioning of motives. Statements by one side are not taken at their face value by the other. It is our task to bridge this gap of suspicion and distrust which divides the two sides. Hence our effort to contact all concerned parties and to bring them together close, in the hope and belief, that direct contacts will perhaps, pave the way towards sincere and genuine contacts which would lead to a solution.

#### SOUTH-EAST ASIA

References were made by many Members to the question of security of the South-East Asian region. My colleague, the Minister of State, Shri Bhagat, dealt with this in his speech yesterday. Some Members accused us of not playing an effective role in developing regional security arrangement for the defence of South and South-East Asian countries from Chinese expansionism. The hon. Member, Shri Sondhi, also spoke of this. I am glad that he has recently discovered Cambodia. We have had long-standing and friendly relations with that country and, in particular, with the distinguished Head of the State, Prince Sihanouk. Those relations are purposeful and are based on mutual understanding, trust and confidence.

Looking back, there was a concern among some parties that we should enter into agreements or arrangements with different nations of this region. Now, when we look back into recent history, the post-war history, we find it littered with the remains of dead and dying security arrangements, and I believe that this is bound to happen when international relations are subordinated to opportunist considerations. Our concept is different from that of the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh; our policies are not governed by conditioned reflexes but by deeper considerations.

The security of South and South-East Asia will not be made more secure by alliances or treaties. We believe that security will grow out of mutual co-operation and the growth of

identity of interests, and on our part, we have been doing everything possible to explore all avenues of such mutual co-operation in economic and other fields, We hope that, when peace comes to Vietnam, the real security needs of the area will be seen more clearly. The main security is the strengthening of these countries, and I do not believe that they can be strengthened by any kind of foreign interference.

Let us take a broad look at our external relations over the past year or so. Any objective observer will admit, and the overall impression that we got from the speeches of even those hon. members who seem to oppose our policies was, that they have not been so badly

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off after all. With our two immediate and difficult neighbours, there has been no deterioration of relations.

#### PAKISTAN

With Pakistan we are straining every nerve to effect some improvement and I have no doubt that we can succeed. Of course, it is not possible to have any spectacular or dramatic development. But we must work, we must make an attempt to work together, Just now, the hon. Member, Mr. Hem Barua, said something about having a blind faith in the Tashkent agreement. It is not only that the Tashkent Agreement is a matter of principle; it is mainly an instrument, an instrument through which the two countries could normalise their relations. Now we have had many difficulties in its implementation; we are far from implementing it perfectly or even in a large degree, but, nevertheless, I can say that we have proceeded a little bit in that direction. Some small steps have been taken and I personally feel that the atmosphere is better. But here again the responsibility is that of all of us. Because, being such close neighbours, having the type of contact which we have had, having also the history of bitterness which we have had between us, any stray remark made by anybody can be exaggerated, misconstrued and lead to straining of relations. Therefore, this is a matter in which we must all endeavour to try to improve the relations.

## COMMONWEALTH

Voices have been raised here on this occasion and on the other occasions demanding that we should quit the Commonwealth. I am not insensitive to the feelings which impel such demands. As I have said on previous occasions, leaving the Commonwealth cannot be considered as a mere subjective response to any given situation.

Historically speaking, we joined the Commonwealth at a time when the world was divided into two hostile and opposing camps. And it seemed sense that some countries which were not involved with either of these camps should get together and explore their own common interest. Subsequently, with the rising tide of liberation, more countries became free and they became members of the Commonwealth and today there are 22 member States drawn from the areas extending from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific and embracing all continents of this earth. It is true that the festering of the Rhodesian sore is poisoning the Commonwealth relations and the longer it is allowed to do so the more corrosive will be its influence on the health of the Commonwealth. We are aware of this and deeply concerned. So are other Members of the Commonwealth. We hope, however, that the collective wisdom of the members of the Commonwealth could help to solve this problem and to retain the multi-racial character of this Association.

With the USA and U.S.S.R. our contacts are increasing and our relations are developing very favourably in all fields. With the sister nations of Africa and of Asia there is, by and large, a record of progress.

One hon. Member referred to black racialism. Racialism, whether it be black or white, is anathema to the civilised world. We here in India have a proud record of fighting racialism in all its forms. We have done this not only because of any moral sense of duty, but also because we realise that the world cannot be stable if the political and economic conflicts are made more complex by a new dimension of racial conflicts. We shall continue to strive against racialism in all its manifestations. We have the

friendliest of feelings for our brethren in Africa. We understand their difficulties many of which are due to the remnants of the old colonialism. We have to fight against this and we shall do so.

In the Commonwealth we have had many ups and downs and yet, on the whole, here again, friendship and cooperation is growing.

With the Socialist countries of Europe friendly ties continue to strengthen, especially in the fields of economic and commercial exchanges. Western European countries have also shown friendship towards us in many ways which we have tried to reciprocate.

#### FRANCE

I was a little surprised to hear suggesting that because of our relationship with England or the Commonwealth we had neglected our relations with France. Far from it. In the last two years we have come much closer not only to the Government of France but also, if I might say so, with the people of France...Both with France and the Federal Republic of Germany our relations are growing steadily.

#### LATIN AMERICA

The countries of Latin America, though geographically distant, share many ideals with us and we hope to do more to know each other better and to cooperate in various fields. But I realise that much more needs to be done and that in the past we had been a little aloof.

Except for some minor disappointments and occasional irritations we can confidently say that we have moved steadily forward in our

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international, relationship, and contacts. What is more, we have strengthened our existing friendship and have built bridges to expand our relations with others.

#### IRAN AND TURKEY

I should add that with our two neighbours on our western flank we are establishing a new relationship of mutual confidence and under-

standing. We were happy to welcome to Delhi, even though briefly, His Majesty the Shah of Iran, with whom we had a useful exchange of views which we are confident, will lead to the strengthening of our relations in the future.

With the Foreign Minister of Turkey also a wide spectrum of problems was discussed and I feel that we understand each other a little better now. Economic exchanges are developing very satisfactorily with both these countries and this provides a sound framework for building up a relationship based on mutual confidence and respect.

In Foreign Affairs there are no set positions. Even if some countries have not always been very friendly to us in the past, I believe that where there is friendship we must enlarge it, where there is indifference, we must remove it, and where there is hostility, we should try to blunt it. What are permanent and set are certain values and interests on which we cannot compromise.

#### CHINA

Now I come to China. Some hon. Members have spoken of cutting off relations with China altogether; on the other some have talked of raising them to ambassadorial level. We have diplomatic relations with a large number of countries. In fashioning these relations, we do not look into the political and social composition of the Government concerned. We believe that that is the responsibility of the people of the country concerned. What happens internally in other countries cannot be a subject-matter of public comment.

The hon. Member, Shri Sondhi, criticised me for not giving a report on some of the countries of Eastern Europe. But if a dignitary visiting our country were to return and make a report on the internal affairs of India, I am sure that hon. Members would not be pleased. Our difference with China arose mainly from the fact that China is not prepared to accept this elementary code of international conduct. The day they accept it, we would have gone a long way towards normalising our relations.

I have no doubt that through a process of

trial and error the Chinese Government will one day realise that the world is much too complex to be reduced to some uniform pattern. however shining and bright that pattern might appear in the eyes of the hot gossippers of our present-day world.

The hon. Member, Shri Umanath, should understand a very simple and elementary proposition. It is, that India's social transformation can only be effected by the people of India themselves, in the light of their own history, tradition and experience. It will not be effected by Mao's Thoughts and little Red books.

#### MISSIONS ABROAD

A hardy annual which comes up with monotonous regularity concerns the functioning of our diplomatic Missions abroad. The work of our Missions must, of necessity, be performed quietly, without any fanfare of publicity. That is the very nature of diplomacy, involving a careful survey of the ground, meticulous preparation and discreet contacts and discussions. The fact that our relations with countries all over the globe have been advancing is due in no small measure to the silent efforts of our Missions. Our Foreign Service had to be created from scratch and we had no precedents or previous experience to go by. Yet, our diplomats have established great reputation abroad and in all international gatherings their voices raised on behalf of the country, are heard with attention. And some have been singled out for service on important international missions.

The critics of our Missions sometimes tend to judge their performance by impressions casually gathered during fleeting visits. Such judgments are fair neither to the critics themselves nor to our Missions. Of course I must admit that there is always room for improvement and we are constantly trying to improve the performance of our Missions. And, any incident or information that comes to the knowledge of hon. Members of Parliament is always useful to us in seeing how these Services and Missions can be improved.

But when we talk of publicity abroad or of the image of India which our Missions are projecting, let us remember that we are dealing

with sovereign independent States who have their own assessments of their national interests. They are not concerned with our national interests; they are not concerned with what picture suits them and that is the picture which is normally projected in that country.

Our task, therefore, is to seek their cooperation in matters where our interests converge as they do with many countries and to seek adjustment and accommodation wherever there are

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divergencies. This process is a continuing one in the capitals of the world.

Amongst the measures taken to obtain better performance has been our decision to make our Heads of Missions themselves responsible for public relations work as well as the Promotion of economic relations. This should give a stimulus to our efforts to improve our trade situation and to establish solid economic ties with other countries. Public relations work needs an imaginative approach, and one cannot have any set rules. With our Heads of Missions paying personal attention, we hope that the impact will be greater. But as I have said before, our image abroad will inevitably be a reflection of our situation at home.

We know, when we passed through a difficult period of food shortage last year, what a very bad image of India was projected all over the world. Now that the situation has improved that image also is a vastly improved one. We hope that the country will now present a picture of unity and not of division, of progress and not of stagnation, of purposeful activity and not of meaningless dissension. All this will condition and influence our external relations and what others think of us.

#### NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

I now come to the question with which not only Members of Parliament but the entire country seems to be deeply concerned. Almost everybody who spoke has spoken of the non-proliferation treaty. I myself made a statement on that subject in this House on the 14th March. That statement stands. I should like to assure the House that we shall be guided entirely by our enlightened self-interest and the

considerations of national security and, of course, adherence to our values, as Shri D. C. Sharma has pointed out.

We have already made it clear that the draft treaty in its present form does not fully conform to the principles enunciated in the General Assembly Resolution No. 2028 of the 20th session.

Mankind today is at the crossroads of nuclear peace and nuclear war. There can be no doubt that we should take the road to nuclear peace. But the first step in this direction is not yet in sight. It is vitally important, therefore, for the nuclear weapon powers to undertake as soon as possible meaningful negotiations on a series of measures leading to nuclear disarmament. The present draft treaty acknowledges the need for such negotiations, but unfortunately, the non-participation by some nuclear weapon powers will make it only partially effective, and what is more, the other nuclear weapon powers insist on their right to continue to manufacture more nuclear weapons. This is a situation which cannot be viewed with equanimity by non-nuclear countries, especially as they are called upon to undertake not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons for their own defence.

At the same time, we have stated that the Government of India do not propose to manufacture nuclear weapons. This is a decision taken many years ago and is unrelated to the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We shall continue our efforts for nuclear disarmament because it is only through nuclear disarmament that discrimination would be eliminated and equality between nations re-established.

The draft treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons will now be discussed by the resumed session of the General Assembly towards the end of April this year. Several amendments have already been proposed by some non-nuclear countries and there may be more to come. These amendments will receive our careful consideration, and we shall continue to impress upon the nuclear powers the need for a balanced and nondiscriminatory treaty.

The issue before us is essentially a political one. And it also has serious implications as regards security matters. The treaty and all its implications are under continuous study and the Government will give careful thought to the views of Members as expressed in this House,

All parties with the exception of the hon. Member Shri M. R. Masani have generally supported the stand taken by the Government of India in not signing the treaty in its present form. Government are fully aware of the serious issues involved. I would assure the House that in any decision taken, the best interests of the country and of world peace will guide and inform our deliberations.

At the same time, I should also like to warn the House and the country that not signing the treaty may bring the nation many difficulties. It may mean the stoppage of aid and the stoppage of help. Since we are taking this decision together, we must all be together in facing its consequences. I personally think that although it may involve sacrifice and hardship, it will be the first step towards building the real strength of this country and we will be able to go ahead on the road to self-sufficiency.

The hon. Member Shri V. Krishnamoorthi's speech showed a recognition that foreign policy concerns and touches our national interests and should not, therefore, be viewed in terms of party politics. I earnestly hope that this trend will gain wider acceptance and will govern our attitude towards our foreign policy.

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VIETNAM USA MALI SWITZERLAND CAMBODIA UNITED KINGDOM TUNISIA PAKISTAN  
UZBEKISTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDIA FRANCE IRAN TURKEY CHINA RUSSIA

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

**Volume No**

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State for External Affairs, made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on April 4, 1968, intervening in the debate on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs :

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, with your permission I crave the indulgence of the House for a brief intervention because I see that the debate will close today at 5 O'Clock. In the short period that I have at my disposal I will try to deal with some of the problems raised. I have very carefully listened to the debate and the contributions made by the leaders of the Opposition yesterday and today. I must confess that this year something has happened in regard to the distinguished colleagues of mine on the other side that instead of very rationally, objectively and analytically dissecting our foreign relations and the policy that we pursue, they have chosen to indulge in subjective remarks which are not well-digested and do not reflect any study or knowledge in depth. I will prove it. I am on very real ground.

The hon. Member (Shri M. R. Masani) when he initiated this debate yesterday said that our foreign policy has failed and he gave two examples for it : one the "failure" of the UNCTAD session and the other my visit to Kenya. On both these points, the failure or success is not related to foreign policy. The UNCTAD session is not related to the foreign policy of the country in which this session was held. If you attribute any such failure due to the failure of foreign policy of India, then I think on the same token, in the General Assembly of the United Nations, if they do not achieve the desired result, it may be attributed that the foreign policy of the United Nations has failed in the General Assembly at New York!

Similarly, about my mission to Kenya, I have nothing more to add. The House has discussed it. I will only say that the statement made by the Foreign Minister in Kenyan Parliament states the fact that they not only attach great value to the friendship and good relations bet-

ween Kenya and India, that Kenya has with India, but they say that this is as strong as ever, and it states the fact that the friendship and relations between India and Kenya are strong. Anything we say here is not in consonance with that spirit and that image.

Then, another hon. Member said that our foreign policy is in shambles because our internal policy is in shambles. There is a correlation between the two in that our internal economic strength does reflect on the strength and efficacy of our foreign policy, but to correlate the two in this manner is, I will say, subjective. We all believe, and let us, pull together to make this country stronger and make every effort towards it. Just because in one or two years, if our economic policies have failed and so our foreign policy is in shambles-to say so, does not reflect any knowledge or study in depth of our foreign relations....

Now, the only intelligent intervention, or rather the best and the intelligent intervention came from my friend Mr. Sondhi. He did show an intelligent appreciation of some aspects of our foreign policy. For once, he remembered that he had spent a few years in the Foreign Office and he spoke with knowledge and depth. I compliment him for that.

#### POSITIVE POLICY

In the short time at my disposal, I will make a survey of the countries near about us and also a little distant countries and point out how we have tried to implement the basic policies we have propounded. Some hon. Members may say that we have not tried to dramatise things or throw our weight about in the manner they would like, But that is not our basic posture. It goes against our culture. We believe in a positive foreign policy and in implementing it adequately and quietly in cooperation with the countries of this region, because our policy is basically a friendly policy.

The basic concept of our foreign policy is based on reciprocal friendship, on peaceful and cooperative co-existence with countries that may follow different social, political, ideological and economic systems and on maintaining our national self-respect, our integrity and

sovereignty, while at the same time helping towards the maintenance of peace and stability in Asia and in the world. In trying to achieve these objectives, we have not succumbed to the pressures of other countries, but followed our own independent line, which sometimes coincides with the line adopted by some countries and sometimes with that adopted by other countries. Independence of judgment and action is the essence of our policy of non-alignment. Peaceful and active cooperation is the method we adopt in implementing this policy.

Let us briefly survey how we have implemented the policy in some regions near about.

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Mr. Masani expressed deep regret that some of the big powers are withdrawing from this region and this may spell disaster and create chaos and difficulty in this region. I can assure him that neither the people in this country nor in the countries of this region believe in that. Situated as we are, considering our national ethos and the way we have become independent and playing our role in the last 20 years, we welcome the withdrawal of the big powers. We welcome withdrawal of all vestiges of foreign domination and interference in our region.

We do not believe in the vacuum theory or the domino theory. We have full faith and confidence that the peoples of the various countries in Asia-big and small-will jealously safeguard their hard-won independence and not allow any country, Asian or non-Asian, to interfere in their internal affairs. The greatest force in Asia and indeed in other continents of the world today is that of nationalism-nationalism not in its narrow sense of chauvinism, but nationalism in a more positive and broader sense of patriotism, of self-respect, of independence and of freedom.

#### SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

I am glad to say that we have been devoting much more attention to our relations with our neighbours in Asia And particularly in South and South East Asia during the last few years. These efforts have borne fruit and I am happy to say that today our relations with all our neighbours, barring Pakistan and China, are

much better than they have ever been before. We have developed bilateral talks with Nepal and Burma, Ceylon and Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand, with Laos and Cambodia, with Philippines and Japan and other countries of this region. We have also offered a large number of scholarships, of training and credit facilities and made a small beginning in starting joint ventures to strengthen our economic and cultural relations with, these countries and these efforts have been greatly appreciated by the countries concerned. We have also told them publicly and privately that we would be glad to contribute our mite in developing economic relations of this region on a broad-based and multinational basis without any political or military strings attached to it.

Even with those countries which are farther away from us, like Turkey and Iran, we have made fruitful contacts. The Foreign Minister of Turkey was here and we have explored the areas where we can agree. The Shah of Iran was also here briefly. So, with all those countries with which we had not so close relations, we are not developing close relations. I am glad to say that this hand of cooperation which we have extended to them has been welcomed by almost all of them. We do not wish to drain away the benefits that these countries would get from a regional organisation but rather we wish to contribute to it through our technical knowledge and expertise, through the development of trade and commerce, through the reduction of artificial barriers and so on.

#### PAKISTAN

Coming to our two neighbours, Pakistan and China, even with Pakistan, our relations today are better than they have been during the last few years. We have been able to solve some of the peripheral problems like telecommunications. We are willing to talk with them in the letter and spirit of the Tashkent Declaration on any subject of mutual interest. Unfortunately, Pakistan's response has not been as forthright as we would have wished, but we are confident that sooner or later Pakistan will also realise, as we do, that it is in our common interest to improve our relations and develop co-operation in various fields to our mutual

benefit. In this respect, I very much regret to notice some new trends which will not help friendly relations between India and Pakistan. I am referring to the arms aid which Pakistan is receiving, which the Defence Minister declared the other day while replying to the Grants of the Defence Ministry. In this matter we have tried to convince the United States Government that they have been changing their policy. They first said that they will give only non-lethal weapons which had no relation to military hardware. Then they started giving lethal weapons.

Now, the recent report about 100 Patton tanks being given to Pakistan or the reported decision of supply of another variety, B-47 tanks, that is definitely going to damage or upset the military balance between India and Pakistan. This is a very serious situation that has developed and it neutralises all that we are trying to build up and it affects our close relations with Pakistan. It will be our effort to bring it home to the Government of the United States that this particular factor is going against the spirit of Tashkent and is coming in the way of having friendly and good-neighbourly relations with Pakistan.

#### CHINA

With China, unfortunately, all our efforts to localise problems and not to allow them to worsen our relations have not borne fruit. Hon. Members have tried to say that we should deve-

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lop more relations. The hon. Member, Shri Sondhi, said that we must try to have a new look on our policy with China. We agree. But the situation is such that it is China which has to change its policies. They have to change their posture of hostility. An internal upheaval has been going on in China for the last few years. So far as it is internal, it is not our concern, but in so far as it has an effect on China's external relations, we cannot but be concerned with it because it affects us as well as some other peace-loving neighbours of China.

Unfortunately, the result of this internal upheaval in China has been a stiffening in their external policy which does not show any possibility or probability of improving our relations

with them in the near future. However, we have adopted a policy of reciprocity and firmness without giving any provocation towards China.

We have made it clear that we shall not tolerate any breaches of our territorial integrity or sovereignty and that we are determined to safeguard our national interest. If and when China changes her policy towards us, we shall not be found wanting in making a proper response to it.

#### DEFENCE PACTS

Lastly, I will come to the question of the military arrangements that was propounded by Shri Masani for the South and South East Asian countries. All those military pacts are dead and whatever remain, they are the ghost of the past, even the theory of filling up the vacuum.

Shri Masani suggested that there should be a defence arrangement, that we should enter into defence arrangements with other countries of South East Asia. He mentioned the dangers that may arise after the withdrawal of America from Vietnam and the possibility of America going isolationist. I should like to inform our friend, Shri Masani, and others who think like him that the countries of this region are not worried so much by the possible, threat of invasion by China but rather by the threat of sabotage and subversion because of economic backwardness and political instability. In our opinion, the answer to meet such a situation would lie not in defence pacts or defence arrangements but rather in the strengthening of economic viability and political stability of these countries. This can only be done by the countries themselves, but we shall certainly help them in anyway we can, particularly in the economic field.

If there was a defence arrangement it would only mean India committing her manpower to the defence of areas which is beyond our capacity at present. We have enough troubles of our own. Our security forces are fully committed to the defence of our own borders and of some of our immediate neighbours. If we dispersed our efforts and took on responsibilities that we are not capable of shouldering, it would not only weaken our own defences but would create a

false sense of security and might even Provoke greater tension in this area.

In this respect I can say that this is the feeling of the people and the governments of the region as a whole. Even if a similar situation arises in countries like Iraq, Kuwait or some of the Persian Gulf countries, the same Policy remains that it is the countries of the region who by strengthening their economic and other relations and by cooperating with each other can meet the situation created by the withdrawal of these big powers from the region.

#### COUNCIL OF ASIA

Shri Masani again referred to the Council of Asia, a theory which was propounded by the former Foreign Minister, Shri Chagla, and asked what we were doing about it. He charges us that having developed this theory we are just sitting idle. This is not a fact. This again goes to our approach to the question. The basis of our approach is cooperation of the People of Asia. What we want is a broadbased economic organisation of all countries in Asia so that no single country or group of countries from Asia or outside can dominate any country in Asia. We do not want such an organisation to have any political undertones or military overtones. for that would only divide Asia into conflicting groups and make, them the camp followers and satellites of bigger powers. At the same time, we do not wish to gatecrash into any regional Organisation that may be there.

Very soon the ministers of some of the countries of the South and South East Asia region are meeting in Singapore and if a consensus emerges that India, should also send an observer, we will send our observer there only to demonstrate that in any effort of closer economic organisation and coining together in a friendly and peaceful manner to solve the basic Problems of this region we will play our part. In the whole concept of this Council of Asia this fact remains.

Therefore, by taking these instances I only say that the basic policies of reciprocal friendship, friendly cooperation with other countries and each country depending on its own right to free decision based on co-existence and non-alignment-all these policies are the basic poli-

cies of our foreign relations--stand vindicated

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in the changing world. Those who raised fingers and doubted all these policies have been proved wrong, history has proved them wrong. These policies have stood us well and based on these we are trying to implement this policy.

Today our relations with our neighbouring countries are closer. They understand us better. I think, if we pursue this policy, the day will not be far off when we will be able to create a viable area, free from conflict and free from any political or military pressures, which will be viable economically and politically. I think, to describe our foreign policy either as a sham or a failure, as I said, to say the least, is a subjective remark. It is not in the national interest to say that because, basically our policy is that we are going forward in our attempt of projecting our correct image and of forging new links in our foreign relations. There may be some dark areas; there may be areas where we may not have succeeded. But to completely brush it with a tar, I think, is not fair. Therefore, I state again that we have followed the right policies and that the policies are paying dividends and it is in our national interest that we pursue these policies.

USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC KENYA INDIA CHINA PAKISTAN NEPAL BURMA MALAYSIA  
REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE AUSTRALIA INDONESIA NEW ZEALAND CAMBODIA LAOS PHILIPPINES  
JAPAN IRAN TURKEY UZBEKISTAN VIETNAM IRAQ KUWAIT

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Shri K. C. Pant's Speech at Plenary Session

Shri K. C. Pant, Minister of State for Finance  
and Leader of the Indian delegation to the

International Conference on Human Rights, delivered the following speech at a plenary session of the Conference in Tehran on April 27, 1968 :

Madam President,

It gives me immense pleasure to take this rostrum in this beautiful city of Tehran to address this distinguished gathering. May I at the outset, Madam President, say how happy we are that H.H. Princess: Ashraf has accepted the high responsibility of presiding over this historic conference? May I take this opportunity to thank the Government of Iran for the hospitality extended to us and to convey the fraternal greetings of the people of India to the great people of Iran? May I also at this stage thank my distinguished colleagues, in particular those from Asia, for honouring my country by electing India to one of the posts of Vice President.

Twenty years ago the nations of the world adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was a historic step forward. It set a standard of achievement for all mankind and it had a profound impact on the moral climate of the age. Indeed, the Universal Declaration is a document second only to the Charter of the United Nations in its influence on the minds of men. The Declaration was a crystallisation of values and concepts that, are the common heritage of mankind.

All great civilizations of the past laid emphasis on the dignity and worth of man. The Vedic concept of mankind belonging to one family, the all-pervading humanism of the Buddha, the universalism and tolerance preached by the great sages of India, the concept of Dharma under which the ruler pledged himself to respect the rights and liberties of his people, the message of love and charity that is the substance of Christianity, the brotherhood and equality of man preached by Islam-indeed all great religions, provide moral guidelines for mankind's march towards freedom, equality and justice. The Industrial Revolution released powerful forces which added new dimensions to the concept of Human Rights which found their glorious expression in the Declaration of the Rights of Man during the French Revolu-

tion. It is often forgotten that, historically speaking, the French Revolution in turn inspired both the founding fathers of the United States of America and the leaders of the Great October Revolution.

## GREATEST HOLOCAUSTS

The two greatest holocausts in human history within a single generation, and the unparalleled

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atrocities perpetuated by the Nazis, gave momentum to the forces working for the observance of human rights. Mankind thus came to write its Charter of Liberty in the form of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Ever since, the United Nations and its specialised agencies have made spectacular progress in the field of codification which I need not elaborate. However, the concern that violations of Human Rights anywhere in the world generates today in the men of goodwill everywhere is a modern phenomenon greatly facilitated by the spectacular advance in the field of communications which has made made neighbours of all men.

The last 20 years have also seen the retreat of imperialism and colonialism, the emergence of benighted continents into the light of freedom. This is no mean achievement of which mankind in general and the United Nations in particular can be proud. The last two decades have also witnessed the growing consciousness at national and international levels of the need to enforce human rights. No less important has been the contribution of the specialised agencies in ensuring respect for human rights in their respective fields. Many of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have been written into the Constitutions, of several newly emergent countries. Indeed we live at a time when human rights stand beautifully enunciated in numerous documents. Since ethical codes have always preceded ethical conduct, these enunciations in themselves are no small achievement.

Madam President, we gather here today at a historic moment for stock-taking and introspection. Can mankind rest on his laurels? Is the battle for human dignity and freedom fully won? Do we all have compassion for our fel-

low beings ? Do we always respect life? Do we, as individuals, groups or states, respect others' right to live and to order their lives as they please? Is man free from want, from fear? Does man have a sense of security, of peace, within and without? Doesn't violence stalk our streets and not spare even a Gandhi or a King ? Don't many millions all over the world sleep on empty stomachs, live in squalid surroundings and don't they die prematurely of wastage and disease ? Detached from political bias, free from recrimination and polemics, we, who have gathered here, should pause and reflect on the condition of man today. Is there any doubt, Madam President, that the battle for human freedom and dignity has not yet been won ?

#### WIDENING GAP

On the one hand, for the first time in history man is in a position to meet the basic material requirements of all, and on the other, we are faced with the widening gap between the haves and the have-nots, between the developed and the emergent nations. Fulfilment of Human Rights in the modern world cannot be achieved without economic and social development. There is raging all round us a revolution of expectations. Our peoples, who fell behind in the march of history, are anxious to retrieve lost ground as soon as possible. We are indeed moving forward, but we do not feel that the present rate of advance is satisfactory.

In fact, economic disparities are growing not only within states but also between groups of states, thus adding to global disharmony and tensions. Our development requires, no doubt, correction of internal causes of poverty, but this also is dependent on the pattern of international economic relations, There is thus a close association between Human Rights and International Trade which should be an instrument of fair exchange and ensure an equitable development of the world. Indeed prosperity, like peace, is ultimately indivisible.

I do not, for a moment, Madam President underestimate the magnitude of the effort to be made by the peoples of the developing countries and their Governments. Indeed, the primary responsibility is theirs, but they have every right to look upon the rest of the world as their

friends and helpers in this great battle against illiteracy, disease and want.

The human being at the core of the process of development is often lost sight of in abstract generalizations or in a maze of statistics. We must never forget that it is a human being, with his joys and sorrows, hopes and frustrations, who is crying out for the basic necessities of life, for his fundamental right to a decent life. Mahatma Gandhi once said : "It is good enough to talk of God whilst we are sitting here after a nice breakfast and looking forward to a nice luncheon, but how am I to talk of God to the millions who have to go without two meals a day? To them God can only appear as bread and butter." Much the same could be said of human rights. It is this grinding poverty, which cripples men, which must go before one can hope to move into the millennium of human rights.

Madam President, I just referred to Mahatma Gandhi. This reminds me of another great figure of our generation, who also lived and died in the crusade against prejudice, fear and hatred of man by man-Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. We bow our heads today in respect to his memory.

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I am reminded in this connection, Madam President, of the great mental chasm that still separates man from man. I never felt it so acutely as during my visit to one of the Southern States in the U.S.A. where I talked to a segregationist and found it impossible to establish communication with him; we were thinking at two completely different levels. But there, Madam President, I also met members of the white community who, at personal risk and with indomitable courage, were working for the rights of their coloured brethren. It is such men of goodwill on whom, in the final analysis human rights must depend for their protection and support-men who are to be found, I have no doubt, in every part of the globe. It is particularly to them that this Conference must address itself.

#### CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

However, while one must avoid sweeping condemnation of, peoples, no words of condem-

nation are enough to expose the gross and persistent violations of human rights in various parts of the world as deliberate exercise of State power in pursuance of State policy. The spirit of Nazism still stalks our planet and finds ready accomplices in the rulers of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon. They should know that they cannot change the irreversible and inexorable course of history, that discrimination must disappear, that colonialism must become a nightmare of the past.

As far as my country is concerned, our stand against colonialist and against, all forms of racial discrimination, including apartheid, is an open book for, the whole world to see. In fact, we were the pioneers in the world-wide crusade against these evils both within the U.N. and Outside, and today I take this forum, with a full sense of responsibility, to appeal to the conscience and reason of those who still associate, in one form or the other, with the perpetrators of what has been rightly called a crime against humanity. We would also recommend to this august assembly that they must consider effective sanctions to bring down these citadels of monstrous inequity.

The last two decades which we are reviewing have also been marred unfortunately by local conflicts in various parts of the world. War to my mind is the biggest violation of human rights in itself but more than that it creates a climate in which the partial or wholesale curtailment of Human Rights becomes an inevitable evil. The world had also to contend with the atmosphere of cold war in which every human rights issue tended to be clouded by political considerations.

We have also seen human rights becoming a casualty to political instability and we have seen freedom of expression in many parts of the world being completely throttled. Such situations of conflict have also diverted the attention of the world community away from more constructive efforts in the field of human rights. These conflicts have also left in their wake tremendous problems of resettlement and reconstruction.

The unsettled, indeed, the aggravated problem of the Palestinian refugees is a blot on the con-

science of mankind. The continued occupation of Arab territories by Israel in defiance of the resolutions of the U.N. and the Commission on Human Rights is a flagrant denial of the rights of the inhabitants of these territories. This situation calls for immediate rectification along the lines laid down in these Resolutions.

My heart also goes out to the long-suffering people of Tibet whose fundamental rights are being suppressed, as we sit here with cruel and methodical ruthlessness. Tibet is in deep anguish and I feel it is high time that the civilized nations of the world turn their gaze towards this tragedy which is too deep for tears, the tragedy of a gentle and peace-loving people, with a great past, being slowly but surely liquidated by an authoritarian regime before our very eyes.

Madam President, I have deliberately withstood the temptation of speaking about my own country so far, but may I with your permission draw the attention of this assembly to the broad features of the Indian Constitution which exemplify our total commitment to the cause of human rights. Inspired by Gandhi and led by Nehru, our founding fathers wrote into the Constitution of India the solemn resolve of our people to secure for all our citizens :

Justice, social economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity and to promote fraternity among all citizens to ensure the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

#### MELTING POT OF CULTURE

My country has been, since the beginning of time, a melting pot of cultures, a crucible of peoples. Synthesis has been the hallmark of our national genius. India gave shelter to many peoples and races, provided a home to many ideas and cultures. It is not surprising, therefore, that Christianity came to India before Rome became Christian, and that there were

Arab settlements on the coasts of India even in pre-Islamic days side by side with flourishing Jewish and Zoroastrian communities. Islam added to this rich tapestry of religions and cultures and today, in the birth-place of the two great religions of the world, Hinduism and Buddhism, we find Islam claiming over sixty million followers, which makes India the home of the third largest Muslim Community in the world.

My country, Madam President, is thus the home of many races, many languages, and many religions, of people at different stages of social and cultural growth, in fact of people in various eras of history, but our Constitution guarantees equal rights to all and provides constitutional and judicial remedies against any infraction thereof. The directive principles enshrined in our Constitution aim at securing a social order, devoid of discrimination in any form and to promote the welfare of the people as a whole. It also gives recognition to the rights of cultural, linguistic and religious minorities, and directs state action at the growth of the backward elements of our national community. Our policy is based on universal adult franchise, and our judiciary is independent and jealously guards its prerogative to strike down any executive act or rule which it deems unconstitutional. The freedom that our Press enjoys is well known and requires no elaboration. In fact, within the rule of law, every citizen is guaranteed the right of dissent and the freedom to translate his dissent into political activity. In the field of economic and social development, we have dedicated ourselves to the quest for a well balanced economy which will ensure a rising standard of living for all our people so that their economic, social and cultural rights can be fully realised. I do not want to suggest that our progress has been spectacular but I would like to say how clearly we perceive our goal.

Many nations in the world are like ourselves plural societies. The first stage towards the goal of a harmonious world order is the stage of ensuring for all members of a national community complete equality before law and freedom from discrimination. What amazes us sometimes is the fact that a number of nations discriminate among their own citizens on the basis of their ethnic origin and pass laws

which are clearly discriminatory in content, as if people of a particular stock were somehow less of a citizen than others.

Madam President, this Conference is also concerned with a review of the international machinery to ensure the universal observance of human rights. We have, in the words of a leading authority on international law, reached the stage where even those who show little respect for the provisions of the Universal Declaration in practice, rarely question its authority in principle. No nation today insists on the classical interpretation of the doctrine of domestic jurisdiction. The theory of international law as being confined to governing relations among States has been eroded away and individuals have clearly emerged as subjects of international law. But introduction of international enforcement machineries will naturally depend on the willingness of states to accept international regulation in the fields of human rights. The guidelines and recommendations of this Conference will undoubtedly serve as a beacon to future crusaders of human rights and we have to carefully assess the direction of international effort in this field. I do not intend to go into detail since the implementation measures shall be discussed under item 11 of the agenda of this Conference. I would content myself by offering the comment that in whatever we do, we should see that we take the greatest majority of the nations of the world with us. We have seen that the acceptances of international instruments in the fields of human rights have not been as satisfactory as the international community would like them to be. The democratic process of achieving a consensus necessarily entails a certain amount of delay but we must move forward with the faith that right methods will lead to right ends. In fact, already the international community is seized of various experimental measures in the field of, implementation. There would not be much point in proliferating such agencies. This is a problem which will be with us for some time to come and we have to evaluate the role of these agencies before adding to their number or adopting premature measures which may break down in actual practice.

#### TEN-POINT SUGGESTIONS

Madam President, may I with your permission suggest a few ideas for the Conference to consider in depth:

- (1) The Conference should urge the competent organs of the U.N. to complete their task of codification.
- (2) The Conference should call upon States to ratify the international instruments, which they have not acceded to, as expeditiously as possible.
- (3) The Conference must address itself to strengthening the methods and techniques already employed for the supervision of human rights in the world by competent organs of the U.N.
- (4) The Conference should examine specific lines of action by States them-

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selves to ensure protection of human rights within the borders by appropriate constitutional, legal and administrative safeguards.

- (5) The Conference should urge the States to foster respect for human rights in the minds of the younger generation through the medium of education.
- (6) The Conference must place itself on record in favour of total commitment to rapid economic development of the emergent nations and to a corresponding reorientation of the terms of trade and of the flow of resources.
- (7) The Conference may consider the creation, at the appropriate time, of full-fledged organ of the U.N. for dealing with human rights, to take over the responsibilities of the Economic and Social Council in this field of growing importance.
- (8) The Conference should urge upon the U.N. and other competent organs of the U.N. the need for developing and carrying out an effective programme

of world-wide publicity and mass education in the field of human rights.

The defences of human rights, as that of Peace, have to be built in the minds of men.

(9) The Conference must direct its moral authority to the immediate eradication of apartheid and colonialism from the face of the earth.

(10) The Conference should recommend a programme of research in the new problems of human rights posed by the advance of technology, referred to by the Secretary General and also by our Dean, Prof. Rene Cassin, the distinguished delegate of France, to save Man from becoming a slave of the machine and to protect his privacy and dignity.

Madam President, I have already taken enough time of this distinguished assembly but before I conclude, I would like to convey to you the desire of our delegation to make a constructive contribution to this historic Conference to ensure that in the days to come when mankind looks back, it does not fail to recognize Tehran as a landmark in the history of human rights.

Madam President, may I conclude this statement with a quotation from a great citizen of the world, the Poet Tagore, who said :

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by Thee  
into ever-widening thought and  
action--

Into that heaven of freedom; my Father,  
let my country awake.

Madam President and distinguished Fellow  
Delegates, I have no doubt that you join me in  
this universal prayer not only for our own  
countries but for the whole of mankind.

INDIA IRAN USA PERU SOUTH AFRICA PORTUGAL ISRAEL ITALY CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC  
FRANCE

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Indo-Pakistan Agreement on Telecommunications

The following is the text of a Joint Communiqué issued in New Delhi on April 2, 1968 in connection with the signing of an agreement on telecommunications between India and Pakistan:

A meeting of the representatives of the Telecommunication Administrations of India and Pakistan was held at New Delhi from March 30 to April 2, 1968.

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The Indian Team was led by Mr. L. C. Jain, Chairman, Post and Telegraph Board, and the Pakistan Team was led by Mr. Mir Mohammed Hussain, Director-General, Telegraph and Telephone.

The two Teams reviewed the working of the telecommunication services in the light of the Agreement signed at Karachi on October 11, 1967. It was observed that there was steady im-

provement in the services between the two countries after these were fully restored on November 1, 1967. The meeting discussed measures to be taken for further improvement in these services. In this regard various measures were agreed upon. Both the Administrations agreed to install improved equipment in their respective countries on the three major routes, namely, Lahore-Amritsar-New Delhi, Calcutta-Dacca and Karachi-Jodhpur-Bombay. It is hoped to complete these improvements by the middle of May, 1968,

The two Teams examined the pattern of traffic between the two countries and it was felt that, to ensure free flow of traffic between the two countries, accounting procedures could be conveniently simplified to the mutual benefit of both the countries. After discussions it was agreed that for terminal traffic exchanged between the two countries, there may be no sharing of revenues. This arrangement will be effective for all traffic between the two countries from November 1, 1967.

It was also agreed that the telegraph and telephone rates for traffic from one country to the other may be streamlined and these should be comparable in the two directions. The two Teams, agreed that, depending upon the growth of traffic, further upgrading of the circuits both in respect of quality and capacity, would be kept under review.

The discussions were held in a cordial atmosphere and there was genuine desire on both sides to encourage the flow of telecommunication traffic between the two countries

PAKISTAN INDIA USA

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

RUMANIA

Indo-Rumanian Trade and Payments Agreement

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on April 4, 1968 on the signing of a long-term trade and payments agreement between India and Rumania :

A Long-term Trade and Payments Agreement between India and Rumania for the period commencing on April 4, 1968 and ending with December 31, 1970 has been signed today (April 4) by Shri Dinesh Singh, Commerce Minister, on behalf of the Government of India and Mr. G. Cioara, Minister of Foreign Trade, on behalf of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

India has been having a brisk and fast growing trade relationship with Rumania over the last 12 years. The volume of trade during this period has increased year after year and during the financial year ending on March 31, 1967, the turnover was almost Rs. 10 crores.

According to the Agreement the main commodities to be imported into India from Rumania will include components and spares for various nation-budding projects, particularly in the fields of oil exploration and drilling, refineries and petrochemicals complexes. Rumania has also agreed to supply adequate quantities of lubricating oil, fertilisers and some other industrial raw-materials, for which the country has to depend chiefly on imports.

India's export to Rumania will include, in addition to some traditional commodities like jute, tea, textiles and oil-cakes, substantial quantities of iron ore and bauxite for which export Possibilities have been expanded in the recent past. Under this Agreement, the scope for exporting larger quantities of engineering goods and other non-traditional commodities has also been widened.

On the occasion of the signing of this Agreement, the Leaders of the Delegations expressed satisfaction about the uninterrupted progress in the commercial relationship of the two countries and expressed their confidence that, in future years, this relationship shall grow wider in dimension.

INDIA USA

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

RUMANIA

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**Indo-Rumanian Agreement for Economic and Technical Cooperation**

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The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on the signing of an agreement between India and Rumania for economic and technical cooperation on April 4, 1968 :

An agreement was signed in New Delhi today (April 4) between the Governments of Rumania and India for economic and technical cooperation.

On behalf of the Government of Rumania, the agreement was signed by Mr. Gheorghe Cioara, Minister of Foreign Trade, and on behalf of the Government of India by Shri K. C. Pant, Minister in the Ministry of Finance.

The agreement provides for Rumanian assistance for oil refining, chemical and petro-chemical plants, including fertiliser plant, and for such other purposes as may be mutually agreed upon between the two Governments.

Rumania will deliver equipment, machinery, spare parts and materials which are not available in India and will also give technical assistance, The terms and conditions and scope of cooperation will be stipulated in contracts to be entered into between Indian and Rumanian organisations.

The equipment and machinery to be imported from Rumania will be supplied on a deferred payment basis and this will carry interest at 2.5 per cent per annum.

A significant feature of the agreement is that Rumania will use all payments due in respect of Rumanian supplies and services for purchase of iron ore, steel products and other non-traditional items.

The signing of the agreement will further strengthen the cooperation and friendly relations between Rumania and India.

INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA

**Date :** Apr 01, 1968

## Volume No

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Prime Minister's Statement on Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on April 5, 1968 on the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King:

I am sure the House will join me in expressing our sense of deep shock and sorrow at the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King.

Poignant memories of Gandhiji's martyrdom come to mind. Once again, the fanatical and blind hands of an assassin have put an end to the life of an apostle of peace. The Rev. Martin Luther King drew his inspiration from Gandhiji. He followed him in life and has now followed him in death, sacrificing himself for a great cause.

In the United States itself, more than once a great man has thus fallen victim to a similar frenzy of violence and hatred, the evil forces which lurk in the breast of man, darkening his mind and his search for higher truth. We are reminded of Abraham Lincoln and more recently of President Kennedy.

We feel not only anger but infinite sorrow that the bestiality of sonic should smother the common good.

The Rev. Martin Luther King was a great American---one of Mankind's finest products. We had feelings of special friendship and admiration for him. Like us, he fought against the degradation of man because of race. He was also a votary of nonviolence which lies at the hew of the Indian tradition and was revived by the Father of the Nation as an instrument to bring about social and political change.

Violence, and racial or other forces of fanatical hatred are unworthy of the human race. Dr. Martin Luther King's tragic and untimely death is a grim reminder that these dark forces still exist and threaten the values which make life worth living, and even human survival.

Those of us who had the pleasure of knowing him and of hearing his words, which were so eloquent with hope for man, will share a sense of deep personal loss. Our hearts go out to Mrs. King, to the people of the United States and to men of goodwill everywhere who will miss this great evangelist of the equality of man.

We pay respectful homage to his memory.

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**Date :** May 01, 1968

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AUSTRALIA

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Prime Minister's Speech at State Luncheon

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The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, paid a 6-day visit to Australia from May 21, 1968. On May 22, a State luncheon was given in her honour by, His Excellency the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. J. G. Gorton, at Parliament House, Canberra. Speaking on the occasion Shrimati Gandhi said :

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Whitlam, Excellencies, Members of Parliament, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wonder if any two countries could be as different as Australia and India. More than the distance in miles of ocean, what separates them is their history and their culture and the entirely different problems which they have had to face. The Australians came as pioneers. They had nowhere to look but ahead. It was no wonder then that they put all their energy in opening up the land and worked hard towards prosperity. India with her burden of tradition, poverty and colonial rule had no option but to struggle for independence. We realised only too well that political freedom was but the first stage and that it could not be preserved or have meaning for the vast mass of our people unless it was backed by economic self-reliance.

But now, modern technology has telescoped distances and made us next-door neighbours. Australia has kept up the pioneering spirit and India's endeavour to skip many stages of development and enter the age of modernity has made her young again. We can say that we are both vibrant democracies. The changing pattern of the Asian scene has created a situation in which there is room and need for cooperation between us in our mutual interest and for the welfare of the region. In 1947, while welcoming the observers from Australia to the Asian Relations Conference, my father said : "We have many problems in common especially in the Pacific and the South East region of Asia and we have to cooperate together to find solutions". The most promising and positive initiative we can take is by assisting nations in South-East Asia through free dissemination of advanced knowledge of science and technologies which we have acquired. We would welcome Indo-Australian collabora-

tion in such programmes.

India has faced tremendous odds. We have all the problems of the developing countries projected, so to speak, on a gigantic screen and also some of the problems of the developed nations. The fighting on our borders and two years of unprecedented drought have imposed a very severe strain on our economy and slowed down our programmes, but we are on the move again and, I am convinced, will soon make up for lost time.

May I take this opportunity of expressing the gratitude of the Government and people of India for the assistance given to us by Australia, especially during the drought last year.

#### CONSIDERABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Remembering the pre-1947 India, we can say that our achievements have been considerable in terms of the training to our people, production both in agriculture and industry and what is even more important in the changing attitudes of our people. You have all heard of our good harvest. Our farmers were helped by the satisfactory monsoon but no less by our agricultural strategy high-yielding varieties of seed, fertilizer, modern equipment and so on. A few years ago, we could not convince the farmer of our new ideas; today we have difficulty in meeting his demand for these inputs. At the commencement of our Five Year Plans we were dependent on imports for most essential items. Today we export steel, railway wagons, machine-tools, trucks and telecommunication equipment, apart from our traditional exports such as tea, textiles, and jute. We are naturally glad that Australia has imported steel tubes and other industrial products. We feel that there is vast scope for the development of trade between our two countries.

We are engaged in a tremendous country-wide endeavour to make our economy self-sustaining.

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Of the total investment made since independence, only 20% has come from external sources. Most of it is tied assistance, The major burden has been and must be shouldered by the Indian people themselves. While we need and have been receiving assistance, we have also been donors and have given help to friendly countries.

It is no longer possible for a nation to remain part rich and part poor. Even the most advanced countries are making this discovery. The problem is a national as well as an international one. Those who have been under-privileged are impatient to change their condition and to have a better life, which they know that science and technology can bring within their reach. The question before the advanced nations is not whether they can afford to help the developing nations but whether they can afford not to do so. Many years ago our Poet Tagore wrote : "The weak are as great a danger for the strong as quicksand for the elephant."

We are glad that Australia has given a lead to other developed countries in extending preferences to some items of export goods of the developing countries. We hope that other developed countries will follow this example.

Development in trade can best be promoted in conditions of international stability and peace. India seeks peace and friendship with all countries, especially her neighbours. It has distressed us greatly that our relations with two of our neighbours have not been good. External aggressions have compelled us to divert valuable resources to defence. We remain committed to peace, but shall not submit to pressure from any quarter. At the same time we shall always keep open the door for reconciliation which is honourable to both sides.

Australia looks out on the world in two directions. On the one side lies the Indian Ocean and the developing monsoon lands of Asia. On the other lies the Pacific and the affluent new world. Australia does not have to choose between these two worlds. It can act as a bridge between them. We are glad that it is doing so.

#### VIETNAM

The situation in Vietnam has been a cause for deep anxiety for many years. It is our hope that the progress from the battle-field to the conference table will be consolidated. There is a glimmer of light which suggests the end of the tunnel.

South-East Asia is under-developed but has

enormous potential. The quality and pace of the progress of each nation will depend on its own effort. The solution of one set of problems invariably poses new ones. The world situation is changing, new forces are at work, posing new challenges and offering new opportunities. There is already a new drive towards regional cooperation. We welcome this.

It is our conviction that the best safeguard for the independence, integrity and stability of the area lies in nationalism-nationalism, not in the narrow chauvinistic sense but in its true spirit of patriotism-the establishment of popular governments which are able to meet the urges and aspirations of their peoples. Progressive nationalism and economic development are the best guarantees against subversive pressures from outside. Some countries are understandably concerned about Security. It should be possible to allay their anxiety by providing international guarantees for the neutrality and independence of this troubled area.

#### NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

May I clarify India's attitude to the draft non-proliferation treaty. We are glad that in spite of other difficulties the United States and the USSR have reached some agreement on the non-proliferation treaty. We have no desire to come in the way of those who wish to sign the treaty. However, we do note that the treaty will not bind all nuclear powers. Among the non-signatories is a neighbour which is not subjected to the discipline which arises from membership of the United Nations. We also find that the Treaty does not restrict or prevent the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons. Nor does it take any real steps towards disarmament. We feel that it does not add to our security. In fact, the non-proliferation treaty creates one more, division in the world, that between the nuclear weapon powers and the non-nuclear weapon powers. We ourselves seek to use nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes.

I am grateful to you, Mr. Prime Minister, for your welcome and for the hospitality of your Government. May I also thank Mr. Whitlam for his generous remarks. Whatever else may divide the Government and the opposition in Australia or in India, there is a strong and abiding bipartisanship in the attitude of friendship

between our two parliaments and our people. I hope Prime Minister you and Mrs. Gorton will be able to visit my country soon and see something of the new India which we are striving to build. I am charmed and impressed by what I have seen here in Canberra. I am looking forward to seeing more. Australia is a living sym-

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bol of the endurance and perseverance of man and his indomitable spirit. It is a land of achievement as well as of promise and hope. May I end with a favourite prayer from our oldest scriptures-the Rig Veda :

May I be able to look upon all beings with the eye of a friend.

May we look upon one another with the eye of a friend.

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, ladies and gentleman, I invite you to join me in a toast to Her Majesty the Queen, to Indo-Australian friendship, and to the continued prosperity and well-being of the Australian people.

AUSTRALIA USA INDIA VIETNAM

**Date :** May 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri C. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on Rhodesia

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on May 29, 1968 on Rhodesia:

Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to refer to your forthcoming departure. You have been an outstanding personality in the

United Nations for nearly three years. Your valuable contribution to our work is well known and will indeed become a part of the history of this Council. My delegation has always had high respect for your political vision and judgment. Your practical approach to the problems that we have faced and your patience in negotiations made it possible to carry on a fruitful dialogue with you at all times. We shall miss you around this chamber. We wish you every success in your future endeavours, which we are sure will be as significant and outstanding as they have been in the United Nations.

The Security Council has just approved un-animously a resolution on the situation in Southern Rhodesia. The fact of its unanimous approval is significant in more ways than one. Firstly, it set the seal of approval of the Council on comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions to help the Government of the United Kingdom to put an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia. Second, it puts on record its displeasure with those States which have in the past thwarted the attempts, limited though they were, to topple the illegal Smith regime and to restore to the people of Zimbabwe, their fundamental rights. Third, the resolution, by its very nature, is a compromise between the positions of those who believed that no measure available under the Charter should be excluded, and those who believed in graduated doses of the medicine.

The exact position of my delegation on this question was set out in the draft resolution (S/8545) sponsored by the delegations of Algeria, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Senegal and my own country, and submitted to the Council on 16 April 1968. India continues to believe that the most effective and certain method of dealing with the rebellion would be resolute action by the administering Power, including the use of force. Even a clear unequivocal declaration by the administering Power that it does not rule out the use of force would in itself be sufficient to bring the illegal regime to its knees.

#### MANDATORY SANCTIONS

A compromise is by its very nature imperfect. However, the resolution just adopted by the Council does contain, for the first time, a scheme of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against

Southern Rhodesia and thus constitutes a step forward in our common endeavour. My delegation hopes that the efforts of the Security Council will meet with universal support and co-operation, and build up sufficient pressure against the illegal regime. It is only with the co-operation of all States, whether Members of the United Nations or not, that the measures decided upon by the Security Council now can take the people of Zimbabwe in the direction of freedom and independence.

I should like to reiterate the hope of my delegation that the comprehensive sanctions proposed

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in the draft resolution will receive universal support. The actions of certain Powers were earlier instrumental in the failure of the selective sanctions approved by the Security Council. It is most likely that these very Powers will continue to counter the effects of the comprehensive mandatory sanctions proposed by us. I hesitate to voice pessimism in regard to the present resolution at its very outset. If experience is any guide, however, and if we are to be realistic and look at things the way they are rather than the way we would like them to be, we shall have to prepare ourselves for the contingency that the measures outlined in the present resolution may not have the desired effect. We must proceed with cautious optimism but at the same time we must plan for all contingencies. Now is the time for the administering Power in particular to think constructively about what the next logical step might be if our present efforts do not succeed. The indomitable will of the people of Zimbabwe cannot be crushed and they will be free. It is only a matter of time. But timely action by the international community could help to avoid an explosion that may extend far beyond the frontiers of Zimbabwe.

It is important also for the international community to appreciate and recognize the special position of Zambia. This country has suffered immensely on account of the selective economic sanctions applied earlier; it is likely to suffer even more if the comprehensive sanctions envisaged in the present resolution are applied. It is not enough, however, for us merely to applaud the heroic sacrifices of the people of Zambia. It is the responsibility of the international commu-

nity to render all possible assistance to Zambia at this juncture to enable it to overcome at least part of the hardships to which it will doubtless be subjected. It is with that in view that my delegation would strongly urge help to Zambia in a collective way through the United Nations and other international organizations.

INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA ZIMBABWE ALGERIA ETHIOPIA PAKISTAN SENEGAL  
ZAMBIA

**Date :** May 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in General Assembly on South West Africa

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the General Assembly on May 13, 1968 on South West Africa :

My delegation has learned with profound sorrow of the untimely death of Professor Matthews, the Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations. He was a noble son of Africa who made a notable contribution to the work of the United Nations. I should like, on behalf of my delegation and Government, to convey to the delegation of Botswana our most sincere condolences.

The question of South West Africa has been under consideration by the United Nations for over twenty years. My Government has been deeply concerned over the fate of that Territory and its oppressed people over this long period of time.

The delegations of certain Western countries have mounted this rostrum to condemn the policy of apartheid. But at the same time they do not feel frustrated in advancing arguments that all

the activities of foreign monopolies in South West Africa are fully justified since they are in accordance with the laws and regulations effective in that Territory today. Those arguments, to say the least, carry little conviction since South Africa, being deprived of any rights whatsoever with respect to the Territory of South West Africa, is not in a position to conclude any agreement or to grant concessions or privileges to any foreign economic or financial interests.

We therefore fully support the view of the General Assembly that it should declare that any agreement concerning the Territory of South West Africa concluded by any party with the Pretoria regime after the revocation of the Mandate—meaning after the date of 22 October 1966—is null and void and has no legal bearing. Hence any activities carried out by foreign monopolies in South West Africa in agreement with the Pretoria regime are illegal since the Government of South Africa has no legal or other rights to administer that Territory.

#### NOTORIOUS PRACTICE

It is all the more obvious that we should not tolerate any longer the practice followed by foreign monopolies in South West Africa of transferring revenues and taxes to the Pretoria regime. That notorious practice not only is illegal but has a definite political edge directed against the decisions of the United Nations and against the people of Namibia and their struggle for independence.

The General Assembly is fully entitled and in duty bound to decide that the revenues obtained from the Territory of South West Africa must not be paid to the Pretoria regime. The States whose citizens are engaged in activities in South West Africa should undertake all legal and other

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measures to have them refrain from transferring any revenues or taxes to the Pretoria regime.

In this context I should like to say that we highly appreciate the endeavours of the United Nations Council for South West Africa to review all laws affecting South West Africa. We should like to hope that that review, mentioned in paragraph 42 of the report of the United Nations

Council for South West Africa (A/7088), would allow us to draw a proper conclusion concerning what further legal and other steps should be taken by the Council. Even as far back as 1946 it was evident that South Africa had sinister designs to incorporate South West Africa within its territorial frontiers. With a view to dealing with this dangerous situation, at the very first session of the General Assembly my delegation took the initiative of introducing a draft resolution which sought to place South West Africa under the International Trusteeship System. As is well known, this and other subsequent efforts by the international community to dislodge South Africa from the Territory of South West Africa ended, regrettably, in utter failure.

In October 1966, however, the General Assembly, by its historic decision which enjoyed the near-unanimous support of the membership of the United Nations, declared that South Africa had failed to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of the Mandated Territory and had in fact disavowed the Mandate. The Assembly terminated the Mandate and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. My delegation was among those which felt that the adoption of the resolution should be followed by speedy preparations for the independence of the Territory. However, in a spirit of generous accommodation, the Afro-Asian delegations were persuaded to accept the appointment of an ad hoc Committee. That Committee examined the various possibilities of securing the objective of independence for the Territory, but was unable to present agreed conclusions, and the matter had once again to be referred back to the General Assembly.

After detailed examination of the best procedure to adopt for the implementation of resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly adopted resolution 2248 (S-V) in May 1967 by which it established the Council for South West Africa to administer the Territory until independence. The resolution requested the Council "to enter immediately into contact with the authorities of South Africa in order to lay down procedures .... for the transfer of the administration .... with the least possible upheaval". [Resolution 2248 (S-V), part IV, para. 2]

That provision was included in the resolution

at the insistence of some delegations which still maintained that efforts should be made to secure South Africa's withdrawal from the Territory through peaceful negotiations, although South Africa's unwillingness to cooperate could have been taken for granted. In pursuance of that decision by the General Assembly, the Council for South West Africa on 28th August 1967 addressed a letter to the Government of South Africa. As was to be expected, South Africa's response was negative; it did not reply to the letter. However, in a communication dated 26 September 1967 to the Secretary-General, it made a casual reference to the Council's letter and characteristically dismissed the United Nations resolution as illegal. In view of South Africa's defiant attitude, the Council for South West Africa was forced to conclude that it was unable to discharge its functions and responsibilities effectively. It drew attention to this situation in its report (A/6897) to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly in which, inter alia, it referred to the request contained in resolution 2248 (S-V) to the Security Council "to take all appropriate measures to enable the United Nations for South West Africa to discharge the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly". (ibid. part IV. para. 5).

The General Assembly considered that report at its twenty-second session. It noted with appreciation the Council's efforts to discharge its responsibilities and requested it to fulfil by every available means the Mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. It was not without significance that the General Assembly recognized quite clearly, even at that time, that the means available to the Council to fulfil its Mandate were greatly limited by South Africa's continuing refusal to comply with earlier General Assembly resolutions. The General Assembly accordingly requested the Security Council this time to take not merely "all appropriate measures", as it had requested under the provisions of resolution 2248 (S-V), but "effective steps" to enable the Council for South West Africa to discharge its functions and responsibilities.

The report of the Council (A/7088) now before the General Assembly deals with the efforts the Council has made in the intervening period to fulfil the Mandate entrusted to it by the Gene-

ral Assembly. The first part of the report lists the activities of the Council. The gallant effort of the Council to proceed to the Territory in fulfilment of its Mandate was obstructed by the South African authorities. All the same, it will be agreed on all hands that the report of the Council demonstrates that it has made commendable progress within the limited possibilities open to it. India, as a member of the Council, will continue to extend its full co-operation in the further work of the Council. My delegation

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would like to emphasize, however, that while the Mandate of the Council does envisage certain actions being undertaken outside the Territory in preparation for its independence, those actions must be regarded as ancillary to its main function of administering the Territory from within the Territory. The Council has given the General Assembly a clear indication of the steps to be taken to enable it to assume those responsibilities without further delay. It is these recommendations which must form the subject of our earnest consideration.

#### DEFIANT ATTITUDE

In the second part of its report the Council goes on to establish-in our opinion, conclusively-the negative and intransigent attitude of South Africa. I will not take the time of the Assembly to deal in any detail with these aspects of the matter. Other speakers have dealt with these issues effectively and eloquently. On the reprehensible trial and detention of South West African freedom fighters, my delegation has made its views quite clearly known in the debate on the question in the Security Council. Our indignation at South Africa's efforts to establish the so-called separate homelands calculated to undermine the territorial integrity of the Territory and to facilitate its annexation is equally well known. In the face of South Africa's defiant refusal to comply with the various provisions of United Nations resolutions on South West Africa, it is not surprising that the Council has reiterated its earlier conclusion that it has found it impossible to discharge effectively all the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

In paragraph 64 of its report the Council has

recorded its deep concern that it has been frustrated in its efforts to implement the decision of the General Assembly that the Territory should attain, independence in June 1968. The Council has also drawn pointed attention to its fear that the persistent refusal on the part of South Africa to comply with decisions of the United Nations on South West Africa will inevitably lead to the outbreak of violence and racial war.

The Council goes on, to state that this situation constitutes the gravest threat to international peace and security in the area. The Council refers to the serious and direct responsibility of the United Nations to avert this serious threat. The Council expresses its conviction that South Africa will not withdraw from the Territory unless effective measures available under the Charter of the United Nations are applied. The Council has accordingly recommended that this Assembly should reiterate its request to the Security Council, in accordance with the various General, Assembly resolutions on the subject, to take effective measures to ensure the immediate removal of South Africa's presence from the Territory.

That in a nutshell is the situation with which the General Assembly is faced and on which it should, in our opinion, pronounce itself unequivocally and without delay. My delegation is convinced that the issues before us must be seen in their proper perspective. The target date for the independence of the Territory is near at hand. The Council for South West Africa has stated in unambiguous terms that the attainment of this objective cannot be brought about unless the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations are invoked with a view to dealing effectively with South Africa's blatant refusal to comply with decisions of the United Nations.

My delegation believes that this observation by the Council goes to the heart of the matter and that the General Assembly would be failing in its duty to take every possible step to ensure the early independence of the Territory if it were to divert its attention from this central issue by considering possible alternatives or intermediate solutions which would only encourage South Africa's allies to press for a course of further procrastination on one pretext or another.

The situation is one which calls for urgent and positive action. It is for that very reason that the Afro-Asian delegations regard the question of South West Africa as one of the highest importance in the deliberations of the present resumed session of the General Assembly. The position is that the Security Council has so far taken no action in implementation of the requests contained in resolutions 2248 (S-V) and 2325 (XXII) that it take "appropriate measures" and "effective steps" respectively to enable the Council for South-West Africa to discharge its responsibilities.

The Security Council has so far concerned itself with the limited question of the illegal trial and detention by South Africa of South West African freedom fighters. In its resolution 246 (1968) of 14 March 1968 the Security Council made two important points which are relevant to the present-consideration of the entire question of South West Africa by the General Assembly. In the first place, the Security Council recognized in the eighth preambular paragraph of that resolution, its special responsibility towards the people and the Territory of South West Africa. Secondly, the Security Council decided that, in the event of failure on the part of the Government of South Africa to comply with the Council's demand that South Africa should forthwith

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release, and repatriate the South West African freedom fighters, it would meet immediately :

"to determine upon effective steps or measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations".

Though two months have elapsed since the adoption of that resolution, South Africa has failed to comply with its provisions, and the Security Council is consequently bound, in terms of operative paragraph 5 of that resolution, to meet to consider the action it should take to deal with this situation. In our view it would only be appropriate for the Security Council to give comprehensive consideration to the entire complex of South Africa's defiance of United Nations resolutions relating to South West Africa. Thus, apart from South Africa's non-compliance on the question of release and repatriation of

South West African freedom fighters, the Security Council should give urgent consideration to various other issues. The first of these relates to South Africa's violation of operative paragraph 7 of resolution 2145 (XXI), by which the General Assembly called upon the Government of South Africa to

"refrain and desist from any action, constitutional, administrative, political or otherwise, which "would" in any manner whatsoever alter or tend to alter the...international status of South West Africa".

South Africa's efforts to establish the so-called separate homelands in the Territory blatantly violate that provision of the resolution. The second issue relates to South Africa's failure to comply with the provisions of resolution 2248 (S-V), which inter alia called upon the Government of South Africa to comply without delay with the terms of resolution 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V) itself and to facilitate the transfer of the administration of the Territory of South West Africa to the Council for South West Africa, and the provisions of resolution 2325 (XXII), which called upon the Government of South Africa

"to withdraw from the Territory of South West Africa, unconditionally and without delay, all its military and police forces and its administration".

#### TRADING PARTNERS

This manifold defiance of United Nations decisions by South Africa poses a serious threat to international peace and security in the area, calling for appropriate remedial action under the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We have remained convinced for some time that South Africa has been encouraged in its impudent behaviour by the many-sided support it has received from its trading partners and political allies, who continue to ignore the provisions of various resolutions concerning South Africa. These States have refused to implement the provisions of successive United Nations resolutions on South Africa.

As far back as 1962 the General Assembly, by its resolution 1761 (XVII), called on Mem-

ber States to take a number of specific steps, the most important of them being a total trade boycott and the severance of diplomatic relations with the racist regime. The most recent resolution of the General Assembly, 2325 (XXII), contained an urgent appeal to all Member States and in particular to the main trading partners of South Africa and those who have economic and other interests in South Africa and South West Africa to take effective economic and other measures designed to ensure the immediate withdrawal of South Africa from South West Africa. It is no secret that despite assurances of various kinds all those resolutions have remained substantially unimplemented in letter and spirit.

In our view the time has come for the General Assembly to undertake a comprehensive review of the factors which have contributed to the failure of the international community to facilitate the attainment of independence by the people of South West Africa and, on the basis of that review, to formulate detailed recommendations for action both by the General Assembly and by the Security Council. It is to this problem that I would urge Member States to devote their attention. As far as my delegation is concerned, we have repeatedly urged the view that South Africa's compliance with the will of the international community cannot be secured except by the application of mandatory sanctions against that Government. My delegation, in reiteration of the categorical stand it has already taken in the Security Council, would strongly support any such recommendation by the General Assembly.

I should like in conclusion to reiterate our view that in determining the action it should take to deal with the question of South West Africa the General Assembly should be guided solely by the criteria of the need to secure the independence of the Territory with the least possible delay and the parallel need to deal firmly, effectively and speedily with the forces that obstruct the decisions of the international community.

We are confident that it is only if all Member States of the United Nations can be persuaded to accept fully their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations that the people of Namibia can expect to achieve their independence through peaceful means. Those nations which choose to disregard solemn decisions and appeals of the

United Nations are contributing to the development of a serious threat to international peace

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and security in the area. The Council for South West Africa has warned the General Assembly in unequivocal terms that any delay in securing compliance by South Africa with the decisions of the United Nations on South West Africa will lead to the outbreak of violence and racial war.

My delegation is convinced that the Council's assessment of this situation as constituting the gravest threat to international peace and security in the area not only is realistic but also quite clearly points to the need to avoid further procrastination in agreeing upon decisive measures to secure the independence of Namibia. My delegation will lend its full support in working out solutions which are commensurate with the gravity and urgency of the matter under our consideration and which take fully into account the serious and direct responsibility of the United Nations to avert the fast-developing threat to international peace and security in the region.

INDIA BOTSWANA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SOUTH AFRICA NAMIBIA

**Date :** May 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Azim Husain's Statement in Political Committee on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Shri Azim Husain, India's Ambassador in Switzerland and leader of the Indian Delegation to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, made the following statement in the First (Political) Committee on May 14, 1968 on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons :

Mr. Chairman, in discussing the report of the

Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee concerning the draft of a treaty of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly is engaged on an urgent and important task to which the Government of India has given the most careful consideration and attaches great significance. The deep and abiding interest of the Government of India in the field of disarmament is well known India has been firmly and consistently of the view that all nuclear weapons, being weapons of mass destruction, must be completely eliminated.

The idea of an immediate cessation of nuclear and thermonuclear weapon tests pending their complete prohibition under a comprehensive test-ban treaty was first mooted by the late Prime Minister Nehru. India was one of the first countries to sign the Moscow partial test-ban treaty. Ever since then the Government of India has expressed the hope that the Treaty would be signed by all countries and has urged that the prohibition be extended to underground tests as well. Further, India has supported efforts to prohibit the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons.

My delegation has taken an active part in the deliberations of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. In that forum we have pleaded for various collateral measures in particular, in relation to nuclear disarmament-as an integral part of the, basic and ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament.

#### INDIA'S INITIATIVE

It was in keeping with this approach and policy that in 1964 India took the initiative in inscribing for the first time on the agenda of the General Assembly an item under the title of "Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons", and not-if I may repeat the words-under the title of "Prevention of the wider Dissemination of Nuclear Weapons", as had been the case in 1959 and in 1961. And it is in this new and modified form that the item has continued to figure in the agenda of all subsequent sessions of the General Assembly.

I recall the wording of the inscription by India in 1964 of the item "Non-proliferation of Nuclear

Weapons" because it was done after due deliberation and forethought. The difference between dissemination and proliferation is, I submit, not a matter of mere semantics but one of substance and significance. There are two facets to the problem of the proliferation of nuclear weapons; the first is that of dissemination, that is, of transfer and receipt of weapons and weapon technology; and the second is that of production, that is, manufacture of nuclear weapons. Our persistent plea that the international community should concern itself with proliferation in all its manifestations rather than with only one aspect of it has, in our view, been fully vindicated by the past history of the efforts to prevent proliferation. Those efforts were designed to stop only dissemination, without imposing any curbs on the continued manufacture, stockpiling and sophistication of nuclear weapons by the existing nuclear-weapon Powers. The fact that the number of nuclear-weapon Powers increased from one in 1945 to two in 1949, three in 1952, four in 1960 and five in 1964 is proof enough of the failure of this limited approach. I may also recall that in the Sub-Committee on Disarmament the representatives of the United Kingdom and

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France repeatedly warned the international community that unless the existing nuclear-weapon Powers stopped further production of these weapons themselves there would be additional countries which would decide to develop their own nuclear deterrent. And, indeed, that is what has happened.

The urge to seek greater security—imaginary or illusory though it may prove to be—by acquiring nuclear weapons cannot be curbed by a prohibition applied only to those who do not possess them. It can be effectively controlled only by attacking the root of the problem—namely, the state of insecurity caused in the world by the possession of those weapons of horror and mass destruction by a few Powers. The desire to emulate the example of those who have become nuclear-weapon Powers will be difficult to resist as long as the world lives in a state of imbalance. It can be eliminated only if we do away with the special status of superiority associated with power and prestige conferred on those possessing nuclear weapons.

It is evident that the nuclear menace can be eliminated only by nuclear disarmament, but it is equally evident that the first step that we take in this direction should be not only to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons but also and simultaneously to inhibit the further development and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. In other words, a way out of the present impasse can be found only through a simultaneous prevention of both aspects of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, vertical as well as horizontal. Both these aspects of the proliferation of nuclear weapons form part of a single whole, and the problem cannot be successfully dealt with by tackling only one aspect of it. This consideration is basic and central to our concept of a non-proliferation treaty.

In this connexion, it may be recalled that of the five principles enunciated in resolution 2028 (XX) which provide the guidelines for the negotiation of a non-proliferation treaty, the first principle requires that "The treaty should be void of any loopholes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear Powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form" [para. 2 (a)]. The reference here is to both nuclear-weapon Powers and non-nuclear-weapon Powers. General Assembly resolution 2153 A (XXI) of the following year, which expressed apprehension equally about the possibility of "an increase in the number of nuclear-weapon Powers". and about "an increase of nuclear arsenals", again underlined this principle.

The report of the Secretary-General (A/6858), which has been so frequently referred to and quoted here, also lays stress on this when it states:

"So far as international security is concerned, it is highly probable that any further increase in the number of nuclear-weapon States or any further elaboration of the existing nuclear arsenals will lead to greater tension and greater instability in the world at large. Both these aspects of the nuclear arms race are significant to world peace". (A/6858, para. 82).

The Secretary-General's report has made no distinction between the two aspects of the nuclear arms race. Wherever it has talked of the evils

of a further spread of nuclear weapons it has simultaneously warned us of the dangers of the further development and stockpiling of nuclear weapons.

#### OVER-KILL CAPACITY

The United Nations having thus recognized that the actual proliferation of nuclear weapons in the nuclear-weapon countries was a matter of major preoccupation to be viewed with equal apprehension along with the possible or likely increase in the number of nuclear-weapon countries, it is clear that a draft non-proliferation treaty should have sought to meet this apprehension. In our view, the only effective way in which that could have been done was to include an obligatory provision in the treaty for a cessation of any further production of nuclear weapons. In respect of nuclear-weapon countries this would have meant writing into the treaty itself what has been called a "cut-off" of production of fissionable material for weapon purposes. I should like to stress that this would not involve nuclear disarmament, since it would not require the destruction of a single nuclear weapon. The question of nuclear disarmament --in other words, the reduction or destruction of existing nuclear arsenals--would be a matter to be dealt with subsequently and in stages.

It is a well-known fact that the present stockpiles of nuclear weapons possessed by the nuclear-weapon States have long since reached an over-kill capacity. Where is, then, the justification for the nuclear-weapon Powers continuing to produce more weapons, when they can kill each one of us not once but several times over, and a man dies only once? The argument of differences over the question of control preventing an agreement on the stoppage of further production of nuclear weapons is not convincing. The same system of controls, which may be prescribed for non-nuclear-weapon States, could be applied to nuclear-weapon States, because, once a cut-off in production has been agreed to, all facilities at present producing fissile material for weapon

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purposes would be switched over to production for peaceful purposes.

With the stoppage of further production of

nuclear weapons, no risk to national security would be involved-because, so far as the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons are concerned, there would be no reduction or diminution in them or control over them, and, so far as the extension of safeguards to nuclear-weapon States is concerned, again there would be no risk to national security, because all their facilities would have become peaceful. Under those circumstances there would be no room for any fear of industrial espionage or unfair commercial competition, about which concern has been expressed in certain quarters.

When General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX) speaks of a balance of obligations and responsibilities of the nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States, it does not suggest or imply the idea of a compensation or a quid pro quo. It means that, while the nuclear-weapon Powers undertake not to transfer nuclear weapons to anyone, the non-nuclear weapon Powers should undertake not to receive such weapons. Similarly, while the non-nuclear-weapon Powers undertake not to produce nuclear weapons, the nuclear-weapon Powers in their turn should undertake not to produce any further nuclear weapons. Indeed, the joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations formulated by the United States and the Soviet Union in September 1961, which have guided all disarmament negotiations, required that all measures towards,

"disarmament should be balanced so that at no stage of the implementation of the treaty could any State or group of States gain military advantage and that security is ensured equally for all" (A/4879)

but that unfortunately, is not so in the case of this treaty.

#### FEARFUL SHADOW

It has been claimed that this treaty will do more than any treaty of our time to push back the fearful shadow of nuclear destruction and that it will make all of us more secure than we would be in the absence of such a treaty. It is not clear to us how that is so, for, apart from the possible danger from an increase in the number of nuclear-weapon Powers, the draft treaty does

not-I repeat, does not---concern itself with the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons or their augmentation or their further sophistication. It does not in any way curb the nuclear-weapon Powers; and, since only nuclear-weapon Powers can cause nuclear destruction, the fearful shadow of nuclear destruction is not being pushed back, and we are, therefore, not likely to be any more secure tomorrow than we, are today without the, treaty.

It has been said that if we were to attempt to achieve agreement on all aspects of disarmament at this time, the negotiating difficulties would be insurmountable and we would end by achieving nothing. Agreement on all or even on some aspects of disarmament, if I may say so, is not what many countries within and without the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament--and certainly not my country--have urged. It has not been suggested that we seek either a full-fledged measure of nuclear disarmament or no nuclear disarmament at all. My Government has been a firm believer in the validity of the step-by-step approach towards nuclear disarmament and we do recognize that it is not possible for a perfect treaty on nuclear disarmament to emerge immediately. We have never put perfection before progress, nor have we adopted an "all or nothing" approach. Furthermore, the delegation of India has never suggested that a non-proliferation treaty should in itself become a vehicle or a measure of full-fledged nuclear disarmament. But we do feel that so long as the augmentation and sophistication of nuclear weapons by the existing nuclear-weapon Powers continues unchecked the interests of the security of the world will not be advanced. Measures which do not involve an element of self-restraint on the part of all States--nuclear-weapon States as well as non-nuclear-weapon States--cannot form the basis of a meaningful international agreement to promote disarmament.

There is another feature of the treaty which causes us concern even within the limited scope of non-dissemination of nuclear weapons. The weapons on the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States, nor does it prevent the training in the use of nuclear weapons of the armed personnel belonging to non-nuclear-weapon States. Also, while article I calls upon the nuclear-weapon

States not to assist, encourage or induce any non-nuclear-weapon State to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons, it does not prohibit one nuclear-weapon State from assisting another nuclear-weapon State, which may not have reached the same degree of sophistication in the development of its, nuclear-weapon technology, by providing technical aid, say, by way of blueprints for the manufacture of more sophisticated nuclear weapons. These loop-holes, being contrary to the very first principle enunciated in General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX), are a matter of deep concern to a large number of non-nuclear-weapon States.

This leads me to the question of the link between a non-proliferation treaty and disarmament,

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Principle 2(c) of General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX) requires that

"The treaty should be a step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament and, more particularly, nuclear disarmament."

Some of the members of this Committee have spoken of the draft treaty before us as a first step towards nuclear disarmament and have hailed it as an important step in the chain of direct and indirect steps towards disarmament and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. I beg to submit that this view is not supported by the relevant preambular paragraphs or article VI of the draft treaty, which deal with this question. They contain a mere declaration of intent, which cannot provide any credible commitment on the part of the nuclear-weapon Powers.

The preamble mentions the desire for

"the liquidation of all their existing stock-piles, and the elimination from national arsenals of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery....".

but there is no provision in the treaty itself regarding the stoppage of vertical proliferation, as suggested by India and certain other countries. There is also no time limit within which the objective of halting the nuclear arms race is to

be achieved. In fact, the quarter of a century provided for in article X as the initial duration of the treaty appears to endorse and legitimize the present state of affairs and to legalize, if not encourage, the unrestricted vertical proliferation by the present nuclear-weapon Powers, which-it is now claimed-it is not reasonable to curb in the present world situation.

#### JURIDICAL OBLIGATION

It has been stated that article VI creates a juridical obligation, but this is not so, because the undertaking "to pursue in good faith" does not create any definite or enforceable juridical obligation on the part of the nuclear-weapon States corresponding to the obligations undertaken under article II by the non-nuclear-weapon States. It is an imperfect obligation with no sanction behind it. Even the areas within which the negotiations are expected to be pursued have not been defined. It has been argued that it would not be wise to specify at this stage in the treaty itself the measures of disarmament on which negotiations are to be undertaken, because agreement might well become possible on other measures. This view is not convincing. We all know from our experience of past negotiations that agreements in the field of disarmament are difficult to negotiate because of the complexity of the issues involved and their vital connexion with the security of nations. If even the areas of disarmament on which agreements are to be sought cannot be defined now, how could there be any hope of such agreements being reached? The unfortunate fact is, as has been mentioned by several delegations, that certain areas like a comprehensive test-ban on which agreement seemed possible at one time are eluding us now because of the development of newer weapon systems and the intensification of the arms race.

Article VI does not give any tangible form to the declaration of good intent, there being no sense of compulsive obligation or even a sense of urgency to pursue negotiations for nuclear disarmament as a preliminary to general and complete disarmament. What is required is something in the nature of a nuclear moratorium, as was suggested in 1965, of which the essential element was that if nuclear disarmament was not achieved within a specified time limit, the non-nuclear-weapon Powers, as an instrument of per-

suasion and pressure, would reserve to themselves the resumption of their freedom of action.

In order to introduce a sense of urgency and compulsiveness and to exercise pressure and persuasion on nuclear-weapon Powers to take early steps towards nuclear disarmament, various suggestions have been made which the sponsors of the draft treaty have not found acceptable. Some of the suggestions which deserve to be mentioned here are :

- (a) A review conference should be held automatically after every five years;
- (b) the failure to move towards nuclear disarmament within a reasonable period should be an additional ground for withdrawal from the treaty;
- (c) if specific nuclear disarmament measures are not taken within five years, the situation thus created should be examined and the necessary action taken;
- (d) article VI should make specific mention of urgent negotiations for the suspension of underground tests, a freeze in the production of nuclear delivery vehicles and an agreement on the eventual reduction and elimination of nuclear arsenals and their means of delivery.

We are all aware that there is no family planning among nuclear-weapon Powers, that there are already four or five generations of increasingly more sophisticated nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. There is a development in hand of MIRVS which is expected to increase the nuclear weapon power of a missile by a factor of ten or more. In addition to anti-ballistic missiles and Poseidons, there is talk also

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of FOBS, MOBS and the Space Bus. Each of these developments gives rise to the inevitable action-reaction phenomenon, making even more difficult the halting of the nuclear arms race, as has been evident from the inability to make even the partial test-ban treaty comprehensive.

India, as is well known, has pleaded for various collateral disarmament measures for two decades now and has always regarded the non-proliferation treaty as one of those measures. But we still need to be convinced that the draft treaty before us does amount to a collateral disarmament measure. In order to become generally acceptable the treaty must have a provision for some degree of compulsiveness and a reasonable time limit, indicating a sense of urgency on the part of the nuclear-weapon States to move towards nuclear disarmament, thus paving the way for general and complete disarmament; otherwise this non-proliferation treaty-and it does not matter by whom or by how many it is signed-will not be effective and will not last and our labours will have been in vain. Let us not, therefore, provide a false sense of security to the world.

#### NUCLEAR TESTS BY CHINA

If I have dwelt at some length on the disarmament aspect of the non-proliferation treaty, it is because I wish to emphasize the limitations of the kind of treaty now envisaged and the serious implications of those limitations, particularly for countries in Asia and in the Pacific, which arise from the fact that, whatever the reasons, all the nuclear-weapon Powers are not associated with our deliberations. It is a matter of concern to India that across its border a major Power-the People's Republic of China---continues to conduct nuclear-weapon tests in the atmosphere in flagrant violation of the will of the international community and in total disregard of the grave dangers posed by such testing to the health and welfare of millions of peoples and their future generations. In a little over three years China has conducted seven nuclear tests, including that of a thermonuclear device. The People's Republic of China is not subject to the discipline of the international community, nor does it accept the generally accepted norms of international behaviour, nor could it be depended upon to observe the restraints needed for the maintenance of international peace and security.

It is, therefore, understandable that the growing nuclear-weapon capacity of the People's Republic of China is a matter of deep concern not only to non-nuclear-weapon Powers but also to nuclear-weapon Powers. This concern, so

widely shared all over the world, only further emphasizes the urgency of an early and effective implementation of measures of nuclear disarmament and it further underlines the need, to which I have earlier referred, for an acceptable and balanced non-proliferation treaty to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons by all nuclear-weapon Powers, including the People's Republic of China, and to provide a more direct juridical and compulsive link with measures of nuclear disarmament.

The other disturbing and discriminatory feature of the draft treaty concerns the one-sided prohibitions on non-nuclear-weapon States in respect of the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. It prevents them from conducting nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. In this connexion I need hardly recall the serious and protracted discussions on Plowshare in 1958 and 1960, when the need for and possibilities of peaceful nuclear explosions by all was recognized, but the problem of modalities connected with the test-ban treaty made it difficult to come to an agreement. I also need not recall that the drafts of the treaty presented by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1965 and 1966 made no mention of nuclear explosive devices.

We have been told that, as provided for in article V, if the non-nuclear-weapon States were to deny themselves the technology of carrying out peaceful nuclear explosions, any potential benefits from peaceful applications of nuclear explosions, as and when these become economically and technically feasible, would be made available to them at economically attractive costs. We do not doubt that the nuclear-weapon Powers wish to give generously of the benefits of the peaceful uses of the atom, but, under the treaty, there is no binding commitment or a positive juridical obligation to provide the assistance since the undertaking is only to "co-operate". However, the issue involved here is something more basic than the mere question of distribution of benefits. Nations everywhere should be free not only to share in the benefits, but also to acquire the knowledge to extract such benefits by themselves and to have the freedom to use such knowledge.

Since nuclear technology is the technology of the future and is likely to become the most

crucial and potent instrument of economic development and social progress, it would obviously be invidious for a greater part of the world to become wholly dependent on a few nuclear-weapon States for the knowledge and application of this technology. The proposed treaty creates a juridical discrimination between States according to whether they possess nuclear weapons or not regardless of the fact that it is unwise to divide the world into a few "haves" and a lot of "have-nots", who would become dependent on the goodwill of the "haves" in

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regard to development in the vital area of nuclear energy, thereby making them subject to pressures. And when it is proposed that this should be done for an initial period of twenty-five years regardless of any technological breakthrough during this period, would this not widen the and which the developing countries are striving so hard to close ? The only just solution would seem to be that instead of dispensing "benefits on a bilateral basis", which gives to the nuclear-weapon Powers full latitude for discriminatory treatment by making available benefits on their own terms and to whomsoever they like and for whatever purposes they like, peaceful nuclear explosives should be institutionalized under international control for the benefit of all nations.

As regards the question of controls, the solution, in our view, should be sought on the basis that their scope is clearly defined and that their implementation would not hinder in any way the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy by all countries. Prime Minister Nehru, speaking in the Indian Parliament in 1954, said that India was willing to accept controls in common with other countries:

".... provided we are assured that it is for the common good of the world and not exercised in a partial way and not dominated by certain countries, however good their motives."

#### GUIDING PRINCIPLE

The Indian Government have been consistently of the view that the guiding principle That should be followed in regard to safeguards is that

they should be universally applicable and be based on objective and non-discriminatory criteria. The draft treaty places all safeguard and controls on the non-nuclear-weapon States and none whatsoever on the nuclear-weapon States. We are aware that two nuclear-weapon States, the United States, and the United Kingdom, have made declarations indicating their willingness to accept safeguards, but this acceptance, apart from the fact that it is not agreed to by other nuclear-weapon Powers, is subject to reservation about national security, the scope of which would be defined by the nuclear-weapon States themselves, making in practice the application of the safeguards illusory.

There is another feature of the proposed system of safeguards which is unsatisfactory, as it could create discrimination among the non-nuclear States themselves. Paragraph 4 of article III speaks of non-nuclear-weapon States, parties to the treaty, concluding agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency "either individually or together with other States". Since it is not stated that these agreements would be uniform, one not being more onerous than another, the interpretation which is being given by interested countries would suggest that different criteria might be established, which is objectionable.

I should now like to refer to the question of the security implications of the relationship between non-nuclear and nuclear-weapon Powers. The problem of the security of the non-nuclear-weapon Powers from the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons arises from the possession, the continued stockpiling and the further sophistication of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery. Any real and credible guarantee of security to non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use of such weapons could be provided only through nuclear disarmament when nuclear weapons had been completely eliminated. Hence India's insistence on the importance of making progress towards nuclear disarmament.

It is, however, obvious that action in this field of genuine and lasting security would take time and would have to be sought through stages. Till such time, and as an interim measure, so long as nuclear weapons remain in the armouries of a

few countries, the nuclear-weapon States have an obligation to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States that their security would not, in any way, be threatened by the use or the threat of use of such weapons, and also that these weapons would not be used as an instrument of pressure, intimidation or blackmail. It is in this context that we have to consider the question of security assurances.

Almost at the end of the last session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom proposed the draft of a Security Council resolution. But, for lack of time, there was no opportunity to consider the proposed draft which we now need to discuss in this Committee.

My Government would welcome any steps that might be taken by the nuclear-weapon States in concert with non-nuclear-weapon States to make more effective the role of the United Nations for the purpose of providing effective security. The hopes of mankind rest on this. The obligations cast by the Charter on Member States, and more particularly on the permanent members of the Security Council, make it necessary for them to discharge their responsibilities in strict conformity with the Charter to ensure peace in the world.

But any security assurances that may be offered by nuclear-weapon States could not and

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should not be regarded as a quid pro quo for the signature of a non-proliferation treaty. The draft of a non-proliferation treaty should be judged by itself and on its own merits. As I have already stated, the threat of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon States arises from the possession of such weapons by certain States. This threat has nothing to do with the signature or non-signature of a particular non-proliferation treaty, as the threat has existed in the past and will remain, even after a non-proliferation treaty has been concluded, until such time as the nuclear menace has been eliminated altogether.

#### SECURITY ASSURANCES

The assurance of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States is an obligation and not something

which the nuclear-weapon States could or should demand as a price for the signature of a non-proliferation treaty. The linking of security assurances to the signature of a non-proliferation treaty would also be contrary to the Charter because in respect of the maintenance of international peace and security the Charter of the United Nations does not discriminate between those who may adhere to a particular treaty and those who may not do so. Specifically, it violates the principles of equal rights of all nations mentioned in paragraph 2 of Article I and the principle of sovereign equality of all its Members enshrined in paragraph 1 of Article 2. The Charter aims at providing security in an equal manner to all nations. The proposed draft Security Council resolution, therefore, goes against the basic principle which should govern the problem of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. It is the view of my Government, therefore, that the whole question of security assurances should be dealt with separately and independently of the non-proliferation treaty now under consideration.

I have not commented on the draft of the resolution on security assurances proposed to be introduced in the Security Council, nor have I expressed the view of the Government of India about what would be regarded as credible security assurances for the entire international community. On the credibility or otherwise of the assurances offered, our views will be expressed at the appropriate time.

Having stated the views of the Government of India with regard to the basic features of the treaty and the question of security assurances, I should now like to reiterate the policy of my Government about the utilization of nuclear energy. It is well known that many years ago, and after a most careful national evaluation of all aspects of the problem, the Government of India made a statement of policy that it intended to utilize nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes. This policy of the Government of India was based on its firm belief in disarmament, which made it necessary not to do anything to escalate the nuclear arms race.

As early as 1957, Prime Minister Nehru, referring in Parliament to the programme of development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes,

reiterated his Government's policy by saying :

"We have declared quite clearly that we are not interested in making atom bombs, even if we have the capacity to do so, and that in no event will we use atomic energy for destructive purposes. I am quite sure that when I say this I represent every Member of this House. I hope that will be the policy of all future Governments."

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, speaking in Parliament on 14 March 1968, reiterated this policy. She said :

"India has repeatedly announced that she is not making an atom bomb and that she is developing her nuclear energy programme exclusively for peaceful purposes."

The Government of India have continued to adhere firmly to this national decision. Let me add that this decision was taken at a time when the international community was not seized of the question of a non-proliferation treaty. It is, therefore, a national policy, unrelated to the present consideration of the draft treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, speaking in Parliament as recently as 24 April 1968, said

"The choice before us is not only the question of making a few atomic bombs, but of engaging in an arms race with sophisticated nuclear warheads and an effective missile delivery system. Such a course, I do not think would strengthen national security. On the other hand, it may well endanger our internal security by imposing a very heavy economic burden which would be in addition to the present expenditure on defence. Nothing will better serve the interests of those who are hostile to us than for us to lose our sense of perspective and to undertake measures which would undermine the basic progress of the country. We believe that to be militarily strong it is equally important to be economically and industrially strong. Our programme of atomic energy development for peaceful purposes is related to the real needs of our economy and would be effectively geared to this end."

In conclusion, I should like to stress again that the danger to the security of the world

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arises not merely from a possible spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon States, but equally from the continued possession and further production and sophistication of these weapons of mass destruction by the existing nuclear-weapon Powers. India shares the common anxiety that this danger and risk should be checked and eliminated. We share the sense of urgency that this end should be achieved as early as possible by common consent and international control. To quote again from a statement made by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi :

"Mankind today is at the crossroads of nuclear peace and nuclear war. There can be no doubt we should take the road to nuclear peace.

#### COMMON OBJECTIVE

We are convinced that this common objective ---which all of us here and mankind in general share---cannot be achieved except through a viable treaty, one which will take into account not only the fears of a few but the preoccupations of all, impose equal obligations on all, confer the same benefits of security and progress on all and will, therefore, become acceptable to the international community as a whole; a treaty which will endure---one that will not merely take cognizance of the undeniable realities of political fact and military power and technological superiority as they exist in the world of today, but also provide for the equally incontrovertible realities of the changes that will occur in these various fields in the years to come.

A treaty of this kind, with its far-reaching political and economic implications for all the nations of the world, must not be based on a discriminatory approach. We have been opposed to the division of the world in terms of ideologies and military alliances, or in terms of rich and poor nations. The proposed treaty adds one more category to the divisive forces which have bred fear and distrust and have generated tensions. A non-proliferation treaty, therefore, if it is to be effective, viable and generally acceptable, should prevent both nuclear-weapon and

non-nuclear-weapon Powers from proliferating. It should contain an acceptable balance of obligations and responsibilities. It should be a real and meaningful step towards disarmament. It should not in any way hamper the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. These are all principles which have been embodied in General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX).

After most serious and careful consideration, it is the view of the Government of India that the draft treaty before us does not conform to these principles and, therefore, my Government cannot subscribe to it. Our vote on the draft resolution endorsing the draft treaty will be determined accordingly.

INDIA USA SWITZERLAND CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA FRANCE CHINA

**Date :** May 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

NEW ZEALAND

Prime Minister's Speech at State Luncheon

Following is the text of the speech delivered by Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at a State luncheon at Wellington on May 28, 1968 :

Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I bring to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to your Government and your people the greetings and good wishes of the Government and people of India. May I thank you, on their behalf, for your gestures of friendship and your help in recent years?

Six years ago when our northern borders were invaded, New Zealand stood by us. That we shall always remember. New Zealand has played its part in the Colombo Plan and in the ECAFE

and has made a useful contribution in the development of its Asian neighbourhood. Your assistance to various dairy projects in India and in the establishment of the fine All India Institute of Medical Sciences in Delhi has been of great value. It is an example which could well be emulated.

New Zealand is a jewel in the Pacific, a country at peace with itself and hostile to none. You

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have given a progressive lead in implementing the United Nations resolution on de-colonisation by your enlightened policies with regard to Samoa and Cook Islands.

When India achieved independence in 1947 we began the second stage of our great adventure. My father described the moment of freedom as 'a tryst With destiny'. In keeping with our traditions and ideals, we adopted four guidelines of state policy--democracy and rule of law, secularism in a composite and diverse society, socialism with social justice and equality of opportunity for all our people, and in our external relations, peaceful coexistence and non-alignment.

India has chosen parliamentary democracy and a free and open society as the means for making technological and social progress. This is a slower and more difficult path. But human values and individual dignity do matter and popular commitment and participation give strength to society.

#### FOUNDATIONS DEMOCRACY

Last year we held our fourth general election. Two hundred and fifty million men and women voted. I wonder if the world has seen a greater or more impressive exercise in democracy. Our federal structure--central and state--rests on a foundation of elected village, inter-village and district councils. We are a secular state and are pledged to protect all great religions which have made India their home. The Hindu constitute the majority community. But we have 60 million Muslims, 12 million Christians and 10 million Sikhs as well as Buddhists, Jains, Jews and Parsecs. All are equal.

Political freedom without social and economic content has little meaning for the mass of our

people. We have made considerable advance in the 20 years since independence. But the road is long and hard. There has been a breakthrough in agriculture. Community development and extension programmes have converted the farmer to the use of fertilizers and improved varieties of seeds. As a result, we have had a bumper harvest of 95 million tonnes of grain this year. By 1971 we hope to eliminate grain imports.

Our industrial base has been greatly expanded and diversified. We produce over seven million tons of steel, refine about 15 million tons of petroleum products, and manufacture a wide variety of plant and equipment, such as locomotives, rolling stock, ocean-going vessels, aircraft, trucks, and automobiles, tele-communication equipment, and complete textile, paper, cement and chemical plants.

Among the newer and fast growing industries are electronics and petrochemicals. We are building three nuclear power stations and the first of these, with an installed capacity of 380 megawatts, will be commissioned later this year. This progress is due primarily to the efforts of the Indian people themselves. Eighty per cent of the investment in our development plans is our own and only 20 per cent has come as assistance, from abroad, mainly in the shape of loans and tied credits, which have to be, and are being, repaid with interest. Planning has enabled us to determine priorities and to regulate the economy in the manner best calculated to serve public good.

Private enterprise also flourishes alongside the public sector. Large-scale industry has encouraged thousands of small units. Only rapid industrialisation can provide the employment needed by our expanding labour force. It is no surprise that developing nations yearn for prosperity and progress which they see others enjoying. They seek development, technical assistance, fair trade and even a degree of preference to compensate for past neglect. Development cannot be the concern of developing nations alone. It is an international problem. The world has learnt that it cannot live in peace half free, half subject. Similarly peace will always remain fragile in a world half rich, half poor.

In the past two decades, the gulf between the

rich and poor nations has widened, causing new tensions which threaten us all and can create an explosive situation. India is in mid-passage. We are a developing as well as a developed nation. We receive external assistance and also give it to friendly countries. The extension of democracy at home has been peaceful co-existence abroad. Mutual respect and regard for each other's dignity are as important for good relations between individuals as between nations. Mutual respect does not rest upon identity or even similarity. It is consistent with diversity, provided there is a desire to understand and to know.

Twenty years ago, we saw in the Commonwealth an association of free and equal partners, which brought diverse people together in a sadly divided world. The Commonwealth has since grown. But racial tensions have subjected it to unfortunate strain. The future of the Commonwealth will depend on its ability to deal effectively with this crisis in human relationships.

#### WITHDRAWAL OF BIG POWERS

We can appreciate the anxiety of some countries about the consequences of the withdrawal of the military Presence of big powers from this region. Progressive nationalism is the strongest

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and most dynamic force in Asia and Africa today. It is also the best guarantee against subversive influences and external pressures. We believe that these can best be met by strengthening the economic and political stability of the countries of this region. Broad-based regional economic co-operation and political consultations between all countries of this region irrespective of their ideologies, should be encouraged on a basis of complete equality. New Zealand and India are co-partners in the Commonwealth. I hope that we can be partners in regional co-operation.

#### PARIS TALKS ON VIETNAM

The interest of the world is focussed on Paris where talks have opened on Vietnam. We sincerely hope that this meeting will lead to a just and lasting peace. A Vietnam settlement could be the starting point for the evolution of a new and equitable order in South-East Asia which would

enable small nations in this troubled part of the world to live in peace and security, and to lead their lives in accordance with their own urges and aspirations. The neutralisation of Indo-China, with international guarantees for its security and integrity, may provide an answer. Fear and rivalry could be transformed to friendship and co-operation. And what happens in this area could influence trends and events elsewhere.

We value our bilateral relations with New Zealand. We wish to develop them further. My talks with you, Mr. Prime Minister, and your colleagues will greatly help us in this task. Our discussions have revealed a considerable identity of interest and outlook. This provides a foundation for enduring understanding and co-operation. The concept of the brotherhood of man has been preached by great men of all countries. A centuries-old Sanskrit verse reads : "This is one's own or this is a foreigner, such calculation belongs to men of small minds. But to the noble-hearted the whole world indeed becomes a family."

#### ONE WORLD

In India, this philosophy has been enunciated and pursued through the ages by our leaders of thought-ancient and modern. We do not always find it easy to live up to this ideal, for between the idea and reality lies the shadow of false notions of pride and prestige. The world has become too small for men and nations to be indifferent to one another's problems and needs. For good or ill, we are One World. Since we do have to, live together is it not far better to do so as friends and neighbours, as members of a single human family ?

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, may I invite you to join me in a toast to the Prime Minister and Mrs. Holyoake and to growing friendship between the Governments and people of New Zealand and India.

NEW ZEALAND INDIA USA SRI LANKA RUSSIA FRANCE VIETNAM CHINA

**Date :** May 01, 1968

**Volume No**

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1995

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NEW ZEALAND

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India New Zealand Joint Communiqué

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Following is the text of the joint communiqué issued in Wellington on May 28, 1968 on Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to New Zealand:

Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, visited New Zealand from 27th to 29th May, 1968 as guest of the New Zealand Government. During her stay Shrimati Gandhi had discussions with the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Rt. Hon. Keith Holyoake, and with other Ministers. She also met the leading personalities prominent in various fields.

The Prime Ministers expressed satisfaction at the opportunity provided for a useful exchange of views on a wide range of topics of common interest to the two countries. The subjects discussed covered current international issues as well as questions relating to further improvement of bilateral relations. They agreed that periodic discussions between the leaders of India and New Zealand would help in bringing the two Governments to closer understanding and identifying areas in which they could further extend their co-operation.

The Prime Ministers emphasised the importance of peace and stability for the progress of Asian and Pacific regions. They affirmed their desire to work for the evolution of peaceful conditions in Asia which would allow the Governments and peoples of the area to concentrate their resources and talents on the task of raising their living standards. They welcomed the efforts that the countries of Asia were themselves making to bring this about and expressed the hope that their endeavours would continue to receive the sympathy and support of the wider international community. They emphasised their faith in the Charter of the United Nations and in peaceful co-existence and international co-operation. The Prime Ministers agreed that respect for the prin-

ciples of national sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and non-interference in their

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internal affairs by subversion, sabotage, infiltration or any other means and adherence by all states to a policy of non-aggression were essential to promote harmony among nations and a stable and peaceful international order.

The Prime Ministers expressed their hope for an early end to the tragic conflict in Vietnam and welcomed the talks between the representatives of the United States and North Vietnam which are currently taking place in Paris. They expressed hope that these talks would pave the way and lead to a just and lasting solution of the Vietnam problem within the broad framework of Geneva accords and consistent with the wishes of the Vietnamese people. The New Zealand Prime Minister recorded his appreciation of India's efforts as a member of the International Control Commissions established under the Geneva Agreements, and expressed hope that India would continue to play an active role for peace and stability in South-East Asia.

The two sides exchanged views on the current situation in West Asia (Middle East) and expressed the hope that a stable peace in the area would be restored soon on the basis of U.N. resolutions.

The Prime Minister of India informed the Prime Minister of New Zealand of the efforts India had made and was making towards normalisation of Indo-Pakistan relations on the basis of the Tashkent Declaration. The Prime Minister of New Zealand welcomed these efforts and expressed the hope that both countries would settle their differences by peaceful means in accordance with the spirit of the Tashkent Declaration. The Prime Ministers agreed that co-operation between these two Asian Commonwealth countries would contribute to peace and stability in the area.

The Prime Ministers exchanged views concerning the Commonwealth. They expressed their belief that this multi-racial group of nations representing a wide spectrum of peoples and opinion in the world could continue to play a useful and constructive role in helping to find

solutions to some of the current problems that disturb the international community. They agreed to do all they could to strengthen the basic principles of the Commonwealth and to explore ways in which it could contribute to the cause of international peace and harmony.

The Prime Ministers re-affirmed their faith in the United Nations organisation and the need to strengthen it further for the maintenance of world order. They were of the view that every effort should be made towards complete and general disarmament and, in particular, nuclear disarmament.

The two Prime Ministers expressed concern at the growing gulf between the developing and developed countries. They were of the view that the gap must be reduced and speedily bridged in the interests of peace and harmony among nations. They hoped that all countries concerned would continue to bend their energies towards a satisfactory solution of this important problem.

The Prime Ministers agreed that friendly and co-operative relations existing between the two countries should be further strengthened and developed. They emphasised, in particular, the importance of expanding trade exchanges and of greater collaboration in economic, technical and scientific fields between the two countries. They agreed that these matters should be further examined by the two Governments. In this connection, the Prime Ministers expressed satisfaction at the recent growth of trade between India and New Zealand.

The Prime Minister of India expressed her sincere appreciation of the warm welcome and hospitality which she and her party had received during the visit. She extended an invitation to the Prime Minister of New Zealand and Mrs. Holyoake to visit India. The Prime Minister of New Zealand accepted the invitation with thanks.

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NEW ZEALAND INDIA USA VIETNAM FRANCE SWITZERLAND MALI PAKISTAN UZBEKISTAN

**Date :** May 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

SINGAPORE

Prime Minister's Speech at State Banquet

Following is the text of the speech made by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at the banquet given in her honour by the Prime Minister of Singapore, His Excellency Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, on May 19, 1968 :

I first came to Singapore in 1936. How long ago it now seems-another age, another world! I should like to thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, for your invitation and for giving me this opportunity of renewing contacts with you and your colleagues and of seeing for myself the rapid progress which this lovely country is making under your wise and dedicated leadership. I should also like to thank you for the many kind things you have said about my country and my people this evening.

India is a bridge between East and West Asia, between Central and South-East Asia and there is much that draws us to Singapore. Through the ages our ships and boats have sailed the oceans, in the East and in the West. They have carried goodwill and friendship, trade and commerce. This bond stands renewed and is further strengthened by the closeness of our outlook and our approach to national and international problems as well as the common pattern of our societies.

You have referred to Sanskrit. It is the new foundation of our culture. Its enriching influence has spread far and wide, as have other aspects of Indian culture. But this has not been one-way traffic. We also have been influenced by other cultures, other strains adapting them and weaving them into the fabric of our own lives.

I am impressed by the rich and varied pat-

terns of your social structure. These are the expression of the distinctive contribution of different races. In our country also, we take special pride in the rich diversity of our people who speak various languages, profess different faiths and are brought up in the many-sided culture of India. In a sense, Mr. Prime Minister, what you and we are trying to achieve in our two countries has a significance for the world as a whole.

I am glad that the Indians who live in Singapore are being good Singaporeans. That is as it should be. Sometimes, communities who have been away from the countries of origin tend emotionally to cling to the old ways, losing touch with the constant changes which are taking place in their original homeland and yet not finding a place in their new homeland.

#### TRANSITION TO MODERNITY

Our two countries are in the full swing of development and the transition to modernity. We seek to make rapid advance and yet to maintain and strengthen the deep and ancient roots of our cultural heritage. The aim is a worthwhile one. But, like all things of value, it has its price in the shape of special problems.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of our world is the deepening consciousness of human dignity and self-respect, Man's concern and interest are no longer circumscribed by a few paternal acres. He not only thinks of himself as a human being, but is poignantly aware that the misery and poverty in which his forefathers were engulfed is no longer inevitable. The fatal acceptance of conditions as they were, has gone for ever. Out of this has emerged the turbulence which is agitating the hearts and minds of men everywhere. In less than two decades hundreds of millions of human beings have cast off their shackles and are seeking fulfilment of their destiny.

We are not mere spectators of this vast and complex phenomena. We are deeply involved in it and must play our respective roles. The first instinct may be to turn away from its intricacies and to seek refuge behind some catch phrase, some easy or sovereign remedy for all problems in terms of ideology, systems or ways of life. Human beings still interpret the un-

known in terms of the known. We have lived through a period when the world was resounding with the shrill Cries of warring camps, each

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with its banner, its slogan, each wanting to convert others to its own way. Slogans cannot feed the people, nor give them shelter, education or medical facilities. The people want bread to enjoy freedom and freedom to enjoy life.

We are all pressurized by the revolution of rising expectations. We are driven by our own dreams---our own longing for the day when all our people can know the, full meaning of freedom-freedom from want and freedom to grow to the extent of their capacity. Neither stability nor strength can be borrowed. If we are strong in ourselves we can help others too and be a force for peace. For 20 bard years India has faced tremendous odds. There have been many prophets of doom in our own country and abroad. Yet we have survived as a healthy and vibrant democracy. Mr. Prime Minister, you have been pleased to quote some views on our development. Despite the poverty of many of our citizens India has progressed in almost every field of human endeavour and is today economically, industrially and technologically fairly advanced. She is vastly different from the picture depicted by some news agencies of the world. Naturally we have our mistakes and shortfalls-who has not? But they are a part of growing and finding our way on uncharted seas.

Endangering our peace and stability is the widening gulf between the rich and the poor. It is a world problem as well as a national one. The problem was posed recently at UNCTAD and elsewhere, but a satisfactory solution is yet to be evolved. We hope that the vast resources which am being wasted in war will be diverted to the peaceful economic development of countries which desperately need them. But first and foremost, it is only through their own efforts, through the endeavour of their own people that developing countries can give social and economic content to their political independence. We are determined to expand our economy and to increase trade. We are resolved to work towards a self-reliant economy. Will

the developed countries play fair by us? Or will they continue to exploit our economic backwardness to their own advantage as they have done in the past ?

No single country or single ideology can give solution to the problem of our age. No magic formula is applicable to all countries and situations. My father spoke of seeking out areas of agreement and enlarging them. We believe in independence and are struggling now to make it secure and meaningful. But we do realise that no country can be entirely self-sufficient. No economy can survive in isolation. It is with mutual help and interdependence that we can preserve what we have and use it for the betterment of our lives.

#### REGIONAL CO-OPERATION

We believe in regional co-operation not as a narrow scheme of pitting one region against another, but as a wider and more broad-based concept in which each country would play a vital role and none would dominate the others. It would indeed be sad if regional organisations were to intensify the cold war atmosphere, rather than act as bridges of understanding within the region and between various regions. In such an organisation we would not wish to exclude any country of this region because of its different social, economic or political system. We believe in the pooling of knowledge and experience, and know that these are not the exclusive preserve of any single country or race. We seek to promote mutual understanding, leading to agreement. We seek co-operation and the establishment, of Positive, creative and mutually profitable bilateral relations. And we hope that these will expand, in the measure that we gain mutual trust, into wider regional co-operation.

My father felt himself a world citizen, with an intense awareness of the special dangers which threaten our age and of its yearning for peace. It is up to us who have followed him to be true to that and to keep bright that vision. For more than two decades it has been our endeavour to work for peace along with like-minded nations. It is our belief that far from providing a lasting solution to any problem, war sows the seeds of bitterness and hatred and

creates new tensions.

## VIETNAM

Peace is not merely the absence of war or a moral injunction. Peace today comes from sincere and persistent effort to understand and tolerate. Peace is necessary for our very survival. The arena for battles has moved from Europe to various parts of Asia since the end of World War II. But neither Europe nor America, neither Africa nor Asia can escape the consequences of an escalating conflict in any part of the world. Your country and ours, as well as others in this region, are interested in a just and peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem. It is natural, therefore, that the demand for the ending of this conflict should have been voiced with increasing urgency, and that now the world's hopeful attention is fixed on Paris where talks have begun. Like any other nation, the courageous, people of Vietnam should be enabled to enjoy their own way of life

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in freedom and peace. The end of this tragic conflict will provide an opportunity and a challenge to the peoples of this region, provided we prove equal to the task and are able to utilise the peace for further development and progress.

Mr. Prime Minister, I have great pleasure in visiting your country again, of meeting you and your Charming Wife, in exchanging views with you and your colleagues on matters of interest. Once again our talks have confirmed an identity of interests and outlook. It is my sincere hope that these seeds of understanding and friendship will blossom and bear fruit in many-sided collaboration for our mutual benefit and the general welfare of our people.

May I thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, your Government and the people of Singapore for your warm-hearted welcome. I know that it expresses your friendship for India and her people.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, may I invite you to join me in a toast to the health of His Excellency the, Prime Minister and Madame Lee, to friendship between our peoples and to

the progress and prosperity of the people of Singapore.

REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC VIETNAM FRANCE

**Date :** May 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

SINGAPORE

Prime Minister's Speech at Luncheon by Chambers of Commerce

Following is the text of the speech by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at a luncheon given in her honour by the Chambers of Commerce, Singapore, on May 20, 1968

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,

Thank you for your welcome and hospitality and the opportunity of meeting such a distinguished gathering of the business and industrial elite of this dynamic city.

Singapore is a great port and trading centre, a meeting place and a melting pot of enterprises and ideas. Here you have a unique opportunity to feel the pulse and heart-beat of the great Indo-Pacific region of which this city is the fulcrum. You have built a prosperous society on the basis of trade. The efforts you are now making to set up industries for domestic consumption and for exports will certainly add to your prosperity. The Jurong Industrial Estate is a fitting symbol of your endeavours.

Perhaps you would be interested to hear about India. In all the long years of the freedom struggle, our leaders did not delude themselves or our people with the notion that independence was the end of the road. Independence was seen as the beginning of a new and longer journey, in some ways a more arduous and important journey towards social justice,

economic emancipation and self-reliance.

It was, therefore, natural for us to make planned development the central focus of our national effort. Many critics within the country and outside asked why should India plan? And if it had to plan, why should she plan so ambitiously? Why have heavy industry and why establish industries in the public sector? Our experience has however proved that we were largely right in our approach and our priorities

#### PRIORITY FOR AGRICULTURE

Agriculture has always been our first priority, for it constitutes the foundation and governs the lives of the vast majority of our people. But it is clear that agriculture itself requires an infrastructure and a strong industrial base, transport and communication, roads, irrigation, power, posts and so on. So this also assumed a certain priority.

It is obvious that the import of these items would create serious balance of payments difficulties. Since we have the natural resources and raw materials such as coal, iron ore, minerals, an ample power potential etc., and the demand is of a magnitude which offers attractive, economics of scale, it seems illogical not to begin the phased manufacture of many of these items.

Seeing the whole problem in perspective, therefore, it does seem advantageous to establish heavy industries and basic industries such as steel, aluminium, machine-building, heavy electricals, machine tools, oil refineries, mining equipment, petro-chemicals, electronics and heavy chemicals. In India we are pledged to certain social objectives-to provide equality of opportunity and social justice to all our people. Development therefore cannot be left to the mercy of market forces. Nor is it feasible for a private individual or group to finance the vast investments involved. State intervention has been necessary. We have, therefore, developed a mixed economy with liberal regulations and controls which have been constantly under re-

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view in keeping with the changing needs and circumstances.

Eighty per cent of our people live in the villages; yet there is neither land nor employment for all. Employment has to be found in industry-large-scale, medium and village industries. Our plans might appear ambitious to the superficial observer, but they have been exceedingly modest in relation to our needs. We have sought to extend import substitution through industrialisation and indigenous research and development. We have also given importance to the export sector and have sought to enlarge not only our traditional exports of tea, jute, textile, and bides and skins but of newer manufactures which now include sewing machines, bicycles, electric fans and motors, trucks, railway wagons, locomotives and ancillary equipment, telecommunication equipment, steel.

#### FOREIGN INVESTMENT

We have welcomed private foreign investment and have received external assistance. Four-fifths of our development programmes have however been financed through indigenous resources. In aggregate terms, the volume of foreign assistance might appear large, but in per capita or even in relative terms, India has been one of the lowest recipients of aid. In any case aid is a deceptive word, since it ties us to markets and currencies and imposes an ever-increasing burden of repayment. India has also been a donor and we have been glad to help a number of friendly countries both with credits and technical assistance.

I hope I shall not tire you by describing some of our achievements since independence. The national income has increased by 87 per cent though per capita income has risen by only 30 per cent because of the large increase in population which is due to better health and (as much as to the birth-rate) which we are seeking to control through a national family planning programme. The production of foodgrains has increased by 73 per cent and industrial output by 162 per cent. The production of ingot steel has risen from 1.5 million tonnes to 7 million tonnes. Installed power capacity has been stepped up from 2.3 million kilowatts to 13 million kilowatts. In 1947, there were no oil refineries. The present capacity exceeds 15

million tonnes. Fertilizer plants are coming up all over the country. We are in a position to build complete metallurgicals, engineering, cement, paper, textile and chemical plants as well as a whole range of transport and electrical equipment.

We have laid great stress on education, general and technical, because ultimately it is a country's trained Manpower that enables it to progress. Development involves change and modernisation. Education and training provide the key. The number of children at school has more than trebled at 75 million while admissions to engineering and technological institutes at degree and diploma level have increased from 10,000 to over 75,000.

In 1966 and 1967, we had unprecedented drought. We have also been the victims of aggressions in recent years and this has entailed some diversion of resources from development to defence. These factors, among others, caused a temporary setback which we are now overcoming. Our economy is picking up and there is a new forward momentum.

These strides we are taking in the most difficult of situations of democracy. I believe it was Winston Churchill who said that democracy is a fragile institution. But he hastened to add that there is none better. In our fourth general elections last year, approximately 175 million people actually voted.

#### REGIONAL COOPERATION

In our external policies, we stand for peaceful co-existence. We seek partnership in progress through regional co-operation on terms of equality and mutual benefit. We do not think in terms of small and big nations. We do understand Singapore's need to industrialise and we would be happy to assist and co-operate in this process. We should like to enlarge our contacts with, and understanding of, Singapore and the other countries of South-East Asia. I hope that representatives of these assembled Chambers of Commerce will visit India to meet their Indian counterparts and that our industrialists and scholars will come to Singapore in increasing numbers to learn about your problems and aspirations. Co-operation can grow only out of

knowledge and understanding.

India and Singapore have traded with each other for centuries. This mutual trade has been growing over the years and last year it stood at over 32 million U.S. dollars with a balance of 8 million dollars in your favour. As the process of our and your industrialisation gathers greater momentum, the scope of this trade will further increase and diversify. We shall be glad to share our experience in the process of industrialisation. There is tremendous scope for joint ventures between Singapore and India.

Once again I thank you all for this pleasant present function. I bring you the greetings and good wishes of the Indian people. And may I wish you every success in the task which you are all undertaking together for Singapore's future progress and prosperity.

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REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE USA INDIA LATVIA RUSSIA

**Date :** May 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

SINGAPORE

Joint Communique on Prime Minister's Visit

Following is the text of the joint communique issued at the end of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to Singapore on May 20, 1968 :

At the invitation of the Government of Singapore, Her Excellency Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, paid a visit to Singapore on 19th and 20th May 1968. Accompanying the Prime Minister of India was Shri T. N. Kaul, Secretary for the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India. Her Excellency was also assisted in the talks by His Excellency Shri

Surendra Sinh Alirajpur, High Commissioner of India in Singapore, Shri K. C. Nair, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Shri B. D. Jayal, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Shri B. G. Verghese of the Prime Minister's Secretariat.

During her visit, the Prime Minister of India was received by the President and Puan Noor Aishah and had discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. S. Rajaratnam. In order to acquaint herself with the economic and social development of the country, Her Excellency toured the Jurong Industrial Estate and the housing estates.

The Prime Ministers had a frank and useful exchange of views covering a broad range of topics of mutual interest to both countries including the present world situation, problems in South and South-East Asia and ways and means of further strengthening co-operation in all fields of interest in their respective countries. These talks were held in an atmosphere of complete frankness, friendliness, mutual understanding and confirmed the large area of common objectives and common aspirations of the Governments and their peoples.

The Prime Ministers noted with great satisfaction the progress of the relations between the two countries and expressed their determination to further strengthen these ties by promoting greater co-operation in the economic, trade, tourist, cultural, technological and scientific fields. In this regard, they expressed the willingness of their respective governments to facilitate the development of bilateral trade and to encourage comprehensive and long-term economic co-operation between the two countries. It was agreed that with a view to pursuing further the discussions held earlier in Singapore following the visit of a delegation from India, the Government of Singapore will send a delegation to India shortly to enter into a trade agreement. Possibilities of joint ventures between the two countries were also discussed and some fields where joint ventures were desirable and feasible were identified.

Reiterating their faith in the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, non-inter-

ference in the internal affairs of other States by subversion, sabotage, infiltration or by any other means and the equality of rights of sovereign nations regardless of size, political systems or other factors, the two Prime Ministers agreed that the countries of South and South-East Asia must take advantage of the changes about to take place in order to further consolidate peace and stability in the region, so that national independence will find meaningful expression in economic and social progress. They agreed that economic growth must be accelerated in an atmosphere of self-discipline, self-reliance and co-operation for mutual benefit. The Prime Ministers expressed the readiness of their respective countries to play their part in regional endeavours so that all countries of the region could achieve greater economic growth.

The Prime Ministers welcomed the recent moves to resolve the Vietnam conflict and expressed the hope that the Paris meeting would lead to a peaceful resolution of the conflict within the broad framework of the Geneva accords of 1954.

The two sides exchanged views on the current situation in West Asia. The Prime Minister of India explained the stand which the Indian Government had taken in the United Nations and elsewhere in this matter. Both sides expressed the hope that a stable peace in the area would be restored soon.

The Prime Ministers exchanged views on the desirability of taking steps to ensure that the Indian Ocean area in which they have a common interest is maintained and developed as an area of peace and peaceful co-operation.

Stressing the importance of world peace as the basis for progress in economic and social fields, the Prime Ministers re-affirmed their belief in the United Nations as an essential instrument for the promotion of this objective.

The two Prime Ministers expressed concern at the continuing and increasing gulf between the developing and the developed countries of the world. They were of the view that the gap must be reduced and bridged in the interest of peace and harmony among nations.

The two Prime Ministers expressed their concern at the continuing racist policies of the Union of South Africa and of the illegal racist regime in Rhodesia. They reiterated their strong opposition to the remnants of colonialism in all its forms and expressed their whole-hearted support for the people who are still struggling to free themselves from colonial domination and consolidation of their independence. They hoped that all States would extend their unreserved co-operation and support to the United Nations in its efforts to make the Governments concerned abandon their racist policies which poses a threat to international peace and adds to distrust and animosities between races and nations.

The Prime Minister of India informed the Prime Minister of Singapore of the efforts India had made and was making towards normalisation of Indo-Pakistan relations on the basis of the Tashkent Agreement. The Prime Minister of Singapore noted these efforts and expressed the hope that the two countries would settle their differences by peaceful means and direct negotiations.

Both Prime Ministers felt that every effort should be made towards complete and general disarmament and, in particular, nuclear disarmament. In regard to problems of nuclear proliferation, the two Prime Ministers agreed that any treaty in this regard should provide for mutuality of obligations and non-discrimination as between nuclear and non-nuclear powers and that it should not inhibit the development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

The Prime Minister of India expressed her deep appreciation of the cordial reception and hospitality accorded to her and her delegation. Both Prime Ministers recognised that the visit had helped to strengthen further the mutual understanding and co-operation between the two countries and re-affirmed their determination to strengthen bilateral relations in every possible way.

The Prime Minister of India extended an invitation to the Prime Minister of Singapore and Mrs. Lee to pay an official visit to India. The Prime Minister of Singapore accepted the invitation with thanks.



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MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS: EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

HUNGARY INDIA CHAD MALAYSIA YUGOSLAVIA

**Date :** Jun 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

CEYLON

Indo-Ceylon Joint Communique on Trade and Economic Co-operation

Following is the text of a Joint Communique issued in New Delhi on June 6, 1968 on the talks held between India and Ceylon on trade and economic co-operation:

A delegation from the Government of Ceylon led by His Excellency Mr. Hugh Fernando, Minister of Commerce and Trade, Government of Ceylon, and including Dr. Gamini Corea, Permanent Secretary, Planning and Economic Affairs and Mr. P. A. Silva, Permanent Secretary, Commerce and Trade, Government of Ceylon, held talks in New Delhi from May 31 to June 6, 1968, on trade and economic cooperation with an Indian delegation led by Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce and including Shri K. B. Lall and Shri B. N. Banerji, Secretary and Special Secretary respectively, of the Ministry of Commerce, Government of India.

Simultaneously, talks were also held by them on matters relating to tea, in which officials of the two Governments, representatives of tea producers and of the tea trade of the two countries and officials of the Ceylon Propaganda Board as well as the Indian Tea Board participated. The talks were held in an atmosphere of extreme cordiality and a spirit of mutual cooperation.

## I. ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

The two delegations discussed the scope of economic cooperation amongst the developing countries and, in particular, between India and Ceylon. They agreed that there was a considerable scope for joint efforts by the two countries for closer bilateral cooperation in economic and commercial fields and in particular the following:---

- (i) Expansion of mutual trade and export sales to other markets;
- (ii) Promotion of industrial collaboration establishment of joint ventures;
- (iii) Fuller utilisation of the available training facilities, managerial skills, consultancy services, etc., in each country;
- (iv) Promotion of tourism, and other areas mutually agreed to by the two Governments.

They have accordingly agreed to set up a Joint Committee on Economic Cooperation charged with the task of formulating and pursuing continuously measures for cooperation between the two countries in the above fields. The first meeting of the Joint Committee is expected to be held in Colombo at a date convenient to the, two Governments some time towards the end of August, 1968.

## II. CO-OPERATION IN THE FIELD OF TEA

In the course of their talks on tea, the two delegations discussed the various measures which they gave agreed to initiate jointly in furtherance of their common objective of arresting the declining trend in world market prices of tea and for securing a price considered equitable to the producer

and fair to the consumer.

The delegations welcomed the decisions taken at UNCTAD-II recognising tea as a commodity requiring "prompt consideration for appropriate international action". They expressed the hope that such action would result from the efforts of the international organisation at the 3rd FAO Consultation scheduled to take place around October, 1968 in Uganda.

The delegation expressed serious concern over the fact that while price levels in general have been rising, the retail prices of tea ruling in some consuming countries have, by and large, not increased over the last decade. In this context they emphasised the need for having urgent consultations with the Governments and the trading interests of the consuming countries concerned.

The two delegations reviewed the joint activities of the two countries for promotion of tea. It was

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felt that it was necessary for comprehensive market surveys to be undertaken on behalf of the two Governments in cooperation with the local tea trade and the Tea Councils. The Tea Council in U.K., it was noted with satisfaction, had already commissioned such a survey. The delegations also, agreed on the principles to be followed in the formation of Tea Councils for promotion of tea in various countries.

The proposal for the establishment of a Joint Consortium for the marketing of blended and packaged tea in selected markets was further discussed by the two delegations. The representatives of the tea producers and tea trade in the delegations welcomed the proposal, and it was agreed to set up a working group to draft the constitution and define precisely the objectives, functions, financial and administrative structure and scope of its operations. The consortium will undertake, if necessary in collaboration with packaging and distributive trade in the importing countries, blending, packaging and distribution of tea from the two countries.

It was agreed between the two delegations to coordinate research concerning tea between the two countries and to start with, to take action in the sphere of packaging and preservation of tea,

development of new forms of tea and extraction of chemicals and by-products from tea, in research institutions or universities in India and Ceylon depending on the personnel and expertise available. A Standing Committee has been set up to recommend specific schemes.

### III. TRADE

The two delegations reviewed the flow of trade between India and Ceylon over the last few years. Both the delegations agreed that every effort should be made to expand and diversify the Indo-Ceylon trade to the mutual advantage of both the countries in tune with the current trend of expanding co-operation in economic and other fields.

It was realised that while the pattern of trade would be naturally influenced by structural changes within the two countries, there was considerable scope for expansion in several fields consistent with each country's export potential and its import requirements. It has been decided that a full review of the possibility of increased trade exchanges should be made in the light of discussions on bilateral economic cooperation and this will be undertaken at the meeting of the Indo-Ceylon Joint Committee for economic cooperation.

In the meantime, having regard to the difficulties being experienced on both sides with regard to the fulfilment of the targets for the commodities indicated in the annual trade arrangements between the two countries, it has been agreed to institute necessary measures for stepping up trade exchanges in those commodities as well as those which may be included in future in the Trade Arrangement. It was felt that for this purpose, there should be closer cooperation between the trade organisations such as the State Trading Corporation of India and the cooperative Wholesale Establishment of Ceylon by way of exchange of institutional services, information, agency arrangements, etc., between them. These organisations will soon engage themselves in working out a suitable scheme and all necessary facilities will be provided to them by the two Governments in implementing such a scheme with a view to increasing mutual cooperation to the best advantage of India and Ceylon.

**Date :** Jun 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

HUNGARY

Joint Communique on President's visit

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in Budapest on June 10, 1968 at the end of the visit to Hungary of the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain :

At the invitation of Mr. Pal Losonczi, President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, Dr. Zakir Husain, President of the Republic of India, paid an official visit to the Hungarian People's Republic from June 6 to June 10, 1968, in an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding.

The President of India and his party exchanged opinions with the President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic and

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with other Hungarian statesmen on the further development of friendly relations between the two countries and on the current international questions. They informed each other of the internal situation in their respective countries.

Taking part in the talks on the Indian side were Dr. Triguna Sen, Minister of Education, Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, Foreign Secretary, Dr. Nagendra Singh, Secretary to the President and Shri J C. Kakar, Ambassador of the Republic of India in Hungary. On the Hungarian side, Mr. Pal Ilku, Minister of Education and Culture, Mr. Lajos osterki, Secretary of the Presidential Council, Mr. Karoly Szarka, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Janos Nagy, Head of the Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Peter Kos. Ambassador of the Hungarian People's Re-

public in India.

The President of India visited some industrial installations and the countryside and received an honorary degree of the Eotvoes Lorand University of Budapest. He was glad to observe the progress made and the notable success achieved in many spheres of national development.

The President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic expressed appreciation of the results achieved by the Government and the people of the Republic of India in the development of their country.

Both the Presidents noted with satisfaction the basis of the principles laid down in the joint Indo-Hungarian communique of February 1966, the friendly co-operation of the two countries has developed rapidly in all fields. They expressed their intention to make the contacts of their countries more regular, both under the existing agreements and through widening their relations, in order to develop as broad areas of co-operation as possible.

Both the Presidents noted with satisfaction the considerable expansion of economic relations between Hungary and India on the basis of mutual advantage. They will encourage initiatives in the search of new forms of technical and commercial co-operation. They welcome the idea of consultations to be conducted for the development targets of the two countries as well as other mutual steps taken and to be taken to increase trade and considerable diversification.

Both Presidents are satisfied with the development of cultural and scientific relations between their countries. They wish to make it possible for the cultural and scientific institutions of the two countries to ensure full implementation of the current working programmes and to seek even more effective forms of co-operation.

The two Presidents reviewed the international situation and reaffirmed that their views on many basic issues are identical or similar. They were glad to emphasize the usefulness of the co-operation of their representatives in international organizations and at international conferences. They stated that the policy of non-alignment is an important factor in easing international tensions and

in maintaining world peace.

The Governments of both the countries view the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems as an important principle of international relations. They reaffirm their view on the necessity of general and complete disarmament and of the immediate liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and pledge their full support to the peoples of the world still engaged in a struggle for their liberty and the consolidation of their independence.

The two Presidents agreed that the international disputes, including frontier and territorial issues, should be solved by means of peaceful negotiations without the use of force and without interference in another country's internal affairs.

The two Presidents exchanged views on the current situation in Vietnam. They expressed the hope that the talks taking place in Paris between the representatives of the United States of America and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam would lead to effective steps towards a peaceful settlement of the problem within the framework of the Geneva Accords of 1954.

They stressed the urgency of implementing the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967 and the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces to the lines existing prior to June 5, 1967 in the interest of settling the West Asia situation.

Both sides reaffirmed that the United Nations has an important role to play in maintaining international peace and security. They noted the importance of increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations on the basis of strict observance of its Charter.

The visit to Hungary by the President of India is a highly important contribution to the further strengthening of friendly relations between the Hungarian Peoples Republic and the Republic of India towards greater understanding and friendship among the peoples.

The President of India extended a cordial invitation to the President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic to visit India on a date suitable to him. Mr. Pal Losonczy accepted the invitation with pleasure.

HUNGARY INDIA USA VIETNAM FRANCE SWITZERLAND ISRAEL

**Date :** Jun 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement on Security Assurances to Non-nuclear-weapon States

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on June 19, 1968 on security assurance to non-nuclear-weapon States :

Mr. President, at the 1428th meeting of the Security Council, held on 29th May, I had, occasion to pay you a heartfelt tribute. It is a matter of great gratification for my delegation to find that the Council is still privileged to be presided over by a person of your distinction and acknowledged ability. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate the warm appreciation of my delegation for the prudent, impartial and diligent manner in which you have conducted the formal and informal consultation of the members of the Council, not only on the important issue under consideration today, but equally on all other issues on which we have had the happy experience of being in contact with you.

I should like once again to wish you every success in the important new fields in which you will find yourself and to express the hope that the close personal friendship that has developed between us will be maintained in the years to come

I should also like to refer to the characteristic efficiency and the persistent devotion to duty displayed by Lord Caradon when he presided

over our deliberations last month. It is a great tribute to him that his painstaking efforts and statesmanlike approach brought the prolonged consultations on the difficult question of Southern Rhodesia to a successful conclusion.

It is a matter of great regret to my delegation that we are shortly to be deprived of the able services of Mr. Nesterenko, the distinguished Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs. I have had the privilege of knowing him for the last six years and have valued him both as a colleague and as a friend. I should like to place on record the deep appreciation of my delegation for the exemplary efficiency and integrity with which Mr. Nesterenko has discharged his important functions. We wish him all success in his new appointment.

We are now approaching the end of our current deliberations on the vital question of assuring the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the threat or the use of nuclear weapons. This question has been widely discussed both within and outside the United Nations for years. The Government of India attaches the highest importance to the solution of this problem.

In the view of the Government of India, the problem of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons arises from the possession, the continued stockpiling and the further sophistication of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery. The real hope of security for non-nuclear-weapon States lies in nuclear disarmament when nuclear weapons shall have been completely eliminated.

It is, however, obvious that action in this field of genuine and lasting security would take time and would have to be sought through stages. Until such time, and purely as an interim measure—that is, so long as nuclear weapons continue to remain in the armouries of a few countries—the nuclear-weapon States have a definite obligation to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States that their security would not, in any way be endangered by the use or threat of use of such weapons, and also that such weapons would not be used as an instrument of pressure, intimidation or blackmail. It is in this context that we have to consider the question of security

assurances.

My Government would welcome any steps that might be taken by the nuclear-weapon States in concert with non-nuclear-weapon States to increase the effectiveness of the role of the United Nations for the purpose of providing

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security. The hopes of mankind rest on this. no obligations cast by the Charter on Member States, and more particularly on the permanent members of the Security Council, to ensure peace in the world, make it necessary for them to discharge their responsibilities in strict conformity with the Charter.

#### SOVEREIGN EQUALITY

I should like to emphasize that any security assurances that might be offered by nuclear-weapon States could not and should not be regarded as a quid pro quo for the signature of a non-proliferation treaty. A non-proliferation treaty should be judged by itself and on its own merits. As I have already stated, the threat of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon States arises directly from the possession of such weapons by certain States. That threat has nothing to do with the signature or non-signature of a particular non-proliferation treaty. That threat has existed in the past and will continue to remain, even after a non-proliferation treaty has been concluded. until such time as the nuclear menace has been eliminated altogether. The assurance of security to non-nuclear-weapon States is an obligation on the nuclear-weapon States, and not something which they could or should offer in return for the signature by non-nuclear-weapon States of a non-proliferation treaty.

The basis for any action by the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security is the Charter of the United Nations. Any linking of security assurances to the signature of a nonproliferation treaty would be contrary to its provisions, because the Charter does not discriminate between those who might adhere to a particular treaty and those who might not do so. Under Article 24 of the Charter, the Members of the United Nations have conferred on the Security Council the primary

responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and have agreed that, in carrying out its duties under this responsibility, the Security Council acts on their behalf.

Article 24 then goes on to say that in discharging its duties the Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The Purposes and Principles are contained in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter. One of the cardinal principles is that of sovereign equality, that is, the equality of rights and benefits under the Charter for all Members of the United Nations. The second, and equally important, principle is that all Members shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter. It should thus, be clear that, while the permanent members of the Security Council have a special obligation and responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, they are precluded from adopting a discriminatory approach in situations involving the security of States, including that arising from the threat or the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States.

Unfortunately, it is precisely such a discriminatory approach that is adopted in the draft resolution contained in document S/8631, particularly in preambular paragraph 2 and operative paragraph 2 thereof. The Security Council is being asked to take into consideration the concern of only certain of those States which have expressed a desire to subscribe to the non-proliferation treaty. I submit that this concept is contrary to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

When the Security Council is called upon to make a determination in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, it does not first enquire as to whether a certain State has subscribed to a particular treaty or not. Its findings, recommendations and decisions are to be guided solely by the objective of maintaining or restoring international peace and security. The Charter is clear that the assistance of the Security Council should be available in equal measure to all States. Some nuclear-weapon States that are also permanent members of the Security Council intend, however, to provide or support immediate assistance by way of collective self-defence only

to those non-nuclear-weapon States which are parties to a particular treaty.

My delegation has carefully studied the declaration made by the three nuclear-weapon States and appreciates the sincerity of the effort made by them to provide assurances of security to non-nuclear-weapon States. In the declarations, the three nuclear-weapon Powers themselves recall the provision of the Charter which calls for effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

#### BASIC PRINCIPLES

In our opinion, it is the clear responsibility of the nuclear-weapon States members of the Security Council to go to the assistance of any non-nuclear-weapon State that is threatened with or is the victim of nuclear attack, and not merely of those that may be signatories of a non-proliferation treaty. This is their special responsibility by reason of their possessing nuclear weapons

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as well as of their being permanent members of the Security Council. It would be inappropriate, therefore, for the Security Council to welcome the partial assurances mentioned in operative paragraph 2. It is in the interest of the international community that non-nuclear-weapon States are encouraged to remain in that category. This can be done only by ensuring the security of all non-nuclear-weapon States in conformity with the Charter, regardless of whether or not they sign the non-proliferation treaty.

In the light of what I have just stated, it is clear that the draft resolution contained in document S/8631 does not fully accord with the basic principles which should govern the problem of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. My delegation, therefore, cannot support the draft resolution sponsored by the delegations of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Nevertheless, we are reassured by the fact that all the rights and benefits enshrined in the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security continue to be available to all States Members of the United Nations.

Before I conclude, I deem it necessary to reiterate the policy of the Government of India in the nuclear field. It is our national decision to use nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes. This policy has time and again been reiterated by the Government of India and has been firmly adhered to.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Jun 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. M. S. Chadha's Statement on Territories under Portuguese Administration

Shri S. M. S. Chadha, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Special Committee of twenty-four on Decolonisation on June 20, 1968 on the territories under Portuguese Administration :

The Portuguese Government seems to understand only the language of guns. If experience is any guide, it would appear almost impossible to come to terms with it by any other means. We are heartened to note that freedom fighters in Mozambique, Angola and Bissao Guinea are redoubling their efforts to gain freedom for their Territories. in a sense, it is heartening also to note that Portugal is increasing considerably its troops on the soil of Africa, for this is an indication of the increasing failure of Portugal in its colonial ambitions. According to reports, the number of Portuguese troops in Africa at the end of 1967 may have been as many as 150,000. Indeed, it is an ever-increasing preoccupation with Portugal to maintain a hold on its "overseas provinces".

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

To match its physical efforts in the field of philosophy, Portugal is increasingly harping on its actions as being in defence of Western Christian civilization. The old concept of the white man's burden is being pushed and pulled into various forms, but its identity is unmistakably alive. Then there are declarations by Mr. Salazar that Portuguese resistance in Africa "can endure indefinitely". There are patronizing and presumptuous statements that Portugal will not accept the rule of the "untrained majority" in Angola, Mozambique and Bissao, Guinea. There is also a forecast that such a majority rule could only lead to "an extension of chaos in Africa and a return to the former state of backwardness". Needless to say, the obvious common denominator of all these statements is their absurdity.

I was amused also to read, the Secretariat's revealing report regarding the series of articles in *O Seculo* in April 1967, which, referring to colonial peoples, speak of "a tendency towards peculiar behaviour when confronted with the prospect of independence". This sentence is couched in the language almost of scientific discovery.

We are also told in the same report that there is a "flurry of specialists" in military, police and civil administration circles as a result of this profound finding of the Portuguese authorities. This would be extremely funny if it were not a matter affecting the lives of so many subject peoples crushed under the heels of Portuguese colonialism. I repeat, however, that these are all heartening features in another-sense for they represent an increasing, if gradual, recognition by Portugal of the truth as it exists, and these are

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but steps on the road to the total liquidation of Portuguese rule in Africa.

I might add that it is symptomatic of the quixotic behaviour of the Portuguese authorities that they still claim to have a naval command headquarters at Goa, as indicated in the Secretariat's working paper (A/AC.109/L.451, para. 26) dated 22 March 1968. The Portuguese Government indeed lives in dreams of its own creation. It does not yet appear to have fully awakened to the fact that Goa was liberated many years ago and that the Portuguese have been fully and

finally hooted out from there and from other former Portuguese enclaves in India.

#### DEFIANCE OF WORLD CONSCIENCE

It is a paradox, as many delegations have stated here, that Portugal the poorest nation in Europe, continues its outmoded colonial concept and defies the conscience of the world. However, that is not so surprising when one considers that the aiding and abetting of Portugal by powerful countries that pay but lip service to certain ideals of the United Nations is enabling Portugal to maintain its present attitude. It is on those nations that the responsibility devolves to take note of the present situation and to change their shortsighted policies. Those nations should make, no mistake that freedom for the subject peoples under Portuguese colonialism, as elsewhere, is but a matter of time. If freedom is not given, it will be taken. But the people of those Territories will not forget or forgive.

At the other end of the scale are countries which have made great efforts and which have gone to great lengths to help the freedom fighters in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissao). We hope that more countries will join them actively in their efforts.

My delegation has on a number of occasions stated in various forums of the United Nations its belief that the course of future action in so far as Members of the United Nations are concerned has already been well laid down in the General Assembly resolutions. What is now called for is the determination on the part of all nations to implement these effectively, in fulfilment of the responsibilities arising from their membership in the United Nations. It is for us to help these freedom fighters and to accelerate the process of their independence in all ways possible. My country for its part continues to make its humble contribution to the cause of the freedom fighters and looks forward to the day when the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissao) will be masters of their own destiny.

INDIA CHAD ANGOLA GUINEA MOZAMBIQUE PORTUGAL USA

**Date :** Jun 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

MALAYSIA

Joint Communique on Prime Minister's Visit

Following is the text of the joint communique issued in Kuala Lumpur on June 1, 1968 at the end of the visit to Malaysia of the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi:

At the invitation of His Excellency Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, Prime Minister of Malaysia, Her Excellency Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India paid a state visit to Malaysia from May 29 to June 1, 1968.

The Prime Minister of India was received in audience by Their Majesties The Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the Raja Permaisuri Agong. She called on His Excellency the Prime Minister of Malaysia, and met the Deputy Prime Minister and other members of the Malaysian Government.

In the discussions between the two Prime Ministers, the Prime Minister of India was assisted by Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri T. N. Kaul, Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri M. A. Rahman, High Commissioner for India in Malaysia and other officials of the Government of India. The Malaysian side included the Permanent Secretary, the Deputy Secretary and senior officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Malaysian High Commissioner to India.

The discussions between the Prime Ministers of India and Malaysia related to international problems in general and the furtherance of Indo-Malaysian co-operation in particular. The talks

were held in an atmosphere of great friendliness, which reflected the close and traditional ties between the two countries and the similarity of their democratic institutions and ideals.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed their faith in the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in the policy of peaceful and cooperative relations between States. They condemned the use or threat of force, in any form for solving international problems. They expressed their view that relations between States should be conducted on the basis of mutual respect for the territorial integrity of States. They reaffirmed that there should not be interference in the internal affairs of States through subversion, infiltration or by any other means.

The Prime, Minister of India explained the efforts which India has made and continues to make towards normalisation of Indo-Pakistan relations on the lines of the Tashkent Declaration. The Prime Minister of Malaysia noted these efforts and expressed the hope that India and Pakistan would succeed in resolving their differences peacefully.

The Prime Minister of India noted the development of cordial relations between Malaysia and her neighbours and congratulated the leaders of the countries concerned for their statesmanship in striving to secure this improvement.

The Prime Ministers exchanged views on the current situation concerning Vietnam. They noted with satisfaction that talks are taking place in Paris between the Representatives of the United States of America and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and expressed the hope that these preliminary discussions would lead to further steps towards a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problems within the broad framework of the Geneva Accords of 1954.

The two sides exchanged view on the current situation in West Asia. Both sides expressed the hope that a stable peace would be restored soon in the area on the basis of the Security Council Resolutions.

The two parties agreed that regional economic co-operation should be promoted on the basis

of equality and mutual benefit of the countries in the region.

The two Prime Ministers expressed their concern at the continuing racist policies of the South African Government and of the illegal racist regime in Rhodesia. They reiterated their strong opposition to the remnants of colonialism in all its forms, and expressed their whole-hearted support for the people of the world who are still struggling for independence and consolidation of their independence.

Both sides emphasised the importance of striving to achieve, at an early date, general and complete disarmament and in particular nuclear disarmament. This should enable substantial resources, now used on armaments, to be available for economic and social development of the developing countries.

Both the Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the close co-operation existing between the two countries in international forums like the United Nations, UNCTAD and ECAFE. They agreed that friendly and co-operative relations existing between the two countries should be further strengthened and developed in all possible fields, and that there should be closer economic collaboration between India and Malaysia. The Prime Minister of India expressed the readiness of the Government of India to extend all possible help for the developmental programme of Malaysia and offered to provide training facilities in industrial, technical and vocational institutes in India, to depute experts as required by Malaysia in different fields, to under-take a techno-economic survey in Malaysia, and to assist in the establishment of an Institute of Technology in Malaysia. The Malaysian Prime Minister expressed his appreciation of this generous offer to assist in the economic development of Malaysia.

The Prime Ministers expressed their belief that reciprocal visit at all levels would contribute greatly towards accelerated co-operation between the two countries, particularly in the commercial, technological and industrial fields. A delegation of industrialists and businessmen from India would soon be visiting Malaysia and this would be followed by a visit to India of a similar delegation from Malaysia. Officials of

the two Governments would also be meeting to consider ways and means to increase trade exchanges and to finalise a trade agreement between India and Malaysia in the near future.

It was noted that officials of both sides would be meeting in New Delhi very shortly. That opportunity would be taken to identify in detail the steps and measures which should be taken to strengthen and promote political, cultural and economic relations between the two countries.

The Prime Ministers exchanged views on the desirability of taking steps to ensure that the Indian Ocean area in which they have a common interest will always be an area of peace and peaceful co-operation. They hoped that all countries concerned would abide by the relevant principles and resolutions of the United Nations in this regard.

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The two Prime Ministers expressed concern at the growing gulf between the developing and developed countries of the world. They were of the view that in the interest of peace and harmony among nations this gap must be speedily bridged.

Both Prime Ministers took the opportunity of exchanging views on the continuing efforts for social and economic development in their two countries in both of which people of varied origins and persuasions were living together in harmony. The Prime Minister of India was glad to note that the people of Indian origin in Malaysia, the bulk of whom have become responsible Malaysian citizens, were contributing their best to the progress and prosperity of their country of adoption as loyal citizens. The Prime Minister of Malaysia expressed the appreciation of his Government at the Indian policy of encouraging people of Indian origin living abroad to identify themselves with the country of their adoption and domicile and to work for its development.

The Prime Minister of India thanked the Prime Minister and the Government of Malaysia for their warm welcome and hospitality. She extended an invitation to the Prime Minister of Malaysia and Puan Sharifah Rodziah to visit India at a convenient date. The Prime Minister

of Malaysia accepted the invitation with thanks.

MALAYSIA INDIA USA MALI PAKISTAN UZBEKISTAN VIETNAM FRANCE SWITZERLAND SOUTH AFRICA

**Date :** Jun 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Indo-UAR Trade Agreement Signed

Following is the text of the Press Note issued in New Delhi on June 26, 1968 on the signing of a trade agreement between India and the United Arab Republic:

An Indo-U.A.R. trade agreement for 1968-69, was signed in New Delhi today (June 26). It provides for trade exchanges between the two countries of the order of Rs. 64 crores. This will be substantially higher than the level of trade during 1967-68 which was about Rs. 55 crores.

The agreement was concluded after the talks between the two delegations which began on June 13, 1968. The U.A.R. delegation was led by Mr. Ibrahim El Desouki Imam, Director General of the Ministry of Economy & Foreign Trade, and the Indian delegation by Shri V. K. Ahuja, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Commerce. The talks were held in an atmosphere of great cordiality and friendliness.

The agreement will be operative from July, 1968 to June, 1969. A smooth transition has been effected from the old agreement year (March-February) to the new agreement year (July--June), more closely adopted to the requirements of Indo-UAR trade. The adjustments carried out by both sides have largely resolved the problem of imbalance and conditions have been created for a significant expansion-

sion in trade and economic cooperation between India and UAR.

India has agreed to give careful consideration to a list of new items proposed by the UAR for export, which includes petroleum products, ethyl alcohol, nitrocellulose, etc. The UAR exports to India still consists largely of cotton, rice and rock phosphate. An encouraging development during the last year was the rapid diversification of India's trade with the UAR. 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 ferro-manganese, etc.

The question of closer industrial cooperation between the two countries was also considered and it was hoped that the contract relating to supply of textile machinery to the UAR would be concluded shortly.

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INDIA UNITED KINGDOM USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Jun 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNITED KINGDOM

Indo-British Loan Agreement Signed

Following is the text of the Press Note issued on the two loan agreements signed between the Governments of India and the United Kingdom in New Delhi on June 28, 1968:

Two loan agreements totalling (pond) 16 million (Rs. 28.8 crores) were signed in New Delhi on June 28, 1968 between the British and Indian

Governments. The first loan, of (pond) 8.5 million is for general purposes and the second, of (pond)7.5 million, for debt relief.

The agreements were signed by the British High Commissioner, Mr. John Freeman, on behalf of the British Government, and Dr. I. G. Patel, Special Secretary, Ministry of Finance, on behalf of the Government of India.

The general purposes loan will, as with all such loans from Britain in the past, be available for British goods and services India may need for development. The debt relief loan will reimburse repayments on past loans due to Britain from July 1 onwards. It is Britain's contribution to the multilateral scheme of debt relief covering \$ 100 million of payments due from India in 1968/69 announced by members of the Aid India Consortium in Washington on May 24.

The (pond)16 million forms part of the (pond)35 million (Rs. 63 crores) of aid pledged by Britain for 1968/69 at the, May meeting of the Consortium. The present loans bring the total of British aid to India since 1958 to (pond) 344.5 million, and the total of quickly disbursable non-project aid from Britain since the end of the Third Plan period to (pond)77.5 million. Both loans are expected to be wholly disbursed during the present financial year.

INDIA

**Date :** Jun 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

YUGOSLAVIA

Joint Communique on Presidents Visit

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in Belgrade on June 14, 1968 at the end

of the visit to Yugoslavia of the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain :

At the invitation of the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, the President of the Republic of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, paid an official visit to Yugoslavia from the 10th to the 14th of June, 1968. The President of the Republic of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, and the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, and their associates held talks in which they examined the present state of and possibilities for the further development of co-operation between the two countries.

Re-affirming the stands, expressed in the joint communique issued at the end of the visit of the

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President of Yugoslavia to India last January, the two Presidents exchanged views on the world situation and on important international issues including the war in Viet Nam and the Middle East crisis. The two Presidents devoted special attention to the necessity of further strengthening the activity of non-aligned and other countries with a view to consolidating independence, safeguarding peace and accelerating the development of the developing countries and creating more favourable conditions for the positive solution of international problems.

The two Presidents noted with satisfaction the positive response to the idea of convening a new summit conference of non-aligned and other countries which accept the goals of such a conference. They stressed the readiness of Yugoslavia and India to make the maximum contribution and to exert together with other countries concerned their utmost efforts so that this significant international action should achieve its objectives.

The talks between the two Presidents were conducted in a spirit of traditional friendship, cordiality and mutual confidence. The identity or closeness of the views of the two sides regarding various international issues as well as their readiness to continue their present co-operation with a view to safeguarding world peace and further promoting friendly relations between Yugoslavia and India in all fields have been confirmed on this occasion also.

The President of India extended a cordial invitation to President Josip Broz Tito to visit India. The invitation was accepted with pleasure

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**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

AFGHANISTAN

Joint Communique on President's Visit

Following is the text of the joint communique issued on July 18, 1968 at the conclusion of a short visit to Kabul by the President, Dr. Zakir Husain, on his return journey to India from the Soviet Union:

The President of India at the invitation of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan made a short stop-over at Kabul on his return journey to India on the completion of his State visit to the Soviet Union. The President was received and seen off at the airport by His Majesty the King, HRH Princess Bilquiss, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, Senior Generals of the army and

the diplomatic corps.

The two leaders held informal talks and exchanged views on international issues, bilateral relations including the further extension of economic cooperation. In the exchange of views the Prime Minister, the two Deputy Prime Ministers and some other members of the Cabinet participated.

The discussions were frank and friendly and in keeping with the traditional friendly relations between the two countries.

The President and the principal members of his entourage and the Ambassador of India to Afghanistan were the guests of Ms Majesty at lunch at Dilkusha Palace. At the lunch given by His Majesty Dr. Abdul Hakim Zayae, the Chief Justice and the two Speakers, Dr. Abdul Zahir and Mr. Abdul-Hadi Dawey, of the Lower and Upper Houses, were also present.

AFGHANISTAN USA INDIA

**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

AFGHANISTAN

Indo-Afghan Trade Agreement Signed

Following is the text of the joint communique issued on the signing of the trade arrangement between India and Afghanistan in Kabul on July 27, 1968:

A trade delegation of the Royal Afghan Government led by His Excellency Dr. Ali Nawaz, President, Ministry of Commerce of Afghanistan, and a delegation from India led by Shri D. K. Srinivasachar, Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Commerce, held talks in Kabul

from July 22 to July 27, 1968. The talks were held in an atmosphere of extreme cordiality and in a spirit of mutual cooperation. At the conclusion of the talks, the leaders of the two delegations set their signatures on July 27, 1968 to a Trade Arrangement between the two countries for the year 1968-69.

The two delegations noted that when the Ministers of Commerce of the two countries met in New Delhi early this year, they had envisaged an expansion and diversification of trade between India and Afghanistan and the dismantling of restrictions over as wide a field of trade exchanges as may be found to be necessary and practical. In the light of this decision, the two delegations reviewed the working of the Indo-Afghan trade during 1967-68 in all its aspects and discussed the arrangements that should be followed during 1968-69 keeping in view the objective laid down by the two Ministers. At the conclusion of the talks,

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the two delegations agreed that import of asafoetida, cumin seeds and medicinal herbs of Afghan origin will be allowed by India freely and without any ceiling. They also came to an agreement in respect of other items including fresh and dry fruits, which will increase the flow of trade from Afghanistan to India. Similarly special steps are also being taken to ensure that the Afghan imports from India are not concentrated in a few items and are diversified so as to include a number of non-traditional goods.

The two delegations also discussed other matters, which would help in the achievement of the objective of expansion and diversification of trade to mutual advantage. The Royal Afghan Government agreed that letters of credit in US dollar or transferable pounds sterling will be opened by the Afghan bank for import of items covered by Schedule 'C' of the Trade Arrangement for the information of the trade and also issue appropriate instructions to their banks in order to eliminate any difficulties in the payment system envisaged in

the Trade Agreement. The Government of India would publicise widely the availability of this facility among prospective exporters in India.

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 grant visas liberally to encourage and facilitate such visits.

The two delegations recognised the importance of the traditional land route, and considered that the smooth flow of trade exchanges between the two countries was being hampered because of its continuous closure.

The delegations dealt with the possibility of expanding technical and economic cooperation, and noted that there was a considerable scope for training facilities to technicians, etc. in the field in which each country had the necessary technical know-how and that the existing facilities in India and Afghanistan should be utilised more intensively. India agreed to continue providing training facilities to personnel from Afghanistan under their existing Assistance Programme. This was in conformity with the concept of growing regional cooperation in technical assistance among the developing countries.

A periodical review of the Trade Arrangement has been provided to deal with difficulty should any arise in the course of the implementation of the Arrangement, and to review the fulfilment of its objectives.

The two delegations agreed to continue and intensify mutual cooperation in international bodies, such as the ECAFE and UNCTAD and also work in close cooperation with other developing countries in various international forums.

**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Indo-German Credit Agreement Signed

Following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on July 25, 1968 on the signing of an agreement between India and the Federal Republic of Germany:

An agreement was signed in New Delhi today (July 25) for a credit from the Federal Republic of Germany totalling Rs. 46.875 crores (DM 250 million). This follows the pledge made by Germany, at the Aid-India Consortium meeting held in Washington in May 1968 on further financial assistance to India for the year 1968-69.

Shri Y. T. Shah, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, and the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, H.E. Baron

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D. Von Mirbach, signed the agreement for their respective Governments.

### UTILISATION OF AID

The economic assistance under this agreement of Rs. 46.875 crores will be utilised as follows:

- (i) Rs. 19.125 crores (DM 102 million) as commodity aid for the purchase of goods and services. Of this, Rs. 2.25 crores (DM 12 million) will be utilised for the purchase of fertilizers and Rs. 6 crores (DM 32 million) as liquidity assistance for meeting India's import requirements

from any source;

(ii) Rs. 7.5 crores (DM 40 million) for projects to be mutually selected:

(iii) Rs. 1.875 crores (DM 10 million) for loans to small and medium undertakings by the Industrial Finance Corporation of India and the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India;

(iv) Rs. 3.75 crores (DM 20 million) for schemes to be mutually agreed upon;

(v) Rs. 10.988 crores (DM 58.6 million) towards deferment of certain repayment of principal in respect of earlier German credits, maturing between April 1, 1968 and March 31, 1969; and

(vi) Rs. 3.638 crores (DM 19.4 million) towards reduction of interest payment falling due between April 1, 1968 and March 31, 1969.

#### TERMS OF ASSISTANCE

(a) The amounts at (i) to (iv) totalling Rs. 32.75 crores (DM 172 million) will be extended in the form of loans repayable in 25 years (including a grace period of 7 years), carrying an interest rate of three per cent, per annum.

(b) The amount of Rs. 10.988 crores (DM 58.6 million) will be given as a loan repayable in 10 years (including a grace period of three years) carrying an interest of three per cent, per annum.

(c) The amount of Rs. 3.638 crores will be made available as grant-in-aid.

India has been importing, with German assistance, raw materials, components and other maintenance requirements for the economy, and equipment for various industries like automobile, chemicals, engineering,

power steel etc.

German economic assistance to India by way of credits for India's development programme so far totals Rs.844.72 crores (DM 4505.2 million). Out of this, Rs. 220.61 crores (DM 1176.6 million) was given during the Second Five Year Plan period and Rs. 483.11 crores (DM 2576.6 million) was provided for the Third Five Year Plan. The amount of credits extended during 1966-67 and 1967-68 was Rs. 47.25 crores and Rs. 46.875 crores respectively.

Among the important industrial projects undertaken with German assistance are the Rourkela Steel Project, Rourkela Fertilizer Plant, Neyveli Mining Scheme, Durgapur Power Station (5th Unit), expansion of the Mysore Iron and Steel Works and its conversion into an alloy and special steel plant, New Government Electric Factory, Mysore, expansion of the Kalinga Pig Iron Plant, the Kargali Coal Washery (Extension), the Sawang Coal Washery and Telco Tool Room Factory.

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GERMANY INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri B. R. Bhagat's Statement in Economic and Social Council

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs, at the 45th Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council at Geneva on the 11th July, 1968:

Mr. President,

Allow me, at the outset, to express our gratitude to the distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations for his thought-provoking address to the Council on its opening day. We agree with him that we should begin by asking ourselves whether "there has not been somehow a retreat from the high ideals of the post-war years."

Mr. President, for over twenty years now we have been meeting in this Council, year after year, to review the world economic and social situation and to provide inspiration and guidelines for national and international endeavours in this vital sphere of U.N. activities. While doing so, we ourselves derive inspiration from the principles and ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

The last two decades have constituted a momentous phase in the history of modern times. It has been characterised by a phenomenal growth of the world economy as a whole, bringing in its wake unprecedented prosperity for a large number of countries and immense opportunities for the well-being of all the countries of the world. Unfortunately, in spite of the efforts of the international community, it has not been possible to harness the dynamic forces of growth for adequate development of the unprivileged part of the world. The gulf dividing the rich and the poor nations of the world has continued to widen and today peace and progress is even more gravely jeopardized than it was two decades ago. The developments in the international economic relations during the last few years make one wonder whether our basic objective of laying the foundations for a lasting peace by eliminating disparities among nations has not become a more distant dream.

One of the important gains of international economic cooperation during the last twenty years seems to have been that individual countries have learnt to subject their national measures to the test of their

implications for other countries and for the world as a whole. This is a development for which this Council, the United Nations, indeed the entire international community, can legitimately take pride. But certain recent developments have cast doubt in our mind as to whether we are not on the verge of losing this value. The 1967 World Economic Survey makes repeated reference to the recent introspective mood of some of the developed countries. This has led to a setback in the achievement of the one per cent target for the transfer of financial resources from developed countries, the further tightening of aid-tying and a host of other retrogressive measures, resulting, among other things, in a considerable slowing down of the growth in the export earnings of the developing countries during 1967.

## SECOND UNCTAD

Mr. President, we saw the evidence of the paralysing effect of the inward-looking attitude of the developed countries in the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to which my country had the privilege of playing host. Few conferences in the world history were as well prepared as this one. Inaugurating the conference, our Prime Minister described it as "an historic opportunity to set the world community firmly on the road to peace and prosperity..." And yet, the results of the conference failed to measure up to the dimensions and the urgency of the development problems, because, to quote the U.N. Secretary-General again, of the lack of

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"readiness of industrial countries to enter into commitments in regard to trade and aid."

The Conference did nevertheless succeed in making a few gains. It was possible to work out a modest plan of action, without any firm commitments, in regard to commodities and to agree on a programme of work on the formulation and implementation of a generalised scheme of preferences. There was a broad agreement on the convergent

measures to be taken for the expansion of trade among developing countries, for promoting East-West trade and trade between socialist countries and developing countries, for solving the food problem and in favour of the least developed among developing countries, including landlocked countries.

On the other hand, the achievement of the conference in the field of development finance and aid was dishearteningly meagre. A consensus emerged on the diagnosis of the problem but there was little progress in prescription and even less in treatment. The inability of the Conference to produce expected results in elaborating and implementing a scheme of preferences for the developing countries and in otherwise improving the access for their exports in the markets of the developed countries gave rise to widespread disappointment.

In spite of these disappointments, it is the sincere hope of my delegation that some of the constructive ideas which emerged at the New Delhi Conference would strengthen our determination to seek agreement on the unresolved issues through the continuing machinery of the UNCTAD and other United Nations bodies.

Mr. President, at its 41st session, the Council adopted a very comprehensive resolution on the flow of external resources to developing countries. Since then the situation regarding external assistance has taken a turn for the worse. This has affected adversely not only the direct external assistance from developed to developing countries, but is also threatening the finances of the multilateral agencies. The pledges for IDA have amounted to only \$400 million as against the target of \$1 billion and even for some of these, the prospects of fulfilment have recently become uncertain. The pledges for UNDP have till now added up to only \$180 million, as against the target of \$285 million. In spite of the target of \$200 million set for the World Food Programme, it has so far been possible to receive pledges for no more than \$160 million.

The World Economic Survey and the

documents before the Council on the flow of financial assistance to developing countries convey a sense of helplessness and fatalism regarding the prospects for the next few years. The Survey by taking the balance of payments and other difficulties of some developed countries as a constant factor for some time to come, places as though a premium on this factor. We do not accept this view. We agree with the eminent economists from both developed and developing countries, constituting the Committee for Development Planning, that the "developed countries allowed themselves to be unduly influenced by their existing problems in respect of international liquidity and budgetary and balance of payment difficulties.- I very much hope that the policy-makers in developed countries will take into account the unanimous view of these economists in the formulation of their aid policies.

We would be failing in our duty, if in our preoccupation with the current distressing and disconcerting developments we do not recognise a few of the positive measures taken by some developed countries. These countries have not only announced a definite timetable for the acceleration of the flow of assistance, but have also accepted separate targets for official flows and have made provisions for future growth in their transfer of resources to the developing countries. We appreciate the farsightedness of these countries in not allowing their short-term anxieties regarding burden-sharing to eclipse the long-term objective of international economic co-operation.

#### DIRECTIVES AND GUIDELINES

Mr. President, my delegation feels that the Council should take stock of the whole situation and give further directives and guidelines particularly with regard to the following:

- (i) to devise ways and means to insulate an uninterrupted flow of financial

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assistance from the vicissitudes of payments disequilibrium of developed

countries;

(ii) to ensure that developed countries facing payments disequilibrium and other difficulties do not take any measures which will adversely affect the development process of the developing countries;

(iii) to fix targets for development assistance in such a way as to provide a satisfactory measure of the real cost to the donor country. In this connection, following the lead given by some developed countries, attempts may be made to generalise targets for official aid;

(iv) to generalise the practice initiated by some developed countries of increasing the rate of financial flow on a long-term basis to ensure continuity of aid and also to impart a time dimension to the aid target;

(v) to ensure that the international agencies concerned continue and further expand their activities through provision of adequate resources;

(vi) to take effective steps to secure early untying of aid.

On the question of aid-tying, Mr. President, we have reasons to be considerably perturbed at the fact that in the case of some countries, the net of aid-tying has been cast so wide as to encompass practically all the aid given by them. Another development which is causing concern is the extension of aid-tying practice to subscriptions for international agencies.

Mr. President, let me now turn to the question of the preparations for the period after the current Development Decade. Before embarking on a discussion of details and time schedule, I would like to make some general observations regarding the emergence of the concept of Development Decade in the United Nations and our experience of the first Development Decade.

The urgency of the development problems and the continuing threat that it poses to world peace and prosperity, has made it necessary for us to try to compress history, to telescope centuries into a decade or two. Hence the need for making a concentrated effort during the time span covered by a decade. Unfortunately the current Development Decade has belied the hopes reposed in it and is fast coming to an end on a note of disillusionment and disenchantment.

Now we have started planning for the next development decade. I sincerely hope that our preoccupation with the preparations for the next development decade does not result in any let up in our current endeavours. Instead of compressing history, we would then be guilty of being extravagant with it. We will be only replacing the much-needed action during the precious year or two at our disposal by the uncertain promise of another decade.

A number of ideas have been advanced from different quarters and different forums within the United Nations family for the preparation for the decade after the Development Decade. We are grateful to the Committee for Development Planning for the work it has so far accomplished at the technical level. We are, however, somewhat concerned that the Committee is proceeding on the assumption that the so-called next Development Decade will be inaugurated in 1971 and not in 1970. We cannot be expected to look with equanimity, at the possibility of another year's drift and indecision. We are convinced that we have adequate time at our disposal, more than a year and a half, to inaugurate the next Decade at a date when it is due to commence.

The main task of the Committee for Development Planning is to make projections of different variables on the basis of projected rate or rates of growth. I would like to suggest that the Council should direct the Committee to complete this work within six months or so, after which it can be discussed with the specialised agencies and other UN bodies.

## DEVELOPMENT DECADE

But the most important aspect of the preparations for the next Development Decade is the agreement on the means to be adopted for achieving the goals and objectives and the undertaking of commitments

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for applying these means. Both the Secretary-General of UNCTAD and the Committee for Development Planning have emphasised that the establishment of goals and objectives for the next Decade will have no meaning if parallel steps are not taken to improve measurably the external trade and aid environment encountered by developing countries.

The Committee for Development Planning will not be of much assistance in preparations relating to agreement on concrete measures. We need not therefore wait for the results of its work before embarking upon this exercise. My delegation would suggest that the Council should give thought to the establishment of an inter-sessional machinery for working on this most substantial aspect of international strategy for development.

If we take the necessary decision in this Council and start our work in right earnest without losing any time, I have no doubt that we can consider a preliminary draft at the 23rd Session of the General Assembly to be finalized and adopted, along with the document being prepared by the Committee for Development Planning, at the 24th Session.

As regards the other aspects of the preparations for the next Development Decade, my delegation does not visualise any difficulty in our being able to adopt a brief preamble to the declaration on the international strategy for development and appending to it the coordinated work programme of the different United Nations bodies as well as the specialised agencies.

In his address to the Council, the dis-

tinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations drew our attention to the urgent need for examining the "usefulness and functioning of our institutional system". My delegation attaches considerable importance to improving the efficiency of the U.N. institutional system by securing proper co-ordination. In this connection, the members of the Council would be aware that at the second session of UNCTAD, India, along with Chile, put forward a proposal for a review of the UNCTAD machinery and its method of work. My delegation is glad that these proposals have evoked wide interest. This encourages us to look forward to some positive steps being taken by the Trade and Development Board and the General Assembly. My delegation highly appreciates some of the measures already taken by the U.N. system. We have noted with interest and satisfaction the proposed 'capacity study' under UNDP and the progress being made in integrating the field services of the specialised and other executing agencies with the offices of the Resident Representatives of UNDP and the regional economic commissions. We trust that all these studies and appraisals will be completed quickly and in a business-like manner and the necessary recommendations will be put into effect well before the inauguration of the second Development Decade.

Mr. President, may I now turn to the question of multilateral food aid which is an important item on the agenda of this session of the Council. We are grateful to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his excellent report on the programme of studies on multilateral food aid, contained in document E/4538. It is indeed a welcome trend, as revealed in the report, that the problem of food aid is no longer considered as merely an emergency operation or a desire on the part of the donor countries to get over the burden of unanticipated surpluses. We are glad that an integrated approach towards the problem, involving a number of important aspects, is gradually taking shape.

FOOD PROBLEM

The report of the Secretary-General draws our attention to the substantial easing of the world food situation made possible by the good harvest of 1967-68. In our own country, we have reached an important stage in our progress towards achieving self-sufficiency in the production of food and fibre. Last year the production of food-grains reached the record level of about 95 million tons. This has been the result not only of favourable weather conditions but also of a vigorous policy of the government to introduce new varieties of seed and made the necessary inputs available to the farmers. As a result of all these measures, we are on the threshold of an agricultural

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break-through. This has encouraged us to plan for self-sufficiency in agricultural production by 1970-71. But as the distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations stated the other day: "A great deal of additional investment will of course be required for handling increased output, for storing, transporting and processing it and for distributing it to more distant markets. For these reasons the challenge is also on the international community and particularly on the aid-giving countries and institutions." Besides, considerable investment will also be required to be self-reliant in industries such as fertilisers, tractors, electrical generating equipments and pesticides, which have an important bearing on food production.

The food problem, and for that matter the general problem of economic development cannot be considered in isolation of the population problem. Control of population, along with increase in food production constitute a two-pronged attack, one from the demand side and the other from the supply side, on the problem of hunger. My delegation is gratified to find that after some initial hesitation, the U.N. system is trying adequately to respond to the call of leadership in this field. The initiative here must come from the developing countries themselves. However, our experience shows that the problem is very difficult and complex. It requires not only resources, and

change in the outlook of the people, but also continuing research to devise new techniques of population control and the ability to apply the fruits of the research being carried out in different parts of the world. The United Nations can play a useful role by providing training and technical assistance, by making the fruits of research available to the needy countries and by mobilising adequate external resources to make it possible for the developing countries to manufacture the necessary equipments and products locally.

On the question of development of human resources my delegation is of the view that we should concentrate our efforts on areas where the absorptive capacity is fairly well developed to permit increased investment and yield quick results. Increasing attention should therefore be paid to matters such as the control of population, education and employment programme, vocational training, health and transport and communication, which have a fundamental bearing on the development of human resources. These are also the fields which provide an ample scope for convergent action by both developed and developing countries.

In this context we cannot ignore the aspirations of our youth. Youth everywhere is restive and impatient. The process of development, leading to the increased facilities for education and technical training for the growing generation has given rise to new aspirations. They demand an increasing participation in shaping their future. If we want to safeguard the interest of continued growth and stability, we shall have to meet the challenge of youth.

My delegation is glad that the determination of the developing countries to help each other has now found wide recognition. In India from the very beginning of our efforts for planned economic development, we have entertained no doubts that the main responsibility for development rests primarily on ourselves. Ever since our independence we have pursued policies to diminish our dependence on others by making

our economy ever more self-reliant. In the pursuit of this objective we have not spared ourselves in any way and have in fact imposed onerous obligations on our people.

#### ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION

At the same time, our adherence to the principle of international cooperation and our willingness to discharge our obligations towards other countries, has led us to adopt a number of measures for intensifying economic and technical cooperation with other developing countries. On the regional level, we have the privilege of being a partner in the endeavours of the ECAFE developing countries to evolve and implement schemes of cooperation amongst them. Simultaneously, we have entered into technical and economic cooperation agreements at the bilateral level, with a number of countries of Africa and Asia. These agreements provide for the sharing of experience in the industrial, technological and scientific fields, promotion of joint industrial venture and other forms

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of mutual cooperation. On the wide inter-continental level, we have concluded a Trade Expansion and Economic Cooperation Agreement with Yugoslavia and the UAR. This Agreement, I may point out, is open for accession by other developing countries on the basis of mutual benefit. In addition to this Agreement, considerable headway has also been made by the three countries in exploring areas of cooperation in the industrial, technical and technological field.

Mr. President, to sum up, my delegation would, first of all, like to express the hope that the impact of the constructive ideas generated at the New Delhi Conference will provide a spur to renewed efforts through the continuing machinery of the UNCTAD and other United Nations bodies to seek agreements on the unresolved issues.

Secondly, ways and means should be devised to tackle at the earliest, the urgent problems relating to the transfer of resources to developing countries, both directly from developed countries and through

multilateral channels.

Thirdly, the Council should direct the Committee for Development Planning to prepare a preliminary outline of an international strategy of development and in the meantime attempts should be made, through an inter-sessional machinery, to reach an agreement on the measures to be adopted for achieving the targets for the next Development Decade.

Fourthly, the studies and proposals underway on the institutional machinery of the United Nations in the field of trade and development should be completed quickly and in a businesslike manner and the necessary recommendations should be put into effect well before the inauguration of the second Development Decade.

Fifthly, the international community and particularly the aid giving countries and institutions should be prepared to face the challenge posed by the food problem and lend strong support to the determination of the developing countries to attain self-sufficiency in the production of food, by making increased resources available.

Lastly, efforts in the field of development of human resources should be concentrated on achieving the maximum results in the minimum of time from the investments made of scarce resources.

INDIA SWITZERLAND USA CHILE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA YUGOSLAVIA

**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

SOVIET ARMS DEAL WITH PAKISTAN

Prime Minister's Statement in Rajya Sabha

Following is the text of the speech made by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, in the Rajya Sabha on July 24, 1968 on the motion regarding the decision of the Government of the U.S.S.R. to supply arms to Pakistan:

This Motion was to consider the decision of the Soviet Union to supply arms to Pakistan and the Government of India's stand on this matter. As you know, and the House knows, Government always welcomes an opportunity to state its point of view and to listen to the views of the hon. Members. This discussion has ranged over a very wide field, not only the whole question of Indo-Soviet relationship, the entire field of foreign policy, the running of the various Ministries of the Government of India, even domestic policy and even the use of diplomacy in the toppling of various State Governments. It is indeed a very wide field and I do not think the House will expect me to wander so far myself.

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There is the usual quota of amendments, some obviously written in haste. I am sure the hon. Member, Mr. Mandal, will excuse me for drawing attention to his amendment. He says that the Government misinterpreted the Tashkent Agreement. Actually it was a "Declaration" during the Indo-Pak conflict. What can I say in reply to this because for my hon. friend history evidently moves backward?

I need hardly refer to the hon. Member, Shri Yadav's amendment. It is entirely wrong to suggest that the Government has withheld any information from this House or from the country. Both he and the hon. Member opposite, Shri Bhandari, have really sought through their amendments to bring into this House the much debated proposition about a Resolution by the other House. I think there has been a misleading impression, perhaps deliberately created, that there was some dispute about the word "regret". I have tried to clarify this on another occasion but I should like to say so again. There was no dispute about the

wording of any Resolution. The dispute was about the desirability of Parliament passing such a Resolution. I gave my reasons for it which were, firstly, that we have never done it before. This does not, obviously, mean that the House can never do something new but that in the present context it would certainly create misunderstanding if we were to pass a Resolution on the Soviet selling of arms when we did not do so even on the occasion of the getting of a vast amount of arms and when Pakistan has been buying arms from many other countries.

The hon. Member, Shri Dahyabhai Patel, has his own sources of information. I would really be interested to know what they are. He made one comment; hon. Members will remember the number of times that I have visited the Soviet Union. Perhaps the House knows that now in America there is something called new mathematics in which two and two do not always make four. Perhaps that is the kind of reasoning which guided the hon. Member. But anyway I thought that since he had taken a special interest in this matter, I should also do a little research, and I tried to look back to count how many times I had been to which country. And I was interested, this was not deliberate--I can assure the House, to find that by a strange coincidence the number of visits to the U.S.S.R and the United States of America are exactly equal.

He also alleged that Chairman Kosygin had whispered about his intention to supply arms to Pakistan when I had gone to Moscow. I am not quite sure of the exact date of that particular visit but it was very soon after Mr. Kosygin took over as Prime Minister. I can assure the hon. Member that he was then far too preoccupied with domestic affairs and the new situation in the Soviet Union to discuss the supply of arms to Pakistan, or any other such matter with somebody whom he did not know at all.

Some hon. Members have alleged that either the Government was unaware of what was happening or wanted to keep the country in the dark. This, as I have said

earlier, is quite incorrect and I shall deal with the matter later on.

#### FOREIGN TRADE

There is one other item which Dahya-bhaiji mentioned which I should like to deal with now. It was about our rupee credits. I am told that today our foreign trade with the free market economies has an imbalance of about Rs. 500 crores per year. We have an adverse balance of trade with them. We buy more from them than they buy from us, and naturally this is to our disadvantage.

Now let us look at the picture of our trade with the socialist countries of Europe, the countries with which we have rupee accounts. There the trade is balanced, exports and imports are matched. Now I should like to suggest that, instead of criticising this trade, it might be useful for hon. Members who have friends and business associates in the free currency areas, to persuade them to buy more from us. We are happy that our trade is getting more diversified and that now markets for newer goods are being found and that our trade is growing. Exports this year as compared to last year have increased, and the credits we have received from the U.S.S.R. and other East European countries are of a direct export promotional character.

I think it was a Member from our side of the House, Shri B. K. P. Sinha, who

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referred to the size and function of the Prime Minister's Secretariat. May I, Madam, inform the House of the factual position?

The number of officials in the Prime Minister's Secretariat, both gazetted and non-gazetted, have been actually reduced in the last three years. My friend also made a rather strange remark about policy formulation. May I say, Madam, that it is entirely incorrect, and if my friend will forgive me, I think also irresponsible to suggest that the foreign policy of this country could be determined by any set of officials whether they are in the Foreign Ministry,

the Prime Minister's Secretariat or in any other Secretariat.

Now, many Members have expressed their concern with regard to the joint communique. As hon. Members know, these communiques are formal documents giving indication of the trends of the discussions and any agreements which may have been reached. This communique has some very positive features; it has given positive support to our stand with regard to Indo-Pakistani relations. For example, the communique supports the approach which we have been making of a step-by-step settlement between the two countries. Perhaps other points could have been brought in but if they do not find specific mention it does not mean that they were not discussed, nor does it in any way alter our own stand on these issues.

#### FARAKKA BARRAGE

Another matter which is connected both with the communique and with the letter which I have received from Chairman Kosygin was the question of the mention of Farakka Barrage. Now there was no specific suggestion that this matter should be settled in the same way as the Indus waters dispute. The suggestion in the letter was that we should find some mutually acceptable solution of this matter. The letter referred to many other questions, not only between India and Pakistan but to many other areas and problems and other matters of interest to us throughout the world. There was this mention of Indo-Pakistan relationship and it was stated that the Soviet Government wished that our relations should be normalised and should improve. This is what we also say. But I should like to make our position quite clear that there can be no question of any mediation or arbitration or third party intervention. Neither do we think that there is any comparison between the question of the Ganga waters and the question of the Indus waters. The Ganga is almost entirely an Indian river.

The Farakka Project is vital to our

needs and especially to the very survival of the Calcutta Port. But we have always been willing to talk to Pakistan about their legitimate interests. Therefore we had agreed to an exchange of technical data and information but there should be no delay in carrying on the work or completion of the barrage.

The hon. Member just now asked about pressures. Now if by pressure he means that they have said that we must do this, that or else something will happen, there has been no such pressure. It is true that some people have been talking about these matters, and not only the Russians. But, as I said, it is a question for us to see how far we are prepared to listen and we have made our attitude very clear. My hon. friend from this side just now said something about telling them our views gently; I want to assure him that we have told this not only gently but very firmly and in the strongest of terms.

The natural questions asked in this debate have been, why have the Russians entered into this deal, when did we know about it, could we have prevented it, why did we not prevent it and so on. Such an occasion is always used for blaming the Government for the failure of its policy. I do not think it would be proper for me to enter into any speculative analysis about the reasons why the Soviet Union decided to take this step. Many viewpoints have been put forward and there may be truth in some of them.

Hon. Member Shri Jairamdasji rightly said that each country must look to its own interest and act in what it considers to be its interest. It is our misfortune that

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hon. Members sometimes take it for granted that we are the one country where we are not at all concerned with our self-interest. Well, I must most emphatically say that there is no truth whatever in this. We may not agree with the Soviet assessment of the situation or their assessment of their interests in this matter. Perhaps they will

find out that they were wrong. But I do not think it is right to question their motives. The possibility of this arms deal was in the air for some considerable time; hon. Members know that there were speculations in the Press and that is why we had taken the matter up with them on several occasions previously even though there was no indication from them or other definite information....

And here I would like to say one more thing. One or more Members have asked: did we have the Intelligence; did we know anything about this matter apart from what was in public knowledge? Hon. Members will surely understand that it is not possible always to give such information; even if we hear of something we would certainly not like other people to give out such information about us and therefore it is not proper that we should do so ourselves. But as soon as we had some definite indication, we took the matter up with the Soviet Government and I was the first person to give Government's reaction when I was asked about it by the Press.

The Soviet Government have assured us that this would not in any way affect their relations with us, their friendship with us, nor would it injure our interests. Now obviously we have our own views about this and that is what I have expressed to them. We have our misgivings, we have our apprehensions, and as I have said, I have given public expression to them in the House and also to the Soviet Government. The whole nation is naturally most concerned.

With all our understanding of Soviet policy we cannot but view this decision with concern and some disturbance. We are apprehensive because of the past record of our neighbour. The Soviet Union has assured us that it will not allow these arms to be used against us but as Hon. Members have pointed out we have received such assurances before from other quarters.

BELLICOSE ATTITUDE OF PAKISTAN

We did not believe it then and it is we who have proved to be right and not the others. So we find it difficult to believe that this new acquisition of arms will not strengthen the bellicose attitude of Pakistan. Already there are some signs. First there were the bellicose speeches, but immediately afterwards there was also a declaration that there would be no trouble whatsoever between the two countries. If there is sincerity in this change of attitude that there will be no trouble, well, we would certainly welcome it.

As I think it was the Honourable Shri Jairamdas Daulatram who has mentioned that many countries have been changing. I myself have been speaking about this change for sometime. Naturally I could not put it in more specific terms. But I think that if people had read between the lines they could have got some indication of my thinking. Why should we look either at friendship or enmity in such total and absolute terms? I think that, as Jairamdasji has said, this is a rather unrealistic way of facing the world. It does not mean that we do not believe in friendship and I don't know whether changing the word from friendship to cooperation would make any difference because that would also be interpreted in many different ways.

We accept friendship and we do not wish to do anything against friendship but this should not mean that we are complacent or that we closed our eyes to what is happening. I am afraid, this is what always seems to happen here. If we think a country is against us then we are not willing to give even a little leeway nor are we allowed to make bridges with that country. If we think that a country is friendly then we expect that country to give up everything even its own interest for the sake of our friendship.

As I said just now, I think this is not a realistic attitude. We must accept friendship as it is; it may be more; it may be less. I for one cannot understand the argument that trusting a country or believing in its friendship has done us harm. Had we

kept declared previously that the Soviet

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Union is giving arms or selling arms to Pakistan, would that have helped the situation? Would they have been friendly towards us? How would it have changed the situation?

#### CHINA

Another honourable member spoke similarly of China having betrayed us. Now, they did betray us; they did attack us when we thought they were our friends. Suppose we had not been friends, would they have put off the attack? This is an argument which I must say does not make much sense to me. We must at all times be prepared for all consequences. But it doesn't mean that we should shut our doors or do anything that would make it more difficult for other countries to come closer or to change their attitude towards us.

As I have said before, vast changes are taking place in the world. In a way, of course, the world is always changing and so this is a statement; but it is true that 20 years ago or even 10 years ago there was rather a set situation; there were hostile blocs and we rightly decided that it would not be in our interest to belong to any one bloc, because then we would naturally attract the hostility of the other bloc, and this did bear fruit when China attacked us. because we had then only China against us and not a bloc against us. It helped us on many other occasions. Then we found that when the blocs themselves found that the policy of alignment or the policy of rigidity clinging together by some people against other people did not pay, these blocs began loosening. These special friendships began to loosen and countries, whether big or small, belonging to different blocs started to look for friends in the opposite blocs. So although the blocs are still there, they have not disappeared - we find that bridges, or whatever you would like to call them, have been built up across the barriers from one bloc to another in many directions.

We find the countries of Eastern Europe trying to establish their own identity and their own personality, and trying to loosen their ties with their own bloc on the one hand without breaking these friendships and at the same time trying to increase trade, cooperation and friendship with the countries which have been entirely opposed to them in ideology or in policy. Every country has been doing this. The western countries have also been doing this. Members of the NATO and of the SEATO have been doing it. To think that India has remained in some static position is not a true picture at all. India has also been making such an attempt.

#### UNITED STATES

Somebody talked of the United States having betrayed us. We have not used that phrase and howsoever strongly we may have reacted when the United States gave a free gift of a vast amount of arms to its military ally, Pakistan, we did not break our friendship with the United States. On the contrary we strengthened the friendship and we have far close relations with the United States on the cultural level, on the economic level, on the scientific level, and other levels than we had at that time. Similarly we are also building bridges, with other nations with whom we had no enmity perhaps, but with whom also up till now we had no close relations. Of course, it is true and, the House knows that because of the aggression on our borders we did get, and we have now, a certain amount of rigidity, a lack of manoeuvrability with regard to our two neighbours, China and Pakistan. But I have always stated on the floor of this House and outside that as far as I am concerned we would like to keep the door open and keeping our national interests in view we would like to see an atmosphere created or a path found whereby this rigidity could be softened; we could have a more flexible dealing even with these nations.

As I said we don't believe, I don't believe, in total enmity with anybody or perhaps total friendship either, because it just doesn't happen in this world. Things are not jet black or pure white. Most things

are in a range in between the extremes. Judged in this perspective, to say that we have been hiding things from the nation, is not at all true. This matter did not come to us as a total surprise to us but from what we knew, it was not possible to accept it as a fact or to put it before the country as such. The people who talk perhaps either pretend in order to make political capital out of it for attacking the Government or

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perhaps they truly entertain such views of naivete.

Now, there was the question of the quantity and the nature of supplies. I have merely touched upon it before. I personally do not think that it will make much of a difference in the military sense. It is not possible to be 100 per cent or even 80 per cent definite about a thing like this. One can only make a judgment or an assessment. But, our concern was because it might increase the cold war atmosphere. We have already had a great deal of propaganda abuse and provocation across the border and I don't think it helps relationship nor does it help in the lessening of tension for this to be increased at the present moment.

I would like to ask the hon. Member, Shri Kaul, whether he expects us to say publicly what our sources are, what our methods are. Democracy perhaps makes diplomacy all the more difficult because there is far more publicity about these things than is good for diplomacy, for the carrying on of talks or even for finding out things. The conduct of foreign affairs is complex at any time and, of course, in a democracy facts are seldom hidden from the public gaze. The Government has to be not only discreet, but has of necessity to be restrained; it has to take not only the short-term view, but also the long-term view. Intentions cannot always be declared, even though broad policies are clear.

#### NON-ALIGNMENT

Non-alignment has had its usual share of abuse, though I might say that, for the

first time, we have found some hon. Members of the Swatantra Party in this House and in the other place also having a good word for it. Perhaps not all of you, but some. I forget the name, but I was sitting here when it was said that there should be honest non-alignment. No amount of prejudice against non-alignment or criticism of it has diminished the value to the world. This is obvious because today all those countries, which were so strongly aligned are trying to be unaligned. Hon. Members who have spoken against non-alignment have, at the same time, praised Pakistan's flexibility and diplomatic success which it has only by trying to break with its old alignment and by trying to be non-aligned,

Actually when I said that recent events were a vindication of our policy, what I meant was that these old ideas of blocs are disappearing. We had always opposed the blocs. We had always said that these blocs would not work. We find today that all people are extending their friendship, building new bridges and there is a kind of liberalisation and breaking down of divisions all over the world.

One hon. Member said something about neutralism. This is one word which we have never used and we have very vigorously protested whenever it was used with regard to our policy. It is also wrong to call our policy one of rigidity. The words 'national interests' and 'self-interest' were frequently used and each group, each individual, as was to be expected, has interpreted these words in his own way. As soon as we talk to others, people think that we are bartering away our national interest or that we are being pressurised. In a way any country's foreign policy, to some extent, is pressurised in the sense that each country wants to influence the other country, but it depends on each country not to be so pressurised or not to be influenced in any way. I certainly think that we shall never be found giving up our basic principles. We want to be inflexible in our resolve, but we want to be flexible and resourceful in our means.

Today not only are there vast changes

all over the world, but the pace of change is very fast and we must, all of us, keep pace with this changing world. The only way to keep our own balance -- I am glad to say that most hon. Members have said this -- is to build up our own strength. At the same time, we must be careful not to say anything or do anything merely because we are in a huff or on the rebound. If we feel something has to be done and if it is the right thing to do, we should do it, but not merely because the Soviet Union is doing something today or America is doing something or some other country is doing something. That would be a position of weakness.

### INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS

I am very glad that most Members have stressed the importance of not doing any-

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thing which would in any way impair Indo-Soviet relations. This entire development should be seen not only in the perspective of the Indo-Soviet close relationship politically, economically and culturally, but also in the national interest and should be judged in the totality of what image of India will be projected in the other countries of the world. Do we want an image which is of somebody whining and complaining because somebody else is doing something or do we want to give a picture of a country which is fully aware of the difficult situation created and of a people fully prepared to face such a situation with maturity?

The importance of self-reliance has been stressed - I am glad - and I would like to add my own strong views about it. This has been our own slogan and we have been diversifying our industry and our economy in other respects also. In regard to sources of supply, while we want to be self-sufficient we do realise that no country can be fully self-reliant. Our biggest single source of basic supply should be our own country. Our inter-dependence with other countries should be based on a strong and firm foundation of independence.

Now, some hon. Member, I think, it was Shri Bhupesh Gupta who said something about fumbling. I can very clearly tell him that this word was used by some newspaper. Such words come to the minds of those who think in cliches and who find it impossible to fit the changing world into such patterns and labels which they have previously prepared for their articles. I have clearly stated time and again and I would like to repeat that this Government derives its strength from its firm belief and its unbounded faith in the wisdom and self-confidence of the Indian people. That is our real strength and I hope the Opposition Parties will not project their own lack of self-confidence into this House or this country.

#### KASHMIR

One question which is very important and which I seem to have left out is with regard to Kashmir. The Soviets have not mentioned Kashmir at all to us. Somebody just now said that we have been told to come to a settlement about Kashmir and so on. This is far from the truth. But here again we are firm and we must remain firm in our stand. Previously we were anxious and we were seeking assurances. I think that we must give up this attitude. We know what we want and we should stand firm by it and I do not think that anybody can push us around.

I have also previously said that defence and security will remain our paramount concern and that we can ensure this with the full backing of a strong and united people.

Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, I should like once more, before I end, to go back to the question of non-alignment. As I said, the essence of non-alignment is independent judgment, judging each issue on its merit, and nothing could be less rigid than that. It is a flexible approach, one which cuts across the rigidities of alignments. The price of independent thinking is that we annoy somebody or other, but the price of alignment is the curtailing of true

independence. Madam, with your permission and the indulgence of the House I should like to read what I have said in the other House about how we implement this non-alignment or what is our approach to international affairs. I quote-

"I believe that where there is friendship we must enlarge it; where there is indifference we must remove it; and where there is hostility we should try to blunt it

What are permanent and set are certain values and above all our national interests about which there can be no compromise."

Let me in the end pick up the common thread which ran through all the speeches and which I think made this debate very much worthwhile, which was the idea of national solidarity, the idea of self-reliance and internal strength. If we can catch this and work towards it and if we have a united view on this, then I think that the Soviet Government may well have done us a favour in forging this kind of determination amongst us to stand united, to stand on our own feet, and to be firm in our resolve about our national interests.

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PAKISTAN USA INDIA UZBEKISTAN RUSSIA MALI FRANCE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC CHINA

**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Prime Minister's Statement in Parliament on her Visit

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira

Gandhi, made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on July 26, 1968 on her visit to South-East Asian countries:

From 19th May to 1st June I visited Singapore, Australia, New Zealand and Malaysia, in response to invitations from the Heads of the friendly Governments concerned. The cordiality and warmth with which we were received, not only by the Governments but also by the people, reflected the goodwill and friendship which they have for India.

I had visited Malaysia and Singapore before, though not as Prime Minister. But with regard to Australia and New Zealand, it was a voyage of discovery. Although we have known these two countries through our membership of the Commonwealth and have had good and friendly relations with them, I felt that it was essential for us to have more direct contacts.

The central purpose of my visit was to make personal contact with the distinguished leaders of these countries, and to exchange ideas with them on current international problems and matters of mutual interest. The visit also provided an opportunity to strengthen our bilateral relations and to promote proper understanding of our problems, our policies, our endeavours and our achievements. I think I was also able to correct certain impressions which had been created in recent years because of our economic and other difficulties.

It was not my intention to seek specific agreements or to undertake negotiations on specific matters. However, the officials accompanying me availed of the opportunity to discuss, with their counterparts, matters relating to the furthering of bilateral co-operation in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields.

I had invited our Heads of Missions from Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore to meet me in Kuala Lumpur for consultations. They gave a first-hand assessment of the situation, and the thinking in these countries, on current prob-

lems, and of our developing bilateral relations. I am glad to inform the House that our relations with these and other countries in the region continue to be good and are being further strengthened to our mutual benefit

There is a large fund of goodwill for India and the recognition that despite her recent difficulties, India is a vigorous and peace-loving democracy. I was informed that Indian cooperation and participation in economic endeavours would be welcome. On our part, I reiterated our own earnest interest as well as desire to cooperate with them. We are already discussing possibilities of increasing our trade and of developing technical cooperation, joint ventures, etc. A Malaysian delegation has already visited us. Other delegations are expected.

As the House is aware, a sizable section of the people of Indian origin abroad live in some of these countries. Over a million are in Malaysia and Singapore. A majority of them have settled down as citizens of the countries of their adoption, and are contributing to the welfare and development of these two countries. I was assured by the leaders of government in both these countries that there is no discrimination against persons of Indian origin. They do have some

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problems, which are not unusual in the circumstances. Given goodwill on all sides, the difficulties should not prove insuperable.

Our own views on foreign bases have been expressed on more than one occasion. Our stand on Vietnam is also well-known and was further elucidated. These countries were, in varying degrees, concerned about the possible economic and political consequences of the changing conditions in the area. Naturally, we are interested in the South-East Asian region, which we would like to see as an area of peace, cooperation and prosperity. We believe that the security as well as future of the region lie in the stability, growth and rapid economic development of these countries, based upon such cooperation as their sovereign and indepen-

dent governments may choose to have.

The Governments of other friendly countries in this region had invited me and I should have liked to respond. I regret I was unable to do so on this occasion. We attach the highest importance to our relations with these and other countries of the South-East Asian region. Fortunately, we have very close relations with them and it will be our constant endeavour to further strengthen these relations, which are based on mutual cooperation and respect for one another's independence.

AUSTRALIA NEW ZEALAND REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE USA MALAYSIA INDIA CAMBODIA  
INDONESIA LAOS THAILAND VIETNAM

**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

President's Speech at State Luncheon

Following is the text of the President, Dr. Zakir Husain's speech at the State Luncheon given in his honour on July 9, 1968 by the Presidium of the, Supreme Soviet, Moscow:

Your Excellency Mr. President, Your Excellency Mr. Kosygin and Dear Friends:

I am deeply moved by the warmth of the reception accorded to us on our arrival in the historic and celebrated city of Moscow, by the gracious hospitality that is being lavished upon us, and by the fraternal sentiments expressed by you, Mr. President, about my country and myself.

I have looked forward with keen anticipation to this, my first visit to your great

country. The great October Revolution, whose fiftieth anniversary you have recently celebrated, brought in its wake immense political, social and economic transformations. Today, you are in the forefront of the nations of the world. Your record of achievements in all fields of human endeavour is truly impressive. You are creating a society where the welfare of each is the responsibility of all. You have given to your people the fullest opportunity for the expression of their creative genius. Your society is based on equality of opportunity, justice and progress. The principles and ideals which have inspired the Soviet nation, have made unique contribution to the welfare of mankind. In the fields of science and technology your achievements have won worldwide admiration and respect. Who does not know of the feats of your astronauts and of your conquest of space? Your people can take legitimate pride in their great cultural achievements.

During my stay in your hospitable country, I look forward to visiting a number of your Republics. That would give me an opportunity to acquaint myself with the variety and cultural diversity of your talented people and the vast material resources at your command. I shall also be able to

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see for myself how the Soviet people, who comprise more than 100 nationalities with different languages, cultures and traditions, have been welded into a strong and united nation.

Mr. President, one of the first countries with which independent India established diplomatic relations was the Soviet Union, our great neighbour to the north. Since that time, 21 years ago, our relations have steadily progressed until today when we can justly claim them to be based upon sincere friendship and mutual cooperation and esteem. Since our country regained its independence from foreign domination, we have been engaged in the enormous task of transforming our ancient society to the needs of the modern age. We have preserved all that is valuable, in our ancient traditions

while adopting modern methods and techniques for our development. At the same time, we have united our people with their different languages, traditions and beliefs into one nation. We are struggling against our age-old enemies of poverty, illiteracy and backwardness, and we have made notable progress in all directions. We have adopted as our goal the creation of a socialistic pattern of society based upon equality of opportunity, social justice, freedom of thought and of expression and public welfare.

We cannot forget the leading role which you Mr. Cahirman personally played in drawing up the Tashkent Declaration which we had hoped would become a charter of peace and good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan. I can assure in all sincerity that we for our part are willing and anxious to explore an avenues to normalise our relations and to establish good neighbourly relations in all fields with Pakistan. We continue to hope that we shall receive a corresponding response.

The Indian people are making enormous sacrifices to develop their retarded economy, and we have already built a substantial infrastructure in the industrial and technological fields. Our agricultural situation has also made encouraging progress and we are hoping to achieve self-sufficiency in food in the near future.

In the sphere of economic development, we have received great encouragement and support from your country, for which we are thankful, and we are now exploring further avenues for the accelerated development of our mutual economic relations.

In the international field, our policy has been to strive unceasingly for the promotion of peace and international understanding. For peace is not only good in itself; it is essential for the welfare and progress of the entire human race. We believe firmly in the imperative of peaceful and active co-existence between States with different social and political systems. In the nuclear age, the technology which man has created

can, if wrongly used, encompass his destruction. On the other hand, rightly used, it is capable of transforming the lot of mankind. We have stood up resolutely against the exploitation of man by man and have staunchly opposed colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. In this fast-shrinking world, the independence of nations must go alongside with inter-dependence, for no nation, however great, can be an island unto itself. We have malice towards none and we seek the friendship and cooperation of all.

The world of today is unfortunately disfigured by unresolved conflicts and areas of tension. We have raised our voice against the cruel and protracted war in Vietnam which continues to take its daily toll of human lives. We fervently hope that the talks now taking place will result in the stoppage of bombing and the cessation of hostilities, followed by negotiations for a stable and lasting political solution of the problem. In West Asia, foreign forces continue to hold the territories that they have seized by force. A speedy end to the situation is essential in the interests of all the States in the region, if another conflagration is to be averted. We shall continue to give our support to the United Nations and to all other efforts aimed at resolving the situation.

United by many common interests and concerns in the international field, our two countries have been able to work together on many current issues. We shall look forward to a continued period of cooperation so that the world might be a safer and better place to live in.

Mr. President, the close relations between our two countries have been cemented

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by a fruitful exchanges of visits at the highest level. We recall with pleasure the visits of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., His Excellency Mr. Kosygin, to India during our last Republic Day celebrations. There have also been mutual exchanges between parliamentarians, cultural groups, scholars, engineers

and technicians. There are many Indian students and trainees in the Soviet Union, whose knowledge and experience gathered here will be of great benefit to us. We are happy to have in our midst many Soviet technicians and students,

Before concluding, I would again like to express the high appreciation of my Government and people for the valuable economic and technical assistance given to us by your Government. During recent years, in addition to steel technology and heavy engineering, you are also helping us in various new sectors like oil exploration, pharmaceutical industry, agriculture and technical education. I would particularly like to pay a tribute to the Soviet awareness of the need to follow up technical assistance by an intergrated strategy of promoting exports of Indian manufactured goods into the Soviet Union. This has added a new dimension to our cooperation.

Your Excellencies and Dear Friends, may I request you to join me in the toast to the health of His Excellency Mr. Podgorny, His Excellency Mr. Kosygin and to the welfare and prosperity, of the great Soviet people and to the ever-growing friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Indian people.

USA RUSSIA INDIA UZBEKISTAN PAKISTAN MALI VIETNAM

**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

President's Speech at Moscow University

Following is the text of the President, Dr. Zakir Husain's speech at the Moscow

State University on July 9, 1968:

Dear friends of the Soviet-India Friendship Society, Moscow Soviet and the Moscow State University,

It gives me genuine pleasure to be here amongst you and to hear from such distinguished Soviet citizens so many expressions of goodwill and friendship for India. Madame Nina Popova, who has so graciously guided the destinies of the union of friendship societies for so many years, was extremely kind in her references both to my country and myself. Academician Tsitsin, the Chairman of the Soviet-India Friendship Society, is an old and trusted friend of ours and it gave us great happiness to listen to him today on the rich heritage of friendship between our two peoples and countries. It also gives me great happiness to meet here the Members of the Council of the Moscow Soviet. They are the representatives of the citizens of the capital city of the Soviet Union. I would like to convey through them my greetings to the citizens of this great and heroic city. Finally, I have had the privilege of being associated with the great Moscow State University and to listen to the kind words spoken by the Rector.

The Soviet Union was among the first countries with which free India established diplomatic relations almost 21 years ago. But relations between Governments, extremely important in themselves, are not enough. It is indeed friendship between peoples which invests such relations with real meaning. Since my arrival here yesterday, I have come across many examples of the spontaneous and sincere affection which the people of the Soviet Union have for India. I can assure you that your sentiments are fully reciprocated by the people of India - in the towns no less than in the villages-who look upon the Soviet people as friends and comrades.

The Soviet-India friendship Society has been very active in fostering the ever-growing relations between India and the Soviet Union. We are deeply conscious of your

efforts, for which we are most grateful. We know that in recent years, you have celebrated the centenary of our national poet Tagore and our Republic Day with imagination and enthusiasm. We also highly

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appreciate your plans to celebrate the centenary of the famous Urdu poet of India, Galib. Next year falls the birth centenary of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our Nation, and its guide and philosopher. I know that you have set afoot plans to commemorate the Gandhi Centenary in an appropriate manner. We in India reminded ourselves once again of the deep currents of thought and endeavour which unite India and the Soviet Union by celebrating the Gorky Centenary. Occasions like these underline the common interests which our people have and the common goals towards which they are marching in a spirit of comradeship. I offer you my congratulations and best wishes for the success of your praiseworthy and noble endeavours.

It is with particular pleasure that I have accepted the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy which the Rector of your great University conferred on me today. I am deeply conscious of the honour you have done me by admitting me as one of you. I feel greatly honoured by what has been said of me in the citation and am sincerely thankful for it. I only wonder if I deserved it and ardently wish I had. But the thought comforts me that this honour has been bestowed on me as a representative of my people by another friendly and fraternal people. It is perhaps an honour given to a teacher from a far away land, for if I have any reason to be gratified it is only that I have spent the best part of my life as a teacher. And from what I have read and heard and seen, it is clear to me that in the great new society that you in this land are building up, the child and the scientist and the teacher are, if I may be permitted the heretical expression, privileged groups. Rightly so, for you are building for the future and you have chosen the scientific knowledge and education as the bedrock on which to build the noble edifice. Your

aspiration, your work, your achievements are a source of inspiration to teachers and educational workers all over the world. So a teacher from India can be pardonably proud of the honour you in your generosity have bestowed on him.

It would not be inappropriate for him to make use of this occasion to give you briefly an outline of his educational thinking. Simply stated, I have been urging during all the years of my work as a teacher and educational administrator the thorough incorporation into our educational system of the two principles: the principle of work and that of social orientation. These principles were, in my view, to permeate all education from the elementary school to the university. I have advocated the transformation of all our educational institutions - Yes all - from places of passive receptivity to those of spontaneous activity, from places of collecting and forgetting information to places of the discovery of knowledge and its use, from seats of theoretical intellectual one-sidedness to those of practical human many-sidedness, from places of individual selfishness to those of devotion to social needs. These ideas have, I am happy to say, found very wide acceptance in Indian educational circles, but I must admit that Practice linger far behind. But as we Proceed resolutely and hopefully to give our people a sound education I am sure this will be incorporated more and more in the system. We are sure we shall continue to get inspiration in this from the great educational endeavour of your great Union.

I am grateful to you for the patient hearing you have given me and thank you, Mr. Rector, and the great University over which you preside, for the honour done to me.

RUSSIA USA INDIA

**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in Moscow on July 18, 1968 at the end of the visit of the President, Dr. Zakir Husain, to the Soviet Union:

At the invitation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government, Dr. Zakir Husain, President of the Republic of India, paid a friendly visit to the Soviet Union from 8 to 18 July, 1968.

The President of India was accompanied by Shri C. M. Poonacha, Minister of Railways, Government of India, Shri Rajesh-

war Dayal, Foreign Secretary, Dr. Nagendra Singh, Secretary to the President, and Shri Prithi Singh, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

During his stay in the Soviet Union, the President of India visited Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi, Dushanbe, Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara; the guests visited industrial enterprises and collective farms and acquainted themselves with scientific and educational establishments, historical monuments, with culture and art of the Soviet people. The Lomonosov University of Moscow conferred on the President the degree of Doctor of Science.

During their stay in the USSR, the President of India and his party had an opportunity to meet and talk with the representatives of wide circles of the Soviet public. The Indian guests noted with satisfaction that everywhere they were accorded a hearty welcome and warm hospitality,

which they regarded as an expression of the feelings of profound respect and friendship of the Soviet people towards the people of India.

The President of India had frank and friendly talks with the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr. N. V. Podgorny, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Mr. A. N. Kosygin.

Taking part in the talks were:

From the Soviet side: Mr. A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade, Mr. S. A. Skachkov, Chairman of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR on External Economic Relations, Mr. N. P. Firubin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. N. M. Pegov, Ambassador of the U S S R in India and Mr. A. A. Fomin, Head of the Department of South Asia in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

From the Indian side: Shri C. M. Poonacha, Minister of Railways, Government of India, Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, Foreign Secretary, Shri Kewal Singh, Ambassador of India in the USSR, Dr. Nagendra Singh, Secretary to the President, Shri Prithi Singh, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, and Shri S. Than, Minister, Embassy of India, Moscow.

In the course of these talks, which were conducted in an atmosphere of sincerity and friendship, discussions were held on current international issues as well as on some questions of Soviet-Indian relations and their further development and expansion.

The two sides noted that the question of the preservation and consolidation of universal peace and security assumes particular importance in view of the existence of an extremely tense situation in South East Asia fraught with the danger of a broader military conflict. The two sides reaffirmed that for the solution of the Vietnam problem, it was essential to bring about

complete and unconditional cessation of bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to recognise the right of the Vietnamese people to decide themselves their destiny without any foreign interference and on the basis of the implementation of the 1954 Agreements.

In the opinion of the two sides, the official talks and direct contacts taking place in Paris can lay the foundations for the termination of the war in Vietnam and for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question.

The two sides discussed the situation in West Asia and emphasised the urgent necessity for the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution of the 22nd November, 1967, and the early withdrawal of the Israeli forces to the lines which they occupied prior to June 5, 1967. They consider that the proposals made by the U.A.R. to draw up an agreed plan for the step-by-step implementation of the Security Council Resolution would constitute a good basis for the establishment of durable peace and security in the region.

Both sides reaffirmed the paramount importance of ensuring firm security in Europe for lowering tensions and strengthening the cause of peace. They agreed that taking the situation in Europe into account the establishment of a system of European

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security with the participation of all European States would make an important contribution towards the consolidation of world peace.

The two sides confirmed that the positions of India and the Soviet Union on a number of important problems of the present-day international situation are identical or very close. This fact permits the two countries to co-operate effectively and constructively in the international arena for preventing a new world war and in the interests of the consolidation of universal peace and the struggle for freedom, national independence and territorial integrity of

states. The two sides consider that much can also be done in this direction within the framework of the United Nations, provided that the prestige and efficiency of that Organisation are further enhanced and the UN Charter is strictly observed.

The two sides resolutely condemned the policy of apartheid and genocide pursued by the governments of Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa and called upon all countries which respect the UN Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights to put an end to all forms of co-operation with these governments and thus compel them to grant their legitimate rights to the entire populations of these countries.

The two sides expressed their sincere sympathy and support for the people of Angola and Mozambique in their struggle for freedom from Portuguese colonialism. They condemn the actions of the racists who attempt through terror and bloodshed to break the will of the peoples fighting for their national liberation and for the elimination of the remnants of the colonial yoke.

Both sides agreed that at the present moment, as never before, the destinies and security of peoples depend on the unity and cohesion of all peace-loving forces. An important part in this respect is played by the non-aligned countries which make great efforts towards the strengthening of their independence, the relaxation of international tensions, the removal of the threat of a new war and the development of international co-operation.

The Soviet side noted with satisfaction that India consistently pursues a policy of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment and makes a positive contribution to a peaceful settlement of controversial international questions. The Soviet side welcomed the statement by the Indian leaders to the effect that India will continue firmly to pursue its foreign policy course based on the principles of peace, friendship and co-operation with all countries proclaimed by Jawaharlal Nehru.

In the course of the talks, there was an

exchange of views on the question of Indo-Pakistani relations. The Indian side informed about the steps taken by them with a view to normalising relations between the two countries on the basis of the Tashkent Declaration and informed about their efforts to restore normal exchanges and contacts in various fields. The Soviet side appreciated the mutual efforts made by both sides for the normalisation of Indo-Pakistani relations. The hope was expressed that India and Pakistan, will continue their efforts to settle, step by step, controversial questions and to establish good neighbourly relations between them.

The two sides were particularly gratified to note the constant and steady development of friendship and diversified mutually advantageous co-operation between the Soviet Union and India on the basis of full equality, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. It was noted that fruitful Soviet-Indian economic and commercial co-operation which contributes to the development of India's national economy was further developed in the course of the recent visits by the Prime Minister of India to the Soviet Union and by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to India. The two sides expressed their satisfaction over the mutual steps recently taken in search of new forms of co-operation in the economic and industrial fields and emphasised their desire for the further development of co-operation in all spheres to the benefit of the Soviet and Indian peoples.

Both the Soviet Union and India are determined not only to preserve what has already been achieved in the development of relations between them but also to develop and expand these relations in all fields: political, economic, scientific, technological,

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and in the field of cultural ties. They are convinced that the development of their friendly relations makes a positive contribution towards the cause of peace and friendship between peoples not only in Asia but throughout the world.

Both sides agreed that mutual visits and personal contacts between statesmen promote friendship and co-operation between the USSR and India. The visit by the President of India to the Soviet Union constitutes an important contribution to the further development of friendly Soviet-Indian relations and a new evidence of the existence of relations of sincere good-neighbourliness, full understanding, and cordiality between the two countries.

President Zakir Husain thanked the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Government and people of the Soviet Union for the warm welcome accorded to him and his party. He extended a cordial invitation to President Podgorny to visit India at a convenient time and President Podgorny accepted the invitation with pleasure.

RUSSIA USA INDIA GEORGIA TAJIKISTAN UZBEKISTAN UNITED KINGDOM VIETNAM FRANCE  
ISRAEL SOUTH AFRICA ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE PAKISTAN MALI

**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Shri B. B. Bhagat's Statement in Parliament on Indo-US Bilateral Talks

Following is the text of the statement by Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State for External Affairs, in Parliament on July 31, 1968, regarding the Indo-U.S. bilateral talks held in New Delhi from July 26 to 28, 1968:

The Government of India have been holding annual consultations with several friendly Governments, e.g., Japan, France, Australia and Malaysia. Government have

also agreed to hold such consultations with the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K., Ceylon and Indonesia. Such consultations with friendly Governments on problems of mutual interest both in the bilateral field and in the wider international field are useful and help a better appreciation of each other's point of view. In accordance with a similar agreement reached with the U.S. Government, a delegation led by Under Secretary, N. Katzenbach, of the U.S. Government visited India and held the first of such consultative meetings with us from the 26th to the 28th of July.

The discussions covered a wide range of topics in the international sphere as well as in the bilateral field. It was not intended to enter into or negotiate any concrete agreements. We reviewed the broad problems of Indo-U.S. economic relations and expressed the hope that these relations would remain close in the future. The U.S. Delegation affirmed their interest in our programmes of economic development.

The discussions were carried out in a frank, informal and friendly spirit. The two Governments necessarily have their own independent judgments on various problems, born out of their different situations and interests. However, we have reason to feel satisfied that the discussions helped a better understanding and appreciation of the different points of view. Hon'ble Members will appreciate that as such consultations are, in their very nature, confidential, it would not be desirable for me to go into the details of the discussions.

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USA INDIA FRANCE JAPAN AUSTRALIA MALAYSIA UNITED KINGDOM CENTRAL AFRICAN  
REPUBLIC

**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

**Volume No**

1995

Joint Statement on Indo-US Talks

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Following is the text of a joint statement issued in New Delhi on July 28, 1968, at the conclusion of the talks between representatives of the Governments of India and the U.S.A. :

Representatives of the Governments of India and the United States met on July 26-28 in New Delhi to discuss matters of common interest. The Indian delegation was headed by the Minister of State Shri B. R. Bhagat; the US delegation was led by the Under Secretary of State Mr. Nicholas Katzenbach.

During the three days of frank, friendly and informal discussions the members of the two delegations exchanged information about developments in their respective countries, examined in detail a number of foreign policy issues of common interest and concern, and exchanged views and analyses on various specific issues of world tension.

There was no intention to negotiate or reach agreement on specific questions. Each side looked upon the talks as an opportunity to learn more about the attitudes of the other and the factors on which these were based. The delegations also examined opportunities for improving the prospects for world peace and for the further development of the already close relations between India and the United States.

At the conclusion of the talks both sides felt that this new venture in an old friendship was beneficial in every respect. They agreed that this should be the first in a series of similar bilateral discussions, and that the next meeting would be held in Washington next year.

USA INDIA

**Date :** Jul 01, 1968

**August**

**Volume No**

1995

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Foreign Affairs Record 1968  
Vol. XIV AUGUST No. 8

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USA NORWAY SLOVAKIA INDIA

**Date :** Aug 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

CASTASIA

Prime Minister's Inaugural Address

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, delivered the following address inaugurating the Conference on the Application of Science and Technology to the Development of Asia in New Delhi on August 9, 1968:

I should like to extend to you all, and especially to the many distinguished scientists, science administrators and policy analysts, a most cordial welcome to Delhi and to this Conference. May I also take this opportunity of expressing our thanks to the various international agencies, UNESCO among them, for their valuable assistance and support.

This is an important conference. Its discussions are aimed at the removal of poverty, so that the vast millions of Asia are enabled to lead the kind of life which, in our times, is regarded as man's basic right. Asia today means these disinherited millions, whether they live in the desert, the jungle or the crowded deltas. But Asia did not always suggest want and penury. It

is the home of many civilisations and all the great religion. Could these civilisations have grown, if they had not been held together by adequate technological mastery? The early Indians, the early Chinese, the Arabs, to name only a few of the great people of this continent, made notable discoveries in medicine and mathematics, in astronomy and architecture, in metallurgy and agronomy. In my own country, a great surgeon who lived 2,200 years ago, is said to have used 500 different instruments and accomplished miracles in plastic surgery. On the periphery of this city you can see an iron pillar which has defied the elements for fifteen hundred years and still stands without rust or blemish.

Asia had its fair share of scientific discoveries. But a time came when its people, weighed down by the opulence of their rulers, lost the art of innovation and self-renewal. They fell prey to more vigorous and dynamic societies which possessed newer technologies. It is no wonder that the Industrial Revolution created new empires.

With the passage of time, the innovation cycle began to grow shorter. At first, any new invention might hold the field for several centuries, then perhaps no more than a century, then only a few decades. The Industrial Revolution gave this innovative process a completely new thrust. The pace of change quickened. In contemporary technology, obsolescence is seldom far behind invention.

Technology represents the end-application of science. It calls for a certain social climate and economic potential for speedy and widespread application. Modern science and technology often require large investments, especially in highly trained personnel in numerous categories all along the innovation chain. Asia has regained its freedom. But the gap in technology remains. In some ways, the extraordinary proliferation in new technology has even widened it. This is one of the sharpest causes of tension in the world creating situations which are explosive and exploitable.

The developing countries might be backward in science but they have one advantage. They can sometimes telescope centuries into a few years, take advantage of the experience of others and perhaps even alter the sequence of change. People know about penicillin in our remote villages, and aeroplanes have penetrated some parts of

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India which did not know motor vehicles, bullock carts or even wheel barrows.

How does change come about? Often enough it is brought about. Not only by individual entrepreneurs but by the initiative of determined groups, or by whole nations. Japan provides an example of the social transformation induced by a ruler and his advisers. In India and a few other countries, the powerful nationalist movements were deeply imbued with the urge for social and economic change.

Asia is at several stages of economic development. Japan presents a spectacle of modern amenities expanding far and wide. Elsewhere there are villages, some in my country, which do not look very different from what they were in the time of the Buddha. Their timelessness attracts refugees from the advanced nations, for progress, as it has evolved in the advanced countries, has so separated man from nature that he is not at peace either with his environment or with himself.

There are many theories on the induction and forward movement of economic development and technological change. Amidst a host of others, I should like to indicate some factors which play an important part in this process.

First, science itself. We are apt to think of it merely as an aid - a means of helping industry or of bringing greater comfort in our lives. But science does not merely better the old. Often enough it upsets the old. It creates something that is new to the world and to human consciousness.

Then there is education, not just for a

favoured few but for the masses; unfolding knowledge, opening up new worlds and arousing new desires. But much of today's frustration and restlessness is because our educational systems are too narrow and inflexible to promote the spirit of understanding and tolerance and the vision which is essential to meet the challenges of our changing world.

Visible benefit makes the most immediate impact. When individuals or groups are convinced that the adoption of modern science and technology will increase their income or strength, they jettison old beliefs for new ideas and methods. The Indian farmer has often been accused of resisting change. This charge is somewhat unjust. Did he not in the last century take to growing crops which were strange to our country, such as tobacco and groundnuts? The cultivation of these imported crops was taken up even by small farmers because it meant, more and readier money. A similar change is again taking place with the introduction of high-yielding crop varieties. So, while tradition and superstition do block progress, we should not underrate the strong pull of modernity and of self-interest.

Another important factor is the motivation and endeavour of governments. Ambition is the spur. But the experience in Asia is that unless governments themselves are committed to economic growth, such growth is slow to come. The hundred years before we won our independence provide an example of how slow such growth can be. Our first railways and textile mills were opened in the 1850s. Yet until the late 1940s we did not make any locomotives in our country and hardly any textile machinery.

What was lacking was governmental will-for the government was alien and indifferent. Over the same period, Japan came to the forefront of technology because it had its own government and one that was committed to technological change. National temperaments might have played some role but history has many instances where nations have undergone changes of personality under the influence of determined

leadership. The role of the State in bringing about change is well understood in Asia. Hence national planning has been adopted by many countries, whatever their political theory.

It is obvious that there can be no economic development without technological change. My father's life-work was to free India from all the shackles which prevented her full flowering-whether they were political, economic or the dead weight of outmoded thought. He once said: "What is planning if not the application of science to our problems?"

In India we have all the problems of the developing countries and some of our own. Our size magnifies every problem and every programme. If a pilot experiment in agriculture succeeds, at once there is a clamour

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to apply it to 550,000 villages. Planning on this scale, in a completely democratic set-up and in conditions where each decision is publicly debated and accepted, adds complications. With all our progress, we still can claim only a partial transformation of our society. We have today 300,000 engineers -- a more than five-fold increase since Independence. Our machine-tool output has risen 100 times. We are now exporters of locomotives, of steel products, of electronic instruments and of radio-isotopes for medicine. In a few months we hope to commission the first of three nuclear power stations at Tarapur near Bombay. But the vast majority of our people still depend on dry twigs or cattle dung for their home-fires.

We still live in many layers, in many ages. Indeed, the early stages of development have accentuated disparities. It is only through perseverance and the steady application of science that these disparities can be bridged and the backward areas enabled to catch up with the more advanced ones.

We have regarded science as the means to higher production, to self-reliance, as well as to reduction of disparities within society.

In our view, the country cannot break out of backwardness only by establishing basic and consumer industries but by applying modern technology to agriculture. We have given every encouragement to agricultural research and to the extension of research to the field. We have assigned a high priority to irrigation-large dams as well as small tubewells-so as to free the farmer from entire dependence on the rains. We have promoted rural electrification. Fifteen years ago only 4,000 cities and villages had electricity. Most of them were urban areas. Today the number is nearly 60,000. Much of this power is used for agriculture. We have developed a nation-wide organisation to distribute fertiliser and credit pumps and tubewells, the intensive use of fertiliser and the adoption of the new high-yielding varieties which have been developed by our scientists, have just given us the biggest harvest in our history. After two years of terrible drought we are heartened at this breakthrough. Indeed, the drought itself spurred our efforts to apply science and technology to agriculture which is the livelihood of seven Indians out of ten. We are determined to stabilise the gains we have made. Tomorrow, we celebrate the 25th anniversary of our Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. In 1944, long before the first atom bomb exploded over Hiroshima, Dr Homi Bhabha sought financial assistance to set up an Institute for training and fundamental studies in nuclear energy against the day when India would be able to tap cheap nuclear power. That day has come. Medical science has enabled us to virtually eradicate malaria, to bring down the birthrate and to increase longevity. The resultant population growth now attracts the highest priority and this constitutes a key area of Indian medical research and application. And so on down the list.

Ten years ago, our Government adopted a Scientific Policy Resolution which stressed the importance of scientific training and research. It also declared: "Science has led to a growth and diffusion of culture to an extent never possible before... It has provided new tools of thought and has given to civilisation a new vitality and a new dynamism..." The

Resolution pointed out that, science and technology can make up for deficiencies in natural resources and reduce demands on capital.

In working out this policy we have encountered several problems. We train young and able scientists. But it is natural that the advanced countries should provide more and better opportunities for work and satisfaction. It seems that our investment serves as technical aid in reverse - from a developing country to an advanced country!

There is also a debate regarding foreign technology versus indigenous technology. Science may not know national barriers but patent laws do. Along with foreign aid we receive foreign technology. When we do something for the first time, the import of technological know-how becomes inescapable. Yet many aid agreements are such that we are compelled to buy machinery abroad even when we can make it in India, and to accept foreign technicians when they do exist in India. The time factor and the need to avoid risks force these package deals upon us.

We are conscious that growth cannot be sustained on borrowed or even adapted technology. True self-reliance can come only as

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we develop the ability to solve our technological problems. Some are small but on a big scale. How can our villages develop unless a wide range of tools can be placed at their disposal and modern fuel brought to them at nominal prices? We often hear the term 'intermediate technology'. In this our scientists and technologists have much to do.

General and technical education has expanded considerably over the past 20 years in India and we have developed a significant scientific and technological capability in several directions. It is now our endeavour to rationalise the structure of Indian science and to relate it more closely with the processes of planning and development. We must have a 'policy for science' and equally 'science in policy'.

The field for scientific and technological cooperation is a promising one. There are already some regional exchanges and regional institutions such as the International Rice Institute in Manila and the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station in Kerala. We have accepted a number of Asian and others trainees in many of our technological and training institutions and scientific establishments such as the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre in Bombay. The countries of Asia have much to learn from one another and much to share. We invite such cooperation in a spirit of partnership and friendship. Inter-dependence can be meaningful and mutually beneficial only if it arises out of independence.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Conference on the Application of Science and Technology in Asia. I hope it will illuminate new areas of endeavour and of cooperation, and will help the nations of Asia, individually and collectively, to carry forward the tremendous work that lies ahead. I wish you every success in your deliberations.

INDIA USA PERU CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC JAPAN LATVIA PHILIPPINES

**Date :** Aug 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prime Minister's Statement in Parliament

Following is the text of the statement made in Parliament on August 21, 1968 by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, on Czechoslovakia:

It is with a heavy heart and with a

profound sense of concern that I have to report to this House certain events which are currently taking place in Czechoslovakia.

We have always been deeply committed to the cause of freedom everywhere. We have stood for certain principles as guiding and informing our attitude to international events. The principle of non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another constitutes the very basis of peaceful co-existence. We have always believed that international relations should be governed by respect for the sovereignty and independence of nations, big or small. We have always stood for the right of every country to develop its personality according to its own traditions, aptitudes and genius. India has always raised her voice whenever these principles have been violated.

The House is aware of the reports which have come through the world Press and radio as to the nature of the developments which have taken place in Czechoslovakia. We have also made enquiries from the diplomatic missions of the countries concerned as well as others, and continue to be in close touch with them. The armed forces of the Soviet Union and four of its Warsaw Pact allies began crossing the Czechoslovak borders at about 0330 hrs. I.S.T. They are now reported to be in Prague and other towns of Czechoslovakia.

In the early hours of this morning, the Soviet Government, through their Charge

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d'Affaires in New Delhi, informed us that the Governments of the Soviet Union and four of its Allied countries of the Warsaw Pact had decided to send their armed forces into Czechoslovakia. Hon'ble Members have presumably seen the statement which has since been put out by the Soviet news agency, Tass, stating the viewpoint of the Soviet Government.

Although it was only after our own independence that we were able to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Czechoslovakia, we have a long history of

friendship towards Czechoslovakia and its valiant people. I recall, as I am sure many of my colleagues on both sides of the House will remember, the tragic and fateful events of 1938 and 1939. Even then our sympathies were with the people of Czechoslovakia in their travail and my father gave poignant expression to them. I am sure that the House will join me in conveying to the people of Czechoslovakia the profound concern at the turn which events have taken so soon after what appeared to be a peaceful resolution of problems and differences between Czechoslovakia and its allies.

Our relations with the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria are close, and many-sided. We value these friendships and wish to preserve and extend them. However, we cannot but give expression to our anguish at the events in Czechoslovakia. This House will no doubt wish to convey to them our view that they should carefully consider all aspects of the situation which has arisen as a result of the action by their armed forces and its possible consequences.

We are deeply aware of the fears which have gripped Europe, and the conflicts which have raged there leading to two world wars. These fears still haunt the minds of the European people.

I am sure I reflect the opinion of the House when I express the hope that the forces which have entered Czechoslovakia will be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment and the Czech people will be able to determine their future according to their own wishes and interests, and that whatever mutual problems there may be between Czechoslovakia and its allies, will be settled peacefully. The right of nations to live peacefully and without outside interference should not be denied in the name of religion or ideology.

NORWAY SLOVAKIA USA INDIA POLAND CZECH REPUBLIC BULGARIA HUNGARY CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Aug 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Prime Minister's Reply to Lok Sabha Debate on Czechoslovakia

The Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following statement in Lok Sabha on August 23, 1968 in reply to the debate on Czechoslovakia:

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, yesterday and day before yesterday, I explained what a very serious situation had arisen... We have heard very moving speeches here. We have been reminded of our Independence movement. There may be some people here who are too young to remember the Independence movement. There are many others who are old but who did not take part in the Independence movement. I belong to neither category. I was there in the thick of the Independence movement. (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, I believe that some members have tried to point out that I have not stood by what I had said in this House yesterday or the day before. I believe somebody has already read out the Resolution before the Security Council. But with your permission, I would like to read it out again.

"Recalling that the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members" --

we fully support this --

"Considering that the action taken by the Government of the USSR and certain other members of the Warsaw Pact in invading the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is a violation of the United Nations Charter, and in particular, of the principle that all Members shall

refrain in their international relations  
from the threat or use of force against

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the territorial integrity or political independence of any state"----

We asked our Permanent Representative to support this and he has fully supported it. If I may interject and say so, I was the first person to mention these points publicly in my statement here before anybody else had done so.

"Gravely concerned that, as announced by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia the troops of the Soviet Union and certain other Members of the Warsaw Pact had entered their country without the knowledge and against the wishes of the Czechoslovakian Government".

this clause also we have fully supported

"Affirms that the people of the sovereign State of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have the right in accordance with the Charter freely to exercise their own self-determination and to arrange their own affairs without external intervention".

that also we have supported

"Affirms that the sovereignty, political independence and the territorial integrity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic must be fully respected".

this also we have supported

"Condemns armed intervention of the USSR and certain other armed Members of the Warsaw Pact in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and calls upon them forthwith to withdraw their forces and to cease all other forms of intervention in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs."

Now, with regard to this para, we did not wish to support it...

As I have said in my statement yesterday, we supported the para which "calls upon them forthwith to withdraw their forces and to cease all other forms of intervention in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs".

An Hon. Member: 'Condemns' is the essential part of the resolution, that has not been supported.

Prime Minister: We have earlier stated our position on some of these matters and our basic principles on the use of words such as 'condemn' or 'condemnation'. We do not believe that the use of such words necessarily goes to help the Czechoslovak people. (Interruptions)

We received a phone message this morning informing us about this resolution and asking for our advice. We immediately consulted with our colleagues. We considered the matter in a Cabinet meeting, and we felt that while we should stand firm on the principles, as I said, the use of this word did not in any way help the Czechoslovak people or serve any useful or constructive purpose, and therefore, we suggested that they might change this word to "deplore".

Our representative, therefore, asked firstly that there should be a para-by-para voting which would have permitted us to vote for all the other issues except for this particular sentence. He also asked for the change of this particular word, from "condemn" to "deplore". Thirdly, he asked for time to consult us because, even though we had the phone call, we had barely a few minutes at our disposal as voting had already begun; and he, and I believe some other members also, asked whether there could be a slight postponement so that they could consult their Governments....

The resolution goes on:

"Calls upon them likewise to refrain from any acts of bloodshed or other actions in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere that could exacerbate the situation, and to take no action of terror or reprisal

that could result in further suffering or loss of life."

"Calls upon the President of the United Nations to exercise their diplomatic influence upon the USSR and the other countries concerned with a view to bringing about prompt implementation of this resolution."

"Requests the Secretary-General to transmit this resolution to the countries concerned to keep the situation under constant review and report to the Council."

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We have unfortunately not received the details. We gave instructions that our support of all these paras should be made in very clear, firm and unequivocal terms. (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, during the last three days, in one form or another, in this House and the other House and indeed all over the country and in large parts of the world, people have followed the tragic events in Czechoslovakia with profound concern, anxiety and anguish. The House has, followed the reports which have come through the world press and radio, and during the last 24 hours there have been reports of violence, of bloodshed, of loss of precious lives and there have also been rumours about the Czech leaders. All these reports have naturally heightened our concern.

I believe several Members here asked about Mr. Dubcek. There is no authoritative news even from the Czech Charge d'affaires who has been in contact with his country at least till this morning. But we have been very closely in touch with our embassies abroad and ambassadors of other countries in Delhi and, in particular, we have tried to establish contact with our ambassador in Czechoslovakia as well as with the Charge d'affaires of Czechoslovakia in Delhi. There is not much in the messages which we have received and which the hon. Members have not already heard about through the radio or the press.

There was some misunderstanding about the rules which govern the conduct of business in the Security Council. May I ask your leave to explain the position briefly, and quote the relevant rules. In this case as I have explained, we have supported practically the entire resolution, all but one sub-part of one single paragraph; part of one single paragraph out of nine paragraphs in all. We wanted to record our vote on the resolution accordingly.

The rules of the Security Council, however, lay down - may I quote from the relevant rules - it is rule 32:

"Part of a motion or of a draft resolution shall be voted on separately at the request of any representative, unless the original mover objects."

Our representative, therefore, approached the movers of the resolution and tried to persuade them to agree to voting by parts. Unfortunately, they did not agree.

It was in these circumstances that our representative had no alternative but to clarify our support to all parts of the Resolution with the exception of that one single word and thereafter he abstained on the Resolution taking it as a whole. An extract from the PTI despatch says:

"In a speech early this morning Shri Parthasarathi quoted that in the light of the statements of the Prime Minister of India it will be clear to the Security Council that India firmly supports and respects the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia. It would be equally clear that we are against any interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. The immediate need is for the withdrawal of foreign forces, from Czechoslovakia. I should like-- this is what Shri Parthasarathi said-- to place on record our deep sympathy with the heroic people of Czechoslovakia in their present ordeal."

The word which has been coming up for much comment and the word to which we also took exception is the word 'condemn'. Now, Sir, to condemn or not to condemn is not the question. What is more important and, indeed vital, for Czechoslovakia is the withdrawal of all forces forthwith, the restoration of the legitimate government to power, and the restoration of sovereignty to the people of Czechoslovakia. We are in favour of all these objectives and we do not think that these objectives can be furthered by beginning with condemnation.

I submit, Sir, that the main objective which we have to pursue as a mature and responsible people and as a member of the Security Council is to do everything possible to stop the process of serious setback to the forces of peace in Europe and generally in the world, to try and reverse the trends which have struck such a sharp blow to the earlier welcome process of peaceful co-existence and detente between the power blocs. This is what can serve the long-term and lasting interests of Europe and the world. That will also ensure the sovereignty and independence of Czechoslovakia. This is the only way in which an atmosphere can be created which is so necessary to

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ensure the full observance of the United Nations Charter and the observance of the Charter rights of all free nations.

We have to be clear about the reality and the objectives. The reality is that even those countries which voted for that one part of the resolution in respect of which we suggested a minor modification, are not, as far as we can see, prepared to take any concrete step to help the Czechoslovak people, beyond what we are doing, namely, calling for the withdrawal of troops, for safeguarding the Charter rights of the Czechoslovaks and so on.

I have already outlined the points this morning and also in my statement yesterday. Whatever their reasons or motives may be, we do not wish to question them. But we are averse, on our part, to doing any-

thing which might look like an empty gesture and which might invite comment that it is an exercise in propaganda and, above all, which might add to the tension which has arisen and also might possibly add to the tension which has arisen and also might possibly add to the difficulties of the Czech people.

Sir, much has been said here about the Government not daring to say something or to use a word; not daring to use a word which is strong enough. Some members even called us stooges of one side or another. These are not new words. We have heard such remarks on occasion from one side of the House saying that we are the stooges of American imperialism; then we hear them from another side and we learn that we are, on the contrary, stooges of the Communists of one kind or another. This is, perhaps, the fate of all those who try to plod a middle path.

From the beginning, our policy has been to try to lessen tension, not merely as a good ideal—we do believe it is an ideal—but from the point of view of national interest. It is not in our interest that tension should develop and increase; it is not in our interest that violence should break; it is not in our interest that there should be war. As many leaders have said, as Acharyaji has pointed out, the high ideals that Mahatmaji has put before us, the ideal that freedom was indivisible that we should fight for freedom, for justice, not only for ourselves but for all oppressed and threatened people -- this we have been trying to do.

We talk of courage. Now, when the whole House is shouting, perhaps the easier path would have been for me to say that I accept this word. It is not easy to say in the face of large numbers of people shouting that I shall stand by a particular statement. But why do we stand by that particular statement? Why, in the face of similar excitement have we maintained our stand?

Our stand has been made clear. It has been made very clear also, at the present moment, in the United Nations. It has been

made clear to the representative of Czechoslovakia in New Delhi. It has been made clear through our Ambassador in Czechoslovakia to the people there. There is no doubt about our stand amongst all those people who are vitally concerned. I am sorry that in this House people should try to create confusion about it. What is our objective? Are we out to use this for propaganda purposes, saying this is wrong?

When this matter first came up, I said and I repeat that it is this Government and this side which has been friendly with the government and the people of Czechoslovakia. It was not the parties who were now raising their voice, who had contacts with these parties.... I am not saying that they should not now express their sympathy. I welcome it; I think, it is a good thing that they are doing it now. But it is well to remember that they had taken a particular attitude about these countries; they had some time resented our contacts with them, our economic contacts and so on, and not so very long ago.

So I would like to submit to this House that we have very strongly and firmly put what is the real crux of the matter. From the beginning we have supported Czechoslovakia. We did not wait for anybody else to pin point the issues. We were the first and we stick by those principles with regard to Czechoslovakia, with regard to any other nation which may be threatened. I think that there should be no doubt about that at all.

It would perhaps be presumptuous on my part to say that India has been able to change world trends or lessen tension all over the world. But I think it would also be unfair if we were to disregard totally the

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role which India has played in the lessening of tensions between the two power blocs and in creating a better atmosphere. This is something in which we are vitally interested and which we must continue to pursue. If I said that we must tread carefully or must choose our words carefully, it is not because

we do not want to offend anybody or want to please somebody but it is because we feel this is a moment when we should not look only to the present. Of course, if in so doing we had not stressed the positive aspects, hon. Members would have been justified in saying that we were hesitating, but we have not hesitated in emphasizing and reiterating again and again the positive aspects of the matter. But we do feel that conditions should be created -- I do not know if it is possible; it may not help at all but at least in our judgment it was felt that we should take a part which would help to lessen tension in this unhappy part of the world.

I spoke earlier about the safety of Mr. Dubeck and his colleagues and, I am sure, the House will join me in expressing our great concern. We learn from the latest news that President Svoboda has already gone to Moscow. It seems from his statement that he has gone of his own will. Mr. Svoboda has asked his people to have faith in him and has told them that he will return tonight to report to them. He has also assured them that they will accept no Prime Minister except Prime Minister Cernik....

I should also like to express my deep admiration and full sympathy for the Czechoslovak people in their time of trouble and admiration for the peaceful and passive character of their demonstrations and the calm and dignity which they are displaying.

May I add a last word? Let us not use this opportunity for condemnation amongst ourselves but use it for expressing Czechoslovakia's point of view and for the principles which I have enunciated earlier. Let us create an atmosphere and let us work towards a world in which violence and force cannot triumph.

NORWAY SLOVAKIA INDIA USA POLAND CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA

**Date :** Aug 01, 1968

**Volume No**

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1995

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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Prime Minister's Reply to Rajya Sabha Debate on Czechoslovakia

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The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following statement in the Rajya Sabha on August 23, 1968, in reply to the debate on Czechoslovakia:

Madam Deputy Chairman, hon. Members are rightly exercised over what has happened in the United Nations. They are seeking to prove that I have gone back on what I stated in this House or the other House. I would beg to submit that this is not so. Of all the comments made the world over ours was the very first which pointed to certain principles involved in the tragedy which has taken place. We mentioned these principles in very clear terms in the first day's statement and equally clearly in yesterday's statement in the other House. Most of those principles have been included in the Resolution which came up before the United Nations. Hon. Members will remember that in my speech I made one point clear: what is our objective? Is our objective to gain some kind of propaganda point? Is it just to condemn or use words like that, or is it to state our positive support for the people of Czechoslovakia? (Interruptions)

The hon. Shri Dahyabhai Patel read out some of the paragraphs from the Resolution. Now, the first is:

Recalling that the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members....

Now, we fully support this. The second is--

considering that the action taken by the Government of the USSR and other members of the Warsaw Pact in invading the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is violation of the United Nations Char-

ter, and in particular, of the principle that all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat and from the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State....

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This also we fully support.

Now, the next para --

"Gravely concerned that, as announced by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, troops of the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact have entered their country without the knowledge and against the wishes of the Czechoslovakian Government;"

This also we support. Then, the next:

"Affirms that the people of the Sovereign State of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have the right in accordance with the Charter freely to exercise their own self-determination and to arrange their own affairs without external intervention;"

This also we fully support and, again, I had mentioned it in my statement. Now:

"Affirms that the sovereign, political independence and territorial integrity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic must be fully respected."

This also we support.

Now, in the third paragraph, there is this sentence:

"Condemns the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and other members of the Warsaw Pact in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and calls upon them forthwith to withdraw their forces, and to cease all other forms, of intervention in Czechoslovakia's inter-

nal affairs."

Now, Madam, with regard to this paragraph, we said that the word "condemns" should be changed, but we support the rest of the paragraph that calls upon them forthwith to withdraw, because we felt that it does not serve any useful purpose. It does not strengthen the rest of the case... But leaving that out and replacing it with a word such as "deplores" would have served the purpose....

As I was trying to say earlier, we have, on many previous occasions, spoken very strongly about various matters. We have spoken about them also in strong and unequivocal terms; yet we have not used the word "condemn", except, I think, on the question of South Africa.

Only in the case of Israel the word "condemnation" was used in a certain context though not in the original resolution asking for the withdrawal... Anyway, our point was that we have to think very carefully at this moment. When we were meeting the leaders of the Opposition, one of them, not a member of either of the Communist Parties, had drawn our attention to one fact; while we should take a strong stand on the principles involved, we should think very carefully of the words we use in condemnation or disapproval or whatever be the word, because India has followed a particular policy. I do not want to make my speech now, but I think it is necessary to remember that we should not take any stand which would make it more difficult for us to help the Czechoslovak people....

May I add one or two words? When we got the news that this resolution was being put to vote almost immediately, we naturally wanted to have time to consider the matter fully before giving our advice. I believe that Algeria also asked for time to consult its Government and get its Government's view. There is another point. Quite often when these resolutions come up for voting, they are voted upon para by para. Now that we have made our stand very clear, we could have voted for all the other paragraphs. Un-

fortunately para-by-para voting was not allowed and our slight amendment or change of one word was also not allowed and when a little time was sought to consult the Government, that was also not given.

We had told our representative that he should make our view very clear on all these points: that we strongly supported the Charter rights of Czechoslovakia, that we supported the point about withdrawal of foreign forces, and of Czechoslovakia being enabled to form its own Government and follow its own system and deal with its internal affairs as it thinks best without any interference from outside... I did not suggest that our instructions were that he should clarify our views on all these points, but our instructions were not to accept the word "condemns". (Interruptions).

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I really do not have much to say as I have already clarified the position regarding our voting in the U.N. earlier in the day. During the last three days, in one form or another in this House and in the other House, and indeed all over the country and in large parts of the world, people have followed the tragic happenings in Czechoslovakia with profound concern and I think I used the word, "anguish". The House has followed the reports which have come through the world Press and the Radio. There have been reports of violence, of bloodshed, of loss of precious lives and property. There have been reports and rumours about Czechoslovak leaders. All these reports have, naturally, heightened our concern. We have been in close, anxious and constant touch with our Embassies abroad and with the Ambassadors of other countries here. We have in particular kept contact with our Ambassador in Czechoslovakia and with the Charge-d'affaires of Czechoslovakia here in Delhi. Even today, he continues to function on behalf of the legally constituted Government of Czechoslovakia. All the countries in the world today seem to have joined together in the expression of distress, concern and anxiety. I think -- and I have said this before -- the developments of these three days seem to

have set the clock back by fifteen years and dragged the world back to the old atmosphere of the cold war.

What has happened in Czechoslovakia has shocked us as much as it has shocked the world, not only because of the tragedy of Czechoslovakian situation itself but for what we think it may mean in terms of the world situation, what it may mean in terms of reversing what over the years we have worked for so sincerely and so firmly. We believe that every country has full right to shape its own destiny. We are opposed to the interference by one nation in another's affairs. These points, Madam, I have made in this House earlier.

When this motion was moved by the hon'ble Member, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, he spoke at some length on co-existence and made the point that perhaps we had now discovered the perfidy of the Soviet Union and this would open our eyes. It is surprising, Madam, that so many times we have explained what nonalignment means, and on what basis our friendships are formed, and yet we find the same arguments used again and again.

Madam, we are not friends with a country because we agree with its system of Government. We are not friends with countries because we approve of what they do. We say that we believe in co-existence because countries have to live together in this world until science advances so much that perhaps we can move a whole country to some other planet. Until then we have to live together in this world, in peace. And that is why we evolved this policy that we must learn to live together. We must learn to find areas of agreement; we must learn to enlarge those areas. It is not as if we did not disapprove, when disapproval was called for, irrespective of whether friendship was at its height or whether it was at its lowest, whether it was the Soviet Union or whether it was the United States that did it, or some other country did so. As far as our policy is concerned, we did draw attention to wrong acts when they took place; freindship was beside the point. But

it has at no time affected our friendship with a particular nation. Our friendship is based, firstly, on the principle that in this world we have to live together and, secondly, it has been based on what we consider, after very careful consideration, to be in the national interest. I do not think that we should at this moment be swept off our feet by emotion.

I have said in the other House and I would like to repeat here, that perhaps there is nobody in this House who has had such close contacts with Czechoslovakia for so many years as I have had personally, not as a member of the Government, but ever since I was a small girl. I have known the people of the country fairly well and I have known large sections of the people in the Universities and in other spheres of activity. I do not often agree with the hon'ble Shri Bhupesh Gupta but today I must say that this new-found friendship for Czechoslovakia amongst some of the parties which have earlier spoken against our friendship with those countries, does seem to me to be a little astonishing. However, I welcome it. For that reason I do not want to say that it has no value, because today Czechoslovakia does need all the voices which can be raised in her support.

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Madam, some things have been said about our voting. I should like to refer briefly to the Rules of Procedure. Rule 32 says:

"Principal motions and draft resolutions shall have precedence in the order of their submission."

Therefore, even if we wanted to have an amendment or to have another motion, the substantive one would still have been voted upon first.

The rule goes on to say:

"Parts of a motion or a draft resolution shall be voted on separately at the request of any representative, unless the original mover objects."

Now, Madam, we did, as I have said earlier in this House, take up this point and we wanted to have the voting taken up paragraph by paragraph but we were not allowed to do so. Similarly, our representative asked for a little time so that we would have more opportunity of considering the matter and giving a full reply. But that also was not allowed. I took the matter to the Cabinet and whatever decision was taken was taken by the whole Cabinet.

As I have explained earlier, in this particular case we have supported practically the entire Resolution, all the clauses but one sub-part of a single paragraph, that is, one paragraph out of nine paragraphs including the preamble. We wanted to record our vote on the Resolution accordingly. But, as I said, it was not possible to do so.

Much has been made as to why we did not add one word, "condemn". Was that word so important? Now we did consider its importance in this context. By all that follows in the Resolution and all that I have said in my speech, it is obvious what our attitude is. Then, Madam, when we are blamed for being either weak or halting or afraid, I must say these are rather strange terms, because what is the courage needed in this? Is it in support of the Czechoslovak people, or is it for something else? I said yesterday that, it is easy enough to condemn, but what we have always felt on this issue, as on others, is that the point is to condemn or not to condemn. What is more important and indeed, what is vital for Czechoslovakia is the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the restoration of the legitimate government to power and restoration of the sovereignty to the people of Czechoslovakia. We are all in favour of these objectives and we do not think that these objectives can be furthered by beginning with condemnation. This is the point. Hon'ble Shri Jai-ramdas Daulatram has supported us in this and this is our own view also.

The main objective which we have to pursue as, a mature and responsible people, as a member of the Security Council, is to do everything possible to stop the process

of the serious setback to the forces of peace in Europe and in the world generally, to try and reverse the trend which has struck such a sharp blow to the earlier welcome processes of peaceful co-existence. This will serve the long-term and lasting interest of Europe and the world and I believe it will also ensure the sovereignty and independence of Czechoslovakia. This is the only way in which an atmosphere can be created which is necessary for the full observance of the U.N. Charter and the observance of the Charter rights of all free nations.

Therefore, we have expressed our sympathies with the people and leaders of Czechoslovakia and I am glad that many Members have referred to the valiant history of the Czechoslovak people and that they have referred also to the manner in which the Czechoslovak people are meeting this particular crisis. They are meeting it in the light of the guidance which we ourselves were given by our great leader Mahatma Gandhi. The Czechoslovak people have a long history of fighting for freedom and in this they command the admiration of the world. There has been some concern expressed for the safety of the Czechoslovak leaders. Madam, although some news has appeared, the Czechoslovak Embassy here does not say that it is authoritative. But I am sure the House will join me in expressing our concern and also our hope that they are safe and will soon return to their country. We are second to none in our sympathy for the people of Czechoslovakia, in our admiration for the people of Czechoslovakia. We also feel deeply moved at what has happened. But a Government cannot be swept away by emotions. We have to see the facts in the world; we have to see

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how they have to be met. I do not know whether the decision we have taken can be more helpful; only the future can tell. As the honourable Member, Shri Anup Singh, said in the past we have taken such decisions and we have been criticised even then. We have been accused of cowardice, of following one bloc or another. Yet we have stood our ground and, Madam, if I may say so in

all humility, I do not think that had we been aft-aid, we could have stood our ground with these powerful nations trying to pull us one way or another. Would it not have been easier for me today to vote with the majority of nations? Even here is it not easier for me to say that since so many people are shouting, let me say, all right, I agree with you? It would be certainly easier for me to say this. But I have taken a particular decision. I have not taken it because it is past Indian policy. I have not taken it because I am afraid of the Soviet Union. I have not taken it because I am afraid of being called the stooge, or whatever word they may like to use, of the U.S.A. I have taken it because I consider it to be the only path along which we can work towards the lessening of tensions and towards helping Czechoslovakia in the longer run. Therefore, Madam, I am going to stand my ground. I believe I am not deaf to the voice of the people. I think every Government, every political party, has to be alive to what the people are thinking. But Madam, no person can be a leader, no person can be in the Government if he thinks that any voice that comes like this from the mob can sweep him off his feet and force him to give up what he considers to be in the national interest or in the interest of peace. Even if some people hold other views, I must state my view even if I stand alone. I must say clearly that this is the only way to serve our national interests. I say I stand for peace, I stand for peace... (interruptions) ... and lessening of tension in the future.

Madam, let us use all our strength today to pull the world back into the path of sanity. Those who are breathing fire and brimstone today will not be able to do much because their motives are sometimes well known and suspected. Centuries ago the Buddha said, "The victories of war are hollow, for the vanquished sleep in sorrow." Let this reminder go out from this House.

NORWAY SLOVAKIA USA POLAND SOUTH AFRICA ISRAEL CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDIA  
ALGERIA

**Date :** Aug 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

### DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

#### Shri Azim Husain's Statement on Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons

Shri Azim Husain, India's Ambassador in Switzerland and leader of the Indian Delegation to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, made the following statement at the 389th plenary meeting of the Committee in Geneva on August 13, 1968 on the prohibition of nuclear weapons:

The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which has been occupied almost exclusively for almost two years with an important issue, has now reconvened for another session of its work to deal with other important matters at the point at which they were left in 1966, as well as to consider new issues which have arisen since then.

As we are all aware, the Committee is required to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session on: the progress achieved on the question of general and complete disarmament, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2342B (XXII) (ENDC/210); the elaboration of a treaty banning underground nuclear-weapon tests, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2343 (XXII) (ibid.); the question of

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a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2289 (XXII) (ibid.); the question of the elimination of foreign military bases, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2344 (XXII) (ibid.); and last but not least, action on

resolution 2373 (XXII) of the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly, which, in addition to calling for negotiations on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, requested--

"...the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the nuclear-weapon States urgently to pursue negotiations on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament..."  
(ENDC/226\*)

Besides those tasks assigned to the Committee by the General Assembly, we have before us also proposals contained in the Soviet memorandum (ENDC/227) and the message of President Johnson (ENDC/228). Further, during our present deliberations we have listened with great interest and attention to the various proposals put forward by other delegations, including certain specific suggestions made by the delegations of the United Kingdom and Sweden.

Thus the Committee undoubtedly has a vast and impressive field of work. My delegation shares the view expressed by a number of delegations that, if we hope to achieve any significant and rapid progress in our work, and especially if we are to submit anything concrete and substantial to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, it is essential that we concentrate our efforts on items which are relatively urgent and which, taking into account the present international situation, hold out the greatest measure of hope of agreement. Therefore, we should without any further delay define the areas in which negotiations should take place in the immediate future.

We should bear in mind, while considering the question of the agenda of the Committee, the basic objectives of this Committee as laid down in General Assembly resolution 1722 (XVI) which endorsed the establishment of this Committee. That resolution called upon the Committee to undertake as a matter of the utmost urgency

negotiations, on the basis of the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles (ENDC/5), on 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 General Assembly laid down that until the goal of total disarmament was achieved, and without prejudicing progress towards that goal, the Committee should endeavour to reach agreements on other measures of disarmament, which have been variously termed collateral or partial measures of disarmament.

The work this 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 this agreement was subject to certain reservations from both the Soviet Union and the United States. An attempt to resolve differences on certain basic problems of disarmament could not succeed either; and the discussions on the question of the reduction and elimination of nuclear-weapon delivery vehicles remained inconclusive. 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 it has set itself, to live on a disarmed planet, the Committee must not lose sight of the main task assigned to it. The Committee must pick up the threads at the point where it left off in 1964. Perhaps this task could be facilitated if the Soviet Union and the United States submitted revised versions of their draft treaties, which were presented in 1962 (ENDC/2/Rev.1 and Add.1; ENDC/30).

In this context it is a very welcome development that the United States and the Soviet Union have reached an agreement to have bilateral discussions on the limitation and reduction of both offensive strategic nuclear-weapon delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles. Even as early as 1957 India was of the view that it was simpler to deal with carriers than with nuclear weapons and that, if de-

livery vehicles were eliminated, the nuclear-

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weapon capacity for harm would be greatly reduced. In a further comment on our proposal to deal urgently with the problem of nuclear-weapon delivery vehicles, the late Prime Minister Nehru stated in 1960:

"We have been talking for a long time about the actual destruction of atomic bombs and the rest. It may be remembered that some time ago a suggestion was made in the United Nations Disarmament Commission on behalf of India in regard to these carriers of atomic weapons. It is simpler to deal with the carriers than with the weapons. Remove the carriers and we reduce very greatly the capacity for harm being done by atomic weapons. We take away the surprise element from it."

We therefore share the views expressed by several delegations here that the successful conclusion of the proposed bilateral discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union would greatly facilitate the effective stopping of the nuclear arms race, which despite the growing concern of the world has, as we all know, shown no signs of abatement. Indeed, with the further sophistication of offensive missile system equipped with MIRVs, decoys and penetration aids, and the development and deployment of the ABM systems, the nuclear arms race is entering a new and more dangerous phase resulting in growing anxiety and unease for the entire world community. It is hoped, therefore, that the proposed bilateral discussions will take place in the near future and will be fruitful.

As regards collateral measures of disarmament, the highest priority must naturally go to measures in the field of nuclear-disarmament. Among these the most important, as the Indian delegation has stressed repeatedly in the past, is a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes. This would be the most significant step towards a complete stoppage of the production of nuclear wea-

apons. There could be no justification whatsoever for any addition to the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons, which already have the capacity to destroy the world several times over. As has been rightly observed by certain other delegations also, the difficulty of verification of a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes can no longer be cited as a reason for not reaching an agreement on this purpose, since an agreement on control already exists and the obligations of the nuclear-weapon States in respect of inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) could be made the same as those of the States not having nuclear weapons. An agreement on a cut-off in the further production of nuclear weapons should therefore be concluded as soon as possible.

Among other measures in the field of nuclear disarmament the Government of India has always attached the highest importance to a comprehensive test-ban treaty. My delegation would earnestly suggest that intensive negotiations on this question should take place in the Committee in the immediate future. Both the need for and the urgency of achieving "the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time" is underlined in the undertaking in the Moscow test-ban Treaty by the three nuclear-weapon Powers (ENDC/100/Rev.1). No progress has, however, been made in this direction during the last five years, which have, on the other hand, been marked by an increasing frequency of nuclear explosions. The General Assembly has accorded a special priority to this item for a number of years. Also, in the preamble and article VI of the non-proliferation treaty a specific statutory obligation has been undertaken to pursue urgent negotiations in this regard.

It may be added that most speakers at the recently-concluded resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly stressed that underground tests should stop at the earliest possible moment. India was the first country to press for 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 immediately suspended. Negotiations could then be undertaken to resolve the outstanding differences with a view to making the present partial Treaty a comprehensive one.

At the same time 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

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under water should be further consolidated by securing the adherence of those States which have not so far signed the Treaty. We are equally clear that there is no justification for any action which might erode the partial test-ban Treaty. Concerning the problem of verification of a comprehensive test ban, India along with other non-aligned countries, has over the years urged various solutions which have not so far been accepted by the nuclear-weapon States. During our present deliberations a fresh attempt has been made, and specific proposals to resolve the deadlock have been put forward by the delegations of the United Kingdom (ENDC/PV.381) and Sweden (ENDC/PV.385). We await the considered views of the delegations of the Soviet Union and the United States, and are ready to assist in exploring an acceptable solution.

I may add that the Government of India has welcomed the initiative taken by Sweden as a result of which the International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research in Stockholm (SIPRI) gathered together scientists and other experts from different countries to discuss the technical aspects of the control of an underground nuclear test ban by seismological methods. A welcome feature of those discussions was the participation for the first time of scientists from the three nuclear-weapon States Participating in the work of our Committee, as well as scientists from France. The report of SIPRI (ENDC/230) reveals a substantial measure of agreement at the technical level

on the identification by the existing means of detection of nuclear explosions above a certain level, which is much lower than that envisaged in our discussions a few years ago. We hope that these exchanges will be continued, and Indian experts would be glad to assist that process, as they did on this occasion; but further progress on this should not stand in the way of the early conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

And when we speak of a comprehensive test-ban treaty we must inevitably speak of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Whether the benefits from such explosions, in the form of practical applications, are to become available in the near future or in the distant future, 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 conjunction with a comprehensive test ban and not separately from it. In the first instance, a total prohibition in regard to nuclear explosions must apply to all States, nuclear as well as non-nuclear. An international regime should then be established in respect of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. The development of the technology of nuclear excavation projects must be sought, not by way of a modification of the Moscow test-ban Treaty, but in the context of a comprehensive test-ban treaty and through a separately-negotiated agreement which should be part of the international regime for peaceful nuclear explosions.

Next, my delegation would like to mention the proposal for the signing of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons (ENDC/227). The use of such weapons was declared by General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI) to be contrary to the United Nations Charter and a crime against humanity. At the twenty-first and twenty-second sessions of the General Assembly India supported the draft resolution urging the convening of a conference for that purpose. In India's view, if the proposed convention is to be

effective it will require the active support of all States, and more particularly of States which possess such weapons. In the course of discussions held in this Committee, in the General Assembly and elsewhere, several countries have expressed their views on the proposed convention. Some States have pointed out that in the absence of means of control the proposed convention would undermine their security. It has been the consistent view of the Government of India that all such questions can be considered when the drafting of the proposed convention is taken up.

In the course of our recent discussions it has been proposed that we should also discuss two measures in the nature of non-armament: namely the peaceful use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof, and the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological methods of warfare. The question of the peaceful use of the sea-bed and ocean floor is a comparatively new but

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complex subject, and its importance has been highlighted because of recent technological advances in this field. In order to examine its various aspects an ad hoc Committee has been appointed in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2340 (XXII) and has been asked to report to the twenty-third session; but it, has been suggested here that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament should take up consideration of the military aspects of the problem.

India's view has been that the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof, outside the limits of present national jurisdictions, should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The technologically-advanced countries should not use that environment for setting up any military bases or fortifications, nor should they test any kind of weapons. That environment, being *res communis*, should not be subject to appropriation or exclusive use of exploitation by any one State, nor should it be subject to the sovereignty of any nation. The resources of that environment, being the

common heritage of mankind, should be used for raising the economic level of peoples throughout the world, particularly in the developing countries. A first step in this direction that could be taken by us here is the adoption of a declaration calling for the reservation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof exclusively for peaceful purposes.

As regards the other measure, concerning chemical and bacteriological warfare - or, as it has been more appropriately termed by the representative of the United Kingdom (ENDC/PV.387, para. 5), microbiological warfare -- the Indian delegation views with interest a discussion on that item. India, as a country traditionally opposed to all weapons of mass destruction, fully supports the idea of the total prohibition of the use of chemical and microbiological weapons. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly India voted for resolution 2162 (XXI) (ENDC/185), which called for strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and urged those States which had not acceded to it to do so. India is, of course, a signatory of the Protocol. However, in view of recent developments and the issues raised here by various delegations, the whole subject needs to be carried a step beyond the position as it is today, but without detriment to the validity and importance of the Protocol. At the same time my delegation cannot agree with the view that the Geneva Protocol, being a declaratory prohibition and without a system of international control - which in this case it would be extremely difficult if not impossible to provide -- is of no use.

Regarding the Working Paper on Microbiological Warfare (ENDC/231) submitted to our Committee by the United Kingdom delegation on 6 August, and the suggestion (ENDC/PV.381, para. 93) that the Secretary-General be asked to prepare a report on the nature and possible effects of chemical weapons and the implications of their use, the Government of India will give those proposals the most careful consideration, and I shall hope to be able to express its views when the subject is discussed

substantively.

In conclusion, the delegation of India would like to stress that our Committee should, as a matter of the highest priority, concern itself with negotiations on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament. Negotiations on those measures alone, rather than on measures of non-armament, would carry conviction with the peoples of the world, both in regard to the repeatedly-expressed intentions of the great Powers and in regard to the seriousness of the work of this Committee.

USA INDIA SWITZERLAND SWEDEN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA FRANCE

**Date :** Aug 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Shri Azim Husain's Statement on Use of Chemical and Bacteriological Weapons

Shri Azim Husain, India's Ambassador in Switzerland and leader of the Indian Delegation to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, made the following statement at the 392nd plenary meeting of the Committee in Geneva on August 22, 1968 on the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons:

I should like today to state briefly the views of the delegation of India on certain

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proposals which have been made in the Committee with regard to chemical and bacteriological weapons.

In my statement of 13 August I

reiterated the full support of the Government of India for the total prohibition of the use of these weapons of mass destruction and the need for the strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and the accession thereto of those States which had not adhered. As a declaratory prohibition we believe in the continuing importance and validity of the Protocol regardless of the passage of time or of some of the doubts which have been expressed here about the absence of certain provisions or about the phraseology used in the Protocol. I concluded by saying:

"However, in view of recent developments and the issues raised here by various delegations, the whole subject needs to be carried a step beyond the position as it is today, but without detriment to the validity and importance of the Protocol." (ENDC/PV.389, para. 19)

As regards the proposals which have been made in the Committee, the representative of the United Kingdom has suggested that the Secretary-General of the United Nations be requested --

"... to prepare a report on the nature and possible effects of chemical weapons and on the implications of their use, with a view to giving this Committee an international scientific basis for future consideration of further measures for their limitation and control, as well as focusing public opinion on the issues involved." (ENDC/PV.381, para. 92)

The representative of Poland has, however, suggested that the scope of the proposed study should be widened so as to include the effects of the use of both chemical and bacteriological weapons (ENDC/PV. 385, para. 70). In his comment on these proposals the representative of the United States said:

"On balance, we see some net gain in treating chemical weapons separately from bacteriological weapons. However,

we can support a study on the nature and possible effects of chemical and bacteriological weapons, either together or separately." (ENDC/PV. 389, para. 112)

The representative of the Soviet Union in the course of his remarks stated that the Soviet Union--

"...supports the idea advanced by the delegation of the Polish People's Republic concerning the preparation of a report on the consequences of the possible use of chemical and bacteriological weapons." (ENDC/PV. 390, para. 92)

A number of other delegations have also expressed themselves in favour of a study by the Secretary-General of the nature and effects of the possible use of both chemical and bacteriological weapons. That is understandable because of the valuable precedent of the study prepared by the Secretary-General, with the help of experts, on the nature and possible effects of the use of nuclear weapons. The report (A/6858) on that study underlined the perils of the nuclear arms race and the need for the immediate cessation of that race and the elimination of nuclear weapons from the arsenals of the countries possessing them. A similar study would further strengthen the prohibition enjoined in the Geneva Protocol of 1925, and provide the background for banning the production and stockpiling of such weapons and for their complete elimination.

The delegation of India is of the view that the time has come when such a study should be undertaken without delay. The study should cover both chemical and bacteriological weapons, because both types of weapons are equally evil and, as already mentioned, there are categories in which it becomes difficult to distinguish one from the other. It is necessary that the international community be made aware of the nature and possible effects of the use of these weapons of mass destruction, with particular reference to those States which are not in a position to establish for themselves any comprehensive means of protection. However,

since different experts would have to study each of the two types of weapons, the Secretary-General might need to appoint two different groups of qualified consultant ex-

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perts. Instead of one study there would need to be two studies, or a study in two parts, which would have to be simultaneously prepared and submitted by the Secretary-General. It is only after such studies are available that we can consider what further action should be taken.

I should, however, before concluding, like to stress that our support for these studies rests on our basic position of a total prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons and our strong support for the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which forbids such use.

USA INDIA SWITZERLAND CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC POLAND

**Date :** Aug 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

President's Message on Independence Day

The President, Dr. Zakir Husain, broadcast the following message to the nation on the eve of the Independence Day (August 15):

On the eve of the twenty-first anniversary of our Independence Day, I am happy to greet you and convey to you my best wishes for the future.

Since I spoke to the nation on the eve of the last Independence Day, we have emerged from the dark night of famine and

starvation which stalked several of our States particularly Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Thanks to the development of new seed varieties and new farming techniques and, above all, the farmers' responsiveness to new ideas, we have had a record production of over 95 million tons of foodgrains this year. While thus a break-through in agriculture is in sight, its materialisation depends on our ability to tackle the formidable problem of agricultural organisation. On this solemn occasion it needs to be plainly admitted by all that our failure has been more on the human side and therein lies the greatest challenge to us. I, therefore, sincerely pray that the bumper harvest this year will not lull us into a sense of complacency and make us forget the chastening experience of previous years.

The improved availability of raw materials and the increase in purchasing power of the consumers should give a stimulus to industrial production and we appear, indeed, to have turned the corner so far as the recession in industry was concerned. Generally, in the industrial field we have made considerable progress. During the last three Five-Year Plans we have built a substantial infrastructure and greatly diversified our industrial production. Today we are in a position to design and fabricate the major part of the plant and machinery required for our growing industry, including sophisticated items. We are in a position to shed in most cases our dependence on turn-key jobs to be done by foreign firms. We have developed a fair amount of consultancy and design engineering talent. This is of very great importance when the role of foreign aid and foreign collaboration is inexorably getting restricted for a variety of factors operating on the international plane.

But all this progress in agriculture and industry has not yet made any perceptible dent on poverty. What we have done so far pales into insignificance when we consider what remains to be done. No doubt the dimensions of our problem have hardly a parallel in the world. We have an enormous population, 14 per cent of the world total crowded into just 2.4 per cent of world's

land-surface. Nowhere do so many linguistically differentiated people, all so self aware, all in tens of millions, find themselves within a single body politic under a system of federal democracy. Our attempt to build

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the mosaic of a national culture is also unique. Out of diverse languages, religions and cultures we are trying to evolve a rich harmonious national ethos recognisably Indian. Unprecedented centrifugal stresses and strains may therefore be expected. But it will be equally wrong merely to deny their existence or exaggerate their power. An occasion like this is indeed a moment for calm reflection on where we stand and wither we are going.

We are attempting today a radical transformation of our economy and unless people's enthusiasm, willing cooperation and sustained disciplined effort are yoked to this endeavour it will make little headway. Formulation and implementation of plans of development is not the Government's business alone. It is the task of the people to take the initiative in improving their lot and thereby building a great future for the country. A positive force that can contribute to our development is the spirit of the healthy nationalism which refuses encouragement to fissiparous tendencies. We should inculcate in the minds of our people love and esteem for our great and ancient country and its mighty achievements down the ages in all fields of human endeavour. The pride of patriotism can alone release the dynamism, the forward flowing energy which is sorely needed today. Let us resist all separatist urges and help the nation to gain self-identity and self-confidence. It is this confidence and national pride that can provide the motivation for orderly change in our economic and social relations. India throughout her long history has stood for toleration, mutual understanding and the prevalence of moral over material values. Let us beware of tarnishing the past tradition by present action. If we are true to our great heritage, I am sure Indian nationalism will help the growth of real internationalism. Recent events have proved

that strong national sentiments operate with in all ideological systems. It is only the recognition and exercise of our national identity that can integrate the constructive urges of our people and counter all fissiparous forces. It should be our dominant passion and steady endeavour to build a strong and united India, strong with the strength of the spirit and confidently dealing on equal terms with other world powers.

In October Next, we will be inaugurating the Centenary of Mahatma Gandhi's birth. He proclaimed "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. Mine is not a religion of the prison house. It has room for the last of God's creations, but it is proof against insolent pride of race, religion, or colour". Gandhiji's teachings have great relevance to all the problems that we are facing today. The country needs more than ever before his message of fearlessness, courage, self-reliance and transparent sincerity. We should recapture his faith in the supremacy of moral law. Today, there is in our country a big hiatus between precept and practice, and consequently a general lowering of standards and growing indiscipline in all phases of our national life. Whether or not non-violence is accepted as a religious creed, it has to be accepted by all as a postulate for civilised behaviour and expression of respect for human personality. Violence is the very negation of the spirit and temper of democracy. The cultivation of the spirit of non-violence, tolerance and understanding is essential not only for maintaining the decencies of public life but for our very survival. This will be found natural and easy to our people if they learn to view the problems of the present moment in the light of our glorious past and the vision of our future.

**Date :** Aug 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

#### Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on Czechoslovakia

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on August 22, 1968 on Czechoslovakia:

Mr. President, at the 1441st meeting of the Council, my delegation read into the record a statement by the Prime Minister of India on the grave situation in Czechoslovakia. I would like, with the Council's permission, to quote two passages from that statement:

"The principle of non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another constitutes the very basis of peaceful co-existence. We have always believed that international relations should be governed by respect for the sovereignty and independence of nations, big or small. We have always stood for the right of every country to develop its personality according to its own traditions, aptitudes and genius. India has always raised her voice whenever these principles have been violated.

"...

"I am sure I reflect the opinion of the House when I express the hope that the forces which have entered Czechoslovakia will be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment, and the Czech people will be able to determine their future according to their own wishes and in-

terests, and that whatever mutual problems there may be between Czechoslovakia and its allies will be settled peacefully. The right of nations to live peacefully and without outside interference should not be denied in the name of religion or ideology." (pp. 62-65)

The Prime Minister of India made another statement in the Indian Parliament yesterday, that is, the 21st of August, on the subject under out, consideration. She said:

"We are wedded to certain basic and fundamental principles to which we have adhered all these years, and I would like, with the permission of the House, to restate them: We ardently and sincerely believe that every State be left free and unfettered to decide its own future and its own destiny. We believe that there should be no external interference in the affairs of any country. Thirdly, force should not be used as the arbiter of decisions, and finally, differences in ideology or social systems can never be an excuse for interfering in one another's internal affairs."

Another passage from the statement of my Prime Minister is particularly relevant. I would like, with the permission of the Council, to quote that passage. She said:

"In the present situation, the immediate need, as I have said yesterday, is for the withdrawal of the forces which have entered Czechoslovakia so that the Czechoslovak people may be free to determine their own future for themselves without any intervention and in an atmosphere which is free from tension. Whatever problems there may be between Czechoslovakia and its neighbours should be settled peacefully by means of negotiations and not through the use of force. The processes of peaceful co-existence which we have tried to promote for so many years must be allowed to develop unimpeded."

In the light of the statements of the Prime Minister of India, it will be clear to

the Council that India firmly supports respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia. It

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should be equally clear that we are against any interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. As our Prime Minister said, the immediate need is for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Czechoslovakia. I should like, at the same time, to place on record our deep sympathy with the heroic people of Czechoslovakia in their present ordeal.

The draft resolution contained in document S/8761 was submitted to the Council late yesterday morning. In our view, it is necessary to examine fully the implications of this draft resolution on the situation in Czechoslovakia and on its leaders and people. Surely, it is recognized that any action of this Council must be directed towards alleviating the grave situation in Czechoslovakia. The prime necessity is the withdrawal of foreign forces from Czechoslovakia and the safety and security of its leaders and people. With this in mind, we have informally suggested some changes in the draft resolution, principally to remove the judgment of condemnation. Unfortunately, some of the cosponsors were not prepared to consider any changes in the draft resolution. Therefore, my delegation will abstain on the draft resolution.

INDIA NORWAY SLOVAKIA USA

**Date :** Aug 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri B. C. Mishra's Statement in Security Council on West Asia

Shri B. C. Mishra, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on August 9, 1968 on West Asia:

Mr. President, may I first of all join our other colleagues around this table in welcoming you as the new Permanent Representative of Brazil and as President of the Council for the month of August. As previous speakers have pointed out, you have a wealth of experience accumulated over a number of years in high posts and in the service of your country in the United Nations and in other international forums. We are sure that under your wise and mature leadership the Security Council will effectively discharge the duties assigned to it under the Charter.

The office you occupy has always called for a high sense of justice and duty, tireless patience, wisdom and tact. Your predecessor, Ambassador Tewfik Bouattoura of Algeria, possesses these qualities in ample measure and displayed them to the utmost during his presidency of the Council last month.

I should also like to take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome to the new Permanent Representative of the United States. Ambassador George Ball is a well-known international personality, with vast and varied experience of international affairs, and I am entirely confident that his participation in our deliberations will greatly contribute to the Council's role in the discharge of its functions. My delegation looks forward to close co-operation with him in fulfilling our duties as members of this Council.

A similar welcome is extended to the new Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Kutakov, who is no stranger to us, and whose excellent qualities are well-known. Mr. Kutakov has a difficult task to perform, but I am sure he can count upon the co-operation of all members of this Council.

Once again the Security Council has

been called to consider the grave situation in West Asia. Many representatives have already expressed their views on the large-scale aerial operation undertaken by Israel against the Jordanian city of Salt. As the representative of Jordan told us earlier in the debate, this bombing operation has resulted in heavy loss of life and considerable damage to property. My delegation fully shares the anxiety and concern of members of the Council over this severe action by Israel.

The precarious nature of the cease-fire in the area is only too familiar to the members of the Council. In June last year the Council had to adopt unanimously four resolutions to bring about a cessation of hostilities. Since then we have met frequently specifically to consider serious breaches of those cease-fire resolutions. On several occasions the Council condemned those violations and called upon the parties for a strict observance of its resolutions.

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On 24 March this year, when it considered the Karameh incident, the Security Council condemned Israel's reprisal action and warned against the repetition of such acts in the future. That was done because it was the view of the members of this Council that cease-fire violations, irrespective of their causes and circumstances, not only jeopardize the peace of the area but also undermine the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in bringing about a peaceful settlement of the conflict under the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967. The Council cannot condone any violation of its resolutions on cease-fire. We must point out that the present incident is similar to the Karameh incident, which took place in March this year, and which was condemned by the Security Council in its resolution 248(1968) of 24 March. Speaking on that occasion, my delegation said:

"Suffice it to say that the latest action of the Israeli authorities is in utter defiance of the resolution 236(1967), of

12 June 1967, which specifically prohibited any forward military movement subsequent to the cease-fire. In the context of this clear prohibition, the Israeli attack on Jordanian territory today cannot be justified on any ground and must therefore be condemned as a grave violation of the cease-fire imposed by the Security Council." (1402nd meeting, p.36)

My delegation has had many occasions to state before, and would not hesitate to reiterate again, that there can be no peace in West Asia without the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied Arab territories. This is one of the fundamental principles embodied in the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967. This and other principles of that resolution were supported by all members of this Council, as well as by an overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations. That resolution has yet to be implemented. This is the major task to which the international community should pay particular attention, and towards which it must bend all its energies and efforts. The representatives of the United Arab Republic and Jordan have already indicated more than once the willingness of their Governments to implement in full the resolution of 22 November. The Council must expect Israel to come forward with a similar statement.

In the light of what I have stated above, my delegation believes that the Security Council should concentrate its attention on ensuring the cease-fire and on bringing about the full implementation of its resolution of 22 November 1967. The Council should therefore, first, condemn violations of the cease-fire in terms of its resolutions 236 (1967) and 248 (1968), particularly the aerial attack on Salt on 4 August. Second, it must demand a scrupulous observance of and respect for its cease-fire resolutions. And, third, the Council should insist that all parties in the area extend their full and active co-operation to the mission of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in bringing about the full implementation of the resolution of 22 November. While these efforts continue, my delegation

would urge the exercise of the greatest amount of restraint.

My delegation would like to take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the patient and tireless efforts of Ambassador Jarring and would wish him speedy success in his mission.

INDIA USA BRAZIL ALGERIA ISRAEL JORDAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Aug 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri B. R. Bhagat's Address to U. N. Seminar on Racial Discrimination

Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State for External Affairs, made the following speech inaugurating the United Nations Human Rights Seminar on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in New Delhi on August 27, 1968:

Mr. Schreiber, Distinguished Participants and Observers, on behalf of the Government of India I welcome you to the United Nations Seminar on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. We feel honoured that India should have been chosen for this important seminar, and we are glad of the opportunity and the privilege of playing host during the International Human Rights Year for this distinguished gathering of experts.

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We are meeting today at a time of tension and uncertainty, and there may be many anxious moments ahead. But we feel confident that the world will return to the path of peace and the processes of peaceful

co-existence. The alternative to this path is too grim to contemplate. While the struggle for peace must go on in other international forums, we are gathered here to apply our minds to another struggle of equal importance to man, namely the promotion and protection of human rights. This struggle is as old as the other struggle for peace on earth.

Twenty years ago the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which says that the recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. That Declaration has placed before the Community of Nations certain standards of achievement for all mankind. Although much progress has been achieved in many parts of the world, there still remain countries which openly deny the concept of equality of man. Our thoughts inevitably turn to those dark spots where the dignity of man is violated daily. We must pay homage to those that have died at the hands of their fellowmen fighting for equality. We must also extend our hope, sympathy and support to those that continue to struggle for fundamental human rights, any where in the world.

The doctrine of the equality of man is as old as the Upanishads, which proclaimed the oneness of the self within, regardless of the outer appearance of man. This doctrine is common to all civilisations; and all great religions. Socrates exclaimed many centuries ago: "I am not an Athenian, nor a Greek but a citizen of the world". In my own country Mahatma Gandhi preached and practised the essential unity of man. He said that "all those who can have children of each other belong to the same human family." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, his most illustrious disciple, said on the occasion of Gandhiji's death: "The light has gone out of our lives, but the light that shone was no ordinary light. A thousand years from now this light will still be seen, because it represented the living truth".

This has been our tradition and it was

born out of the anguish and agony of the struggle of man for equality, a struggle that has been going on in different parts of the world since the evolution of man. As wars breed in the minds of men, the germs, of racial discrimination also breed in the minds of men. The manifestations of racial discrimination are several, and vary from continent to continent. The United Nations has been considering this problem for more than 20 years and has been responsible for the adoption of many International Conventions on Human Rights. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination is of particular interest to this Seminar. India has signed this Convention and is in the process of ratifying it. The acceptance of these Conventions by many countries is an encouraging sign that we are on the right road to the solution of this very difficult problem.

But it is strange that achievements in the fields of human rights cannot match the achievements of man in science and technology. The world today is becoming smaller and more crowded and this imparts a fresh urgency and importance to the speedy realisation of the promise and the pledge contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I can do no better than repeat the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who said: "If racial inequality is practised, it is a menace to world peace. It violates the principles of the U.N. Charter and to tolerate it, is obviously to sow the seeds of conflict". The family of man is one and indivisible, and therefore the promotion of respect for human rights should be one of the primary tasks of all Governments.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Seminar of Experts and I should like to wish them all success in their deliberations on a problem whose speedy solution is vital for peace.

INDIA USA

**Date :** Aug 01, 1968

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MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS : EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ARGENTINA BRAZIL USA INDIA SWAZILAND URUGUAY

**Date :** Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

ARGENTINA

Prime Minister's Speech at State Luncheon

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following speech at the lunch given in her honour by His Excellency Mr. Juan Carlos Ongania, President of Argentina, in Buenos Aires, on September 30, 1968:

May I thank you for the invitation which has given me the opportunity of meeting you and your colleagues and for the cordial welcome which I have received.

This is an expression of the regard which the leaders and people of Argentina have for my country.

We know of your great industrial progress and cultural attainments. Buenos Aires is not only the economic and industrial hub of this country but one of the great cultural capitals of the world, artistically astir and deeply interested in ideas.

India's history stretches into several millennia. We have an old civilization about which I am pleased to find there is knowledge and even some understanding in Latin America.

The question before us is how the lessons of this old past can be made meaningful to the contemporary India, to the large number of young people who are being buffeted by the winds to change from many lands.

We are in several stages of transition - from feudalism to democracy, from a stagnating society to a modern, rational and scientific society.

We believe colonialism to be evil for it impoverishes and stunts growth. But it did open the doors to a totally different culture. This gave stimulus to our yearning for freedom, to our desire to regain our dignity and to take our nation forward on the road to prosperity.

Mahatma Gandhi was a religious man even in the formal sense of the word, but he recognised that the 'hungry man sees good in a piece of bread'. After wresting independence in 1947, we took up the task of making freedom an economic reality for the common people of our country. We drew up a coordinated plan to fight poverty and to modernise our economy. Agriculture is the base of Indian life, and 82 per cent of our people live in villages (and we have more than half a million villages). We have increased the area under cultivation, extended irrigation to nearly 10 million hectares additionally, widely distributed new varieties of seed among farmers and taught them the

use of chemical fertilizers. Thus, by applying modern technology to agriculture, we have increased our food production by three-fourths. This strengthening of the agricultural foundation has helped us to withstand, very recently, the worst drought in a century. We are confident that in two or three years we shall be wholly self-reliant in food-grains.

Along with agriculture, we have strengthened our industrial base. The installed capacity of power increased from around 2 million kilowatts to 13 million kilowatts in the last 16 years. An additional 7 million tonnes of steel-making capacity has been installed. Industrial production has increased by 21/2 times. In total volume of industrial production we are today among the first dozen industrial nations in the world. Although the per capita industrial product is low because of our vast population. There has also been great diversification in the

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range of the goods produced. Now we make and export locomotives and textile machinery. Also, steel structurals, machine tools, power cables, internal combustion engines, chemicals and a variety of lighter engineering goods.

Besides agriculture and industry, our economic plans are also concerned with public health and education. Malaria accounted for nearly a million deaths a year. It has now been wiped out. Our life-span has increased by 20 years. The result of these gains is a sharp increase in the population which rises by a million a month. The huge advantage in primary, secondary and university education has helped mobility and progress towards equality. But education has also been the largest single cause of impatience and new tensions, for it raises great expectations. Thus achievements lead to new problems. In life, it is unrealistic to think that a time can ever come when there will be no problems. Tagore prayed: 'Let me not be sheltered from dangers but give me the strength to face them fearlessly! We know that each new challenge will strengthen our will and determination.

We are engaged in rebuilding India, and in so doing, we are dedicated to the doctrine of change through consent. The counterpart of consent within is goodwill abroad. The makers of modern India, Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, evolved a philosophy in which the home and the world are not in conflict, in which nationalism and internationalism complement each other. We have always regarded our own struggle as part of the larger human struggle to end suffering.

Freedom for us meant the ability to develop our resources for the welfare of our people. It also meant that we would be heard with respect in international politics and contribute to human progress.

Thus, in spite of our constant efforts to promote peace and develop friendly relations with all countries, we have had problems with two of our neighbours. We have been subjected to unprovoked aggression four times since independence. We have a land frontier of over 15,000 kilometres and a coastline of over 5,600 kilometres. China continues to follow a policy of hostility towards us and tries to subvert some of our people. We are confident in the strength and solidarity of our people and we shall repel all such attempts. Our own objective is to devote all available resources to the development of our economy and to assure a better life to our people, but we cannot ignore the threat to our security and need, therefore, to maintain adequate military preparedness to defend ourselves.

We share common problems with other developing countries, I believe that the people of South America, Asia and Africa have a common stake in the defence of our common interests. Argentina and India differ in many ways but in certain areas there is similarity of views. We appreciate your decision to work for the narrowing of the gap between the developed and developing countries. You have much to give to others. Until we can conquer new worlds we must learn to live together in this one, and co-existence can be meaningful only

with cooperation. Cooperation cannot limit itself or be parcelled in neat packets.

Our policy has been to promote friendships to blunt hostilities, We do believe that all nations, whatever their beliefs, should pledge non-interference in other's internal affairs, and refrain from the use of force to settle disputes. I should like to express the warm gratitude of our people for the support which you gave us in our hour of trouble.

To use a stock phrase in diplomatic vocabulary, there are no issues between Argentina and India. We are united in a common endeavour of reducing the tensions and inequalities in the world. I am sure this visit gives us an opportunity to forge greater cooperation between us in this endeavour.

There is room and need for greater economic and technical cooperation between us and many areas of economic activity in which the experience gathered by each will help the other.

In the realm of the mind there can be no self-sufficiency. This morning I was glad to pay homage to the founder of your own nation, the illustrious San Martin. A great contemporary of his was Ram Mohan Roy. This unusual man was the promulgator of the Indian renaissance. He wrote to the Government of France in 1825. 'All man-

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kind is one great family, of which numerous nations and tribes existing are only various branches." Mankind can progress only if all barriers to the meeting of minds and the flow of ideas are removed, and every country can contribute to the progress of the whole human race.

Once again, Mr. President, I thank you for your welcome and hospitality.

Excellencies, may I request you to join me in a toast to the good health of President Ongania and to the prosperity and happiness of the people of Argentina.

**Date :** Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

ARGENTINA

Joint Communique on Prime Minister's Visit

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued at the end of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's visit to Argentina:

At the invitation of the Government of the Argentine Republic, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, paid an official visit to Buenos Aires from September 29 to October 2, 1968. She used this opportunity to have a wide ranging exchange of views with His Excellency the President of the Argentine Republic, Lieutenant General Juan Carlos Ongania, H.E. the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship, Dr. Nicanor Costa Mendez, and other members of the Argentine Government. She was assisted at the talks by Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, Foreign Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Ambassador B. K. Sanyal, Shri J. S. Mehta, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Shri S. Banerji, Joint Secretary to the Prime Minister, Shri K. Natwar Singh, Director, Secretariat of the Prime Minister, Shri S. K. Singh, Director, Ministry of Commerce and Shri H. Y. Sharda Prasad, Deputy Information Adviser to the Prime Minister.

The President and the Prime Minister noted with satisfaction that even though India and Argentina were geographically far apart, close economic and trade contacts had existed between the two countries for a long

time. Their political relations had been friendly and free of any bilateral problems. They agreed that the relations between the two countries should be further strengthened to their mutual advantage. They also agreed that every effort must be made to implement the trade agreement signed on the 26th of March, 1966 and to conclude the negotiations on the cultural agreement in order to deepen the mutual understanding of their cultural values and heritage.

In the field of international affairs, the President and the Prime Minister noted the broad similarity of views of the two Governments. Both countries reaffirmed their faith in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly those regarding the right of every State to determine its internal and external policies regardless of its political and social system, and that international problems, whatever their nature, must be solved by peaceful means. They also agreed on the importance and urgency of working towards general and complete disarmament in order to free maximum resources for the development of mankind.

They affirmed that in a world possessing unprecedented means for economic progress as well as the capacity for self-annihilation, inter-dependence and international cooperation are Inescapable. Therefore, it is all the more important purposefully to develop understanding and to explore all avenues of cooperation between independent nations.

The President and the Prime Minister appraised each other of the achievements as well as the problems of the two countries in their efforts towards a more balanced economic and social development. They expressed their confidence that enlightened cooperation between nations can bridge the gap now existing between the developing and the developed countries. If all nations have a more equitable access to the world's wealth and to international trade, it would lay a solid foundation for peace. In this

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connection, the President and the Prime Minister reaffirmed their support to the broad principles agreed upon at the

UNCTAD Conference held in New Delhi in February-March, 1968.

They recognised that science and modern technology are necessary for the promotion of the social welfare and economic development of both countries and expressed their desire to explore the possibilities of co-operation in the field of technology.

The Prime Minister of India expressed her deep appreciation of the warm reception and hospitality accorded to her and her party by the Government and the people of Argentina. The President and the Prime Minister recognised that this visit had contributed greatly to promote mutual understanding and to bring the two countries still closer to each other.

The Prime Minister of India extended an invitation to the President of the Argentine Republic to pay an official visit to India. The President accepted the invitation with thanks.

ARGENTINA INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date** : Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

BRAZIL

Prime Minister's Statement to the Press on Arrival

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following statement to the Press on her arrival in Rio de Janeiro on a 5-day visit to Brazil:

I have come here half way round the globe on the wings of friendship. I am delighted to be in this great continent, in this great country, and in this great city,

famous for its beauty the world over. I have greatly looked forward to this visit. Indeed my journey fulfils a desire of the first Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. The links between Brazil and India were forged 468 years ago by Pedro Cabral who set out to look for us but found you. He sailed from Portugal and touched your shores, before landing in Calicut in India which was the spice capital of the world of those days. His voyage on two oceans etched great arcs which bind us. A common name unites us to the original inhabitants of this continent.

I have come on a mission of understanding--to know and to learn about Brazil, and to give to the people and leaders of Brazil some idea of my own country, the problems with which we are beset and the way in which we are endeavouring to deal with them. Friendship grows out of understanding and understanding comes through knowledge. Above all, I have come to discover areas in which our countries can work closer together for the welfare of our own peoples and in the cause of international peace and well-being.

To the people of Brazil and its distinguished leaders in politics as well as of the world of the intellect, I bring- the greetings and good wishes of the people of India.

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BRAZIL USA INDIA PORTUGAL

**Date :** Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

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BRAZIL

Prime Minister's Speech at State Banquet

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following speech at the State banquet given in her honour by His Excellency Marshal Artur da Costa e Silva, President of the Federal Republic of Brazil, in Brazilia on September 24, 1968:

Your invitation has made possible the fulfilment of a long-cherished wish to come to this fascinating country. I am touched by the warmth of the hospitality which you, your Government and your people, have so generously extended to me.

This is my first visit, but I was not unacquainted with Brazil for it has made a mark in many spheres of activity. I have admired the wide tolerance and quality of your society and the creativeness of your people. But the knowledge we have of countries through newspapers, books or Ambassador's reports does not give the fullness of understanding which personal visits and discussions can provide.

Mr. President, I have come a long way in search of understanding and to exchange ideas with you and your distinguished colleagues. I have come to express to you, and through you, to your people, our sincere desire to strengthen and extend the friendly relations which already exist between our two countries.

The warmth of the sentiments which Your Excellency has expressed in your gracious speech tonight assures me that we can look forward to cooperation in many areas of our respective national endeavour and in the larger interest of the peace and stability in the world.

May I take this opportunity, Mr. President, of telling you something about my own country and sharing our hopes and aspirations with you.

Nations, like individuals, live in the light of their experience. India has an unbroken continuity with a past which stretches to several millennia. Our political and social systems, the values which sus-

tain us and the ideals which inspire us are rooted in our heritage and tradition. We are fortunate that as Tagore says "India has saved through tumultuous age-, the living words that have issued from the illuminated conscientiousness of her great sons". It is significant that the years before independence were the darkest in our history, yet they produced a galaxy of great and good men, vastly different in birth, upbringing and interest. They were religious social reformers, men of science, literature and public affairs. They were bound together only by their passionate love for India by their shouldering anger at her subjugation and humiliation. Each was appalled by the contrast of this poverty with the richness of-resources and the creativeness of the people.

The rebirth of India is due to the men who rediscovered and re-interpreted our sources of strength. I name but a few -- Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, our great poet Rabindranath Tagore whom I have just quoted, Shri J. C. Bose, the natural scientist, Mahatma Gandhi who guided the poor, the down-trodden and defenceless millions to stand erect, to struggle for and win their freedom and my father Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhiji's devoted disciple who consolidated that freedom and laid firm foundations for our development along modern and scientific lines while keeping our roots in the best of our tradition. Ala were passionately concerned with the full flowering of the genius of our people.

The basic elements of our world outlook are derived as much from the ethos of our civilisation as from the understanding of our interests today. Democracy was not new to India for we had long had elected village councils. But now we imbued it with a wider social put-pose and it has endured despite the enormous complexities of our situation. Peace too has been a way of life for us not only because it is good in itself but because it is the base for all advancement and achievement. In the ideological confusion of our age, we have made constant effort to find a middle path. We are deeply convinced that the realities of the world

today dictate the need for peaceful co-existence.

The central problem of our country, as of all developing countries, is the problem of economic development and of modernising our society.

On the eve of our independence, we were left impoverished beyond description. Political liberty, education and social emancipation have awakened the urge of our people for the better life, which is their due. The Western world had several centuries in which to meet the expectations of its people, but we have to race against time.

A hundred and fifty years of alien rule had petrified the social and economic barriers to progress. For centuries, Indian agriculture had remained stagnant. We had to give new hope to the apathetic and fatalist farmer and persuade him to adopt new ideas of scientific farming. The vastness of this problem can be gauged when one knows that there are, over 5,60,000 villages with more than 50 million holdings, the bulk of them under 2 hectares. During the last 15 years, schemes of land reforms enabled about 20 million tenants to become owners of their land and to establish direct relationship with the States. Our effort is to apply science and technology to the conservation and development of agricultural resources. Our scientists have developed high-yielding varieties of wheat, paddy, maize, groundnut and millet, with a two or three times higher yield. We lay emphasis on irrigation and rural electrification.

Agriculture and industry are interdependent. We need industry not only for the fulfilment of our growing needs but to absorb our increasing population, our surplus rural labour force as also the growing ranks of technical personnel and the intelligentsia. In the last 15 years, we have created 30 million jobs, put an additional 45 million children to school making a total of 75 million and have added 20 years to our life span.

The lack of adequate resources is a malady from which we all suffer. This inhibits our capacity to implement even top priority projects. Nevertheless, during the 21 years of our independence, we have increased agricultural production by 73 per cent and industrial production by 162 per cent. Steel production has increased from 1.4 million tonnes to 7 million tonnes. We make automobiles, heavy trucks, jet planes and ocean-going vessels. Today, India manufactures and exports steel rails, railway wagons and locomotives, computer parts, machine tools, radio isotopes, heavy machinery and other sophisticated products.

All this we have done but there have also been mistakes and shortcomings. And what remains to be accomplished is so much larger. And when one sees how little we have been able to do for the poorest and most backward of our people we cannot but be humble. Our size and enormous population give our problems a character and magnitude of their own.

International forums concern themselves with cooperation between and help from the developed to the developing countries. We looked for help to achieve true economic freedom. But our people are now asking questions. Is the present pattern of aid being regarded as repayable charity, or perhaps an investment for political support? We are chary of these new bonds which might increase our dependence on dominant economies! Widening disparities between the developed and developing countries are giving rise to dissatisfaction, frustration and bitterness in large parts of the world. We are convinced that there is urgent need for a global strategy of development and an integrated programme of international co-operation.

Mr. President, we should like to enter into sincere and friendly cooperation with Brazil. Significant beginnings have been made. Your Minister of External Affairs signed the first ever Trade Agreement between our two countries when he visited India earlier this year. I know that he has been giving personal attention to further

steps to enhance commercial exchanges.

In the cultural field also, there are many possibilities for us to draw closer together. We have many cultural affinities. Brazil has a symbiosis of widely divergent ethnic elements. From time immemorial India has been a haven for refugees. AU the

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great religions of the world are found in India and are widely practised and people wonder at the spirit of religious tolerance. Romain Rolland thought that this was possible because of the cosmic nature of our religion and the composite nature of our civilisation. Christianity came to India not long after the Crucifixion. Of Our 12 million Christians, some claim descent from those baptised by the Apostle, St. Thomas. We take pride in this unity amidst diversity. In creating one people out of several races, we, in India, have rejected any concept of 'separate development' as you seem to have done in this great country; we have also tried to promote an organic unity of different races on the basis of an egalitarian society, free from any discrimination or privilege. In our Constitution we have included the concept of a secular State in which there is respect for all religions and all citizens are equal before the law. This is why we are resolutely opposed to self-determination for parts of sovereign independent countries and to the exploitation of religious groups for political expediency.

Mr. President, I am convinced that the realities of the changing world political situation will compel us all to think beyond the narrow confines of our national preoccupations. That is the only hope of orderly and peaceful progress.

Mr. President, having so recently fought for our own freedom, we stand consistently for the principle of the independence of nations. We believe that no country should interfere in the internal affairs of another; nor should force or duress be used in deciding territorial and other disputes between nations. Whenever we have seen these principles violated or the Charter rights of

small nations denied, we have not hesitated to raise our voice in protest. We have done so in the recent past. We hope that departures from these principles will not lead to more serious consequences, and that the processes of detente and the relaxation of tension will not be reversed. The detente we seek is based not on the acceptance of spheres of influence but on a just world order.

We hope that the new and massive, measures for rearmament now afoot will not overwhelm the few faltering and tentative steps which have been taken towards disarmament. We are against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. But we do insist that a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty should not inhibit the development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. The vast resources and expanding knowledge at our command could wipe out hunger and want. Instead, they are being dissipated. The position of Brazil and India on this question is close. We trust that our cooperation in this field, as in others, will continue.

In the meantime we struggle against poverty and superstition for we know that they stunt the growth of the country and create tensions in society. The adventure of building a new India is an exciting one. We search new ways, new patterns capable of absorbing the tensions of development and yet flexible enough to take us towards enlightened living, discarding any mistaken values of acquisitive societies; discarding also that in our past which is no longer-relevant; yet preserving our abiding values and imbuing them with the modern scientific and humanist temper.

All the world over there is crisis and questioning. For all his progress, man and especially the young are restless. It is the old search for harmony between the inner man and his ever-changing outer environment. We are partners in this search.

May I conclude with a prayer which our ancient sages composed 3,000 years ago:

"Let us have concord with our own

people and concord with the people who,  
are strangers to us"

"May we unite in our minds, unite in  
our purpose and not fight against the  
divine spirit within."

Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen,  
may I now request you to join in a toast  
for the well-being and long life of Brazil's  
distinguished President and for the progress  
and prosperity of the people of Brazil.

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BRAZIL USA INDIA LATVIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

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BRAZIL

Indo-Brazil Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint  
Communique issued at the end of the Prime  
Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's visit to  
Brazil:

At the invitation of the Government of  
the Federal Republic of Brazil, the Prime  
Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi,  
paid a State visit to Brazil from September  
23 to September 27, 1968.

The visit, which was the first paid by  
an Indian Head of Government to Brazil,  
was symbolic of the friendly relations bet-  
ween the two countries and their mutual  
desire to foster even closer understanding  
and cooperation between the Governments  
and the people of the two countries.

The Prime Minister was accompanied,

amongst others, by the following:  
Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, Foreign Secretary,  
Government of India, Shri J. S. Mehta, Joint  
Secretary to the Government of India, in  
charge of Policy Planning, Shri S. Banerji,  
Joint Secretary to the Prime Minister, Shri K.  
Natwar Singh, Director, Prime Minister's  
Secretariat, Shri S. K. Singh, Director,  
Foreign Trade, Government of India and  
Shri H. Y. Sharda Prasad, Deputy Infor-  
mation Adviser to the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister was received in  
Brazilia by the President of Brazil, Marshal  
Arthur da Costa e Silva.

During her stay in the Brazilian Capital,  
the Prime Minister also called on the Presi-  
dent of the National Congress and Vice-  
President of the Republic, Mr. Pedro Aleixo,  
the President of the Chamber of Represent-  
atives, Representative Jose Bonifacio Lafa-  
vette de Andrada, the President of the  
Federal Senate, Senator Gilberto Marinho  
and the President of the Federal Supreme  
Court, Mr. Luiz Gallotti.

During her stay in the country, the  
Prime Minister also visited Rio de Janeiro  
and Sao Paulo where she was received by  
the Governor of Guanabara State, Amba-  
ssador Francisco Negrao de Lima, and the  
Governor of Sao Paulo State, Mr. Roberto de  
Abreu Sodre, respectively.

In the course of her visit, the Prime  
Minister met the Minister of External  
Relations of Brazil, Representative Jose de  
Magalhaes Pinto. After exchanging views on  
questions of common interest and those per-  
taining to the foreign policies of the two  
countries, on the 23rd September the Prime  
Minister and the Foreign Minister signed at  
Palacio Itamaraty, in Rio de Janeiro, a Cul-  
tural Agreement between the two countries.  
They agreed in principle to promote coopera-  
tion between the two countries in the field of  
development of atomic energy for peaceful  
purposes and affirmed their intention to con-  
clude, in the near future, an agreement to  
facilitate such cooperation.

At a meeting held at Palacio Itamaraty

on September 23, the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, accompanied by senior officials of the Prime Minister's party and the Secretary-General of the Brazilian Ministry of External Relations, Ambassador Mario Gibson Barboza, accompanied by high officials of the Ministry, discussed in detail matters of mutual and international interest, including the position of their Governments with respect to the Agenda of the XXIII Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

In Brazilia, the President and the Prime Minister had a cordial and frank exchange of views on the international situation and on the relations between the two countries. The President and the Prime Minister reaffirmed their conviction that the major task before the community of nations is to preserve peace and to promote international understanding and mutually beneficial cooperation.

In this context they reaffirmed the devotion of the two countries to the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter and expressed their determination to strengthen the Organization and to enhance its effectiveness.

The President and the Prime Minister also reaffirmed their dedication to the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs  
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of States and to the right of all sovereign and independent nations to determine their internal and external policies. They reiterated their view that the use of force should be eschewed in the relations between countries and that international controversies should be settled by peaceful means.

The President and the Prime Minister stressed their opposition to all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination. In this connection, the Prime Minister expressed her admiration of the harmonious racial integration achieved by Brazil. The President of Brazil expressed his appreciation for the policies of the Government of India in promoting equality of rights and the abolition of all types of discrimination in the country.

The President and the Prime Minister noted with particular concern the continuing race in nuclear weapons and expressed the hope that the nuclear weapons powers will reach early agreement of effective measures towards disarmament, so that the vast resources expended on weapons of mass destruction could be diverted to economic and social progress particularly of the developing countries. They both, agreed that the proposed nuclear non-proliferation treaty must not in any way inhibit the development and application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. They noted with appreciation the cooperation between the two delegations at the disarmament conference in Geneva.

India and Brazil both belong to the community of developing nations which are facing the challenge of technological revolution of modern economic development and social progress. The President and the Prime Minister recognised the great importance of utilising science and technology in support of their national endeavours, particularly for the development of the still untapped resources of their vast countries. They also agreed that success in their national efforts towards social and economic development would depend largely on the efforts of their own peoples. They emphasised that the increase in the national wealth and the rise in the standards of living in the developing countries was a positive contribution towards stabler relations between nations and for strengthening the fabric of peace. India and Brazil sincerely believed in international cooperation for bringing about a more equitable pattern of world trade and commerce and the progressive reduction of the existing economic imbalances between the affluent and the developing countries. In this connection, they reiterated their support to the broad principles affirmed by the UNCTAD-II held in New Delhi and urged their speedy implementation in order to guarantee to developing countries fair and equitable opportunities for the expansion of their economies.

Noting with satisfaction that the relations between Brazil and India have always been conducted in an atmosphere of

friendship and cooperation, the President and the Prime Minister expressed their mutual desire to expand relations between the two countries. As a demonstration of their desire, they welcomed the signing of a cultural agreement during the visit of the Prime Minister. They also recalled with satisfaction that during the visit of the Brazilian Foreign Minister to New Delhi early this year, India and Brazil concluded the first trade agreement between the two countries. They agreed that further steps must be taken to intensify their cooperation in the cultural, scientific and technological fields, and to increase their commercial relations. For the purpose of expanding trade, the President and the Prime Minister noted the importance of improving the present conditions of maritime transportation between the two countries and agreed that this matter will be studied by the Indian and Brazilian authorities concerned. They equally agreed to maintain and increase the cooperation and understanding between the delegations of India and Brazil in the several international bodies to which the two countries belong.

The Prime Minister of India thanked the President of Brazil for the warm and cordial hospitality shown to her and the members of her party during their stay in Brazil. She extended a friendly invitation to the President to visit India. The President thanked the Prime Minister for her invitation which he accepted in principle with pleasure.

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BRAZIL

Following is the text of a Press release issued on the Cultural Agreement signed between India and the Federal Republic of Brazil:

India and Brazil signed a Cultural Agreement in Rio de Janeiro on September 23, 1968. The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, signed on behalf of India and Mr. Jose de Magalhaes Pinto, Minister of External Relations, on behalf of the Federal Republic of Brazil.

The Agreement envisages development of contacts between the two countries in the fields of culture, art, science, technology and education. It provides for exchange of artists, educationists, experts in science and technology; exchange of publications, art exhibitions and archaeological specimens; awards of scholarships by the two countries for post-graduate studies; participation in film festivals and sports events; and exchange of films, documentaries and recorded radio programmes and discs and tapes.

A Cultural Exchange Programme will be formulated by mutual negotiations between the two parties.

BRAZIL INDIA

**Date :** Sep 01, 1968

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## Volume No

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CONFERENCE OF NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES

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Shri Azim Husain's Statement at Plenary Meeting

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Shri Azim Husain, Indices Ambassador to Switzerland and Vice-President of the Conference of Non-nuclear-weapon States, made the following statement at the Plenary Meeting of the Conference in Geneva on September 12, 1968:

Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to offer to you on behalf of the Delegation of India our warm felicitations on your unanimous election as President of this important Conference. It is a matter of particular satisfaction to my delegation that a most distinguished representative of a neighbouring country sharing with us a common heritage, history, culture and civilization, should preside over this assembly of the nations of the world. We feel confident that under your wise and able guidance this Conference would pursue its deliberations purposefully and fruitfully in the interests of world peace and security.

Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity of joining others who have spoken before me in offering to the delegation of Iran the deepest sympathies of the Government and the people of India at the terrible loss and suffering caused by the recent earthquake in Iran. The Government of India has taken urgent steps to assist in the measures which have been initiated by the Government of Iran to alleviate the sufferings of the victims of the earthquake.

Mr. President, this Conference -- as its agenda would indicate - is concerned with the problems of peace and development which have arisen because of the spectacular advances in the field of nuclear energy during the last quarters of a century. The problem of peace arises from the urgent need to save mankind from the horrors of a nuclear holocaust and of ensuring the security of non-nuclear-weapon States from the

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threat or use of nuclear weapons against them. The problem of development concerns the use of nuclear energy in all its forms, for economic progress and growth, particularly of the developing areas of the world.

The industrial revolution of the 19th century left untouched most of the southern hemisphere inhabited by the larger part of humanity. After the Second World War when colonial and other alien bonds began to be eliminated from this hemisphere and new political forces emerged, the hitherto under-developed world began to think in terms of vast industrialisation programmes as also of the modernisation of agriculture. By that time, the developed world had already taken a leap into the nuclear age. But the world is much smaller now than it was before the Second World War and the developing nations do not wish this time to be left behind. The vast economic problems of the developing areas demand the most urgent and strenuous measures to keep pace with the technological advances of the nuclear age.

It is in this context that the policy of the Government of India in regard to the utilization of nuclear energy should be viewed. It is well known that many years ago and after a most careful national evaluation of all aspects of the problem, the Government of India, in a statement of policy, declared that it intended to utilise nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes. They have continued to adhere firmly to this national decision.

#### NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

"This Conference", Mr. President, as you have observed in your inaugural statement, "will fully recognise the fact that the Non-Proliferation Treaty has been concluded and signed by a large number of countries, but it cannot regard that treaty as conclusive of the effort to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons nor can the Conference regard the treaty as ensuring the availability of all the peaceful applications of nuclear energy for technology to all nations." As distinguished representatives assembled here well know, India has always maintained that any treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should concern itself with both horizontal and vertical proliferation and that the treaty should not hinder the develop-

ment of nuclear technology by all nations.

Mr. President, to take first the problem of peace, in the view of the Government of India, the problem of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons arises from the possession, the continued stockpiling and the further sophistication of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery. The real hope of security for non-nuclear-weapon States against this threat lies in nuclear disarmament.

It is, however, obvious that action in this field of genuine and lasting security would take time and would have to be sought through stages. Until such time and so long as nuclear weapons continue to remain in the armouries of a few countries, the nuclear-weapon States have a definite obligation to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States that their security would not, in any way, be jeopardised by the use or the threat of use of such weapons, and also that these weapons would not be used as instruments of pressure, intimidation or blackmail.

My Government would welcome any steps that might be taken by the nuclear-weapon States in concert with non-nuclear-weapon States to increase the effectiveness of the role of the United Nations for the purpose of providing security. The hopes of mankind rest on this. The obligations cast by the United Nations Charter on Member States, and more particularly on the permanent members of the Security Council, in the field of maintenance of international peace and security, make it necessary for them to discharge their responsibilities in this respect in strict conformity with the Charter.

But any linking of security assurances to the signature of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, or any other treaty, would be contrary to the purposes and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations because the Charter does not discriminate between those who might sign a particular treaty and those who might not do so. In our view it is the clear responsibility of the nuclear-weapon

States members of the Security Council to go to the assistance of any non-nuclear-weapon State that is threatened with or is subjected to nuclear attack.

As to the nature of the assurances which may be extended by the nuclear-weapon States, the common concern of many non-nuclear-weapon States which has been expressed in the General Assembly and elsewhere has been that for such assurances to be credible they must go beyond a mere declaration of intent; they must be free from any ambiguity and should be related clearly to the threat or the use of nuclear weapons; they should be free from any impediment which might frustrate action by the Security Council; they should be free of any discrimination towards any member of the United Nations, and they should provide prompt and effective action to stop the threat or use of nuclear weapons.

Mr. President, the basic problem facing the world is the continued stockpiling and the further sophistication of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery. The security of the world and particularly that of the non-nuclear-weapon States, cannot be convincingly assured unless and until we begin with the cessation of the nuclear arms race and thereafter proceed to nuclear disarmament, and ultimately to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

In this connection, it is a welcome development that the United States, and the Soviet Union have reached an agreement in principle to hold bilateral talks on the limitation and reduction of both offensive strategic nuclear weapons delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles. Even as early as 1957, India had been of the view that it was simpler to deal with carriers than with nuclear weapons and that if delivery vehicles were eliminated, the nuclear weapon capacity for harm would be greatly reduced. As we all know, despite the growing concern of the world, nuclear

arms race has shown no signs of abatement. Indeed, with the further sophistication of offensive missile systems equipped with MIRVs, decoys and penetration aids, and the development and deployment of the ABM systems, the nuclear arms race is entering a new and more dangerous Phase resulting in growing anxiety and unease for the entire world community. The lack of restraint in the development of the ABMs, and of offensive missiles equipped with MIRVs, and the fear that the Moscow test ban treaty may have to be broken in order to test a larger system of the ABM, which may ensure the required security of the nuclear-weapon powers, is likely to render a step-by-step disarmament may even the conclusion of non-armament agreements like a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty - extremely difficult. It is hoped, therefore, that the proposed bilateral discussions would take place soon and would be fruitful.

#### NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

As regards collateral or partial measures of disarmament the highest priority should naturally be accorded to measures in the field of nuclear disarmament. Among these, the most important, as the Indian delegation has repeatedly stressed in the past, is a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes. This would be the most significant step towards a complete stoppage of the production of nuclear weapons. There could be no justification whatsoever for any addition to the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons, which have long since reached the capacity of annihilating the world several times over. The difficulty of verification of a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes could no longer be cited as a reason for not reaching an agreement on this measure, since an agreement on control already exists and the obligations of the nuclear-weapon States in respect of inspections by the IAEA could be made the same as those of the States not having nuclear weapons. An agreement on a cut-off in the further production of fissionable material for weapon purposes should, therefore, be concluded without any further delay and should be

related to a total cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

Among other measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, the Government of India has always attached the highest importance to a comprehensive test ban treaty. Both the need for and urgency of achieving

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"the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time" is underlined in the undertaking given in the Moscow Test Ban Treaty by the three nuclear-weapon powers. No progress has, however, been made in this direction during the last five years, which have, on the other hand, been marked by an increasing frequency of nuclear explosions. The General Assembly has accorded a special priority to this item for a number of years. It may be added that most speakers at the recently concluded resumed session of the 22nd General Assembly had stressed that underground tests should stop at the earliest possible moment. The eight nonaligned countries members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee have in their joint memorandum of August 26, 1968 viewed with deep concern that it had not so far been possible to reach agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty and have urged that renewed and urgent efforts be made to conclude such a treaty.

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 immediately discontinued. Negotiations could then be undertaken to resolve the outstanding differences with a view to making the present partial treaty a comprehensive one. At the same time, 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 by securing adherence of those States which have not signed the Partial Test Ban Treaty so far. We are equally clear that there is

no justification for any action which might erode the Partial Test Ban Treaty. 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. These proposals should be studied further without delay.

Next, the delegation of India would like to mention the proposal for a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. The Government of India has consistently opposed the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons and has advocated their total prohibition. Although it is realised that this question has come to be tied up in the minds of the Great Powers with their vital security interests, it is felt that like other declaratory prohibitions in the past, such a convention would have a considerable moral and psychological value. A ban on the use of nuclear weapons along with other similar measures would lead to a building up of confidence among nations. The Government of India is, therefore, of the view that it would be of definite advantage if the nuclear-weapon powers were to accept the principles embodied in Resolution 1653 (XVI) which declared the use of nuclear weapons as being contrary to the UN Charter and as a crime against humanity. At the 21st and 22nd sessions of the General Assembly, India supported the Resolutions 2164 (XXI) and 2289 (XXII) urging the convening of a conference for this purpose. In India's view, if the proposed convention is to be effective, it would require the active support of all States and more particularly of States which possess nuclear weapons. In the course of discussions held in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, in the General Assembly and elsewhere, some States have expressed the view that the proposed convention, in the absence of means of control or measures of disarmament, would undermine their security. It has been the consistent view of the Government of India that all such matters could be considered when the drafting of the proposed convention is taken up.

## CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT

It may be added that side by side with nuclear disarmament, India has stressed the need to give consideration to the problem of conventional disarmament and a renunciation of the use of force in international relations. The problem of security is indivisible. In the Disarmament Commission, India had expressed the view that, as was evident from the history of armed conflicts all over the world since 1945, the threat to world peace from conventional arms is as serious as that from nuclear weapons and that both questions should be considered simultaneously. In this context, my dele-

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gation agrees with the view expressed in our Conference by the distinguished delegate of Yugoslavia who said and I quote:

"No substantial progress has been made in devising a system which would be a reliable barrier to the use of force in international relations. Neither has the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons provided satisfactory answer to the complex and vital problem. On the contrary, it has made it even more pronounced."

The representative of Yugoslavia went on to say and I quote again:

"The system of security, which is indispensable to the world, must cover all kinds of assaults against sovereignty, independence and peace. It should not be limited only to the dangers of possible use of nuclear weapons in the event of direct confrontation of nuclear weapons Powers. It also must encompass local conflicts, led by conventional arms, which are always permeated with the danger of escalation into nuclear war."

In the field of security, our agenda has listed the question of the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones. The Government of India's position on the crea-

tion of nuclear-weapon-free zones is based on India's general approach to the question of disarmament and world peace. India is of the view that it is important that an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control should be reached as early as possible. Pending the conclusion of such a comprehensive treaty, immediate and positive measures should be taken by agreement to reduce international tension and build up confidence.

An agreement on nuclear-weapon-free zones must provide for verification to ensure that no clandestine manufacture, receipt or storage of nuclear weapons takes place in such zones. Agreements on denuclearized zones would also require that the nuclear-weapon powers undertake to respect the status of such zones and lend their full cooperation in implementing arrangements concerning their establishment. It is in keeping with this policy that the Government of India had voted for the United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 1652 (XVI) on "Consideration of Africa as a denuclearized zone", 1911 (XVIII) on the "Denuclearization of Latin America", 2033 (XX) on "Declaration of denuclearization of Africa", and 2286 (XXII) on "The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America."

India considers that, under suitable conditions, the creation of denuclearized zones in different parts of the world would contribute to a reduction of international tension. However, as conditions for the establishment of such zones differ from continent to continent, it is not possible to devise a single formula or lay down general principles which can cover all cases. As for Asia, the principal consideration in regard to any such proposal would be that a denuclearized zone in this area would not be possible without China's inclusion in it.

#### ATOM FOR PEACE

The other important item on our agenda is the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. My delegation has had occasion to express the view in the General Assembly and elsewhere

that there should be free access to and exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological know-how for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy among all States in the world. There should also be assistance and cooperation on the part of nuclear-weapon States in the development and application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes by non-nuclear-weapon States, giving the fullest measure of consideration to the needs of the developing areas of the world. Nations everywhere should be free not only to share in the benefits but also to acquire the knowledge of extracting such benefits by themselves and have the freedom to use such knowledge.

Since nuclear technology is the technology of the future and is likely to become a most crucial and potent instrument of economic development and social progress, it would obviously be invidious if a greater part of the world were to be made wholly dependent on a few nuclear-weapon States for the knowledge and application of this techno-

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logy. It would, therefore, be unwise to divide the world into a few 'haves' and the rest 'have-nots', who would be obliged to rely on the goodwill of the 'haves' in regard to development in the vital area of nuclear energy, thereby making them subject to pressures and also widening the economic and technological gap that already exists and which the developing countries are striving so hard to close.

It is hoped, therefore, that this conference, consistent with its efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, would endorse the concept of the widest measure of utilization of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes on a non-discriminatory basis. In the furtherance of such efforts, Mr. President, India would assure its fullest cooperation.

Another important item on our agenda concerns the question of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. This question is logically and directly linked to that of a com-

prehensive test ban treaty. It should be considered in conjunction with a comprehensive test ban and not separately from it. In the joint memorandum submitted by the eight non-aligned members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, on August 26, 1968, it was, inter alia stated:

"In the non-proliferation treaty and in connection with the discussions on it, the question of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes has been given considerable prominence. This question is, however, also closely linked with a comprehensive test ban. This aspect of the matter underlines the urgency of a universal and comprehensive solution of the problem of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes in the context of a comprehensive test ban treaty."

This would imply that in the first instance, there should be a total prohibition in regard to nuclear explosions for all States, nuclear as well as non-nuclear. An international regime should then be established in respect of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. The development of the technology of nuclear excavation projects must be sought not by way of modification of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty, but in the context of a comprehensive test ban treaty, and through a separately negotiated agreement which should be made part of the international regime for peaceful nuclear explosions. Such a regime should be established within the overall scope of the IAEA and without any discrimination against any category of States. Such a regime should naturally ensure the right of all States, particularly developing States, to learn and apply the technology of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

It is the view of the Government of India that since the IAEA was established, for the sole purpose of promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to prevent its misuse for military purposes, IAEA is eminently suitable to undertake the responsibility for the regulatory role and for promoting the widest application of peaceful uses, including explosions for peaceful purposes. It is important to recognize that the

IAEA is to provide services on request. The Director-General of the Agency has already offered Agency's full services in the present context.

In conclusion, Mr. President, the Delegation of India would like to express the view that in its deliberations on the problems of the nuclear age, namely peace and security, on the one hand and development and progress on the other, this Conference should strive to seek solutions which would be based on the principles of sovereign equality of nations, non-interference in their internal affairs, renunciation of the use of force and non-discrimination and equality of opportunity for the entire international community. Mr. President, it is in the interest of the international community that non-nuclear-weapon States are encouraged to remain in that category. It is only through solutions based on such sound principles that progress can and will be achieved.

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**Date** : Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on West Asia

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on September 27, 1968 on the West Asian question:

For the last several days the Security Council has deliberated on the Secretary-General's report (S/8699). The Secretary-

General has given a detailed account of his efforts to send another mission to West Asia. The purpose of, this mission is to collect first-hand information on the conditions of civilian populations in areas under the military control of Israel since June 1967. This objective has not so far been achieved because of the conditions laid down by Israel for receiving a special representative of the Secretary-General. It is on these attempts to broaden the terms and scope of investigation that the projected mission has foundered.

There can be no doubt about what the Secretary-General has been requested to do by the Council. Equally, there is general agreement around this table on the desirability and urgency of getting full information on the condition of civilian populations in the area of conflict in West Asia. What, then, are the obstacles that have come in the way of the implementation of resolution 237 (1967) ? My delegation believes that in this context two elements need to be considered.

First, it is well known that the Security Council's humanitarian concern with the civilian populations originated in the conflict of June of last year and is reflected in its unanimously adopted resolution 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967. In operative paragraph I of this resolution the Council specifically called upon Israel to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of areas where military operations had just taken place. The language of this paragraph makes it quite clear that the scope of the inquiry is limited to the occupied areas.

Second, the task of the special representative is quite simple and unambiguous. It is to gather full information on the basis of which the Secretary-General can report to the Security Council on the implementation of resolution 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967.

In the light of the Secretary-General's report of 31 July 1968, one can only draw the conclusion that the purposes and provisions of the Council's resolution 237 (1967) have not yet been fulfilled.

We are deeply concerned about the plight of the hundreds of thousands of Arab civilians who find themselves today under foreign occupation. Many of them have lost their homes and hearths and had to flee their ancestral places of residence for the second time in a generation. Their dire circumstances need to be ameliorated and their fundamental human rights protected.

In the light of the foregoing remarks and in the larger interest of reducing tensions in West Asia, we would urge Israel to receive the special representative of the Secretary-General and to facilitate his work by extending him full co-operation. It is for this reason that my delegation will support the draft resolution contained in document S/8825/Rev.2.

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INDIA ISRAEL USA

**Date :** Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on Swaziland

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on September 11, 1968 on the admission of Swaziland in the United Nations:

Mr. President, I should like at the outset to offer a word of welcome to you, Sir, as President of the Council for the month of September and to express our full confidence that under your wise leadership the Council

will discharge its functions during this month effectively and expeditiously.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's sincere admiration for the great qualities of impartiality, wisdom and tact of your predecessor, Ambassador Castro of Brazil. During his presidency last month Ambassador Castro presided over the informal consultations and meetings of the Security Council with consummate skill and statesmanlike leadership which enabled it to deal effectively with the difficult problems with which it was faced.

My delegation feels privileged to co-sponsor the draft resolution recommending Swaziland's application for membership of the United Nations which, we have no doubt, will be adopted unanimously. The independence of Swaziland on 6 September was acclaimed the world over as a further milestone in the extension of the frontiers of freedom. The valiant people of Swaziland have waited long in the ranks of dependent territories to obtain their freedom and to join the community of nations. This is for the people of Swaziland the beginning of a new era. To use the words of His Majesty King Sobhuza II, "the Swazi tribe will be like a nation being born again".

Swaziland's attainment of independence is a manifestation of the new life that is pulsating through Africa. The battle for decolonization in Africa has been long and arduous and, inevitably, a great deal remains to be done. However, the independence of Swaziland brings the great continent of Africa a step closer to the ideal of complete freedom. My delegation earnestly hopes that Swaziland's independence will be a precursor of the speedy liquidation of colonialism in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Rhodesia and elsewhere in Africa.

India and Swaziland have shared a common experience in the struggle for freedom; we now look forward to sharing with the people of Swaziland the common goal of peaceful economic development and prosperity for our peoples. We are convinced that under the able guidance of its great king,

His Majesty Sobhuza II, Swaziland will make rapid strides in this direction. We are confident that Swaziland, as a new and dynamic member of the community of nations, will make a positive and significant contribution to furthering international co-operation and understanding and to upholding the purposes and principles of this World Organization

My delegation wholeheartedly welcomes Swaziland to its rightful place in the United Nations and wishes the people of Swaziland every success in the immense tasks of consolidating freedom and laying the foundations for greater well-being and prosperity.

We are happy to see in this chamber Dr. Sukati, the permanent representative-designate of Swaziland to the United Nations. We offer him our felicitations and wish him a most successful tenure.

INDIA SWAZILAND USA BRAZIL ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE UNITED KINGDOM

**Date :** Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri P. Govinda Menon's Statement at U.N. Conference on Social Welfare

Shri P. Govinda Menon, India's Minister for Law and Social Welfare and leader of the Indian Delegation to the U.N. Conference on Social Welfare, made the following statement at the Conference in New York on September 5, 1968:

Mr. President, once again my most sincere congratulations on your unanimous

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election as the President of this Conference. Your able guidance will enable us to bring

our endeavours in this Conference to a successful conclusion. Let me also congratulate the Vice-Presidents and the Rapporteur on their unanimous elections to their respective posts.

While talking of social welfare, we are reminded of the setback that the social development efforts of one of the participants in this Conference has suffered only a few days ago, at the cruel hands of nature. My Government and people have been shocked to know of the tragedy of immense proportions that has befallen the people and Government of Iran. Our hearts go out in sympathy to the bereaved Iranian families and those who have been rendered homeless. We are convinced that the resourcefulness and courage which have enabled the Iranian Government and the people to tide over similar crises in the past, will assist them in facing this tragedy also.

Mr. President, this Conference, the first of its kind, is meeting at a propitious time. First of all, the deepening of the economic malaise in the developing countries has put their objectives in the social welfare field in great jeopardy. The very slow rate of growth of their economies and the still slower growth in their per capita income has presented before them a series of hard choices. Secondly, a large number of newly independent countries have just begun tackling their enormous problems in the field of social development. Whereas these problems clamour for immediate solutions, the resources at their disposal are utterly inadequate to cope with the magnitude and seriousness of the task. The international community looks forward to this Conference to provide by mutual exchange of views and experience, guidelines and impetus for their solution. Finally, the convening of the Conference at a time when the United Nations system of organisations are busy preparing the framework of an international development strategy for the coming decade, lends further significance to it. The recommendations of this Conference will constitute the development strategy in the social field and will thus be a useful complement to the overall development-strategy for the decade.

Mr. President, speaker after speaker in this Conference has underlined that the promotion of social welfare is both a factor for and the ultimate objective of development. In India, during the days of our independence movement, we were inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of social justice and Jawaharlal Nehru's vision of a rational society based on individual freedom. After independence, these objectives in the social fields were embodied in our Constitution, which prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex and place of birth. In the Directive Principles of our Constitution, the State has been directed to make effective provision for securing the right of every citizen to work, education and to public assistance in the case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement and another case of undeserved want. The State has been further enjoined to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the population.

To give a practical shape to these basic constitutional rights and guarantees, we allotted a high priority to social welfare measures in our development plans. The advances made in this field during the first three five-year plans are spectacular by any standard. To take only a few examples, there was a more than doubling of number of schools: the number of school-going students increased by 300%; there was a sixfold increase in the number of students in the engineering and technological institutions. The increase in the number of hospitals was more than 200%, in the number of doctors by 100% and in the number of primary health centres by more than 500%. Primarily as a result of measures taken in the health field, life expectancy has gone up from 32 years in 1951 to 50 years in 1966.

However, during this period, the increase in the net national income was only 3.8%. There was a further decline in this rate during 1965 and 1966. This disparity in the rate of growth of the GNP and the advance in the social field, has brought us face to face with a series of hard economic

choices. We have to make a choice between employment-creating and productivity-increasing activities in the economy. We have to choose between attaining a minimum

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consumption level for essential goods and at the same time finding exportable surpluses of these goods for accelerating the rate of economic growth. We are faced with the urgent need for further capital formation, involving the postponement of present consumption.

We are striving hard to resolve these numerous conflicts through our own resources and efforts. But one thing is certain, and it is that we cannot afford to cast our net too wide. We must avoid the danger of dispersal of our attention and activity over an unnecessary large field. We have to define our priorities very carefully and formulate these priorities only in the light of immediate possibilities for practical action.

It seems that for some time to come the concentration in the social field will have to be on projects which can make immediate contribution to the objective of generating the much-needed additional income and saving in the economy. We will also have to select the areas where the infrastructure is fairly well developed and where investment can yield quick results in terms of immediate economic gains. We have, therefore, decided that during the coming years, the main thrusts in the social field will be on the improvement of the quality of education, on proper man-power planning to avoid wastages, on population control, on programmes of urban development and on the improvement of transport and communication.

We have made these hard choices because we know that if we try to do too many things in many directions we will end up by frittering away the gains already achieved. Besides, holding out promises without the economic capacity to realise them is bound to create further conflicts and tensions and thus aggravate the already serious social problems.

One of the ways in which social welfare programmes can contribute to overall economic development of a developing country is by bringing about an all-round increase in the absorptive capacity of its economy. The fact that in many developing countries, and for developing countries as a whole, the absorptive capacity has already far exceeded the amount of resources available to them, is an evidence of the strides made by these countries in the field of social development and generally in building the infrastructure for development. This, in fact, is an indication of the swing of the pendulum towards the other extreme. This imbalance can be corrected only by the availability of a much greater volume of resources to these countries. The bulk of these resources would, of course, have to come, and are in fact coming from domestic savings. But very often we tend to ignore the simple fact that the mobilisation of domestic savings puts an inevitable limitation on the fulfilment of present needs in the field of social development. Thus the extent to which the developing countries will be required not to sacrifice their present, to avoid excessive human sufferings, to maintain, if not expand the existing level of social development, will depend upon measures that the international community is going to adopt for making increased resources available to these countries.

Mr. President, our past experience shows that the trade and aid policies of the developed countries are going to critically influence further progress in social development in developing countries. To discuss the question of a strategy for social development during the coming decade outside the context of these policies is, to say the least, unrealistic. The Conference should, therefore, call upon the developed countries to bring about the necessary changes in their trade and aid policies.

Mr. President, the problems of social development are rooted in the economic structure and the stage of development of a particular developing country and in its culture and tradition. Solutions to these problems, therefore, have to be basically indi-

genous and must rely essentially on national efforts. Any effort to transplant foreign experience or apply global standards are bound to be counter-productive in this particularly sensitive field of development. My delegation will, therefore, suggest that the Conference should not get involved in formulating global norms and standards. International co-operation in this sphere should primarily consist of exchanging information, making the fruits of research in one region or country available to other regions and countries and assisting the developing countries in their national efforts.

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This is an area where regional approach commends itself more than in any other spheres of international co-operation. Within the regional framework, there could be an increasing inter-change of experience, pooling of resources for research and training, dissemination of information on policy developments, and launching of experimental schemes and projects. The experience of the European Social Welfare Programme has demonstrated the immense possibilities of similar programmes at the regional level among developing countries. We, therefore, propose that the Conference should recommend to the General Assembly that similar programmes among the developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America be also set up. These programmes can be initiated and implemented under the aegis of the respective regional economic commissions i.e. ECA, ECAFE & ECLA.

The Conference should also take a hard look at the activities of the various agencies and organisations in the social welfare field and suggest measures for avoiding duplication and waste of limited resources. The responsibility for effective international leadership and for ensuring the formulation of a concerted international action-programme should rest with the United Nations.

My delegation is of the view that the main role of the United Nations should continue to be in the operational field. This is simply because the need in this field

is so vast and pressing and the results achieved so far so meagre. The limitation to this international endeavour, just as in the case of national efforts, again arises out of paucity of resources. We are all aware that the contributions so far announced to the United Nations Development Programme have fallen far short of the targets set by the Administrator of the Programme. To meet even the most urgent needs. We also know that the regular United Nations' budget for the Technical Assistance Programme has remained static for many years. One of the important recommendations that this Conference should make, is to call for an increase in the contributions to these Programmes so as to meet at least a part of the growing need of the developing countries in the social development field.

Mr. President, international co-operation in social development is one of the central themes of the United Nations Charter. Institutional arrangements for co-operation in this field are as old as the United Nations Organisation itself. After a modest beginning, the United Nations Programme in the social field acquired new dimensions when the problems of the newly independent countries came to the forefront of international economic and social co-operation. The re-designation of the Social Commission as the Commission for Social Development, marked the culmination of this new trend in the United Nations activities in this sphere. We are all looking forward with expectation to the adoption of an International Declaration on Social Development at the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly. The recommendations of this Conference, will impart a fresh dynamism to provide sure guidelines for future United Nations activities in this field. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that our efforts in this Conference will be crowned with success. May this Conference prove a real turning point in international co-operation in the social field and make its due contribution to the formulation of an international strategy for development during the coming decade.

**Date :** Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

URUGUAY

Prime Minister's Speech at State Dinner

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following speech at the dinner given in her honour by His Excellency, Mr. Jorge Pacheco Areco, President of Uruguay, on September 27, 1968:

I am very grateful for the kind invitation which has brought me here and enabled me personally to give you greeting of the people of India. From the moment of my arrival here I have been overwhelmed by the warmth of the welcome which you and your people have given me.

You have been pleased to say kind words about me and my family but I know that the honour is really for the country I represent. It is a country which is inspired by the same ideals as Uruguay.

Mr. President, you have spoken of the great teachers of India, of their philosophical thought and of the great literature they bequeathed to us. These have been a source of strength to our people through the ages. But India lives in many layers. Many centuries coexist in our land. Parts of India are as advanced as any you will find elsewhere in the world. The rest are bound in tradition. Today, we want to combine our ancient values with modern science which, properly used, will liberate the people from poverty. Since achieving independence we have unified our vast country and abolished

by law all forms of discrimination. We have built institutions through which real democracy functions. We have also begun to develop in a planned and systematic manner our natural and human resources. We have built a large complex of basic and machine-making industries. In agriculture, we have broken the fetters of stagnancy.

We have recently gone through years of trial. Several factors combined to create a great economic crisis. There was invasion of our borders which compelled us to divert some of our scarce and much-needed resources to defence. Simultaneously, aid to our economic projects was abruptly turned off. Then followed two years of an unprecedented drought which meant the buying of large quantities of foodgrains from abroad.

Even at the height of the economic crisis we continued to pursue several important economic projects. Conditions have now improved. Last year our national income went up by over nine per cent. We are soon to launch the fourth of our Five-Year Plans.

A country as vast as India can never be wholly free from some natural calamity or other. But our people have the fortitude to overcome these obstacles. I should like you to think of us not as a country with problems but as a country overcoming her problems. Poverty of India was the result of the alien rule which destroyed our old industries and drained us of the wealth for which we were once famous. We have had only 21 years of freedom to set things right. We should be judged by what we have al-

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ready achieved, we should be judged by our determination to do more. Change and economic development themselves have created new problems. It is only a stagnant pool which has no ripples. People who had long been resigned to poverty as their fate are now aware of the possibilities of a better life.

While building up our country we have

not been content to think of only ourselves. We have always been interested in other countries to achieve freedom from colonial rule. We have always been interested in opposing theories of racial superiority as we are dedicated to international peace and progress. In all these respects we feel one with you for you have played an active role in promoting ideas and schemes of cooperation among nations.

The countries of South America, Asia and Africa have been working together on several issues in the United Nation,,. This cooperation has to be strengthened. Uruguay and India can work together specially closely because of the similarity in our aspiration,, and in the institutions of our national life and in our international outlook. We have much to gain from and give each other.

URUGUAY INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date** : Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

URUGUAY

Prime Minister's Address to Uruguay's Parliament

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following statement in the Parliament of Uruguay on September 27, 1968:

Mr. Vice-President, Distinguished Legislators of the Republic of Uruguay: It is indeed an honour to have the opportunity of addressing the legislators of your country. I consider this an expression of Uruguay's friendship and goodwill for my country and for the Parliament which I represent. On behalf of the people and legislators of India, I thank you for this privilege.

Uruguay has made distinctive contribution to the annals of freedom. The all-embracing sky of freedom does not distinguish between large and small, high and low. All are equal, nations and individuals. This was proclaimed by the founders of your nation when they asserted their right to be free. You have always equated freedom with the people's paramountcy and welfare, and with the good of mankind. On no occasion have you sacrificed any one of these goals. This is indeed a remarkable record.

Uruguay has been a great laboratory of democracy and for experiments in social welfare. You have built a society in which the extremes of wealth and poverty do not confront each other. We feel that we can benefit from your experience.

About the time that the great Artagas and your Immortal Thirty-three inscribed their names in the history of this Continent, in India there arose the first figures of our 'modern age. These pioneers of our renaissance were intensely aware of the need to rediscover ourselves and at the same time to acquire knowledge of Europe's science and institutions. The darkness of the humiliating pre-independence days saw the blossoming of great personalities, politicians, social reformers, scientists, educationists and lawyers. When the light of Gandhi came to our shores, they were all overshadowed and a new era began for India. Gandhi preached the religion of freedom, but he was social revolutionary and an intellectual emancipator. His freedom transcended mere political independence and embraced the fullest development of national and individual personality. He drew inspiration from our past, yet gave new meaning and strength to the old values. The thinking of the great and the small was profoundly influenced by his presence.

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His foremost disciple was Jawaharlal Nehru, a man totally different in birth, upbringing and education, yet passionately devoted to India. Twenty-one years ago, when our national flag was hoisted, he reminded

our Constituent Assembly that freedom meant "no ease or resting but incessant striving so that we may fulfil our pledges... to the millions who suffer".

He laid the foundations of modern India, and formulated the policies which have guided our progress - Democracy, Socialism and Secularism at home and peaceful co-existence and non-alignment in international relations.

In the last two decades we have brought about the political unity of a country which had been a patch-work of historical anachronisms. We have given ourselves a Constitution which is a great charter of individual freedom and democracy. We are endeavouring to fight old prejudices and injustices. Our Constitution has abolished all forms of discrimination, whether of race or religion, sex or class. But we are deeply aware that laws are not enough and that it is through education, in the widest sense of the world, that we can change old attitudes of mind, so that laws can be translated into reality.

The idea of democracy was not new to India, for even in ancient times we had elected village councils. But Jawaharlal Nehru gave it a social purpose and nurtured and strengthened it so that it could take root and grow. Our democratic electorate is the largest in the world. Four times in twenty years, it has gone to the polls. Last year, 152 million people exercised their franchise and-voted a wide variety of parties to power in some of our States. Our Parliament is not a mere symbol; it is the apex of a larger system of government by consent. We have a federal system, and our States have their own legislatures. Many parties contend for the people's confidence and in our States we have Governments of different shades of opinion.

During our struggle for independence, in our task of enshrining it in our Constitution as much as in our endeavour to give form to our freedom, we have throughout kept in view the necessity to imbue it with the content of a better and more dignified life for the common man. Without this

democracy would not be meaningful. To that end we have pledged ourselves not to rest nor consider our struggle ended until we have attained that goal.

When I speak to you of my country, my mind travels naturally to its vast countryside where the great majority live and work in 560,000 villages. It is there that you will find the base of our democratic system, in these Panchayat government of the villages whose councils perform a wide range of governmental tasks, including, above all, the tasks associated with economic and social development. Women and persons belonging to sectors of society, which had traditionally suffered social disabilities in the past, are elected in large numbers to these village councils. India lives in her villages and even normally the rural electorate has tremendous numerical weight. The expansion of education, the increase in rural incomes due to agricultural development and the growing acquaintance of the farmer with modern technology is bringing about not only an agricultural but equally a sociological revolution; they have begun imparting both economic and political and an immense power of political assertion to our rural population. This has been one of the most refreshing developments of recent times in India for progress, to be real, must grow from the base just as democracy itself must grow from the roots.

Alongside the growth of our agriculture, we have succeeded in constructing a sound industrial base which will assist us in becoming a self-reliant economy. Our programme of industrialisation has however gone further ahead than the building of purely basic industries; we now make not only steel but our own steel plants; we make our own locomotives and heavy electric equipment. We have started to build our own ships and aircraft. Three atomic powerhouses are under construction. Meanwhile, our expectation of life has more than doubled since the year of our independence, and that is the principal cause for our growing population, not the birth-rate, which is one of the lowest in the region. In education, we have now 67 universities as against 17 in 1947,

and over 80% of the children of school-

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going age attend school at the primary stage. This percentage has to be calculated on the basis of a population of 520 million to realise the extent of the effort and of the result.

However, we have still a long, long way to go and the government and people of India are determined to continue with this effort to rebuild and strengthen the great heritage of an ancient civilization whose values we look upon with pride. At the same time, we are determined to undo, in as short a time as possible, the years lost in stagnation on account of foreign rule and to enter the race of scientific and technological progress so as to bring to our society the benefits of the modern age.

Our progress would have been faster. The growth of population in our country (the addition is of the order of 12 million a year) reduces the visible gains, and we are compelled to allocate a large part of our resources to the defence of our freedom and integrity. Most of our present-day problems are those caused by change and development. I have confidence in our people who have shown endurance and unity in times of crises.

The independence of India marked also the beginning of the end of imperialism, and one by one other people of Asia and Africa have also become free. We are still close enough to our own freedom struggle to feel passionately about the freedom of others. We have regarded our struggle as a part of the great human struggle to end suffering. We have therefore supported the aspirations of all other countries to free themselves from bondage. We have made common cause with all who are the victims of racialism and inequality. Long before independence, Mahatma Gandhi said: "We want freedom for our country, but not at the expense or exploitation of others, not so as to degrade other countries .... I want the freedom of my country .... so that the resources of my country might be utilized for the benefit of mankind."

We have worked for peaceful co-existence, for Peace cannot be secured if nations interfere in others' internal affairs. We are in no camp and in no military alliance. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace and goodwill which should include as many countries as possible and which should be opposed to none. The only alliance we seek is an alliance based on cooperation. Our policy of non-alignment has never meant escape from judgment but rather independence of judgment, the right to decide on the merits of the issue and in the light of our own reason. We have striven hard to divert nations from the course of collision which bipolarity implies.

We oppose military blocs, because we feel that far from reducing tensions, they increase them.

We believe that there is no security greater than national strength and the will of a free people. In the ultimate analysis, the guarantees of others cannot be of much avail.

As in our own country we see that disparities breed discontent and unrest, so we find that the division of the world into rich and poor nations, intensifies tensions and situations where peace is imperilled.

The two supreme issues before the world today are the threat of war and the challenge of speedy development. Vast masses of the people of our world are still denied their basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter. In no country can statesmen ignore them. Today science and technology give us the power to relieve hunger and want and to remedy the other ills with which the world is beset. Yet we are powerless to harness these resources. The wealth of the world is still made to subserve what is shortsightedly felt to be national interest, and in supporting the outmoded theory of spheres of influence. It is still consumed by wars. We have faith in the U.N. and its organizations and have assiduously worked for international cooperation. We urge international action against economic backward-

ness, against malnutrition, against disease, against illiteracy. However remote success may appear, we must bend our energies to bring about nuclear disarmament and the true internationalisation of science in the service of humanity.

Modern communications bring us all closer together. Mankind's instinct for sur-

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vival in this nuclear age should counteract the contagion of distrust and despair and give us the strength to meet the many challenges posed by the revolution of science and technology. Each country should seek to synthesise industrial civilisation with its own fundamental ideas and personality. Out of the anguish of our times we should endeavour to create a new unity of mankind which will allow the spirit of man to grow in safety and peace.

I hope Uruguay and India will strengthen our mutual ties so that we can cooperate better for international peace.

Our philosophy teaches us that truth is one, although sages call it by various names. We all have something to learn and perhaps something to teach one another.

The unity of man has long been on the lips of philosophers and poets. Modern communications today make it possible to realise this dream. But what our poet, Rabindranath Tagore, called the desert of dead habit is standing in our way. Tagore spoke of a Universal Man. The Universal Man does not cease to be an Indian or an Uruguayan, he does not lose his national identity, but he thinks first of humanity and its larger good. While science explores outer space and seeks to make a pilgrimage of the planets, let it be our endeavour to cultivate the inner spirit. Let us build a Home of Man in which all sons and daughters are equal, in which no one claims a monopoly of wealth or truth, and in which all share their sorrows and their joys. Peace can come only through such united endeavours.

Mr. Vice-President and friends, I thank

you again for this honour. I bring to you the message of friendship. It will be my pleasant privilege to tell my people when I go back that across the oceans we have good friends in the people of Uruguay, who think like us and who will be with us in our journey.

URUGUAY INDIA USA

**Date :** Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

URUGUAY

Joint Communique on Prime Minister's Visit

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued at the end of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to Uruguay:

At the invitation of the Government of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, visited Uruguay from September 27 to September 29, 1968. The Prime Minister was accompanied, amongst others, by Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India and Shri B. K. Sanyal, Ambassador of India to Uruguay.

During the visit, the Prime Minister was received by His Excellency Mr. Jorge Pacheco Areco, President of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, who introduced to the Prime Minister of India the Members of his Cabinet. On September 27, the Prime Minister visited the Parliament House where she was received by the Vice-President of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, His Excellency Dr. Alaberto Abdalda and Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives who had assembled in a Joint Session to welcome the Prime Minister.

The President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Jorge Pacheco Areco, assisted by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Venancio Flores, and the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, used the opportunity to hold discussions over a broad range of topics of interest to both the countries, including the present world situation. They agreed that with the development of communications, Asia and Latin America were no longer strangers. Indeed, already a tra-

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dition of cooperation has developed between these countries in the forums of the United Nations and its agencies. While working for the national progress and stability within their respective regions, they have a common faith in the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. Further, both are dedicated to the pursuit of social justice and the preservation of democratic freedom as directive principle of their national policies. They recognised that both the countries face similar problems of development and have similar interests in rationalising the pattern of international economic relationship on the lines enunciated in the resolution of the UNCTAD Conferences.

Conscious of the similarities of their problems it was agreed that every effort should be made to strengthen cooperation in economic, trade, cultural, technological and scientific fields between the two countries as indeed between all like-minded nations. Both expressed the hope that India and Uruguay would conclude a cultural agreement as soon as possible.

The Prime Minister of India expressed her deep gratitude at the cordial reception and hospitality accorded to her and her party. The President and the Prime Minister recognised that the visit had helped to strengthen mutual understanding and friendship.

The Prime Minister of India extended an invitation to the President of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay and Madame Maria

Angelica Klein De Areco to pay an official visit to India. The President accepted the invitation with thanks.

URUGUAY INDIA USA

**Date :** Sep 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Joint Statement on Indo-Soviet Talks

Following is the text of a joint statement issued in New Delhi on September 17, 1968 at the end of consultations between the representatives of the Ministry of External Affairs of India and representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. :

The first Consultative Meeting between the representatives of the Ministry of External Affairs of India, headed by the Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs of India, Shri B. R. Bhagat, and the representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., headed by the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. N. P. Firyubin, was held in New Delhi from the 11th to the 16th September, 1968.

The consultations were conducted in a cordial and frank atmosphere which reflects the friendly relations between the two countries. The representatives of the Ministries of External Affairs of India and the U.S.S.R. exchanged information on and discussed a

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wide range of problems of common interest. An exchange of views was also held on the question of bilateral relations. Both sides considered that the consultations held have facilitated the deepening of their mutual

understanding and reaffirmed the similarity and closeness of the points of view of both countries on various important international problems.

Both sides agreed that the next Consultative Meeting will be held in Moscow on a date which will be fixed later by mutual agreement.

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**Date :** Sep 01, 1968

## October

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**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

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CHILE

Prime Minister's Speech at State Banquet

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who visited Chile from October 2 to October 8, 1968, made the following speech at the banquet given in her honour by His Excellency Mr. Don Eduardo Frei Montalva, President of the Republic of Chile, on October 2:

I have come to your beautiful country from half-a-world away, to cement the bonds between Chile and India. We have known of Chile as a distant land, mothered by the Andes, engaged, like ourselves, in the task of: building a modern, democratic and egalitarian society. Chile and the Americas have known a great past.

My visit is intended to acquire a personal understanding of your country and its people, of your endeavour and aspirations and, if I may, to tell you something about India and our own dreams for the future.

The 2nd of October is a special day for us. Ninety-nine years ago was born a man who like a gust of wind, swept off the dust of apathy and acceptance of injustice, transformed fear into courage and, humiliation into determination. He shook the very foundations of a mighty empire. We call Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation. The message he gave us was as old as the Indian philosophy. It was the message of non-violence, of religious tolerance and unity. My father called him a magician. His magic lay in his complete identification with the Indian people, the vast majority of whom were peasants. He anticipated and gave voice to their innermost feelings and at the same time guided and disciplined them. As has been said of another great man, he was the crest of the wave but the people themselves were the wave. A master of strategy, his very simplicity baffled his opponents.

Mahatma Gandhi's ideas emanated from our ancient tradition, his methods and strategy were evolved to meet the situation pertaining in pre-independence India. Death has not brought his work to an end. On the contrary, it is only now that people in different parts of the world are beginning to evaluate and comprehend his life and the relevance of his message to their own lives and times. His ideas and his mission live on. At the time of his assassination, our great poetess, Sarojini Naidu, called out in anguish-asking his soul not to rest but to spur us on to greater effort in our struggle to give reality to his dreams for India. We

salute him. We know that the light he gave us will continue to illumine our path.

Twenty years have passed. Twenty years of extraordinary difficulties and of unimaginable crises. The age-old problems of poverty and economic backwardness remain. Added to them are the new problems of development and change. We were indeed fortunate that during our most difficult formative years we were privileged to have the leadership of a man of the phenomenal popularity, stature and wide vision of Jawaharlal Nehru, a man passionately devoted to India, her civilization and her freedom, deeply dedicated to the ideals preached by Mahatma Gandhi, but equally determined to take India forward to modernity, so that she could strengthen and give meaning to her freedom and hold her own amongst nations. He channelled the independence movement into fields of national construction and welfare and international cooperation. He laid the firm foundations of our democracy, initiated

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social change and guided our steps towards industrial development. He built institutions for scientific research and for the renaissance of our arts and literature. And all the time he travelled widely the length and breadth of our vast country, explaining his ideas, bringing the modern world of change, of science and rationalism to our people.

In Europe and the United States, the industrial revolution added to the economic capacity of the countries before ideas of the common people's right to welfare gained momentum. Thus when these demands were made, the means to satisfy them were available. In India, the process was reversed. Political awakening came first, then democracy and then the struggle for economic development. We must balance the needs of growth with the need of social justice.

In free India, laws and customs which discriminated against persons on grounds of sex, race or religion, have been abolished. Special facilities and incentives are offered to help the under-privileged sections and tribal people. Disparities within a country

create intolerance and violence. Disparities between nations lead to tensions and crises. The growing technological disparity between the developed and the developing countries cause grave concern. The time has come for nations to work together to free mankind from hunger, disease and ignorance. We believe in the need of a global strategy for political influence, it creates problems. Co-operation amongst developing countries can strengthen them and enable them to withstand these pressures.

We believe that freedom and peace can be safeguarded only if nations pledge non-interference in the affairs of others and every nation is free to choose its own form of Government and to shape its destiny.

There is similarity between Chile and India in our domestic policies and our international outlook. We have worked closely together in the United Nations and other international forums. I hope this cooperation will endure and grow.

The warmth of the reception and this welcome which I have received and your gracious words give a message of friendship and fellowship which I do most sincerely reciprocate on behalf of the Indian people. We have admired the achievements of the people of Chile and, Mr. President, the inspired leadership which you have given your nation.

Excellencies, may I request you to join me in a toast to the health of the President and to the success of his work for the people of Chile.

CHILE INDIA USA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

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Joint Communique an Prime Minister's Visit

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Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on October 8, 1968 at the end of the Prime Minister's visit to the Republic of Chile:

At the invitation of the President of Chile, His Excellency Mr. Eduardo Frei Montalva, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, paid an official visit to Chile from October 2, 1968. The President kindly invited her to extend her stay up to October 8. She was accorded a warm, spontaneous and enthusiastic welcome by the Government and people of Chile.

This, the first visit by an Indian Prime Minister to Chile, symbolised the friendship between the two countries and their sincere desire to foster closer understanding between their peoples and Governments. The two countries share similar aspirations and common ideals. They both cherish respect for human rights, democratic institutions at home and faith in the principles of co-existence between states as well as international cooperation in their external relations.

The Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, had wide-ranging conver-

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sations with President Frei and Foreign Minister Gabriel Valdes on the international situation and bilateral relations between the two countries. They re-affirmed their dedication to the principles of the United Nations Charter which provide a framework for the promotion of peace and international cooperation and the peaceful solution of international problems. They affirmed their conviction that relations between states must be based on the respect for international agreements and the right of all nations, big and small, to pursue their policies both internal

and external without outside interference. Every nation must have the right to its own political, economic and social system. Both countries remain firmly opposed to the policies of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and to every kind of discrimination based on race or religion. The two leaders noted with concern the continuance of the nuclear arms race and emphasised the urgent need for the reduction of the stock-piles of nuclear weapons and for early efforts for promoting nuclear disarmament. The resources thus released - material, technological and of skilled personnel - should be diverted towards constructive development.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that the crucial problem for all developing nations was to raise the standards of living of their people and they further agreed that the community of developing nations can profit from each other's experience and from co-operating in resolving their special and common, problems. They were of the view that the wealth and technological advantages of developed countries, if shared in an enlightened way while helping the developing countries, would benefit the developed countries as well. They reiterated their support for the principles embodied in the Declarations of the UNCTAD Conferences of 1964 and 1968. Since prosperity like peace in the world is indivisible they urged that the structure of international economic relations needs to be rectified. They further agreed that the developed nations should take more far-sighted measures to facilitate freer trade and on better terms so that the developing countries may march towards economic strength, thus eliminating a source of frustration and of future conflicts. The believed that to achieve his objective the export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods to developed countries must be facilitated through general preferences and non-discriminatory and non-reciprocal concessions and that other barriers to the promotion of trade should be removed.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that mutual efforts must be made to develop closer economic ties between the two countries in order to enhance the com-

mercial exchanges between India and Chile. They agreed that a new trade agreement should be concluded in the near future.

The two Heads of Government also agreed that closer cultural and scientific contacts between their two countries should be developed so that they become better acquainted with research and applied technology and also with each other's cultural heritage.

The Prime Minister informed the President of the measures taken in India to bring about social and economic transformation within the framework of her democratic institutions. She explained the high priority which India attached to the parallel development of agriculture and industry. The President acquainted the Prime Minister with the efforts of the Chilean Government to promote the participation of the people's organisations in the nation's life and to afford social and economic justice to their people. The President also recounted the steps being taken towards agrarian and educational reforms and the diversification of the Chilean economy. The President further explained the efforts being made towards Latin-American integration in general and regional co-operation amongst the Andean group of countries in particular. The President and the Prime Minister emphasised that the visit was an important milestone in the development and strengthening of friendly relations between India and Chile. They agreed to cooperate more closely in international organisations; and consistent with their respective foreign policies in the safeguarding of peace and the resolution of international problems.

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, thanked the President for the, warm and cordial hospitality shown to her and to the members of her party during their stay

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in Chile. She renewed her invitation to the President of Chile and Madame Frei to visit India. The president thanked the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, for her kind invitation which he accepted with

pleasure. The dates of the visit of the President would be fixed through diplomatic channels.

CHILE INDIA USA RUSSIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

COLOMBIA

Prime Minister's Speech at State Banquet

Following is the text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's speech at the banquet given in her honour by His Excellency Dr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo, President of Colombia, on October 9, 1968:

My sort stay in Bogota has been full of varied experiences. To all lovers of freedom but, particularly to those who have had the privilege of participating in the liberation struggle of their people, the name of Simon Bolivar is known. He is a hero to us no less than to you. So, visiting his house had a special meaning for me. I remember his words that 'to hesitate is to perish'. On another occasion, he remarked: "A people who love freedom will in the end be free". This same sentiment was uttered in another age by Mahatma Gandhi who told us that if we considered ourselves free men and women, we would be free from alien domination.

Another visit, that to the Museum of Gold brought vividly alive to me the history of this land in the pre-Columbian period. In your speech, Sir, you have referred to the Indian' history and civilisation. We value our philosophy and ancient thought and I am pleased to learn of the interest it has evoked here. We are known here as

a spiritual people. Actually, we are no more spiritual, no less materialistic than others. Indeed, we could not have advanced in the ancient times had there not been good organisation and technological base. It is true, however, that our great religious and other leaders have upheld the values of tolerance and goodness towards all and we have tried to embody these in our policies, both at home and abroad.

My father once remarked: "Nothing is more advantageous and more creditable than a rich heritage. But nothing is more dangerous for a nation than to sit back and live on that heritage. A nation cannot progress if it merely imitates its ancestors. What builds a nation is creative incentive and vital activity." The past is a source of strength to us but it is important for people to know the present-day India, her vast problems and the tremendous effort she is making to solve them. Kinship and friendship can only be built out of ties with the present-day India. We seek to forge a new path, keeping our roots in our ancient heritage, yet taking the best of modern science and technology. In the two decades since we have won freedom we have endeavoured to transform our country into a modern nation with the consent of our people.

We have in India all the religions and have often offered sanctuary to those who were oppressed in their own lands. The Hindus are the majority community but we have 60 million Muslims, 12 million Christians, besides many others. Colombia has just played host to the Eucharistic Congress, which was attended by His Holiness

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The Pope. The last Eucharistic Congress was held in Bombay where His Holiness The Pope was received and revered equally by Christians and by people of other religions as well. Equal respect for all religions is an old tradition in India and our secularism enshrines this tradition.

Mr. President, you have been kind enough to refer to my words about the need for unity. Unity is the base of a nation's

independence and progress. In a country as diverse as India we must constantly work for concord amongst different groups, classes and regions by approaching the problems with sympathy.

The eradication of poverty, the mitigation of disparities, and achievements of economic self-reliance have been our principal objectives. We must increase production and strengthen the strategic sectors of the economy and also to effect structural changes so that economic power is wielded by the community as a whole. We have undertaken a planned programme of economic and social development. We have succeeded in increasing the national income by 63 per cent, the agricultural production by 73 per cent and the industrial production by 162 per cent. We have established a wide range of basic and heavy industries and are today exporters of steel castings, of railway locomotives, of cranes and internal combustion engines, and of machine tools and electronic instruments. We are on the point of achieving self-sufficiency in foodgrains as well as in transport and power equipment. We are at present building three atomic powerhouses. We also train 35,000 engineers annually. In the field of welfare, we have initiated a national public health programme which has added 20 years to the life-span. The number of children going to school has risen to 75 million.

Four-fifth of the investment required for this gigantic endeavour has come from all sections of our own people. The other fifth has come as aid from the advanced countries, This one-fifth is crucial because it represents the transfer of technology which is essential for development.

This foreign aid is in a sense a system of financial credits for the purchase of equipment and know-how, but the aid-giving countries do not always see aid in the larger historical perspective. The terms of trade for the primary products exported by the developing countries have steadily worsened. That is why the developing countries would like to see development financed more and more through equitable trade policies

than through aid as such.

Colombia and other Latin American countries have similar views in this regard and we have worked closely in the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development. I believe that there is scope for developing countries to improve economic exchanges among themselves, complementing one another's economies through bilateral and multilateral arrangements. Such cooperation will enable them to resist pressures from outside.

Every nation has its own ideology and the way of life. There cannot be peace in the world if any nation tries to interfere or to impose its will on any other. We stand for the ending of colonialism and racialism and the preaching of ideological dogmatism or religious intolerance. We are firmly committed to the principles of peaceful co-existence. Events in South-East Asia, West Asia and in Central Europe show us that peace remains fragile. But if we could remove ignorance, suspicion and misunderstandings, which divide nations and peoples, we could move towards the acceptance of the principle of co-existence.

Happily the relations between Colombia and India are friendly and are not marred by any problems. In our times no country is distant and in a way we have all become one world and are close neighbours. The countries of Latin America are trying to raise the living standards of their peoples. In India, we have been following these efforts with great interest. In this endeavour, India is one with you and we should like to exchange our experience with yours. Mr. President, under your far-sighted leadership, Colombia is endeavouring to strengthen her democratic structure and bring prosperity to the common people which is a no easy task in today's rapidly changing world.

I appreciate and value the understanding which you have shown of our problems. The bonds of friendship between us can be

increased exchange in the educational, scientific, technical and cultural fields. We can and should work closer together in international forums. There is also considerable scope for the development of commerce and trade. I hope that in the coming year, our contacts will be further developed and will strengthen the friendship and cooperation between our two countries.

You, Mr. President, and the people of Colombia have done me a great honour ever since my arrival here yesterday. I have had the privilege of addressing the two Houses of Parliament and of having long and frank talks with you, Mr. President, and your colleagues. These conversations have enabled me to understand Colombia's achievements and problems. We have also come to have high respect for your knowledge and wisdom and your humanity and your dedication.

I take home with me the pleasantest memories of the warm hospitality and friendship of your people.

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, may I request you to join me in a toast to the health of President Carlos Lleras, and to the prosperity and happiness of the Colombian people.

COLOMBIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA INDIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

COLOMBIA

Indo-Colombian Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on October 10, 1968 at the

conclusion of the Prime Minister's official visit to Colombia:

At the invitation of the President of Colombia, His Excellency Dr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, paid an official visit to Bogota from October 8 to October 10, 1968 and was accorded a warm and friendly welcome by the Government and the people of Colombia.

During her brief stay in Bogota, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, was received by the President and introduced to the members of the Colombian Government. The President and the Prime Minister exchanged views on important international problems and on measures to strengthen the bilateral relations between the two countries. The talks were held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cordiality and revealed a close similarity in their views. The President and the Prime Minister acknowledged the ability of peaceful co-existence as a factor in the prevention of war and the promotion of international understanding. They reaffirmed their support to the United Nations and the principles embodied in the Charter. They agreed that problems between nations must be settled through peaceful negotiations and the use of force, except in national defence, must be abjured. All countries, regardless of their geographical location, and whether small or large, have the inherent right to pursue their own internal and foreign policies, to develop according to their own genius and freely to explore avenues of cooperation with other nations. Such a pattern of relations, based on equality and respect for sovereignty and independence, between nations and peoples of the world cannot come about unless the remnants of colonialism and the racialism are finally eliminated.

Consistent with these principles, the President and the Prime Minister agreed that the two countries should strengthen their cooperation in international bodies.

The President and the Prime Minister exchanged views on their experience in their

efforts to build self-reliant national economies striving to ensure a better life for their peoples. They agreed that the developing nations of the world whether in Asia, Latin America or Africa face the same challenge and can greatly benefit by promoting exchanges and contacts between specialists in the field of economic development, science and technology. While it is clear that the

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burden of development of a country must be borne by its own people, both countries attach importance to the principles embodied in the Resolutions of the U.N. Conference, on Trade and Development. They urged that developed nations should take steps to ensure a more equitable pattern of trade and economic relations between them and the developing countries. The widening disparity between wealth and affluence in one part of the world and stagnation and poverty in another, cannot but lead to frustration and impatience. The world community and particularly the nuclear weapons powers should take purposeful steps towards disarmament, so that precious resources and technical know-how can be diverted for all-round economic and social progress in the family of nations.

In the course of their talks, the President and the Prime Minister reviewed the friendly relations and cooperation between Colombia and India, and discussed the prospects of their further development. The two countries accordingly agreed that it would be desirable to conclude a trade agreement at an early date. In order to promote greater knowledge of each other amongst the peoples of Colombia and India, the President and the Prime Minister also expressed interest in increasing the cultural and technological exchanges between the two countries.

The Prime Minister of India thanked the President for the hospitality shown to her and her party and hoped that her visit would be followed by continuing contacts between the leaders and peoples of the two countries.

The Prime Minister of India extended a

cordial invitation to President Dr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo and Madame Lleras Restrepo to visit India. The invitation was accepted in principle by the President with pleasure.

COLOMBIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

GUYANA

Prime Minister's Speech at Atkinson Airport

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following speech on her arrival at the Atkinson Airport, Georgetown, on October 12, 1968 on a State visit to Guyana:

Honourable Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with very real and deep pleasure that I accepted your kind invitation to come and to renew my acquaintance with you. We also have vivid memories of your visit to India. Our two countries are divided by vast oceans. There are many other differences but I believe we are bound not only by ancient historic ties but also because today we face common problems and common challenges. We realise that to be meaningful, friendship must be renewed, renovated and rejuvenated from time to time. That is the purpose of my visit: to see something, however, little, of Guyana and to tell something about my own country.

Those of us who attained independence not too long ago are in the process of creating a new life for our people, of remoulding our societies, so that while they retain their ancient values and their rich heritage, they should also be able to benefit from the great

advances of science and of modern technology.

When you consider the vast number of people in India this task is of tremendous magnitude and yet, step by step, we are for-

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ging ahead. It does not matter whether a country is big or small, we each have our task, we each have our experiences. And I think a sharing of experiences, a sharing of views is always worthwhile and of benefit. I bring to you, Mr. Prime Minister, and to your people the good wishes and greetings from the Government and people of India.

GUYANA INDIA USA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

GUYANA

Prime Minister's Speech at Civic Reception

Following is the text of the speech made by the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at the civic reception where she was accorded the 'Freedom of Georgetown', on October 12, 1968:

Your Worship Lord Mayor, Mr. Prime Minister, Distinguished Councillors and Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am delighted to be in Guyana and especially glad that the first function should be one connected with the Lord Mayoralty. In your address you have told us a great deal about Guyana and therefore given an introduction, so to speak of what I am about to see and to learn. You have spoken of your composite society of the different races who have

come to settle here. In India the same thing has happened with different types of people and perhaps on a vaster scale and much further back in time.

There is much that links your country with mine. We would like to renew our friendship, to strengthen the bonds which unite us and to find new areas of co-operation.

The world is divided into many compartments. Today the vast advance of science has given mankind knowledge, power and opportunity to solve so many problems, to remove so many difficulties, to eliminate hunger, want, disease and ignorance. When we have this power and this knowledge it does seem strange that they cannot be fully used for that purpose, and that in so many parts of the world we should be engaged in wars and conflicts and increasing tensions. Most of the developing countries, whether big or small, face the same kind of problems - the problem of disparity between different sections of the people, the problem of providing housing, education and so on for the people. India, as YOU perhaps know is a land of 520 million people of many races, different languages all the religions of the world. But amidst all these diversities there is a strong feeling of unity and we believe that it is only with unity in diversity that there can be any progress or development. And today development should have the first priority.

In India in 1947 there were fewer than 23 million children in school; today that number has gone up to 75 million. We have two million school teachers and about two million students in universities. I am giving you these figures only as an example of the vastness, the huge magnitude of the task that faces us. Yet we have made tremendous progress, we have increased our agricultural production by 73 per cent, and our industrial production by 162 per cent.

So when you look back on the twenty one years of independence, I think we can say that we have achieved much but when we look forward and see what has to be

done, then we see that what we have done is only one little drop in a vast ocean. But I have confidence in the people of India, and indeed I have confidence in the people of the world. I think that the people now are going to use the opportunity which they have to better their conditions of living, to make a new life for their children and their children's children; but this can easier be done if we join together and co-operate to do it, if we build bridges of friendship with those people who think like us and try to convert others - not in the religious sense, not in the sense of forcing one's point of view but mainly by convincing - to the idea of peace and goodwill amongst men. If we can do this I think we can take the world a step

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forward and leave it a better place for all of us.

Mr. Lord Mayor, may I thank you once again for your kind words, for the wonderful welcome that I have received since I arrived here, for your gift and the great honour that you have given me in giving me the key to your city.

The city I have come from, New Delhi, and your city, Georgetown, are very very far apart, but I hope that in friendship the two cities will always remain very close.

GUYANA USA INDIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

GUYANA

Prime Minister's Address to Public Rally

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira

Gandhi, delivered the following address to the public rally held in her honour at the Queen Elizabeth II Park, Georgetown, on October 12, 1968:

Honourable Prime Minister, Distinguished Guests: I had long looked forward to this part of the world and making acquaintance with the various peoples who live here.

In India too, we have a rich tapestry, as you call it, of many races, languages, and religions, and all of them join together to make up the fabric of one nation. It has been our policy to live together, to tolerate different points of view, different religious beliefs. It is part of our ancient heritage. From time immemorial India has opened her doors to peoples from outside-and, of course some have come without any invitation also - but somehow we have absorbed all those cultures and made them all Indian. We would like to continue the policy of living together in our domestic affairs and also in our international relations. We all, big and small nations, have our own way of life, our own ideology, and the only way that we can live together is if we decide to tolerate one another. And it is only if we make this decision consciously and try to implement it, that there can be peace in the world. We are interested in peace because it is a high ideal, and also because it is the first essential for development, for progress and for prosperity and happiness.

When we became free we faced a very stagnant economy. In agriculture we were using implements that had been used thousands of years ago. We had hardly any industries. But we had vast population, with great political consciousness. They had fought for freedom. They had heard about freedom struggles everywhere, and they felt strongly about ideals of equality, of liberty, of fulfilment of their basic needs and just demands.

In ancient India we had democracy but a rather simple form of democracy at the village level. We decided to adopt the democratic methods but we gave our democracy a social purpose and we tried to combine

with it social justice for all people, and economic welfare. For we soon realised that political freedom by itself would have no meaning for the people unless it brought them justice and fulfilled their economic needs. We know that for such a vast population as ours it is not possible to do this in a hurry. We know that our people are impatient, but we know also that if we can persuade our people that we are going in the right direction, then we would have their help and their support. In these few years for 21 years in the life of a nation are not long we have made great progress.

This morning at another function I quoted some figures to show the vast numbers who were involved in education, and how much we had improved our industries. This year we achieved what we call a breakthrough in agriculture. We produced 95 million tons of food grains, although in the last few years we had the worst drought in our long history. This year we hoped it would have been better but in the last few days I have had bad news from home, of extensive floods in the northern parts of the country causing immense distress to the people.

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I do not know the full details but I from our papers that over 1,000 people dies in one area alone and the two mountain states of Sikkim Mid Bhutan have been cut off from India And we are trying now to re-establish communication with them. They have been cut off because of tremendous landslides.

In a country of our size we cannot prevent natural calamity of one kind or another in one part or another but if we can go ahead with strengthening the economic base of the country then we are in a better position to face such calamities and tragedies.

Somehow a picture of India has gone abroad as a country with immense difficulties. Now it is true that we have poverty, I would not say that your country, Mr. Prime Minister, or mine is a poor country, I think they are rich countries, but it is true that

the people who live there are poor. But they are rich because of the richness of the earth - a richness which has not been developed yet. And once it is developed and once it is used for the benefit of all the people then they would really come into their own.

Now India has poverty but it is not a country that is weighed down by poverty. It is a country which is facing the problems of poverty with courage and determination, even with cheerfulness, and gaiety, if I may say so. And even in the worst of the drought we found that our people did not lose heart. We found that students from far off States, gave up their holidays to go and help to dig wells. Teachers, people from all the professions, gather together to help whenever there is difficulty in any part of the nation. And this is something that strengthens the unity of the entire country and help us to go ahead.

We have had two or three very difficult years. We have had fighting on our borders. We have had to divert some of our economic resources, for defence purposes. Then with the drought we have had to spend a great deal of money to buy food from abroad. But we faced it all. In pre-independent India there used to be famine in one part or another almost every year, and it was an accepted fact that people would die in hundreds of thousands. In one particular famine in 1943 a million people died in one small part of India. Since Independence with all our difficulties we have not allowed that to happen. We have had droughts. Our people have faced tremendous hardships but we have been able to get food. It has not been enough but still we have been able to give food to the most needy cases. The most difficult part has not been food. It has been to take drinking water because there is an acute shortage of water. While our problems and difficulties have been of vast magnitude so have been the determination, the courage, the will, of the people to face it. And when we have that I think no difficulty is really too great.

So we think that this year we have turned the corner. As I said agricultural

production has been very good and we hope that in two or three years we shall be fully self-sufficient in so far as our requirement of food grains is concerned.

In other things also our production is going up and while the country hardly produced any machinery 20 years ago it is today producing its own jet planes, its own cars and many other things not only the actual things but the machinery to build machinery also. But with all this I must insist that it is not enough for our needs, and it will take a long time before we can reach that level. And in the meantime we have to work hard and we have to be patient. And while we work for this on the domestic front we have to work for peace on the international front.

Your own country is far away, half a world away from us. As you have pointed out, Mr. Prime Minister, we have many links - cultural links and other links, and perhaps the greatest link that binds us with your country and with other newly independent countries is our passion to be free and our passion not only to be free but to make that freedom real for all sections of our people. And today there is a second problem which we all face. We take help from abroad and we welcome that help because we need it. But I should like to tell you that of the great effort that India is making, four-fifths of the effort is our own. It is not only of the rich people who are making the

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effort but the vast masses of poor people who cannot afford it. It is only one-fifth of our investment which comes in the shape of aid in the form of loans or credit from abroad, whether from the Eastern bloc or from the Western bloc. But it is crucial one-fifth. We do not know whether even that one-fifth would be forthcoming or not, and therefore we are making every effort to see how we can possibly manage on our own and be prepared to meet whatever hardship we might have to face.

In the international field while working for peace we have believed in the principle

of co-existence, and we have been nonaligned. This does not mean that we sit on the fence but it means that we consider each issue on its merit regardless of which, if any, Big Power is involved. Now, taking the middle road always causes trouble because you please neither one side nor the other. This is what happens to us on the international field but we feel this is the only way for us, the only way for world peace, and so we stick to it.

On the national front also we have taken the middle road in our economy. We are helping our private enterprise but we fully realise that private enterprise on its own in a country of India's vast dimension cannot handle all problems. The State has to take on certain burdens, and many of our big industries, especially the steel projects and go on are in the State Sector. We feel in this way all can contribute to the economy of the country and all will help to take the country forward.

When I began I spoke of the very many different people who inhabit India. The majority community is Hindu but we have a minority of Muslims who perhaps can hardly be a minority in any other country because they number 60 million. We have 12 million Christians. Besides there are a number of all the other religions, which exist in the world. We have believed that all these people must live together.

Our State is a secular State, which does not mean that the State is irreligious but it means that it gives equal respect to all religions. Under our Constitution every person is equal regardless of religion, language, race, sex or any other distinction.

I was happy to learn this morning from the Lord Mayor that the women of Guyana are playing an important part in this country's development. I was also very happy to meet the Minister of Education and to learn more about this from her. Now I do not know whether my women friends would like it or not but I am not a feminist. But I believe that the people who form part of this human race should be allowed to use

their experiences, their talents, their capabilities for the good of their country whether they are men or women. And if we ignore half the population then it is difficult for the work to be done it just is too big. So in India we have tried to get everybody to work together. And, to take this principle internationally, we fight against racialism and we do not like either religion or race or any of these matters to form part of policy.

We believe in equality. Sometimes one has to give greater attention to a part of the people because they have been more suppressed than the others. In our country we have very special programmes of scholarships and other types of help for those sections who have so far not had the privilege of education. It is not an act of charity. Firstly, we believe they are equal and secondly, we believe that if there is a weaker section it will always pull down the others. And that is our concern for the world community also. While the world is divided into poor nations and rich nations, I do not think that the rich nations are as safe as they think they are.

Some months ago we had the UNCTAD Conference in Delhi, and in my opening speech there, I said that it is for the richer nations to consider not whether they can afford to help the developing nations, but whether they can afford not to help them. You know the conditions in your part of the world better than I do but I can tell YOU that in our part of the world the situation is quite explosive. When there are vast masses of people who see a better life on the horizon, they know they have the talents, they know they have the knowledge, they know the world has the resources to help them, and still that help is not coming. You can yourself imagine how they feel about it.

We believe in peace and we are going to work peacefully to try and persuade

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people through international conferences through whatever groups there may be, to see how the situation can be changed, how the inequalities, and the disparities can be

lessened. They may not go altogether but certainly we wish to try to lessen them.

We believe that when one is on the right path one has to go along even if one is absolutely alone. This is what we learnt during our freedom struggle. The path which Mahatma Gandhi followed was a very new path, and the people of the world and even many of the people in India said that nobody in the world had won independence through non-violent means, especially when there are tremendous armies and forces used against them. But we said it was the right way for us and we bore the ridicule, the abuse, the firing, the prisons, everything that came. And in the end we proved that we were right.

And in the same way we are convinced today that the path we are following is the right one. And we will follow it even if we are absolutely alone. But I don't think we are alone. I think that there are many millions all over the world who think like us and I think it is up to those of us who have seen the light to see what we can do to help each other, and not to do anything against anybody. When we say non-violence in India we do not only mean that we should not use weapons. Mahatma Gandhi meant it to mean the absence of hatred and the absence of fear, not merely the absence of arms. And that is the path which we would like to follow. We do not want to combine against anybody but we want to combine as far as possible for everybody. Because we believe that when conditions improve in the developing countries it is bound to help even those countries which are today developed and affluent. Today there is no country which does not have troubles - the richest of them, the most advanced of them. And part of the trouble perhaps is injustice. Their people also see the inequality and the injustice.

I have come a long way to be able to say something about India, to be able to learn something about the many different countries which I visited. When one lives far away one tends to lump countries together. One thinks of Latin America or the

Caribbean in oversimplified reins. But when YOU come to visit them You see that each country has its own distinct personality, and is very different from its neighbours, and this gives one a much better understanding of its difficulties as well as of its achievements. I have been here only a few hours but I can say that in these few hours between the time of my arrival and the time of my departure which is not too far hence there has been a tremendous change in me, because during that period I have learnt of your friendship. You have welcomed me with warmth and, even if I may say so, with affection. And I see what differences there are between us and also what similarities there are.

I believe that one should search for areas of agreement, however small, and having found them, try to enlarge them little by little. That is the only way to proceed. If one starts with differences, then one cannot even be on talking terms. But if one says there are always differences and may be we don't agree and no people in the world can always agree, no matter how close they are on every point then it is possible to find areas of agreement and co-operation and then we can enlarge them. And this is what I would like to do with the leaders and the people of Guyana.

You here and we in India have an ancient past. Now much of that past has been obscured but we have to keep our roots in it. Much of that past is a burden. It is like trying to climb a mountain with a huge stone on us. We have to see how we can remove that part of it which is a burden that part of it which is not of real value, which has become out of date, which has no relevance to modern life, which is merely superstition. And we should keep that part which is timeless. All religions, all philosophies have in them something which will be appropriate yesterday, today, and for all the tomorrows to come. This is what India is trying to do,

Unfortunately, today a certain way of life is considered to be civilised another is not. But with those spectacles do you look at

life? We have to inspect our life with our own eyes. We must do what we consider the best for us, not what other people think is the best for us. And we think that what

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is best for us in India is our own civilisation, but naturally with the benefits of science, modern technology and above all rational scientific thinking. And this is the path we are trying to follow. This path we think will help us remould our society and rejuvenate our ancient country into a modern nation. This modern India is anxious for friendship with the world and especially for friendship with your country.

So I bring you the greetings of all the Indian people and I bring you very good wishes for your struggle for a better future for your country. And thank you once more for your welcome.

GUYANA USA INDIA BHUTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

GUYANA

Joint Communique on Prime Minister's Visit

Following is text of the Joint Communique issued on October 13, 1968 at the end of the visit to Guyana by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi:

The Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, paid a visit to Guyana on the 12th and 13th of October, 1968, and was accorded a warm and enthusiastic reception by the Government and people of the country. The Prime Minister of India was accompanied by Shri Rajeshwar Dayal,

Foreign Secretary, Shri P. N. Haksar, Secretary to the Prime Minister, Shri J. S. Mehta, Joint Secretary (Policy, Planning and Conferences), Shri K. Natwar Singh, Director, Prime Minister's Secretariat, Shri S. K. Singh, Representative, Ministry of Commerce and Shri Sharda Prasad, Deputy Information Adviser to the Prime Minister.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi's visit was symbolic of the desire on the part of both countries to cement the bonds of friendship and their historical and cultural ties.

During her stay the Prime Minister of India had talks with the Prime Minister of Guyana, the Honourable Forbes Burnham, on questions of mutual interest especially on problems facing the newly independent developing countries.

The two Prime Ministers reaffirmed their faith in the United Nations and the need to strengthen it for the maintenance of international peace and the promotion of co-operative relations amongst nations. They deplored the use of force except in defence for the settlement of international problems.

The two Prime Ministers expressed their common desire to strive for the elimination of all forms of colonialism and the eradication of the doctrine of racial superiority which still characterises the policy of some countries.

The two Prime Ministers recognised the right of all nations to determine their own internal and external policies according to the will of their people. They affirmed their faith in the principles of democracy and of social and economic justice and stressed the need of all societies to guarantee equal rights for all citizens.

They noted with concern the widening gulf between the developed and the developing countries and emphasised the urgent need for the rationalisation of the world's trade and commerce on the basis of the principles set out at the Second Conference of the United Nations Conference on Trade

and Development held in New Delhi this year.

The two Prime Ministers expressed their determination to strengthen economic and cultural relations between their two countries. The Prime Minister of India expressed the willingness of India to share with Guyana the knowledge and experience gained by India through planned development and more particularly in the application of science and technology in the agricultural and industrial fields. The Prime Minister of Guyana welcomed such cooperation in the industrial and technical fields with the advantage, this could bring to both countries.

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Shrimati Indira Gandhi thanked the Prime Minister, the Government and the people of Guyana for the warm and cordial hospitality shown to her and her party during their stay in Guyana and extended cordial invitation to the Prime Minister of Guyana, the Honourable Forbes Burnham, to visit India.

GUYANA INDIA USA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Prime Minister's Address to the General Assembly

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, delivered the following address to the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 14, 1968:

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished representatives, I am grateful

to you for according me the high honour of addressing this great Assembly. May I take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the distinguished office of the President of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is a fitting tribute to Guatemala and to your own personal qualities. I wish you success.

I have just come from an instructive and stimulating visit to a number of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. This enabled me to see the earnest strivings of the peoples of that great continent for social progress and better standards of living.

I should like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General. Where others might have been overwhelmed by heart-break, U. Thant has persevered, undaunted, in his great work with rare faith, devotion and detachment. It is up to all of us to give him our fullest support.

The United Nations is the trustee of the world's peace and represents the hopes of mankind. Its very existence gives a feeling of assurance that the justice of true causes can be brought fearlessly before the world. This Assembly and the agencies of the United Nations should, in all that they do, sustain those hopes and promote the causes of peace.

Seven years ago India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, addressed this Assembly. He was a believer in seeking areas of agreement and co-operation, and in enlarging them. He advocated before this Assembly a "new approach to co-operation and the furtherance of the co-operative effort". The Assembly accepted his suggestion of an International Co-operation Year. The United Nations also launched a Development Decade to promote greater economic co-operation between the rich and the poor nations. Two major international conferences on trade and development were held.

The interest shown by Member States in these moves aroused great expectations among the developing countries. We did not seek to share the power of the big Powers. We did not ask that they

deny any of their own people their needs in order to fulfil ours. We, who have had twenty years or less of freedom to work for our progress, did not expect miracles of sudden transformation. Only too well do we know how long and hard is the path of development. What we do expect is understanding of the intangible yearnings of people who have long been under foreign domination.

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Unfortunately, economic co-operation has little progress to show. Nor has there been any notable advance in international co-operation in the political sphere. The reasons for this failure are obvious and many: Economic and military power continue to dominate politics. The carving out of spheres of influence still motivates policies and actions. The desire to mould other nations in the image of one's own inspires propaganda, sowing seeds of mistrust. Nations continue to place narrow national ends above the larger purposes of peace and universal security.

#### PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

In India we have been powerfully conditioned by Mahatma Gandhi. We believe that the evolution of individuals and societies depends on the extent to which they exercise self-restraint and abjure the use of force. Jawaharlal Nehru, who combined in himself modern political thought and the basic teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, strove to bring about a new system of relations among nations. He was tireless in advocating peaceful coexistence. He believed that in a world rent by conflict, freedom not fear, faith not doubt, confidence not suspicion would lead to friendship amongst nations.

The concept was evoking some response among statesmen and nations, and there was a growing recognition that howsoever difficult it might seem, peaceful coexistence alone could enable the post-war world to solve its disputes rationally. But this trend has received severe jolts.

Every now and then violence erupts.

Sheer power seemingly prevails over principles, seeking obedience and demanding respect instead of commanding it. Indeed, those who have attempted to eschew the use of force have had to pay the price of restraint. And yet, the world is changing. Implicit faith in the efficacy of and unquestioning dependence on military alliances, as well as the rigidities of the bipolar world, are in a state of flux. Every nation, regardless of size, is endeavouring to establish its own identity. This encourages the hope that despite obstacles the United Nations will be able to help all nations to live in peace and independence.

#### VIET - NAM

While there is search for a more equitable and humane world order, force continues to be used to attain political ends and to promote national or global interests. It is not my intention to deal with specific issues. Our views have been stated in this Assembly and elsewhere. But there are some which cannot be ignored. The continuance of the tragic conflict in Viet-Nam is a source of constant anxiety. We fervently hope that conditions will be created to enable the discussions to become more purposeful. The Viet-Nameese people must be assured of their inherent right to shape their destiny peacefully and without outside interference. We believe that the key to the next step still lies in the total cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam. In advocating this we are not actuated by a partisan spirit but by our sincere desire for peace and stability.

#### WEST ASIA

Another source of anxiety, 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 States frontiers by force or on the basis of permanent hostility.

Essential for a Peaceful settlement is the withdrawal Of foreign forces from all Arab

territories occupied in June last year. The Process of the restoration of peace can begin and Ambassador Jarring's mission be fruitful only with the clear affirmation of this.

#### COLONIALISM

Equally explosive is the continued denial of basic human rights on grounds of race. The consciousness of the world community must be aroused not only against South Africa where racial discrimination has been elevated to the level of State policy, but against the emergence of racialism in any form in other areas. We must also firmly resist the last vestiges of colonialism. Our

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freedom and independence will not be complete so long as the people of South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea are denied theirs.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Recent events in Czechoslovakia have cast yet another shadow on the fragile structure for a new world order. The principles of non-interference by one State in the internal affairs of another, of scrupulous respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States are essential to the principle of peaceful co-existence. It is of the utmost importance that normal conditions should be restored without delay in Czechoslovakia.

If the use of force in international affairs is not renounced, and the rights of nations and the equality of races are not respected, how can tensions be reduced or the dangers of conflicts avoided? The world is caught in a vicious circle, because of which any viable international machinery to regulate relations between States is being progressively undermined and faces the danger of eventual collapse.

#### DISARMAMENT

Nuclear weapons today represent the ultimate in force. Thus any attempt to eliminate force as the determining factor in international relations must begin with prac-

tical steps towards disarmament. But the nuclear menace has become an accepted fact of life and the world has developed a certain insensitivity to the nature of the threat. Despite every solemn resolution adopted by this Assembly, States continue to enlarge their capacity for nuclear war. The arms race and the search for more sophisticated weapons have rendered meaningless the concept of balance of power. Yet, every advance in military technology is accompanied by an effort to maintain a balance of terror. This encourages local wars and undermines the established political authority in States which are struggling to protect their freedom.

It is by restricting, reducing and eventually eliminating the growing nuclear menace that firm foundations of peace can be laid. The limited achievement of the partial test ban Treaty has been offset by the refusal of States to halt the testing of nuclear weapons. The problems of insecurity cannot be solved by imposing arbitrary restrictions on those who do not possess nuclear weapons, without any corresponding steps to deal with the basic problem- of limiting stockpiles in the hands of a few Powers. How can the urge to acquire nuclear status be controlled so long as this imbalance persists? Unless the Powers which possess these weapons are prepared to exercise some self-restraint, collective efforts to rid the world of the nuclear menace cannot bear fruit.

#### YEARNING FOR PEACE

We yearn for peace, not merely because it is good in itself, but because without peace there can be no improvement in the lives of the vast majority of the world's peoples. Development must receive the first priority and must be based on self-reliance. Our peoples expect their governments to build, in a generation, the apparatus of production and distribution which took the present advanced nations many centuries to install. Progress in technology and the acceleration of the processes of history will certainly help the developing nations to telescope the stages of their economic growth. But this acceleration works even more dramatically in favour of the affluent. The chasm between

the rich and the poor nations, which is already a source of tension and bitterness in the world, is not decreasing but growing. This situation is fraught with danger for the future well-being of our world. It is natural that we in the developing countries should be more aware of the peril than those who live in the affluent countries. The peril is on our doorstep, but it is not too far from theirs.

The world has changed, the membership of the United Nations has changed, but attitudes of mind have not. The representatives who are gathered here come from countries with distinct personalities. They have had great civilizations in the past - some known and some yet to be discovered. In the old colonial days, history, geography, culture and civilization were all viewed from a particular perspective. Even today to be civilized is held to be synonymous with being westernized. Advanced countries devote large

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resources to formulating and spreading ideas and doctrines and they tend to impose on the developing nations their own norms and methods. The pattern of the classical acquisitive society with its deliberate multiplication of wants not only is unsuited to conditions in our countries but is positively harmful.

Developing nations have their special problems, and there is much scope for co-operation amongst themselves. Some problems are common, but the conditions in each country differ, and the same remedy cannot be prescribed for all. Those who seek to advise us seldom realize that we need new and different answers to our problems. We need solutions which are suited to our conditions, not imitative theories or techniques grafted from outside. We must make our own analysis of developments and how to deal with them. International forums such as this Assembly and the specialized agencies of the United Nations give us the opportunity to place our views before the world. But of what avail is this if we cannot forge the solidarity which would command attention?

Our problems are such as did not confront the advanced nations when they were at a similar stage of economic development. Freedom awakens hope. It generates, consciousness of economic, social and political rights. As literacy spreads, as modern communications and close contacts grow with affluent countries, new expectations and tensions are created.

In India, our effort has been to build democracy and to develop a technologically mature society. Each in itself is a formidable endeavour in a country of our size. Demands grow much faster than the means to fulfil them, but changes do not come about easily. Every step forward meets with impediments created by the forces of the status quo. Every step forward, even though intended to end inequality, leads to a phase where inequality becomes more obvious or new equalities come into existence.. Let me give an example. We have introduced universal primary education and expanded higher education. We have done so because education is the key to the ending of existing disparities; because it is the greatest influence for modernization and because it gives full scope to the flowering of the human Personality. However, certain groups and regions which are already comparatively better off are able to take greater advantage of the new facilities: for example, the urban areas more than the rural, the rich farmers more than the poor peasants.

The affluence of the industrialized nations it-self attracts and exerts a certain pull on the more fortunate sections in the developing countries, further sharpening the difference between aspirations and their fulfilment. This in turn leads to the alienation of the elite from the rest of society, because they are attracted by the glamour of catching up with their opposites in the advanced countries, while their own society cries out for bread.

We are not unaware of the important developments taking shape within the affluent countries themselves, where increasing numbers have begun to question the purpose of their lives. Poverty and want must

be eradicated, for they degrade the human personality. On the other hand, the affluent society, as it has emerged, seems to have become entangled in its instruments. Dazzled by its own glitter, it has lost sight of the goals it set out to achieve. It is natural, therefore, that societies which have stressed the importance of material possessions should anxiously seek a balance between spiritual and material values. This is still an intellectual groping which lacks articulation, but one can sense it in the restlessness of younger people and students, in the various forms of protest against traditional or established authority. There is a desire to assert individuality in technological societies which are becoming more uniform and more impersonal. Abundance without commitment to ideals will sow the seed of discontent and invite its own disruption. Prosperity must be integrated with a higher purpose, and it should be the endeavour of all nations it certainly is ours in India - to achieve harmony between progress and the timeless values of the spirit. We are human and do not always succeed; but, as Mahatma Gandhi said, "Satisfaction lies in the effort, not in the attainment".

The individual is no longer content to entrust to others the shaping of his destiny;

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he wants to be the master of his fate. So also with nations, which, while co-operating with others, wish to develop and progress according to their own genius and tradition. The question is vital for developing nations, which still have time to chart their course. The method-, they use, the directions they take, will determine their goals.

#### INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

We welcome any genuine form of international co-operation for the development of under-developed areas. At its best, foreign aid represents such an endeavour. But can it not also be legitimately described as a form of enlightened self-interest on the part of aid-giving countries, especially when it is tied with the purchase of equipment and of know-how from donor countries? In India,

aid accounts for only a fifth of our total investment in development. Economic progress is not possible without investment. Not all the investment for Europe's progress came from the sweated labour of European workers and farmers. It came also from the peoples of Asia, Africa and South America who were denied a fair return for their work and their produce. Empires have ended, but the colonial pattern of economy remains with us in one form or another. As exporters of primary agricultural produce and minerals, we know to our cost how the terms of trade have steadily gone against us. Aid is only partial recompense for what the superior economic power of the advanced countries denies us through trade. Trade has the further advantage of placing greater responsibility on the developing nations, leading them towards self-reliance. I urge the nations assembled here to give their fullest support to the work initiated by the two United Nations Conferences on Trade and Development and to persuade the strong to dismantle the economic walls which they have built to defend themselves from the weak. In so doing they will be fortifying the defences of peace before it is too late.

These are the factors which cause tensions and bitterness, which divide society and lead it away from co-operation and the paths of peace. Fear grips large parts of the world. Sages in my land exhorted us to be free from that which made us afraid, anticipating by thirty centuries those famous words of our own times, that there is nothing to fear but fear itself. No people were so cowed down as my countrymen before Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene. India was able to wrest freedom because he taught us to overcome fear and hatred and to be absorbed in a cause which was greater than ourselves.

We in India are attuned to the idea that the paths to truth are many and various. An attempt to remake the world in any one image will not be countenanced by the majority of mankind. Our age has been called the space age, but I would call it the age of the people. Revolutionaries, liberators and political leaders have always talked

of the people, but for the first time now, "we the people" does not mean a few representing the many, but the masses themselves, each of whom is poignantly conscious of his individuality, each one of whom is seeking to assert his rights and to voice his demands.

Through the ages, man has struggled against vastly superior forces. The one constant has been his indomitable spirit. He has pitted his puny frame against nature. He has fought against tremendous odds for freedom, for his beliefs, for an idea or an ideal. Endowed with such a spirit, will man abdicate in favour of the machine or bow to the dominance of tyranny in new garbs? Men have been tortured, men have been killed, but the idea has prevailed.

Two years hence, in 1970, the United Nations will complete twenty-five 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? To this end let us devote ourselves.

One of our ancient prayers says,

"Common be your prayer;  
"Common be your end;  
"Common be your purpose;  
"Common be your deliberation;  
"Common be your desires;  
"Unified be your hearts;  
"United be your intentions;  
"Perfect be the union among you."

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INDIA GUATEMALA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE GUINEA  
NORWAY SLOVAKIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

**Volume No**

1995

Shri Dinesh Singh's Statement in the General Assembly

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Following is the text of the statement made by Shri Dinesh Singh., India's Minister of Commerce and President of UNCTAD, on October 28, 1968 on the occasion of the presentation of report of the Second UNCTAD to the 23rd Session of the General Assembly:

Mr. President, in the name of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and on my own behalf, may I say how much satisfaction we derived from the election of His Excellency Mr. Arenales of Gautemala to the Presidency of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. I should have wished to congratulate him personally, but may I now request you, Sir, to convey our greetings to him and also our good wishes for his speedy recovery.

At the outset I should like to express my gratitude for the great honour the Assembly has done me in asking me to present the report of the second Conference. The General Assembly's decision to take up for consideration at the earliest possible opportunity the report on the work of its principal organ in the field of economic development bears testimony to the priority attached by the international community to economic development as a means for the consolidation of peace and the broadening of social and political justice throughout the world.

The Charter of the United Nations commits the Organization and the Member States to the promotion of better standards of life in larger freedom. In the post-1945 era the United Nations as an Organization helped to promote international co-operation and was able to assist in the process of bringing within its fold, more than seventy new nations after their accession to freedom. During that period the activities of the United Nations and its various organs contributed to the universal acceptance of the

concept that in today's world not only peace but also prosperity is indivisible. But this in itself is hardly the end of the journey. As Jawaharlal Nehru once said:

"If the spirit of this age demands equality, it must necessarily also demand an economic system which fits in with equality and encourages it".

#### DEVELOPMENT DECADE

The need for concerted action for establishing such an economic system was recognized unanimously by the governments of the world when the General Assembly decided in 1961 to designate the present decade as the United Nations Development Decade. The decision to convene the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development came as the next in the series of steps which were taken to realize the goals and objectives of the Decade. In 1964, the first session of UNCTAD met in Geneva and adopted its Final Act. Through this, 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 by all, and to find ways by which human and material resources of the world may be harnessed for the abolition of poverty everywhere".

Those were the first steps. They helped the world to recognize certain new concepts and approaches and to identify the main problems of development. The role of international trade as the engine of development came to be recognized. In this process the attention of the world came to be drawn to the secular trend of decline in the prices of commodities exported by the developing countries, as against the rising prices of manufactured goods imported by them, and to the numerous barriers placed in the way of imports from developing countries into the markets of the developed countries. Increasing concern was voiced regarding the heavy cost of tied aid to developing countries.

It also became evident that it was required that the development process be sustained on a continuous basis by uninterrupted flow of external resources.

The problems were real, and while the first United Nations Development Decade

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was unfolding itself and the continuing machinery of UNCTAD was striving to grapple with them, further deterioration set in. I would not wish to burden the Assembly with elaborate statistics which are now well known. But I would be failing in my duty if I did not draw the attention of representatives to the growing disparity between developed and developing countries. While the developed countries added \$60 per annum to their per capita income the developing countries could not increase their low per capita income by more than \$2 per annum. Thus the Development Decade has turned out to be mainly a decade of development for the developed. The gap between the rich and the poor nations has further widened.

It was against that background that the second session of UNCTAD met in New Delhi. There have been few conferences as thoroughly prepared as the second session of UNCTAD. The developing countries had met earlier in Algiers in October 1967 and formulated a charter spelling out a practical programme of action. A series of goodwill missions visited the capitals of developed countries to present and explain the provisions of that charter. My friend and colleague, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, who was the President of the Algiers Conference, gave to the United Nations a report on that Conference. The representatives of developed countries then met in Paris and Moscow and had before them the results of the deliberations in Algiers.

#### GLOBAL CHARTER OF DEVELOPMENT

The hopes aroused by the preparations were sustained in the opening phase of the Conference. Representatives of Member States, big and small, developed and develop-

ing, reaffirmed in their statements in the general-debate their faith in the efficacy of international co-operation and declared their resolve to contribute to the concretisation of that faith. It appeared at that stage that the Conference was poised to take decisions on measures for resolving at least some of the problems of development. I felt encouraged to say, in summing up the general debate, that the agreements in the Conference would be substantial enough to add up to a global charter of development.

However, when the sessional committees and working groups of the second session of UNCTAD got down to a more detailed consideration of the items before the Conference, we encountered unexpected hesitation and resistance. So far as I could see, despite that hesitation, there was no lack of goodwill. As in the first session of UNCTAD, there was unanimity on the evaluation of the world economic situation, and the need for rapid economic development of the developing countries. There was also obvious unanimity on the goals of global economic endeavour. But on the means to reach those goals, and the details as to who should contribute, how much, and at what time, towards the solution of those problems, there was little agreement. Despite this, the representatives continued to explore every possible way to narrow the differences.

I met delegations, individually and in groups, reminding them of the statements which the leaders of all delegations had made in the course of the general debate. I emphasized my belief in the fundamental harmony in our separate national interests, even though the situation, the needs and the possibilities varied from State to State. It was widely recognized that a conflict existed between short-term possibilities and long-term imperatives. We devoted our attention to resolving that conflict and endeavoured to see that at least the more pressing needs of the developing countries were met.

The efforts by our indefatigable Secretary-General, Mr. Raul Prebisch, were of great assistance to me during those critical days when nothing seemed to move. His

exertions and the efforts put in by many representatives led to the modest results achieved by the Conference.

#### POLITICAL DIRECTION

A suggestion was made that Ministers from Member States might reassemble during the concluding stage of the Conference to give it a political direction and to rescue it from the morass in which it found itself. The response was inadequate. But I was gratified that it was possible for some of the Ministers to return to New Delhi to be present at the concluding stages of the Conference. It is not impossible that with

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a somewhat better attendance at the political level the Conference might have achieved results which would please this Assembly.

It cannot be said that the Second Conference on Trade and Development totally missed the opportunity provided to it. Nor can it be said that the opportunity was utilized fully. Perhaps all we succeeded in doing in New Delhi in February-March 1968 was to keep alive the torch of international economic co-operation, add to it a flame or two and pass it on to the continuing machinery. I hope this Assembly will now impart to it a fresh glow and strength.

I shall not dwell at length on the contents of the report of the New Delhi Conference (TD/L.37 and Adds. 1-10). All I would say is that we cannot claim that any success has been achieved in making "words yield to deeds". We have not succeeded in carrying out the directive of the General Assembly

"To achieve ... specific results that ensure real progress in international co-operation for development". (General Assembly resolution 2296 (XXI) )

As a result the Conference could not address itself seriously to the formulation of a preliminary framework of international development strategy for the 1970's.

#### MODEST GAINS

And yet we did register modest gains. We agreed, for instance, to non-reciprocal, non-discriminatory preferences in favour of developing countries so that their products might enjoy their due share in world markets. Special machinery for implementing this agreement has already been set up. The General Assembly may consider giving guidance with a view to ensuring that this essential reform in the trading system comes into effect in early 1970.

Some advance was also made in the field of financing for development. The Conference recommended that each economically advanced country should endeavour to provide annually to developing countries financial resources transfers of a minimum net amount of 1 per cent of its gross national product - I repeat, 1 per cent of its gross national product. Certain broad and general agreements were also reached on the terms and conditions for these transfers and on the related problems of reverse flows by way of debt repayment. The General Assembly may wish to take the recommendations of the Conference a step further so that developing countries are able to go ahead with their development plans in the full confidence that their requirements of external capital will be met in time and adequately.

I am glad to report that the New Delhi Conference succeeded in adopting a comprehensive and useful recommendation on trade expansion and economic integration among developing countries. It was left in no doubt in regard to the determination of the developing countries to bear the main burden of their development and to contribute to one another's progress. For their part, the developed countries indicated their willingness to provide financial and technical assistance to support the self-help efforts of the developing countries. Again, the General Assembly may wish to make appropriate recommendations to facilitate the reaching of agreements on specific measures in this regard.

A measure of unanimity was achieved

in the field of shipping. It was considered that shipping opportunities, port facilities and freights needed to be adjusted to emerging patterns of trade exchanges.

The adoption by the Conference of a declaration on the world food problem also marked a notable advance.

However meagre, the results, debates and discussions in New Delhi have had an impact on the thinking in many national capitals and in the various agencies engaged in the task of development. Some Governments have taken steps to implement some of the recommendations of the Conference. A beginning was also made at the seventh session of the Board towards improving the institutional machinery. Dr. Prebisch has just brought us the welcome news of the successful conclusion of a commodity agreement, even though limited to begin with, on sugar.

A strange silence, however, seems to have been descending on centres of economic power. I appreciate their short-term

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difficulties. No one would wish them to make sacrifices detrimental to their own economies. But would it be too much to expect that they will not overlook the long-term objectives in the field of development? I have no doubt that the idealism which shone through expressions in the statements of their leaders in New Delhi will not be dimmed. There has always been and perhaps will always be some developed countries facing difficulties of one kind or another. But even their difficulties can be resolved by strengthening rather than weakening the forces of international co-operation for development.

## SECOND DEVELOPMENT DECADE

The disenchantment with the first Development Decade has brought into focus urgent need for adequate preparations for the second Development Decade. By now we know only too well that the absence of an integrated international development

strategy, consisting not only of goals and targets but also of measures to be taken for realizing them, has been largely responsible for our shortcomings during the sixties. It is a happy augury that efforts are under way to formulate in advance the strategy for the next Decade. In these efforts the central role of UNCTAD and its special competence in the field of development must be fully recognized. The discussions in Delhi have left in my mind an abiding impression of the keenness of each Member State to participate in the programme of work for the Decade. It has become evident that there is no Member State which only wishes to receive assistance and which does not wish to make its own contribution.

The inability of the second UNCTAD to produce the results expected of it has been attributed in part by some to the functioning of the group system within the UNCTAD machinery. Then there are those who feel that the group system is a useful mechanism for the crystallization of different trends of thought and opinion. In the functioning of an organization of the size of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development with a membership larger than that of the United Nations itself, the group system has a logic of its own. It is a *modus operandi* for harmonizing different facets and strains of ideas. My own experience is that without unstinted co-operation from the leaders of various groups it would not have been possible to make even the little progress we were eventually able to register in New Delhi.

Every system has its limitations. So has the group system. I have no doubt it can be improved. We must consciously avoid placing too great a strain on it. We should try to introduce much greater flexibility in its working and should be increasingly animated by the spirit of reconciliation that is implicit in the UNCTAD machinery. This would perhaps involve greater recourse to inter-group consultations at various stages.

We need also to provide in the institutional mechanism of UNCTAD the facilities which the Secretary-General needs for

playing a more active role. We are fortunate indeed in having as the Secretary-General of UNCTAD a person of Mr. Raul Prebisch's eminence, dedication and experience. He must be invested with the necessary authority to prepare his own proposals and plans of action and to suggest rearrangements and alternatives consonant with the decisions of the Conference.

These institutional refinements will no doubt facilitate the work of UNCTAD. But these cannot be a substitute for decision-making, which is possible only at the political level. National Governments and their concerned Ministers must of course recognize their inescapable responsibility in this context. The machinery as it has evolved so far has not enabled leaders of Governments at the political level to make a sustained contribution. Several colleagues from different countries have made suggestions to me in that regard. The suggestion to convene a meeting of the Trade and Development Board at the ministerial level has been favoured in certain quarters. Some other suggestions may also be put forward during the course of the discussions at the present session of the Assembly.

#### MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING

The General Assembly has already recognized the need for political will on the part of Member States for the advancement of international co-operation for develop-

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ment. In this connexion it has been suggested to me that well-prepared ad hoc meetings of interested Ministers on specific issues may give to the continuing machinery the political direction it lacks at present and thereby prevent the discussions on important issues from getting bogged down in technical details. Were the General Assembly to see any merit in these ideas, I on my part, as President of UNCTAD, would be available for any initiative that might be required in this behalf.

There is yet another aspect to which I should like to invite the attention of the

Assembly. No political mechanism, national or international, can work effectively without public support. The present climate of fatigue and frustration has to a great extent undermined the esteem in which our co-operative endeavour has been held by large masses of peoples in different parts of the world. In developing countries a feeling has grown that international development programmes are capable of being operated in a manner which weakens rather than strengthens their national freedom. In developed countries there is a feeling of dissatisfaction with the results obtained from their investment in the economic progress of developing countries. Much needs to be done to remove the misgivings and misconceptions now widely held and to restore to international co-operation that sense of dedication and purpose which attracted to it so many men of goodwill in the past. Renewed efforts need to be made to enlighten public opinion in the developed and the developing world regarding the interdependence of modern nation States and national and international responsibilities that flow from it. If the common people in different countries are made aware of the magnitude and urgency of the task that confronts the international community and of the dangers inherent in the postponement of its fulfilment, they will, I am sure, urge their Government to assign to development the priority that deserves in their national policies.

#### HOPES AND FRUSTRATIONS

I have given the Assembly the background to the work of the second session of the UNCTAD. I have described what happened in New Delhi. I have spoken of the hopes that we had, the frustrations that came our way, and the gains that we were able to register. Developments in New Delhi cannot be evaluated in isolation. They must be viewed in the context of the politico-economic situation of the world we live in. The emerging introspection of prosperity and the increasing impatience of poverty create potentially explosive situations. The old attitudes have to change. Expressions such as "aid" when only repayable loans are in fact involved do not convince anyone. They

only help to create a sense of excessive complacency in some centres. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America missed the industrial and technological revolutions through no fault of their own. They are now asserting their right to alter the socio-economic situation which they inherited from their colonial past.

How then has their bid to emerge into a real, and not merely a formal, freedom been received by the rich and the powerful of the world? After forty-five sessions of the Economic and Social Council, after two sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and despite all the promises that had been held out by the United Nations Development Decade, it is estimated that the developing countries will take, according to projections made, more than a century and a half to double their per capita income. After these hundred and fifty years their income would be no more than fifty cents per day.

While matters of interest to developed countries have been tackled through multilateral negotiations, measures in support of the self-reliant efforts of the developing countries have eluded agreement. Could that be merely accidental? How long are development problems going to be treated as residual? While we talk of international trade as the principal instrument of development, progress in this field has been least perceptible. The numerous conditions imposed by donor States on transfer of financial resources make it a gesture that begins abroad, but ends up by bringing dividends home. The greater the effort made by the developing countries to improve their lot, the more numerous the constraints they have to encounter.

Developing countries have received suggestions to alter their priorities and to

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concentrate on areas less complex and less difficult. There can be no easy solution to basic problems. The temptation to turn to easier problems, while leaving out the basic ones, cannot be realistic.

## PROSPERITY FOR ALL

The road to progress and prosperity for all nations and peoples is long, and in our march on it we have had some success and many disappointments. We cannot afford to be daunted by the difficulties and the road blocks. Neither can we lapse into complacency or lethargy. It is within our power, if we have the will and the perseverance, to make prosperity possible, not only for a section of the community but for all the peoples of the world. Our objectives are well defined and clear. Ay our unity of purpose remain firm. It is with that conviction that I have the honour to present to this Assembly the report of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in New Delhi between 1 February and 29 March 1968.

INDIA USA SWITZERLAND RUSSIA ALGERIA FRANCE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PERU

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri B. R. Bhagat's Statements in the General Assembly

Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs and Chairman of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations made three statements in the general debate of the General Assembly on October 4, 11 and 21, 1968. Following is the text of his statement on October 4, 1968:

Mr. President, This morning we heard the Foreign Minister of Pakistan flinging baseless charges against India. This is not the first time that a representative of Pakistan has utilized the forum of the General

Assembly to spread false propaganda against my country. What has amazed us is the temerity of representatives-including the Foreign Minister who spoke this morning - of Pakistan, a country which has committed aggression against India three times in the last twenty years. The facts of the aggression are conveniently forgotten, and instead the forum of this august Assembly is utilized to besmirch the fair name of India. I would much rather have not engaged in a debate with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, but I must put the record straight. I Must remind him that the world has not forgotten the three aggressions; that we have not forgotten the malicious propaganda which Pakistan has carried on against India for the last twenty years; that we have not forgotten the almost daily interference in the internal affairs of our country.

#### TASHKENT DECLARATION

Despite the three aggressions, despite all the provocations spread over a period of twenty years, India has always endeavoured to reach peaceful settlement of all our differences. India signed a Declaration of Peace at Tashkent with Pakistan in January 1966, The basic point of the Tashkent Declaration is that it provides a framework for India and Pakistan within which to improve their relations. The first step which was contemplated inevitably was the question of the normalization of relations. To this end the Government of India has made numerous proposals to the Government of Pakistan to which there has been no positive response. Let me give some concrete examples of our efforts to normalize relations with Pakistan as a prelude to the settlement of other outstanding questions.

(1) On 27 May 1966, India unilaterally lifted the embargo on trade with Pakistan. Pakistan has not reciprocated.

(2) In March 1966, we offered to open all border check-posts to civil traffic and goods. We have received no response.

(3) In June 1966, India unilaterally released all cargoes seized during the hostilities of September 1965. Pakistan has

responded by auctioning Indian properties similarly seized.

(4) On 25 February of last year, India proposed talks on the reduction of arms expenditure which was rejected.

Apart from the fact that the various proposals made by India for normalization

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of relations are in pursuance of the Tashkent Declaration, the Government of India is of the view that a process of normalization must set in, that the proper atmosphere must be created before other outstanding problems can be resolved. The process of normalization is intended to facilitate the resolution of other outstanding problems. On the other hand, the Government of Pakistan continues to insist that one particular problem or the other must be solved before the process of normalization can begin. If this reasoning were to be followed there would never be any prospect of normalization of relations because it is easy to add one condition after another.

#### KASHMIR

The reference to the question of Kashmir this morning by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan is nothing new. Inasmuch as a partisan view of the question was presented this morning, may I be allowed to state the position of the Government of India. First of all, it was India which went to the Security Council with a complaint of aggression committed by Pakistan against an integral part of the Indian Union. Twenty years ago Pakistan made an attempt to occupy by force of arms the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. When this invasion was thwarted Pakistan suddenly became the champion of the right of self-determination. A similar attempt was made in August-September 1965. Once again Pakistan's aggression was foiled and we continue to hear the plea of the right of self-determination of people who have repelled Pakistani aggression twice. I should like to make it quite clear that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and we

cannot agree to any plea or demand which would question our sovereignty.

Pakistan continues even today to be in illegal occupation of two-fifths of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. Under international law and under our inherent right of self-defence we are entitled to use every means, not excluding the use of arms, to recover our territory from the clutches of Pakistan. But the policy of the Government of India, a deliberate policy, has been not to use force and thus exacerbate relations with Pakistan. Pakistan, on the other hand while remaining in illegal occupation of the areas in question, continues to incite people and thus create an explosive situation. I should like to inform the Foreign Minister of Pakistan very clearly that if an explosive situation is created the entire responsibility for it will lie at the door of Pakistan.

Conditions in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir are normal and peaceful. The people of that State, like the people of every other State of India, continue to enjoy their constitutional rights and freedoms. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan referred to a by-election which had been held in the State a few months ago, in an attempt to prove that the people of that State do not wish to remain with India. He forgot to mention, I presume conveniently, another by-election in the same State at the same time. This other by-election was held the same day in the constituency of Badgam and more people took part in the polling than at the last general elections early in 1967. This was despite the call for a-boycott of the elections.

#### FARAKKA BARRAGE

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan has raised another matter in this Assembly and tried to give international importance to this matter, which is purely bilateral in character. The presentation of the Farakka Barrage question by Pakistan this morning is a travesty of facts and truth.

What are the facts of the problem? The Ganges is not an international river, but is overwhelmingly an Indian river with about

180 million of India's population depending on the basin for their livelihood. The Pakistani area, contributing to the flow of the Ganges, comes to hardly one-half per cent of the total catchment area. The Ganges flows for more than 1,000 miles in India and only a single branch of the Ganges flows through Pakistan, for a mere eighty-eight miles. The rainfall in the area concerned is less than fifty inches, whereas in the area where this branch of the Ganges flows in Pakistan it is more than 100 inches. The Ganges cultivates in India 228 million acres, whereas in Pakistan it is not a problem of irrigation, but a question of inundation. For the benefit of the people of Pakistan, India has set up a series of flood control signals and India

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regularly and consistently transmits this information almost every day.

Apart from the heavy rainfall in East Pakistan, the Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna river system carries over 1,000 million acre feet in a year. Instead of harnessing these available resources, it has stepped up its demand of water requirements in the summer season from the Ganges from 3,500 cusecs before 1960 to 49,000 cusecs in 1968. In addition to this lavish proposal for the appropriation by Pakistan of the entire summer flows in the river, to which its contribution is almost nothing, Pakistan's construction of the Karnafuli Dam and the proposed barrage across the Ganges has been so designed as to submerge completely and permanently vast territories in India. This is in utter disregard of the fact that no country has the right permanently to submerge sovereign foreign territories by its projects.

Since 1963 the Government of India has always enunciated and approached the matter of the utilization of the waters in the Eastern Rivers complex in a spirit of co-operative approach with Pakistan. In the spirit of this co-operative approach, India has furnished all the data in its possession to Pakistan, whereas Pakistan has been changing the nature and scope of the projects and progressively raising its water requirements from meeting to meeting.

In matters of this nature concerning a river, unless the whole data are before the negotiators, there cannot be a proper solution to this kind of problem. In spite of the fact that Pakistan has refused to furnish the required data, India has offered to have a meeting between the two countries at the official level to iron out differences, if any. The Farakka Barrage is near its completion and India is not prepared to stop it, nor are we going to internationalize this issue, which is purely bilateral.

#### ARTIFICIAL PROBLEM

Pakistan has created an artificial problem where no problem exists. It will be a misuse of this Assembly to magnify things which are purely bilateral in nature. The need for the Farakka Barrage was recognized as long ago as 1865. The barrage is intended to save the Port of Calcutta and the vast hinterland, including the big industrial complex that it serves, from extinction.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan invoked international law many times in his statement this morning. I would like to ask him: What principle of international law would support the inundation of a foreign territory by the construction of a barrage on its own territory?

The whole thesis of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan on this question amounts to a negation of international law and especially of riparian law as it exists today. He has said that India's action would mean the establishment of a new precedent contrary to international law. I will only say that if we approach the problem in the way he proposes to do, it will be a negation of the established and existing international law on the subject.

As I said earlier, on the question of the Farakka Barrage, India has adopted a very co-operative approach. We would like to see Pakistan respond positively and to make a success of the official level meetings which we have proposed. If at the official level meetings it is found that discussions at even

higher levels are necessary, India would not be averse to meet at the ministerial level.

#### SECULAR HERITAGE

I deeply regret that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has indulged in gross distortions about the situation of Muslim minorities in India and has tried to paint a sombre picture of the condition of Muslim in India. He has attempted to incite base religious passions and prejudices for political purposes. We in India are proud of our secular heritage and our constitutional democracy which guarantees to every citizen, irrespective of his religion, equal opportunity in all spheres of life. The Muslims of India occupy a place of honour and respect in Indian political and social life. The highest political office of the Union of India is at present occupied by an Indian citizen of Muslim faith. I may add that the office of the President of India is filled by election. Similarly, Muslims occupy positions of respon-

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sibility in other walks of life, such as the legislature, the judiciary, the civil services, the armed forces, and so forth. Since they enjoy exactly the same rights as other communities in India, they are quite capable of looking after their interests without any solicitude from the self-acclaimed champions of Muslims. In fact, if there is one thing which the Muslims of India want it is that the Government of Pakistan should give up its attempts to exploit them for its own political ends.

#### MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN

Pakistan is in the habit of preaching to others what it does not practise itself. The condition of the minorities in Pakistan, particularly that of Hindus, is one of abject misery and terror. There is no security for their life or their property in Pakistan. And, of course, they do not have any fundamental rights to speak of. They are second-class citizens of Pakistan who occupy no position of responsibility in the Government of Pakistan.

There has been a virtual elimination of Hindus and Sikhs from West Pakistan. In East Pakistan the population of non-Muslims decreased by more than 1.5 million within a ten-year period. In 1951 the population of Hindus was a little over 9 million out of a total population of 42 million. Ten years later the total population of East Pakistan was 50 million and the figures for the Hindu population remained at 9 million. On the basis of the yearly growth of the East Pakistan population, the Hindu population should have been 11 million. Thus, nearly 2 million Hindus cannot be accounted for in the East Pakistan population census. The conclusion is inevitable that they either have been the victims" of forcible conversion or have been illegally pushed across the borders. The population of other minorities is virtually the same.

In contrast, what are the population figures for India? The total population of India in 1951 was 356.87 million. The Muslim element of this population was 35.4 million. In 1961 the total population of India was 439.07 million. The Muslim element of this population was 46.9 million. Therefore, the increase in the Muslim population of India during the decade 1951-1961 was 11.5 million. or, in other words, an increase of 33 per cent. Today the population of Muslims in India is close to 60 million. The fact is that in India there has been an increase in the Muslim population in both absolute and relative terms. These figures speak for themselves about the condition-, of citizens of Islamic faith in India.

The gratuitous solicitude that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has displayed towards the Muslim citizens of India is not only misplaced but also malicious propaganda, scarcely calculated to improve relations between the two countries. I would therefore strongly advise him to reserve this enthusiasm to improve the conditions of minority communities in his own country.

Shri Bhagat's Statement on October 11

Once again the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has tried to use this forum to

malign India and to mislead this Assembly. His so-called right of reply contains nothing new but follows the usual pattern of anti-Indian propaganda. I regret the necessity to keep the Assembly in session at this late hour, but I am obliged to offer a few clarifications.

On the question of the Farakka Barrage I personally made the position of the Government of India clear in my statement on Friday, 4 October. The Farakka Barrage is a vital project affecting the lives of nearly 180 million people of India and the future of our largest port of Calcutta and its great industrial hinterland. The attempt of Pakistan to internationalize the issue and thus delay its completion cannot succeed. Nevertheless, the Government of India, out of its goodwill for the welfare of a close neighbour, is prepared to continue discussions at appro-

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priate levels to reach accommodation with Pakistan in a cooperative spirit.

Once again the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has had the temerity to refer to Muslim! citizens of India. We reject the false allegations he has made and we regret the animus that seems to motivate his statement. On Friday last I had indicated in some detail the honoured place which citizens of Muslim faith have in India. I wish the same could be said of the fate of the minorities in Pakistan. I would once again plead with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan that the time and energy he spends talking about Indian citizens of the Muslim faith could be utilized better if he were to devote himself with equal energy to the welfare of the minorities in his own country. The Government of India is fully conscious of its responsibilities in regard to every section of Indian society. It is the constant effort of the Union and the State Governments in India to improve the economic and social conditions of every Indian citizen irrespective of race, religion or creed.

I am sure that the repetition of the false charges against India in regard to the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir is not going to serve the cause of peace and friendship bet-

ween India and Pakistan. The more the Foreign Minister of Pakistan belabours this problem in this forum the more he finds it difficult to speak with any sense of proportion in regard to India. He has tried to prove today that Pakistan did not commit aggression against the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. We know the facts much better than he seems to profess. But it is not necessary to take our word for it. I will quote the cautious but measured words of Sir Owen Dixon, the distinguished jurist of Australia who was then the United Nations representative for India. and Pakistan. He said:

"Upon a number of occasions in the course of the period beginning with the reference on 1 January 1948 of the Kashmir dispute to the Security Council, India had advanced not only the contention to which I have already referred that Pakistan was an aggressor, but the further; contention that this should be declared, The Prime Minister of India, at an early stage of the meeting, made the same contention and he referred to it repeatedly during the conference. I took up the positions, first that the Security Council had not made such a declaration; secondly that I have neither been commissioned to make nor had I made any juridical investigation of the issue; but thirdly that, without going into the causes or reasons why it happened, which presumably formed part of the history of the sub-continent, I was prepared to adopt the view that when the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed, on I believe 20 October 1947, by hostile elements, it was contrary to international law, and that when, in May 1948, as I believe, units of the regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with international law."

The Security Council resolutions to which the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has referred could not be implemented and are now dead and obsolete because Pakistan chose not to fulfil its obligations in accor-

dance with those resolutions.

What is the concrete proof of this non-fulfilment of its obligations by Pakistan, one may ask: It is the continued occupation of two-fifths of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir by Pakistan right till this moment

There is no doubt at all about the constitutional and legal position of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Yesterday the representative of Pakistan explained at some length the arrangements made in 1947 by the British Government for the transfer of power in India. Under the same arrangements provision was made for the accession of what was then called the Indian States to either India or Pakistan. In consonance with the Statute passed by the British Parliament, the State of Jammu and Kashmir acceded in the proper form to the then Dominion of India.

Moreover, the will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir has been expressed several times in the last twenty years through democratic processes. This is not all. Twice when Pakistan tried to seize the State by force, the people rebuffed the

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aggressions and manifested their unalterable determination to remain with India by shedding their blood for the cause. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India by due constitutional process and by the will of the people, and will remain so.

The Government of Pakistan continues to practise disruptive policies towards India. Now and again it attempts to tamper with the loyalty of our people and to subvert the authority of our Government. These attempts will be rebuffed as they have been in the past.

In conclusion, I should like to state the position of my Government about discussions with Pakistan. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan has referred to the Tashkent agreement and affirmed his country's desire to solve all outstanding problems between India and Pakistan. On behalf of the Government

of India, I reiterate our desire to normalize our relations with Pakistan and to enter into discussions on all problems between us.

Shri Bhagat's Statement on October 21

I should like at the outset to add my own tribute to that of the Prime Minister of India and offer Mr. Arenales my felicitations on his election to the high office of President of the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. This Assembly is meeting once again in regular session in a continuing effort to deal with issues that trouble mankind and try to overcome forces which frustrate the achievement of the noble objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It seems appropriate that the deliberations of the Assembly this year should be presided over by a distinguished statesman from Latin America. I am deeply aware of the important contribution which the countries of Latin America have made to the development of the United Nations as an effective instrument for the preservation of peace and the promotion of international co-operation. I have no doubt that under our President's wise leadership and guidance this Assembly will take significant decisions aimed at strengthening peace and security and the further development of international co-operation and friendly relations among nations and peoples.

I should also like to pay my own warm tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General. It has been a matter of great satisfaction to us that in these trying times we have been fortunate enough to have U Thant as the Secretary-General of the United Nations. I am sure I speak for all when I say that his total dedication to the furtherance of the objectives of the world Organization, his sensitive and impartial handling of the various problems with which it has been faced and his high sense of integrity and devotion to duty have amply justified the confidence Member States have reposed in him.

UNITED NATIONS

It was over two decades ago that 'the United Nations came into being as an abiding expression of man's determination to rid the world of war and want. The optimism and hope of the founders of the United Nations have unfortunately not been borne out in the quarter of a century that has elapsed since the Charter was adopted in San Francisco. The obligations then assumed by Member States had led us to hope that the high standards of international behaviour implicit in the Charter would be maintained and there would follow an era of co-operation and dedication to peace. But the expectation that disputes and conflicts would be resolved exclusively by peaceful means has proved to be wrong. Nations and peoples have failed to subordinate the attainment of narrow national ends to the larger interests of orderly relations between States and peace and security for all. In the process, the new world order we have struggled to establish has been undermined and the prospects of peace remain uncertain.

The reason for this sharp deterioration in the climate for peace and progress is not

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far to seek. It lies in, the deliberate and callous disregard for the principle of the inadmissibility of the use of force in relations between States. It has been our view, as indeed that of many others, that only the practical application of the principles of peaceful coexistence would enable the hopes of the post-war world to be realized. The non-aligned nations of the world which have struggled hard to promote the principles of peaceful coexistence have always intended that the concept should represent something more positive and constructive than the old strategy for maintaining peace between opposing armed camps. The peoples of the world had begun to hope that peaceful coexistence would become a meaningful way of international life and would facilitate the elimination of the causes of conflicts and disputes, so that conditions could be created for genuine peace, freedom and justice. Nations and peoples had shown an increasing willingness to understand and co-operate with one another and this had resulted in a

noticeable reduction in international tension. But this trend has unhappily received a severe setback.

The reason for this retrograde development has been that nations have not hesitated to use force to secure national interests in violation of all objective standards of international morality. Wars have been waged or pressures have been exercised ostensibly in the name of freedom, in the name of security, in the name of ideology or in the name of religion. The consequences of this state of affairs are serious. Relations between States are being increasingly based on respect for the power they wield, or can be expected to wield, rather than on their adherence to established rules of international behaviour. As a result, the faith of the weak is dwindling in the protection afforded by the Charter of the United Nations. Tragically, it is those of us who seek to order our actions in strict conformity with the code of international conduct and eschew the use of force that pay the price.

Advances in military technology have brought about an intricate interplay between military and political actions calculated to maintain the so-called balance of power. These actions are unfortunately based less on considerations of ensuring security than on the urge to consolidate and extend political and economic control beyond the limits of national sovereignty. Reversion to the concept of spheres of influence would be the natural result of this development.

Persistent and irresponsible efforts are also being made by some to disturb peace and stability in pursuit of their ambitions, ideological or religious. This particular phenomenon manifests itself in insidious attempts to foster local wars and to undermine established political authority in States struggling to protect their freedom and independence.

The aggravation of these tendencies is bound to undermine any established international machinery for ordering relations between States. However, the moral imperatives of this very situation have pro-

duced a state of uncertainty in international relationships which are undergoing transformation. The compulsions of technological, advance and the inevitable movement towards one world have given the interdependence of States a new urgency. Therefore, the situation calls for more determined efforts to evolve relations between States based on mutual respect and sovereign equality. It also calls for mutual accommodation and endeavour in seeking peaceful solutions to international disputes and conflicts. The United Nations still represents the only means by which nations, large or small, can ensure their security and live together in peace and friendship. We hope that this Organization will not accept as permanent its present inability to apply the established code of conduct for nations.

#### WEST ASIA

Among the issues before this Assembly, the unresolved situation in West Asia is of grave concern to us. Twenty years and three wars after the partition of Palestine there is no light at the end of the tunnel. Is it possible that even after this harrowing experience the belief persists that peace can be imposed by the use of force or that aspirations of vast masses of people can be set aside? The core of the problem is the rehabilitation of people uprooted from their homes and separated from their children. Unless the international community which

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continues to share the blame and the responsibility comes up with a viable solution taking into account the fundamental rights of these people, the precarious nature of their existence will continue to impinge on the situation in West Asia.

Almost a year ago the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution to provide ways and means for bringing peace to West Asia within the framework of certain fundamental principles. My Government fully supports that resolution in all its parts. It is our belief that lasting peace can be brought about in that region only on the basis of the recognition of the just rights of all the

States in the area. I should like to underline again, however, what my Prime Minister said to this Assembly the other day:

"Essential for a peaceful settlement is the withdrawal of foreign forces from all Arab territories occupied in June last year. The process of the restoration of peace can begin and Ambassador Jarring's mission be fruitful only with the clear affirmation of this.  
(1693rd meeting, page 62)

#### SOUTH-EAST ASIA

South-East Asia is another neighbouring region which still continues to be tormented by strife and thus causes serious concern to us. Since my Prime Minister's address to the General Assembly on 14 October 1968, we have been encouraged by the efforts that are being made to find the way to start a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the conflict in Viet-Nam. We fervently hope that those efforts will succeed and lead to the fulfilment of the Geneva Agreements. In this context it is relevant to refer to the anxiety that has been expressed that the possible peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam conflict, and the withdrawal of extra-regional forces from that area would create a vacuum which must be filled by one Power or another. It is true that that area has been the cockpit of international rivalry. But any solution for the problems of the region can be based only on the clear recognition of nationalist urges and the political and economic viability of the States of South-East Asia. In short, the so-called vacuum has to be filled by those nations themselves, whose sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence should be respected by all. This is possible by bringing about intense and durable regional co-operation in both the political and economic fields. The answer does not lie, in our view, in inviting extra-regional Powers to become protectors. This is not to say that extra-regional assistance is not welcome. But it does mean that such assistance should be for the purpose of augmenting the resources of the region and not supplanting them.

The acceleration of the arms race in the post-war period has been one of the principal contributory factors to the aggravation of international tension. The growing dimension of the nuclear weapons system has come to be accepted as a fact of life. This is a matter which must be of grave concern to all of us. The spiralling arms race has undermined the concept of peaceful co-existence. The great Powers continue to augment their overkill capacity for nuclear destruction. There is a certain evil dynamism in this competition, since its logical conclusion is that peace can be maintained only through a balance of terror.

#### NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

The question of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons has attracted world-wide attention in the recent past. Unfortunately, there is a continuing refusal to deal with the heart of this problem. My Government has repeatedly urged that problems of insecurity cannot be solved only by the arbitrary imposition of restrictions on those who do not possess nuclear weapons, without any corresponding steps to limit and reduce the stockpiles of these weapons of mass destruction in the hands of a few Powers. We realize that that is a difficult task. Progress towards disarmament has necessarily to be a slow and at times a painful process. However, that process can be set in motion if the States which possess nuclear weapons are prepared to undertake serious negotiations on the limitation, reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear armaments.

As far as India is concerned we have repeatedly declared our intention to use nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful pur-

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poses. We will continue to develop our knowledge and capacity for the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes because it is essential to our economic development. Without the development of this and other branches of modern science and technology we could not hope to fulfil in a

relatively short period the aspirations of our people.

#### PROSPERITY IS INDIVISIBLE

The adoption of the Charter of the United Nations reflected the determination of mankind to shift its attention from war and preparations for war to the promotion of better standards of life for all. In the promotion of this objective there has been increasing awareness of the community of interest among countries at different stages of economic growth and having different socioeconomic systems. This has pointed to the conclusion that prosperity, like peace, is indivisible and that the only way of fulfilling the objectives of the Charter is by reducing disparities among nations and peoples by mutual co-operation.

Despite general acceptance of these principles, it is an unfortunate fact that the vast majority of the human race is still haunted by want and poverty. It is ironical that such a state of affairs should exist during a period of unprecedented scientific and technological advance which has furnished unlimited possibilities to accelerate growth and to eliminate social and economic disabilities. Events have in fact moved in the opposite direction. Technological advance has only further widened the gulf separating the rich and the poor nations of the world.

It is generally realized that development must be based primarily on self-reliance. There is, in fact, no other choice if the developing countries are to preserve their hard-won independence. However, if development is to take place solely on the basis of national efforts, it will require the mobilization of domestic resources on a more rigorous basis. The consequent severe restrictions on the already low consumption standards are not only socially undesirable but politically impracticable in a democratic society. Development becomes the common responsibility of the world community because it is only within this framework that the inequality and injustice which have characterized the world trading system and the international economic relationship since

the colonial days can be eliminated.

The prevailing climate in the field of development appears to be one of fatigue and frustration. Much was expected from the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to which my Government had the honour to play host. The somewhat limited results of the Conference failed to measure up to the expectations of the world community. Various explanations have been offered for the failure of that Conference. We are asked for example, to wait for a more favourable international economic climate. There will always be difficulties and problems, but the lot of the developing countries is such that they cannot afford to wait upon better times in affluent countries. The only way to overcome present frustration is to rekindle hope; the only remedy for disenchantment is the reaffirmation of our faith in more purposeful and effective international co-operation. As in the political field, so also in the economic field international co-operation involves a deliberate process of accommodation and adjustment. It is only by a collective effort to shoulder these responsibilities that lasting foundations for a secure peace can be laid.

## OBJECTIVES

As evidence of our determination to discharge these responsibilities, we should agree on at least the following objectives to be fulfilled during the current and next Development Decade.

First, we should agree on a target for the economic growth of developing countries which will enable them to bring about a perceptible change in the living conditions of their peoples.

Second, to impart a practical meaning to accept and implement the target of flow of financial assistance equivalent to one per cent net of gross national product to developing countries.

Third, continuity of aid flow should be ensured and a time dimension should be imparted to the aid target by all developed

countries, emulating the commendable initiatives taken by some of them.

Fourth, the confidence in the ability of international institutions to discharge their basic minimum responsibilities towards developing countries should be restored by fulfilling before 1970 the resources targets set for those organizations.

Fifth, a more determined effort should be made to prevent the erosion of the real value of aid by giving up the practice of aid being tied to sources of procurement and to specific projects.

Sixth, way and means should be found to alleviate the mounting and oppressive debt-servicing burdens of the developing countries.

Seventh, as an important element of international development policy, we should agree on a package of trade measures which will enable the developing countries to cover a substantial part of their resources gap by an increase in their export earnings.

Eighth, correspondingly, the developing countries should redouble their efforts for the mobilization of domestic resources, by increasing agricultural productivity, implementing appropriate population programmes, developing indigenous technology, and intensifying economic co-operation among themselves.

#### APARTHEID

Preoccupation with issues of war and peace, and the persistence of conflict and injustice in the world, have inevitably led to a lowering of values and to diminishing respect for the dignity and worth of the human person. In many parts of the world, practices of racial discrimination prevail and serious economic imbalances inhibit the enjoyment of economic and social rights, with adverse repercussions on the exercise of civic and political freedoms. Despite all the valiant efforts of the United Nations, it is unfor-

tunate that these deplorable situations have not been remedied. This cannot but be a matter of general concern, since the implications of this state of affairs are far wider than may appear at first sight.

Respect for the dignity of man is not a narrow sociological concept. Recognition and faithful application of this principle constitutes the very foundation not only of the international order we seek to establish, but of world peace itself. The problem we face cannot be solved by pious declarations, however sincere they may be. They call for urgent and resolute action. The urgent and important problem in this field is the elimination of racial discrimination, and in particular the abandonment of the pernicious policy of apartheid, which represents the most flagrant violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The danger of the outbreak of massive racial conflict is both real and imminent. Unless its root causes are eradicated firmly and soon, we shall be faced with a holocaust of far wider dimensions than the religious and ideological conflicts which have disturbed the peace of the world in the past. We have a serious responsibility to avert that catastrophe.

#### COLONIALISM

There are also, unfortunately, other fields in which a refusal to recognize and respect the dignity of the human person still persists. Though the frontiers of freedom are gradually being extended and newly independent Countries are taking their rightful place in the community of nations, the cancer of colonial subjugation eats into the vitals of the world community. Despite the concerted efforts of the United Nations and the pressure of world public opinion, the pace of decolonization has slackened and in many areas is depressingly slow. This problem is most acute in southern Africa. The peoples of that area have been victims of the most flagrant mass violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The efforts of the United Nations to mitigate these problems have met with the strongest resistance.

South Africa continues to maintain its illegal control over Namibia. The people of that Territory continue to be subjected to blatant indignities and to the application of pernicious forms of the policy of apartheid. The situation in Zimbabwe is no better. None of the steps adopted by the United Nations has led to progress towards majority rule and a just society free from discrimination. The illegal Smith regime becomes more intransigent as each day passes. Atrocities are committed; freedom fighters

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are repressed; executions are carried out without any legal authority whatsoever. As far as the Portuguese colonies are concerned, Portugal has persistently refused to decolonize the Territories under its administration and has, in fact, been resorting to brutal military operations against the people of those Territories. Those are but a few examples of the rule of force being applied with scant respect for the just aspirations of the peoples to whom those Territories rightfully belong. Obdurate refusal to accept peaceful solutions will inevitably breed violence.

#### FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

My Prime Minister surveyed the prospects of peace against a broad perspective and set out the basic approach of my Government in dealing with the many intricate problems and issues that face the world community. The conclusion which emerges is that a fresh and serious effort has to be made to lay firmer foundations for peace and to eradicate the root causes of tension and conflict. This would involve a reaffirmation of faith in the principles of co-existence and non-use of force, the sovereignty, integrity and independence of States, the elimination of glaring economic disparities, and full respect for the dignity of man and for fundamental human rights and freedoms. The most appropriate machinery available to us for the achievement of those objectives is the United Nations itself. It is only by stricter and more dedicated adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter that we can lay the foundations

for peace. It is not beyond our collective capacity to join together in a dedicated co-operative effort to build a new world order calculated to stabilize peace and to promote prosperity. As my Prime Minister indicated in her statement, two years hence, in 1970, we shall begin the Second Development Decade. We have another year in which to suspend the hostilities of today and lay the foundations of peace for tomorrow. Let 1970, as suggested by my Prime Minister, be the "starting point of a united endeavour to give mankind the blessings of a durable peace" (1693rd meeting, p. 71).

INDIA PAKISTAN USA MALI CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC UZBEKISTAN LATVIA AUSTRALIA  
PERU SWITZERLAND SOUTH AFRICA NAMIBIA ZIMBABWE PORTUGAL

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri J. N. Mehta's Statement in Economic and Finance Committee

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri J. N. Mehta, Minister of Finance, Gujarat, and Member of the Indian Delegation to the U.N., in the Second (Economic and Finance) Committee on October 23, 1968:

A few days ago we concluded our debate on the United Nations Development Decade. This debate was both extensive and useful. The most important conclusion that emerged was that we should take in hand, without any further delay, the task of formulating and agreeing upon an international development policy as part of the preparatory work for the Decade. This policy is to consist of a number of convergent measures to be taken by both developed and developing countries for realising the goals and targets

of the Decade.

Among these measures, the highest importance has been attached to the flow of external finance to developing countries. Distinguished representatives from both developed and developing countries have emphasized how important is the fulfilment of the one per cent target for realising the objectives of the Decade.

The reason why this factor of economic growth stands out among all other factors, is the direct relationship that has been demonstrated to exist between the availability of external finance and the rate of economic growth of developing countries. According to the statistics given in the report of the Secretary-General of the UNCTAD to the second session of the conference, countries whose average growth reached 7.3% per annum received an annual average financial contribution of \$8.5 per capita. On the other hand, another group of developing countries where the rate of growth was scarcely 2% per annum, received an average financial contribution of only

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\$ 2.37 per capita. As regards future projections, we gather from one of the documents prepared by the Committee for Development Planning, that the fulfilment of the 1% target, as approved at the second UNCTAD, can enable the developing countries to attain during the next decade, an annual average growth rate of 6%, with a consequential increase of 3.5% in their per capita income, at recent rates of population increase.

It is, therefore, not surprising that such great emphasis has been put on the universal acceptance and implementation of the one per cent target for realizing the target for the next decade. This target received almost unanimous endorsement at the second UNCTAD. Some of the developed countries agreed to attain this target within particular, time limits, and have since introduced legislation in their Parliaments to give effect to this commitment. However, at the time when the second UNCTAD was held,

some other developed countries did not find themselves in a position to accept precise dates by which the target should be attained. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that it will be possible for these countries to accept date-lines for the fulfilment of one per cent target in the context of the measures to be taken during the next decade.

Both the world economic survey and the document on external financing for economic development of the developing countries, draw our attention to the unfavourable climate for external assistance, mainly arising out of the balance-of-payments and budgetary difficulties of some of the developed countries. We are told and I quote: "An improvement in the payments equilibrium of the developed countries and the general easing in the world liquidity situation may be necessary before there is a significant increase in the flow of resources to developing countries". If we accept this generalisation, I submit, Mr. Chairman, we would be guilty of ignoring the very significant developments that have taken place in the aid policies of some of the developed countries.

Besides, we all know that the world economic system has not reached a stage of perfection where the economies of all countries can experience uninterrupted expansion without being distributed by monetary and financial imbalances. There has always been and there will always be some countries facing financial and monetary difficulties. The challenge of statesmanship lies in ensuring that our common objective of international economic co-operation is not jeopardised by these temporary difficulties experienced by some of us.

On this point, with your permission, I would like to quote from the statement made by Mr. Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank, at the recent Fund-Bank meeting in Washington. Mr. McNamara said: "The balance of payments difficulty is a problem of balance among the rich economies and not balance between those countries as a group and the rest of the world. Very little of the money lent in aid stays

in the developing countries. Almost all of it returns quickly in payment for the goods purchased in the larger countries". The confidence with which the President of the World Bank is going about raising additional funds from the capital markets of the world and his five-year plan to double the resources of the bank, demonstrate, if demonstration is needed, the strength of the economics of the developed countries to provide increasing resources for development. Only about a year ago, a study by the world bank on a proposal for an interest equalisation fund arrived at the conclusion that the conditions in the world capital did not hold out any promise for larger funds being raised for development. And yet a few days ago, we heard the President of the World Bank announcing that during the first 90 days of this fiscal year, the World bank has raised more funds by borrowing than in any single year in its history.

Does this not show that the governmental aid policies of developed countries as a group, do not adequately reflect the aid giving capacity of these countries, based on the strength of their economies? Further, is this not a convincing proof that the fulfilment of the one per cent target within the time-limit of the early part of the next Development Decade is not beyond our reach?

We envisage organisations within the United Nations system, playing an extremely important role during the coming years,

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particularly during the next Development Decade. There is not one of us in this august Assembly who has not emphasized this point. And yet, we find that these organisations are being faced with serious difficulties in discharging their responsibilities towards developing countries. Nearly all of them have found it difficult to raise adequate resources to meet even the minimum requirements of the developing countries in the respective fields. The problem of most serious concern to us is the long delay in the replenishment of IDA. While we continue to hope for the early completion of the

second replenishment of IDA, we should at the same time start considering the steps which can be taken to prevent such a situation from arising in the future. It will be recalled that when the S.D.R. scheme was discussed, many experts and government representatives emphasized the logical connection between the creation of international liquidity and the provision of the development finance. Of course, as the major concern of the international community was at that time, to agree on a scheme for the creation of international liquidity, we did not press for a decision on a link between the creation of international liquidity and the availability of finances for development. However, our experience of the second replenishment of IDA shows that one of the ways to ensure continuity in the operation of IDA is to consider seriously the earmarking of a part of the liquidity created for adding to the funds of institutions like IDA. My delegation hopes that serious thought would be given to this proposal, which is backed by a great deal of expert opinion both from developed and developing countries.

Many speakers, who have preceded me, have made a reference to the mounting and oppressive debt-servicing burden of the developing countries. We have been warned for quite a few years now that if the present trend continues, the net lending will become negative by 1970. This indicates that during the best part of the Development Decade, the flow of external finance to developing countries will represent only back-adjustment and will not result in the transfer of real resources to influence the process of development.

At the second UNCTAD, the gravity of the problem was fully recognised and certain suggestions were made to deal with it. It was recognised that arrangement for re-financing and re-scheduling on appropriate terms and conditions would have to be made for countries facing imminent difficulties.

But this will only lead to the deferring of the deluge. The breathing space that it will provide to the developing countries will

not be of much avail, unless a series of other measures are also taken. First of all, future loans should be made available on such terms and conditions as not to add excessively to the already crushing debt-servicing burdens of the developing countries. Secondly terms and conditions of aid should be such as to enable the developing countries gradually to pay their way out and in the long run, to minimise their dependence on foreign aid.

The recent trend of the further tightening of the practice of aid-tying is a regrettable retrogressive step. This is a practice which penalises the recipient countries without conferring any long-run benefits upon the donor countries. For developing countries, it leads to a considerable increase in the cost of their borrowing. It is also one of the factors responsible for delay in the utilisation of aid. So far as the donor countries are concerned, the practice of tying aid to sources of procurement is bound to prove self-defeating, as it has a natural tendency to spread as a competitive defensive measure. Apart from source-tying, a substantive part of bilateral assistance and almost the entire multilateral assistance continue to be available for only specific projects. If the objective is to reduce the dependence of the developing countries on foreign aid, it must be made available in a form which will enable these countries fully to utilise the production capacity already created. If the developing countries can utilise aid to procure industrial raw materials, spares, etc., from the cheapest sources, they can produce exportable surpluses on a competitive basis and thus reduce their dependence on aid.

Other forms of aid leading to lesser reliance on aid are (a) financing of commodity stabilisation scheme, (b) provision of re-discount facilities for the export credit granted by developing countries, and

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(c) support for the scheme of payments or clearing arrangements that a group of developing countries as a whole may make for expansion of trade among themselves.

The second UNCTAD made recommendations on all these three subjects. The implications of some of these recommendations are, at present, under study by the Bank and Fund. I would like to urge, at this world forum, that these studies may be completed speedily and concrete measures should be taken to implement the recommendations already made and to be made by such studies.

Talking of the region from which I come, the President of the World Bank in his address to the recent Fund-Bank meeting stated that at the present rate, it will take South Asia nearly a century and a half to double its per capita income. And even this doubling will put at the disposal of a citizen in this part of the world an average income of only about 50 cents per day, and much less, almost 10 cents per day, to people falling in the lower income groups. It will be fatal complacency on our part to believe that peoples in this region will wait for 150 years for this hardly perceptible change in their levels of living. During this period anything can happen, the first casualty being the free and democratic socioeconomic system which a number of countries in this region have tried to build after such great sacrifices. Viewed in this context, the policy approach that I have suggested in my statement is minimal and can hardly be called ambitious.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PERU

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement on Peaceful Uses of Sea-Bed

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made the following statement in the First (Political) Committee on October 30, 1968 on peaceful uses of the sea-bed and ocean floor:

Mr. Chairman, at the outset I should like to associate my delegation with the congratulations offered to you, by so many of our colleagues on your election as Chairman of this most important Committee. You have already shown your great tact and wisdom in dealing with the intricate issues that came before us in the early days of our work. We are quite sure that under your able guidance the Committee will deal with the many important questions coming before it wisely and expeditiously. My delegation offers you its full co-operation in the discharge of your responsibilities.

This item was brought before the General Assembly last year for the first time by the representative of Malta. As we did last year, we wish to commend him and his Government again for their sagacity and foresight in bringing to the notice of the world community an issue of such momentous significance which has a bearing on so many vital aspects of our life. The consideration of the item last year by the General Assembly and the setting up of the Ad Hoc Committee have rightly generated a keen awareness of the potentialities of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and an ardent desire to ensure that it is used for the good of mankind. The international community has a duty not to let this area become by default or inaction a hot-bed of tension and conflict.

We appeal to all to heed the lessons of history and develop a new outlook on the exploitation of the immense resources of this area. The ocean depths, once out of reach and mysterious, have already begun to reveal their vast hidden resources for all of us to utilize, particularly those whose needs are greatest. This should be a common effort, under an international system, to usher in a new era of co-operative endeavour and mutual benefit. Narrow and parochial

interests should not be permitted to obscure or overwhelm the common interest of mankind, nor should they lead to a power struggle or a new scramble for areas of national control in the deep sea.

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One of the main dangers to guard against is the possibility of that environment being put to military use, which could have calamitous consequences for all. As the brief but extremely useful document on the military uses of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction prepared by the Secretariat stated:

"Technically, the deployment of military weapons and other devices in the region of the continental shelf and the deep ocean peaks, existing information indicates, is either already feasible or will be so in the near future. The deep ocean bed, on the contrary, is an area that so far seems from available published material to be the object of military research and development efforts only. Actual deployment, it has been stated, is probably some time off, although the great intensity of present military interest might possibly affect this picture in the not too distant future."  
(A/AC.135/28, para. 5)

In the light of that report it is all the more urgent and necessary that efforts should be intensified to prevent the emplacement of military weapons in that environment.

I now come to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee to Study the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (A/7230) which was presented so ably by the Rapporteur, Mr. Victor Gauci of Malta. We wish to pay our tribute to its Chairman, Ambassador Amersinghe of Ceylon, and to the Chairman of the two Working Groups, Ambassador Benites of Ecuador and Mr. Denorme of Belgium, for conducting the work of the Ad Hoc Committee and the Working Groups so expeditiously and productively. The report of the Ad Hoc Committee bears testimony to the efforts

made by them as well as other members of the Committee to conclude successfully the work assigned to the Ad Hoc Committee. That report is worthy of our warmest commendation.

Resolution 2340 (XXII) of the General Assembly, by which the Ad Hoc Committee was established, requested it by operative paragraph 1 to study the scope and various aspects of this item; by paragraphs 2 (a) and (b) to prepare certain studies; and by operative paragraph (c) to give an indication regarding practical means to promote International co-operation in the exploration, conservation and use of that area. The studies prepared in relation to this item have been transmitted to us and the report of the Ad Hoc Committee indicates the views expressed during the debate on the various matters considered by it as well as some of the conclusions which received wide support in that Committee.

The Chairman of the Economic and Technical Working Group, at the twelfth meeting on 19 August, aptly summarized the conclusions arrived at by that Working Group. Some of those, of particular interest to us, are worth repeating.

First, that substantial mineral resources existed beyond the continental shelf. Knowledge of the geographical distribution, the size and the nature of those resources was incomplete. For that reason there was need to foster research and exploration of this area.

Second, that some techniques for the exploration of the ocean floor could be applied at great depths but that the corresponding production techniques still remained to be evolved. Considerable human and financial resources would be required for that purpose, but cautious optimism was appropriate as to the technical improvements that might be expected.

Third, that there was a distinction between the technological capacity for exploiting marine resources and the commercial viability of such operations.

Fourth, that the economy of some developing countries was largely dependent on the export of certain raw materials, such as manganese and phosphates. If underwater mineral raw materials were exploited, disturbance of the international market was a possibility which could not be excluded and it was therefore important to give some thought to possible forms of international agreements.

Fifth, that the great majority of countries, for technical, financial or other rea-

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sons, would hardly be in a position to play an active part in this exploitation. It was felt that the establishment of an international system under United Nations auspices would provide the best means of ensuring that exploitation would be "in the interest of all mankind".

Sixth, that for international co-operation in the development and exploitation of marine mineral resources the role of the United Nations was essential.

The Legal Working Group at its meetings during the second session of the Ad Hoc Committee discussed the legal aspects of the question. Some of the conclusions which were apparent during the discussion and received wide support may be summarized as follows:

First, that the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction should be regarded as having a special legal status as the common heritage of mankind and that it was not susceptible to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, use, occupation, or any other reasons.

Second, that the rules of existing international law with regard to the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond present national jurisdiction are fragmentary and inadequate and therefore new rules of law should be developed.

Third, that the use of the resources of

the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction should be in the interests of mankind.

Fourth, that the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction should not be used for any military purposes if the utilization of their resources for the benefit of mankind is to be achieved.

Fifth, that the results of scientific activities in this area should be made available to all countries without discrimination and that scientific exploration could not serve as a basis for the assertion of sovereignty or claims to appropriation.

Sixth, that all activities in the exploration and use of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction should be carried out in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations

A number of valuable proposals, which deserve serious Consideration, have also been made in the Secretary-General's able report (E/4487). The first proposal is regarding an expanded programme of international co-operation to assist in a better understanding of the marine environment through science. That Proposal received support in the deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee. Among the other proposals which were widely supported is the one concerning the role of the United Nations in the development and exploitation, through technical assistance of the mineral resources of the continental shelf of the developing countries and the collection and dissemination of information concerning those resources. My delegation attaches particular importance to that proposal as it is of great significance to the developing countries. In that connexion it was suggested that the United Nations should assume a central role in coordinating activities in that field and that there should be an adequate supervision by the United Nations over Programming and planning. As far as the scientific aspects of that question are concerned, it was expected that the Inter-Governmental Oceanographic Com-

mission of UNESCO would contribute its experience and resources in keeping with its mandate, to the purposes set out in the proposal for an expanded programme of international co-operation. We have seen document A/C.1/973, which has been circulated by the Director-General of UNESCO. We note that IOC, FAO and WMO have started Consultations on the implementation of the first proposal, namely, the expanded Programme on international co-operation to assist in a better understanding of the marine environment through science. In pursuance of their consultations, they have set up an Inter-Agency Board for IOC which would harmonize the programmes of the agencies and of the Commission. Document A/C.1/973 also gives an indication of the activities of the Inter-Agency Board as well as the problem of funds for the activities to be undertaken in that regard. We are grateful to IOC for circulating the document, which gives us some idea of the activities

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undertaken by them. However, we would wish to know the scope of the programme that IOC is contemplating in collaboration with the other agencies and also the position regarding the funding of the programmes, particularly the source from which the funds would be available and how they would be utilized.

My delegation has viewed with interest the proposal made by the United States that the 1970's be declared an international decade of ocean exploration. It is our understanding that the decade will be one element in the long-term programme to be undertaken under the aegis of the United Nations; that it is not intended to be an alternative to other efforts; and that the decade is thus not the only means, although an important one, of stimulating investigation, fostering co-operation and providing nations with the necessary knowledge for the exploration and use of the resources of the sea-bed.

My delegation has consistently advocated at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly and in the Ad Hoc Committee that the General Assembly

should recommend a set of principles which should provide guidelines for future development and activities in this area. At the 1530th meeting of the First Committee I mentioned certain basic principles which, in our view, should apply to all activities in this area and I expressed our hope that this Committee would agree with the relevance and significance of those basic principles.

At the seventh meeting of the first session of the Ad Hoc Committee on 26 March 1968, we asked the Ad Hoc Committee to pronounce itself on the principles which should govern the conduct of nations in the use exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and ocean floor. We stated that:

"Such a declaration should be based on the following principles; the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction was part of the common heritage of mankind and should be used for the benefit of all countries, particularly the developing countries; any exploration and exploitation should be in accordance with international law and the United Nations Charter; the United Nations should give direction and purpose to activities which might later be undertaken in that area."

At the eleventh meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee during its second session in New York on 20 June 1968, the representative of India submitted a draft declaration which reiterated the urgent need of a recommendation by the United Nations General Assembly of the basic principles with regard to this area, namely, that this area should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, that it should not be susceptible to national appropriation, that its resources should be used exclusively for the benefit of mankind and that all activities of States in the exploration and use of this area should be carried on in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations under the direction and purpose which should be provided by the United Nations.

We are gratified to note that at its

third session, in Rio de Janeiro, the Ad Hoc Committee was able to give consideration to the draft declaration presented by us as well as to the other proposals made in this regard. As is clear from the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, apart from the draft declarations submitted by India and the United States there are two sets of principles suggested in paragraph 88 of the report. The first set of principles, which was submitted by the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, is comprehensive. However, in the intensive consultations which took place in Rio de Janeiro it became apparent that at that stage to be able to get wider agreement it was necessary to make this statement as concise as possible, emphasizing only the most fundamental principles. Because of the lack of time at the Rio session, it was not possible to reach an agreement on such a statement. It is our view that given more time there is every possibility of finding acceptable solutions. In other words, the area of disagreement is not so wide, and given goodwill by all sides it should be possible to bridge the gap. It is our ardent hope that at this session we will be able to pass a resolution embodying the basic principles on which we are all agreed and which should guide the activities of States and their nationals in this area.

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My delegation: would like to commend the initiative taken by the delegation of Belgium in presenting draft resolution A/C.1/L.425 on the setting up of a standing committee--a draft which is now co-sponsored by forty States, including India. The standing committee as it is now contemplated will be able to carry forward the work undertaken by the Ad Hoc Committee to develop the rules and norms for the conduct of activities in this area and, further, the Committee would continue its studies on the possibility of the exploitation of the resources of this area for the benefit of mankind as a whole. This Committee would also be charged with the mandate of studying further the reservation of this area exclusively for peaceful purposes, taking into account the studies being undertaken in the field of disarmament. It has been our view

that we should retain the item as a whole in this Committee and that its various facets and implications should be considered together. We attach great importance to preserving the unity of the item as introduced by the representative of Malta at the last session of the General Assembly because it is only by considering the item in its totality that we can make balanced and effective progress towards the objectives of utilizing the resources of this area for the benefit of mankind. We consider that the standing committee, with the mandate as suggested in the draft resolution, should be able to play a useful and constructive role in guiding the future developments in this new field.

To conclude, I should like to say that the Ad Hoc Committee on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed has done a splendid job in helping to clarify our ideas on the complex questions raised in respect of this item. In our view, the stage has been reached to make collective efforts to realize effective international co-operation in the exploration and exploitation of the resources of this area for the common good of mankind. At the same time, we must also continue our efforts to make it possible for the General Assembly to recommend the basic principles which should apply to activities of States and their nationals in this new and challenging field. It is particularly important for us to stress that this area should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, as is now unanimously accepted, and therefore in no case should it be used for military purposes; that the resources of this area should be utilized for the benefit of all mankind, taking into account the special interests and needs of the developing countries.

INDIA USA MALTA ECUADOR BELGIUM CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

**Volume No**

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1995

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Following is the text of the Statement made by Shri M. N. Naghnoor, Member of Parliament and representative of India in the Special Political Committee, on the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, on October 31, 1968:

Mr. Chairman, For more than a generation our organisation has been concerned with the question of assuring basic human rights for millions of people in South Africa. Year after the United Nations has debated, censored and condemned the oppressive policies of apartheid, practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter and in flagrant disregard of all norms of morality, justice and civilised human behaviour. Not a single facet of South Africa's contemporary social and political life is immune from the malignant philosophy of racism. Indeed, its evil germs are spreading beyond the breeding ground in South Africa into the neighbouring territories of Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. We are deeply concerned with this state of affairs and call for speedy action to check and eliminate the racist doctrines and practices in South Africa.

The policy of apartheid needs to be examined from the twin perspectives of

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moral disapprobation and Practical action- For more than twenty year's our organisation has tried to deal with the problem of apartheid in its ever increasing acuteness. Numerous resolutions have been adopted calling upon the South African Government to discard its discriminatory policies. There have also been resolutions calling upon member States to take measures of political and economic nature against the South African

policy of apartheid. These resolutions too have not produced the desired results.

Meanwhile, South Africa's disregard for the moral imperatives of mankind has become more flagrant. Within South Africa discriminatory practices are being intensified. New legislation is being brought into force to broaden the scope of the existing policies. Protest against apartheid is met with greater repression and more severe penalties. Harassment, ill-treatment, persecution, imprisonment and exile have become standard weapons in South Africa's arsenal of oppression. A massive build up of military and police forces has made South Africa one of the strongest oppressive powers on the continent of Africa.

In its external manifestation, South Africa's racism has embraced new territories and won some new converts in Southern Rhodesia where the illegal minority regime has made apartheid an evil model for its own policies. The same state of affairs prevails in Namibia where South Africa continues to practise apartheid in spite of the termination of its mandate by the General Assembly in October, 1966. Apartheid has thus become a part of the larger problem of colonial oppression by a small white minority in Southern Africa.

The issue before us, therefore, is the intensification of apartheid within South Africa and its spread to other territories in Southern Africa. It is on this problem that the United Nations must focus its attention. This, of course, is not a new conclusion. It has been stressed by many delegations during the present and previous debates in our Committee. There is general agreement among the overwhelming majority of member States that apartheid is not only a violation of the Charter, but also a danger to the peace of the world. Failure to rectify this situation cannot but lead to violence and racial conflict in the southern part of Africa. We have frequently stated, and would repeat again, that the only way to prevent racial bitterness and conflict is to apply mandatory and universal economic sanctions against South Africa. The question of blocking trade

with South Africa is thus of paramount importance in combating apartheid. Many General Assembly resolutions have called upon member States to cut off all economic and political relations with South Africa. A large number of countries, including India, have already done so. However, and this is the crux of the problem, South Africa's main trading partners have not so far seen it fit to implement these resolutions. This is indeed a matter of deep disappointment to us. Continuation of trade with South Africa in effect amounts to direct assistance and encouragement to the Pretoria authorities to persist in their reprehensible policies. My delegation is not convinced by the argument that this continuation of trade with South Africa can be an instrument of persuasion which will somehow induce an amelioration, if not the elimination, of apartheid. In fact, all the evidence points to the contrary. My delegation would, therefore, strongly urge South Africa's trading partners to reconsider their decision in the larger interest of justice and a more humane world.

While responsibility for the elimination of racism rests primarily with the people of South Africa, it is the duty of our organisation to encourage concerted international action to facilitate a peaceful solution. If racism is not resolutely opposed in one part of the world, it would inevitably encourage imitation elsewhere. On our part, we have always believed in the United Nations endeavour to unite mankind, not to divide it on racial or religious or other lines. This basic truth was taught to us by Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation, and the first fighter against apartheid more than half a century ago. It is this spirit of solidarity with mankind which has guided our actions in the struggle against apartheid. Even before its independence, my country took political and economic action to counter apartheid. We have not only severed all diplomatic, economic and commercial contacts with South Africa, but have also persistently opposed the extension of loans and

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assistance by the World Bank to the South African Government and private concerns.

My delegation wishes to put on record its appreciation of the work done by the Special Committee on the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. In its report, contained in document A/7254, the committee has performed a useful service in drawing our attention to the gravity of the situation in South Africa and the urgent need for concerted international action. We are in general agreement with the recommendations made in this report. My delegation would also like to record its appreciation of the humanitarian assistance rendered by the U.N. Trust Fund to the victims of apartheid and commend the efforts of numerous governmental and private organisations in arousing world public opinion against apartheid.

Once again the debate in the Special Political Committee has reflected the universal abhorrence at the discriminatory and segregationist policies of the South African Government. In his introduction to the annual report on the work of the organisation, our distinguished Secretary-General has admirably summed up the situation as follows and I quote: "the effectiveness of the United Nations in facing the grave South African challenge and in staving off the violence and counter violence that are threatening the peace and security of the whole of the African continent, and indeed of the world, will depend on the determination of member States concerned to face their responsibility and also on the willingness of the members of the Security Council to resume consideration of the matter and on their ability to reach an agreement on meaningful effective measures".

My delegation believes that the time has come for the United Nations to act in a determined and concerted manner to remove this scourge of apartheid from the soil of Africa in the interest of peace and security of all nations and the welfare of all mankind.

INDIA SOUTH AFRICA USA MALI CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC NAMIBIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

### INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Prof. Shantilal Kothari's Statement on Southern Rhodesia

Following is the text of the statement made by Prof. Shantilal Kothari, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, in the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee on October 18, 1968 on Southern Rhodesia

Mr. Chairman: As in previous years, this Committee is confronted with the question of Southern Rhodesia, and the report of the Special Committee contained in Document A/720/Add. 1, covering its work during 1968, again presents a sombre picture of developments in that colony. The blatant defiance by the illegal regime of Mr. Ian Smith and intensified oppressive measures directed against the brave and heroic people of Zimbabwe, the inability of the United Kingdom Government to fulfil the basic obligations and consequent responsibilities—all this is an affront to human dignity and to all that the United Nations stand for.

Last year, the General Assembly in Resolution 2262(XXII) pronounced itself in strong and clearest possible terms against the policies of oppression, racial discrimination and segregation practised in Southern Rhodesia by the userper regime of Mr. Ian Smith and reaffirmed the obligation of the administering authority, the United Kingdom, to transfer power without delay to the people of Zimbabwe on the principle of one man one vote and called upon the United Kingdom to take effective and speedy measures to that end, including the use of force. More than 300 days have elapsed and the

General Assembly Resolution has not only remained unimplemented, but the condemned Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia has continued to escalate its defiance of the consensus and conscience of international community. In this connection, the report of the Chairman of the Special Committee transmitted to the Security Council (S/8474), dated the 19th March 1968, is a revealing

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document. Not only has the illegal regime flouted the authority of the administering power by refusing to accept the reprieve granted by the Queen to five Africans under the sentence of death, but it has embarked on a policy of racial segregation and apartheid similar to that of South Africa. We are told in the Chairman's report that racial segregation is being progressively enforced at all levels by a series of new laws, such as the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act, the Draft Property Owners (Residential Protection) Bill, The Municipal (Amendment) Act, and by regulations applying even to educational and hospital facilities and sporting events, all of which are designed to separate the races. There is also evidence of increasing co-operation with the racist Government of South Africa and the colonial regime in Mozambique, which has manifested itself in military and police operations against the freedom fighters.

Three years ago, after Britain had pleaded in the United Nations to recommend, in preference to the use of force, a limited economic boycott of a rebellious Rhodesia, the British Prime Minister hopefully predicted that the downfall of Mr. Ian Smith might come "within a matter of weeks". It is now common knowledge that the partial economic sanctions envisaged in the Security Council's Resolution 232 of 1966 failed to bring about the overthrow of the illegal racist minority regime.

The evidence available shows that Southern Rhodesia's economy not only remains buoyant, but that there has been a significant evasion of sanctions. This is particularly due to the failure of a number

of countries, more particularly South Africa and Portugal, to abide by the decisions of the Security Council, in violation of their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter. We are aware also of the significant trade relations and economic interests of several Western powers in South Africa. Thus, directly or indirectly, all kinds of materials and capital goods have continued to flow to Southern Rhodesia, not only from the neighbouring regimes of South Africa and Mozambique, but also from the Western world. In this context, I invite the attention of the members of this Committee, particularly to paragraphs 100 and 106 of the Working Paper prepared by the Secretariat Document A/AC. 109/L.445, which show how sea ports in Mozambique and in South Africa are handling trade between Southern Rhodesia and overseas customers. It was, therefore, no surprise to us when THE TIMES of London of December 29, 1967 reported:

"Rhodesia is entering 1968 with its economy in better shape than seemed possible a year ago, when the United Nations was in the process of imposing its wide range of mandatory sanctions."

While speaking on the question of Southern Rhodesia, I cannot but recall the martyrdom of African nationalists. The cold-blooded assassination of the African nationalists by the racists of Rhodesia earlier this year was condemned by governments and peoples all over the world as an inhuman and savage act, violating all canons of behaviour which govern the conduct of societies in civilized nations. The Prime Minister of India, Shri. Indira Gandhi, speaking in parliament on March 7, 1968 stated:

"We have learnt with inexpressible horror that the Southern Rhodesia regime has perpetrated a heinous crime by executing three Africans. The world has been following their fate with great anxiety in the last few days. The monstrous deed of the white racist clique evokes our wrath and condemnation. I am sure that everyone in the House will condemn this barbarous act."

My delegation believes that these murders are not only symptoms of the

diseased minds of the racists of Rhodesia, but a direct result of a hesitant attitude of the administering power. Unless strong, determined and early action is taken, the racist regime will continue its criminal policy in callous disregard of the sufferings of the people of Zimbabwe.

On April 16 last, India joined with the four other Afro-Asians in the Security Council in submitting a draft resolution, contained in Document S/8584. That draft resolution envisaged comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the usurper authority, and called for urgent and nece-

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ssary measures by the United Kingdom, as the administering power, including the use of force, to put an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with Resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly. My delegation would have preferred to see that the draft resolution adopted by the Security Council but regrettably some of the permanent members, especially the United Kingdom, were opposed to it. The Afro-Asian members of the Security Council had two courses of action open to them: They could either proceed to formulate a revised text with the cooperation and assistance of other members of the Security Council which, though commanding the required majority of votes, would not be implemented by the administering authority, or to work out a comprehensive text acceptable to the United Kingdom which could be adopted unanimously. We had perforce to opt for the latter course and the Security Council adopted the agreed Resolution (253) on May 29, 1968. While this Resolution is essentially a compromise and, therefore, by its very nature imperfect, it does contain for the first time a scheme of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and thus constitutes a step forward in our common endeavour.

The Resolution in operative paragraph

2 calls upon the United Kingdom as a ministering power "to take urgently all effective measures to bring to amend the rebellion." The use of force is not specified, nor is it excluded. Under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Resolution prohibits the export, import, sale or supply of all commodities except medicine, educational materials and the like and also calls upon all members of the United Nations "not to make available to the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia or to any commercial, industrial or public utility undertaking, including tourist enterprises, in Southern Rhodesia any funds for investment or any financial or economic resources." It further provides for a Committee of seven to observe and report on the implementation of the Resolution.

India has since been named a member of this Committee and has also the privilege to act as its chairman for the remaining months of this year. My delegation, both as chairman of this Committee, and otherwise as a member of the Security Council, will continue to work relentlessly in the coming months to ensure that the Council's comprehensive mandatory sanctions are applied to the fullest possible extent.

In any discussion of the question of Rhodesia and the measures proposed in respect of the question, it would be less than fair not to bear in mind the sacrifices being borne by the people of Zambia as a result of these measures. This great nation and her great people have suffered immensely as a result of the partial sanctions adopted hitherto, and are likely to undergo even greater sacrifices as a result of the comprehensive mandatory sanctions that have now been undertaken. Zambia deserves all assistance from the international community, both on an individual as well as on an institutional basis, to help her overcome the hardships that she has so readily agreed to endure for this just cause.

What does the future hold for the people of Zimbabwe? While we should be loath to be pessimistic in any endeavour that we undertake, it would be lacking in responsibility also to shut our eyes to reality.

My delegation has stated earlier in the Security Council that, if we are to be realistic and to look at things the way they are rather than the way we would like them to be we shall have to prepare ourselves for the contingency, that the measures outlined in the latest Security Council Resolution do not have the desired effect. We have always been of the opinion that the most effective method of dealing with the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia would be resolute action by the administering power, including the use of force. The Smith regime would never dare to defy the administering power, were it convinced that the administering power even intended the use of force to put down the rebellion.

The administering power is simply not being effective when it declares that its aim is to set Zimbabwe on the road to majority rule, but adds in the same breath that there has to be "no force, no sell out, and no

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slamming of the door". Not only are these phrases in themselves inconsistent with each other when applied to the Rhodesian situation, but are based on an incorrect presumption: The administering power has little, if anything, left to "sell out", having already given away the rights and interests of the African majority. The administering power has voiced the laudable objective of "firmness and unity" amongst ourselves if we are to achieve the desired aims in Rhodesia. But unity in what? It is no use asking the nations of the world to join the administering power in doing nothing. Unity, as we understand it, is unity for resolute action.

We are informed that the administering power has declared itself "unalterably" against the use of force on this issue. That the same power which has used force at the slightest pretext on innumerable occasions of cruelty to crush freedom movements around the world in her huge though fortunately mostly erstwhile - colonial empire, now gives an assurance that she will not raise a finger to prevent a tiny racist minority from usurping a whole

nation. The racial consequences of this policy are indeed tragic and disquieting.

We have heard the British delegate inform us in this Committee that the British Government has been probing in Salisbury to assess whether there was a prospect of a negotiated settlement with the Smith regime. It is now a matter of record that, in pursuance of these initial feelers, the British Prime Minister recently met Mr. Ian Smith off Gibraltar. We have also heard through information media that nothing has come out of these talks. Once more the British Government has shown itself as indulging in an exercise in futility -- this is the inescapable conclusion if we are not to question the very bona fides of that government. The Smith regime has openly declared itself on a number of occasions as intransigent on this question. The affront to the administering power by the illegal regime, representing a microscopic minority in Southern Rhodesia, already constitutes a resounding rebuff. What is the administering power now talking About? While my delegation is in favour of a negotiated settlement-which indeed is the most desirable kind of settlement-any such settlement must be negotiated not with the illegal regime, but with the true representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. This was also made amply clear in the General Assembly Resolution 2262 (XXII), and earlier resolutions. Talks with the illegal regime could continue ad nauseum with no effect, in view of the clear declarations made by that regime on a number of occasions against any reasonable settlement.

If one ventures into the substance of the discussions at Gibraltar, one is forced to conclude that Britain is now far on the road to the surrender of African interests. The administering power's desire not to rock the boat too much in Southern Africa has now let it to slide back even from the "Tiger" proposals. Even the essential provisions to safeguard African interests against the minority regime have been omitted in the fresh stand now reportedly taken by the administering power. Mr. Chairman, whatever the motives behind the "Fearless" negotiations may have been, they were obviously

not intended to serve the best interests of the overwhelming majority in Rhodesia.

We are a party to the unanimous adoption of the Security Council's Resolution containing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and my delegation shall do its utmost to see to their implementation. While we proceed with rather cautious optimism, it is incumbent on the administering power to think constructively as to what the next logical step might be, if the measures outlined in the latest Security Council Resolution do not succeed. We have said before in the Security Council, and I shall say it again, that the indomitable will of the people of Zimbabwe cannot be crushed and that they shall be free. But timely action could help to avert an explosion that may extend far beyond the frontiers of Zimbabwe. Freedom is a life breath, and to the subject peoples no price is too dear to be paid to attain it.

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INDIA USA ZIMBABWE SOUTH AFRICA MOZAMBIQUE UNITED KINGDOM ZAMBIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND & WORLD BANK

Shri Morarji Desai's Statement at Annual Meeting

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri Morarji Desai, India's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, on the second day of the annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Washington, on October 1, 1968:

Mr. Chairman: May I first of all congratulate you, Sir, on the very thoughtful

address with which you have summoned us to our task at this meeting of the Fund and the Bank. My delegation is particularly happy that the honour of guiding our deliberations this year should go to a distinguished representative of a neighbouring country with which our ties have been the friendliest for many centuries.

We are happy also that the stewardship of the Fund will remain in the trusted hands of Mr. Schweitzer for another term of five years. For the Bank family of institutions we have now a highly respected new President whose energy and idealism are matched only by the enormity of the task he has chosen to make his own. I hope it is some comfort for Mr. McNamara to know that we, in the developing world, welcome him warmly as a comrade-in-arms in our orderly and peaceful assault on the poverty and want of our people.

Sir, it is an index of our times that there should be so much talk of despair and disappointment at the end of a period which has witnessed a more dramatic improvement in the human condition everywhere than in any other comparable period in history. It is equally a commentary on the current climate of expectations that we should be wondering about the performance and future of foreign aid when a generation which turned the concept of international economic co-operation into reality for the first time in human history is yielding place to another which rebels against the very inheritance of affluence. Can we then explain our present predicament by the failure to master the arithmetic of accumulation or the calculus of redistributed welfare? Or is it the failure to comprehend and discipline and organize the surging emotions and aspirations of an awakened people that really makes for the complexity of our task? I for one believe that as we assess and reassess the task before our institutions, we shall have to bear in mind constantly our ultimate point of concern and impact -the hearts and minds of millions of men and women. That is Why I was particularly happy to note in Mr. McNamara's statement a desire to take the work of the Bank to as many countries

as possible and to areas of activity such as education and family planning whose significance transcends the realm of per capita incomes.

We welcome Mr. McNamara's plans to greatly accelerate and diversify the work of the Bank, and we know that the desire for diversity will not put size at a discount as has often been the case so far. We know also that in exploiting the capital markets of the world, Mr. McNamara does not propose to forsake his claims on the treasuries and finance ministries of the affluent one-third of our membership. For us in India it is a matter of disappointment that the second replenishment of IDA should not materialize even 15 months after the termination of the period for which the first replenishment was intended. We are, therefore, particularly pleased that President Johnson reiterated in his address to us yesterday that he places the highest priority on the second replenishment becoming effec-

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tive at the earliest possible date. Meanwhile, appropriate steps will have to be taken to minimise the damage that has already occurred - not only to the developing countries to whom IDA assistance has been promised but also to the confidence in the ability of international institutions to render their tasks in a continuing and steady manner.

We are happy that the Bank management and the Executive Directors are making a thorough review of policies and have affirmed unequivocally their intentions to use the limited resources available with the Bank and the IDA at present to carry on as far as possible with the lending programme which would have been undertaken if IDA replenishment were available in time. The Executive Directors have already laid down useful guidelines on a number of important issues, such as financing of local costs. I could perhaps refer here to one or two General issues which are yet to be fully debated and settled.

NON-PROJECT ASSISTANCE

In my judgement, the Bank and the IDA should have no presumption in favour of an approach which may compel developing countries to go in for major projects entailing sizable imports of machinery and equipment in order to be eligible for their financing. On the contrary, developing countries should be encouraged to pursue programmes which are less spectacular but which may well make a far greater contribution to the prosperity and well being of their people.

Time and again, it has been pointed out in the Bank, as also in respected academic circles, that there is absolutely no reason why project assistance should be preferred to non-project assistance and yet, the impression persists that somehow non-project assistance is merely of balance of payments support which is not the responsibility of the Bank or the IDA which should confine their attention only to financing of projects. In deed, the distinction is sometimes sought to be created that whereas it may be all right for IDA to give non-project assistance, it would somehow not be proper for the World Bank to do the same.

I wish to urge most strongly that this kind of artificial distinction between what the Bank should do and the IDA should do and between one kind of assistance and another kind of assistance is not only wrong in theory but also harmful in practice. When the multilateral institutions give priority to project as against non-project assistance, one implication of it is that the exports of the developed countries receive a stimulus whereas the developing countries, by and large, are unable to share in the process. If assistance is available for buying only capital goods and not for buying copper or rubber or sulphur or rock phosphate, the export interests of the developing countries inevitably suffer,

There are also some countries including mine which have developed considerable capacity for the production of the capital goods though they have to import components and spares. If external assistance is

available for financing complete equipment but not for financing raw materials, spares or components, a country may well find that it has foreign exchange to import a complete plant but not the much smaller amount needed to produce the plant with imported spares and components. Such a policy would clearly retard our efforts towards self-reliance, and I think, Sir, that the time has come when this issue of project versus non-project assistance should be thoroughly thrashed out and resolved-if necessary, with expert advice and opinion.

At the UNCTAD conference and in many other forums, it has been recognized that if the developing countries which have been left behind in the race are to be enabled to develop their technical competence and economic capability, they should receive a preferential treatment in the matter of trade. This is a principle which needs to be translated more effectively in the prosecution of the policies of the Bank and IDA. Similarly, at the time when the total funds available to the Bank and IDA are extremely limited, we should welcome the fact that some countries at any rate are in a position to dispense with imported equipment to a substantial extent and would be prepared to keep these

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items outside the scope of the Bank or IDA finance.

I am well aware that the procurement for any Bank or IDA financed project should be such as not to upset the viability or the economic efficiency of the project concerned. There is, however, also the larger consideration that it is not the viability of a particular project only, but the whole process of acquiring technical competence and experience that ultimately makes for the viability of the country as a whole and for greater self-reliance. It is also our experience that excessive and continuing reliance on foreign consultants who are often ignorant of the domestic potential that has been built up, results in encouraging imports from the developed countries rather than strengthening the capabilities of developing countries themselves. In short, there is a real danger

that unless we look critically at our present procurement policies, the operations of the Bank and the IDA are likely to jeopardize at least, in some cases, the processes of self-sustained growth.

Sir, when the quantum of aid is as inadequate as it is today, it is all the more incumbent on us to increase its effectiveness by a more pragmatic attitude to questions such as procurement policy or programme versus project assistance. This is hardly the time to retreat behind rigid principles or distinctions which cannot, in the nature of things, be universally valid. It is only with considerable flexibility and imagination that the Bank and the IDA will be able to play at least a limited role in the coming crucial months.

We in India are making every effort to develop exports of our newer manufacture-, such as iron and steel and a large variety of capital goods and engineering products to both developed and developing countries. But our efforts in this direction are often inhibited by our inability to grant tied credits comparable to those offered by more advanced countries. Once again, if we are to be assisted in our efforts to be self-reliant, this particular disability must be removed by appropriate international action. And I hope that the Bank and the Fund will study actively and constructively the question of creating some rediscount facility for the export credits granted by developing countries as recommended by the second UNCTAD.

#### SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS

Turning to the International Monetary Fund, it is not enough merely to remain content with the fact that the Special Drawing Rights scheme will soon become an established facility. The events of the last few months have underlined the need for activating the scheme without any delay. It is only thus that we shall be able to give strength to those advanced countries which are currently in balance of payments difficulties to continue with liberal trade and aid policies. It is only this that we shall be able to give some margin of safety to the

developing countries which so badly need some improvement in their reserves for this purpose. Apart from the activation of the SDR scheme, the proper functioning of the international monetary system requires attention to a number of problems such as the working of the adjustment process, the long-term structure of reserves and the role of reserve currencies, to which Mr. Schweitzer has rightly drawn our attention. In this connection, we in India welcome, along with our Commonwealth partners, the recent Basle agreement and the associated arrangements regarding Sterling.

#### REPLENISHMENT OF IDA

Our experience with the second replenishment of IDA also raises the question whether the present procedure for putting IDA in funds are such as to give us any sense of assurance of continuity in its operations. When the SDR scheme was being discussed many people felt that there was a logical connection between the creation of international liquidity and the provision of development finance. In order to facilitate an agreement on the creation of international liquidity which was urgently needed, we did not press our plea in this regard. But I cannot help feeling that our experience with the second replenishment of IDA makes it necessary to consider seriously whether the industrially advanced countries should not use a part of the liquidity created on their behalf for adding to the funds of the institutions responsible for development. A great deal of expert opinion favours such an idea; and I, for one, apprehend that un-

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less we try to give it some concrete shape at least before the third replenishment of IDA, our present predicament may prove anything but temporary.

On international commodity problems we have yet to find even a satisfactory framework for an answer. If we are to tackle seriously the problems of fluctuations in commodity prices and of declines in the prices of primary products, we may have to think in due course of solutions beyond

the present framework of our two institutions. But it is not necessary to wait till we have evolved totally satisfactory as well as acceptable solutions to this urgent but complex problem. I hope that the studies now under way are directed towards solutions which could be implemented without any undue delay and which can pave the way for further progress in this vital field.

Sir, in conclusion, I would like to make it clear that if I have spoken at length on some matters of concern to us, it is not because we do not appreciate the considerable contribution that is being made even today by the more advanced countries to the development of countries like mine. Contrary to the general impression and the evidence of statistics, which in the nature of things are imperfect, the record of achievements in many developing countries over the past ten or fifteen years is truly creditable, and foreign aid has played a valuable part in the progress we have made in agriculture and industry, technical education and health and in building the infrastructure of power, transport and communications. I, for one, do not feel that we have any right to demand assistance from others or to complain if this assistance is not forthcoming in the amount or in the manner which our needs might justify. But whether international aid continues to be available or not, the aspirations of the people in the poor two-thirds of the world will not remain unsatisfied long. If I may quote the words of the Secretary-General of the U.N. at the UNCTAD conference in New Delhi early this year-and I quote "The real question is not whether development will occur but how it will occur and within what international framework. Do we envisage a framework of international cooperation or a framework in which the developing countries are forced back largely on their own resources and are compelled to take the political and economical steps required for an autarkic pattern of development... ? That is the question to which the whole world expects an answer."

We have every hope that the commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Pearson, one

of the most esteemed leaders of our time, will help in getting this question answered in the right manner. I am not very fond of expressions such as the grand assize. What we need above every thing else, is a revival of faith and fellow-feeling, a will to wield the means which are available in abundant measure and a determination to solve our formidable problems without being disheartened by the failures and disappointments which may still be in store during the most demanding decade that lies ahead for all of us, whether from the east or west, north or south, rich or poor.

INDIA USA PERU CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

NEPAL

President's Speech at State Banquet

The President, Dr. Zakir Husain, made the following speech at the State Banquet held in his honour by Their Majesties the King and the Queen of Nepal in Kathmandu on October 12, 1968:

Your Majesties the King and Queen, I express my heartfelt gratitude on behalf of my country and myself for the good wishes and kind sentiments expressed by His Majesty the King towards my country.

Though I have been here only for a few hours, the warm and affectionate welcome which was accorded to me all the way from the airport to the Royal Guest House, has greatly delighted me.

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The gracious words of Your Majesty

and this cordial atmosphere show how close both Nepal and India are and how much goodwill exists between them. These pleasant and close relations are proof of mutual love, respect and faith between the two countries. It is an indisputable fact that in the interests of both our countries it is essential to further strengthen the existing relations and to make them more happy and secure.

Both Nepal and India came out of a long period of darkness only some years ago. Many persons of both countries have also helped each other in coming out of this darkness. On the one hand, we inherited centuries-old backwardness, poverty, scarcity and undeveloped means and on the other the challenges of the present scientific age urge us to move forward towards new duties and destinations.

Alongwith other developing countries of the world, our two countries are also making all possible efforts in order to raise the standards of living of their people in conformity with the new age. Although we know that it is not possible for us to bring our countries to the level of the developed countries of the world and make them as happy and prosperous as those, because it is natural that it will take time, yet we will have to do this much, as soon as possible so that the people of our countries should not feel scarcity and they must get the bare necessities where we have to reach in the shortest possible time because we cannot afford to wait for long. I am happy that in this noble task Nepal and India are marching ahead shoulder to shoulder.

In the international field, the outlook of both Nepal and India is almost identical. Both our countries fully believe in world peace, co-existence, non-alignment, independence of all nations, sovereignty and respect for territorial integrity and security. In pursuance of these policies our two nations have always been endeavouring and are ever ready in supporting and fulfilling these great objectives. This is the reason that our two countries have always received mutual co-operation and support in the international field.

In this context, it will not be out of place to reiterate that the policy of co-existence, which has been adopted by both India and Nepal, underlines the importance of principle that one nation should not interfere in the internal and external affairs of the other nation. The two countries should respect each other's independence and sovereignty. India has always followed this policy and she will adhere to it in future as well. India neither wants to create a political or economic sphere of influence nor does she intend to encircle any big or small nation or be a party to any conspiracy aiming at such "encirclement". There is no room for any such misleading propaganda regarding India's policy and behaviour.

The history of India testifies the fact that she has never invaded another country and even today she adheres to this policy. India sincerely desires to live with all her neighbours in peace and with goodwill. Hence, India considers the incitement to violence or internal disputes in other countries or encouragement to it in any form as an improper and open interference in the internal affairs of other countries. She also considers any such policy or conduct as fatal to international relations and world peace.

Ten days ago on second October Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, we in our own country and many other countries of the world including Nepal under UNESCO's auspices have started Gandhi centenary celebrations. This year is Gandhi birth centenary year. Gandhiji propounded the great principles of Satya and Ahimsa in his personal, social and political life and practised them in his conduct. Satya and Ahimsa are the source of pure justice and are the very foundation too. If we want pure justice in national and international life and relations, we have to raise humanity above religion, caste and colour and other discriminations and if we want to respect humanity and if we want peace to prevail in the world and human rights to be secure, the policy of "might is right" will have to be renounced by the whole human society and nations of the world and the way to justice based on

Satya and Ahimsa will have to be practised. Then alone, the independence of nations, big or small, the security of their sovereignty and honour will be possible. From this point

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of view, the importance of Gandhi centenary celebrations increases.

I want to assure Your Majesty that India is determined to follow the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. Despite our shortcomings, the deficiencies and the existing conditions, our targets and our destination are clear before us and this is impregnable faith in world peace and faith in the independence and honour of nations, big and small.

With these words, on behalf of the Government and people of India and on my own I assure Your Majesty, your Government and the people of Nepal of our true and longstanding friendship and goodwill and desire for the well-being and prosperity of Nepal and its people,

I request all the ladies and gentlemen present here to rise and drink to the health of Their Majesties the King and the Queen of Nepal.

NEPAL USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

NEPAL

President's Address to Tribhuvan University

Following is the text of the address of the President, Dr. Zakir Husain, at the Tribhuvan University on October 14, 1968:

I deem it a privilege and an honour to meet you, the students and teachers of the Tribhuvan University, and to spend a few happy moments in your midst. For one who, like me, has been a teacher all his life, it is always a stimulating and encouraging experience to meet young students and scholars engaged in the pursuit of knowledge and discovery. This is all the more so on this occasion because of the strong ties of common traditions and shared values which have united Nepal and India throughout the centuries.

A university is a powerful instrument, not only for the all-sided development of one's nation, but for the progress of mankind as a whole. "A university", said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for the adventure of ideas and for the search of truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race towards even higher objectives. If the universities discharge their duties adequately, then it is well with the nation and the people". This university, named after the great Father of the Nepalese Nation, is developing in a manner worthy of all the universalism, modernism and spirit of free and equality that he stood for. It has made a valuable contribution to the development of modern Nepal and I have no doubt that it will make an even more significant contribution to the social, cultural and economic development of your country in the days ahead and help it to assume its rightful place in the comity of nations. I am extremely happy that we in India have fully associated ourselves, to the best of our ability, in the building up of this great University from its very inception. We feel proud of this collaboration which has been of considerable benefit to ourselves.

I feel particularly happy to be associated with the construction, on this beautiful campus of a new building which has been named after Mahatma Gandhi whose birth centenary year is now being celebrated in India and in several other countries of the world. Among other things, this building will provide a hall for discussion and discourses on religious and cultural subjects,

with special reference to the contribution made by Gandhiji in these fields. The people of India and Nepal as well as of other countries feel very close to Gandhiji. He belonged to the world as a whole and his principal teachings have an eternal value for humanity because they emphasise such basic principles as the ultimate reality of a moral law which rules out every type of exploitation; purity of means which implies action based on love and non-violence; compassion for all; essential unity of religions; and the 'trusteeship' of the more fortunate or gifted individuals towards the less privileged sections of the society. I am happy to find that his teachings are attracting wide attention in your country.

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The developing countries of Asia, including Nepal and India, are now facing tremendous challenges in the field of development. They have to modernize their traditional social systems maintaining what is good in the old and imbibing what is good in the new and harmonising continuity with change. They have to develop agriculture and industry very rapidly and to secure quick economic growth which will ensure at least a minimum living standard to every citizen. They have also to strive to reduce the wide gap between their level of development and that of the industrially advanced countries. These challenges facing the Asian countries are really challenges for you, the rising generation, and it is on your vision, wisdom, competence and dedicated hard work that their solutions will largely depend.

How can these challenges be met? A very interesting answer is provided in a recent publication, called *THE ASIAN DRAMA: AN INQUIRY INTO THE POVERTY OF THE NATIONS* by Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, an eminent economist of international repute, who is very sympathetic to the developing countries in this part of the world. Dr. Myrdal points out that the principal reason for the poverty of the Asian countries is the poor quality of preparation of their people to face the complex problems of the modern world based

on science and technology. He ascribes this, in its turn, to the poor quality of their educational systems which are largely unrelated to the life, needs and aspirations of the people, inadequate in coverage and comparatively poor in quality. He, therefore, comes to the conclusion that the economy of these countries will not improve unless their educational systems are radically transformed, substantially improved in quality and expanded to provide a fair level of equality of educational opportunity to all concerned. No one will disagree with this thesis which makes education a crucial and powerful tool of national development. Its direct implication is that the Asian countries should now concentrate on the reconstruction of their educational systems in all earnestness and with all the resources at their command.

Dr. Myrdal also points out that, in this effort, the Asian countries face a difficult dilemma and that they have all been caught in a vicious circle. The radical transformation of their educational systems will need a large investment of funds. The Asian countries do not have the necessary resources to invest in the development of their education because they are poor; and if they will not do so and improve their educational systems, they will continue to remain poor. This vicious circle can be broken, says Dr. Myrdal, only through an unrelenting determination to grapple with the problems of educational reconstruction. The lesson for us, in all this, is clear. The large scale reconstruction of education, which we need, will require greatly increased investment in monetary and physical terms which will have to be found. But what is even more important, it will need the adoption of improved techniques of planned development and greater human effort. The lead in this will naturally have to come from the universities because the improvement of higher education, not only percolates down to the school stage, but also extends itself to all other walks of life,

In this great national task, the major effort will have to come from the people themselves. But their efforts could be con-

siderably strengthened in two ways. The first is assistance from developed countries who owe a duty to themselves as well as to the less privileged nations of the world to reduce the widening gap in the standards of living in the advanced and backward countries; and the second is the equally important collaboration between the developing nations themselves who have so much to give as well as to receive in the sharing of experiences and implementing cooperative projects of mutual benefits.

Every nation and every generation has to fight anew its own battles for freedom, freedom from hunger and want, disease and ignorance, from foreign domination, economic and political. The people of my generation in India had to devote their energies mainly to win the battle for political freedom. But now the people of your generation, both in Nepal and in India, have to fight other and more difficult battles the battles for freedom from ignorance, from hunger, from

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degrading poverty and from all such other things that impede the full development of the human personality. I am very happy to find that the people of Nepal have accepted this challenge and that they also consider it an opportunity which should be met with strength, dignity, discipline or fortitude. I congratulate you on launching yourself upon this noble task and wish you every success in your programme of building up a modern Nepal which will accept the best that the new world has to offer while still preserving all that is precious, noble and glorious in the rich heritage of this land.

May I assure you that, as your neighbours, it shall be the constant endeavour of the people and the Government of my country to be of all assistance to you as we are capable of? You in turn can teach us many things. I hope that the interflow of ideas and experiences through frequent visits of scholars and students between our two countries will grow in the months and the years ahead to our mutual benefit. May we learn more and more from each other's experience and avoid the mistakes that each

may be making? It is through shared experiences and knowledge that our mutual understanding and respect will grow.

Having proceeded so far I get the feeling that I have confined my remarks to the developmental significance of the universities. I would be untrue to my post as a university man if I did not share with you some of my notions about the chief concerns of the university in its educational work.

The first thing that comes to my mind is the university's concern for the individual and the spiritual. This may sound a little out of fashion, but I feel it is a vital concern. There is a dangerous tendency to neglect the things of the spirit in the over-emphasis on material welfare. The final justification of education is an enrichment of life for individual human beings and the full development of their spiritual potentialities. Whatever else the university may or may not do, education in this sense should be its first concern. Its second main concern should therefore be to so organise its work as to make the realisation of this educational aim possible. This implies mediation between the subjective mind of the educand and the objective mind concretised in the manifold goods of culture -- mediation, that is, between the individual student and his culture, between the individual human being and human culture, between him and the sciences, the arts, the techniques, the religious, the moral and legal codes, the social forms, the institution, the personalities in which human culture is embodied, stored as it were. But every mind cannot get its nourishment indifferently from any good of culture. There must be a correspondence between the mind to be educated and the mind embodied in the good of culture. The university can never do too much to initiate the student into the process of the self-discovery of his inclinations and aptitudes and to see that the goods of culture selected to educate him correspond to his mental relief. A well-developed system of counselling is, in my view, an essential part of a good university to make this mediation effective.

The third point I would emphasize refers to the university's method of approach to its intellectual work. It should, in my view, be clearly seen that information collected by others and passed on to us is not education; knowledge based on experience and discovery is. The university should so plan its work as to make education in this sense possible. From a place of transmission of information the university should make itself a place of productive intellectual work, generating habits of systematic, methodical thinking readiness for self-examination and self-criticism, and allegiance to absolute values, making clear the way for the development of a free moral personality. For a free moral personality is, in my view, the proud end product of sound education.

And finally one of the university's chief concerns should be to assist in considerable measure the approach of the society in which it is privileged to serve to a better and a juster and a more graceful way of life. For without this even the first objective I put before you that of the full development of the individual will also be thwarted.

If we aim at excellence in the individual we have to aim at it also in society. The

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university should have the courage and the vitality to project itself into the community. All barriers between the university and the life of the people must go. In the words of a great educator "it is through the functioning of knowledge -- its use in living -- that its true value is forthcoming and its full meaning is revealed. Knowledge has redeeming and life-giving power only when it continually re-enters the life and work of the community". Individual development and social responsibility should, in short, be the guiding stars of university work.

I feel I am testing your patience by saying what you would know much more clearly than I who have been out of educational work now for quite some time, But the past asserts itself. I crave your indul-

gence.

I thank you for inviting me and wish you every success in your noble endeavours in the tasks ahead.

NEPAL USA INDIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

NEPAL

President's Speech at Nepal Council of World Affairs

Following is the text of the speech of, the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, at the Nepal Council of World Affairs on October 14, 1968:

I am very happy to have this opportunity of addressing the Nepal Council of World Affairs in Kathmandu. Institutions like the Council play a valuable role in bringing about communion and cross fertilisation in the thinking of different countries of the world. As Mahatma Gandhi said "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. Mine is not a religion of the prison house. It is proof against the insolent pride of race, religion or colour." A broad-minded study of the thinking in all the countries of the world and an interchange of ideas enrich and promote international understanding. In the ultimate analysis such a free exchange of ideas is also the greatest asset for the full flowering of the human personality and freedom of thought. Gurudev Rabindra Nath Tagore's vision of the "haven of freedom", for which he prayed was:

"Where knowledge is free  
Where the world has not been broken up  
into fragments by narrow domestic  
walls."

The India of today is inspired by the ideals and teachings of Budha, Ashoka, Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore. It is their profound dedication to universal peace, brotherhood and justice which has left a lasting imprint on the thought and ideals of India. That is why India's century-long struggle for freedom, despite great martyrdoms and sacrifices and innumerable provocations to violence, remained largely within the self imposed discipline of non-violence. Mahatma Gandhi who laboured incessantly for peace felt that once you achieve something through violence, you yourself become enslaved by violence. Even after independence, this ideal of preserving world peace and working for world co-operation, and a just world order, has been one of the dominant themes of India's policies.

In this centenary year of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi it would be appropriate to recall that we have also inherited from him, his dedication to the service of the poor and the abolition of poverty and inequality. We believe that any society in which there are glaring inequalities and injustice can never be a happy society and it is our duty to create a society where the basic welfare of all the people and equality of opportunity for all is assured. This is our concept of a socialist welfare state. In achieving this we have to face one of the greatest challenges conceivable in the world. During a century of technological and scientific retardation, when the West made rapid strides in the field of technology, science and industry, a greater part of Asia and Africa remained

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static or made only negligible progress. We have therefore to telescope a century into a decade, if we are to achieve any meaningful progress.

We also believe that society must rule itself by popular consent and consultation.

That is why we have, in spite of many prophets of gloom, adhered to our principles of democracy which can assure us the widest participation by all the people in their own governance and in the great adventure of building up our country.

Another great challenge which is also one of the most inspiring aspects of India's life, is the preservation of India's rich cultural, religious and linguistic variety within the broad framework of a fundamental national unity which harmonises them all. To preserve this great heritage of diversity composed of many languages, religions and cultures is not only valuable to India but in a sense to the world as a whole. One of the most terrible problems confronting the world today is the spectre of racialism, tribalism and separatism, all based on narrow divisive concepts seeking to divide man from man on the basis of the colour of his skin, his religion or language. These forces threaten to take the world back into barbarity or perhaps forward into a nightmare of nuclear destruction.

It has been clear for many years now that a world full of inequalities cannot hope to achieve universal peace that is the cherished aim of mankind. As peace itself can be supported only by the willing co-operation of all nations -- big and small -- it is essential for mankind to create on this earth conditions in which such cooperation will be voluntary and constructive. Mankind cannot have stable peace or meaningful international cooperation as long as the world remains divided into more or less water-tight compartments of rich and poor nations. What is even more disturbing is the fact that the gap between the rich and poor nations is further widening. A good deal of effort on the international and national levels has been expended in making diverse types of studies of this ugly phenomenon. The two major UNCTAD conferences of 1964 and 1968 held in Geneva and New Delhi respectively, devoted their energies to the study of this problem with a view to finding solutions. While my Government strongly supports the various recommendations adopted at these two con-

ferences, it is necessary for us, the developing nations, to know that there is no easy way out of the dilemma that faces us. There is much that the developed nations can and must do for us by way of cooperation. All these details have been spelt out in the various resolutions that have been passed in the United Nations, in the Economic and Social Council and at the UNCTAD conferences. Cooperation among the developing nations and between them and the developed nations is also necessary. We have to work hard in our own countries to bring energy and competence into our performance and generally to raise the standards of our production and activity. Without this hard work which has been the hallmark of those societies which are affluent today, it is not possible to turn the tide that now flows against us. Despite heavy odds, a major effort in this direction has been made in India. I am happy to see that Nepal is taking rapid strides in the same direction and you can count on our fullest cooperation in achieving your aims and objectives.

After the achievement of Independence, our immediate task was the building up of a technological industrial and scientific infrastructure on which the nation could develop. This was a Herculean task to which our great and beloved leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, dedicated himself. While it was a thrilling challenge it was also an agonising duty, in that many sacrifices had to be made and great austerity and voluntary self-denial had to be accepted in many fields. We had necessarily to place emphasis on this need and divert our resources from the other sectors. We realized that a whole generation would have to face austerity in the matter of consumer and luxury goods, in order to build a firm foundation for the industrial, scientific and technological development of the future generations. Now that we have, to a great extent, built this infrastructure, we have started to devote ourselves to the other sectors of national development and economy.

Our progress was not always smooth. We had to contend with grievous diversion of resources and set-backs caused by the

vagaries of nature, like drought and floods, leading to scarcity of food. In fact, the food problem at one stage threatened to be a chronic problem. But I am glad to say now that we can look forward with far greater confidence, thanks to the resourcefulness of Indian farmers, agricultural experts and soil scientists. Improved seeds and modernised methods of cultivation, use of fertilizers and pesticides have brought about an agricultural revolution in many parts of India which give us reason to hope that we shall become self-sufficient in our foodgrain requirements by 1971.

While the challenge-, facing our country are still formidable and there is no room for complacency, we can derive legitimate satisfaction from the tangible results of our efforts in the last 20 years. The expectancy of life has risen from 32 in 1950 to over 50 in 1968. Installed capacity of power generation rose from 2.3 million KW to 12.57 million KW. Production of steel has risen from 1.5 million tonnes to over 7 million tonnes. Irrigated area has increased from 60 million acres to 77 million acres. There are twice as many hospitals and dispensaries as in the whole of undivided India before 1947, the total number at present being 14,600. The number of children going to school has more than trebled and stands at 75 million. Primary education is free throughout the country. The number of schools is over 500,000 with nearly 2.1 million teachers, including about 500,000 women teachers. The number of colleges has risen to 4,000 and of universities to 70. At the time of independence about 3,000 students used to enter engineering colleges annually. Now the number is ten times as many. The number of engineering colleges has increased from 38 to 135. However, development creates new problems-, different from the old. People's expectations and aspirations rise and they have to be met. And so greater and more efforts have to be made in various fields.

In the field of science, we have more than 12,000 scientific research workers. Our Atomic Energy Establishment has three

reactors, has designed and fabricated a Uranium plant, a Thorium plant and a Plutonium Separation plant and is now building three more atomic plants. The Atomic Energy Research Centre at Trombay is producing radio isotopes and other products for use in agriculture, industry, medicine and research, not only for domestic requirements but also for export to Europe, Africa and other countries of Asia. About 600 scientific periodicals are published in India. During the past five years alone, 4500 scientific and technical books were published.

In the field of housing, a large number of units were constructed at a cost of Rs. 262 crores during the first three Plan periods. In particular, the needs of the industrial workers have received special attention and nearly 57 crores of rupees have been spent till the end of the last year for building houses for industrial workers.

The Indian farmer has ceased to be conservative. He has become modern-minded and has taken to modern agricultural techniques and the use of chemical fertilizers. His demand for chemical fertilizers is ever growing and is an index of the agricultural revolution at work today. There are now ten factories in India producing nitrogenous fertilizers with a total annual capacity of 761,000 tonnes. We still need at least two million tonnes more and are striving hard to set up more plants for this purpose.

In conformity with the ideal of a socialist welfare state, our constant endeavour has been to provide social security and welfare for the working classes. The Employees State Insurance Scheme embraces over 13 million beneficiaries including the workers and their families. The Workers Education Scheme started in 1938 has so far benefited six lakhs of workers. Joint Management Councils have been set up in 145 establishments.

Notwithstanding this picture of many-sided achievements, we are all too well aware of the enormous problems to be faced. There is much more to be achieved and a far greater effort needed for increasing the

tempo of achievement. We cannot afford to rest or relax our efforts.

I should like to emphasize, in particular, the need to give proper guidance to our youth who for lack of opportunities are in ferment today throughout the world. They are our future hope and it is our duty to find ways and means of utilising their ener-

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gy and enthusiasm in the right direction. The problem of youth in Asia today is the problem of poverty, lack of opportunity and not one of affluence as in the West. Our youth are dedicated, intelligent, hard-working and patriotic. We must find suitable outlets for their talent and not let them become blase or frustrated. They are our greatest national asset. Let it not be said by future historians that our generation let them down. At the same time, we may well hope and expect that they will not let us down, They must have their roots in their native soil and not blindly imitate other countries. Let them keep which is good in the past and discard what is bad. Let them imbibe what is good in other countries and discard what is not suited to their native genius. Let them be loyal and patriotic citizens of our own country and have pride in its rich and ancient traditions and culture and not ever become rootless and rudderless. It devolves on us and on them to work together and join hands in the great adventure of building up our nation according to our own wishes, undaunted by any foreign domination or dictation.

Our leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were not limited by the concept of narrow nationalism. Their ideal which we have inherited is that India's freedom and prosperity should be a contribution to the freedom and prosperity of the world. In this spirit we have worked for expanding the area of freedom throughout the world and ending the stifling bondage of colonialism in countries of Asia and Africa. It is a fact of history, that India's emergence into freedom from colonial rule in 1947 was the harbinger of freedom to many countries in

Asia and Africa.

In the same spirit of international brotherhood we have also shared our achievements, knowledge and modest resources with our friends and neighbours. I am glad to learn that in this field we have been able to make our modest contribution to the development of your dear country, with which we have immemorial ties. I was happy to learn that the 106th project built with Indian cooperation was completed recently. We deem it our privilege and duty to render fraternal assistance and offer our friendly cooperation in the noble endeavour of your country to achieve all-round economic, educational, scientific and technical development.

While we are striving for ourselves a rosy future, there looms on the horizon the shadow of an unprecedented holocaust which threatens to wipe out mankind and destroy its civilization through nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. Though capable of joining this so-called nuclear club, my country, in the specific interests of world peace, decided many years ago after a most careful national evaluation of all aspects of the problem, to utilize nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes. We have continued to adhere to this national decision. My Government is of the view that the nuclear weapon States have a definite duty to assure the non-nuclear weapon States and to provide an effective guarantee that their security would not, in any way, be jeopardized by the use or threat of use of such weapons and also that these weapons would not be used as instruments of pressure, intimidation or blackmail.

My Government would welcome any steps that might be taken by the nuclear weapon States in consultation with non-nuclear weapon States to increase the effectiveness of the role of the United Nations for purposes of providing security. The hopes well-being and peace of mankind depend on this. It is, therefore, essential that in the larger interest of world peace we must, at some time soon begin with the cessation of the nuclear arms race and proceed to nuc-

lear disarmament and ultimately to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

Under the distinguished leadership and able guidance of H.M. the King, much progress has been made in Nepal in recent years. We are proud of the fact that to some measure our cooperation has been of assistance. It shall ever be our endeavour to continue and increase the extent of this cooperation. The nature and quality of the relationship between our two countries has no parallel elsewhere. I would venture to suggest that this is the kind of relationship which should be an example to the other nations of the world searching for peace

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and mutual cooperation. Ours is, above all, a frank relationship born of centuries old traditions, the origins of which are enshrined in antiquity. It is a close relationship as evidenced by the free movement of our peoples across the border every day. Above all, it is a warm relationship and we do not feel as strangers in each other's country. India's only wish is that this great friend and neighbour of hers should live in independence, enjoying absolute sovereignty and freedom to pursue its own destiny in a manner chosen by its own people. India wants both Nepal and herself to be prosperous and affluent strong and stable, Our only aim is to ensure that there is no interference by anyone in Nepal or in India, or anywhere else. We have no intention to thrust ourselves on our neighbours even though they be our closest friends. At the same time, we place ourselves entirely at the disposal of our friends. This is amply proved by the fact that the whole of India is open to every national of your beautiful country and with a few minor exceptions every job under government -- either Central or that of the States -- is open to a Nepali national. This is a unique relationship. I do not know whether there is any similar example of friendship and esteem in which one country is held by its neighbour. We want nothing in return except your friendship and understanding. Our people are kith and kin bound together by ties of blood and sweat, tears

and toil by history and geography, by religion and culture. May these ties grow ever stronger and closer in time to come. In your prosperity we feel our own and in your welfare and progress we share your joy and pride.

I need hardly say that nothing pleases my people more than to see a reciprocation of these sentiments. I am sure both our peoples realise that the destinies of our two countries are linked in such an inextricable manner that we must share in each other's prosperity and progress. Willing cooperation in international affairs has, never implied derogation either in sovereignty or in independence. The aim of world cooperation needs to be based on strong bilateral cooperation which, in course of time, can lead to fruitful forms of multi-national cooperative endeavours.

The very word cooperation implies the sense of activities designed for mutual benefit. Action in one country which is detrimental to the vital interests of the other, cannot be described as cooperation. We are determined that nothing shall be done by India that may injure the national interests of Nepal, and we are convinced that Nepal will never do anything that may injure our national interests. We are both nonaligned countries. But nonalignment has never implied absence of cooperation. By extending the fullest cooperation to one another, the forces of non-alignment are undoubtedly strengthened further and help to strengthen the forces of peace.

I did not come here this afternoon to propound any theories or philosophic concepts. I am here as a friend and, if I may say so, represent a country that regards herself as the closest friend of your great people and you as the closest friend of India. I would like to conclude by expressing the hope that our two peoples and governments will continue and increase their cooperation for mutual benefit in all fields and all endeavours, in the United Nations and outside, in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council, in the UNCTAD and elsewhere. There are no limits to co-

operation as the horizon is limitless. I hope with the passage of time, our mutual relations will earn for themselves a special place in the history of world peace and co-operation.

The friendship between India and Nepal is not aimed against any other country. It is but a link albeit an important link -- in the greater friendship of all countries of Asia and the world. It is a friendship that has been tested by time and withstood many stresses and strains and emerged stronger after every challenge. It is a friendship that does not deter but encourages each one of us to make friends with others. May it always grow from strength to strength and help strengthen peace and prosperity, security and stability, social and economic progress in both our countries, in Asia and the world.

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NEPAL INDIA USA SWITZERLAND CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC LATVIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

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NEPAL

President's Speech at Banquet to Their Majesties the King and Queen

Following is the text of the speech of the President, Dr. Zakir Husain, at the Banquet in honour of Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal on October 15, 1968:

Your Majesties, I have spent four days in this beautiful country. Even within this short time I have been able to see for myself how much closeness of spirit and how much affection there is in Nepal for India. Wherever I have gone I have been welcomed

with affection, enthusiasm and hospitality by Your Majesty's Government and by the people of Nepal. This has been an unforgettable experience for me. I appreciate that this affection and regard is meant for the whole of India and is a manifestation of the deep ties of friendship between our two countries. On behalf of the Government and the people of India and on my own behalf, may I express my heart-felt gratitude for the affection and regard shown to me.

During these four days, I have spoken on several occasions about the relations between India and Nepal. This evening I should like to express my heart-felt desire and prayer that God Almighty may keep the relations between our two countries eternal and unbreakable, and for ever, close and firm.

The aims of both our countries are clear and our policies are peaceful. Both our countries desire peace throughout the world. It is our cherished desire that all peoples of all the countries of the world should enjoy the fruits of happiness and prosperity.

May those peoples of the world who for centuries have remained backward find the darkness lifted from their lives; may their lives be illumined with the new light of advancement and progress.

Our heart-felt desire is that the benefits from modern science and technology which man has acquired should go to the poor and backward peoples of the world; and they should be spared the possible devastation and bloodshed by the terrible weapons of destruction forged by the same science and technology.

There is no doubt that all the people of the world desire peace. They want to live in their own homes in peace and tranquility.

May the people of Nepal and India join the people of the world in making this dream of peace and prosperity come true, and fully cooperate with each other for the promotion of world peace.

Gautama Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi are the symbols of the spirit of our two countries. Both of them have taught us to follow the Middle Path. The grim realities of the present world situation also demand that we should in all sincerity respect and observe the principle of peaceful co-existence. True co-existence is possible only when no country in the world tries to impose its domination or influence on another country. The world can achieve true happiness and prosperity only when all countries and peoples are happy and prosperous. Such prosperity and happiness can be achieved only when the more prosperous and developed countries of the world willingly and without hesitation extend their help towards less developed and less prosperous countries and do not regard their aid as a charity and a burden. This will be possible only when the aid-giver does not regard his aid as an investment for deriving political support from the recipient.

I want to give Your Majesty the assurance that although India is herself a country which needs external assistance for her economic development, yet she has firm faith in these principles of peaceful co-existence.

Tomorrow I shall return to my country and shall take with me sweet memories of this visit to Nepal. On the eve of my departure I again convey to Your Majesties, Your Majesty's Government and to the people of Nepal my deep gratitude for the affection and welcome which I have received here.

May I propose a toast for the health of Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal and for the progress and prosperity of the people of Nepal.

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NEPAL USA INDIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

**Volume No**

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NEPAL

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Joint Communique on President's Visit

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Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on October 16, 1968 at the conclusion of the State visit to Nepal of the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain:

At the invitation of His Majesty King Mahendra, His Excellency Dr. Zakir Husain, President of India paid a five-day State visit to the Kingdom of Nepal from October 12 to October 15, 1968.

The President was accompanied by Shri C. M. Poonacha, India's Minister for Railways, Shri T. N. Kaul, Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs, Dr. Nagendra Singh, Secretary to the President, Maj. Gen. G. S. Gill, Military Secretary to the President, and other senior officials of the Government of India. His Majesty welcomed this visit as a symbol of the growing traditional friendship between Nepal and India.

His Excellency the President of India had an exchange of views with His Majesty the King, Her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness the Crown Prince and was happy to develop personal contacts with them.

His Excellency Dr. Zakir Husain was given a warm and affectionate welcome by the people of Nepal on his arrival at Kathmandu. During his stay in Kathmandu the President went round the, ancient cities of Bhaktapur, Patan and Kathmandu and saw many places of historical and cultural interest. The citizens of Kathmandu gave a warm civic reception to the President and conveyed their friendly greetings and good wishes for the progress and prosperity of the people of India. Dr. Zakir Husain was also received and welcomed by the Nepal-Bharat Maitri Sangh, Tribhuvan University, Nepal

Council of World Affairs and other cultural organizations.

The Prime Minister, Shri Soorya Bahadur Thapa, and the Foreign Minister, Shri Gehendra Bahadur Rajbhandary, called on the President. Matters relating to the mutual interest of the two countries figured in the talks in which India's Ambassador to Nepal, Shri Raj Bahadur, also participated.

The Nepalese side in the talks was in addition represented by Shri R. P. Giri, Minister for Land Reforms, Food and Agriculture, the Royal Nepalese Ambassador to India, Shri J. N. Singha, and other senior officials of His Majesty's Government of Nepal.

His Majesty the King and His Excellency the President had friendly talks on a variety of subjects. They re-affirmed their belief in the policy of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment and agreed that this policy has a continuing validity in the present-day world. His Majesty acquainted the President with Nepal's desire to promote the cause of peace by taking an increasingly active interest in the United Nations and in this connection referred to Nepal's candidacy to the Security Council for 1969-70 term. Both the Heads of State agreed that active participation by all countries, big and small, in the United Nations would be a desirable thing for the cause of peace and progress.

The two Heads of State emphasised that the elimination of threat of war and the preservation of the world peace are the prime necessities for the world to-day. They expressed their firm belief in the settlement of all questions between nations by peaceful means on the basis of the principles of justice and equality, independence and sovereignty.

His Majesty the King and His Excellency the President attached special significance to the problems of economic imbalance caused by the widening gap in the standard of living between the peoples in the economically advanced and those in the developing countries and urged favourable

trade terms and preferential treatment to the developing countries from the developed.

His Majesty acquainted the President with the progress made in Nepal in various fields and expressed his thanks for the keen interest shown by the Government of India on extending economic and technical assistance and co-operation to Nepal in different fields of national development. The President was highly impressed by the social and economic progress made by Nepal under the

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unifying leadership of His Majesty and assured His Majesty of India's continuing interest in Nepal's economic development.

His Majesty explained to the President Nepal's desire, in the interest of further economic development, to promote free and unrestricted flow of trade between India and Nepal and through India and emphasized the need for increased facilities in this regard. The two Heads of State noted the considerable increase in Nepal's export and import with third countries through India during the last few years and the need of India's continued co-operation for this purpose. His Majesty and the President agreed that the free flow of trade between India and Nepal was in the interest of both countries and should be promoted and developed in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Treaty of Trade and Transit, 1960.

His Majesty indicated to the President Nepal's desire to develop hydroelectric potential of the Karnali river and informed him of the present stage of the project. The President expressed India's willingness to help Nepal in this project in the feasible and mutually beneficial manner,

The President's talks with His Majesty the King and his Government indicated a community of interest between the two countries. The two Heads of State reaffirmed that Nepal and India have a permanent and continuing interest in each other's prosperity, progress, independence and territorial integrity. They agreed that personal contacts at various levels between

the two countries should be maintained and further strengthened with a view to re-inforcing the friendship between the two countries.

The President was deeply touched by the courtesy and hospitality of His Majesty and His Majesty's Government and by the warm and affectionate welcome accorded to him by the people of Nepal. The President extended a warm invitation to Their Majesties to pay a State visit to India. Their Majesties accepted the invitation with thanks.

NEPAL USA INDIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Prime Minister's Speech at Civic Reception

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi made the following speech at the civic reception held in her honour at the Town, Hall, Port of Spain, on October 11, 1968:

Your Lordship the Mayor, Mr. Prime Minister, Distinguished Guests: It is indeed an honour for me to be given the key of this beautiful city. I have come across the oceans from half the world away to visit you. Our cities are very far apart. I myself come from two cities really, one where I was born, which is one of the oldest cities in India, and where millions come on pilgrimage even today, and the other where I now live. The word Delhi means "threshold" and indeed in olden times it was regarded as the threshold of India through which numerous invaders came, attracted by the fabled wealth of India.

Today New Delhi is the heart of new India -- an India which is pulsating with life, which is struggling against tremendous odds to build a better life for her people.

I am Very happy to know that the women of Trinidad and Tobago are taking

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an interest in civic life and in the development of their country. Our leaders have always believed that no country can progress; if half its population does not take an interest or participate in its development or growth. That is how in India women came to the fore during the independence struggle and afterwards in the development of the country, They occupy many important positions, but we are not really interested in these important positions. What we would like is that the average woman should have a better status in society, have the opportunity, the privileges as well as the responsibilities of being a citizen, so that she can guide her children in the right direction. She can create an atmosphere of tolerance, of peace, of right values and high ideals so that the whole country can go forward. One of our very ancient saying is: "the woman is the home", and that is what you yourself also mentioned, Your Worship. If women go in the right direction the children and the next generation will go in the right direction, and that is the greatest wealth which any country can have.

I began by saying that there is a great distance between my city and yours. But in the world of today distance hardly counts and I believe that there is a bridge between this great city and my city, a bridge of friendship. I hope that that bridge will ever remain strong, that it will be a two-way bridge, with people coming from my country to yours and from your country to mine, so that we can keep, in touch, share our experiences, get to know of each other's difficulties as well as achievements, and together make the One World of our aspirations.

May I thank you once more for the honour which you have done me, and may I

also through you give the greetings of the people of India to the people of Trinidad and Tobago and wish them all progress and prosperity.

SPAIN INDIA USA TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO OMAN

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

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TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Prime Minister's Address to Public Rally

Following is the text of the speech made by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at a public rally at the Oval, Port of Spain, on October 11, 1968:

Mr. Prime Minister, Honourable Chief Justice, Honourable Ministers, Distinguished Guests and last but not least the wonderful children of Trinidad and Tobago: Long before I came here I had heard of the colour and the beauty of this country. As Your Prime Minister has reminded you, we have met many times at the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conferences, but today even though I am here for - such a short while, you have given me the opportunity of seeing something of the colour, the great vitality and the dynamism of your composite, multi-racial society. In your lives here you are showing and proving what we in India are also trying to do.

India is a country which is very old, but it is trying to rejuvenate itself. It is trying to keep the best in its old civilization but yet to temper it with science and modern technology so that our people can reap the benefits of modernity and have a better standard of living. Many years ago we fought for freedom. It was a long and hard

struggle, and because of the sacrifices of our people, not only of grown-ups but even of children, we attained freedom. We knew that freedom would have no meaning for our people unless it was accompanied by social justice for all and economic welfare for all, and therefore we regarded political freedom merely as the first step. And today we are in the second part of our journey towards self-reliance.

Like you, we have many religions. In fact all the religions of the world find a place in India. We have tried to give all religions equal respect, and tolerate all different points of view. But we want all to contribute their talent, their wisdom to the building of this new, strong India. One of our most ancient sayings is that "just as the bee gathers honey from different

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flowers. so should the wise man take knowledge and experience from all people". This is the purpose of my coming to Trinidad and Tobago, to try and get to know more about your country to see how you are dealing with the problems which are common to all developing countries, how you are meeting your difficulties and how you are achieving success.

We share many problems. It is in the measure that we can solve these problems that we can bring better life to our people and contribute to peace in the world. In the short time that India has been independent she has taken great strides. We have now 75 million children in school. We have a total population of 520 million. So when somebody asks how many problems I have got, I say I have 520 million problems, because each person has to be fed, clothed, given shelter, employment. But gradually we are building a base. We have increased our agricultural production by 73 per cent in spite of three years of the world's worst drought. We have increased our industrial production by 162 per cent. A country which was producing no machinery and was getting everything from outside during the colonial days, is today making its own jet aeroplanes and locomotives not to speak of many other

necessities of life.

As the country is so vast, whatever we make is just a drop in the ocean, and it will be a long time before we can make all that we need. We do think that in two or three years we shall be self-sufficient in foodgrains. But it will take time before all the other things can be made, and in the meantime our people are impatient because they see that today the world has the knowledge, the world has the power, the world has the resources to eliminate hunger and want and disease, and they see that in spite of all this, the resources are not being used for this purpose but are used to make weapons and things which are not to the benefit of the common good. That is why there is impatience in our midst.

We believe that there can be peace in the world only when people recognise the fact that every country, no matter how small or big it is, has its own personality, its own ideas and its own way of life, and no country should interfere with another country. We are all on this one planet, Earth, and until we know how to go and live and inhabit other planets we must learn to live together on this world as the many races of Trinidad and Tobago have learnt to live in this one country. When we can live together and try to understand and appreciate each other's point of view then there will be friendship and that will lead to peace in the world.

Peace by itself is a wonderful idea, but we want peace not only because it is a wonderful idea, but because it is an absolute necessity for us who have got to provide the basic necessities for our people. We cannot have development, or production, if there is no peace.

We in India also believe -- not only now but from centuries past -- that all are born equal. Emperor Asoka, who lived in the third century B.C., wrote on rocks and iron pillars which still dot all our countryside: "As the welfare of my children is dear to me so is the welfare of all other children and all other people." This is what we feel.

We are concerned about the welfare and the sufferings and the happiness of all other people, and I hope that my visit here will help to cement the friendship between India and Trinidad and Tobago.

You, Mr. Prime Minister, have been a friend of my father's. I hope that that friendship will continue with my country. We have admired your work from a distance and these few hours here today have given me an opportunity to learn about what you are doing here and how you are trying to re-construct Trinidad and Tobago so that it can move ahead to progress and prosperity. In this you have the good wishes of my country and indeed the purpose of my coming here is to bring the greetings and good wishes from the people of India to the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

May I say a very big "thank you" to all the children who have given us this delightful programme, to all the grown-ups who have helped them to produce the programme, and to all of you who have come here to greet me? Once more, thank you and my very best wishes for the future of this great little country.

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SPAIN USA TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO INDIA

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Joint Communique on Prime Minister's Visit

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on October 12, 1968 at the end of the Prime Minister, Shrimati

Indira Gandhi's visit to Trinidad and Tobago:

At the invitation of the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Dr. The Rt. Honourable Eric Williams, the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, paid a State visit to Trinidad and Tobago on October 11 and 12, 1968.

On October 12, the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago held talks on matters of interest to the two countries and took the opportunity to review some of the important current international issues.

On the Indian side, the following officials of the Ministry of External Affairs took part in the talks:

Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, Foreign Secretary; Shri P. N. Haksar, Secretary to the Prime Minister; Shri J. S. Mehta, Joint Secretary, Policy Planning; Shri Natwar Singh, Director, Prime Minister's Secretariat and Shri S. K. Singh, Director, Foreign Trade.

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago, in addition to the Prime Minister, was represented by the following:

The Honourable A. N. R. Robinson, Acting Attorney-General; The Honourable Gerard Montano, Minister Home Affairs; The Honourable Kamaluddin Mohammed, Minister of West Indian Affairs and the Acting Minister of External Affairs; The Honourable Francis Prevatt, Minister of State (Finance) and Mr. William Demas, Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister.

The talks, which were held in an atmosphere of informality and cordiality, converged on the ways and means by which the developing countries could in a climate of international peace preserve their internal democratic structures and promote the rapid growth of their retarded economies. They agreed that the United Nations and its agencies and the principles, which it embodies, provide the framework for preservation of national independence as well as

for fostering international cooperation. There was no escape from the logic of peaceful coexistence between sovereign independent nations. Whatever international or ideological conflicts persist must, in their view, be resolved without resort to the use of force and with due regard to the rights of all nations, big and small. They welcomed the process of decolonisation and declared that the persistence of racialism was not only immoral but carried the seeds of internal and external conflicts. Both countries subscribed fully to the broad principles agreed upon at the second UNCTAD and urged the international community to secure early implementation of those recommendations.

India and Trinidad and Tobago have close cultural kinship which draws them together. The two Prime Ministers affirmed their dedication to the principles and the institutions of democracy and racial and religious toleration. While cherishing the racial and cultural affinities with those citizens of Trinidad and Tobago whose original home was in India, India expected them to be completely identified with the country of their domicile.

Despite the gulf of distance, the two Prime Ministers believe there is scope for closer bilateral cooperation between the two countries. They agreed that efforts must be made to increase the trade between the two countries. The two Prime Ministers welcomed the schemes for the setting up of small and medium scale industrial enterprises in cooperation with each other. In response to the suggestion from the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, the Prime Minister of India agreed in principle to make available technical assistance for projects and programmes which could benefit economic development of Trinidad and Tobago.

They agreed that further steps should be taken towards exchange of scholars to

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promote cultural and scientific interflow between the two countries. The Prime Minister of India was specially gratified at the estab-

lishment of a Chair of Afro-Asian studies at the Staugustine Branch of the University of the West Indies to provide a framework for closer cultural interchange. The two Prime Ministers agreed to explore the possibility of a cultural agreement between the two countries. The Prime Minister of India also hoped that to balance the representation, a Resident Mission to represent Trinidad and Tobago would soon be established in India.

The Prime Minister of India thanked the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago for the cordial welcome and invited the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago to pay an official visit to India at his convenience. Dr. Eric Williams, the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, accepted the invitation in principle with pleasure.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO INDIA MALI PERU USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Shri Morarji Desai's Speech at National Press Club

Following is the text of the speech delivered by Shri Morarji Desai, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Government of India, at the National Press Club in Washington on October 2, 1968:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your very kind words of welcome. I come to Washington and to the National Press Club not as a stranger but as one familiar with your hospitality and warm friendship. We, in India, share with the people of your great country the traditions of a free and effective Fourth Estate. Recently when the major

newspapers in India had discontinued publication for some length of time because of a newspaper strike, we all felt a loss of our identity, although, like most things in life, even this strike. had its compensations. Politicians did not have to make speeches because they knew that these would not be reported. The citizen could look around for himself and find that everything was normal without being told that it was not. And the efficiency of the Government in preserving its secrets was at its maximum. I may assure you, however, that when the newspapers came back we were all greatly relieved that happy times were here again.

This morning, I was privileged to participate in the company of some distinguished American friends in a function to inaugurate the Centenary celebrations of Mahatma Gandhi or Gandhiji as he is, with simple love and reverence, known throughout India. Gandhiji was born on the 2nd of October, 1869. If he were alive, he would have entered the hundredth year of his life today; and the coming year is being celebrated as a Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Year not only in India but in most countries of the world as well. This occasion is uppermost in my mind and I would like to share with you what seems to me to be the great significance of Gandhiji's life and teachings to us all.

To us in India, and not us alone, Gandhiji and his life and work stood most of all for the values of equality and freedom, of truth and tolerance, of peace and courage. His great teaching to us was that one cannot abolish poverty unless one identified oneself

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with the poor. All aspects of life and of society concerned him and to him nothing was too trivial or unimportant if it could in some way contribute to the social, economic or moral betterment of his people. Members of the National Press Club perhaps will recall Gandhiji's unique contribution to journalism, a contribution measured not only by the number of journals he started and edited, but even more by the simple dignity of a style which was all his own. He made

no artificial distinctions between personal and public life and felt that there was no reason why truth and politics could not mix.

I have been reading about the emergence of the demand for a new politics in your country which is a testament to the vitality of your society in which there is a constant desire for a renewal and a re-statement of values and directions in politics just as much as in science, technology and in the arts. To us in India, Gandhiji demonstrated a new politics derived from some of the oldest values not only of our culture but of civilisation as universally understood. His timeliness was thus a product of his timeliness. A striking illustration of this phenomenon is that Henry David Thoreau, the great American philosopher, is said to have had in his personal collection translations of most of the central texts of Hindu philosophy and religion. In turn, Thoreau's own writings and particularly the essay on civil disobedience had a profound effect on Gandhiji. In the words of Louis Fischer, 'Thoreau in Massachusetts borrowed from Gandhiji's India and repaid the debt with words that reached Gandhiji in a South African cell'. We all know also the influence that Gandhi had on the late Dr. Martin Luther King and I can testify to the inspiration that Dr. King has had in India. I am, therefore, particularly pleased that I am among my American friends today on this auspicious occasion.

The greatest contribution of Gandhiji was of course the character he imparted to the national revolution in India. As the years go by, this achievement of gaining political independence for as large and diverse a nation as India from a strong and well-entrenched colonial power by entirely peaceful means strikes us as an achievement truly without parallel in the history of the world. With the winning of independence, Gandhiji himself felt that he was beginning a second life of action and he had often said that he wished to live to 125 years of age to see it completed. He saw very clearly, as did our other great leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, that the survival and sustenance of democracy could be assured only on the

basis of steady economic growth towards a higher standard of life for the whole of our people. In this task also, change had to be rapid as well as pervasive if it had to take place without violence and cataclysm.

There has indeed been rapid change in the Indian economic scene since independence and change for the better. I will not repeat the statistics today nor are statistics needed for any visitor to India to notice that our people all over the country are better fed, better clothed and are provided with better health facilities. Educational opportunities have expanded a great deal both in general and technical education, and there have been great advances in transportation, in power development, especially in the electrification of villages, in industry and overall in all sectors that go to make for a better standard of living. And all this has happened in a matter of two decades within the framework of an actively functioning democracy.

I am happy to say that we have had a record agricultural crop last year as a result both of good management and of good luck. Agricultural production went up by 20 per cent last year and the overall national income also increased by more than 9 per cent. A very considerable part of the increase in food production was due to the efforts of the farmer in the adoption of new high-yielding varieties of seeds, the use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides on a large scale, better irrigation practices and greater investment in land. The area covered by the new seed varieties increased from less than five million acres in 1966-67, to 15 million acres in the following year. In the same two-year period, the consumption of nitrogenous fertilisers increased by 50 per cent and the area covered by plant protection methods was doubled. What these figures, impressive as they are, convey is again nothing compared to what is conveyed by a visit to a farm in India, whichever part of the country you choose. In this year in the

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Punjab, which promises to be the granary of wheat in India, the farmer has had a

harvest of gold and other States in the East as well as in the West and in the South have also done well.

In India, the role that the Government seeks to play is purely to help the farmer in every way to help himself. ID this important task of arranging for the inputs and in providing facilities for credit, research and extension, Indian scientists, administrators, economists and bankers have stood by the Indian farmer loyally and effectively. We have also had valuable help from our friends abroad both from Government and private foundations, in the import of know-how and of material inputs such as fertilisers, agricultural equipment and pesticides. We are particularly grateful to your country for help in this area.

It is our declared objective that India should achieve self-reliance in food production in as short a period as possible. In the current year, our food imports from abroad will be substantially less than in the two previous years. With weather conditions this year being reasonably satisfactory so far, except in some parts of the country which have been subject to floods or drought, we are hopeful that a reasonably good crop will be harvested in the current year also. Thus, in a period of about three years, India should be able to do without food imports on any significant scale from abroad. In order to secure this target, we will, however, need to import fertilisers and other requirements for agriculture on a substantially large scale during the next years. In essence, the development problem we face is to find adequate external resources for this purpose while carrying on development in other sectors and meeting our debt burden.

It certainly makes sense to import fertilisers instead of food. It is even a better idea to build fertiliser factories in India instead of importing finished fertilisers. We have a number of projects, many of them with the participation of foreign private capital, which are designed to result in a total production capacity for nitrogenous fertilisers of nearly three million tons in the early 70s as compared to a domestic pro-

duction level of less than half a million tons at present.

Progress has likewise been encouraging in family planning, exports and industry, the other three crucial sectors of emphasis in our development programme. In the area of population control 4.5 million sterilisations have been conducted in the country since 1956 and the target for 1967-68 of 1.5 million was exceeded by over 20 per cent. The I.U.C.D. programme as well as other methods continue to be in high demand and we have recently inaugurated a nation-wide programme for the distribution of condoms. Industrial production in the first few months of the current years has risen by nearly 6 per cent and there has been a similar increase in exports. The Indian economy is thus fast returning to its normal rate of growth and, given satisfactory weather conditions, we have every confidence of accelerated performance in agriculture and exports in the coming period.

We are also currently engaged in preparing a new fourth five year plan due to begin in April 1969. Any target of growth that may be adopted, whether it is 5, 6 or 7 per cent, is to me not the most material consideration, for all these figures are modest in comparison to what needs to be done in India. What is crucial, however, is to mobilise skills, enterprise and capabilities to put through as massive an order of development as is physically and financially feasible. As in the past, the bulk of the resources required for development will be found internally in India. Considerable redistribution of the pattern of incomes is taking place in India and sectors such as agriculture, which have benefitted most in the recent past, will naturally contribute a higher share for development in the future. In taxing the farmer, however, we have to be imaginative as well as somewhat indirect. It makes better sense to tax the consumption of the farmer than his direct income. It is also possible to tap considerable domestic savings which exist in the rural sector if these savings could be demonstrably channelled into investments such as fertiliser plants and irrigation works resulting in tan-

gible benefits to the rural tax payer. We are experimenting with these techniques in India and I am confident that this problem can be adequately met in the context of the Fourth Plan.

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Last year when I spoke at this forum I had referred to the fact that there was a healthy plurality of parties in power in the different States of India and that as a result decisions will have to be and were being institutionalised to a much greater extent than was the case when the same party was in power in the Centre and in all the States. This process of collective decision making within a federation, giving due respect to the point of view of members of different parties and representatives of different regions, has indeed proceeded well. This experience has also once again demonstrated to us that ideals and aspirations, from whichever party platform they are derived, have a great deal in common in means as well as in ends. All parties in India are committed to our basic democratic structure and to the achievement of change through persuasion rather than through force. I would submit that the establishment and continuation of this form of secular democracy which, unfortunately, has by no means been a uniform experience throughout the world, is in itself an achievement of no mean order.

Mr. Chairman, I have given you a rapid sketch of what seemed to me to be the more important features of the current Indian economic and political scene. In doing so, I have not intentionally referred to the climate for international aid which, although external to our situation, affects us in our present phase of development more actually than we wish it did. This is because I, for one, do not feel that we have any natural right to seek assistance from others or to complain that such assistance is not forthcoming in the amount or in a manner which our need might justify. We have borne our burdens mostly on our own shoulders and shall continue to do so in the future as in the past. We also, at the same time, have had considerable understanding and help

from friendly foreign countries and what we value most is the goodwill and fellowship built up thereby between us and our friends abroad not only on a national but very often on a person-to-person basis. We also fully understand that in certain phases of history it is entirely natural that the people in one country or another are likely to be almost entirely preoccupied with their own problems, leaving them little time to reflect on the rest of the world.

In today's climate in the area of international economic cooperation, the essential question is whether or not the more affluent countries of the world recognise that they have any responsibility for the two-thirds of their fellowmen who are at an average level of income which is about a twentieth of what is considered as the poverty level in the most affluent part of the globe. This is the central problem, and if we are interested in a rational ordering of the world, all of us, to whichever country we belong, have to work towards finding a durable and truly liberal solution to it.

Before I came to this gathering, I was told that this was a week in which some of your presidential and vice-presidential candidates are addressing the National Press Club. It may, therefore, not be inappropriate if I recall what two of your leaders had to say on this matter of international cooperation some years ago. At a conference in Washington, Vice-President Humphrey said, and I quote, 'Let us recognise that the task of our cooperating with and helping other nations to help themselves is a continuing task which will not be finished next year or even the year after or the year after that'. Another participant in the same conference made a special reference to India and said, I quote again, 'As far as our friends in India are concerned, we should assure those in that great land so far away, in which we have always had such a warm and friendly interest, that we welcome the opportunity to work with them in economic development so that it may be proved to all the world that it is possible to have progress with freedom.' That other participant was former Vice-President, Mr. Richard

Nixon.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me wish you well in the coming months on my own behalf and on behalf of the people of another large democracy.

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USA INDIA SOUTH AFRICA LATVIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC FRANCE PERU

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

VENEZUELA

Prime Minister's Speech at State, Banquet

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following speech at the Banquet given in her honour by His Excellency Dr. Raul Leoni, President of the Republic of Venezuela, on October 10, 1968:

Mr. President, Senora Leoni, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am most grateful to you for your invitation which has made it possible for me to fulfil a long cherished wish to visit, even if for a brief while, your beautiful country and the dynamic city of Caracas which is the birth-place of your great leader Simon Bolivar and which, in recent years, has grown faster than any other South American capital.

This is my first visit to Venezuela, but during our own struggle for independence in India, we drew inspiration from other similar struggles against colonial Empires. The names of Francisco Miranda; Simon Bolivar, your great Liberator; and Paez, the first President of Venezuela, are part of the history of human freedom. When I went to Bolivar's tomb this afternoon to pay the

homage of the people of India, his stirring words to Venezuelans rang in my ears: "The people shall be the creators of their fundamental laws. They shall be the masters of their own destiny,"

In recent years we have watched the efforts of President Romulo Betancourt and of Your Excellency in building a modern progressive democracy. We are deeply committed to the social and economic development of our own people, we are impressed by the manner in which you have in so short a time transformed a basically rural society into a thriving industrialised community with the highest per capita income in South America.

I have come a long way, Mr. President, to exchange ideas with you and your distinguished colleagues. Having achieved independence from colonial stagnation much earlier than us, you have forged ahead of us in economic growth. In India we have found that social and economic growth within a democratic framework cannot allow undue concentration of wealth or disparity of incomes; therefore simultaneously with absolute growth, we must also meet the basic needs of the poor and under-privileged sections of our society.

#### FRIENDLY TIES

The relations between Venezuela and India, particularly in recent years, have been friendly and we have noted that one of the few diplomatic missions that Venezuela has established in the Asian continent is in New Delhi. May I express to you, Mr. President, and through you to your people, our sincere desire to strengthen and extend the friendly relations which already exist between us? We have also decided to establish, in the near future, an office in Caracas which, to begin with, will be charged with the enlargement of commercial exchanges between our two countries. We are also looking forward to receiving your Minister of External Relations in New Delhi a few weeks later.

The warmth of the sentiments which Your Excellency has expressed in your

speech tonight assures me that we can look forward to cooperation in many areas of our national endeavour and in the larger interests of peace and stability in the world.

India has had a long unbroken history of thousands of years. Our devotion to democracy, our ideals of tolerance and our

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commitment to peace are derived from our traditional values. Many of these ideals and values we see reflected in the history and development of Venezuela. We share with Venezuela even the name of its original inhabitants, because when Columbus discovered your country in 1498, he was actually seeking the mainland of India.

But it is not only our past histories that provide our points of contact. There are the present-day needs and urges of our people, their urges and aspirations, which every modern society, and particularly democracies, must satisfy. Prosperity, like peace, is indivisible and the world cannot remain divided in a rich half and a poor half.

As in Venezuela so in India, ever since our independence, we have tried, to the best of our ability, to meet the economic and social needs of our people. It has been a hard struggle to overcome in 21 years of alien rule. For centuries, Indian agriculture had been allowed to stagnate. It is only during the last 15 years that schemes of land reforms enabled about 20 million tenants to become owners of their own land. We have applied science and technology to our agriculture and our scientists have developed high-yielding varieties of wheat, rice, maize, groundnut and millet, the yields of which have been double or triple those of the older varieties. We have undertaken giant river valley projects for irrigation and rural electrification. As a result, we have been able almost to double the production of our food crops. During this period, we have increased industrial production by 162 per cent. Steel production has increased fivefold and the production of machine tools has increased manifold. India to-day manufactures and exports steel rails, railway

wagons and locomotives, computer parts, machine tools and radio isotopes. India also manufactures automobiles, heavy trucks, jet planes and ocean-going vessels. Finally, India has graduated into the atomic age and, apart from research reactors, is now building three atomic power stations.

In the social field we have created 30 million jobs and added 20 years to our life span. We have also put an additional 45 million children in school (taking the total to 75 million) and undertaken a programme of school meals to improve their nutrition. I was very happy to hear today of Senora de Leoni's great interest in the welfare of children, and as I told you,, Madam, it is a work which is very close to my heart. A nation can truly be judged by the way it cares for its children.

While we have done all this, we are only too conscious that what remains to be accomplished is much larger and when we see how little we have been able to do for the poorest and most backward of our people, we cannot but be humble. Our size and our enormous population give our problems a character and magnitude of their own.

In our campaign for social and economic betterment we cannot, in the modern world, remain isolationists. We must learn from the scientifically advanced countries. But in doing so, we must be careful about the terms on which we receive such assistance. Is the present pattern of aid to be regarded as charity to be repaid or perhaps an investment for political support? We are chary of new bonds which might increase our dependence on dominant economies.

#### UNCTAD-II

In the recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held earlier this year in New Delhi, we found that Venezuela shared many of our views. We would both like to pay our own way in the world and to finance our development as far as possible from the proceeds of our own exports. But here we are confronted with built-in obstacles in the present structure of inter-

national trade. That is why at the New Delhi conference both our countries laid emphasis on the reduction of tariffs by richer countries on products originating in developing countries, and on a scheme of general non-reciprocal and non discriminatory preferences in favour of exports from developing countries.

But, Mr. President, economic development can only take place in a climate of peace and all our efforts towards richer exchanges, whether in commercial or cultural spheres, will be nullified if we are unable to contribute to the maintenance of peace in

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the world and to promote international understanding and cooperation. This is why both Venezuela and India have given full support to policies of peace and the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

In India we have consistently stood for the principle of the sovereignty and independence of nations, regardless of size, for the principle of non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another and the principle of inadmissibility of force or duress in deciding territorial and other disputes between countries. Whenever we have seen these principles violated or the Charter rights of small nations denied, we have not hesitated to raise our voice in protest. Recently we have done so again when we felt that there have been serious departures from these principles.

#### DISARMAMENT

The goal of disarmament is dear to us. India has not only given consistent support to all measures of disarmament but has also on principle refrained from entering into the nuclear arms race. We in India have never had aggressive designs on any neighbour and want nothing more than to live in peace and to devote our energy to the enormous task of economic construction. We recognise that our principal enemy is underdevelopment and we have no desire to divert our attention from this struggle. We are

primarily interested in economic development and keenly feel that the vast sums which today are spent in nuclear armaments can be much better utilised for the economic and social advancement of the peoples of the world.

Driving from the airport I saw many posters of your forthcoming elections and they took my mind back to my own country. Like you we cherish democracy. Both our countries have taken the most difficult path, namely democracy, but we know that it is the more enduring path.

Mr. President, let me thank you again for the warm hospitality that has been extended to us by you, your Government and the people of Venezuela and also for the sentiments that you have so graciously expressed towards our country.

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, may I now request you to join me in a toast to the well-being and long life of the President, to the progress and prosperity of the Republic of Venezuela and the growing friendship between India and Venezuela.

VENEZUELA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDIA IRAN USA LATVIA RUSSIA PERU

**Date :** Oct 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

VENEZUELA

Joint Communique on Prime Minister's Visit

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on October 11, 1968 at the end of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to Venezuela:

At the invitation of the Government of

the Republic of Venezuela, the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, paid an official visit to Caracas on October 10 and 11, 1968. The President of the Republic, H.E. Dr. Raul Leoni, received her on arrival and introduced her to the members of the Venezuelan Cabinet. The opportunity was utilised for a fruitful exchange of views between the President of the Republic and the Foreign Minister, H.E. Mr. Iribarren Borges, on the one hand and the Prime Minister of India on the other on problems of national and international interest to the two countries. The conversation confirmed a broad similarity of approach to international problems and a mutual desire to promote closer understanding and cooperation between the Governments and the peoples of the two countries.

In their discussions, the President and the Prime Minister affirmed their conviction that the United Nations and its Charter provided the framework for safeguarding international peace while its subsidiary agencies offered the means to promote beneficial economic cooperation amongst the world community of independent nations. The two

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leaders agreed that the right of all nations to pursue their own policies, free from direct or indirect interference, must be fully respected. On their part, Venezuela and India cherished their faith in the democratic form of Government and affirmed that economic progress tempered with social justice must remain the goal of their national policies while the burden of sacrifice for the realisation of their nations economic objectives must necessarily fall on their own peoples. The President and the Prime Minister acknowledged the importance of international cooperation and peace to facilitate national development and progress. But even enlightened international cooperation will prove of no avail unless the present dangerous trend, which is leading to the polarisation of wealth and economic power in the developed countries on the one hand and the stagnation and slow advance in the developing countries on the other, is corrected to remove this imbalance. Determined efforts must be

made to rectify the present pattern of international commerce. The two leaders reiterated their broad support to the principles embodied in the resolutions of UNCTAD II held in New Delhi in 1968. They particularly urged that the export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods to the markets of the developed countries must be facilitated through non-reciprocal tariff concessions. Further, a deliberate effort, must be made to bring the benefits of modern technology and applied science to the developing countries.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that the bilateral relations between the two countries which were free of any political difficulties should be purposefully expanded. They recognised the need and scope for cooperation between them in the commercial, cultural, technological and scientific fields. The Prime Minister of India announced the intention of the Government of India to open in the near future a resident mission in Caracas. She also welcomed the prospect of the visit of the Foreign Minister of Venezuela to India.

The Prime Minister thanked the President of Venezuela for the warm and cordial hospitality accorded to her by the Government and people of Venezuela. Though the visit was short, it was crowded by events and gave her a vivid glimpse of the life of the Venezuelan people. She extended a friendly invitation to the President and Madame Leoni to visit India at their convenience which the President accepted with pleasure.

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**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

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CEYLON

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following speech at the Palam airport welcoming His Excellency Mr. Dudley Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon, on his arrival in New Delhi on November 27, 1968 on a State visit to India:

Mr. Prime Minister, we are delighted to welcome you to Delhi and to India. We regard your visit as a special gesture of friendship and goodwill and this is the sentiment which we fully and most sincerely reciprocate. I am reminded of our last meeting and the wonderful reception which you and the people of Ceylon gave me on my visit there last year.

We look forward to the talks which we are going to have, which will be a continuation of the frank and friendly talks which we had earlier. During the last few days, out, officials--officials of your country and mine--have been working hard to prepare the ground for these conversations.

I know that it is the mutual desire of our people and our Governments that our two countries should work together in harmony and in a spirit of friendship understanding and mutual accommodation.

I hope that your visit, though short, will be interesting and enjoyable and it will surely enable us to renew the many ties which bind our two countries together and the friendship which we have with you personally and with your people.

INDIA USA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

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**Volume No**

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Reply by Mr. Senanayake

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Following is the text of speech of H.E. Mr. Dudley Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon, in reply to Mrs. Gandhi's welcome address:

Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very glad that I was able to avail myself of the invitation extended to me by you, Prime Minister, to visit this land of yours. You very graciously visited my own country last year and I am sure you were able to see with your own eyes on your very many visits to Ceylon the regard and affection that the people of my country have for you and the people of India.

People from Ceylon look forward to come into this country for very many reasons. Long have been the association and the ties between these two. Geographically, we are very close to each other. The cultural and particularly the Buddhists such as myself, feel the special tie that binds one to this country. This is the land of the Buddha. Therefore, it is with a great deal of pleasure that one avails oneself of the opportunity of coming here. This is not the first occasion on which I have had that opportunity. I have done so officially, but not though as Prime Minister, and unofficially.

I recall with pride and pleasure the many discussions I had the opportunity of

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having with your illustrious father of international fame and I am very happy indeed to have this opportunity of visiting this country for the first time as Prime Minister when you, as his distinguished daughter, is guiding the destinies of this country. I am looking forward to the discussions we are to have about our mutual problems and problems that generally loom large in the inter-

national horizon and I am sure that with the goodwill prevailing amongst us and with the general common approach to those problems coming to agreed solutions on those will not be difficult.

USA INDIA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

CEYLON

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

Following is the text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's speech at the Banquet given in honour of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, H.E. Mr. Dudley Senanayake, in New Delhi on November 28, 1968:

We are gathered here this evening to welcome an old and esteemed friend from whose visit will forge yet another link in the age-old relationship between Sri Lanka and India. It is a link which we value greatly. We welcome you here not only because you are an old friend but because it is so essential to renew these old relationships and friendships. In this world nothing can be neglected and least of all friendship. It is something which has to be constantly nurtured. It needs mutual consideration, mutual help and this is what we have been trying to do over the years. We have believed in friendship as an ideal and also as a very practical path of modern life.

With Sri Lanka we have shared many common sources of culture. The same ideals and teachings have inspired us in the past and we have been through similar historical experiences in the last two centuries. Twenty

years ago we won our freedom and we both set out to transform the structure of our social, political and economic life. We have gone a long way and yet the way which we have to go still is so much longer and it is inevitable that it should be an arduous and steep path full of difficulties and even of dangers.

#### TURBULENT AGE

We are trying to crowd In the span of a generation or two the achievements, the changes which many other countries have taken a century or two to achieve. We are living in an age which is turbulent, which is full of many contradictions. And so perhaps it is not strange that we face practically all over the world a crisis in our civilisation. For us these problems are all the more acute because we are trying to go forward with the consent of our people -- a people which is highly individualistic and sometimes it seems each individual trying to follow a particular path only for the sake of being on his own.

We have worked a democratic process, universal franchise, mass communication, popular education, trade unionism -- all good ideals, all things which we admired and which we would like to encourage, and yet all these generating demands on the meagre resources of our respective countries. We in India like you, Sir, in Ceylon are trying to take advantage of the advance technologies in the world trying to skip various processes if we can.

We talked earlier today, and on my visit to you last year, on the improvements which both our countries have achieved in the sphere, for instance, of agriculture. Whatever improvements we make, whatever steps forward we take, we find there are new problems. However, we have now got used to these. We know that there is never going to be a time when we will be without problems. We know that we have to make up our minds to face whatever problems there are with determination and with courage and I can certainly say for the people of India that they have got this determination and this courage. We, the people, have passed

through an extremely trying and difficult period full of natural calamities which have brought great hardship and caused great damage to life and property but we found that although it has made life more difficult, it has strengthened the feeling of unity and the feeling of sympathy which the people of India have for any particular section which happens to be suffering.

#### SIMILARITY OF OUTLOOK

In spite of our efforts, in spite of our endeavour towards peace, we find that in the world there are still many areas where there is conflict and tension. We find that in spite of all the advance, in spite of all the evolution, racialism is on the increase and is violence, not only within societies, but between nations. And the only way we can meet it is by greater determination to strive for peace and to try and check these forces. Indeed, in these matters we have a great similarity of outlook. We are glad that in one area where there is conflict we see at least the first step towards peace. We sincerely hope that this process will not be reversed, that whatever steps have been taken will be only the forerunner of future steps in the direction of peace because peace in South-East Asia is essential for my country as it is for yours for orderly development for the better life which we wish for our people.

There are many other problems which we have discussed and which we found we have more or less the same outlook. There are areas of conflict which were just entangled as they were some time ago and we can only wish that they also will move towards peaceful settlement.

I spoke earlier of our past. We have in our past much that makes us proud that gives us strength to face our difficulties but we find also that sometimes it is a burden. Sometimes it prevents us from moving ahead or having the sort of rational forward looking outlook which is so essential in the world today. India is trying to achieve material

progress but without losing what it had of spiritualism or the old high ideals. We want to go ahead keeping what is good in our past and yet courageously removing that from the past which is no longer of relevance and which can only be an obstacle in our progress. In our economic life, in our foreign policy, in our social life, we are trying to evolve a new path and a middle path and this is more difficult than deciding either to cut off completely from the past and strike on a new road or deciding to remain on the old road and not taking the new. But we have taken these difficult paths because we felt that they were the ones which would strengthen our people, which would give them greater maturity and therefore the best for our country in the long run.

#### FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL

India has not always been able to live up to her high ideals because we also are human beings but we have at least kept them before us as our objectives and our aims and I sincerely hope that we will never give up these objectives and these aims. Our President, Dr. Radhakrishnan once said that one is not an Indian by merely being born in India but only if one stands for what India has stood for, its high ideals and so, on. India has stood for peace, for friendship, for respect of other's ways of thinking and living and I hope that this will always be so. We want friendship with all our neighbours.

In the world today it is not of relevance whether our country is big or small, each country has its own individuality. Even though we have such close cultural bonds with Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka has developed its own very distinct personality and individuality and we respect her for it. We would like friendship to be based on a sharing of experience, of cooperation and of solving our problems with consideration towards each other's difficulties and problems. I think that is the best foundation on which, good neighbourliness and friendship can be based.

So, once more I welcome you here and

through you I would like to give the best wishes of all of us and of the entire Indian people for the wonderful people of Sri Lanka.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I ask you to drink a toast to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka and the prosperity and progress of the people of Sri Lanka and to the friendship between the people of our two countries.

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**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

CEYLON

Reply by Prime Minister of Ceylon

His Excellency, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon, made the following speech in reply to the toast proposed by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi:

Your Excellency, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: It gives me great pleasure indeed to say a few words after a very kind toast you have just proposed and the references you have made to my country. When I received the invitation from Your Excellency on your visit to Ceylon last year to visit your country, I was very anxious to do so for very many reasons. After this programme had been arranged, some of the public servants of my country decided to start a strike today for higher wages. In fact I believe you have just had one and Ceylon very often tends to follow India in very many matters. The desire to do so in strikes as well as these things can

be infectious. However, in spite of that, my eagerness to fulfil the obligations of the invitation extended to me was such that I was very glad indeed to come here and I am glad for having come here.

#### FRIENDLY TIES

Your Excellency, you have referred to the various ties that bind our two countries together. It is customary to do so and I do not think why we should not say so over and over again. The realisation of those ties will have to make the bond closest and we will undoubtedly approach our problems with a greater understanding. The ties are stretched over a long period of history, over 2000/2500 years or more. We are reminded of the Asokan period when a country bestowed on another the greatest gift that a country can. Today we seek assistance and succour in the financial sphere. But the greatest gift that we received from the period of the Emperor Asoka was one of a spiritual nature. It is a gift he bestowed to many a flourishing country in the then known world, Burma, Ceylon and various other countries. He who set out to found the mightiest empire that the world has known after seeing the carnage resulting from the Kalinga wars turned to the tenets of the Buddha embracing them. He sought to rule not by the power and the might of the sword but by the doctrine of non-violence, truth and various other noble principles enshrined in the teachings of the Buddha. Having done so successfully in his own country, he thought it fit, and happily thought it fit that he should distribute this precious gift to other nations. He chose and I believe in his choice he gave Ceylon a special place when he chose Mahendra, his own son, to take the gift to Sri Lanka.

We in Sri Lanka have since fashioned our civilisation on those noble principles and small though we may during the time we were free, we enjoyed the respect of the larger countries of this region in the preservation of this doctrine in its pristine purity. Well, that is the first and very abiding tie that we in Ceylon cannot forget and as I said at the airport yesterday afternoon, we come to India with a special feeling,

a feeling we will not manifest or cannot manifest when we go to other countries, a feeling that we are coming to the land of the Buddha. Well, there are other ties too; geographical ties are proximate and as I said this afternoon, proximity sometimes creates problems too but I hope and I have no doubt that we will successfully be able to iron out those difficulties. We have had problems before. We have faced them and we have found solutions and therefore, considering the approach of two very close friends, Ceylon and India, to the problems that beset them, I am sure the solution of these problems will certainly not be elusive. Coming to closer times, yes. We were free once again; after centuries of servile slumber we awoke to a realisation that we have to be free that we have been denied the fruits of progress because we were subject countries. Your Excellency, as you said, whilst other nations marched on, our progress was brought to a halt and therefore there was an awakening in your country. Here, the countries of this region owe a deep debt of gratitude to your country once again.

#### DEMOCRATIC PATH

This morning I had the privilege and happy opportunity of visiting the Mahatma  
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Gandhi museum. I saw various sayings of the Mahatma inscribed there and one struck me very forcefully, an utterance of Mahatma Gandhi to the effect that "I strive to make India free and then the others will be free". How true! How true! He struck out on a path imbued by the noble principles of non-violence and truth to wrest the freedom of India from a very powerful country that ruled it. That awakened the desire for freedom in many countries throughout this region. They were inspired by your leaders, inspired by the message of the Mahatma, inspired by the leadership given by your revered father to the freedom struggles not only of this country alone but the manner in which they helped to inspire the freedom struggles of the other peoples of this region. We were free once again about a couple of decades back. Yes. We have a long way to go. We have another tie or more ties when

we look at the present situation. Your country and mine have thought it fit, and correctly thought it fit, that our path to progress must be the democratic path. The majorities of our peoples have accepted that path as one that will ensure the ultimate freedom that our peoples have strived for. Other countries that have adopted and developed these systems did so under much easier circumstances.

Political freedom for the individual followed economic development. The process has been reversed for us. Political freedom has preceded economic development and therefore the task is all the more difficult. In fact, we are well aware, as you are I am sure, that democracy cannot mean much if we confine it to merely individual freedoms and the other political freedoms. Otherwise it can only mean the freedom to starve as well. Therefore, economic development must be an essential ingredient of the political freedom that we want to have. Without it, democracy and all the political freedoms can vanish overnight.

Therefore, we realise that difficult though it may be, we must work for the economic advancement of our peoples. We admire the manner in which you and your country faced those difficulties in the recent past, and the way you are endeavouring and have succeeded to a certain extent in getting over those difficulties and I would like on behalf of my country and its people to wish you all success in the pursuit of those goals. Ceylon too is facing similar difficulties. We are making similar efforts and we are meeting with success to a very great extent.

So, in our past, ancient past, recent subject past, recent free past as well as present, there are many ties that bind our two countries together and therefore it is of the essence that there should be close collaboration and cooperation between us. I therefore take this opportunity while wishing you all the best in the future progress and prosperity of this country to call upon you to drink a toast to Her Excellency the Prime Minister of India and its people.

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

CEYLON

Indo-Ceylon Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in New Delhi on December 4, 1968 at the end of the visit to India of His Excellency the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Dudley Senanayake:

At the invitation of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon, visited India from 27th November to 4th December, 1968. On behalf of the Government and people of India, the Prime Minister of India extended a warm welcome to the Prime Minister of Ceylon on his first visit to India as Prime Minister. The Prime Minister of Ceylon expressed his pleasure on being able to make this visit in the year of the centenary of Mahatma Gandhi, who had inspired the freedom movements of Asia in this century. He recalled his meetings, both

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in India and Ceylon, with the late Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who is remembered with affection by the people of Ceylon.

During his stay in New Delhi, the Prime Minister called on His Excellency the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain and the Vice-President of India, Shri V. V. Giri. He also had the privilege of visiting the ancient Buddhist shrine of Sanchi where he worshipped, at a special exposition, the sacred relics of Sariputta and Moggallans. In the

course of his stay he visited Chandigarh and Bhakra-Nangal, the Indian Agricultural Research Institute in New Delhi, the Bhopal Industrial Estate and the Aarey Milk Project in Bombay. During these visits he had an opportunity of seeing the significant advances made by India in agricultural and industrial development.

While in Delhi, he was accorded a Civic Reception and warmly received by other public organisations in the city. The Prime Minister also expressed his deep appreciation of the cordial receptions given to him during his visit to Chandigarh, Bhopal and Bombay, all of which reflected the close and abiding ties between the peoples of the two countries.

The Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon were pleased with the opportunity afforded by this visit to renew the contacts established during the visit of the Prime Minister of India to Ceylon last year, to review the progress made in matters of mutual interest and to have an exchange of views on recent developments in the international sphere and in the Asian region in particular. Among the subjects discussed were bilateral relations between the two countries, including the progress made in the implementation of the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of 1964 and matters of common interest in the Palk Bay and the Gulf of Mannar. The Prime Ministers expressed their common resolve to approach the examination of these matters in a spirit of friendly co-operation.

In a review of economic co-operation, they expressed their satisfaction over the increasing collaboration between the two countries in trade, agriculture, the tea industry and technical co-operation in industrial development. They also discussed prospects for increased co-operation between the two countries within the context of regional economic co-operation in the Asian area. The exchange of views on the world situation covered Vietnam, West Asia, events in Czechoslovakia, Rhodesia and racialism, and the policy of non-alignment.

The Prime Ministers recalled their dis-

cussions in Colombo last year on the prospects for the effective implementation of the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the expectation of developing countries like India and Ceylon for a stabilization of the prices of primary products. Reviewing the work of UNCTAD-II which was held in New Delhi in February/March this year, they expressed their concern at the failure of the developed countries to respond adequately to the needs of developing countries in the matter of formulating a coordinated global strategy for development. At the same time, they expressed their satisfaction that the delegations of the two countries had been able to co-ordinate satisfactorily their efforts during the Conference on a number of vital matters, particularly questions of international financial co-operation, supplementary financing, preferences and commodity questions with special reference to tea.

The Prime Ministers recalled that in regard to tea the primary objective that their Governments had in mind during the discussions which took place on the occasion of UNCTAD-II was to promote in consultation with producing and consuming countries, such changes in international trade in tea so as to bring a fair return to the grower and to promote the expansion of the consumption of tea. They looked forward to the meeting of the Third Consultation on tea in Kampala in early 1969 as an occasion when the delegations of the two countries would, along with other producing countries, pursue this common objective.

The Prime Ministers noted the preliminary consultations on the tea industry that have taken place between the two countries. They expressed their satisfaction at the outcome of these consultations which included a common programme to stimulate demand, a review of the auction machinery,

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measures to promote sales by blending and pocketing, and the promotion of research. They agreed that these consultations have paved the way for a meeting of the Joint Economic Co-operation Committee of the

two countries that is scheduled to take place in January 1969. They hoped that these discussions will lead not only to closer co-operation between the two countries but to the evolution of a strategy for regional co-operation in the ECAFE region.

The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction that following their last meeting, contacts have been made at Ministerial and official levels and concrete steps have been taken to promote greater co-operation in the agricultural, commercial, technical, scientific and cultural fields. Each country having already made significant advances in the techniques of agricultural production, the Prime Ministers expressed their particular pleasure over the achievements realised through the exchange of delegations who have already reached worthwhile understandings on research, exchange of information, planting material and training facilities. They warmly commended the several measures taken during the last year for increasing co-operation between the two countries in the industrial sector. The Prime Minister of Ceylon expressed his sincere appreciation to the Prime Minister of India for the many facilities afforded to trainees from Ceylon in the agricultural and industrial fields.

The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the progress made by both Governments in implementing the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of October, 1964. Among the matters that were discussed was the future of the remaining 150,000 persons mentioned in paragraph 4 of the Agreement. Since applications for the grant of citizenship had been formally called for only in May 1968, it was felt that this matter could be taken up when some further progress had been made in the implementation of the Agreement. The Prime Minister of Ceylon stated that the repatriates leaving Ceylon under the Agreement would now be able to transfer all their assets upto the full limit permitted under the current Exchange Control Regulations without purchasing foreign exchange entitlement certificates for the purpose. The Prime Minister of India expressed her appreciation of this decision. The Prime

Ministers were pleased to note that matters pertaining to the implementation of the Agreement had, been satisfactorily dealt with by the Joint Committee and through discussions at officials' level and expressed their determination to continue to implement the Agreement in a spirit of mutual co-operation and goodwill as hitherto.

The Prime Ministers exchanged views on matters of common interest in the Palk Bay and Gulf of Mannar including territorial waters, delineation of median line, fishing rights and sovereignty over Kachchativu. They informally explored possibilities for fruitful collaboration between the two countries in this area and agreed that discussion of these matters should continue.

The Prime Ministers expressed concern over the continuing stalemate in West Asia and the frequent breaches of the cease-fire. They were of the view that peace in this region was vital for the economic development and well-being of the countries of Asia and Africa, as much as for the peace of the world. There was an identity of views on the important issues of this problem and the approach to a solution. They reiterated the principle that the acquisition of territories gained by military action can neither be recognised nor condoned. They reaffirmed their conviction that a just and honourable settlement should be found on the basis of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967.

In the exchange of views on the situation in South East Asia, the two Prime Ministers reviewed developments in Vietnam and noted with satisfaction the recent steps taken, to de-escalate the conflict. They warmly welcomed the action taken by the U.S. Government to end all air, naval and artillery bombardment of North Vietnam as a step that enhanced the prospects of substantive discussions for a peaceful and enduring settlement, with the participation of all concerned. They were of the view that the Geneva Agreements of 1954 provided the framework for a satisfactory settlement.

In a review of developments in Rhodesia,

the Prime Ministers, agreed that the illegal

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Smith regime, based on the domination of a racist minority, constituted a threat to international peace and a danger to harmonious relations between peoples of different races not only in Africa but also elsewhere. They condemned policies of racialism in all its forms and manifestations. Having considered the effect of the comprehensive economic sanctions taken through the Commonwealth and the United Nations they agreed that if these did not achieve the desired political solution, there would be no option but to consider other measures, not excluding the use of force, in order to put an end to the illegal regime in Rhodesia. The Prime Ministers having noted the most recent exchanges between the British Government and the Rhodesian regime, reaffirmed their view that there can be no retreat from the principle of majority rule before independence is granted to Rhodesia.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed their view that international relations should be governed by unqualified respect for the sovereignty and independence of nations, big and small and recognition of the right of every country to develop its personality according to its own traditions, aptitudes and genius, free from pressures of all kinds. They reiterated their view that the principle of non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another constitutes the very basis of peaceful co-existence and should be scrupulously observed by all nations.

In their general survey of the international situation, the Prime Ministers reviewed the role of non-alignment in the world today, particularly in the context of recent developments. They reiterated their conviction that the principles of non-alignment have a vital contribution to make in the search for an enduring peace and the promotion of a stable, just and equitable international order. They took note of the renewed external pressures, prejudicial to their national interests, to which some non-aligned countries had been subjected and they agreed that co-operation between non-

aligned States and policies directed to stabilise and give greater viability to their economies would enable them to resist these pressures and greatly strengthen the effectiveness of the forces of non-alignment. They were of the view that the proposed Third Conference of Non-aligned States, held at an appropriate time with adequate preparation, would contribute to the maintenance of world peace and stability.

The Prime Ministers reiterated their belief in the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and emphasized the importance of complete and universal disarmament, both nuclear and conventional. They agreed that all international problems should be settled by countries concerned through peaceful negotiations and, in this connection, expressed the hope that the Colombo Proposals and the Tashkent Declaration would be implemented in principle and in practice.

The Prime Ministers recalled their discussions last year on matters relating to the Indian Ocean area and reaffirmed their conviction that the Indian Ocean area should be an area of peace.

The Prime Minister of Ceylon expressed his sincere gratitude for the very cordial welcome and generous hospitality extended to him and the members of his party in Delhi, Chandigarh, Bhopal and Bombay. The Prime Minister of Ceylon conveyed to His Excellency the President of India the warm greetings of the Governor-General and people of Ceylon. The Prime Minister of Ceylon personally extended a cordial invitation to the President of India to visit Ceylon. His Excellency the President was pleased to accept the invitation.

The Prime Minister of India was assisted in these discussions by Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce, Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri Parimal Ghosh, Minister of State (Minister-in-waiting), Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, Shri Y. D. Gundevia, High Commissioner in

Ceylon, Shri P. N. Haksar, Secretary to the Prime Minister, Shri B. Sivaraman, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Shri V. Nanjappa, Secretary, Department of Rehabilitation, Shri K. B. Lall, Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, Dr. I. G. Patel, Special Secre-

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tary, Economic Affairs, and other senior officials of the Ministry of External Affairs.

The Ceylon Prime Minister was assisted by His Excellency Mr. Siri Perera, High Commissioner of Ceylon in India, Mr. W. T. Jayasinghe, Controller of Immigration & Emigration, Mr. I. B. Fonseka, Director of Foreign Relations, Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, Mr. V. L. B. Mendis, Deputy High Commissioner of Ceylon in India, Mr. R. B. Weerakoon, Secretary to H. E. the Prime Minister, Mr. Elmo Senviratne, Deputy High Commissioner of Ceylon in Madras, and Mr. C. W. Pinto, Legal Adviser.

INDIA USA VIETNAM NORWAY SLOVAKIA SRI LANKA UGANDA SWITZERLAND UZBEKISTAN

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement on Admission of Equatorial Guinea to UN

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, made the following statement in the Security Council on November 6, 1968 on the admission of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea to the membership of the United Nations:

Mr. President, as this is the first time I have spoken since you assumed the high office of the Presidency of the Security

Council. may I take this opportunity to offer you my warmest congratulations. My delegation has always regarded very highly your outstanding ability, infinite patience and sincerity of purpose. Your leadership will be invaluable in dealing with the important and intricate issues affecting peace and security that will come up before the Council this month. We wish you every success in your task and offer you our fullest co-operation. I would also like to associate myself with the well-merited tributes paid to your two distinguished predecessors.

May I also say a word of warm welcome to our new colleague, the Permanent Representative of the United States. Having been a journalist myself for many years, I am particularly happy to have the opportunity of working closely with a personality of such distinction and experience in public affairs as Ambassador Wiggins.

It is with great pleasure that my delegation supports the application of Equatorial Guinea for membership of the United Nations. The achievement of independence by Equatorial Guinea last month was a joyous event not only for its brave people but for all those who stand for freedom. India followed with great interest and sympathy the heroic struggle of its people for independence. As a member of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, the Indian delegation actively participated in the discussions concerning the future of Equatorial Guinea. More recently we lent our support to the measures taken by the United Nations to observe and supervise electoral processes with regard to the referendum and the election of a new President and legislators in that country.

As the people of Equatorial Guinea emerge from political subjugation into independent nationhood, great tasks and great opportunities lie ahead of them in shaping their future according to their cherished desires, and building a modern State based on rapid economic development, social justice and progress. We wish them all success in the fulfilment of their aspirations.

My delegation had the privilege and honour of making the acquaintance of the distinguished President of Equatorial Guinea, His Excellency Mr. Francisco Macias Nguema, when he came to the United Nations as a petitioner on behalf of his country. We were deeply impressed by his statesmanlike qualities and his distinguished bearing. We are confident that under his able guidance and that of his talented colleagues his country will take great strides on the road to progress.

My country looks forward to co-operation with Equatorial Guinea in our common endeavours at the United Nations and elsewhere, and extends to its President and people our warmest congratulations and a cordial welcome to the family of nations.

My delegation sincerely hopes that the motion for the admission of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations will receive unanimous support.

INDIA EQUATORIAL GUINEA GUINEA ECUADOR USA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Azim Husain's Statement in Political Committee on Disarmament

Shri Azim Husain, India's Ambassador in Switzerland and Member of the Indian Delegation to the U.N., made the following statement in the First (Political) Committee on November 28, 1968 on the question of general and complete disarmament:

On our agenda relating to disarmament we have, in the main, before us two docu-

ments, the report of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the final document of the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States. I shall deal first with the report (A/7189) of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

At its last session, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament had before it items 27, 28, 29, and 94 of the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly, concerning the question of general and complete disarmament, the urgent need for the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests, the elimination of foreign military bases, and the memorandum of the Government of the USSR concerning urgent measures to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament. It had also before it resolution 2289 (XXII) concerning the "Conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons", and resolution 2373 (XXII) asking the "Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the nuclear weapon States urgently to pursue negotiations on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date...". The Eighteen-Nation Committee had a brief session and towards the end of the session an agenda was adopted for subsequent discussion. The Committee agreed that first priority in its work should be given to further effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, but due to the comparative shortness of the session it was not able to discuss substantively any of the matters before it.

While appreciating that the adoption of the agenda is a step forward in establishing guidelines for future work, I cannot help observing that it was unfortunate that despite the insistence of several delegations, for purposes of discussion and negotiation the Committee did not assign priorities for the specific measures of nuclear disarmament or priority inter se among the items listed under the other three categories. Unless such priorities are indicated, the future discussions in the Committee will remain discursive and it will be difficult to achieve required progress on specific issues. If pro-

gress is to be made in the task now set for the Committee, it is of the utmost importance that, in the light of the views expressed in the current session of the General Assembly, at the next session of the Committee priorities should be assigned to the various items of the agenda, so that purposeful negotiations can be undertaken without further delay and some progress reported at the next session of the General Assembly.

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As to the principal task before the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, let it be recalled that when the General Assembly in its resolution 1722 (XVI) endorsed the establishment of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, it called upon the Committee, as a matter of utmost urgency, to initiate negotiations, on the basis of the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles, on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control -- a goal established by the international community under the historical General Assembly resolution 1378 (XIV),

The work which that 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 crippling reservations from both the Soviet Union and the United States. An attempt to resolve differences on certain basic problems of disarmament also did not succeed and the discussion on the question of the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons delivery vehicles remained inconclusive. The Assembly is only too well aware of the fact that 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 has set for itself, to live on a disarmed planet, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament must not lose sight of the main task assigned to it, or relegate general and complete disarmament to a dim and distant future. The Committee must pick up the threads from where it left off in 1964. Per-

haps this task could be facilitated if the United States and the Soviet Union submitted revised versions of their draft treaties, which were presented in 1962.

For those reasons my delegation, along with the delegations of Sweden, Ethiopia, Brazil, Mexico, Nigeria, the United Arab Republic and Burma, has proposed the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.448, which I should like formally to place before this Committee for its consideration. I hope this draft resolution will receive the overwhelming support of this Committee.

The General Assembly resolution 1378 (XIV), I have just referred to, also laid down that, until the goal of total disarmament was achieved and without prejudicing progress in regard to that goal, the Committee should endeavour to reach agreements on collateral measures of disarmament, particularly in the field of nuclear disarmament. In this connexion it is a welcome development that the United States and the Soviet Union have reached an agreement in principle to hold bilateral talks on the limitation and reduction of both offensive strategic nuclear weapons delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles. Even as early as 1957, India had been of the view that it was simpler to deal with carriers than with nuclear weapons, and that if delivery vehicles were eliminated, the nuclear weapon capacity for harm would be greatly reduced. As we all know, despite the growing concern of the world, the nuclear arms race has shown no signs of abatement. Indeed, with the further sophistication of offensive missile systems equipped with, MIRVs, decoys and penetration aids, and the development of the anti-ballistic missile systems, the nuclear arms race is entering a new and more dangerous phase resulting in growing anxiety and unease for the entire world community. The lack of restraint in the development of the anti-ballistic missiles, and of offensive missiles equipped with MIRVs, and the fear that the Moscow test ban treaty may have to be broken in order to test a larger system of the anti-ballistic missile, is likely to render a step-by-step disarmament -- nay even the conclusion of non-armament agreements like a comprehen-

sive test ban treaty -- extremely difficult. It is hoped, therefore, that the proposed bilateral discussions would take place soon and would be fruitful.

Among collateral measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, the most important, as the Indian delegation has repeatedly stressed in the past, is a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes. This would be the most significant step toward, a complete stoppage of the production of nuclear weapons. There could be no justification whatsoever for any addition to the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons, which, as has been repeatedly stressed by many delegations in this Committee, have-

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long since reached the capacity of annihilating the world several times over. The difficulty of verification of a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes could no longer be cited as a reason for not reaching an agreement on this measure, since an agreement on control, as elaborated in the nonproliferation treaty, already exists and the obligations of the nuclear-weapon States in respect of inspections by the IAEA could be made the same as those of the States not having nuclear weapons. An agreement on a cut-off in the further production of fissionable material for weapons purposes should, therefore, be related to a total cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

Among other measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, the Government of India has always attached the highest importance to a comprehensive test ban treaty. Both the need for and urgency of achieving "the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time" is underlined in the undertaking given in the Moscow test ban treaty by the three nuclear-weapon Powers. No progress has, however, been made in this direction during the last five years, which have, on the other hand, been marked by an increasing frequency of nuclear explosions. The General Assembly has accorded a special priority to this item for a number of years. It may be added that

most speakers at the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly and at the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States stressed that underground tests should stop at the earliest possible moment. The eight non-aligned countries, members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, have in their joint memorandum of 26 August 1968, viewed with deep concern that it had not so far been possible to reach agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty and have urged that renewed and urgent efforts be made to conclude such a treaty.

India was the first country to press for a suspension of all nuclear weapons 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. Negotiations could then be undertaken to resolve the outstanding differences with a view to making the present partial treaty a comprehensive one. At the same time, 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 by securing adherence of those States which have not signed the partial test ban treaty so far. 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. These proposals, along with others which have recently been submitted, should be studied without further delay by the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. Developments in regard to seismic detection and identification, evidenced by the fruitful exchange of views which took place in Stockholm last summer at the initiative of the International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research, with which India co-operated fully, have made it increasingly difficult to plead inadequacies in this field as a reason for holding up agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty. For these reasons, my delegation, along with seven other delegations, has submitted a draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.447, already

placed before this Committee by the representative of Ethiopia, which we hope will be unanimously adopted by this Committee.

In this context it is to be observed that since the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty in 1963 the nuclear Powers have not agreed to any significant step -- let me add the non-proliferation treaty as a non-armament rather than a disarmament measure is not such a step -- in the field of nuclear disarmament, thereby reserving to themselves complete freedom of action to continue the nuclear arms race, to produce and to deploy nuclear weapons systems and to develop new ones. And now here in this Committee during the current debate the view has been expressed that no significant progress can be made in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee or elsewhere on matters relating to nuclear disarmament until the nonproliferation treaty is brought into force and that therefore, this must remain the first priority task, and that the international sense of urgency created earlier in the year to seek endorsement, of

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the non-proliferation treaty needs to be re-created. It is for the promoters of the non-proliferation treaty to consider the nature of the difficulties inherent and others which have arisen in the way of bringing this non-proliferation treaty into force -- the views of the Government of India in regard to the Treaty are too well known to need repetition here -- and how those difficulties can be overcome. But one thing is clear to my delegation, and that is that the delay in the non-proliferation treaty -- a non-armament measure--being brought into force should not be used as a pretext for not proceeding with collateral measures of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament.

Pending the achievement of nuclear disarmament we need to consider the proposal for the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. The Government of India has consistently opposed the use of nuclear weapons and advocated their total prohibition. Although it is realized that this question has

come to be tied up in the minds of the great Powers with their vital security interests, it is felt that, like other declaratory prohibitions in the past, such a convention could have a considerable moral and psychological value. A ban on the use of nuclear weapons along with other similar measures would lead to a building up of confidence among nations. The Government of India is therefore of the view that it would be of definite advantage if the nuclear-weapon Powers were to accept the principles embodied in resolution 1653 (XVI), which declared the use of nuclear weapons as being contrary to the United Nations Charter and a crime against humanity. At the twenty-first and twenty-second sessions of the General Assembly, India supported resolutions 2164 (NM) and 2289 (XXII) urging the convening of a conference for that purpose. In India's view, if the proposed convention is to be effective it requires the active support of all States and particularly of States which possess nuclear weapons. In the course of discussions held in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, in the General Assembly and elsewhere, some States have expressed the view that the proposed convention, in the absence of means of control or measures of disarmament, would undermine their security. It has been the view of the Government of India that all such matters could be considered when the drafting of the proposed convention is taken up.

Among non-nuclear measures, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament discussed the problem of chemical and bacteriological weapons and included it as one of the items in its agenda. India, as a country traditionally opposed to all weapons of mass destruction, fully supports the idea of the total prohibition of the use of chemical, and bacteriological weapons and is a signatory to the Geneva Protocol of 1925. 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 objective 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 the absence of a system of international control -- which, in this case, is in any event extremely difficult to provide. But in view of the important advances which continue to be made in the production and further sophistication of these weapons--and in this connexion the scientific, technical, military, legal and political issues which have been raised from time to time--my delegation agrees that the whole subject needs to be carried a step further than 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. My delegation therefore supports the proposal made by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament that the Secretary-General appoint a group of internationally known scientific experts in each of these two fields, chemical and bacteriological weapons, and to report on the state of their present developments and the effects of their possible use. It is necessary that the international community be made aware of the nature and possible effects of the use of these weapons of mass destruction, with particular reference to those States which are not in a position to establish for themselves any comprehensive methods of protection. It is to be hoped that just as the study prepared by the Secretary-General with the help of experts on the possible effects of the use of

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nuclear weapons (A/6858) underlined the perils of the nuclear arms race and the need for its immediate cessation, a similar study would further strengthen the prohibition enjoined in the Geneva Protocol, and provide the background for banning the production and stockpiling of such weapons and for their complete elimination. For those reasons, my delegation, along with eighteen other delegations, has proposed a draft resolution, contained in document A/C.1/L.444, which we hope will receive the favourable consideration and approval of this Committee.

We have also before us item 29 of our agenda concerning the elimination of foreign military bases in the countries of Asia,

Africa and Latin America. But due to the short time at its disposal and its preoccupation with the framing of an agenda, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament could not discuss this substantively, but it would no doubt need to be discussed in due course under the main heading of "non-nuclear measures". So far as India is concerned, we are opposed to the establishment of foreign military bases, because they contribute to the aggravation of international tension. We are a signatory to the Cairo Declaration of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries which inter alia stated:

"The Conference considers the maintenance or future establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on the territories of other countries, against the expressed will of those countries, as a gross violation of the sovereignty of States and as a threat to freedom and international peace". (A/5763, page 25)

In the field of non-nuclear measures we have before us the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.446, seeking to solicit views of Governments on undertaking an obligation to register with the Secretary-General all imports and exports of conventional arms, ammunitions and implements of war, which information should be published at regular intervals so as

"to promote relaxation of tensions and foster relations of mutual trust between States". (A/C.1/L.446)

Also, in introducing the draft resolution, the representative of Denmark said that such publication of information

"...would entail limitations on arms transfers, because continued secrecy about military build-up of individual countries would tend to increase the insecurity in neighbouring States and lead to unnecessary purchases of arms" (1616th meeting, page 11).

A suggestion for arms registration was made in 1965 in the First Committee by one of

the cosponsors of the draft resolution, and rejected by 19 votes against, 18 in favour, and 39 abstentions. However, since the suggestion has been revived, it needs to be examined afresh in the context of the present-day world situation.

The concept of regional arms control or limitation with reference to particular regions was mentioned in 1966 and 1967 in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, in the General Assembly, and in the Security Council. Although what is now suggested is registration of import and export of arms and ammunition throughout the world, the purpose still appears to be to deal with local conflicts.

At the outset, I should like to say that as a matter of principle, the Government of India favours all proposals which promote relaxation of tension and foster relations of mutual trust between States and thus pave the way for disarmament. It is claimed in the preambular part of the draft resolution before us that publication of information about arms transfers between States, whether by way of trade or otherwise, would promote relaxation of tension and foster relations of mutual trust between States. But it is not clear how universally it is proposed to secure an undertaking to register with the Secretary-General all imports, exports and transfer otherwise of arms and ammunition between States. Does it, for example, cover transfer of arms and ammunition between States within military alliances? Would it cover the placement of arms and ammunition in foreign territories not covered by commercial transactions? Would it include manufacture under licence of arms and ammunition in other countries? It is necessary

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to ask those questions so as to ensure that the attempt now being made to restrict the freedom of small Powers in the field of defence would not be a repetition of the unequal obligations of the non-proliferation treaty under which the nuclear-weapon States continue to augment their arsenals, while those which do not possess them undertake never to think of possessing them. We

need to ask, is it justifiable that while nuclear-weapon Powers and other armament-producing Powers, in the name of national security and global responsibilities, reserve to themselves secrecy and freedom of action, the smaller, non-armament producing Powers should be subjected to a discipline which would adversely affect their security? We need to be sure that the imbalance created by the possession of nuclear weapons by a few Powers is not going to be further accentuated by creating monopolies in the field of conventional weapons also, thereby intensifying tensions and distrust among nations.

In support of the idea of registration a historical precedent has been invoked by recalling that for a number of years the League of Nations published a Statistical Year Book of the Trade in Arms and Ammunition, containing detailed information about countries' imports and exports of arms and ammunition. Since it is suggested that this concept needs to be revived, we need to consider what in fact was done under the League of Nations, what success it achieved, and what relevance it has to our contemporary situation.

It is well known that, following the signature in 1925 of the Geneva Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and Implements of War, the Statistical Year Book on the Trade in Arms and Ammunition came to be published, and continued to be published till 1938. It should be noted and this is important that as a result of the recommendations of the Temporary Mixed Commission, as decided by the Council of the League of Nations, that publication was a companion volume to the Armaments Year Book published a year earlier, in 1924, in pursuance of article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It may be recalled that paragraph 6 of article 8 required that

"The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of

their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes".

Thus, those two publications came to be, issued simultaneously as a coordinated system of publicity established by the Convention, in anticipation of and in preparation for the expected disarmament conference.

The aim of the Armaments Year Book was to improve the international political atmosphere by increasing confidence among States, calling as it did for information as to all national armaments, which went far beyond the question of mere armaments trade. The Armaments Year Book was not a purely statistical publication, but also included information on the organization and composition of armed forces, and military legislation governing the system of recruitment, training and period of service, and formations organized on a military basis. Statistical data was included with regard to the numerical strength of the armed forces, expenditure for national defence, lists of warships, aircrafts, submarines, and so on. The chapter entitled "Industries capable of being used for war purposes" included data on output, imports and exports of a large variety of raw materials which could be used for the production of arms, ammunition and other implements of war.

It follows from this that in preparation for a disarmament conference the publication of information about arms transfers was part of the scheme to give publicity about all arms and armed forces of all States. In view of this, are the nuclear-weapon Powers and other Powers producing arms and ammunition prepared to provide the kind of information contained in the Armaments Year Book of the League era? Are they prepared to make a full report about the production in their countries of all arms for use for themselves and for export? In this context it is not difficult to anticipate the attitude of the nuclear Powers and other large armament-producing Powers. It may be recalled that after the establishment of the United Nations in 1946, on the precedent

of the League of Nations the General Assembly by its resolution 42 (1) called on the Security Council to determine the information about armaments and armed forces which should be furnished. Three years later, in 1949, General Assembly resolution 300 (IV) noted that the permanent members of the Security Council had not agreed to the proposals formulated by the Commission for Conventional Armaments for the submission of full information on their conventional armaments and armed forces. A Soviet proposal calling upon the Assembly to declare the submission of such information and on atomic weapons was rejected. No progress was made during the next three years and thereafter the Commission was dissolved, in 1952. And nothing has been heard since then of the inventory of armaments and armed forces of all nations of the world.

Then, there is the question of the success of the arrangements under the League of Nations. The prefaces of the annual issues of the Statistical Year Book on the Trade in Arms and Ammunition repeatedly expressed regret over the absence of a universally accepted distinction between firearms and those intended for other purposes. The information given does not appear to have provided a sufficient basis from which the strategic significance of some of the trade could be judged.

A part of the effort during the inter-war period was directed against private and illicit traffic in arms and ammunitions, but it is well known that practically no success was achieved in this field, and another attempt is not likely to succeed. Furthermore, certain important producers of arms and ammunitions refused to sign the Convention or to endorse other suggestions relating to a mere inventory of arms going from one country to another because those measures did not promote disarmament but only enabled certain countries to exercise undue influence and pressure over others. In the contemporary world a similar situation would be repeated with worse results by discrimination against non-armament-producing nations.

What did not succeed when half the world was under colonial or other forms of domination and when discriminatory measures could be more easily and effectively applied does not have a better chance of success when there are more than double the number of independent sovereign States. And we all know that that efforts of the League could not and did not prevent local or regional conflicts before humanity was overwhelmed by the Second World War. Peace and security would not be enhanced merely by giving what would inevitably be partial figures of the international transfer of arms. As stated in this Committee by the representative of the United States during the 1965 debate, a mechanical approach to eliminating secrecy in arms transfer is no more likely to succeed now than it did in the past.

India considers that nuclear arms pose the most serious danger to international peace and security. At the same time we are mindful of the danger posed by conventional arms. We consider that both problems should receive balanced treatment in the context of a disarmament treaty and that the big military Powers should be the first to adopt bold and far-reaching measures for substantial reductions in their armaments. India is totally opposed to any proposal which diverts attention from the important question of disarmament and which would virtually lead to control of the smaller nations by the nuclear and other large military Powers. Since the proposal is not concerned with the question of production of conventional arms, directly or indirectly, it could only confer a unilateral military advantage on industrially advanced nations. The proposal will have no practical value unless and until effective international machinery can be created to receive and check all registered documents, which must include those relating to production and not merely those relating to imports and exports.

Further, there would be no guarantee of preventing clandestine international trade in conventional arms, particularly in certain sophisticated weapons, thereby further developing the black market and causing an ad-

ditional drain on the limited resources of the developing countries, which would have to obtain such arms anyhow in the interest of their security. The proposal would amount to exercising totally unjustified discrimination against non-aligned countries and in-

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directly forcing them to join military alliances, thereby upsetting the present balance of power in the world. Also, it fails to take into account the position of countries like the People's Republic of China, which is not represented in the United Nations.

It would thus appear that the proposal would further add to the imbalance created by the non-proliferation treaty (General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII) and adversely affect the security of developing countries, particularly those which are not in a position to manufacture the conventional weapons which they badly need to ensure their security.

While it is true that the draft resolution does not impose an obligation on Member States to furnish information about arms deliveries but merely solicits the views of Governments the very basic concept outlined in the preamble is questionable.

For those reasons my delegations is opposed to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.446 and supports the appeal made by the representative of Saudi Arabia at our 1617th meeting that it be withdrawn.

I come now to item 96, which concerns the Final Document of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States. Many delegations have already spoken on what transpired at that Conference. Representatives assembled here are no doubt aware that when in 1966 the proposal to convene a conference of non-nuclear-weapon States was first made India had reservations about it, mainly because of our belief that a conference in which all the nuclear-weapon States would not take part, and in which even those of them which attended would not have the right to vote, would not be

helpful in producing solutions to the acute problems facing the non-nuclear-weapon States and that it might on the other hand tend to accentuate the differences between the non-nuclear-weapon and the nuclear-weapon States and to polarize the world between the few nuclear States and the rest of the States of the world, complicating the negotiations in progress on important aspects of nuclear disarmament. However, despite those misgivings since the majority of delegations favoured the holding of the Conference, we participated in the Conference in a spirit of constructive co-operation.

I should mention at the outset that the adoption without dissent of the declaration of the Conference giving expression to the principles which should guide international relations in the nuclear age is a signal and notable achievement of the Conference and deserves the full endorsement of the General Assembly. In addition to that there was a full and friendly discussion of the specific problems facing the non-nuclear-weapon States, which generated awareness of the complexities of those problems and the need to proceed cautiously. The fact that questions of security assurances, nuclear disarmament and the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy were of equal importance to all non-nuclear-weapon States, regardless of whether they were signatories of the non-proliferation treaty or not, became evident.

On nuclear disarmament and allied matters the Conference passed resolutions which more or less reaffirm the existing pattern established by the General Assembly and the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

The Conference devoted a great deal of attention to questions relating to the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy and, after a fruitful exchange of views, adopted several resolutions. If the conclusions reached in that regard are implemented without discrimination, the Conference will indeed have been worth while. In our discussions concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, much thought was given to the question of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. As is stated in resolution L, logi-

cally and directly that question is linked to the question of a comprehensive test-ban treaty and should be considered in conjunction with a comprehensive test-ban and not separately. There should, therefore, in the first instance be a total prohibition of all nuclear explosion, for all States, nuclear as well as non-nuclear. Thereafter the conduct of explosions considered necessary for peaceful purposes should be dealt with as exceptions and should be under international supervision and with safeguards equally applicable to all. For that purpose an inter-

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national regime would have to be established for all States.

The development of the technology of nuclear excavation projects must be sought not by way of modification of the Moscow test-ban Treaty (A/5488) but in the context of a comprehensive test-ban treaty and through a separately negotiated agreement, which should be made part of an international regime for peaceful nuclear explosions. Such a regime should be established within the over-all scope of the International Atomic Energy Agency and without discrimination against any category of States. Such a regime should naturally ensure the right of all States, particularly developing States, to learn and apply the technology of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Only a truly international regime, allowing for international decision-making in regard to the conduct of explosions and their international supervision, in whatever country they occur, would assure equality. It is not possible to accept as a permanent feature of the future world that some countries, because they are militarily advanced, should also have direct access to the important economic and technical benefits of new technologies while others should be either at the mercy of discriminatory treatment or able to obtain such benefits only in an indirect way.

Now, as to the important question of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States, let it be stated frankly that the discussions in Geneva were entirely inconclusive. On this question the Conference might perhaps

have been more successful if all nuclear-weapon States had participated in it or, at very least, if those of them which participated had had the right, like the non-nuclear-weapon States, to vote.

The real hope of security for non-nuclear-weapon States lies in disarmament. It is obvious, however, that action in this field of genuine and lasting security would take time and would have to be sought by stages. Until such time, and so long as nuclear weapons continue to remain in the armouries of few countries, the nuclear-weapon States have a definite obligation to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States that their security will not be jeopardized in any way.

The obligations put by the United Nations Charter on Member States and more particularly on the permanent members of the Security Council in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security make it necessary for them to discharge their responsibilities in this respect in strict conformity with the Charter.

Therefore any linking of security assurances to the signature of the non-proliferation treaty or any other treaty would be contrary to the purposes and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, because the Charter does not discriminate between those who might sign a particular treaty and those who might not do so. In our view, it is - the clear responsibility of the nuclear-weapon States members of the Security Council to go to the assistance of any non-nuclear-weapon State which is threatened with or subjected to nuclear attack.

Doubts as to the adequacy of Security Council resolution 255 (1968) on security assurances have been voiced by a number of delegations, and a desire has been clearly expressed for the elaboration of more effective and meaningful guarantees on a non-discriminatory basis. The problem, therefore, continues to be a matter of concern to a large part of the world and cannot be treated as closed. The collective security system enshrined in the Charter therefore

needs to be readapted to enable it to meet the challenge of the nuclear age.

The question now before us is what can be done to continue the work of the Conference. It is the view of my delegation that for any effective undertaking the full and active participation of the nuclear-weapon States would be required. It is necessary for us to enlist their co-operation in whatever machinery is to be set up. It is our hope that any formal proposal in this regard would be submitted only after the most thorough informal discussions and with the reasonable certainty that all shades of opinion would support it.

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**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri M. N. Naghnoor's Statement in Special Political Committee on Palestine Refugees

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri M. N. Naghnoor, Member of Parliament and Representative of India in the Special Political Committee, on the report of the Commissioner General, UNRWA, on November 29, 1968:

Mr. Chairman, once again the Special Political Committee is meeting to consider the report of the Commissioner General of UNRWA on Palestine refugees. It is a sombre occasion, for more than a generation, over a million people have lived on the edge of anguish and despair. The ranks of the homeless have swelled over the years by

natural growth and fresh exodus. For twenty years, these refugees, in the words of the Secretary General, "have had no homeland, no future and not even a detectable glimmer of hope on their horizon".

What are the reasons for this continued lack of progress in achieving a just and equitable solution of the problem of Palestine refugees? The question has, of course, been discussed for many years in the halls of the United Nations. It is, however, important to remember that the problem has several inter-related aspects, inseparable from the political and historical environment of the region. Many elements of the Palestine problem have found general acceptance in the international community. I shall briefly enumerate them. First, the United Nations has recognised its responsibility for the future of the Arabs of Palestine. This was done in the General Assembly resolution partitioning Palestine which simultaneously recommended certain measures to ensure the civil and political rights of Arab inhabitants. Second, that United Nations recommended a solution of the refugee problem by recognising the right of choice between repatriation and compensation. This was done in Resolution 194 of 1948 which inter alia stated: "Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the governments or authorities responsible". The same resolution instructed the Palestine Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement, economic and social rehabilitation of refugees and payment of compensation to them.

Finally, the world organisation set up a separate agency to take care of the immediate and urgent needs of displaced persons on a temporary basis. This was a recognition of the humanitarian concern of the United Nations for the sufferings of hundreds of thousands of people.

It is common knowledge that with the exception of immediate relief, very little has been accomplished in the direction of repatriation and compensation. The machinery of the Conciliation Commission which was charged with the responsibility to implement Resolution 194, has been dormant in spite of annual exhortations from the Assembly. Many long years have passed and the refugees have received neither compensation nor an opportunity to return to their homes. We must express the hope that the international community will bend all its efforts and direct all its energies toward finding a solution of this long standing problem and assure justice for the people of Palestine.

I now turn to a more recent aspect of the tragedy of Palestinian people. Nearly half a million Arab men, women and children had to flee from the territories now under Israeli occupation, as a result of the June conflict. A quarter million of them crossed the Jordan river into the East Bank and the rest are in U.A.R. and Syria. Many of the refugees are now facing extreme hardships. The United Nations has taken a clear and unambiguous decision as to the future of these so called new refugees. Both the Security Council in its resolution 237 (1967) of June 1967, and the General Assembly in its resolution 2252 (ES.V) of July 1967, called upon the Government of Israel to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who had fled the areas since the outbreak of

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hostilities. We regret that so little has been achieved in this direction. But of more than 350,000 newly displaced persons from the West Bank, barely 6 or 7 per cent have been permitted to return to their former places of residence. My delegation feels that failure to implement Security Council's Resolutions will continue to pose grave problems and dangers to the peace and security of the whole region. We would, therefore, once again urge Israel to facilitate the return of refugees and displaced persons.

My delegation has carefully studied the report of the Commissioner General of

UNRWA and would like to record its appreciation of the work done by Dr. Michelmore and the Agency in rendering assistance to the refugees and displaced persons and in trying to secure their social and economic betterment. We note from the Commissioner General's report that in spite of the burdens and strains of the continuing emergency, the Agency's relief and health services have operated throughout the year, although its educational services have suffered because of the continuing movement of the population. The most pressing task for the Agency at present is to provide temporary shelter for hundreds of thousands of refugees now living in East Jordan. Their return to the West Bank would not only ameliorate the condition of displaced persons who now face the rigours of another winter, but will also contribute to the lessening of general tension in the area.

The UNRWA faces a very difficult task ahead and we would express our support to the valuable and humanitarian role of UNRWA in very trying circumstances. We should also like to express our appreciation of the contributions of several organs of the United Nations family as well as private organisations in the work of assisting the refugees. We note however, from the report that UNRWA faces serious financial difficulties and the other day, Dr Michelmore informed Lis that unless more funds were forthcoming, UNRWA would be unable to maintain its present level of services. My delegation shares this concern and hopes that adequate financial resources would be available for UNRWA to discharge its responsibilities. On its part, my country, in spite of its own urgent requirements, will maintain for the next year the same level of contribution as in the past.

My delegation has briefly outlined its position on the major aspects of the Palestine refugees problem. India believes that a lasting and just solution of this problem is necessary and possible. The basis for such a settlement has been laid in the Security Council's Resolution of 22 November, 1967. What is now required is the speedy fulfilment of all the provisions of this resolution

in the interest of all nations and peoples concerned. Then, and then only can we look forward to the return of peace and security in West Asia.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC ISRAEL JORDAN SYRIA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on her Visit Abroad

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on November 12, 1968 on her Latin American and Caribbean tour:

The House is aware of the bonds of friendship between the peoples of Latin America and India. Soon after our independence we established diplomatic relations with some countries of this region to further strengthen our relations. The political and economic realities of the contemporary world make it essential for us to constantly renew and establish our international links. During

310 these years, leaders and some Heads of Governments from that continent have visited us in India. Many Governments had extended invitations to us but, so far, it had not been possible for any Head of the Government in India to visit South America.

I had received many invitations myself and in response to them visited Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, Trinidad & Tobago and Guyana. I was accorded the privilege of addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations during my brief stop-over in New York.

It was heartening to see what enormous goodwill and friendship there is for India in these countries. I found that we knew less about South America than the people of South America know of us. The names of Gandhiji, Tagore and Nehru are widely known and quoted. In every country the reception which was accorded to me--as the representative of India - by the Government and the people, provided unmistakable proof that these distant lands entertain sincere feelings of warmth and friendship for us. It was a moving experience to discover that India is held in such high esteem, and indeed, affection. Everywhere, there is deep interest in our present endeavours and understanding of our efforts to promote international peace and cooperation.

During the visit, I took the opportunity to have an exchange of views on a broad range of national and international political and economic problems. These countries belong to a single continent, each has a distinctive personality. All of them face problems which in some ways are similar to our own. They are determined to preserve their national identities and to overcome the challenges of social change and economic development in a rapidly changing world. Confronted as they are with the problems of growth and the need to increase trade as a step towards development and self-reliance, they also attach great importance to the implementation of the resolution of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

In my conversations with the leaders in these countries, it was agreed that we could help each other by increasing our contacts in various fields and at various levels and by sharing our experiences. Every effort will be made to facilitate the exchange of scientific and technological information between our countries. As Hon'ble Members are aware, India and Brazil are to cooperate in the field of utilisation of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The officials who accompanied me had useful discussions with their counterparts in these countries in regard to trade and other forms of mutually beneficial

economic cooperation, among other matters. A Trade Delegation will proceed to South America in the near future to follow up on the visit. The House is aware of the steps which have been initiated to further promote and strengthen cultural exchange in various fields, through visits of scholars, writers, and other creative artists, and their works.

During my visit, I announced the opening of a resident mission in Venezuela. We hope that similar widening of our representation in the Continent will be possible in future.

The representatives of India and the Latin American countries at the United Nations have worked together closely on a large number of issues which have come up before the world body or its agencies. We intend to enlarge and deepen these contacts in the spirit of the United Nations Charter and of international cooperation.

The visit to Trinidad & Tobago and to Guyana had particular interest, more so because a large segment of the population of those countries is of Indian origin. It was gratifying to find that they have identified themselves with their new homelands and are contributing to the progress and development of the countries of their domicile. In these countries, as indeed in the countries of Latin America, we were happy to find harmony between the people of different racial and cultural origins. In response to requests from these Governments, we have offered to provide technical know-how and other kinds of economic cooperation to help them in their development plans.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is to our advantage and in our national interest to forge the closest relations with the large number of proud and resurgent nations of South America and the Caribbean. We hope that

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with the follow-up action which we have in mind, our objective of developing close and fruitful relationship with them will be realised.

I should like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude for the welcome and hospitality which was accorded to me and the members of my party.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA INDIA BRAZIL ARGENTINA CHILE COLOMBIA URUGUAY  
GUYANA VENEZUELA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

LEBERIA

Vice-President's Speech at Palam Airport Welcoming Mr. Tolbert

The Vice-President of India, Shri V. V. Giri, made the following speech at the Palam Airport welcoming His Excellency Mr. William B. Tolbert (Jr.), Vice-President of Liberia, on his arrival in New Delhi on November 10, 1968 on an official visit to India:

Mr. Vice-President, It gives me great pleasure to extend to you and members of your party a most cordial welcome on your first visit to this country. We had been looking forward to this happy occasion eagerly and wish that the duration of your present visit could have been longer than intended. We do hope that this visit will be followed by many more from both sides.

We are especially happy to greet you, Your Excellency, and your party as representatives of a great country which we have always held in respect and admiration. This is because we hold very dear to us the same noble principles which have been adopted by your country for a long time - the principles of a democratic way of life, mutual respect and tolerance - racial and religious --- and an all-round development of the society towards a healthy prosperity. We

admire the fact that Liberia attained Independence long before the vast majority of countries in Africa and Asia did and the manner in which fruits of freedom, have been consolidated and strengthened. We have watched the orderly evolution of a sound political system under the wise, able and mature leadership of your great President Tubman whose statesmanship and vision have been a source of inspiration. We cherish the warmth and sincere feelings of your people which they displayed towards our Deputy Minister of External Affairs when he attended the inaugural ceremony of your President in January this year.

Though the physical distance between our two countries, Your Excellency, is large and we have different social and cultural background we nevertheless share common ideals of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other nations in the conduct of our national affairs. We both believe in the need for better understanding amongst nations and for the peaceful settlement of all disputes.

We hope that during your brief stay in capital we shall have useful exchange of views on many matters of mutual interest to both our countries. You will find for yourself the deep and abiding interest which we have in your country and the regard in which we hold your people. We also hope that Your Excellency and others of your party have been able to see some of the advances India has made in the industrial and other economic fields since its independence. It will be our privilege to offer you our cooperation in the fullest measure of capacity in the field of economical development. A small beginning has already been

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made in close cooperation between our countries which we would like to see grow further to the mutual advantage of both.

Once again, I extend to you Mr. Vice-President, our heartiest welcome. I wish you a happy and fruitful stay.

INDIA LIBERIA USA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

LEBERIA

Reply by Mr. Tolbert

Following is the speech of the Vice-President of Liberia Mr. William R. Tolbert (Jr.), at the Palam airport, in reply to the welcome speech of the Vice-President, Shri V. V. Giri:

Mr. Vice-President, Madam Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to record our highest appreciation for the very kind sentiments you have expressed and for the warmth of welcome which we have had ever since we arrived in this resourceful and beautiful country. There has been that magnificent demonstration of affection and care for us. We do realise that this is but the manifestation of your esteem for our President and for the Government and people of Liberia.

Indeed, Sir, I am happy to confirm that we have in common many ideals, aspirations and objectives for our people and for the people of the world. You have referred to these ideals and they are those which we have cherished and continue to cherish.

The invitation which your Government was, so graciously pleased to extend to us to visit you certainly will afford an ample opportunity for us to become more enlightened as to the progress and development of your great country has made within so short a period of time since your independence. It is true that your country existed under two centuries at least of foreign domination

but now you have an opportunity, you have the proud privilege of developing your country according to your high aspirations and objectives.

Your plans economically related have brought tremendous achievements and benefits to the people in an overwhelming manner. This we have been able to get information about in our country. I in a small way on our arrival here am going through that part of the country that I have been privileged to pass through. I have observed some of those developments that are intended for the overall betterment of your people., And I do not hesitate to congratulate you for all this progress.

We live in an age of tension, conflict and strife. In our one world when there is need for so much understanding there is so much need for closer cooperation and contact to be made between people who have common ideals, common objectives and common aspirations. I assure you, Sir, that the time will afford us in Liberia to work cooperatively in developing the closest ties of friendship which so happily subsist between your Government and people as between the Government and people of Liberia.

I had looked forward anxiously to this visit because I am aware of the reward that it would bring to me personally and to the people and government of Liberia. I take this occasion even now, Mr. Vice-President, to convey to you, to the Government and people of this great and resourceful country the greetings and felicitations from the President and the Government and people of Liberia.

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LIBERIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

**Volume No**

Vice-President's Speech at Banquet to Mr. Tolbert

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The Vice-President, Shri V. V. Giri, made the following speech at the Banquet given in honour of His Excellency the Vice-President of Liberia, Mr. William R. Tolbert (Jr.), in New DOM on November 10, 1968:

Mr. Vice-President, Your Excellencies and distinguished guests, We feel honoured in extending a cordial welcome to you and members of, your party on behalf of the Government and people of India. This visit marks an important occasion in the extremely friendly relations existing between India and Liberia and though the present visit is a very brief one, we hope that this would be followed by many other visits from both sides.

Your Excellency, you are a distinguished representative of a distinguished country—the oldest independent state on the African continent. Liberia has thus long provided inspiration to many other countries in Africa and elsewhere in their struggle to achieve freedom. The contribution which is continued to be made by her and the role she has been playing in reducing tension and maintaining harmonious relations amongst the African States are most praiseworthy.

We have watched with admiration the contribution Liberia is making as an active member of the O.A.U. in resolving disputes between the member States, some of which have already been successfully settled. Our appreciation of Liberia's role in this regard is only natural in the context of the consistent and wholehearted support India has been extending to the O.A.U. in its efforts to rid the Continent of the last vestiges of colonialism and as a forum where African problems can be discussed and resolved in a peaceful manner.

## COMMON SHARE

Your Excellency, our pleasure in greeting you today is all the more because we share a common belief in certain basic principles in the conduct of our national and international affairs. We believe in a democratic way of life, rule of law, tolerance, racial and religious and social justice. Both our countries have people of many races, religions and languages. Yet we have unity in diversity. India and Liberia also share in common the ideals of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other nations. This concept of tolerance and mutual respect is the key to the solution of many of the vexed problems which cause tension and turmoil in the present day world. Your country has been fortunate indeed to have at the helm of its affairs sagacious statesmen like your President, His Excellency Mr. Tubman, and ourself, who have worked incessantly for the good of their own country as well as of others. We too have also been extremely fortunate in having received guidance from illustrious sons of India like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Your Excellency, we are proud of the fact that India has shared its aspiration for freedom and the upsurge towards achieving it in common with the people of Africa. The torch for the struggle of freedom was lit by Mahatma Gandhi for the first time in South Africa and it ultimately brought the light of freedom not only to India but we believe to a large sector of humanity in Asia and Africa. With the passage of time, the principles he evolved have not lost their value, on the contrary the world has reaffirmed its faith in them from time to time. It is unfortunate that there still remain pockets of imperialism and humiliating discrimination between man and man on the basis of race and colour in some parts of Africa which Gandhiji fought against all his life. Both countries abhor any type of discrimination whatsoever and we hope that the unfortunate people who still are victims of such discrimination in South Africa, in the il-

legal regime in Rhodesia, Portuguese occupied territories etc. would be soon able to share the basic right of equality and freedom with the rest of the world.

As we all know a great part of the world is now fortunately free in political terms. It is, however, tragic that a vast majority of

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humanity still continues to be shackled by dire want and grinding poverty. Our countries are aspiring to set up welfare States based on the principles of social justice. We have tremendous tasks to perform. Both our countries have been sparing no effort in this regard. The standard of living in your country has been rising steadily. In our country, the problems are somewhat different; yet, in your brief stay, I hope, you have witnessed some of the developments which have taken place here during the last 20 years. What has been achieved so far has been substantial but, much more has to be done to assure a rapid improvement in the lot of the people. We believe that while basically the problem has to be resolved by our own efforts Net international cooperation between developed and developing countries and amongst the developing countries themselves could accelerate this process.

#### TECHNICAL EXPERTISE

We share views in common with other developing countries on many of the issues which have been the subject of discussion at international forums. On our own part we would be glad to share our technical expertise, which we now possess with other developing countries to the full measure of our capacity. Some beginning has been made in this direction between our two countries and some of our people have been working as teachers and technicians in your country. We would like this cooperation to grow further for the mutual advantage of both the countries. Such cooperation would provide a meaningful content to the friendly relations which exist between us.

Your Excellency, may I take this opportunity to extend through you our warmest

regards and greetings to His Excellency President Tubman who commands the highest admiration and esteem of our country. We wish him long life to serve his country and the cause of peace which is so dear to him.

Ladies and Gentlemen, May I now ask you to raise your glasses and drink to the

good health of His Excellency, Vice President Tolbert of Liberia, and other distinguished guests and to the happiness and prosperity of Liberia? May the friendship between India and Liberia ever grow stronger.

LIBERIA INDIA USA SOUTH AFRICA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

LEBERIA

Reply by Mr. Tolbert

Following is the text of the Liberian Vice-President's speech in reply to the toast proposed by the Vice-President, Shri V. V. Giri :

Vice-President Giri, Members of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers, Members of the Diplomatic Corps, Ladies and Gentlemen: We live in a world of strange paradoxes, some of which were envisaged by India's most renowned and revered leader, the world's apostle of non-violence, non-resistance and civil disobedience, by means of which your country's independence became a reality. This demonstrates the fact that even paradoxes can be reconciled.

I refer to the leader of India's freedom

movement, Mahatma Gandhi, who pledged and gained freedom for all India. A pledge that was coupled with an unalterable and irrevocable condition that freedom should be won only by non-violent means. He, therefore, attached the greatest importance to the means by which a particular end or objective was secured and according to him, "if the means were unproper, the object achieved would lack quality and would be tarnished."

Evidently, he ruled out the cult of the bomb and the gun and convinced the people of India not to soil their hands with blood while trying to achieve freedom. This revolutionary technique which he evolved has become a classic which many a country in Africa and Asia has to a great extent emulated and found it to be wise.

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#### GANDHI CENTENARY

We are indeed happy for the recent festivities held in honour of his centenary year, including the laying of wreaths and flowers by those who rever him for the principles for which he stood on his tomb. Even though we were absent in body, we wish to assure you that we in Liberia were with you in spirit during the celebrations honouring this great emancipator, whose philosophies are suited for all time.

Great men pass away, their memories linger behind, yet mankind continues the course of human event; and so Jawaharlal Nehru ascended the stage of action. This was his doctrine, which in our opinion has kept the torch of Independence brightly beaming in this great land. I quote:

"We inherit the whole past of India with its glory and failures. We are part of it, we cannot and must not deny it. But we cannot live in the present and mould the future."

Despite some of the strange vicissitudes that have confronted you, Mr. Vice-President and your gallant people in this part of the Far East, you have managed together with

the co-operation of your ever courageous and indomitable people to build up a nation of high noble standards. We in Liberia have closely followed your activities, and I am very happy to be here this evening so as to express our deep and sincere feelings.

Great acts grow out of great occasions and from great occasions spring great principles. The occasion and vital principle of India to which we have reference this evening is the date on which your predecessors met and drew up the Constitution of India. The principle is their firm regard for democracy not only as an attempt at social equality for all men, but also the effort to give them the consciousness that they are equal in God's respect. As a proof in such a secular setting, they guaranteed freedom of worship to the various religious adherents in this land, including the Christians, yea the Baptists, for which we are grateful.

A Constitution, in our opinion does not spring readymade (like Minerva from the head of Jupiter). It is either the result of a revolution or part of the continuity of history. If it is the result of revolution, the Constitution bears traces of the revolutionary ideals of the people. Further, if it is the result of revolution, then it gives indications of its past history.

In the case of your country, whose Constitution was enacted in 1947, it was the result of both peace and revolution led by the great Mahatma Gandhi of world renown and also the result of transfer of power by Great Britain which meant that there was no break in the continuity of its history.

The instrument also embodies the aims and aspirations a people seek to achieve and the mechanism by which that can be done. But we are pleased to note that graphically and eloquently in its Preamble, your Constitution stipulates concrete and valuable objectives for which it was enacted and we cannot help but enumerate these for our benefit and those who are present here this evening.

"To constitute India into a sovereign

Democratic Republic; to secure to all its citizens social, economic and political Justice, Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and opportunity, and to promote among them all, Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation".

The citizens of India and those of Liberia are constantly enjoying these privileges, yet there are some individuals on the Continent of Africa and Asia who have been denied these fundamental rights of mankind. We have followed your activities at the United Nations, and are aware of your faith in this world body, as we have. Let us, therefore, unite in our resolutions and help others to achieve their fundamental rights.

#### PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

We would like to emphasize that your country and its people like my country and its people believe in the peaceful co-existence of mankind. Your activities at the United Nations exemplify this vividly. We have specific reference to the outstanding role

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played by India during the controversial debate on the Korean question. India was one of the first to sponsor the resolution in the General Assembly. You strongly supported the idea of an undivided Korea, having before faced with similar situation in your national history, and being very conscious of the effects of such partitioning.

Again, we want to refer in particular at this time, to your principle for the promotion of world peace, freedom of nations, racial equality and the ending of imperialism and colonialism which were the guiding tool of your great Congress Party; and to perpetuate these common ideals, you joined the United Nations and we have no doubts that you have lived up to this voluntary and delegated trust and responsibility.

Notably, the right of the individual in modern society is rather complex. This has always caused conflicts between him and the

security and interests of the State.

Despite the tremendously large and ever-growing population of your resourceful country which cannot be compared with Liberia, our constitution is somewhat similar, in that it does not only guarantee the inherent rights of individuals, but has set rules and penalties for those who disregard them.

Mr. Vice-President, you have your modern India compiled uniquely in a volume entitled, "The New India" Progress Through Democracy, by the Planning Commission of the Government and other authorities for the purpose of bringing India and its aims and problems closer to the people of other lands - especially to briefly outline the progress in India's First, Second and Third Five Year Plans.

Here again, we cannot help but quote the following lines of Gandhi in that volume, when he said, "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible".

Similarly, in our book entitled, "The New Liberia", President Tubman, who is regarded by all Liberians as the chief architect of the New Liberia said,

"Our aim is to cooperate with honest and reasonable foreign capital and technical knowledge in the economic exploitation of our wealth. By removing hampering restrictions, by developing a fair tax structure and maintaining a stable Government, we believe the atmosphere has proved favourable not only to foreign capital operating alone, but has served as an inducement to joint enterprises. So long as the ultimate interest of the country and its citizens is never made secondary, so long will friendly cooperation and joint participation, as pursued under our Open Door Policy, multiply the benefits possible to our people".

The Open Door Policy of President Tubman which is an invitation to all men of goodwill in the commercial world to come to Liberia and enjoy her Free Enterprise System, stems from an internal policy known popularly to Liberians and foreigners alike as the "Unification and Integration Policy" enunciated in 1943, during one of his campaign speeches so as to unite all Liberians into a single cooperative stronghold.

The result of this programme with that of the Open Door Policy in twenty-five years are astounding and far-reaching. It has developed and instilled confidence in the Government

This is not all. Most significant is Liberia's "Investment Incentive Code", which some economists have often referred to as Liberia's Invitation to Free Investments; and we want to believe that this is the cause of fifty-five Indian businesses presently in Liberia. This figure is comparatively small, Mr. Vice-President, it can and should be increased: the door is still open, and the incentive code is there to guide the businessman.

Significantly and most gratifyingly the history of relations between Liberia and India throughout the years has been most cordial and friendly based on mutual respect for each other's integrity and sovereignty.

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We have common ideals and aspirations for our peoples and our attitudes towards the challenging problems of our one world are about identical. We are both courageous allies in our battling against common foes -- ignorance, poverty and disease. And we alike are striving to the limit of our resources to bring richer, fuller and more meaningful life for our people.

#### HUMANE ORDER

Mankind in these days need to lose his own selfish will and take on a character that would enable him to effectively contribute to and maintain a peaceful and humane order in our world society. This fact your people

and our people have come to realise, and are acting in conformity with the requirements to make it extensively realised by others.

I hail and salute you Mr. Vice-President, as an outstanding jurist, politician, administrator, diplomat, scholar, writer, emancipator and statesman. Indeed a courageous associate of Gandhi and Nehru.

In your fighting for the emancipation of your people and bringing to them a fuller and richer and more meaningful life, you have distinguished yourself not as a mediocre fighter but verily as a most valiant dynamic hero, who have experienced imprisonment to the end that your people can be free.

Your immense contribution to the Master Planning which has had its overwhelming impact upon your country's life and occasional progress and development in a dramatic and revolutionary manner, will always be esteemed, I am sure, by your people.

Hand in hand you are labouring assiduously and selflessly with your dynamic President Zakir Husain to produce an India what will not be a shining light in the present but will be a model of democracy to the world.

We bring you sincere friendly greetings from the President, Government and people of Liberia, who regard you not as strangers in another land, but partners in progress for world peace and universal brotherhood.

Throughout our all-too-brief visit has been very fruitful and much rewarding due to the overwhelming magnificent reception by the people of this nation. As we travelled about to the various places we have been received with great warmth, and have greatly benefitted from all what we have seen and heard. We leave here with lasting memories, and will with due accuracy report the same to our Government and people.

LIBERIA INDIA USA KOREA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

MALTA

Prime Minister's Speech at Palam Airport Welcoming Dr. Olivier

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following speech at the Palam airport welcoming His Excellency Dr. G. Borg Olivier, Prime Minister of Malta, on his arrival in New Delhi on November 18, 1968 on an official visit to India:

Mr. Prime Minister: May I welcome you very warmly on behalf of the Government and the people of India as well as on my own behalf, We have eagerly looked forward to your visit and our only regret is that it is going to be such a short one.

We have watched your efforts with interest and admire the manner in which you are facing the problems which independence brings. We ourselves are not unfamiliar with

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those problems and even though there is difference in size, there is great similarity in the difficulties we face. We appreciate and value your cooperation at the United Nations as well as the Commonwealth Conference and we sincerely hope that your visit here will further strengthen the bonds of friendship between us.

May I wish you and your colleagues a very happy visit here. I hope you will find your stay interesting, enjoyable and worthwhile.

MALTA INDIA USA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

MALTA

Reply by Dr. Olivier

In his reply to Shrimati Gandhi's welcome speech, the Prime Minister of Malta, His Excellency Dr. G. Borg Olivier, said:

I have been extremely touched with your warm words of welcome which have that ring of sincerity which I know can only come from the heart. Your welcome is one which reflects the indefinable links of friendship which continue to pervade among the members of the Commonwealth of Nations to which both Malta and India belong.

What you have said was indeed generous in regard to myself and my country and coming as it does from a Prime Minister of the largest member of the Commonwealth to one of the very smallest, they are doubly appreciated.

I start this visit with pleasure, looking forward to the opportunity of seeing something of your ancient culture and customs, of the marked differences in the geographical features of this vast land. I will meet some of the different peoples which make up this nation and I will have the chance of viewing some of the progress which India has made in the last 21 years when the tempo of change and advancement increased with political independence. Since independence, India has advanced in the face of great odds, in spite of population pressure which could have overwhelmed it, without the help of all the resources necessary to meet the needs of the people, with difficulties in communications and with inadequacies in other sectors. All this notwithstanding, India has

forged ahead and whilst problems remain, her future as a result of successive good leadership is surely more secure.

This I will see for myself in what can only be a very brief visit in relation to the size, the immeasurable size, of this land. I will also have an opportunity to speak with the leaders of this country on matters in which we may have mutual interests. It will also be useful to discuss certain world and Commonwealth problems and thus to draw on the wisdom and experience of the Government of India.

Madam Prime Minister, I cannot express well enough my gratitude for the kind invitation which your Government has extended for me to visit India and I bring with me greetings from the people and the Government of Malta. I know I am interpreting the wish also of the small Indian community which lives happily amongst us in Malta in conveying their best wishes to you and to their mother country.

MALTA INDIA USA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

MALTA

Prime Minister's Speech at Lunch in Honour of Dr. Olivier

Following is the text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's speech at the lunch given by her in honour of the Prime Minister of Malta, His Excellency Dr. G. Borg Olivier, in New Delhi on November 18, 1968:

Mr. Prime Minister, Your Excellency, Ladies and gentlemen, A short while ago

I welcomed you, Mr. Prime Minister at the airport and now I have the pleasure of doing so again. The Government and people of India feel greatly honoured that you should find time to pay us this visit. It enables me to renew an old acquaintance and revive memories of the brief glimpse I had of Malta many years ago in 1953. We here are fami-

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liar with Malta's history and the valour of its people and we have tried to keep in touch with its contemporary developments.

The importance of a nation does not merely depend on its size or its population, but more so on the values it upholds and the policies it pursues. Although a new country in the political sense, Malta has a past dating back to several thousand-, of years. Like us, you have survived, vicissitudes of history; like us you have maintained a sense of continuity with the past in your cultural life.

#### HEROIC ROLE

We recall the heroic role which your country played during the Second World War. For the past four years we have closely followed the efforts which your Government has been making to resolve the many problems which inevitably arise following independence. Here in India we are tackling problems of a somewhat similar nature though their scales are different. Size itself poses different challenges which are of one kind when the size is large and of an entirely different kind when the size is small but the strategic position of your beautiful country places additional burdens and responsibility on you and your people. Malta lies at the cross-roads of Europe, Asia and Africa and, therefore, has a special interest in the maintenance of peace and stability in the world.

Our two countries have cooperated to our mutual benefit both at the United Nations and in the Commonwealth. At the United Nations, we were very glad to have the opportunity of supporting proposals made by your delegation for using the ocean floor for peaceful purposes. This plan is of

great importance to mankind, specially when we realise that the area at the bottom of the seas constitutes nearly three-quarters of the land area of the earth. India is a member of the ad hoc committee appointed by the United Nations to study Malta's plans. We have no doubt that we shall find new fields and continue purposeful collaboration. We are privileged to be participants in Commonwealth Scholarships Scheme and I am sure that we shall soon have the pleasure of welcoming your scholars in India.

During the next few days, Mr. Prime Minister, you and your colleagues will have an opportunity to see something of India and her people. We are a multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-cultural nation but underlying this variety is a basic and fundamental unity and an intensely integrated continuity with our heritage of the past. Such a heritage is we feel of value and yet it poses tremendous burdens and we sometimes feels that those who start on a clean slate have a far easier task.

Since our independence in August 1947, we have devoted ourselves to the major problem of economic and social progress the betterment of the lives of our people. We have decided to do so through the democratic processes. We have launched upon extensive programmes of modernisation which are bearing fruit in the industrial, agricultural, social and economic fields.

#### PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

In the international sphere, we have kept away from military blocs and alignments. Instead, we have followed the policy of peaceful co-existence, non-alignment and non-interference in the affairs of other countries. We believe that if mankind is to survive, and if the lives of vast numbers of human-beings are to become tolerable, peace is imperative. That is why we have a policy of friendship towards all nations. That is why we uphold the Charter of the United Nations. That is why we take an active part in disarmament conferences. Non-alignment gives us freedom of action to look upon issues and problems on their merits.

Whenever and wherever there have been departures from the policy of peaceful co-existence or from the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other countries, the world order has suffered setbacks. We have never provoked any conflict or coveted anyone's territory. At the same time, we have to remain prepared to defend our borders, our security and our territorial integrity. Although during the past half a dozen years, we have been the victims of unprovoked aggressions and have gone through many difficult periods, we are convinced of the fundamental and basic soundness of the policies which we have pursued.

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Mr. Prime Minister, we are happy to have you with us and we sincerely hope that as a result of your visit we shall be able to explore further avenues of mutual co-operation. We will be glad to share our experience with you and I am confident that this visit will lead to closer ties and greater understanding between our countries and our peoples. May I, ladies and gentlemen, invite you to join me in a toast to the health of Queen Elizabeth II, the Queen of Malta, to the health and happiness of Prime Minister Borg Olivier and for Indo-Maltese friendship.

MALTA INDIA USA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

MALTA

Reply by Prime Minister of Malta

Replying to the toast proposed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, His Excellency the Prime Minister of Malta, Dr. G. Borg Olivier

said:

Madam Prime Minister, I rise to thank you for the kind words you have used in regard to my country and to myself. They are words which I am sure I will be unable to match; but whatever I have to say, I can assure you, will be with a deep sense of feeling and conviction.

I recall all too vividly the memories I have of your late lamented father and I also remember the first occasion, many years ago, when I had the pleasure of meeting you personally.

Having been only a short time in India and this being my first visit to this country, I will naturally refrain from saying much which could be interpreted as presumptuous on my part. However, I can safely speak of the friendship between our two countries.

We all hold India in high regard. Her leaders brought India to independence by methods reflecting their sagacity, persistence and love of peace. These qualities in your leaders have helped to build up democratic institutions which work well and stand solidly to the test of time.

Among those philosophies which we Maltese share with India is her love of peace. It is therefore proper that we will be commemorating in Malta in an appropriate manner in February of next year the centenary of the birth of that hero of peace, the founder of this nation, Mahatma Gandhi.

Malta is pledged to work for peace by supporting principles of international conduct which foster understanding and justice among nations. To us the ideals of the United Nations are especially relevant as we are a small country easily over-run and very exposed to danger.

Much as Malta would like to see in the United Nations an effective instrument for the maintenance of peace, however, we cannot, because of our size, fail to take action to secure our integrity or fail to take necessary precautions. This we do through an

association with a defence organisation, with NATO, the members of which share with us those ideals and that way of life under the rule of law which we think are essential.

We are all too conscious in the Mediterranean of the potentially dangerous situation which is developing, a situation which has evolved rapidly since the Arab-Israeli war of June last year. That war itself has created dangers and has caused to my country economic disabilities of movement through the closure of the Suez Canal. But more unease is felt because of the mounting of tensions as arms build-up in the Mediterranean basin. Imbalances and new situations are arising which could well lead to the hotting up of a cold war in the Mediterranean. Fears are mounting and counteraction is advocated. The super Powers are involved and the Arab-Israeli dispute looms large as a danger point in the basin.

Malta is therefore anxious to see peace and stability restored in the Mediterranean following a lasting settlement in the Middle East based on justice and on understanding

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of realities. For this reason, Malta makes an appeal to India to make full use of her vast influence for the finding of a satisfactory and equitable solution which would ensure lasting peace in the Middle East.

In the meantime, we are not without fear as a result of the struggle over men's minds in the Mediterranean. In this respect we are constantly on guard against blandishments and appearances, temporary tactics in support of hidden strategy, in the war of ideologies which thinly veils the politics of super Powers.

But I would not wish to presume too much by speaking on such a subject which I know already preoccupies the mind of the Government of India. On the other hand whilst Malta's influence over world events cannot but be modest, I do not think that our size inhibits the application of our minds and thoughts in seeking with friends solutions to underlying international political

situations which hamper the advance to a universal peace based on sound foundations.

It remains to me to say that I am sure my visit will be an experience at the end of which I will be a richer man, a wiser man, a man with the knowledge and appreciation of the problems and the extensive development of a large corner of the Commonwealth and of the world.

Although I cannot offer in the same measure anything in return, I would like, Madam Prime Minister, to extend to you an invitation, a warm and cordial invitation, to come to my country for a short visit whenever your exacting life can permit you the interval of a few days.

Finally, I invite all the distinguished gathering here present to join with me in saluting the Prime Minister of India and in wishing her well today and a very happy birthday tomorrow and many many happy returns of the day to come.

MALTA USA INDIA ISRAEL

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

SOMALIA

President's Speech at Palam Airport Welcoming Dr. Shermarke

The President, Dr. Zakir Husain, made the following speech at the Palam Airport welcoming His Excellency Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, President of the Republic of Somalia, on his arrival in New Delhi on November 23, 1968 on a State visit to India:

I am glad to welcome you to our country. We have been expecting your visit

for some time and wish we could have had you with us earlier. We are glad that you could come now although this is, the season of Ramadan when you would have naturally liked to be with your own people. We like to think that you agreed to come and be our honoured guest in this holy season because of some particular affection for our people.

Mr. President, you are no stranger to India or its people. We have pleasant memories of your last visit which you paid to us as Prime Minister of your country, and also of your close collaboration with our late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. You were a pioneer in forging closer economic and cultural relations between our two countries.

India and Somalia are neighbours, and people on both sides have crossed over to each other from time immemorial. Not sur-

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prisingly, there is much in common in our traditions, outlook and way of life. We are so close to you in so many ways that I assure you Mr. President, that you will be at home in India and also sense, during your stay with us, something of the affection and regard our people have for you personally and for the good people of Somalia.

Mr. President, you are welcome as a great African statesman and as an old friend of ours. We value your goodwill and your friendship and we hope this visit of yours will strengthen our relations and further fruitful cooperation between our two peoples.

Long live Indo-Somali friendship.

MALI SOMALIA USA INDIA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

**Volume No**

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1995

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Reply by Dr. Shermarke

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Replying to the welcome speech of the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, H.E. Dr. Shermarke said:

Mr. President, I was very happy to receive and to accept the invitation extended to me by Your Excellency to make a State visit to this great country.

I wish to take this opportunity to bring to you and to the Government and people of the Republic of India heartiest greetings from the Government and people of Somalia, and the assurance of their feelings of friendship and brotherhood.

I should like also to thank Your Excellency for the very kind things you have said about me and about my country and the people of Somalia.

I am certain that my visit will contribute to the happy development of the good relations which so fortunately exist between our two countries.

There are no words which are truly adequate to express the depth of my gratitude for the warm greetings we have received in this beautiful capital city.

However, the expression "Thank you" was specially invented for such a purpose; and this, for myself and on behalf of my delegation, I say with all my heart.

MALI SOMALIA INDIA USA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

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**Volume No**

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President's Speech at Banquet in Honour of Dr. Shermarke

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The President Dr. Zakir Husain, made the following speech at the Banquet given in honour of His Excellency the President of Somalia, Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke in New Delhi on November 23, 1968:

May I convey to you, Mr. President, and the distinguished members of your party a most cordial welcome on behalf of the people, Government of India and myself. I hope you will enjoy your short visit with us, and see something of what we are doing, and what we have been able to achieve after our independence.

Mr. President, we have followed with interest your rise as a great national leader of the Somali people. Your devotion to the cause of your nation's unity and welfare is widely known. You have served the young Somali Republic with courage and dedication in the difficult years after independence as Prime Minister, and now you are the elected Head of State, and leader of your country, enjoying the confidence and affection of your people. But even while seeking justice for your people you were never unmindful of the broader interests of Africa as a whole. You had those interests at heart and did not think of sacrificing them for national gains.

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You are, thus, a truly noble statesman of that great continent-Africa; and your magnanimity and foresight in the interests of peace and good neighbourliness deserve the highest praise.

Mr. President, we are so close to you in so many ways that we do not feel we are strangers. You have only to look at our folk ways, our traditional dresses and so much else that is in common between our peoples. It is a significant bond between us that our two countries have adopted a demo-

cratic Constitution and are seeking to establish economic and social justice through the consent of the people. We are aware that in Somalia the roots of your democracy go deep into national traditions and that your people conduct themselves at your elections in a peaceful and orderly manner. We, too, are striving to establish a democratic society, that is to say a society in which we can look upon the individual as one capable of unlimited possibilities. Mr. President, there is much that we admire in your country, and we believe that in some ways you are blazing a trail for others. In August this year, your Government summoned a National Advisory Council, comprising a cross section of the people's representatives to deliberate on subjects of general public concern. We were deeply impressed that this interesting "experiment in democracy" produced an enlightened national consensus in matters of common and universal concern to your people.

#### TRADITION OF PEACE

As you know, Mr. President, India has a long tradition of peace and friendship for all. We, therefore, view with particular sympathy and interest the noble efforts of your Government under the able leadership of your Prime Minister, Haji Mohd. Ibrahim Egal, to solve African disputes within an African framework, "in the spirit of brotherhood and cooperation" and through peaceful and rational means. May I say how much we wish that your efforts which have already produced some significant results will be crowned with success. At any rate, we admire your methods and we think you are setting an excellent example to the rest of the world. To us, Mr. President, peaceful solutions are not only more just but more lasting, and we would say with your Prime Minister that "it takes courage to deal with others in peace."

Our two countries, adhering to the principles of non-alignment, have evolved more or less a similar approach to world problems. Like you, we seek peace with justice, and our economic goals and international policies

are akin to those adopted by your country. We are aware of the deep feelings inspired in you by the troubled situation in West Asia and the continued occupation of Arab territories by Israeli forces. We share your concern and staunchly support the Security Council's Resolution of November 22, 1967, calling on Israel to vacate the Arab territories occupied by force.

Mr. President, the menace of Southern Africa to the peace and stability of the newly independent States of Africa is a grave problem which is not the concern of Africa alone but of the whole world. The evil of South Africa's policy of apartheid, White minority rule in Rhodesia and the continuance of Portuguese colonialism are relics of a dying imperialism, and we must do all in our power to bring this chapter of human shame to an end. The callous domination of one race by another is intolerable to the conscience of man, and it is our task to mobilise opinion all over the world to resist this evil.

#### CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE

Mr. President, there is a constructive role especially enjoined upon the developing countries by their circumstances in a world which is still beset with horrors of war and destruction. The accent in our country is on economic development. All our resources and energies must bend towards this task. But both our energies and resources have been diverted away from our national plans for construction and economic development by the contrivance of external agencies. It is unfortunate that we have been obliged to divert our efforts to strengthen ourselves for the defence of our country. We defend ourselves and our territory when we have to. No nation worthy of its name can do less. But no more than this can any nation relinquish its belief in honourable peace and peaceful methods. Therefore, our endeavour

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always is to explore every peaceful avenue to the solution of our problems and conflicts.

By virtue of the similarity of many of our economic problems and much that is common in the backgrounds of Somalia and

India, there is great scope for mutual co-operation between them in the task of reconstruction and economic development. Our belief is that each country has to solve its own problems and develop in ways suited to its genius, its own particular traditions and background. But no nation can grow in isolation and exclusiveness as you and your country well recognise. In those fields, therefore, where our experiences can be of mutual benefit, I hope that we shall exchange them freely and encourage the growth of economic and technical cooperation.

Indeed the conditions of the present day world have opened up vast possibilities of collaboration between developed and developing nations on the one hand and on the other among the developing nations themselves. There is growing awareness of the need of such cooperation. Cooperation among the developing nations themselves is of particular significance in the material and in a symbolic sense.

It bespeaks a healthy and constructive desire to consolidate newly won independence not only in one's own country but in kindred lands and the need to do this by mutual efforts, sharing of resources and experience, with no political overtones and no ulterior motive other than to strengthen each nation's independence and dignity. On this basis it can be given to us to create a widespread force of peace in the world which, in time, could perhaps make its influence felt. I assure, Your Excellency, that India will cooperate with you and your Government in every way we can.

May I ask you, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to rise and drink to the health of the President of Somalia, Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke and to the health and happiness and well-being of the people of Somalia.

MALI SOMALIA USA INDIA ISRAEL

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

**Volume No**

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1995

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SOMALIA

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Reply by President of Somalia

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Following is the text of H.E. Dr. Shermarke's reply to the toast proposed by the President, Dr. Zakir Husain:

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like first of all once again to thank my brother, H.E. President Zakir Husain, for having so kindly asked me to come and visit this great country. I accepted the invitation with a keen sense of the honour that was being done me, and with the liveliest feelings of pleasure.

Of course this is not my first visit to India. As Head of the Somali Government, I had the opportunity to make an official visit here in 1963, at the invitation of that great and beloved Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru.

On this happy occasion, allow me also to express my most sincere gratitude for the kind welcome which I and my delegation have enjoyed ever since our arrival in this most beautiful country.

The kind things which Your Excellency has said about my country have filled me with pride. They have a very special significance for us, since they were said by a great statesman from this great country which, today as always, is destined to play a leading role among the comity of nations in the strengthening of the ideals of true democracy, of peace and of the spiritual development of mankind.

Mr. President, your country has always commanded a universal interest and fascination. In the past, this interest aroused the appetite of colonialism for the conquest of "Fabled-Ind". Today, however, that in-

terest is above all due to the fact that the greater portion of mankind, especially in the "Third World", looks to India as a strong-

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hold from which shall come a moral renaissance in an age which is otherwise characterised by violence and by a constant danger that the human race will utterly destroy itself.

Let us reflect for a moment on the deep significance of the message of peace and justice brought by one of the greatest men of all time: the Mahatma Gandhi. His philosophy and his life shone forth like a beacon of wisdom on all mankind, and gave new hope for the future to all those who still struggle for the physical and spiritual emancipation of their fellows.

The political thinking of this great master, the centenary of whose birth is being celebrated this year, has provided an inspiration and a guide for many of the greatest statesmen and leaders of our time. I should like to tell you, your Excellency, how profoundly grateful I am to be able to visit India during this auspicious centenary year.

Mankind has always had a great deal to learn from India, particularly about the fundamentals of humanism and of true democracy; and it was such ideals as these which informed the thinking of Gandhi. They are not things which can be imposed on the people from outside by rulers or by legislation; they are the expression of a genuine inner virtue. These principles have always found a very full expression in India.

This is what has given India its predominant position as a great country—not just size and a vast population, but a mighty heritage of history, philosophy and ethics. It follows that the concept of great power, thought of in terms of warlike ability or economic position, is merely relative, because the concept relates only to material things. In my view, the real greatness of a country consists in the spiritual or moral contribution its people have been able to make to civilisation. It is no exaggeration to assert that

in this India is without peer.

This, then, Mr. President, is why we Somalis have such a lively admiration for the genuinely democratic way of life of your people, and for the role your country is playing in the comity of nations.

I wanted to say these few words about India, because I wanted to show why it is that we Somalis are so proud not only of the ancient ties of friendship and commerce which join us to you, but also of our determination to go on strengthening our relations to the mutual advantage of both our peoples.

And I want to assure you, Mr. President, that here we feel perfectly at home and at ease. This is entirely because of the brotherly hospitality and other demonstrations of friendliness which I and the members of my entourage have experienced here.

Before concluding, allow me, Mr. President, to extend to you an invitation to pay a visit to the Somali Republic at a time convenient to Your Excellency.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I request you to join me in a toast to the continued good health of President Dr. Zakir Husain and progress and welfare of the great Indian people.

MALI SOMALIA USA INDIA

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

SOMALIA

Dr. Shermarke's Speech at Civic Reception

Following is the text of the speech made

by the President of Somalia, H.E. Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, at the civic reception given in his honour at the Red Fort, Delhi, on November 24, 1968:

Your Lordship, I feel honoured to address you at this important and historical place.

I have listened with the greatest interest to the important speech delivered last night by President Zakir Husain and I must first of all state that what he said about me and about my country has made me, if such a thing were possible, even more proud than before of the immemorial friendship which exists between our peoples and our countries.

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For it is a fact that our relationship dates back many centuries, and gives me a very special pleasure to recall how the "incense road" used to begin in Somalia and wend its way to India, giving birth in those far-off years to the bonds of friendship which today we are still strengthening.

It was, therefore, a great source of satisfaction for me that once our two countries had become independent, not only did we resume that ancient and traditional relationship, but in addition we worked together so that we might collaborate ever more closely both at the bilateral and at the international level. So you can see how it is that my present visit to India reflects simply one aspect of the centuries-old links between our two countries.

Today, co-operation between us is progressing in the fields of culture, technology and medicine; and because it is our earnest desire to make this cooperation ever more valid, we nourish the hope that it may extend still further to other fields.

We also much appreciate the fact that India is following so closely the efforts of the Somali Government to find, by Constitutional, peaceful and legal means, an equitable and satisfactory solution to the problems which face the Somali Republic in the matter of those Somali territories which

have not yet achieved their independence. The achievement of such a solution would normalize, once for all, our relations with our neighbouring African countries, and would be another step forward on the road to that African unity and solidarity to which we all look forward.

Africa and India share many things in common historically and spiritually.

We in Africa not only recall the experience which we had in common with your country of a story of colonialism, filled with suffering, with the humiliation of our dignity, with the exploitation of our resources, and with a struggle and an aspiration for a better spiritual and material existence. We are still continuing today, and with ever greater determination, the fight to liberate those millions of Africans, who are still the victims of repression and selfishness in minority regimes, from the state of servitude to which they have been reduced.

These minority regimes in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and in the so-called "Portuguese" Guinea represent not only a challenge to contemporary civilisation, but a disgrace to the human race. Nevertheless, the fact which strikes us Africans most forcibly, and which gives rise in us to most anxiety, is that the state of affairs which exists in those parts of Africa has arisen not only because of the activities of the racist and minority regimes in spreading their noxious teachings and discriminatory practices, but also because of the connivance and support of certain great Powers. The attitudes of these powers lead one more and more to believe that they are actively working to "legitimise" the grotesque and tragic situations which obtain in Southern Africa.

The injustice and provocation, the crimes and the humiliations which millions of Africans still experience because of the pretensions to cultural and racial superiority of the minorities I have referred to can be overcome only by a strong dose of moral courage.

Today more than ever before, therefore,

we may say that we are spectators of the great struggle between the traditional forces of good and evil, each of which is fighting to establish its own principles and practices.

To turn now to the crises in the Middle East, I believe that both our countries have taken up the same position by giving unconditional support to the Resolution of the Security Council dated 22nd November, 1967, which calls -- among other things -- for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab territories occupied during the June conflict of 1967.

If we look back into history, we shall find that after world-wide conflicts the peoples-especially those of the great Powers-adopt principles and rules embodied in Charters like those of the League of Nations, and of the United Nations. Perhaps this is because of the striking and purifying effect of a major catastrophe. These principles and rules, however, which deal with the eternal problems of human rights and

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of the existence, self-determination, liberty and moral and material progress of the human race, become, little by little, dead letter in the face of new manifestations of selfishness and false supremacy in certain States.

We in Africa are anxious that this recurrent phenomenon should not make weak and oppressed peoples believe that it is only through yet another world war that they can obtain justice for themselves.

On the other hand, it is no longer possible to tolerate further inhuman forms of oppression and moral servitude in the name of false pretensions to superiority of civilisation or of race.

The historical phenomenon of the re-awakening of African and Asian nationalism is not yet ended, because the forces of old and new types of colonialism are constantly adopting new methods and new techniques aimed at perpetuating their illogical positions of exploitation, of privilege and of oppression,

to the disadvantage of our peoples and of our civilisations.

It might well be said that Africa and Asia and the problems posed by those two continents reflect the conscience of mankind. It follows that those who for centuries have been working against human dignity will not be able to escape the verdict of moral guilt passed by that conscience. And the new political consciousness which is today shown by Africa and Asia owes an important debt to the thinking and to the philosophy of a great son of India: the Mahatma Gandhi.

The factors which determined the course of the last two world conflicts were no more significant than the dangers that are currently represented by the situations in a number of parts of the world. For, in the final analysis, such factors are always essentially negations of respect for human dignity: a dignity which, if ignored, may produce a situation which threatens the very survival of the human race.

The United Nations Organisation has passed numerous Resolutions aimed at putting right the anomalies which have arisen in those places, but experience has shown that failure to put such resolutions into effect has been to a great extent due to the positions adopted and maintained on such issues by certain great Powers.

The problem of the dignity and the liberty of mankind also involves, and to a very vital extent, their economic welfare. Today, the state of economic dependence created by colonialism in Africa and Asia is still all-pervasive. Further, all the efforts of our peoples notwithstanding, the rate of economic development has been retarded and made more difficult by certain of the policies adopted by ex-colonial Powers. The problem of economic underdevelopment is, to be precise, exacerbated by the selfish trade policies of such countries, and in this way the gap which divides developing countries from developed is maintained and indeed made ever wider. As a result, the existence of two worlds, one indigent and the other wealthy, each fast receding from the other,

is today more evident than ever before.

I believe, therefore, that developing countries must not only adopt a common policy of defence and in the conduct of their own affairs, but also, most important of all, that they should increase their efforts to make those countries which have reached a certain level of industrialization recognise their real moral responsibility to those other countries which have progressed to a lesser extent.

For this, Your Excellency, we look to your country, and are at your side in the never-ending search for greater social justice and for a better and more equitable re-division of the economic heritage of mankind.

And now, before I end, I should like once more to thank the Government and the people of India for the truly exceptional welcome which has been accorded me and my delegation. I can promise, Your Excellency, that during our stay in your beautiful country we have felt in no way like strangers. We have felt that we were among friends and that we were all anxious to be together and to get to know one another better, so that we might examine and eventually solve the common problems which we face side by side.

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MALI SOMALIA USA INDIA SOUTH AFRICA ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE GUINEA ISRAEL

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

SOMALIA

Indo-Somali Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in New Delhi on November 30, 1968 after the conclusion of the visit to India of His Excellency the President of the Republic of Somalia, Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke:

At the invitation of the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, His Excellency Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, President of the Republic of Somalia paid a State visit to India from the 22nd to 29th November, 1968.

The President and his party received a warm and spontaneous welcome from the Government and the people of India on their arrival. After a 3-day stay in Delhi they visited Madras, Bangalore, Poona and Bombay to acquaint themselves with both the economic progress and the cultural heritage of India.

The President of Somalia and the Prime Minister of India had talks in which the international situation and the bilateral relations were reviewed. These talks were held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cordiality and revealed a close similarity of views on current international issues.

On the Somali side the following also took part in the talks: H.E. Haji Farah Ali Omar, Foreign Minister; H.E. Haji Yusuf Imam Guled, Minister for Defence; H.E. Ali Mohamed Ossobleh, Information Minister; H.E. Aden Issak Ahmed, Minister of Education; Dr. Nicolino Mohamed, Chief of Cabinet, Presidency of the Republic; Dr. Ahmed Botan Dakaar, Director-General, Ministry of Planning & Coordination-, Mr. Hussein Hassan Farah, Head of the Afro-Asian Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On the Indian side the following attended the talks: Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State; Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister, Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary; Shri R. G. Rajwade, Secretary, EA-I; Shri S. Sinha, Ambassador of India, Mogadiscio (Somalia); Shri M. R. Thadani, Director

(Africa).

The Prime Minister expressed her satisfaction at the improvement of Somali relations with her neighbours. In this context, she also explained India's efforts to develop good-neighbourly relations with Pakistan and her determination to seek solution of all problems between the two countries on the basis of Tashkent Declaration. The President of Somalia noted with satisfaction the Indian efforts to resolve all differences with Pakistan in a peaceful manner.

The President of Somalia and the Prime Minister of India agreed that the United Nations must be supported and strengthened, so that it can play its appropriate role in the solution of international problems and the promotion of international co-operation. They also reaffirmed their support for strengthening the subsidiary agencies of the United Nations. Both countries believed that every nation must have the right to pursue its own internal policies and independent external policies. Both India and Somalia reject military alignments and are determined to pursue with vigour the policy of non-alignment based on principles of peaceful co-existence and positive co-operation amongst nations.

The President of Somalia recalled that following on her own independence India had worked for the elimination of colonialism and imperialism throughout the world and particularly in the continent of Africa. He welcomed the assurance extended by the Prime Minister of India for continued support to the cause of anti-colonialism and the safeguarding of Human Rights and the elimination of foreign domination in Africa.

Both sides agreed that all nations must abjure policies which are based on racialism or confer unequal advantage to one group of citizens. The apartheid policy in South Africa is not only bound to fail but its persistence could lead to tensions. They pledged their support to the United Nations for the elimination of such policies. They further condemned South Africa's refusal to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations terminating South African mandate over

South-West Africa.

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Both sides strongly condemned the continuance of the minority racist regime in Rhodesia and called upon all democratic and freedom loving Governments to support the United Nations resolutions calling for decisive measures to establish democracy in that country.

The President of Somalia informed the Prime Minister of India about the deliberations of the recent O.A.U. Summit Conference at Algiers and the important decisions, taken by the Conference on some crucially important issues. The Prime Minister of India reiterated India's faith in African unity and co-operation and expressed appreciation of the progressive developments in Africa, and specially of the important role of O.A.U. in harmonising the divergent interests and conflicts within the African States and in promoting solutions to African problems without outside interference. The Prime Minister expressed the hope that the O.A.U. would continue to play a vital role in African States and in safeguarding their security against all external threats.

Discussing the latest developments in regard to Vietnam question on which they found themselves in complete agreement, the President and the Prime Minister welcomed the stoppage of bombing of North Vietnam and expressed the hope that the discussions between the parties concerned would lead to a satisfactory solution of the Vietnam problem. Both sides agreed that the Geneva Agreements of 1954 provided a suitable basis for a solution in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the people of Vietnam.

Both sides expressed their anxiety and concern over the delay in the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, on the Middle East (West Asia) situation, and the resultant growth of dangerous tension in the area.

The President of Somalia and the Prime Minister of India felt that greater international efforts should be focussed on the

problems of economic growth of under-developed countries and in this context gave support to the principles involved in the resolutions of the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

The two leaders noted with satisfaction the increasingly close relations which are developing between Somalia and India in the economic, cultural and political spheres. The President of Somalia observed that India's technical and economic co-operation programme for Somalia had been a great success and hoped that the programme would be further expanded. The two leaders also emphasized the imperative need for developing and strengthening the commercial and economic relations of the two countries.

President Shermarke extended invitations to the President and the Prime Minister of India to visit Somalia which were accepted with pleasure.

Both sides expressed deep satisfaction that the visit of the President of Somalia and the opportunity it had afforded for a friendly exchange of views had further strengthened the existing ties of friendship and understanding between the two countries and would lead to beneficial co-operation in matters of mutual interest.

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MALI SOMALIA INDIA USA PAKISTAN UZBEKISTAN SOUTH AFRICA ALGERIA VIETNAM  
SWITZERLAND

**Date :** Nov 01, 1968

**December**

**Volume No**

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Foreign Affairs Record                      1968  
Vol. XIV                                      DECEMBER                                      No. 1  
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MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS : EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

CANADA

Indo-Canadian loan Agreements Signed

India and Canada signed on December 20, 1968, two loan agreements totalling Rs. 20.82 crores (\$30 million) for the purchase of fertilisers and other commodities from Canada. The loans, with a ten-year period, are free of interest and repayable over fifty years.

These agreements conclude the negotiations for a total allocation of Rs. 26.372 crores (\$38 million) made available by Canada to India for development assistance during the current fiscal year.

The agreements were signed by Mr. James George, High Commissioner for Canada in India, and Shri N. R. Reddy, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance. Government of India.

Under grant aid Canada has given India Rs. 27.76 crores (\$40 million) of wheat this year and Rs. 4.164 crores (\$6 million) for debt write-off and technical assistance and agricultural programmes.

In addition, a sum of more than Rs. 9.022 crores (\$12 million) is being made available in the form of interest bearing loans, bringing Canada's total assistance programme to, India for this fiscal year to about Rs. 69.4 crores; (\$100 million).

Projects currently under way with

Canadian aid include two 200 megawatt atomic power reactors in Rajasthan and a 780 megawatt hydro-electric development at Idikki in Kerala.

With the signing of the two loan agreements today, the total assistance, inclusive of grants authorised so far by Canada, comes, to Rs. 543.54 crores (\$783.2 million).

CANADA INDIA USA

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Prime Minister's Message on Human Rights Day

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, sent the following message to the President of the U.N. General Assembly on the occasion of the Human Rights Day on December 10, 1968, which marks the 20th Anniversary of the adoption of Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (The year 1968 is being celebrated as the International Year for Human Rights) :

On the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights I send you, Mr. President, and the General Assembly of the United Nations the 331 greetings of the people and Government of India.

This historic Declaration affirmed that the recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. A link was thus established between the Charter of the United Nations and the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, between the maintenance of peace and the protection of human rights.

During the last twenty years the membership of the United Nations has more than doubled due to the regaining of independence by a large number of countries, which is a measure of the achievement of the collective will of mankind.

In contrast, progress in the field of human rights has been disappointing. There still remain areas in the world where human rights and fundamental freedoms are suppressed with impunity, and the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations are treated with contempt. The baneful practice of apartheid in South Africa and in South West Africa continues unabated with no relief in prospect for the long suffering African people. In Rhodesia a small group defies the UN and holds in subjection and terror the vast majority of the sons of the soil. The threatened execution by this illegal regime of 32 African freedom fighters has outraged the conscience of mankind. Elsewhere in some established democracies racism is raising its ugly head and the portents are dreadful.

We are entering a new era of expanding populations and dwindling resources, in which human values and the rights of man will be severely tested. Although we have most of the techniques needed to provide a decent life for all, the rich nations grow richer and the poor poorer.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is not just a romantic ideal. It is a challenge that we have all accepted and its objectives are possible of attainment in our lifetime. In this International Year of Human Rights the General Assembly of the United Nations should address itself to the urgent task of harnessing the technological achievements of man and the political will of nations to secure the universal observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

INDIA USA SOUTH AFRICA OMAN

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in Security Council on West Asia

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri G. Parthasarathi, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, in the Security Council on December 29, 1968 on the situation in the Middle East:

Mr. President, since this is the first time that I have spoken under your Presidency this month, I should like to pay my tribute to you before proceeding to express the views of my delegation on the grave situation which has resulted from the Israeli attack on the civilian airport of Beirut. The Council is indeed fortunate to have a person of your eminence and experience as its President during these grave moments. Under your wise leadership, I am sure, it will take some forceful and effective measures to alleviate the situation. Both as a colleague and a friend, you have always shown the utmost consideration to me. I will always cherish the very close association that we have had in the Council in the last two years.

On 28 December, helicopter-borne Israeli troops landed at Beirut International Airport and destroyed several civilian aircraft. Extensive damage was also caused to other aviation facilities and installations. The representative of Lebanon has given the Council full details of the Israeli aerial and ground action. We offer our deepest sympathies to the Government and people of Lebanon for the grievous loss they have suffered.

In the light of what the Ambassador of Lebanon has said, as well as from indepen-

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dent reports, it is clear beyond any doubt that Israeli military action against his country was unprovoked, unnecessary, and a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. This Israeli military attack on Beirut is blatant and reprehensible, and should not be tolerated. It is the duty of the Council to condemn it and to take suitable measures under the relevant provisions of the Charter to prevent the repetition of wanton acts. At the same time, the Council should demand of Israel the payment of compensation to Lebanon for the damage caused in Saturday's action.

There is another aspect of the situation to which my delegation would like to draw the Council's attention. During the last few months, Israeli forces have attacked and destroyed several public installations in neighbouring countries. In October the targets were two bridges and a power station in the United Arab Republic; a month later, road and railroad bridges in Jordan; and now it is the International Airport of Beirut.

The premeditated nature of these attacks and the enormity of the action seem to point out Israeli intentions of dealing crippling blows to the economies of Arab countries. My delegation believes that the Council should take serious note of this new phase in the escalation and widening of the area of conflict and adopt appropriate measures to arrest the fastly deteriorating situation. Incidents in occupied Arab territories or individual acts against Israeli property have been cited as justification for the recent recrudescence of tensions. My delegation deplores all violent incidents leading to loss of life and property. We cannot, however, accept that they would justify in any way the massive attacks launched by Israel on Arab civilian property. Those incidents have no relevance to Israeli military actions, such as the one on Beirut International Airport on Saturday.

During the entire period of its membership of the Security Council, the Indian delegation has espoused certain fundamental principles that should govern relations among Member States. These are the principles of the non-use of force, the respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. For this reason, we have lent our full support, to the Security Council's efforts to bring about a lasting settlement of the entire range of problems confronting the States of West Asia. The way to the peaceful solution of these problems has already been shown in the Security Council' resolution of 22 November 1967. Since then, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring, has been making strenuous efforts to bring about an expeditious implementation Of that resolution in all its aspects.

It is the wish of my delegation, indeed that of all members around this table, that the mission of Ambassador Jarring should be successful in laying the foundations for a peaceful settlement, in West Asia. However, actions of the kind in which Israel has indulged recently, including the latest, the attack on the Beirut International Airport, have set the mission of Ambassador Jarring a dozen steps backward. Particularly at this juncture, when hopes of making progress seemed to have risen somewhat, these actions, by heightening tensions, are a serious setback to the achievement of a political settlement. It is therefore the duty or the Security Council to ensure that Israel stops such wanton acts and pays full compensation to the Government of Lebanon. If the Government of Israel does not comply with these demands, it will be incumbent upon the Security Council to take further appropriate measures under the Charter to secure Israel's compliance.

INDIA ISRAEL LEBANON USA JORDAN

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

## INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

### Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement in General Assembly on Namibia

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, in the General Assembly on December 10, 1968 on the question of Namibia:

Mr. President, the General Assembly is once again seized of the important question

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of Namibia. The issue at stake is as simple as it is serious. It relates to the continued failure of the World Organization to pursue to its logical conclusion the historic decision of this Assembly to terminate South Africa's mandate over the Territory and to bring it effectively under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

The significance of resolution 2145 (XXI) lay in the fact that the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations committed themselves irrevocably to securing freedom and independence for the Territory not later than June 1968. That date has passed and there is no indication that sufficiently earnest efforts are being made to honour the pledge made by the adoption of the resolution. At the same time the South African authorities are adopting a series of measures outlined in the report of the Council for Namibia (A/7388) to further consolidate their illegal control over the Territory and to accelerate the process of destroying its unity and territorial integrity.

I do not propose to refer to these matters in any detail, as previous speakers, have done so only too eloquently.

The causes for this unfortunate state of affairs merit urgent examination, as it is only such a review which can form the basis for the kind of remedial action which is required. There does exist the widest possible agreement on the central objectives, namely, the withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory and the attainment of freedom and independence for its tortured people. It is on the means of achieving this objective that there have been differences of opinion. It is an inescapable fact that these divergencies of view have arisen as a result of what amounts to a withdrawal from their commitments on the part of those States which have persistently pleaded that the action this Assembly should take should enjoy wide support and should lie within the capacity of the Organization. There can be no quarrel with these propositions in themselves. However, the difficulty lies in the fact that in the view of these States the appropriate action of the General Assembly is limited to fruitless diplomatic demarches or the adoption of peripheral programmes of assistance to Namibians abroad.

The fact of the matter is that the South African authorities are encouraged to defy the United Nations with robust confidence and impunity, as a direct result of the tacit support they receive from the States which have thought fit to evade their responsibilities in this manner on one pretext or another. There can be no mistaking the fact, as our distinguished Secretary-General has so poignantly pointed out more than once, that the United Nations is nothing but a reflection of the attitudes and aspirations of its Members.

The capacity of the Organization to act in a given situation is no more and no less than that which is determined by the common agreement of its Members. The Charter of the United Nations is replete with provisions which, if applied, would enable the achievement of the objective on which we are ill agreed.

The situation in which we are sought to be persuaded that the inhibiting factor is

the ostensible incapacity of the Organization, arises from the lack of agreement on the application of the relevant Charter provisions. As it happens, the Security Council has by its resolution 246 (1968) taken cognizance of its special responsibilities toward the people and Territory of Namibia. It did so with the explicit agreement of all its permanent and non-permanent members. The question remains as to how and when it will exercise this responsibility.

The Council for Namibia in its report (A/7388) has warned that the trend of development in the Territory points to the distinct likelihood of an outbreak of violent racial war on an unprecedented scale. The Council has accordingly expressed its concern that this situation constitutes an aggravation of the wider serious threat to international peace and security in the area. It is our duty here in this Assembly to consider the steps to be taken to avert this threat.

My delegation has consistently supported the application of the mandatory provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter as the only effective solution to the problem with which we are confronted. This remedy can be put into effect if the political will to do so

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can be created. This is the task before us to which we must address ourselves with seriousness and determination.

The question naturally arises as to why we are unable to reach agreement on the course of action we should take. We have been frustrated in our attempts to act resolutely on the question of Namibia by the States which have subordinated their moral and political obligations to their desire to maintain and consolidate their trade relations with South Africa. It is ironic that States which support the view that South Africa has forfeited the right to administer Namibia do not hesitate to acquiesce in economic and commercial dealings with South Africa in regard to Namibia.

The investments of these States in Namibia are part of a well-planned operation

to consolidate their involvement with the colonial Powers in southern Africa in such a way as to deprive them of any real interest in bringing self-determination and freedom to the peoples in this troubled part of the world.

This is the central issue which must be faced and tackled if we are to find an effective solution to the problem of Namibia. I submit that the time has come to put an end to prevarication and to act in all conscience and responsibility, in common agreement to bring to early fruition the objectives enshrined in resolution 2145 (XXI) by which this Assembly committed itself to securing the early independence of Namibia.

INDIA NAMIBIA USA SOUTH AFRICA

**Date** : Dec 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative at the United Nations made the following statement in the First (Political) Committee on December 18, 1968 on international cooperation in the peaceful uses of (otter space:

As you, Mr. Chairman, stated yesterday in the Committee, the second decade of space exploration has already begun. Man's endeavours in further exploring outer space are reaching new dimensions. Some weeks ago, the Soviet Union achieved a magnificent success in sending Zond 5 and Zond 6 around the moon. Encouraged by the success of the Apollo 7, which was sent on an eleven-day mission around the earth, the United States is in the final stages of preparation

for rocketing a three-man crew in Apollo 8 on a historic voyage around the moon. This circumlunar voyage by astronauts is blazing the trail for projected missions around and to the moon.

The world owes a debt of gratitude to the scientists and technicians of the United States and the Soviet Union for the untiring zeal with which they are pursuing their efforts to conquer outer space. The results achieved in the process of discovering it are opening up new fields of applications for the benefit of all of mankind. It is for us to put this knowledge to use in as effective a manner as possible for the amelioration of the economic and social well-being of man on this planet. It, was in realization of this goal that the Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was convened in Vienna. It is in realization of this goal that the Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was convened in Vienna. I am glad to state that it was able to achieve its purpose of examining the practical benefits of space exploration on the basis of scientific and technical achievements and the opportunities available to non-space Powers for international co-operation in space activities with special relevance to the needs of the developing countries. In this regard, we are thankful to the Government of Austria for providing facilities for holding the Conference in Vienna and for the warm hospitality offered to those who attended the Conference. In this regard, we would like to express our warmest appreciation to the President of the Conference, Foreign Minister Waldheim, who at that time was also the Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. During his chairmanship, the Committee was able to

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make significant head-way in furthering international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. We would also like to congratulate Ambassador Haymerle, the present Chairman of the Committee, and assure him of our whole-hearted co-operation.

At the 53rd meeting of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in October last, my delegation had an oppor-

tunity of recalling the proposals made by Dr. Sarabhai in his capacity as Vice-President and Scientific Chairman of the Conference held in Vienna. Dr. Sarabhai had suggested that a small Advisory Group should be constituted and that action should be taken to arrange panel meetings, fellowships, surveys, and technical assistance. In his statement at the Conference Dr. Sarabhai stated that at the United Nations level there was need to look at the current as well as the forward-looking problems of applications of the uses of outer space in a variety of fields. Drawing upon the experience of the International Council of Scientific Unions, he was of the view that a small Advisory Group of specialists should be constituted to generate new ideas that might lead to the combining of the efforts of various agencies. He stated, and I quote:

"Moreover, there is good scope for some projects to be supported jointly by two or more specialized agencies, as is being done by the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. The Outer Space Affairs Division of the DPSCA could generate a great deal of interest and understanding by arranging specialist panel meetings on specific topics along lines that the International Atomic Energy Agency has followed so effectively. These panel meetings, perhaps no more than four per year of fifteen or twenty people, could produce documentation and new ideas on specific applications, these could then be distributed widely. These meetings could be held in different parts of the world in order to generate local and regional interest. And then there is the need for a number of scholarships for nationals of developing countries. I feel that one would need perhaps a hundred per year, for training related to specific applications which a nation wants to undertake. There should be some funds available for Governments committed to certain projects to be able to send their people to institutions run by nations advanced in the subjects concerned. The funds should support travel

expenses and maintenance during a period of six months to a year."

Dr. Sarabhai went on to state:

"Another programme of some importance which the United Nations could consider would be to undertake survey missions, on request, from countries or groups of countries to explore the potential of certain specific techniques within the context of local situations. There is need for a modest programme of technical assistance for developing countries to set up facilities like Automatic Picture Transmission. If a country wants to construct an APT unit itself, there should be some funds available for taking a scientist or engineer to a place where he could make the first unit. For example, we will be very happy to provide at our Space Science and Technology Centre in India facilities and assistance to those wishing to build such units themselves and then taking them back with them. This type Of technical assistance should be geared to specific programmes of immediate benefit where the country itself is interested in making a commitment United Nations sponsorship, like at Thumba, to multinational co-operative projects for space applications might be very helpful in providing an umbrella for bilateral co-operation."

We trust that the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee, as has been recommended in the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, will consider in detail all aspects of the proposals made by my delegation regarding the establishment of a small Advisory Group as well as the suggestion that action be taken to at-range panel meetings, fellowships, surveys, and technical assistance. We consider that these proposals originating from the discussion at the Conference should be studied in detail and definite recommendations made

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as the future follow-up of the achievements of the Conference entirely depends on it.

We are gratified to note that a number of delegations, including that of the United States, as noted by Ambassador Wiggins this morning, have made encouraging comments on our proposals.

Also arising from the discussion at the Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in Vienna is the proposal of Sierra Leone that arrangements should be made for the use of expert services through a United Nations centre for information and consultation in the field of practical applications of space technology. We have supported this proposal earlier and we consider that its implementation will fill a lacuna in this field by bringing the information regarding the scientific and technological developments in the field of outer space to scientists and engineers, particularly those in the developing countries.

Today the distinguished Ambassador of Sweden has taken a wise initiative in reiterating General Assembly resolution 1721 D (XVI) which, inter alia, indicated that communications by means of satellites should be available to the nations of the world as soon as practicable on a global and non-discriminatory basis and that parties to negotiations regarding international arrangements in the field of satellite communications should constantly bear this principle in mind so that its ultimate realization is not impaired. My delegation is in sympathy with the views expressed and fully appreciates the significance and the relevance of the suggestion made by the distinguished representative of Sweden. We consider that this suggestion, coming as it does at this juncture when negotiations are expected to start in this respect, is a very constructive one and should be borne in mind by all concerned.

My delegation also welcomes the proposal made by Sweden and Canada at the last meeting of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space held in October regarding a study to be prepared on the technical feasibility of communication by direct broadcast from satellites as well as its various implications. My delegation considers

that this is a timely proposal and that it should be given an early consideration by the proposed working group, as recommended in the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. My Government will be ready and willing to make its contribution to such a study to be prepared by the proposed working group.

We are glad to note that the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has also recommended that the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee give serious consideration to suggestions and views regarding education and training in the field of exploration and peaceful uses of outer space expressed in the General Assembly and in the Committee. In this connexion, we should like to recall the report of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee on the work of its fifth session (document A 6804) in which it was stated that:

"Arising out of this discussion, the Sub-Committee requested the Outer Space Affairs Group to report to the Sub-Committee at its next session on the status of implementation of the recommendations and suggestions made by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee and by the General Assembly and the problem, faced by the Secretariat in this regard."

We should like to urge the Secretariat to start immediately preparing the report asked for by the General Assembly and to present it to the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee at its next session.

The Government of India has attached special importance to the continued sponsorship by the United Nations of the International Rocket Launching Station at Thumba, and my Government has been keen to offer facilities at Thumba to other countries and to encourage international cooperation in this field. As the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, stated in her message to the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space:

"India looks forward to expanding areas of international collaboration and would take initiatives as she has at the United Nations sponsored International Rocket Launching Station at Trivandrum and

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at the Experimental Satellite Communication Earth Station."  
(A/AC.105/D.44, p. 12)

The Prime Minister of India dedicated the International Rocket Launching Station at Thumba as a United Nations facility on 2 February 1968. The Secretary-General in his message sent on that occasion stated that:

"The United Nations, for its part, has been proud and gratified that, under its sponsorship, TIRIS, has turned out to be a great example of international co-operation in the space age and performed a number of desirable and important tasks. What is being accomplished here will not only result in practical benefits to the Government and people of India, and those other nations who decide to take advantage of this international sounding rocket range: it can also point the way to nations in other parts of the world, as an example of what can be accomplished towards strengthening international collaboration in this field and providing a means for developing countries to participate and benefit from this new technological and scientific activity."

We trust that the General Assembly will accept the recommendation of the Committee to continue the United Nations sponsorship of the International Rocket Launching Station at Thumba.

This morning the representative of Austria, the Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Ambassador Haymerle, presented draft resolution A/C.1/L.463 which has been co-sponsored, among others, by my delegation. We are confident that the draft resolution will be

endorsed overwhelmingly by the Committee.

My delegation cannot conceal its disappointment at the slowness of the progress in the Legal Sub-Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space on the question of a draft convention on liability for damage caused by the launching of objects into outer space--a matter so vitally important, especially to the non-space Powers. Last year, when the convention on rescue and assistance to astronauts was approved and opened for signature by the General Assembly, we had hoped--and many other delegations had also hoped--that the Legal Sub-Committee and the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space would be able, with the co-operation of all members, to present a draft agreement on liability, before the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. That is why General Assembly resolution 2345 (XXII) even called upon the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space specifically to complete the proposed draft agreement on liability urgently - and not later than the beginning of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

At the last session of the Legal Sub-Committee in June, the Indian delegation made its best efforts to carry out the General Assembly's mandate by introducing, at an early stage of the Sub-Committee's work, a draft convention based on the various points of agreement reached - at least provisionally - in the Legal Sub-Committee earlier. Later in that session, we also submitted a revised proposal incorporating those points, and incorporating also compromise formulae on other points of disagreement, which seemed nevertheless to gain the support of a great number of delegations in the Legal Sub-Committee.

No doubt there appear to be some points of general agreement in the Legal Sub-Committee, on texts and principles, which may be embodied in the proposed convention, like the definition of damage, joinder of claims, presentation of claims, and the principle of absolute liability, and certain specified exceptions thereto or exonerations on certain specified grounds. But there still

remain important questions on which there is no general agreement. There are questions, like whether there should be a financial limit on the quantum of compensation under the convention, what should be the principles of assessment, what should be the applicable law governing claims under the convention, what should be the procedures for settlement of disputes, whether nuclear damage should be included in the convention, and what should be the position with regard to the responsibility of international organizations launching objects into outer space. These are all vital issues on which agreement must be found. It is our earnest hope that

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the space Powers in Particular would accept reasonable solutions in the legitimate interests of the victims of the damage, so that a meaningful convention on liability can be concluded.

Our position on all these points, which still divide the outer space Legal Sub-Committee, is well known. It is amply stated in the records of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. I, myself, have stated our views on these questions recently at the 53rd meeting of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space on 15 October. They are more succinctly stated in the Indian revised draft proposal on a liability convention, which is reproduced in full in the report of the Legal Sub-Committee. I will, therefore, not reiterate our position on these questions today.

I will only say that we are glad that, on at least some of the outstanding questions, like the position with regard to international organizations, there appears to be a good prospect now for finding general agreement. We hope that every effort will be made by all members of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, on a most urgent basis, to resolve their differences on the remaining outstanding issues, so that a convention on liability can still be completed expeditiously by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. In our view, the Legal Sub-Committee must meet soon and finalize its work on the completion of

a draft convention on liability.

INDIA USA AUSTRIA SIERRA LEONE SWEDEN CANADA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri G. Parthasarathi's Statement on Special Drawing Rights Scheme

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri G. Parthasarathi, India's Permanent Representative at the U.N., in the Second Committee of the General Assembly on December 5, 1968 on Special Drawing Rights Scheme:

Dear President, I would like to start with a word of welcome to Mr. Robert S. McNamara who has taken over as President of the World Bank group since we last met. It is unfortunate that he could not be here with us today to present the annual report of the Bank personally due to his illness. I would like to take this opportunity to wish him a speedy recovery. Mr. McNamara's energy, idealism and dynamism are well known. We have already had some glimpses of the overall grand strategy that he is working out and the forward looking attitudes that he is trying to inject into the Bank's policies. We had an opportunity to welcome him a few days ago in our country and we hope that this visit will result in a greater measure of understanding of India's vast problems and even greater potentials. We look forward to working in ever greater co-operation with the Bank group in the challenging task of international development.

I would also like to express the appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Schweitzer

for his comprehensive and lucid statement this morning on the activities of the IMF during the past year. We are happy that Mr. Schweitzer will continue to guide the affairs of the Fund for another five years. Under his able stewardship, the IMF has successfully faced a number of challenges and will, I am sure, surmount even more difficult problems in the years to come.

It is disappointing that the activities of the Bank group have not expanded in 1968. The loans committed by the Bank as well as by IDA showed a decline as compared with the previous years and the decline was sharp in the case of IDA. Commitments by IDA were only a little over \$100 million as compared with the peak of more than \$350 million which was reached in 1967. This is a reflection, Mr. President, of the delays which have occurred in completing the second replenishment of IDA. The only multilateral agency in the international development finance field which is concerned with development assistance proper, since it gives finance on soft terms, is languishing and there is urgent need to get IDA back into business. We welcome the decision by

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Canada, Denmark, Italy, Norway and Sweden to go ahead with their contributions unilaterally even without waiting for others. We hope that other countries would soon emulate their example.

While IDA is languishing in this way the UNCTAD Conference in Delhi in the beginning of this year failed to live up to the great hopes that it had generated among the developing countries. The conference did not yield practical results on the basic issues considered by it. However, the decisions of the conference provide a useful basis for further work in many directions. In this connection, we are glad to note that the Fund and the Bank are studying the question of stabilisation of prices of primary commodities with a view to evolving practical ways in which the Bank group can help in the solution of the problem. In view of its importance to the export earnings of the developing countries, we hope that this

study will be completed speedily.

At a time when the quantum of aid is so inadequate as it is today and seems to be, in fact, decreasing with time, it is heartening that the World Bank group seems determined to plan an ever greater and important role in the field of international development. While steps are being taken to increase the availability of resources, it is important to increase the effectiveness of available funds and to make them go a longer way by a more pragmatic attitude to questions such as procurement policy or programme versus project assistance. We are glad that the flexibility and imagination necessary to achieve these results are not lacking in the leadership of the World Bank group. In particular we are encouraged by Mr. McNamara's belief that the programme of the Bank group can take new directions and achieve new dimensions.

In his statement Mr. McNamara has stressed the importance of agriculture. The last year has seen a spectacular rise in agricultural output in India. The salient features of what has now been termed as the agricultural revolution, are already well known. Food production in India in 1967-68 was over 26 per cent higher than in the previous year and nearly 7 per cent more than the previous record. Though we were helped by favourable weather conditions, these results are largely the outcome of vigorous governmental efforts in introducing the latest technology and making available the necessary inputs. The prospects for the 1968-69 crop are also good. By a continuing pursuit of these policies, we hope to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains by 1971.

Indian industry which was suffering from a depression as a result of two years of unprecedented drought has shown signs of remarkable vigour and recovery in recent months. This recovery is the strongest in the industries related to the agricultural sector. Another heartening sign is the performance of India's exports. During the first six months of this financial year, exports have been nearly 20 per cent more than the corresponding period of last year.

It is possible to visualise that in the years to come the efforts made by developing countries in the 1960's will begin to yield results. It is unfortunate, therefore, that at a time like this the prospects for transfer of resources from the developed to the developing countries have become so uncertain. The international community has now to show the political will and make the necessary efforts to revive the climate for international economic co-operation which has unfortunately suffered considerable deterioration over the last year or so. We welcome the appointment of the Pearson Commission to look into this question from the point of view of a global strategy. An objective assessment by the Commission will help the world community to come to right decisions on matters of vital interests to humanity.

Turning now to the annual report of the I.M.F., the financial operations of the Fund in the last year assumed very large proportions due to certain special factors. The Fund has also continued to render very useful technical assistance to the developing countries of the world.

The past year has been one of recurring crises in the international monetary system. During these times of crises the Fund has been able to stress the paramountcy of the interests of the large community of nations and has brought out the importance and validity of international co-operation.

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During the year the Fund has completed the drafting of the amendment to its articles of agreement to make possible in the future the creation of special drawing rights. The proposed amendment has also been approved by the Board of Governors and is now in the process of acceptance by member countries. I would like to reiterate the hope expressed by Mr. Schweitzer that the proposed amendment will soon be ratified by member countries so that the scheme can be activated without much delay.

The arrangements for special drawing

rights (S.D.R.), even if not ideal, hold great promise. We agree with the remark of Mr. Schweitzer that the scheme has an important bearing on the welfare of the developing countries. The benefit to developing countries will accrue first from the drawing rights of these countries. Besides, the improvement in the world liquidity situation, which the SDR scheme is expected to bring about, is also likely, to influence favourably the prospects for development aid. However, Mr. President, it has been recognized not only by experts but also by many Governments of both developed and developing countries themselves that it will be necessary to make conscious efforts to enable the developing countries to take full advantage of the improvement in the aid situation likely to be brought about by this scheme. A number of proposals have, therefore, been made for forging a link between the creation of special drawing rights and the provision of development finance. My delegation hopes that it will be possible for the IMF to give serious consideration to the utilization of a part of liquidity to be created under the scheme for adding to the resources of international financial institutions.

INDIA USA CANADA DENMARK ITALY NORWAY SWEDEN PERU

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri K. R. Ganesh's Statement on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries

Shri K. R. Ganesh, M.P., Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, made the following statement in the General Assembly on December 18, 1968 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Coun-

tries and Peoples by the United Nations:

Significant developments, Mr. President, have taken place in the field of decolonization since the creation of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the United Nations. A large number of Territories have attained independence and most of them have taken their rightful place in the comity of nations. We have now arrived, however, at almost an impasse in so far as some of the remaining major Territories under colonial domination are concerned -- what the Secretary-General aptly refers to as "a solid wall of defiance".

It is a sad truth of our times that powerful nations stand by while determined racist and colonial minorities perpetuate their domination in Southern Africa. Year after Year the General Assembly approves resolutions on Southern Africa by overwhelming majorities, but to no avail. This is so because of a waning sense of responsibility on the part of powerful nations in the field of decolonization. If they chose to bring the sufferings of African peoples under Portuguese domination or those in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia to an end, the racist and colonial Powers would be forced to abide by the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. But it is their powerful trade interests and, in Southern Africa, questions of kith and kin in addition, which control their policies. Thus they adopt anti-decolonization postures, while professing to be neutral or even in favour of freedom movements. Until such time as these great Powers decide to exert their influence and power in favour of decolonization, freedom in Southern Africa will not be achieved by peaceful means.

My delegation is happy to note that in spite of the uphill task with which the peoples of these Territories are faced, the freedom fighters continue to redouble their efforts. It is heartening to note that con-

Africa have been liberated by the freedom fighters. In an effort to overcome this increasing resistance Portugal has been rapidly increasing its troops and armaments on African soil. But it is beyond the resources of Portugal to contain and combat the ever widening resistance movements in its African colonial Territories. One can only hope that the Government of Portugal, even at this late stage, will reconsider its policies and submit itself to the winds of change that have so far been shut out.

Southern Rhodesia constitutes a classic example of a deliberate imposition of an alien minority over the indigenous majority. That minority has now flowered into a full-fledged racist and colonial Power wholly supplanting the United Kingdom. Much has been said in this forum on this subject, and the vast majority of nations represented here have called clearly for something better than the passive attitude which the administering Power continues to adopt. Our advice and exhortations, however, have not only fallen on deaf ears, but the administering Power has gone a step further in proclaiming itself "unalterably" against the use of force to settle the Rhodesian issue. We are told that there will be no "sell out" of African interests in negotiations with the Smith regime, when the administering Power no longer has anything left to "sell out"; we are told that there will be no "slamming of the door" when in effect this is exactly what negotiations amount to if they are not to be with the true representatives of the people; we are also told that there will be "no use of force"- and indeed, this is the only part of the statement which is unfortunately true.

There exist today a large number of small and sometimes tiny Territories in the Atlantic and Caribbean, in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific, which have still to be, decolonized. In many, if not most of these, progress towards self-government remains painfully slow. Special reasons are advanced by the administering Powers to show why there are circumstances justifying the slow progress. In most cases these are a facade for the retention of those colonies as long

as possible. It is true that in several island Territories an attempt has been made to associate representatives of the people in varying degrees with the tasks of government. But in the majority of those Territories, the powers given to such representatives are in effect nullified by the fact that their role is largely advisory, with the right of veto remaining in the hands of representatives of the administering Power.

Most of the administering Powers today refuse to accept visiting missions from the United Nations. We are of the firm belief that such missions are not only useful but in some cases indispensable if the work of decolonization in the United Nations is to proceed smoothly, and if the United Nations is to be kept informed at first hand of the conditions existing in colonial Territories. The reluctance of colonial Powers to accept visiting missions exposes the true nature of conditions therein.

It is the obligation of the free world community to assist by all possible means the freedom fighters in the "hard core" colonies of Africa. My country, for its part, is making its humble contribution in educational programmes by the offer of scholarships for technological and other education for students from Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Last year, twenty-four Angolan students, amongst others, were undergoing training in India in various fields. My delegation is convinced of the necessity to further the cause of training and educational facilities for the inhabitants of those Territories, through the United Nations and through the other forums.

The late Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had the deepest of affections for the peoples of Africa. He saw the African peoples not as an object of civilizing missions but as a dynamic section of human society. Speaking in the General Assembly on 10 November 1961, he said:

"When future historians write about this period in which we are living, they may well say that an outstanding

feature of this period was the emergence of African countries, the new life that is coursing through the veins of Africa, which I think is, historically speaking, of vital importance today.

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"Because of that vitality and tremendous urge in the various countries of Africa, we find problems arising that are problems of a new vitality, and not problems of a decadent people - they are the problems of a new life emerging. Sometimes they are troublesome problems, but we must recognize that they are problems of growth and therefore problems which should encourage rather than discourage us." (1051st meeting, p. 621)

Another session of the General Assembly is about to end soon. At this time our thoughts are turned to the millions of people still groaning under colonial and racist regimes, where human dignity, freedom and human values are throttled. The world is afflicted by so many complex problems-- the problem of war, starvation, under-development and the fear of a catastrophe in the event of a nuclear confrontation. But worse still is the prevalence in a naked form of the vestiges of colonialism buttressed by inhuman racism. The conscience of the world community cannot be at peace until man is free from alien domination everywhere on earth. For, freedom and peace are indivisible. There can be no peace in Southern Africa and elsewhere till colonialism and racism are eliminated and rooted out. My delegation only hopes that the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly will at least make an earnest attempt to write the final epitaph on colonial and racist domination in southern Africa.

INDIA USA SOUTH AFRICA NAMIBIA PORTUGAL CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC ANGOLA  
MOZAMBIQUE GUINEA GUINEA-BISSAU

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri K. R. Ganesh's Statement on Violation of Human Rights

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri K. R. Ganesh, M.P., India's representative at the 1630th meeting of the Third Committee, on December 5, 1968, on the draft resolution on violation of human rights in occupied territories in West Asia:

My delegation takes the floor at this stage to add a few words to the excellent and exhaustive introductory statement of the distinguished representative of Afghanistan on the draft resolution contained in document No. A/C.3/L.1626, which my delegation has the honour to co-sponsor,

We supported a similar resolution at the Tehran conference by which the latter expressed its grave concern at the violations of human rights, in the occupied territories in West Asia. The proposed draft resolution follows, in spirit, the resolutions quoted in its preamble, and serves a very useful purpose by reminding the world community about a situation which is poignant and tragic, as well as explosive in character. The draft resolution before us is also a stark testimony to the lack of success that has followed the efforts of the United Nations so far in this respect. Had the provisions of the earlier resolutions been implemented, there would be no need for the present draft resolution to be tabled. Furthermore, by highlighting the purely humanitarian side of the problem it helps to bring into focus an aspect of this tragic situation which is sometimes lost sight of in the political questions relating to the situation prevailing in West Asia.

The Security Council's humanitarian

concern for the civilian populations of the occupied territories has been amply demonstrated by the unanimous adoption of Resolution 237(1967) last year, and the near-unanimous adoption of Resolution 259(1968) in September this year. The adoption of the draft resolution before us would, therefore, reflect the General Assembly's own concern at the extraordinary and tragic condition of the civilian populations in the occupied territories in West Asia.

Mr. Chairman, we are, deeply concerned and shocked about the plight of the hundreds of thousands of Arab civilians who find themselves today under foreign occupation. Many of them have lost their homes and hearths, and continue to do so, and have had to flee from ancestral places of residence. Their dire circumstances need to be brought to the attention of the world community immediately and their fundamental rights

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protected. In his connection, permit me to quote the words of our distinguished Secretary-General, before the Special Political Committee, on the 11th of November this year. He said: "I believe, however, that everyone will agree that the tragedy of the Palestine refugees, who three times in 20 years have known at first hand the cruel blast of war, demands that the United Nations should live up generously, and without hesitation, to its humanitarian duty towards them." These words, Mr. Chairman, sum up the tragic situation prevailing in the area and also remind us of our debt towards these unfortunate victims of the conflict.

Before I conclude, Mr. Chairman, I would like to reiterate that my delegation has, on numerous occasions, pointed out in various forums of the U.N. that occupation of territories by war is inadmissible, and, in order to facilitate an early settlement of the problem, the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all the territories occupied as a result of the conflict, after the 5th of June, 1967, must take place immediately in accordance with the provisions of the Security Council Resolution 242(1967).

With these words, Mr. Chairman, I commend this draft resolution and express the hope that, it will receive very widespread support. In doing so, I am certain that my distinguished colleagues are aware that it is an anxious expression of the universal concern felt for ensuring the safety and welfare of the inhabitants in the occupied areas of West Asia.

INDIA USA AFGHANISTAN IRAN ISRAEL

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri R. G. D'Mello's Statement on Problems of Human Environment

Following is the text of the statement made by Shri Rudolf Gyan D'Mello, Member of Indian Delegation to the United Nations, in the General Assembly, co-sponsoring the resolution on the problems of human environment on December 3, 1968:

Mr. President, human environment is a vast subject with numerous aspects and many problems. Those problems as they impinge on the well-being of man have reached such a magnitude that to ignore them would not only be injudicious but at some future date may well prove to be intractable. As was so ably noted in an excellent statement this morning by the representative of Sweden, the wise and timely initiative of Sweden has provided us an opportunity to discuss this important subject.

We know what is involved when we refer to the various problems of human environment. Those problems arise mainly in the course of man's efforts to come to terms

with nature and to live in society. Man, in dominating nature in the course of his progress, interferes with air, water, soil, and now outer space, and introduces noise, waste and other damaging substances which gradually tend to undermine his environment. But it does not stop at that. Because of the close relationship existing between nature and man, his social life is conditioned by the environment he recreates. In his efforts to live in society man is increasingly forced to live in congested urban areas and this affects his social relationships and possibly even alienates him from his natural self. With the numbers and concentrations of people increasing rapidly, we are already on the threshold of an era when man is slowly getting dehumanized. But today the problems go even beyond the adverse effects on man's social well-being. His very survival may be in question. How serious then is the environments situation? Nearly everyone agrees that there is an environment crisis.

For no other species has preyed on nature in the manner that man has. Man is the pre-eminent predator, the most effective and most ruthless, the greatest living force for changing the character of the earth. He has mined minerals, cut trees, farmed acres of land and used water as if these were unlimited. He has brought about economic progress out of nature's capital with short-term benefits, but long-term consequences which are proving to be unhappy and may prove to be catastrophic. As long as the

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natural wealth appeared boundless, the cost of extravagances was not apparent. Today these costs can be seen on all Sides: in the gap between rapidly expanding demands and the inadequacy of the environment to meet them. In fact it has become a race between abatement technology and despoliation. Some experts believe that environmental deterioration is already ahead of measures to prevent it. The exact nature of the crisis and the possible solutions to it have to be worked out through an international confrontation of scientists and politicians.

But even if there are differences of

opinion on the threat to human survival, there can be no doubt about the health hazards posed by polluted environment in many parts of the globe. In other parts of the world, mainly in the developing countries, the problems of human environment assume a different character. In those countries the problems concern the effective utilization of environment but avoid the pitfalls occurring elsewhere, that is, to take into account the side-effects of advanced technologies, and adopt the necessary corrective measures.

Broadly then the problems of human environment can be graded in three classes: I, those that are international; II, those of developed nations; and III, those of developing nations.

Regarding the problems which come in class I, that is, international, one may consider those pertaining to radiation and disposal of nuclear wastes, depletion of oxygen in the atmosphere, disturbances in temperatures and destruction of ecological systems on land and water.

Regarding class II, the problems of the developed countries: those are mainly the by-products of industrialization, and therefore can be endemic in highly industrialized countries. To take the example of the most industrially developed nation, the United States of America, the President of the United States said last year in November:

"We are pouring at least 130 million tons of poison into the air every year, two thirds of a ton for every man, woman and child in America."

The Director of Public Health Services, Mr. Jerome H. Svore, testified recently that an average of five tons of waste per person is being thrown away every day and it is estimated that this will double itself within a decade.

There are other more lethal ways of polluting the surroundings, for instance, through wastes produced by radioactive material and so on. There are only three ways of disposing of those wastes. They can

be buried, cast into water or incinerated-- i.e. released into 'the atmosphere --but the three natural disposal elements, soil, water and air have limited capacities of performing those functions and they are already being over-loaded. Because of over-loading, a point may be reached in the future when nature will not be able to regenerate itself. as has happened in certain parts of the world. Then environment can no longer sustain life. Therefore it has been said that "the greatest problem of affluence is to get rid of its effluent". For instance, at one stage there appeared to be prospects of eliminating wastes from the burning of fossil fuels by the substitution of nuclear power installations. But what about radioactive waste? At the moment it is stored in concrete blocks and buried in the ocean in deep beds, but the risks still continue. There is danger of release of radioactive materials into the ocean through container decomposition.

Those are the technological risks; but instruments of advanced technology can work havoc in the natural balance of plant and animal life, sometimes totally eliminating certain species of wild life or vegetation.

These ecological systems interact and what happens in one area can have long-term effects in another, for happenings remote from an individual organism, both in space and in time, may have consequence, for that organism, because there exists an intricate web of causes and effects among all living things and between the living and the non-living. As a book prepared by the United States President's Science Advisory Committee points out:

"Living things are interdependent and interacting. And they form a complex, dynamic system. Tampering with the system may be desirable and necessary, as in agriculture, but such tampering often produces unexpected side-

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effects and these are sometimes damaging."

The environmental situation in most of

the highly industrialized countries is serious indeed. Nearly everyone agrees that a large number of those countries are face to face with an environmental crisis. It is important, therefore that the different aspects of the problem should be examined and appropriate solutions sought by all nations, at both the national and the international level, so that at a future date the Assembly will not be confronted by a speaker describing the situation as follows: "Of the waters they made a cesspool, of the air a depository of poisons, and of the good earth itself a dump...".

There are some who believe that since man has survived over a million years, adapting himself to new conditions, he will manage somehow in the future also. However, the changes in the human environment which have taken place during the last few years are qualitatively of a different nature from the changes of the past. There is a distinct body of biologists which believes that the changes are occurring today too quickly even for man's adaptive capacity. Environmental changes in the past occurred at a pace so slow that it gave man time to adapt himself through genetic selectivity, but today the pace of change has accelerated at such a rate that he may have no time for evolutionary modifications. We have seen more inventions in the last five generations than during the whole of previous history. The remarkable adaptive faculty displayed by man has practically reached its limits and there is no certainty that the human race will survive in an atmosphere of indifference to the side effects of its own creation.

Whilst on the one hand the phenomenal rate of advance in the technological field has made it difficult for man's adaptive capacity to cope with the problems created by the application of technology, on the other hand the technological advancement and knowledge now available enable him to study various complex interrelationships involved in the problems of human environment and to build an ideal environment. What is required is the will and the wisdom to do so.

There has been a growing realization of the gravity of the problems of human environment during recent years. That is reflected in the activities of the Economic Commission for Europe in this particular field. Individual developed countries have also adopted measures for facing this growing menace. Awareness of the environmental threats has led the United States Senate, through the initiative of Senator Muskie, to set up a Select Committee on Technology and Human Environment. Other pioneering work is being conducted on allied environmental problems in several European countries.

However, human environment at certain levels cannot be segmented into parts, and certainly not the long-term effects. What about the intrusions of modern technology into the developing world? What about the long-term effects of nuclear fall-out from tests conducted in Africa, the South Pacific and so on? Can they be contained in specific geographic areas? Surely it is up to the international community to arrive at some formula by which environment in certain aspects is considered as one unified whole, and measures are taken to protect it accordingly.

Apart from the problems caused by advancing technology which have an international connotation, the developing countries face problems which are peculiar to their stages of growth, and that brings me to the third class of problems, that is, those of the developing countries. Those problems are inherent in what may be described as raw environment such as deforestation, soil erosion, flood and drought control, and tapping natural water resources for irrigation, drinking purposes, and so on. As the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, noted on 1 December this year, when inaugurating the Twenty-First International Geographical Congress:

"...India is trying to refashion the country's present day geography to the people's advantage. To make agriculture less a gamble in monsoons, big dams have been constructed to store flood waters of the monsoon period. Whole

rivers have been diverted into new channels through mountain tunnels to make irrigation more even. Currently,

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the nation is engaged in tapping two enormous water banks, Himalayan snows and underground rivers. Even weather and weather-making will be kept under the long-range surveillance of satellites for the benefit of the farmers, who make up 75 per cent of the country's population....".

She then added:

"The scientists and the politicians should work in such a way that the world is taken away from all that which destroys and towards tendencies which help mankind to live in peace and in harmony with its environment."

The application of advanced technology has not reached such a high stage in these countries as to influence the environment adversely but in their bid to industrialize and modernize and to increase agricultural productivity to feed the growing populations they must avoid the dangers, visible in the more advanced countries. To take one example: if the fertilizers and pesticides urgently needed in developing countries are not used on a planned scientific basis the potentiality of the soils and the natural ecological systems may be irrevocably damaged.

The use of vast quantities of pesticides to increase or maintain agricultural productivity may be one of the most devastating forms of pollution, as was ably pointed out by the Swedish representative. Let us take DDT, a common enough pesticide. DDT does not break down easily. It has an estimated soil life of up to approximately ten years. It has been estimated that more than a billion pounds of DDT must now be available to the world's flora and fauna, and, if the present level of use continues the amount will double in fifty years. DDT residues have been found in animals, including man, in every part of the world, even among

Eskimos and Antarctic penguins, indicating the wide range of pesticides' ecological effects.

The other aspect concerns the effects of modernization on traditional societies in the developing countries. In the course of migration from the rural to the urban surroundings, not only do the old patterns of living break down but frequently the new urban dwellers succumb to the polluted urban environment. Thus we find that the transition, from the rural to the industrial, causes not only psychological adverse effects but also physical.

The task of the developing countries to avoid the problems of human environment is therefore, mainly a preventive one. They have to ensure that their development in various fields is planned in such a manner as to avoid environmental depredations. The industrial development plans should be conceived in such a manner as to have built-in provisions against environment damage.

One of the important considerations should be to give due importance to the social costs in the form of environmental damages that may occur in the process of industrialization. That will require conscious effort by the States in a planned manner. Here the developing countries can draw much from the past experiences of the industrialized countries and from what the latter are doing to prevent the aggravation of the problems of human environment.

The problem for the developing countries at the relatively lower stage of growth is mainly how to plan for the utilization of environment for maximum human benefit. In the process of planning for industrialization they must make necessary provisions for housing, sanitation, recreational facilities, health facilities, adequate supplies of potable water and so on. In the course of planning they must also take into account the city complexes that are developing in advanced countries -- what are called conurbations and megalopolis.

Planning for avoidance of environmen-

tal damage during the process of industrialization may not give the sense of urgency that it deserves. However, there is not the least doubt that if the developing countries show indifference to environment in the process of their economic development the ultimate point of "criticality" for the human race will be reached much earlier. The efforts of developing countries in this field can only be commensurate with their existing levels of educational and technical infrastructure.

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The main task of international co-operation lies in enabling these countries to have access to the type of advanced technology which would not only facilitate rapid industrialization but also take care of the process of the broad environmental problems. Exchange of experience and research knowledge at the international level will be of great help. It is in that spirit that we are co-sponsoring the draft resolution before the Assembly on this subject. We should like to make a few suggestions regarding the international conference envisaged in the draft resolution. For the conference to be successful it may be necessary to identify those environmental problems which can only, or best, be solved through international co-operation and agreement. In doing so, we submit, some specific studies should be prepared as a part of the preparatory work for the conference. My delegation would suggest three broad categories of studies in that respect:

- (a) environmental deterioration - that is, mainly technical -
- (b) dehumanization as a problem of environment - mainly sociological - and
- (c) planning for utilization of environment -- mainly economic.

Within the framework of those categories it would be useful to advance and even to limit the areas which lend themselves to international co-operation and those where the best contribution to the solution of the problems can be made by efforts of national governments. It is only thus that the efforts in those fields can be given "a common outlook and direction".

During the course of the preparatory work, studies should also be prepared on the problems of human environment as they impinge on different sectors of social and economic development, that is, agriculture, town planning, health, industrialization and so on.

The general papers as well as the papers relating to sectoral problems should be distributed well ahead of the conference so that each country can bring to the conference its own experience in the specific fields.

Finally, there should be constant consultation with the appropriate organs of the United Nations engaged in the work pertaining to these problems.

Those are a few initial suggestions which my delegation hopes will help the conference yield results that will satisfy all, including those who have some initial doubts about the outcome of the conference.

INDIA USA SWEDEN OMAN ITALY LATVIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

## Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri T. H. Sonavane's Statement on Problems of International Law

Following is the text of statement made by Shri T. H. Sonavane, Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations, in the General Assembly on "United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law" on December 21, 1968:

Mr. President, the strengthening of the

role of International Law for the improvement of international relations is a cause which should be held as second to none, in our efforts to promote peace and prosperity through the United Nations Organisation. My Government has always considered that it is only through a wider appreciation of International Law that the primary purposes of the United Nations, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of friendly relations and cooperation among States can be achieved. It is for this reason that we have always supported the provision of technical assistance for the promotion of the teaching, study and dissemination of International Law, ever since this subject began to engage the attention of the General Assembly.

Last year, inspite of our limited resources and the needs of our developing economy, we made a voluntary contribution to the United Nations programme of assistance in the field of International Law. We are, therefore, very pleased to note that the

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United Nations Secretariat with the valuable assistance and cooperation of UNESCO and UNITAR, is actively implementing every year a modest but fruitful Programme in the field of International Law which includes among other things the provision of some scholarships and fellowships, the conduct of seminars and training courses, the provision of legal publications and the provision of advisory set-vices of experts. While all these forms of direct assistance by the United Nations and the specialised agencies are no doubt important, indirect assistance to member States and their universities and institutions, by way of aid and encouragement to their own national programmes in the field of International Law are in our view, equally important and they must engage our attention.

The question of dissemination of International Law has to be dealt with, like many other questions, both on a national and international level. The establishment of International Law bodies must be encouraged especially in the newly independent and

developing countries to promote nation-wide study, research and development of International Law and in particular, to study the international legal problems that concern such countries. We, in India, for instance, felt the need for establishing such an institution, as a non-Governmental and non-profit making academic body, after our independence in 1947. A few qualified scholars in International Law and allied subjects formed an organising committee and established the Indian Society of International Law in 1959. Today the Society has over 600 members and it conducts regular teaching courses in International Law including courses on Air Law and Space Law for those who are interested in these fields, it holds other lectures and seminars for its members on current International Law topics, and it publishes also a quarterly journal called the Indian Journal of International Law.

Apart from this, most of our universities today teach International Law as part of their law degree courses. But such national institutions and universities need encouragement in the form of money and material, to establish chairs in International Law, maintain a good teaching staff and also to maintain good libraries which would all serve the cause of dissemination and wider appreciation of International Law.

A much bigger effort is therefore needed both on the part of national societies and on the part of the International Committee to foster and disseminate the knowledge of International Law in the wider cause of international peace through the Rule of Law. But as a step in that direction we welcome the modest beginning made through the United Nations programme of assistance established in 1965, and implemented actively ever since year after year. We will support the adoption of the Sixth Committee's report.

INDIA USA

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

# Volume No

1995

NEPAL

Indo-Nepal Joint Communique

Following is the text of the joint communique issued on December 28, 1968 at the end of the third round of talks between His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Government of India held in New Delhi on the implementation of the Indo-Nepal Economic Co-operation Programme:

At the invitation of the Government of India a Nepalese delegation headed by

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Dr. Bhekh B. Thapa, Finance Secretary, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, arrived in New Delhi on December 23, 1968, for talks on the Indo-Nepal Economic Co-operation Programme. The Indian delegation was led by Shri V. H. Coelho, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.

The talks between the two delegations were held in the Ministry of External Affairs from December 24 to 28, 1968, in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. They covered a wide range of subjects including a review of the earlier talks, progress and implementation of the current programmes and an informal exchange of views on Nepal's assessment of her future requirements of co-operation from India in the economic field.

It was noted that the decisions taken during the last talks had been satisfactorily implemented.

Among the current schemes discussed were the East-West Highway, technical assistance in the field of education, maintenance of major projects, special assistance programme and the completion

of the Chhatra Canals. The Nepalese delegation expressed sincere appreciation on the progress of most of these joint programmes of economic development in Nepal.

The Indian side appreciated Nepal's of co-operation and her efforts directed towards economic development geared to long-term planning. In this connection, the Nepalese side expressed their interest in the development of railway lines within Nepal and in the further extension of transport, and communication facilities and the development of irrigation and power. The Indian delegation assured the Nepalese side of India's maximum co-operation in the planning and execution of these schemes and other aspects of future economic collaboration.

During his stay in the capital, Dr. Thapa paid calls on Shri Morarji Desai, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Shri Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce, Shri D. R. Gadgil, Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission, Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs, and other high officials of the Government of India with whom he discussed the further strengthening of Indo-Nepal co-operation in the economic and allied fields.

The leader of the Nepalese delegation, Dr. Thapa extended an invitation to an Indian Delegation to visit Kathmandu for the next review talks. The leader of the Indian delegation, Shri V. H. Coelho expressed his sincere thanks for this invitation.

NEPAL INDIA USA LATVIA

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

**Volume No**

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UNITED KINGDOM

Following is text of the Press Note issued in New Delhi in connection with the loan agreements signed between the Governments of India and the United Kingdom on December 5, 1968:

Agreements of the British aid loans to India totalling (pond)20 million (Rs. 36 crores) were signed in New Delhi on December 5, 1968 between the Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, and Mr. Michael Stewart, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs.

This completes the total of (pond)35 million promised as aid by Britain this year and is in addition to the Food Aid of (pond)2.7 million provided recently under the Rome Food Aid

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Convention to purchase about 120,000 metric tons of wheat.

Among the entirely new features of the present package will be loans of (pond)1 million to be placed at the disposal of the ICICI for use in connection with investments including those of British oriented firms, and (pond)0.5 million to enable the National Small Industries Corporation to import British machinery to be given on hire purchase to firms in the small scale sector. In addition, (pond)5 million has been provided to cater for the capital goods needs of the private sector, (pond)3 million to meet the import requirements of selected public sector programmes and (pond)2 million to enable first payments to be made on new projects to be agreed between the two Governments. The loan of (pond)2 million incorporates the important new principle of "partial funding" whereby the aid-giver instead of committing years in advance the total provision for the project, commits only a part each year related to the requirements for that year but with an assurance to cover the remaining requirements in later years. This will further increase the pace at which British loans are disbursed.

The remainder, to be spent on maintenance requirements will include a new (sixth) Kipping Loan of (pond)5 million comprising an allocation of (pond)3.5 million from the present loans and a further (pond)1.5 million re-allocated from savings on past loans; a general purposes loan of (pond)1.5 million (bringing the total allocations this year of general purposes money to 110 million in addition to 17.5 million of debt relief). In addition, money has been provided to enable India to import fertilisers, special steels and other selected maintenance requirements.

In detail, the five loans are:

- an (pond)8.5 million Capital Investment loan
- a (pond)1 million loan for ICICI
- a (pond)2 million Mixed Projects, loan
- a (pond)1.5 million General Purposes loan
- a (pond)7 million Non-Project loan

All live loans are under the usual British aid terms, that is to say interest free with a 25 year repayment period and a seven year grace period over which no repayment need be made.

This makes a total of f 36 million subject to loan agreements this year, (pond)35 million against the new pledge and (pond)1 million against last year's pledge. Of this amount of (pond)36 million, (pond)12 million is for capital goods, machinery and equipment including balancing items and the remainder is for non-project purposes, debt relief, general purposes and for the import of components and spares.

Two earlier loans were signed in June of this year, one of (pond)8.5 million for General Purposes and one of (pond)7.5 million for Debt Relief.

INDIA ITALY USA

**Date :** Dec 01, 1968

**Volume No**

UNITED KINGDOM

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Indo-British Bilateral Talks

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Following is the text of the joint statement issued at the end of the bilateral talks between India and the United Kingdom in New Delhi on December 5, 1968:

The Government of India and Britain had agreed that annual bilateral discussions should be held as from this year. Since Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Rt. Hon'ble Michael Stewart, M.P., was to visit India at this time, it was agreed that he and the Minister of State for External Affairs, Shri B. R. Bhagat, should inaugurate this year's discussions.

The discussions were held between the two Ministers in two sessions on December 3rd. Further discussions took place between the officials of the two sides on the 4th and 5th December. Views were exchanged on major international problems of interest to the two countries.

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The Ministers and officials also discussed bilateral relations between India and Britain. It was agreed that the present was an appropriate time for a review of Indo-British relations looking to the future rather than to the past. It was recognised that relations between India and Britain had developed a degree of realism which was of benefit to both countries. India and Britain share a common concern for peace, a dedication to the democratic system of Government, and an economic relationship of great value to them both. The Ministers agreed that the mutual interest of both countries called for the continued development of the many links existing between them, particularly in the commercial, economic and cultural fields.

The next round of consultations will be held in London at the official level some time next year.

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